



Anwar Ibrahim's Political Thoughts on Civil Society and Its Relevance to Politics in Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The study covers internal, external background, development of thought, things that are noticed and under-noticed, strengths and weaknesses of the figure's thinking, as well as his contributions to his time, and the future. The study of the study of figures becomes so important in every age. That is why so many studies have been conducted by scholars on great figures throughout history. One of the figures who lives in the present era who has a name in the international world and gives tremendous influence to the people with his thoughts is Anwar Ibrahim a Muslim figure from Malaysia. This research aims to explore Anwar Ibrahim's thoughts on the concept of Madani society, the development of civil society and the relevance of civil society to politics in Malaysia. The method used is Library research with descriptive analysis form with qualitative approach. Hopefully this paper can add to the treasures of science about the study of figures, especially political science.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is one of the countries in Asia that has a fairly good economic growth. Under the leadership of Mahathir Mohammad, Malaysia became a well-respected country on the International political stage (Heryanto, 2004). Many of Mahathir Mohammad's government policies have changed the political and economic life of Malaysians. One is the policy of "lookeast and leave the west". A policy that makes Malaysia an independent country that does not depend on Western countries. Malaysia is a country whose political system is relatively stable and supported by the success of economic development. In terms of institutionalizing political and state life, Malaysia is also among the more successful among Southeast Asian countries. But the political system faces a problem that threatens its national integration, namely the potential for almost balanced inter-ethnic conflict. In fact, Malaysian political life, even since it was still called the Federation of Malaya, is often colored by this ethnic problem (Mar'iyah, 2005).

In Malaysia, from 1945 to 1960, the subject of national identity founded on Islam became a hot issue in the process of political development. As is known the concept of Malay and Christianity has become the bond of people's lives in various areas of life. In politics, Malay politics could not be separated from Islam, and as long as the Malays were Muslims, the demands of Islamic politics influenced the development of Malay politics. Islam as a complete belief, should touch on political life and culture as well as the development of values in the Malay community (Buditi, 2000) (Da-Oh, n.d.).

Islam basically played a large role in the establishment of the political climate in Malaysia (Wahid, 2001) (Maarif, 1996). This can be proven through the inclusion of the clergy in the revival of the nation's consciousness from the ancient era. For example, scholars such as Sheikh Syed Al Hadi and Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin were the first intellectuals to initiate the role of Islam in politics. The growth of political parties such as UMNO also basically got the support of religious experts. Because it serves as a political medium for Malays who are average Muslims. The relationship between ethnic Malays and Islam is so close that it is not surprising that in the implementation of the Malaysian system of government can not be separated from Islam. And this link is a very interesting thing to study more deeply (Evers & Korff, 2002) (Rahmadi, 2006).

The study of Malay-Islamic relations and state in Malaysia was conducted by R.I Winzeler (1970). This work is a very basic work in studying how ethnic Malay relationships are deeply rooted with Islam. This study also explains the process of establishing and formulating the state ideology in Malaysian society consisting of ethnic groups. Although this study was conducted in Kelantan, R.I Winzeler has managed to explain how ethnic Malays are considered to have deeply rooted their Islam with the issues of statehood.

Departing from what Winzeler stated, although Islam has deeply entrenched in the body of Malaysian society, especially ethnic Malays as the majority ethnic in Malaysia, but the fact that the application of Islam in Malaysian politics in its implementation is not thorough and only answer political polemics only. The implementation of Islam in Malaysian politics faces various pressures as a result of opposition to political ideas and their application in Malaysia's political climate. This was due to the violent conflict between Islamic and secular political traditions in Malaysia (Maulana, 2008). In fact, the Islamic movement in politics began to raise awareness to all parties after the thinking of Muslim revivalists such as Maududi, Hasan al-Banna, and Sayyid Qutb began to influence the thinking of Muslim scholars in the country. The success of Iran's Islamic revolution, whose spirit inspired political growth was also a driving factor to start the struggle to uphold Islamic principles in Malaysia (Iqbal, 2006) (Munandar, 2007) (Sokhibi, 2007) (Basori, 2008).

Yang tidak ketinggalan dalam menerapkan Islamisasi dalam iklim politik Malaysia adalah kehadiran tokoh Islam ketika itu yaitu Anwar Ibrahim, telah menyemarakkan kembali ide pelaksanaan Islam dalam politik Malaysia. Antara lain yang diperkenalkan yaitu, prinsip masyarakat madani, yaitu penerapan prinsip Islam dalam pembentukan masyarakat yang harmoni. Masyarakat madani dapat didefinisikan sebagai sebuah masyarakat yang mengamalkan budaya hidup berdasarkan keadilan, keihisan dan kebenaran dalam semua aspek kehidupan seperti sosio-budaya, ekonomi dan politik. Masyarakat madani adalah masyarakat yang menghormati hak-hak asasi manusia dan pelaksanaan demokrasi yang berdasarkan pada kehidupan beragama, berakhlak dan keutamaan melaksanakan tanggung jawab individu dan masyarakat dalam memelihara serta mempertahankan kesejahteraan dan keamanan berlandaskan UU (Nafis, 2008) (Suharyadi, 2000) (Muhlisin, 2008).

Civil society is also a society that gives priority to basic needs, cultural dynamics, intelligence and economic development, a society that upholds the development of science, the formation of noble persons, rich with creative and innovative copyright (Triharso, 2008). The model of civil society in Islamic effectiveness puts the sovereignty of the people most appropriately respected but not contrary to the sovereignty of Allah SWT emphasizes on human rights based on humanity, a form of government based on justice. According to Anwar, civil society became important in the transformation process facing western colonization. Thus, the Asian person who will appear the result

of opposition with western culture will maintain his view of life, civilization and moral principles (Abdullah, 1997) (Rahmat, 2008) (Abidin, 2007) (Sisi-Sisi, n.d.).

Anwar gives the understanding that civil society is a concept of civil society that is free from references and experience of western democracy and always attaches importance to deliberation. It is based on the principle of morality and governance based on religious law rather than actions born of human lust alone. Civil society is full of the spirit of freedom, self-independence and restoring the value of humanity. Thus, it can be said that civil society has a fundamental difference with the ideas expressed by western thinkers (Supriyoko, 2005) (Rohmah, 2008). Asians have different views, especially seeing religion as not just a personal issue but a big role in society and providing a moral direction in politics and economics. Generally, according to Anwar, civil society refers to a civilized, civilized, knowledgeable society, has an orderly and orderly society in the laws and regulations.

Seeing the condition of the Malaysian political system which is very synonymous with Islam is a very reasonable condition if the concept of Madani society is applied there. But in reality the implementation of Islam in Malaysia is not carried out thoroughly because there are still many leaders in this country who do not understand Islamic politics and are more interested in Western politics that are clearly not appropriate with Islam and do not attach importance to the religious and moral aspects in managing the country (Basyaib, 1999). The implementation of Islam in Malaysia is just political rhetoric of political parties without positive efforts towards advancing Islam in the country's politics. Nevertheless, there are still some political thinkers in the country who remain consistent and strive to continue to advance Islamic politics in Malaysia, including Anwar Ibrahim. According to Anwar Ibrahim, Islamic teachings are not understood only as a ritual but as "a way of life". Tolerance of religion cannot be believed to be tolerance of corruption, moral decadence, or even tolerance of bigoted attitudes (Turmudi & Sihbudi, 2005). The assertiveness of Anwar Ibrahim's religious understanding was judged by some Malaysian political figures that Anwar Ibrahim's Islamic views were grounded. The color of political nationalism is almost imperceptible, therefore Anwar Ibrahim stated that to get inspiration about Islam, Malaysia does not need to look for it in the Middle East. Islam in Malaysia already has its own roots on earth.

Anwar Ibrahim's thoughts as well as his brilliant career in Malaysian politics led Anwar to a situation where he had the full support of the Malaysian people (Othman, n.d.) (Saputra, n.d.). His political ambitions to make Malaysia a country that can run Islam as a whole in various aspects of life such as socio-cultural, economic and political have attracted the sympathy of Malaysians, especially ethnic Malays. Being under the leadership of Anwar Ibrahim as deputy prime minister at the time, made the Malay community feel appreciated after a long time in alienation because it was not considered to exist (Baidhaw, 2005). It was under the leadership of Mahathir and Anwar that the Malay Malaysian community gained its place in its own domain because of the many political policies initiated by this "dual single" who supported the poor ethnic Malays. In addition to being known as a progressive and independent, Anwar Ibrahim is considered to have the same obsession with Mahathir: "Building Malaysia's success and resurrecting the greatness of the Malays with his new consciousness." Anwar's embodiment of Islamic enforcement in Malaysia was the establishment of the Islamic Bank when he held the position of finance minister in the government, then established the first Islamic University in Malaysia and sparked the concept of civil society.

Thinking about civil society is one of the thought contributions from Anwar Ibrahim to Malaysia in order to develop an effort to advance and develop Islamic principles in the political in Malaysia (Sihbudi, 2007) (Turmudi & Sihbudi, 2005) (Islam, n.d.). This is one of the evidences of Anwar Ibrahim's strong desire to create Malaysian politics in line with Islam, because he thinks Malaysia has its own roots that can bring Malaysia better in the future. Anwar Ibrahim's thinking and his efforts to advance Islam and ethnic Malays have brought Anwar as a figure of great support from Malaysians. The support he received was not only from Islamic scholars or from the Malay economic community but also from young Malaysians. Anwar Ibrahim's long political journey in the Malaysian political configuration has made Anwar Ibrahim one of Asia's most respected leaders both domestically and

internationally. Anwar Ibrahim's various ideas contributed to Malaysian politics, especially for the development of Islamic political thinking.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

There was a certain period in history, perhaps in our time, that most scholars, faculty, and students, had more "oral culture" and often found it difficult to convey messages through writing, and did not have a "writing culture". So from time to time the idea of a figure still gives its own place in the journey of science, therefore the study of figures becomes so important in every era. In this study the authors used the method of character study. Assessment of the study of figures is a systematic assessment of the thinking/ideas of a thinker, in whole or in part. The assessment includes internal, external background, development of thought, things that are noticed and under-noticed, strengths and weaknesses of the figure's thinking, as well as his contributions to his time and the aftermath. In the study of figures the method used is qualitative method (Dwiyanto, 2002) (Daymon & Holloway, 2007). Qualitative methods can be used to uncover and understand something behind the slightest unknown phenomenon (Somantri, 2005) (Efferin et al., 2008). This method can also be used to gain insight into something new little known, qualitative methods can also give complex details about phenomena that are difficult to express by quantitative methods. In addition, qualitative methods can be used to investigate more deeply about concepts or ideas. Concepts and ideas that have been written in the works of the character will be able to be examined by looking at the quality of his writings that have an influence on the development of further thinking.

The influence is not only in the development of theory, but also in terms of practice so that it can be said whether the thinking of the figure is said to be scientific and meets the criteria of science. From the influence on the development of such thinking will be seen the power of the thinking of the figure. Qualitative research terms are intended as a type of research whose findings are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation. Qualitative research refers to different ways of collecting data, including field research, participant observation, in-depth interviews, etnometodology, and ethnographic research. Examples can be research on a person's life, history and behavior, as well as about the role of organization, social movements, or reciprocal relationships. Some of the data can be calculated as census data, but the analysis is qualitative. Research studies of figures by qualitative methods trace thinking through works, events behind the birth of the work and the influence of the resulting work. Qualitative data consists of people's quotes and descriptions of circumstances, events, interactions and activities. By using qualitative data types, it allows researchers to approach the data so as to develop analytical, conceptual and categorical information components of the data itself. The approach to data shows interactions with people who are under investigation, their cultural understanding, including values, beliefs, patterns of behavior and language and the effort of feeling or experiencing their motives and emotions. Qualitative researchers can understand social behavior.

In this study the data collection technique used is the study of documentation. Documentation studies are data collection techniques that are not directly addressed to research subjects. The documents studied can be a variety, not just official documents. The document can be distinguished into a primary document, if it is written by a person who is experiencing an event and a secondary document, if the event is reported to another person which is subsequently written by this person. An autobiography is an example of a primary document and a person's biography is an example of a secondary document. Documents can be diaries, personal letters, reports, meeting minutes, case notes in social work, and other documents. In this study of figures, the authors began by collecting literature. First, collecting the works of Anwar Ibrahim personally as well as joint works on his ideas of thought, in this case about the concept of civil society. Then the works are read and traced more deeply. Second, the author traces the works of others on Anwar Ibrahim and about civil society (as secondary data).

There are several methods that can be used in the analysis of figure research data. In this study the method of analysis used is interpretation. Interpretation is intended as an effort to achieve a correct understanding of facts (i.e. an act or event), data (giving in the form of a thing or event presented, or in the form of something recorded about a thing, event, or other reality that can be used as a basis for further information), and symptoms (something that appears as a sign of an event or event). Interpretation is the basis for hermeneutics. Hermeneutics means to interpret, explain, interpret or translate. Zygmunt Bauman explains that hermeneutics are an attempt to explain and trace the basic message and understanding of an obscure, vague, dim and contradictory speech or writing that raises doubts and confusion of listeners or readers. While Richard E. Palmer understood hermeneutics as a process, studying the content and intent that traced from a text to its deepest and latent meaning was found. In an interpretation it is necessary to be aware of the existence of Ethics and Ethics. Emik is data-data, sentences and text, as the thinker understands which is the formulation of a character's sentence against the problem he understands. While Ethics is the researcher's understanding of the thoughts (data, sentences, text and formulation) of the figures studied. In this study, the author also used the method of historical continuity meaning in conducting analysis the author sees a common thread that connects the thoughts of Anwar Ibrahim, both the historical environment and the influences he experienced and the course of his own life, because a figure is a child of his time. To see the author's internal background examine Anwar Ibrahim's life history, his education, the influence he received, his relationships with his contemporaries, and all sorts of experiences. As for looking at external background, the author sees the special circumstances experienced by Anwar Ibrahim in terms of economic, cultural and intellectual politics.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Anwar Ibrahim's Political Thoughts on the Concept of Civil Society.

The emergence of civil society as a concept of civil society based on Islam gives hope towards realizing a civil society that is in harmony with Islamic teachings based on human relationship with the creator (Hablun min Allah) and relationship with society (hablun min nas). Becoming a milestone of civil society is the teachings of the Qur'an and sunnah of the Prophet (s) through hadiths that call on Muslims to interact positively with other human beings and carry out social works to improve social justice that benefits all.

The concept of civil society initiated by Anwar Ibrahim is an ideal concept of society that is expected to present the understanding and implementation of Islamic teachings in a kaffah (comprehensive) in every aspect of people's lives, from the smallest to the largest. Anwar Ibrahim expects Malaysian society consisting of ethnic Malay majority and synonymous with Islam to become a civil society. To know more clearly Anwar Ibrahim revealed about the understanding of civil society in a paper entitled Comparison of Civil Society and Civil Society. Civil society can be defined as a society that practices a culture of pure living based on justice, righteousness and truth in all aspects of life such as socio-cultural, economic and political. Civil society is a society that respects human rights and democracy based on religious life, morality and the virtue of fulfilling the responsibilities of individuals and communities in maintaining and maintaining welfare and security based on the law. The concept of civil society puts the sovereignty of the people in a democracy that is appropriately respected but not contrary to the sacred and pure sovereignty that comes from Allah SWT.

Madani society was first introduced by Anwar Ibrahim during istiqlal festival in Jakarta on September 26, 1995. That's when the civil society sentence was introduced. In the festival, Anwar Ibrahim delivered his cultural speech entitled "Islam and the Establishment of Civil Society". In his speech Anwar said that Islam is what introduces us to the ideals of social justice and the establishment of civil society that is a democratic civil society. According to Anwar's study, the arrival of Islam not only formed a new outlook on life that prioritized the role of reason and rational thought, but also included the revolution of ruhaniah and akliyah which also then drove social transformation, namely gradually laying the principle of a new order of society and state affairs that attach importance to the glory of human beings. Anwar defines civil society as a fertile social system founded on moral principles

that ensure a balance between individual freedom and community stability. The implementation, among others, is in the form of the implementation of government that is subject to the law and the implementation of a transparent system. In the festival, Anwar also offered five important things that need to be realized to uphold the civil society of Muslims in the region. These five things are stable and democratic political order, social justice, people's welfare, upholding constitutional principles, and stimulating akliah life.

Then the concept of civil society was reaffirmed in an event at konvesi Masyarakat Madani in Malaysia. Civil society is a fertile social system based on moral principles that ensures a balance between individual freedom and the stability of society, justice and prudence. In addition, civil society is a society that encourages business power and individual initiatives in terms of thinking, art, economy, technology, and has a capable and careful social system and government follows the law. Anwar introduced civil society as a "social intermediary between family and state", and was within the framework of religious ethics. Moral and religious traditions play an important role because "Asians are essentially religious persons". Religious practice and faith are not limited to the individual, he penetrates the entire body of people's lives.

Therefore, Anwar with his Malay example could fend off Huntington pessimism (1970) which saw that civil society in the Islamic world was more dominated by anti-Western sentiment and therefore became contrary to democracy. Malays who are tolerant and accustomed to pluralism also dispute Gellner's pessimism (1981) that ummah is an ideological community without leaving room for pluralism. Civil society can actually go hand in hand with democracy, because civil society is a society that attaches importance to deliberation. However, sovereignty over the people in a democracy must not exceed the sovereignty of God. Because God's sovereignty is above all else.

The concept of civil society, or in Western terminology called civil society, emerged during the Enlightenment (Renaissance) in Europe through the thoughts of John Locke (18th century) and Emmanuel Kant (19th century). As a concept, civil society comes from a long historical process of Western society that is usually juxtaposed with the conception of state. In 18th-century European tradition, this notion of civil society is considered the same as a country, a group or force that dominates another group. It was only in the second half of the 18th century that this terminology shifted in meaning. The state and civil society were then understood to be two distinct entities.

Even then Kant placed civil society with the state in the opposite position, which was later developed by Hegel. Through Hegel, civil society is perfectly exposed from the state, even as opposing entities assert each other. The person who first initiated the term civil society is Adam Ferguson in his book "An Essay on Civil Society", published in 1773 in Scotland.

Adi Suryadi Culla inventoried there are four main perspectives that influence civil society discourse, especially in its existential relationship with the state. First, civil society and state are two separate entities that are diametrically confronted. This approach gave rise to a reciprocal understanding that a strong state would weaken civil society and vice versa resulting in two new poles: the perspective of the state outperforming society (Hegel and Karl Marx) and the perspective of civil society's independence over the state (John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville). This approach can read the third world phenomenon where a superior and undemocratic country kills the growing potential of civil society. Second, civil society and state are two entities that are rationally and institutionally inseparable, and both are interchangeable terms. This perspective is based on the prerequisites for the integration of state and civil society in a democratic legal system, in the absence of state repression of civil society and the absence of state opposition by civil society.

Third, civil society and state as entities that do not face vis a vis, in each have conflicts on its subentities. Based on this perspective, the state and civil society are still separated from each has elements of pro-democracy and antidemocracy.

Fourth, civil society is a separate entity with three other entities, namely the state, political society, and economic society. This perspective illustrates that interactions occur between many actors other than civil society and the state, namely political society and economic society. Although there is

a diversity of viewpoints, the concept of civil society can be drawn in generalization that civil society is an organized socio-political community or group that has the character of voluntary, autonomy (self-supporting), self-supporting (self-awareness, self-generating), and able to be critical (ie, not solely opposite) to other entities either in the state, economic society, political society, including other undemocratic civil society.

In the concept of power, Ibn Taymiyah based the source of power is Allah swt, while man acts as a caliph on the earth, so that human power is in charge to fulfill His will. Thus, according to QS 4:59, obedience to the ruler (ulil amri) is based on the obedience of the ruler to the law of God. He said Ulil Amri consisted of scholars who served the task of interpreting sharia law and formulating the provisions of justice, and umara in charge of enforcing the rule of Allah and defending the Islamic state.

Similar to Ibn Taymiyah, Yusuf Qaradhawi showed more emphatically that daulah Islamiyah is not a theocratic state (daulah diniyah). Daulah Islamiyah is a daulah madaniyah (civil state) that ruled in the name of Islam, based on the process of bai'at and syuro choose a strong leader (qawiy), trustworthy (amen), reliable (hafidz) and knowledgeable ('aliim) . He distinguishes the theocracy and nomocracy, by showing the Islamic state as a nomocracy based on shari'a (daulah syar'iyah dusturiyah). The basic principle is the submission of positive laws to the moral laws of Shari'a. In practice in early Islamic history, these basic principles inspired and implemented modern legal principles such as the principle of justice, equality before law and court, the presumption of innocence, and the principle of law on visible action.

Medina society which refers to the concept of Islamic state has a political idea called syuro (deliberation) which is an open space where anyone has the right to express his opinion in areas where shari'a does not strictly limit (e.g. mu'amalah area). Syuro outweighs democracy in terms of the availability of shari'a which limits the power of the majority allowing for the growth of authoritarianism under the guise of democracy. But on the other hand, syuro has a wedge with democracy on aspects of democratic substance, the spirit of tyrannical opposition, and the principle of majority. With the concept of syuro, the state in Islam should open up an interaction space for the community as part of the mechanism of political control and participation as part of worship and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar .

The state in relation to society has a great responsibility including the responsibility of protecting the mustadh'afiin, the unupfiin labor, the women from oppression, the children until he is independent, the elderly. The state is also responsible for distributing prosperity through instruments such as zakat, shadaqah, and baitul maal, as well as through an economic system without usury and the protection of consumer rights. Thus the state forms social solidarity and upholds justice in its society, where with it the community supports the strongness of the state to carry out its ethical duty: the enforcement of God's law on the face of the earth. The pattern of community-state interaction in Islam demonstrates the inseparable unity between the state and society and shows the two entities are interchangeable. When referring to Culla's categorization, he approaches a second perspective that more easily explains the integrative relationships of modern civil society. The people of Medina with the above description proved to be a par excellence society that was 'too advanced' for its time.

The civil society introduced by Anwar Ibrahim was then developed by Islamic thinkers in Indonesia, such as Nurcholis Madjid, Dawam Rahardjo, AS Hikam, and others. In Indonesia, civil society is known by the name of citizenship society, civil society, citizen society, civil society (without being translated), civil society and so on.

Civil society is based on the people of Medina under the leadership of the prophet Muhammad SAW. Medina, formerly named Yastrib. Before the arrival of the Prophet (pbuh) the people of Medina were people who did not know manners, un civilized, hostile to each other, no tolerance between peoples, no interfascion and oppressive oppression. The people of Medina, which Nurcholis Madjid used as a typology of civil society, is a democratic society. In the sense that the relationship between the community groups, as contained in the points of the Charter of Medina, reflects egalitarianism (each group has the same rights and positions), respect for other groups, policies taken by involving

the group of people (such as the determination of war strategy), and perpetrators of injustice, from any group, rewarded with the applicable punishment.

In general, the charter of Medina governs the social life of the inhabitants of Medina more broadly. There are two basic values contained in the charter of Medina, which became the basis for the establishment of a state of Medina at that time. First, the principle of equality and justice (*al musawwah wal ' is*). Second, inclusiveness or openness. Both principles are then elaborated and instilled in the form of some universal values, such as consistency (*i'tidal*), balance (*tawazum*), moderate (*tawasut*) and tolerant (*tasamuh*). Therefore, in the city of Medina at that time, although the population was heterogeneous (both in the sense of religion, race, tribes and groups) the same position, each had the freedom to embrace religion and carry out activities in the social and economic fields. Each side has the same freedom to defend the Medina where they live.

The purpose of medina society as a frame of reference in building a modern Muslim community order is a must. The people of Medina are the best people that Allah sees. He said, "You are the best people born to man, commanding good deeds and preventing from the unbelievers, and believing in God." Qs. Ali Imran :110). According to Quraysh Shihab, the early Muslim community was called the best people because of the qualities that adorned themselves, namely not getting tired of calling to things-things that are considered good by society as long as it is in line with the values of Allah (*al -ma'ruf*) and preventing evil. Furthermore, Shihab explained, the early Muslims became "khairu ummah" because they carried out *amar ma'ruf* in line with the guidance of Allah and His messenger. The purpose of medina society as a typical ideal society is not on impersonation of the structure of its society, but on the properties that adorn this ideal society. As such, the implementation of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* in line with divine instructions, as well as unity. The way of implementation of *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* which is approved by the divine is by wisdom, advice, and good speech. In order to build a "modern civil society", exemplifying the Prophet not only physical appearance, but the attitude he displays when dealing with fellow Muslims or with other people, such as maintaining the unity of Muslims, respecting and not disparaging other groups, being fair to anyone, not doing religious coercion, and other noble qualities.

Thus it can be said that the characteristics of civil society is first, Free Public Sphere (Freedom of public space) means the existence of a free public space as a means to express / express opinions. Citizens have the right to conduct activities independently in expressing opinions, associations, gathering and publishing information to the public. Second, democracy. Democracy is an entity that becomes the enforcer of civil society discourse. Citizens have complete freedom to carry out their life activities including interacting with their environment. Democracy means that society can be polite with the community in the environment without considering the differences between tribes, races, religions and groups. Third, tolerance. Tolerance is a value developed by civil society in respecting and respecting the activities of others and also respecting dissent. Fourth, pluralism. Pluralism must be understood as a way of life that values and accepts diversity in the context of daily life. Pluralism cannot be understood only by recognizing and accepting the reality of a plural society, but it must be accompanied by a sincere attitude to accept the reality of pluralism as a positive form and is a mercy of God. Fifth, social justice. Social justice is a justice that mentions a balance and a proportional division of the rights and obligations of each citizen covering all aspects of life.

3.2. Civil Society and Democracy.

It should be understood that absolute democracy is an idealism that cannot be fully achieved. Even democracy is famous for betraying promises. The prevailing chasm between an ideal democracy as understood by reality prevails in today's democratic atmosphere. The promise that is not fulfilled today is followed by the realization of political survival, the existence of political elitist, certain interests on behalf of the people's representatives, the lack of inclusion of the people and the failure to educate the public about democracy and their rights. Many analysts regard Malaysia as a country that is not autocratic but not democratic. Malaysia is known as a democratic country, but it also has draconian rules that limit dissent and give broad powers to the executive. The decision of UMNO leadership as

the government party in maintaining democratic restrictions are: sensitivity of ethnic issues that otherwise limited debate about it will damage social stability, the virtue of improving the standard of living of the people, and need to be adapted to democracy with historical experience and local objective atmosphere. Malaysia under Mahathir Mohammad became a country that did not open the faucet of freedom to the people. Mahathir knows no reforms in politics as well as democracy. Even Mahathir seemed authoritarian in governing, there is no freedom of the press, if there is a leader who fights against every policy, then Mahathir does not hesitate to make arrests and detentions of these leaders, without any evidence of wrongdoing. Police power is also enormous and mastery of the judicial system. However, according to Mahathir the practice of democracy in Malaysia follows its own terms. Although he runs a democracy, in some ways he disagrees and follows a democracy in accordance with the West that gives the people absolute freedom to express their opinions and do anything in the name of democracy.

Malaysia can be said to be an example of "Islamic democracy" provided that the weaknesses in democracy are fixed with Islamic values. One example is that one of the characteristics of democracy is that absolute sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Of course this is very contrary to Islam because absolute sovereignty only comes from Allah SWT. The future of democracy in Malaysia depends heavily on the strength of islamists in controlling authoritarianism and democracy carried out by the government so that it is compatible with Islamic values. Therefore, in creating a new foundation of Muslim politics and Islamic democracy, reciprocity between the Islamists and the government is very necessary and the cooperation will benefit the people. In the 1990s, PAS also turned its attention to social justice issues and democratic reforms in the Islamic paradigm to be presented to the people as a better alternative than UMNO to lead Malaysia. PAS no longer uses a sympositic fiqh approach but it aligns with other protest groups to describe the political atmosphere after Anwar's dismissal as 'democracy is under threat' and even the 1998 reforms marched on the road demanding better democratic reforms rather than an Islamic state.

Meanwhile UMNO also continues to set a strategy to ensure that the party's re-membership faces new obstacles. The initiative of islamization of the government will surely be sustainable because it is the party of government and adjusts to the current demands of a more Islamic democracy. The battle between the two sides on the democratic journey promises the possibility of realizing the attitude of Islamic democracy in muslim politics with the principle of authentic shared system norms from the point of view of Islam and democracy that can be accepted by malaysian compound society. Anwar Ibrahim, who was then deputy prime minister and also concurrently as finance minister, came up with a concept of civil society to be applied in Malaysia as a country with a majority of ethnic Malays and synonymous with Islam. In his book "Renaissans Asia", Anwar discusses the rise of Asia and in it also does not miss the discussion about civil society and democracy. According to Anwar, discourses about civil society and democracy are influenced by moral norms and habits found in Asian culture.

Now, when Asia feels stable with its stability and economic toughness, it is time to start new efforts to reinvent its social and political order. The struggle to build democracy and civil society today is an integral part of a series of movements to achieve national independence and the determination of the nation itself, which began in the middle of this century. In the renewed quest, Asia reaffirmed the ideals and values that had been developed by its philosophers in the past and championed by its early renaissance figures, poets, thinkers and statesmen, such as Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Iqbal, Jose Rizal, Sun Yat Sen, and Mahatma Gandhi. They prove that Asia and Asian traditions are part and parcel of a world built on human dignity, a noble ideal that was recently claimed to belong exclusively to the West. In this book, Anwar explains some things that must be built to form a civil society in Asia, especially in Malaysia. 1. Maratabat Man. 2. Appreciation of Life. 3. Press in Asia

3.3. Relevance of Civil Society to Politics in Malaysia.

Few Muslim countries in the world have gone so far as Malaysia in its efforts to use state power to implement the provisions of the Qur'an and Hadith in the lives of Muslims. However, fewer Muslim countries are losing out to Malaysia. Malaysia presents a unique Islamic experience. Malaysia is a multiethnic and multireligious society where Malays make up 45 percent of the population, but have

dominant political and cultural power. The rest consists of various ethnic and religious groups, and the largest are the Chinese (35 Percent) and Indian (10 Percent) communities. Islam and national identity and Malay politics have long been intertwined, as reflected in the general belief that Malays must be Muslims.

A distinctive feature in the development of Malaysian politics is the role of Islam in Malaysian politics. Malaysia is a federation of states, a government that is officially pluralistic with Islam as an official religion and Islam and Muslims enjoy a privileged position. Although the participation of Islamist parties in elections and their work as legitimate opposition is a relatively new phenomenon in most Muslim countries, over the years those political parties have competed with umno government parties, as well as competing against each other, in the political process.

In contrast to some political systems in the Middle East that do not allow Islamic political parties and some Islamic movements to then fight violent acts, in the Malaysian system there is a dominant ruling party that recognizes the existence and political participation of Islamist groups that act as nonviolent opposition parties. The recognition and integration of Islamic revival groups in this burgeoning democratic process is seen not only through their ability to operate within the system, but also through the maneuvering of a charismatic Islamist activist, Anwar Ibrahim, from his position as opposition party to government in the 1980s and even in 1994 he had been finance minister and deputy prime minister.

Since the earliest period in Malaysia, Islam has had close ties to politics and society. Islam is a source of legitimacy for the sultans, who hold the role of religious leaders, defenders of the faith, and protectors of Islamic law, as well as protectors of law, education, and indigenous values. Islam and Malay identity intertwined with each other, being Malay means being Muslim. British colonialism clearly distinguished between religion and state, with the introduction of civil administration and a different legal system to the Islamic legal system and courts. At the same time, society is also becoming more pluralistic due to the massive immigration of Chinese and Indian non-Muslims as well as the growth and prosperity of their communities in the future. Pluralism and religious ties to Malay national identity became a political issue as Malaysia struggled to seize independence in the post-World War II period. The initial British proposals for the Malay Union to unite with the common rights of citizens for the Malay Union united with the equality of citizens' rights for all, rejected by the Malays, who worried about population growth, economic strength, and the influence of the Chinese and Indian communities. Who have enjoyed a higher level of economy and education than Malay Muslims.

The Malay Constitution of 1957 enshrines religious and ethnic identification, a special position for Islam, sultans, and Malay Muslims. The Constitution defines Malays as people who profess to convert to Islam, are accustomed to speaking Malay, and conform to Malay customs. Malays enjoy privileges that include the Malay quota system in education, government, and business. Islam is declared as an official religion both in federations and in their respective states, and the sultans are recognized as religious leaders in their states, namely as defenders and protectors of Malay religion and culture, who are entitled to carry out moral and religious obligations. At the state level, the sultans established religious affairs departments and Islamic courts, imposed and collected taxes (zakat, or wealth tax), and the spread of religion. Many religious rules are applied at the state level and include a variety of matters from punishment for not attending Friday prayers in mosques, drinking alcohol, or violating the obligation of fasting Ramadan in public, to punishment for teaching false doctrines, being caught having a prayer with a woman instead of muhrim, or committing insults against religious officials or against Islam. This Constitution is the embodiment of the political and social realities of society, and reflects the interconnectedness between national, religious, and ethnic identities. As Fred R. Von der Mehden points out, "the first fact in political and social life in Malaysia is the relationship between religion and ethnicity".

Malaysian politics reflects the dichotomy of ethnic Malays and the politics of its derivative accommodation. The dichotomy of ethnic Malays, with their communal accommodation and conflicts, will continue to play an important role in Malaysia's political development and serve as the main

indigenous catalyst for the rise of Islam. Internal tensions caused by ethnic dichotomies in Malaysian society exploded in 1969. Ethnic unrest between Malays and Chinese in Kuala Lumpur marked a turning point in Malaysian politics. While Malay Muslims, who mostly live in rural and farming, dominate government and politics, the city-based Chinese and Indian communities achieve prosperity and prominence in the fields of economics and education. Malaysia's economic tensions caused by a huge and growing gap in its presence, and the increasing level of lives of "foreigners", triggered anti-Chinese unrest that left hundreds dead or injured, the dissolution of parliament for nearly two years, the enactment of a state of emergency, and efforts by the government to deal with the issue of communal equality. The perception of Islam as a threatened indigenous religion, mostly living in rural, poor, and unearthened trade has fostered a defensive stance that became the cornerstone of politics, public policy, and the establishment supported by the Malay race.

In contrast to most other Muslim countries, the revival of Islam in Malaysia is a religious awakening. Many factors from domestic and international play a role in the era of the 1970s and 1980s that resulted in the revival of Islam / Malay religion, economy, language, and culture are interrelated. The government is implementing an economic reform program with the aim of improving the efforts of the Malays and other Bumiputra. National Economic Policy (NEP), a draft measure concerning privileges, quotas, and subsidies to improve the economy and education to change the "imbalance" between the Malay community and other communities. Although the first focus of the program was the socio-economic development of Malay, the promotion of Malay language and cultural values further strengthened the bond between religion and ethnicity, this process with pressure on Malay language, history, culture, and religion, strengthening Malay pride, identity and solidarity. Malay and Islamic nationalism, which is the most important element in Malay cultural identity, is becoming an increasingly large ideological and political force.

The dynamics of Malay-Islamic revival are especially evident among the younger generation, namely students and graduates of Malay universities in the post-1969 period. The rise of Islam in Malaysia is further reinforced by the return of students from their study places in the United States and The United Kingdom, which are greatly influenced by students and other Muslim countries and also by the writings and thoughts of Islamic activists from Arabia, Iran and Pakistan. Events that occurred in other Muslim worlds also influenced the rise of Islam in Malaysia. The Arab-Israeli War of 1967 and the Arab oil embargo of 1973, aroused the sympathy of the Muslims and strengthened government and nongovernmental ties with the Arab world and the wider Muslim world. Pakistan's Islamization program under General Zia Ul-Haq (1977-1988) and Iran's 1978-1981 "Islamic revolution" were well known to Malaysian leaders. International events coupled with the widespread mass communication, contributed to the transformation in Malaysia.

The rise of Islam in Malaysia is also marked by the emergence of *da'wah* organizations that call for the enforcement of Islam in Malaysia such as Darul Arqam under the leadership of Ustad Ashaari Muhammad, ABIM under the leadership of Anwar Ibrahim, and not to miss the Islamic Party in Malaysia (PAS). To see the relevance of civil society in Malaysia, we must first know and study the problems that occur in this country. The problem is, among others, first, in Malaysian society corruption is not a new thing anymore, corruption has become more and more so in some important institutions of the country that if there is no decisive action will become a system that is accepted by the public and will eventually destroy the country. From land officials to the highest ranks of the kingdom involving ministers, corruption increasingly threatens people's norms.

The symptoms of corruption in the Malaysian government are difficult to eradicate because the perpetrators are political people. The deteriorating morality of these political members led to Malaysia being referred to as a sick country. 124 There have been numerous corruption scandals involving ministers and corporate figures but no one has tried to bring this corruption case to justice. So Anwar presented the Anti-Corruption Bill, there was never any serious government action led by Mahathir to eliminate corruption. The presentation of this Bill is Anwar's biggest contribution in fighting the issue of corruption. All this he did to create a clean government and so that the people were confident in the government.

Second, the progress of the state and the highly appropriate process of urbanization also led to the collapse of morality among adolescents. Issues such as drug abuse, domestic violence, extramarital births, extramarital sex and so on are very serious issues that could destroy the country. Recognizing the fact that youth are the future assets of the country, Anwar himself took the initiative of eliminating social ills with the cabinet committee on social issues and launched several programs at the national level in addition to allocating millions of ringgit to eliminate this social disease. Third, economic progress does not give any meaning if the government does not adhere to the principles of democracy. The birth of the highly educated and "middleclass" groups required the government to govern with more greater democracy and respect and pay attention to every view and criticism of the policies of the state. As a country that is increasingly advanced, the wave of public awakening to be directly involved in the political process and determine the direction of the country through various instruments of democracy. Anwar realized that today's people are no longer the people during post-independence that allowed the government to be authoritarian in implementing the policies of the country because the people at that time may not have understood "the complexity of governing a country". Undemocratic ways and the use of laws aimed at preventing people from expressing opinions and voicing free speech ala Mahathir were weathered as the country entered the new millennium.

On this awareness, Anwar introduced the idea of civil society, namely a society that is free to rebuke leaders, criticize the fundamentals of the state, societies where democratic institutions are respected, fair kingdoms, governments based on laws and not governments bylaw, economically advanced societies, science and technology. He strongly opposed authoritarian rule as was the case in Mahathir's government which actually hindered progress because an undemocratic government would lead to the people's thinking being curbed. Because of the wide open space for the public to speak out in expressing their opinions that will ensure the country continues to advance. No country can advance if its people are stupid and do not have high intellectual power. Therefore, anwar has been directly speaking for a long time through his speeches expressing views describing his disapproval of the way Dr. Mahathir's government was governed.

The development process is also an important instrument in the formation of civil society. Economic development has created unexpected opportunities for people to build themselves. Strong economic infrastructure is clearly an important capital to build community self-reliance and self-reliance. With the NEP program that has been implemented in Malaysia and the "vision2020" program, Malaysia has successfully handled the economic crisis that has hit the region and made Malaysia a country in Southeast Asia that has a high level of economy, and economic progress like this clearly helps in the process of embodiment of civil society. Educational development can also create an increasingly critical society to politically achieve self-reliance. The emergence of intellectuals from young people has given a new hope for Malaysians to make Malaysia a more democratic country. The problem now is that the government seems to turn a blind eye to the growing awareness of democracy in Malaysian society, even the government suppresses the critical power of the people by limiting their chances of expressing an opinion. Including in terms of suppressing press freedom which became a symbol of the critical power of society. AS Hikam an Indonesian figure who is quite consistent in reviewing civil society said that there are at least three elements (actors) of politics that can actually be expected to be the motor of democratization in developing countries, namely scholars and academics, the middle class in general, as well as the political elements of the undercurrent, especially labor and peasants.

We can point to the condition of Malaysia, that can be the motor of democratization to realize madani society is the intellectuals, scholars, middle class and ethnic Malay. Madani society is Anwar Ibrahim's dream to be applied in Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim hopes that Malaysia can run Islam thoroughly in all aspects of life. Malaysia's pluralistic religious and ethnic conditions make it possible for Malaysia to create civil society in the country. It's just that the obstacles that exist is that Mahathir's authoritarian government has limited some aspects of civil society formation such as the freedom of

the press, the law that still belongs to the people in power and so on. However, Malaysia still has a bright future in realizing civil society.

4. CONCLUSION

Malaysia is a pluralistic country consisting of various religions and ethnicities, where Malays as the largest ethnic as much as 65 percent of the total number of Malaysian citizens. Malays who are synonymous with Islam make Islam the official religion of federations and states. Speaking of Malaysian politics can not be released with Islam, because Islam is part of politics in Malaysia. The rise of Islam in Malaysia is marked by young Malaysians returning from abroad such as America and The United Kingdom bringing Islamic teachings to Malaysia because in the country where they study they associate with students from other Muslim countries around the world. Upon their return from studying they carried out Islam more than ever. The spirit to establish Islam in their own country made the youth began to establish Islamic organizations whose purpose is to preach spreading Islam to all Malaysians both Muslims in order to re-learn Islam and carry out the teachings of Islam as best as possible and also spread Islam to non-Muslims so that they are interested in Islam and try to learn Islam to then be able to convert to Islam.

The rise of Islam is also marked by the many books and journals of Islamic thinkers from Muslim countries that began to expand widely in Malaysia. The momentum of the rise of Islam in Malaysia is also due to events that occurred in Islamic countries, especially in Arab countries such as the Gulf War, then the war between Israel and Palestine marked by the end of Jerusalem into Israeli hands. Such events have awakened the spirit of Malaysian youth to continue to ignite the spirit of Islam in Malaysia.

The wearing of headscarves, the prohibition of sin such as drinking, or having sex with the opposite sex, etc. is a form of the application of Islam that began to be tried enforced in Malaysia. Anwar Ibrahim is one of the young men who has a high spirit to uphold Islamic law in Malaysia. His struggle began when he founded ABIM a da'wah organization that had a vision to spread Islam in Malaysia and he had the mandate to lead the organization since its establishment in 1971. Anwar Ibrahim began his political career as an opposition critic of all government policies that harmed the people. In his struggle to defend the rights of the poor as well as ethnic Malay Muslims has earned him widespread sympathy from Malaysians.

When he switched into government by choosing UMNO as a forum for the next struggle, Anwar received a lot of criticism from both his compatriots at ABIM and also his seniors at UMNO who felt Anwar was just a bully in UMNO's body with his Islamic spirit. His political career at UMNO continued with his career in government occupying strategic positions such as youth minister and sports, education minister, agriculture minister and finance minister until finally occupying the position of deputy prime minister of Malaysia, his highest position in the history of his political career.

When he served as deputy prime minister, he initiated the concept of civil society to be applied in Malaysia. This concept he initiated by looking at the condition of Malaysian society that began to experience moral decadence, not only from the community but also from its leaders who began to be identified corruption ranging from lowly leaders to ministers- ministers. Civil society offered by Anwar Ibrahim is an ideal society ala Medina society in the time of the prophet Muhammad SAW, civilized society, has a high intellectual, established and independent, and a society that bermaddun.

Mahathir Mohammad's authoritarian rule made civil society unable to do well in Malaysia. Corruption as an ingrained disease in Malaysia is very difficult to eliminate because corruption plagues Malaysian leaders ranging from the lowest leaders to officials in the ministry does not escape the snare of corruption. Freedom of speech is also in place, leaders who seek to advocate justice and dare to oppose Mahathir's policies, are arrested and detained without any evidence in court and this shows that the law in Malaysia has not been able to independently still be an accomplice of the ruling party so that the law cannot favor justice.

And when Anwar Ibrahim was fired from his position in the government on charges of sodomy and corruption, Malaysians began to shout and demand justice to the government. Reforms were

voiced to counter Mahathir's authoritarian policies. It was from this reform that the dreamed civil society began to find a bright spot to be applied in Malaysia. After the reforms voiced by Anwar Ibrahim and his supporters, many non-governmental organizations such as NGOs are trying to uphold justice in Malaysia and become one of the forming factors of civil society. The hope of creating a civil society in Malaysia is getting bigger with the increasingly open tap of freedom even though it is still within the limits set by the government. But the press has started to be more open, the law has begun to be independent, intellectuals are increasing with the development of education in Malaysia, and also the development of the economy causes the gap of Malaysian society to be reduced. However, the chronic disease from the past has not been treated, namely corruption.

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