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Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Lingüística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

Año 35, diciembre 2019 N°

90-2

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

ISSN 1012-1537/ ISSNc: 2477-9385

Depósito Legal pp 198402ZU45



Universidad del Zulia
Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

Radical islamic organizations against the surrounded enclavé-society

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to investigate radical Islamic organizations against the surrounded Enclavé-Society via comparative qualitative research method. As a result, the radical Islamic organizations in Solo are complex entity among the steady and moderate people of Solo. In conclusion, radical Islamic organizations' existence in Solo create a sociological category, that is, the surrounded society, a society that is surrounded by fear and worry, where bad values exist in human, groups, structural organizations, and ideology. The surrounded society is called a surrounded-enclave-society.

Keywords: Enclave-society, Islamic organization, Radicalism.

Organizaciones radicales islámicas contra la enclavada-sociedad rodeada

Resumen

El objetivo del estudio es investigar organizaciones islámicas radicales contra la Sociedad Enclavé rodeada a través del método de investigación cualitativa comparativa. Como resultado, las organizaciones islámicas radicales en Solo son una entidad compleja entre las personas constantes y moderadas de Solo. En conclusión, la existencia de las organizaciones islámicas radicales en Solo crea una categoría sociológica, es decir, la sociedad rodeada, una sociedad

rodeada de miedo y preocupación, donde existen valores negativos en humanos, grupos, organizaciones estructurales e ideología. La sociedad rodeada se llama sociedad-enclave rodeada.

Palabras clave: Enclave-sociedad, Organización islámica, Radicalismo.

1. INTRODUCTION

Enclavé, or Enclave in English, is derived from the French language and means a territory or a part of a territory that is entirely surrounded by the territory of another state. Every corner and side of a territory is surrounded by the boundaries of another state's territory. It is similar with the Radical Islamic Mass Organization (Mass Organization is Organisasi Massa in Indonesian, abbreviated to Ormas) in Solo, a representation of the community that they have their own ideology based on certain radical religious value against the surrounding ideology of the whole society, which actually stands in stark contrast to each other. Surprisingly, the one that is besieged by the ideology of the radical Islamic organizations is the society, which means the citizens of Solo is the majority group, the one that is larger by the numbers.

This study is sociological. The field research was conducted using a quantitative research method. The research was conducted in six sub-district in Solo: Pasar Kliwon, Jebres, Serengan, Laweyan, and Banjarsari. The number of respondents involved in this research is 730, with the details being as follows: 169 people from Pasar Kliwon, 79 people from Jebres, 55 people from Serengan, 35 people from

Laweyan, 27 people from Banjarsari, and 365 people from Surakarta. Through a critical analytical narrative, the theory that was used to analyze the data is ethnoscience, which is a systematic framework that emphasizes human behavior toward the environment in the form of objects and looks at things from the perspective of culture and the perception of local communities by using the local language. Or in a simpler definition “ethnoscience looks at culture with a scientific perspective” (ATRAN 1991: 650).

1.1. Ethnoscience

The main consideration in choosing ethnoscience is because due to its reflective consciousness of the society itself. For this study, ethnoscience is very suitable because it is very helpful in classifying the ideas of society, mapping it so as to arrange it systematically to see the logic built. Based on that, ethnoscience is actually not a single discipline. As stated by (INGOLD, 2000), ethnoscience [is] a cross-discipline. The complexity of society cannot be reduced at will by the researcher. There are many aspects that shape the mindset and behavior of society. And that is the reason why ethnoscience is a cross-discipline. Of course, doing field research and having to deal directly with respondents who have diverse backgrounds, professions, and education level is tricky. Ethnoscience can help to reduce the chaos and give an alternatives analysis to help formulate a pattern and, finally, map the logic. This fact was discovered by researchers in the

field. Therefore, an expert with respect to ethnoscience, STURTEVANT (1964) said that, ethnoscience refers to a reduction of chaos achieved by a particular culture, rather than to the highest possible and conscious degree.

1.2. Definition of Radical Islam

Islam is known as a religion of peace that teaches how to make peace, seek peace, and of course rejects conflict and violence. Most of the experts agree that Islam is a religion of peace. So, if a social reality that deviates from the ideal purpose of Islam appears there will be a big reaction. That deviating reality is the appearance of an organization that worships violence, triggering war and anarchism. Unfortunately, that is only the point of view from one side. The other side is supporting radicalism and thinks that their actions are right based on syar'i. War that happens is jihad fi sabilillah. For them, that is what is taught by the Prophet. This organization thinks that fundamentalism means tajdid (renewal) based on Al-Qur'an and Sunnah (IMARAH, 1999).

This can be seen from the questions asked by the researcher. The first question was: is it true that in Solo there is an organization with radical ideology just like in the definition above? Based on this study, we find that Solo is a nest for a radical terrorist organization. The citizens know that their city is a place where a radical. Islamic

organization is growing and developing. The observation that Solo is a terrorist's nest was agreed to by most of the citizens, with a high percentage. They agreed that their city is a center of terrorism. The percentage of citizens that agreed with this statement is 71%, and only 12% disagreed.

Besides trying to return to al-Quran and Hadiths, the radical organizations also have an anti-western ideology (RAHMAN 1982). Being a secular country, Indonesia is a country that does not use Islamic law, and because of that they organization is trying to change Indonesia into a country that uses Islamic law and has an anti-western ideology. This fact is found in Solo according to Solo's citizens. Also, Solo's citizens see radical Islamic organizations as organizations that want to change Indonesia into an Islamic country. Of Solo's citizens, 69% find that radical organizations are trying to change Indonesia into an Islamic country. Only 8% of the citizens disagreed. Radicalism brings new assumptions about extreme fanaticism toward Islam, sometimes in conjunction with anarchism. So, the radical Islamic organizations' actions unintentionally justify the global assumption that radical Islamic is an Islam that worships violence.

At the radical Islamic organizations in Solo, they can be called worshipers of violence, although non-verbally, denies the legitimacy of the Republic Indonesia and think that Indonesia's leader is a tog hut that does not refer to al-Quran and Hadiths. In the context of Indonesia, these circumstances bring disadvantages and also contrast

with most of Muslim society, which is tolerant and moderate. Religious terminology that is closely related to radical Islamic organizations' political claims cause them to be labeled as neo-Khawarij, which means a new group that has exited from khittah Islam rahmatan lil-alamin. The same label is also used for the radical Islamic organizations in Solo, as being neo-Khawarij groups. This term was introduced by (SHABAN 1994). NASUTION (1995) also has the same view. He thinks that radical Islamic organizations that like to use violence way to achieve their goal are neo-Khawarij, just like what Khawarij did during post-tahkim (ESCALERA CHÁVEZ ET AL., 2019).

Considering that there are many radical Islamic organizations in Solo, the organizations have power enough to refuse anything that goes against their ideologies. That statement was agreed to by citizens. The organizations feel it is unnecessary to obey the government at every level in the country –citizens also agreed with this statement. Those radical organizations keep exist and keep recruiting new members. No less than 45% of the citizens agreed with this, and 17% of them disagreed. That means that most of the citizens, except for those from the Jebres and Serengan sub-districts agree that the radical Islamic organizations feel that it is unnecessary to obey the government at every level in Indonesia. This ideology exists and continues to develop in Solo, taught through culturally exclusive lessons, like in families, communities, or study groups. This reality cannot be denied. And citizens know about it. Regardless of the pros and cons, the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism shown by some of the

Islamic organizations in Solo creates a new category in sociology: surrounded-enclave-society, a society that is surrounded by outside values. The radicals have built their own community, while the society that is anti-radical have done the same thing. We have seen clear polarization, the radical Islamic organizations vs. the surrounded-enclave-community (CHERNOPYATOV, 2018).

1.3. Radical Islamic organizations in Solo

With an understanding about radical Islamic organizations, the citizens of Solo can mention in detail the names of organizations that can be categorized as radical. They define it based on ideological differences, their threatened feelings toward a certain radical organization, and other concrete evidence like a terrorist action in a public area. The surrounded-community is reactive toward the actions by radical attitudes of radical Islamic organizations. Some of the organizations that can be categorized as radical, not only by Solo's citizens, but also by the Indonesian public, some of them have different levels of radicalism.

1.4. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (MTA).

Based on this study, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is considered a radical Islamic organization in Solo based on their

ideology. A total of 30% of Solo's citizens agreed that HTI is a radical Islamic organization, while 7% of them disagreed. For the citizens of Solo, HTI is a radical Islamic organization that has an ideology and a character that is radical, full of violence, and the group does not act in accordance with the ideology and ideals of the Republic of Indonesia. For the citizens of Solo, MTA is an organization that one needs to be wary of because of their interpretation of the Quran tends to lower the understanding of real Islam. In some cases even, their interpretation downgrades Islam's *aqidah*. No less than 67% of the citizens of Solo see MTA as a radical organization, while 23% of them disagree, and 10% do not know. In history, the cult of logic is a characteristic of *Mu'tazilah*. It is no exaggeration to call MTA *neo-Mu'tazilah*, or even *neo-Khawarij*. This is the reality of Solo's religious life, which according to the researcher needs serious attention, in order to avoid social fluctuations because of the collision in religious understanding between moderate groups and radical organizations is so stark.

One important note, until now HTI radicalism label is just an ideologue, not yet turn into an ideological action. That means HTI radicalism is religious radicalism that capitalized into ideology. But if this is not anticipated quickly, there is a possibility that HTI's ideology will turn into an ideology that will threaten Indonesia. In this context, this study is positioned. Other than HTI, local organization that categorized as radical organization is *Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (MTA)*. As the name implies, MTA is a religious organization that tries to persuade Muslims to use the Quran as a guide just as it is. That means if

in the Quran there is no basis to do something there is no need to do that action, and if there are prohibition, that action must be abandoned. Unfortunately, their method to understand Quran is not use the method of interpretation in Islam. MTA's method of interpretation is literalist and textual. That is why MTA's opinion and teaching proscribe almost all of the action and job that cannot be found in the Quran's text.

1.5. Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) and Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI)

From Solo's citizen point of view, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) is one of the radical Islamic organizations in Solo. The percentage of respondents that agreed that JAT is a radical organization was 30%, while 6% of them disagreed. The respondents who agreed that JAT is a radical organization are greater in number than the respondents that disagreed. From abroad, the United Nations and the United States of America also agree. JAT is a branch of Jamaah Islamiyah. JAT was formed by Abu Bakar Baasyri in 2008 in Solo. Besides JAT and MMI, there are other local radical Islamic organizations in Solo. One such organization is Laskar Umat Islam Solo (LUIS). Almost similar to FPI, LUIS is more politically local, and still in a state of searching for its identity. Even so, the citizens of Solo consider LUIS to be a radical Islamic organization. A total of 36% of respondents agreed that LUIS is a radical organization, while 4% disagree (RATON, 1958).

As well as Islamic organization that are members of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI). For citizen of Solo, MMI is also a radical Islamic organization in Solo. There are 39% respondents agree that MMI is radical organization, while 5% disagree. For citizen of Solo MMI is a radical Islamic organization that teach radical ideology, and act just like another radical organization. Based on location, respondent from Banjarsari sub-district consider MMI as a radical organization. Different from respondent from other sub-district like Pasar Kliwon, Jebres, Serengan, and Laweyan, they do not know that MMI is radical organization. Their special notes about JAT and MMI. Both organizations see another organization, especially government as heathens. Their ideology has a different history if being compared with HTI. Both JAT and MMI born and develop locally. While HTI's ideology is transnational, and have power across Indonesia. HTI does not openly reject Pancasila as Indonesia's Ideology. While JAT and MMI clearly declare that anyone who do not use Allah's Law is heathen.

1.6. Front Pembela Islam (FPI)

Another radical organization in Solo is Front Pembela Islam (FPI). FPI is a more political organization. The percentage of respondents that agree that FPI is a radical organization is 22%, and 8% of them disagree. There are a lot people in Solo that do not know about FPI. This is quite surprising since FPI is often highlighted by the

national media; it is probably because FPI is not as big as other organizations in Solo. Ideologically, FPI cannot be identified clearly. Institutionally, FPI does not reject Pancasila, and FPI also does not see all of the government in Indonesia as heathens. FPI are more of a practical and empirical actions; they resist and fight against immorality and actions that deviate from Islamic aqidah. This means that if the government could suppress and restrict anything that was not in accordance with Islamic aqidah it would be enough for FPI. Based on this, FPI's actions can be labeled as being opposed to the government's policies, which are considered to deviate from Islam. If the government cannot handle this problem appropriately and swiftly, there may be a problem because every group has its own laws.

1.7. Salafy Yamany (SY), ISIS in Ngruki and Jamaah Islamiyah (JI)

In addition to the organizations already mentioned, there are other organizations that can be considered radical organizations, namely: Salafy Yamany (SY), ISIS, and Jamaah Islamiyah. No less than 59% of respondents agreed that SY is a radical organization, 40% did not know, and 1% disagreed. Citizen's unawareness about SY is not surprising. SY is not well known for either their ideas or activities. It is different when respondents asked about ISIS and JI. For them, ISIS is clearly world scale radical organization and some of them are in Ngruki area. 61% respondent clearly state that ISIS is a radical

organization, only 6% of them disagree. ISIS called as an action of deprivation in the name of Islam. That way ISIS is destroying Islam. If it is seen with the theory of conspiracy, what is ISIS actually? Is there a big conspiracy to destroy Islam? To answer this required a separate study.

Besides ISIS, there are other world scaled organizations that are inspired by radical Islamic organizations and act in conflict areas, like Afghanistan and Syria, which try to defend themselves. One such organization is Jamaah Islamiah (JI). In Solo, there are religious sects similar to JI, but the researcher had difficulty in finding the members and their leader. After Solo was tightly guarded by the security forces this organization has been missing. Even so, 35% of the respondents agreed that JI is a radical organization, while 5% disagreed.

1.8. The Cause of the Development of Radicalism in Solo

Another question that the researcher asked concerning the enclave-society is the cause of the radical Islamic organizations. Before discussing the causes of the problem according to the enclave-society we should know the theories from the experts. Some say that the root of radicalism comes from several sources: first, there is the ruler's political pressure toward their existence. In some parts of the world, including Indonesia, radicalism or fundamentalism appears because of authoritarianism (Azra, 1996: 18). In other words, the more

repressive a government or a regime, the more likely radicalism is to also grow in number. Second, cultural factors. This factor plays a big part in the rise of radicalism. ASYARI (1992) has said that societies always find attempts to escape from its particular culture inappropriate. Radicals are the groups that try to escape from a particular culture. It can be the political, economic, or socio-cultural system. In this context, radicalism is a liberation phenomenon.

However, the citizens of Solo who feel besieged by the growth of radical organizations in their city, have a different point of view. There are some factors that trigger radicalism; first, there is no unity between state and religion. A total of 48% of respondents said that the lack of unity between state and religion is the reason radicalism develop, while only 13% disagreed (ASYARI, 1992). This means that the cause of radicalism is that there is a boundary between state and religion, just like in secular countries.

In Indonesia the relation between the state and religion is known as a functional relationship, where each has their own rules and serves different functions, but still in NKRI's frame. This is what is called a symbiosis-mutualism relationship. Second, there is the discrepancy in the economy. A total of 48% of respondents agreed that economic discrepancies are the reason radicalism develops, while 6% disagreed and 46% did not know. The field research also indicated that most of the followers of the radical organizations are people who are not well established. In this context, government programs should be focused

more on the economic improvement of the lower classes. Programs should be carefully planned, comprehensive and continuous, by involving citizens in earnest.

Third, the elections or the inauguration process of government are not in accordance with Islam's syariah. A total of 35% of respondents agreed with that statement, while 6% disagreed and 59% did not know. This is because Indonesia's democratic system is far from the spirit of Islam based on syura, as taught by the Prophet and run by Khalafaur Rasyidin. The election of the leader in a democratic way is sometimes influenced by money. As a result, integrity and capability sometimes loses to money. Stakeholders should pay more attention to this problem, and at least try to improve the mechanism of the election procedure to meet their hope.

The hope is to elect a leader in an Islamic way is one of the reasons for the radicalism in Solo. Fourth, formal law is not based on the Quran and Hadiths. A total of 40% of respondents agreed with this statement, while 5% disagreed and 55% provided no comment. Radical organizations in Solo aspire to use the Quran and Hadiths as NKRI's law. As long as the two sources of Islamic law are not used as the basic formal law, radicals will keep appearing. To respond this, a wise and substantive attitude is needed, to treat the principle of justice in an earnest and fairway. Justice should be felt by all people without any exception. Injustice is the cause of radicalism.

Fifth, a country giving wide space for the TBC (tahayyul, bid'ah, and churofat) ideology to grow and develop. A total of 46% of respondents agreed with this statement, while 10% disagreed and 44% said no comment. This problem is caused by a limited understanding of TBC. People should be given a better explanation of TBC. If religion is textually understood as taught by MTA, this can trigger a rejection. Islamization should be done naturally, dialectically, and substantively. Walisongo's Islamization style is managed to make Islam well received without any turmoil and violence. Sixth, a country being permissive, or too loose toward the spread of pornography. This is one of the reasons radicalism develops, because a country (its government) is seen as ignoring Islam. A total of 48% of respondents agreed with this statement, while 10% disagreed and 42% said no comment.

So there is a correlation between pornography and radicalism. The more pornographic content is being spread, the more radical the groups are; this is a form of protest toward the government because they are considered to be permitting immorality. In a social control context, radicalism needs to be considered. Pornographic material should be suppressed in a country that uses Islamic religious norms. A country's obligation is to realize the social order. Is it appropriate for a country, its government, and its people to be labeled negatively because it is ignoring the rules and norms?

TURNER (2007) defines a category called exclusive cultural enclave. Religion is one of the identity builders, that differentiates a community with another, which led to establishment of the exclusive cultural enclave. Radical Islamic organization problems in Solo and the enclave society consisting majority of Solo citizen are a cultural identity and religion problem. A radical Islamic organization have an ideology that cannot be compromised. Peoples inside their circles is members and friends, while people outside them is the others, liyan (Javanese: other), or another party. A radical organization's goal is to build an Islamic country, bring their ideology to revolution The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and refuse the Indonesian Ideology, Pancasila. Including the enclave society, they choose to follow country's legitimate ideology, and they already built their own wall and screen. This radical Islamic organization will remain contradictory with surrounded-enclave-community. This can be seen from Solo's citizen assessment about radical organization development, which in general is identity problem.

1.9. Xenophobia: Negative Impact and Threat

Because of the appearance and spread of radical Islamic organizations in Solo, there are a lot of people that feel uneasy. This is shown from their view about the impact of the existence of radical Islamic organizations in Solo. This phenomenon is called xenophobia, worry and fear to face others that have a different identity (TURNER,

2007). When someone is in another territory there will be an unfamiliar feeling. This feeling brings out fear toward something that is unfamiliar, or xenophobia. Here are some of the worries and fear (xenophobia) that citizens of Solo (the society) feel as the surrounded-enclave-society.

First, radical Islamic organizations are a dominant factor that will divide Muslims. A total of 73% of respondents agreed with this statement, and only 16% of them disagreed. Second, radical Islamic organizations are a factor that will disturb the established social order. Most of the respondents also agreed with this statement. A total of 71% of respondents agreed with the statement, while 10% of them disagreed. Third, radical Islamic organizations present a big challenge that has to be solved, with the organizations disbanded and the area secured immediately, to prevent any turmoil. Most of the respondent also agreed with this statement. A total of 77% of respondents agreed with the statement, while only 5% of them disagreed. Fourth, radical Islamic organizations are a factor that obstruct national development. Most of the respondents also agreed with this statement. A total of 68% of respondents agreed with the statement, while 11% of them disagreed. Lastly, radical Islamic organizations are a threat to NKRI. The percentage of respondents that agreed with this statement was large. A total of 70% of respondents agreed, while only 5% disagreed.

Xenophobia can be anything, it can be relationship and a perception, including fear to lose one's identity when faced with a

group different from one's own, and involves feelings of suspicion towards the other groups' activities, aggression, and the hope to eliminate something foreign to preserve one's identity (BOLAFFI, 2003). The five forms of xenophobia are something that is surely felt by the surrounded-enclave-community, or the citizens of Solo when facing the radical Islamic organizations in Solo. Turner (2007) has said that terrorism, with 9/11 as an example, greatly contributes to the fear in xenophobia.

1.10. Citizen Resistance

Whenever fear comes, human try to overcome it. That is a human instinct. This includes fear that comes from confronting radical Islamic organizations, and as a result citizens definitely try to resist it. Peter L. Berger has said there are two important concepts for avoiding religious violence: religious revolution and religious subcultures. A religious revolution is about spreading awareness to religious leaders about the importance of living in peace and harmony, united in religion and respect for difference. While the concept of Religious Sub-cultures is about efforts to exclude external elements in a religious aspect. Political and economic interests sometimes interfere with and control religious believers. Terrorism and radicalism are sometimes not far from political and business interests (SYAM 2005). In a more practical concept, the citizens of Solo offer a more practical understanding. First, they see the importance of giving their family a

better understanding of radical organizations. Start from the smallest environment, the family environment, create a culture that respects differences, love another, and stay away from violence. A total of 68% of respondents agreed with this statement. That means that the respondents have taken some preventive actions to prevent their children from becoming involved with radical organizations. And among the citizens, 17% have not done that. Second, the citizens of Solo prohibit their family members from attending events put on by radical Islamic organizations. A total of 65% of respondents prohibits their family members from attending such events, while 21% of them said they did not prohibit their family members from attending such events. That means that most of the citizens in Solo prohibit their family members from taking part in any event that is organized by radical Islamic organizations.

Third, citizens of Solo try to avoid any actions that are performed by radical Islamic organizations. A total of 71% of respondents try to avoid such actions, while 16% said they had never done that. Most of the respondents from every sub-district said they try to anticipate the effect of radical Islamic organizations. Fourth, citizens of Solo try to persuade the authorities to prohibit the activities of radical organizations. A total of 35% of respondents said that they (often or constantly) have done that, while 42% of respondents said they had never done that. This means that most of the citizens have never asked the authorities to prohibit the radical organizations' activities. The citizens are being passive; there are a lot of reasons for

why they never try to ask or persuade the authorities. Fifth, citizens of Solo ask the government to act boldly and disband radical Islamic organizations. A total of 32% of respondents said that they (often or constantly) have done that, while 45% of respondents said they have never done that. This means that most of the citizens have never asked the government to disband radical Islamic organizations. The citizens and the government have not been united to prevent radical Islamic organizations from operating.

2. CONCLUSIONS

The presence of radical Islamic organizations in Solo damages Solo's image as a cultural city. Solo's image has become bad in the world because radical organizations have stayed in Solo for decades. It is hard for Solo to escape from a negative image as a terrorist area, where terrorist groups try to recruit members and send them to conflict areas. Radical Islamic organizations' existence in Solo creates a sociological category, that is, the surrounded society, a society that is surrounded by fear and worry, where bad values exist in human, groups, structural organizations, and ideology. The surrounded society is called a surrounded-enclave-society.

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**UNIVERSIDAD
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Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 35, N° 90-2 (2019)

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.
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