



**IMAN
RESEARCH**

SOCIETY • BELIEFS • PERCEPTION

brief October 2021

**ENABLING EXTREMISM:
MALAY WOMEN,
JIHAD FOR MALAY(SIA)
WEAPONS OF THE WEAK¹:
MALAY WOMEN
AT THE FOREFRONT
OF MALAY INTEREST
MOVEMENTS**

ENABLING EXTREMISM: MALAY WOMEN, JIHAD FOR MALAY(SIA)

WEAPONS OF THE WEAK¹: MALAY WOMEN AT THE FOREFRONT OF MALAY INTEREST MOVEMENTS

by Dina Zaman. IMAN *brief* | October 2021

Abstract

In a previous brief, I wrote and discussed about how Malay-Muslim women were increasingly being socialised into a hardline brand of Islam. They were mainly middle to upper middle income professionals, who viewed themselves as Muslims first, more so than Malay-Malaysian. While it is undeniable that we have had Malay-Muslim women joining militant activities and groups, most of the women we observed are God observant, and cannot be perceived as extremists.

In this brief, I will discuss about how another segment of Malay-Muslim women of the professional class are leaning towards a right-wing narrative and how they are pushing for a far-right conservative agenda nationally. Who are they? They share the same Islamic sentiments as the women in the earlier brief. and they are bold, loud, action oriented and visible. This particular group of women are influential and able to activate action.

¹ Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance is a 1985 book on everyday forms of rural class conflict as illustrated in a Malaysian village, written by anthropologist James C. Scott. The title of my brief is inspired by Scott's work, where he studied how what society deemed as 'lazy' and negative, was actually rebellion against the state and society. In this brief, I am using his book title in a tongue-in-cheek manner, as there is a perception that Malays, and Malay women are passive, lackadaisical in their approach to life and work, which is of course, untrue.

Introduction

What we are seeing in Malaysia right now, is also being experienced throughout the world. Populism, simply put, is a political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups. Right-wing populism, also called national populism and right-wing nationalism, as defined by ² *Far-Right Politics in Europe* and *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*³ is a political ideology which combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. The rhetoric often consists of anti-elitist and anti-intellectual sentiments, opposition to the Establishment, and speaking to the "common people". The terms populism and nationalism are interchangeable.

Foreign Policy⁴ reported in January this year that,

"From Brazil to the United States, Hungary to New Zealand, right-wing extremist ideas and groups are posing a grave threat to democratic societies. Within this context, the ongoing support U.S. President Donald Trump receives from parts of his base despite the drop in his approval numbers and the riot at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 reflects the continued evolution of a global threat. As New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Arden emphasized after a right-wing terrorist killed over 50 people at a pair of mosques in her country, "there is no question that ideas and language of division and hate have existed for decades, but their form of distribution, the tools of organization—they are new." If there is any hope of repairing those divides and advancing equality, rule of law, an inclusive civil society, and respect for human rights, the United States needs to work with other countries and multilateral organizations to build a coalition to combat the growth and spread of right-wing extremism."

Trump's America was an obvious example, but this was also repeated in Europe, and seemingly liberal countries in Scandinavian, France, Italy. Even The Balkans is experiencing unrest, despite having gone through harrowing years of conflict, as reported by the Balkan Insight, "Bosnian Far-Right Movement Weds Bosniak Nation-

² Camus, Jean-Yves; Lebourg, Nicolas (20 March 2017). *Far-Right Politics in Europe*. Harvard University Press. pp. 12–13. ISBN 9780674971530.

³ Eatwell, Roger; Goodwin, Matthew (25 October 2018). *National Populism: The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*. Penguin UK. pp. 1–2. ISBN 9780241312018.

⁴ Ashby, Heather. *Far-Right Extremism Is a Global Problem*. (January 15, 2021). *Foreign Policy*, January 2021. Accessed at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/15/far-right-extremism-global-problem-worldwide-solutions/>

Neo-Nazism", published in June this year. At the time of writing, Canada saw its popular president Justin Trudeau maintaining his post but as the head of a minority government, which sees the country's conservatives strengthening their platform to overtake the country. IPSOS⁵, the global market research and public opinion specialist, had just released its latest report in July, *Broken-system Sentiment In 2021: Populism, Anti-elitism And Nativism*, and its findings cement the sentiments of citizens from 25 countries of which Malaysia is included:

On average, 56% agree their country's society is broken and 57% agree that their country is in decline. To fully grasp the prevalence of social and political disaffection, Ipsos designed the *System Is Broken* Index, based on the level of agreement with five statements:

- "The economy is rigged to favor the rich and powerful" (averaging 71% agree in the 25 countries surveyed)
- "Traditional parties and politicians don't care about people 'like me'" (68%),
- "Local experts don't understand the lives of people 'like me'" (65%),
- The country "needs a strong leader to take the country back from the rich and powerful" (64%), and
- "To fix" the country, "we need a strong leader willing to break rules" (44%).

In fact, Malaysia is second highest in the Nativism Index, sharing these sentiments with other countries like Turkey:

- 57% say employers should favor natives over immigrants when jobs are scarce,
- 38% agree their country would be stronger if it stopped immigration (while 33% disagree), and
- 38% say immigrants take jobs away from their country's "real" nationals (while 35% disagree)

Many view nativists, far right nationalists, as simpleton rednecks that are exemplified by Trump's supporters. The truth may be far from perception.

⁵ IPSOS. Populist, anti-elite and nativist views linked to globally widespread broken-system sentiment (July 2021) USA. <https://www.ipsos.com/en/populist-anti-elite-and-nativist-views-linked-globally-widespread-broken-system-sentiment>

In a critical and enlightening article published by The Atlantic, David Brooks⁶ wrote about a class of people - the Bobos - that one can find overseas, "... boorish bourgeoisie...,"

"You can see this phenomenon outside the United States too. In France, the anthropologist Nicolas Chemla calls this social type the "boubours," the boorish bourgeoisie. If the elite bourgeois bohemians tend to have progressive values and metropolitan tastes, the boubours go out of their way to shock them with nativism, nationalism, and a willful lack of tact. Boubour leaders span the Western world: Trump in the U.S., Boris Johnson in the United Kingdom, Marine Le Pen in France, Viktor Orbán in Hungary, Matteo Salvini in Italy."

The boorish bourgeoisie are highly educated, curious, ironic, wittily countercultural. They dress sensibly. Despite the privileges they have, they saw themselves as the downtrodden, Brooks observed.

"The bobos didn't necessarily come from money, and they were proud of that; they'd secured their places in selective universities and in the job market through drive and intelligence exhibited from an early age, they believed. ... (they) defined themselves as rebels against the staid elite. They were—as the classic Apple commercial had it—"the crazy ones, the misfits, the rebels, the troublemakers." But by 2000, the information economy and the tech boom were showering the highly educated with cash. They had to find ways of spending their gobs of money while showing they didn't care for material things. So they developed an elaborate code of financial correctness to display their superior sensibility. Spending lots of money on any room formerly used by the servants was socially defensible: A \$7,000 crystal chandelier in the living room was vulgar, but a \$10,000, 59-inch AGA stove in the kitchen was acceptable, a sign of your foodie expertise. When it came to aesthetics, smoothness was artificial, but texture was authentic. The new elite distressed their furniture, used refurbished factory floorboards in their great rooms, and wore nubby sweaters made by formerly oppressed peoples from Peru."

⁶ Brooks, David. (August 21, 2021) How The Bobos Broke America. The Atlantic. Accessed on September 17, 2021: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2021/09/blame-the-bobos-creative-class/619492/>

In Malaysia, we have our version of the Bobos: the Tanjak Boys⁷ I have written about, and of course, Malay interest groups.

For this paper, I am focusing on pro-Malay and pro-Muslim establishments. Some of these organisations are conservative but not necessarily violent nor hateful, and some are extreme in their views towards non-Muslims/Malays and minority groups. What is without doubt is that our 'Bobos' are not what liberal Malay(sians) and non Malays deem them to be - truly they are not lazy natives. They speak English and are highly educated, holding senior positions in government and the private sector. They are part of or entering the T20 income bracket.

Before I continue on, I would like to to impress on the reader, that in by no means am I patronising this segment of Malays - in fact, when it comes to the Tanjak Boys, I have expressed many times, some awe and pride that they are not pro establishment, and serious about being independent. They are embracing an almost lost Malay identity that had been suppressed long by state sanctioned narratives on race and faith.

So who are these neo-Malays?

Many are also politically conscious or active, even from young. For those in their 50s today, they came from the wave of Islamic revivalism that began in the late 1970s and 1980s. Many Malay students on government scholarships studied abroad in the United Kingdom, America and Australia and of course the Middle East. They were taken by Islamic activism in these foreign countries, and as one said to me, "I came from Malaysia with little knowledge of Islam, and it was the Muslim brotherhood in the UK that taught me my faith, truly."

They come from a mix of rural and middle class backgrounds, and were exposed to global politics and different cultures and lifestyles when they studied there. The wave of Islamic revivalism and the Iranian revolution had indefinitely impacted these students. The rise of reactionary post colonial discourse and the emergence of Ikhwan (Muslim Brotherhood) against the backdrop of a volatile Middle East shaped the rise of Islamism in Malaysia and influenced the trajectory of socio-political Islam in Malaysia.

⁷ Zaman, Dina. (June 28, 2021). *Returning To Our Roots: The Anger and Heartbreak of Young Malay Men*. Stratsea, Singapore. Accessed <https://stratsea.com/returning-to-our-roots/>

Dr Mahathir Mohammad, during his first premiership, wanted to create a Malay commercial class, which ultimately 'gave birth' to Malay millionaires, such as Halim Saad. It was also a time when the young Malay professional class, who began questioning the secular lifestyles of Muslims in Malaysia, and looked up to Anwar Ibrahim and Nik Aziz, who began pushing for a Muslim state.

From the ashes of Reformasi and post Pakatan Harapan, come Malay interest organisations such as Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia, popularly known as ISMA, and the various branches of like-minded groups who have sprung up over the years. I find them fascinating: personally, I feel while the narrative may be similar to UMNO's, they are also distinctly different from it. I refer to pieces written by academics such as Dr Hew Wai Weng of the National University of Malaysia, Joseph Chinyong Liow of The Brookings Institution, Dr Norshahril Saat of ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, to name but a few.

"Exclusivism is undoubtedly becoming a dominant orientation in Malaysia today," said Norshahril in his paper, *Exclusivist Attitudes in Malaysian Islam Have Multifarious Roots*.⁸

Liow in his paper⁹ wrote that Islamists and Islamic parties employed a myriad of methods ranging from democratic participation to militancy. One had to also take note of the socio-political contexts within which they operate... "In Malaysia, Islamist movements such as PAS, ABIM and newer movements like Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia and Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (Malaysian Muslim Network, ISMA) have all pushed for the implementation of sharia laws, in particular the highly controversial Islamic criminal laws. " They may all be Islamists, but they are also different from each other.

Mohamad Nawab Mohamad Osman, formerly of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and Saleens Saleem, also observed ISMA for their paper,¹⁰ "One of the more prominent Islamic civil society organisations is ISMA, which projects itself as politically non-

⁸ Saat, Dr. Norshahril. *Exclusivist Attitudes in Malaysian Islam Have Multifarious Roots*. Iseas – Yusof Ishak Institute Share Their Understanding Of Current Events. (5 July, 2016). ISEAS Perspective. Singapore. Accessed at: https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_39.pdf

⁹ Liow, Joseph Chinyong Liow. *The Arab Spring and Islamist activism in Southeast Asia: Much ado about nothing?* (August, 2015.) Rethinking Political Islam Series - The Brookings Institution. Accessed at: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Southeast-Asia_Liow_FINALv.pdf

¹⁰ Osman, Mohammad, Mohammad Nawab and Saleena Saleem. *The Impact of Islamic Civil Society Organisations on Malaysian Islam and Politics*. (21 April, 2016). S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. Accessed at: https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Malaysia-Update-April-2016_Copy_Finalised.pdf

partisan. It was officially formed in 1997, and has roots with the Malay students who interacted with Muslim Brotherhood (MB) activists in Egypt and in the UK during the late 1970s and 1980s (Hamid and Razali, 2016)... It is only in recent years... that ISMA has grabbed national attention with its rhetoric on Malay rights. While ISMA's official agenda is upholding Islamic principles in society, it frames its arguments in pro-Malay terms. Of concern to ISMA is the erosion of ketuanan Melayu principle, which ISMA perceives as akin to the diminishing of Islam's status in society. Since the majority of Muslims in Malaysia are Malays, ISMA regards the two issues as irrevocably linked."

Lastly, Hew wrote about an observation during the Barisan Nasional-UMNO era, around 2016/2017, "The political role of Muslim NGOs are often downplayed by pundits. IKRAM and ABIM, along with Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA) are three organisations that have been influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood. Although they share an Islamisation agenda and similar member profiles (educated urban middle-class Malay Muslims), they differ in their political strategies and affiliations. ABIM is politically fragmented, ISMA is pro establishment, while IKRAM appears to be closely linked to opposition parties."

Now, ISMA and like-minded readers would probably accuse the mentioned scholars as secular and liberal academics. Let's debate on that another day. The question we need to ask would be this: would all these observations be regarded as Islamophobic?

IMAN attended MACSA's webinar on the Islamophobia Report in July 2021. I would love to share some of the slides, but the report has yet to be printed. From the webinar, we gathered that MACSA felt there were too many insensitive remarks on Islam and Muslims, and according to Bukit Aman reports they referred to, since early 2021, there were more than 20-26 reported cases of Islamophobia in Malaysia; most English media sensationalise issues, sowing discord among readers. Headlines promote Islamophobia as well, and NGOs are passive about this.

Perwira Wanita Dekat 2000

Fast forward to 2018. Dr Mahathir Mohammad became prime minister again (and resigned in 2020.)

While many Malays and their non Malay counterparts voted for a new government in 2018, there were some Malays who could not reconcile with the fact that the Pakatan Harapan Government fielded many non Malay ministers, holding important positions such as finance. In December 2018, thousands of Malays took to the streets, to protest against the ratification of International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) in Malaysia. ICERD is said to be a threat to Islam and Malay rights as enshrined under the Federal Constitution. Some of the arguments politicians used supporting the rally were, " "This is not about going against other races," (rally) was not against other religions in the country. We are here to talk about Malay Muslim rights," and "We should not listen to those who give more rights to animals, rather than their fellow men."

The Malay Mail reported, "Even if protesters at the all-Malay rally did not necessarily understand the United Nations treaty, they sent a strong message that Malay privileges and Islamic superiority must remain in Malaysia Baharu." Malaysians may have elected a new government for the first time in history, but this does not necessarily mean that they voted against racism and racial superiority, writer Boo Su-Lyn wrote. Ilham Centre and Penang Institute were quoted by Malaysiakini.com in January 2019 that 60pct of Malays were unhappy with Harapan government and did not believe that the government was serious about the "Malay agenda", including upholding Malay rights and Islam as the official religion. More than 60 percent of the respondents believed that non-Muslims were now in control of the government and that DAP was calling the shots in Putrajaya.

The conversation among the chattering class and the secular observer of Malaysian politics is that Malaysia was heading towards Afghanistan, and Kuala Lumpur would end up like Kabul, overtaken by wild eyed and uncivilised mullahs and their harem. While this may not be true, it is indeed worrying to see that many Malays turning to an extreme narrative, which discomfits the other races in Malaysia. And what is even more surprising is that many Malay women have taken up 'arms' in nationalist movements.

In a previous brief I wrote for IMAN Research, *Enabling Extremism In Malaysia: The Rise Of Capitalist, Far-right Muslims And The Prelude*

To *Lipstick Jihad*, I wrote and discussed about how Malay-Muslim women were increasingly being socialised into a hardline brand of Islam. They were mainly middle to upper middle income professionals, who viewed themselves as Muslims first, more so than Malay-Malaysian. While it is undeniable that we have had Malay-Muslim women joining militant activities and groups, most of the women we observed are God observant, and cannot be perceived as extremists or radicals.

I am now beginning my study on a group of women who are defenders of Malay and Muslim rights in Malaysia. They are visible personalities; highly educated, fluent in both English and Bahasa Malaysia, and eloquent, and members of nationalist organisations. One particular personality that I am observing is an example of how powerful she and women aligned with her ideology are. It was reported on social media that she discovered that a popular Japanese bookstore chain was selling books promoting the LGBTQ¹¹ lifestyle to young people, and persuaded the bookstore to stop selling the books. That a woman, and Malay-Muslim, was able to impact the sales of an international bookstore chain, is formidable.

She also campaigned for Malaysia's human rights body's study on the third gender to be scrapped. In less than 12 hours, the campaign garnered over 30,000 signatures. Why am I focusing on her is because she is the most visible and perhaps some of the few Malay women at the forefront of far right nationalism in Malaysia. She is powerful. She is educated. She is part of the New Muslimah of the 21st Century demographic, and if not already part of the T20 demographic, aspires to be part of the group.

In terms of gender equality, Malaysia is doing relatively well, with women accounting for the majority of students in public universities, and with nearly 32.3 percent of decision-making positions in public service held by women. They make up the majority of the Malay middle class. The Edge Markets reported in August 2020, that "... bumiputera households made up 53.5% of the 1.72 million households in Malaysia that had more than RM10,000 in monthly gross income in 2019."

WundermanThompson Intelligence in their 2017 report, described "... The Muslimah (Muslim women) demographic has money, is social

¹¹ Accessed at <https://www.facebook.com/drrafidahhanim/posts/saya-dimaklumkan-telah-ada-buku-berunsur-lgbt-versi-remaja-di-beberapa-kedai-buk/1896181893870594/>

media savvy, wants to look good, but religion is very important to them. “Nearly all say they pray five times a day; 94% say Islam is “very” important to them, ranking higher than family (92%), happiness (91%), and peace or serenity (89%),” the survey found out. The resurgence of public piety has made more and more Muslims, both men and women, very aware of the need to balance being religious and looking modern. They are also very well versed with the Internet.

According to *The Role of Malay Women in the Malaysian Workforce and its Impact on the Consciousness of Ethics and Integrity*, by Khalidah Khalid Ali, Department of Management and Humanities, Universiti Teknologi PETRONAS, Malay women represent the majority of the nation’s population and play diverse roles in the Malaysian community as students, parents, educators and professionals in both the private and public sectors. Malay Muslim women and their sisters are not just full participants in the labour force, but also in politics and activism. To note, in the civil service, women in decision making is above 30 percent. They now contribute economically to household income, and also have a say in the religious instruction and education of their spouses, families and friends.

As you can see, (Malay-Muslim) women are impactful to Malaysia’s productivity and well-being. As I said in my aforementioned brief, “Malay Muslim women and their sisters are not just full participants in the labour force, but their presence is noted: there are many notable Muslim politicians like Nurul Izzah Anwar, and her mother, the former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, for example, and many sit on boards of corporates and lead government-linked companies. To note, in the civil service, women in decision making is above 30 percent. Malay women are very active in community work too. And that they now contribute economically to household income, they also have a say in the religious instruction and education of their spouses, families and friends.”

Their Arguments

Like their brothers in arms, these groups of Malay women cite the following as cause for concern: western and secular values, the growing presence of minority communities, and another trump card as to why Malaypolitik cannot be eradicated: the ***Malays have yet to be empowered economically and socially.***

Sometime last year in August, The Edge Markets reported that bumi-

putera households made up 53.5% of the 1.72 million households in Malaysia that had more than RM10,000 in monthly gross income in 2019.

"Yet, being the majority at 69.3% of 29.38 million Malaysian citizens and 65.1% of 7.28 million households, the ethnic group ranks high in both things to be proud of, such as the most number of graduates and people earning high incomes, and areas that need to be worked on, such as relative poverty and graduate unemployment. Bumiputera individuals made up 62.6% of the 32.52 million Malaysian population, which included 3.14 million non-citizens of different nationalities (who collectively exceed the 2.01 million Malaysians who are Indian)."

The Edge Market's Special Report: *Why high T20 numbers may have scant meaning*, also pointed out that wealth seem to be concentrated in urban areas, "It is interesting to note that 539,900 — or 37.1% of 1.46 million — households in Malaysia, which are deemed to be in the country's top 20% (T20), live in Selangor. That is according to our back-of-the-envelope calculations based on data from the Department of Statistics Malaysia's (DoSM) 2019 Household Income Survey (HIS2019)."

"More than half (53.8%) or 783,000 of Malaysia's 1.46 million T20 households are actually in the Klang Valley, if we add the 539,900 T20 households in Selangor, 228,500 in Kuala Lumpur and 14,600 in Putrajaya."

"Conversely, only 13.5% or 392,900 of the 2.91 million households that are deemed to be in the B40 group reside in the Klang Valley. About a third or 963,400 of the 2.91 million M40 households in Malaysia live in the Klang Valley. (The M40 are Malaysians who are deemed too rich," to receive government aid but not feeling particularly rich in the face of the high cost of living.)


"... (the) T20, however, does not necessarily mean that these households are rich or that the government automatically thinks they are rich. The threshold just happens to be the cut-off point for the top 20% households in Malaysia when looking at the income levels of the 7.28 million Malaysian households in 2019."

UNICEF Malaysia published a shocking report last year, *Families on the Edge*, citing "...the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on women

and children in low-income urban families in Malaysia, as well as the relevance, adequacy and accessibility of public policy responses to the pandemic. The project surveyed 500 low-income households living in sixteen of Kuala Lumpur's public housing estates in May 2020, September 2020, December 2020 and March 2021." This is another reason Malay-interest groups are worried: over 60 years of independence, and the Malays of Malaysia are still poor.

Young Malay men are angry at the lack of opportunities. In a paper by Lee Hwok Aun,¹² wrote about how, "... Unemployment has been rising among 20-24 year-olds, particularly in urban areas, and remains persistently high among 15-19 year-olds. Male youth unemployment is notably high in Sabah, while female youth unemployment is high in most regions." While women's participation in Science, Technology and Engineering remains low, Aun noted that "... upper secondary and tertiary-level students found female respondents to be more career-minded than their male counterparts (KRI 2018).⁶ Among tertiary students, larger shares of women compared to men regard work success with clear career goals as their main goal in life." In a patriarchal society like Malaysia, this is most shameful for many Malay men who are brought up to be the heads of households. Aun's study is supported by many others and media reports on the declining of Malay men's career and educational paths.

That Malaysia herself is facing many social problems, which blew up during the COVID-19 pandemic, is a given. Many school-going children are being sexually harassed by their own teachers; sexual assault and molestations are reported daily, the country's governance is a whole circus altogether and corruption of power and money are shown brazenly to the rakyat. Minority groups such as the LGBTQ community, Shiites, Ahmadiyyahs and non-Muslims/Malay groups are making their human rights demands louder by the day.

For the Malay-Muslim mother, concerned about her family and children, and community, these are signs of Armageddon. 

¹² Aun, Lee Hwok, "Unemployment among Malaysia's Youth: Structural Trends and Current Challenges". (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute) June 2020, Accessed on 3 September https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/ISEAS_Perspective_2020_65.pdf

Further Readings:

1. Malays strike back as turmoil opens way for return of nationalists
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-malaysia-politics-malays-analysis-idUSKBN2001LB>
2. Returning To Our Roots: The Anger and Heartbreak of Young Malay Men
<https://stratsea.com/returning-to-our-roots/>
3. Anti ICERD rally organisers claim they have met their target
<https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2018/12/438643/anti-icerd-rally-organisers-claim-they-have-met-their-target>
4. Malays too want a clear, fair and caring government
<https://liewchintong.com/2021/04/27/malays-too-want-a-clean-fair-and-caring-government/>
5. Don't expect any racial reckoning in M'sia
<https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/543524>
6. Unexpected winners and losers of anti-ICERD rally
<https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2018/12/08/unexpected-winners-and-losers-of-a-anti-icerd-rally/1701436>
7. <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/malaysia-anti-icerd-rally-in-kuala-lumpur-thousands-arrive-11012828>
8. Survey shows 60pct of Malays unhappy with Harapan gov't
<https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/462367>
9. Far-Right Extremism Is a Global Problem
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/15/far-right-extremism-global-problem-worldwide-solutions/>
10. 'Disappointing' anti-ICERD rally – and the 'scramble for Malays'
<https://aliran.com/thinking-allowed-online/disappointing-anti-icerd-rally-and-the-scramble-for-malays/>
11. Articles by Hew Wai Weng
https://www.newmandala.org/archives/?articles_by=859
12. Social Media and Polarization in the "New Malaysia"
https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/ISEAS_Perspective_2020_21.pdf
13. Why women have always been essential to white supremacist movements
<https://www.mic.com/articles/187223/why-women-have-always-been-essential-to-white-supremacist-movements#.GqYcdOe23>
14. Will Malaysia's New Islamist Party Reshape the Political Landscape?
https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2016_53.pdf
15. Manufacturing Malay unity and the downfall of Pakatan Harapan
<https://www.newmandala.org/manufacturing-malay-unity-and-the-downfall-of-pakatan-harapan/>