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THE INFLUENCE OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD: THE CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA

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By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to those who were tortured, imprisoned, died or sacrificed. Those who were recognised for their role in the international struggle for human rights developments, thanks for inspiring us, and making this world a better place to live.

APPROVAL PAGE

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ABSTRACT

Idriss ZACKARIA **January 2015**

THE INFLUENCE OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD: THE CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA

The issues of human rights and citizenship are wide and complex, as they are related to many fundamental freedoms. Both of the concepts have passed through important historical developments. Especially, after the emergence of the United Nations in 1945. Those rights and freedoms have been given much attention by researchers in the scope of many branches of social sciences and humanities, particularly in the juridical and political science. Therefore, the central objective of my study is to draw attention to important issues that have not been given enough attention in the Muslim World, until the present moment. The Arab Spring has shown that many Muslim-majority countries have been struggling with basic problems related to the concepts of citizenship, human rights, freedom and democracy. Thus, creating a culture of human rights and citizenship is a prerequisite for the success of any process of democratic transformation in the Islamic World.

The aim of this thesis is to review the aspects and features of contemporary citizenship concept in the Islamic world, on the one hand, as well as international agreements and human rights issues on the other hand, and their interact and impacts on the Muslim World, particularly in Malaysia; as one of the few Muslim-majority countries that somehow tried to apply human rights and citizenship concepts into social integration, in order to avoid the bloody and brutal chaos that the Islamic World has been passing through, due to its choice in implementing human rights and citizenship values in a multi-ethnic society, as key strategies to solve the 1969 riots, the so called Sino-Malay secterian riot. The sectarian violence that occured in the wake of the Malaysian independence, in 1969, let the Malaysian governments to draw up some important strategies towards a multi-ethnic society management, those strategies have

played the discipline required in a first democratization proccess, in order to prevent a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multicultural country and multi-religious society.

KEY WORDS: Human rights, Citizenship, Islamic World, Malaysia, Middle East, Islam.

KISA ÖZET

Idriss ZACKARIA **Ocak 2015**

EVRENSEL İNSAN HAKLARININ İSLAM DÜNYASINDAKİ VATANDAŞLIK KAVRAMI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: MALEZYA ÖRNEĞİ

‘İnsan hakları ve vatandaşlığa’ ilişkin meseleler, birçok temel özgürlükle ilişki içerisinde olduklarından dolayı geniş çaplı ve kapsamlıdırlar. Özellikle de 1945 yılında Birleşmiş Milletler’in ortaya çıkmasından sonra her iki kavram da önemli tarihi gelişmeler geçirerek şekillenmişlerdir. ‘İnsan hakları’ ve ‘özgürlük’ kavramlarına, sosyal ve beşeri bilimlerin birçok dalında, ekseriyetle de hukuk ve siyaset bilimi alanında çalışan araştırmacılar yakın ilgi göstermişlerdir. Bu yüzden, çalışmamın temel hedefi, İslam Dünyası tarafından bugüne kadar yakın ilgi gösterilmeyen bu önemli değerlere dikkat çekmektir. Arap Baharı gösterdi ki, Müslümanların çoğunlukta olduğu birçok ülke, hâlihazırda, vatandaşlık insan hakları, özgürlük ve demokrasi gibi temel kavramlarla ilgili mücadele vermektedirler. Bundan dolayı, Müslüman dünyasındaki herhangi bir demokratik sürecin başarıya ulaşabilmesi için, insan hakları ve vatandaşlık kültürünün yaratılması ön şart olacaktır.

Bu tezin amacı, bir yandan Müslüman dünyasındaki çağdaş vatandaşlık kavramının bakış açılarını ve ana hatlarını gözden geçirmek, diğer yandan da uluslararası anlaşmalar ve insan hakları meselelerinde ve bunların İslam Dünyası’ndaki etkileşim ve etkilerini bilhassa Malezya örneği üzerinden incelemektir**.** Malezya nüfusunun çoğu Müslüman olan ülkeler arasında, kanlı ve vahşi bir kaostan kaçınmak amacıyla insan hakları ve vatandaşlık kavramlarını sosyal bütünleşmenin içerisine Malezya, insan hakları ve vatandaşlık kavramlarını sosyal uyarlamaya çalışan ülkelerden birdir. Malezya bu girişimi, çok-etnik yapılı bir toplumda insan hakları ve vatandaşlık değerlerini tercih eden bir ülke olarak, 1969’da yaşanan Sino-Malay etnik ayaklanması şeklinde de bilinen problemi çözmede bir anahtar strateji biçiminde kullanmıştır. 1969 yılında Malezya’nın bağımsızlık ilanının hemen arifesinde ortaya çıkan etnik şiddet, Malezya

hükümetlerinin, birçok etnik yapıyı içinde barındıran toplum yönetiminde yeni stratejiler hazırlamasında ön ayak olmuştur. Bu stratejiler çok etnik yapılı, çok dilli, çok kültürlü ülke ve çok dinli toplumlarda problemlerin önüne geçmek için ilk demokratikleşme sürecinde gerekli disiplini sağlamada etkili olmuştur.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER: İnsan hakları, Vatandaşlık, Müslüman dünyası, Malezya, Orta Doğu, İslam.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
ISIL	Islamic State in the Levant
U.N.	United Nations
U D H R	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
E C H R	European Convention of Human Rights
I C C P R	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
A F M R	African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples Rights
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
NGO	A non-governmental organization
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
WCC	World Council of Churches
AI	Amnesty International
MRG	Minority Rights Group International
AIDP	International Association of Penal Law

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And for any errors or shortcomings that may remain in this work; of course, the responsibility is entirely my own.

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of citizenship and human rights both have earned a notable growing interest in the legal and constitutional level in the Islamic World, especially in the recent years as a result of the globalization. It may be easy to analyze citizenship concept under the globalization phenomenon, but to read between the lines of both of them in the Islamic World; is something really complicated, as the term of The Islamic World itself is a complex. In this regards; Hugh Goddard differentiates between "Islam" and Islamic World, by stressing that "Islam" and "the Islamic World" are not identical, he argued that Islam includes "certain ideals or aspirations", while the Islamic World "represents concrete realities, and as with all ideals the Islamic World practices Islam to differing degrees"[1]. However, even though Islam is just one religion that followed by different people and practicing in different levels in the Muslim World; modern citizenship is not a religious issue, since it derives its origin from the basic principles of the Universal Human Rights. Citizenship is directly linked to status of moral and emotional issues that individuals experience as it reflects the high degree of belonging to the state alone, as an alternative to the traditional belonging to the tribe,[2] sect, or religion, even though there are set of rights and obligations that must be followed by those who enjoy such capacity. Thus; citizenship is a legal status based on nationality that is conferred by a state which also confers specific responsibilities and rights in relation to such a state.[3]

Citizenship concept has passed through deep developments throughout the history until it acquired its modern form. Following the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Since the values of citizenship is inseparable from the pillars of liberal political philosophy that linked them to the social contract theory, and the state's role in protecting rights and freedoms of individuals and their property in the framework of the

[1] Hugh Goddard, (2002). "Islam and Democracy", The Political Quartely Publishing Co.Ltd., p. 3.
[2] Máiréad Nic Craith. (2004). "Culture and citizenship in Europe. Questions for Anthropologists", European Association of Social Anthropologists Pub., UK, p. 290-292.
[3] Marshall, Thomas Humphrey. "Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays" Cambridge University Press, p. 28.

rule of law. However, the crisis of citizenship in the modern Islamic World has intensified the so called socio-political phenomena that the Islamic World has been witnessing, especially with the spread of the globalization phenomenon, in addition to some scientific and technical variables that the Muslim World has been dealing with. Nevertheless, in order to emphasize the sense of citizenship in the hearts of citizens; individuals should enjoy the respect due to fundamental rights and freedoms in the country that they hold its citizenship, not only their political freedoms and rights, but their economic and social freedoms as well - and perhaps this is the most important one - and it should be in the framework of some general atmosphere that should be as a general principle to the state ruler and the community. Not only, but in addition to the distribution of wealth and resources. Moreover, Individuals usually born with their citizenship, but as they grow up, their citizenship grows and thrives as well, and takes root gradually according to the efforts and cares that the state can provide to serve its citizens, or vice versa. As much as individuals enjoy the respect of their social, economic and political freedoms and rights - not only by the state and its symbols - but also by other citizens that would definitely associate them to their homeland and loyalty to their own state, sense of belonging, dignity, respect, freedom for all, regardless of religious beliefs, political tendencies, and sexual orientation; is a fundamental guarantee for a real and effective citizenship, but unfortunately; that's what is missed in many countries of the contemporary Islamic World. If this is a necessary introduction to clarify the meaning of citizenship, then it is important also to expose the concept of human rights in this work, since the Universal Human Rights is related to many fundamental liberties that have become a complicated issue lately, since they are many and complex. Moreover, those rights and freedoms were given much attention by researchers in the scope of many branches of the social sciences, or by practitioners in different levels and in many countries. Human rights issues represent a common theme among more than a branch of the social sciences, and particularly legal sciences and political sciences. But unfortunately that we couldn't see many authors in the Islamic World argue about citizenship in an effective and serious manner, although

some Arab and Muslim scholars have provided lots of literatures concerning human rights, and mostly they linked them with Islam. The regulation of international human rights witnessed its basic development after the emergence of the United Nations in 1945, where it was the era of drafting the Universal Declaration of human rights,[4] and issued in December 1948, as the international human rights document. Several agreements for certain aspects of human rights were reached on the basis of the declaration and in its shadow. However, this does not mean that there was no international human rights initiatives, or human rights documentation in the Muslim World before that date, of course there have been some other attempts before that date as well.

Despite the fact that human rights values are internal integral part of the system of any states; the evolution of human life and human exposure for some violation of their rights have taken the problem of these rights from a domestic problem into an international problem in many countries, especially after it has been proven to the global conscience, how - too often - regimes were incapable for the minimum protection of these rights in the Muslim World. Therefore, some of those countries have been experiencing the phenomenon of international interventions to protect human rights, and the war on terrorism – for example[5] -. Hence, if we look at the Arab Spring storms that took place in some Arab countries during the last three years; which showed us that the struggle for political and social rights is not only a Western invention or demand, but it is part of a natural approach in the human history. The events put the Arab – Muslim World again in the cockpit story of the civilization development of mankind, after decades of marginalization that the Muslim World faced, whether by the colonizing powers – as an external tool- or as a domestic tool – that usually used religion or military rifles, as a domestic tool to mobilizing and

[4] 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights', the UN website: http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/
[5] See for example Alejandro, Teitelbaum. and Melik Özden 'War on terrorism and respect for human rights: Review of anti-terrorist measures taken by international, regional and national authorities and their effects on the enjoyment of human rights', part of a series of the human rights program of the Europe - Third World Centre (CETIM).

marginalizing the people. Thus, the revolutionaries in Tahrir Square in Cairo and the rest of the Arab capitals did not call for more than what the Universal Human Rights called for, which simply was "bread, freedom, dignity, equality, and social justice, in addition to economic reform for all citizens."[6] However, I am not sure whether the Muslim World would success to apply the Western democracy or not, but my claim is that many people in the Muslim World have realized that they were influenced by the Universal Human Rights and citizenship concept, therefore, they have been struggling to achieve some basic human rights as citizens. On the basis of a realistic consideration is that the principles of freedom, democracy and human rights constitute a common cultural and civilizational heritage for all peoples of the world, along the human history. Thus, we just cannot say that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was on December tenth, 1948 was an European or an American documentation only, which will not be useful for the Islamic World, such a believe is contrary to the current events as to some historical facts, the struggle of peoples throughout the history have shown us that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rest of the conventions and protocols on human rights are of a general and comprehensive nature that can be applied anywhere and at any time, and it should be so. Hence, I do believe that any international character on human rights in Jakarta or Tel Aviv; can be concerning any human beings live in Gaza or Cairo, or anywhere else, and vice versa.

It's mysterious that most of the modern Muslim state's experiences over the past decades indicated that they did not succeed in establishing modernity values in general, and citizenship values in particular, as a source of power and legitimacy. Therefore, it was necessary for me to review citizenship values, which are inseparable from the pillars of liberal political philosophy that linked them, and the social contract theory, and the state's role in the protection of individual freedoms and property rights, within the framework of rule of law; to have a comprehensive understanding of the chaos that

[6] Hernando, De Soto. "What does the Arab World really want?", 13 July 2013, http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/8959621/what-the-arab-world-really-wants/

has been going on in the Muslim World lately, especially after the Arab Spring that has been revealing the Muslim World's political, economic, and social problems, which raised many questions that need to be dealt with human rights and citizenship concepts, and that what should be eventually. Otherwise, the Arab Spring would may not be able to make a political and social transformations into modern democracies based on respect of the people, as long as some of the Arab and Muslim societies themselves do not have the necessary values of accepting citizenship values as a solution.

Last but not least, it was important to note that most of the Arab countries that witnessed the popular uprisings or political reform processes in 2011, did not show any strong political interest in the reform of their educational systems, nor strengthen the Universal Human Rights values and citizenship concept, which the revolutionaries themselves were impacted by, the values that based on the acceptance of diversity, pluralism and respect for different points of views as Malaysia did, unfortunately and contrary to that; they fell into a sectarian wars and religious discrimination instead.[7] Consequently, my study raises the issue of integration with its all dimensions based on human rights values, which is required for any political and social change or citizenship building, as the de facto of the modern Arab and Islamic states, I claim that those states need to rethink or rebuild their human figure, based on human rights concept, which forms the future values that most peoples of the world are trying to achieve in the twenty-first century.

I am aware that there is no other country alike in the Islamic World, every country has its own unique circumstances stages to the transition to democracy. But there are many things that the Muslim World needs to learn from the international experience reviews, regarding the transitions to democracy, and previewing how countries have succeeded and where they failed? Which circumstances facilitated the process of their

[7] World Report 2013, by Human Rights watch: 'Challenges for rights after Arab spring: How to build rights-respecting democracies after the dictator falls?' January 31, 2013 http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/01/31/world-report-2013-challenges-rights-after-arab-spring.

democratization and which obstructing? And that's what we are trying to explore in this study from the Malaysian experience, which has been trying to apply the principles of human rights, citizenship concept, and harmonizing Islam and democracy in a Multi-religious society.

My thesis consists of three chapters, in the first chapter of the thesis, I will try to explain components and concepts of human rights and citizenship, mainly citizenship and some other related terms to citizenship concepts, and how citizenship concepts developed between two civilizations, and I mean by that; Western and Eastern civilizations, and the role of the nation state in developing citizenship notions.
The aim of the second chapter of the thesis, is to examine human rights, as legal and educational dimensions, I will mainly focus on the essence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as one of the conventional sources of the international care for human rights, and its impact on the Muslim World. In addition to citizenship education in the Muslim World.

In the third chapter of the thesis, and as the concept of citizenship includes philosophical sayings, which need amendment in the implementation of human rights policies taken by states; I will evaluate and study the case of Malaysia in implementing social integration, through human rights and citizenship values. I will draw attention on how Malaysia, the multi-religious and multi-cultural country that could manage to live in peace, and economic development for decades.

CHAPTER I

CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS: CONCEPTS AND COMPONENTS

Citizenship and human rights are general and comprehensive concepts involve a set of syndrome concepts, overlapping and interrelated elements consistent with each other. Both of the concepts have passed through important historical developments until it reached to the modern concept of citizenship that has emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the modern concept of citizenship began to spread in the eighteenth century after the "Social Contract" that Jean-Jacques Rousseau called for.

Even though citizenship concept has ended up as a comprehensive concept in the West, but the modern concept still unclear in most countries of the Muslim World, especially in some Arab countries, I found a mess in the use of these terms in some Arab's scholar writings, as usually they mix up between citizenship and patriotism. Hence, I humbly claim that the incorrect use of these terms created some problems in determining who the "Citizen" is in those countries. For these mentioned reasons, I found it reasonable and it would be helpful to clarify the historical background and modern concept of citizenship, and how the concept developed through two civilizations, (Eastern and Western civilizations). In addition to the role of the nation state in such development. I believe that would give us a better scientific understanding of the Malaysian case that I am trying to examine by the end of this study.

1.1. A Brief Historical Overview of Citizenship Concept

Citizenship principle has accompanied with the movement of human history struggle, the struggle for justice, equality and fairness that was before settling of the citizenship concept in the political literature, intellectual, and educational terms. with the escalation of the struggle that took form of social movements, since the

establishment of agricultural governments in the Mesopotamian civilization,[8] through Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, China, India, Persia and the civilizations of the Phoenicians and Canaanites. All these civilizations have contributed to what emanated of political ideologies in laying the foundations of freedom and equality, more than the will of the rulers, opening up broad prospects for human pursuit to confirm and prove itself the right to participate effectively in decision-making and identifying options, which lately opened the way for the ancient Greek political thought, and later; the Romans laid the foundations of each concept of citizenship and republican governance. Nonetheless, the Greek and Roman political thought have emphasized in their journeys, the need to compete for senior positions and the importance of laying the foundation for public policy discussion; as something desirable in itself. Such historical experiences have produced different meanings of citizenship development. Of course, it has varied theoretically and practically from the contemporary concept of citizenship, according to the views of historians. Even in the contemporary history; citizenship concept secretions have diversified, According to intellectual, political and social trends that cannot be read, understood, and criticized in isolation from the surrounding circumstances or away off time and place of all dimensions, such as economic, political, social, ideological, and educational. Therefore we cannot root a proper concept of citizenship as a result of one simplified thought. However, as the concept grew up and expanded in an intellectual nurseries shadow that has multi-diversified theories and beliefs, and even posed conditions at local, national, and international levels, thus, citizenship concept has become an essential hub of the theoretical and practice of modern democracy.

And if we go back to the traditional Arabian tribal life, they perhaps have had some results on the governance system in the Arabian peninsula, which also lead to some political experiences by the time, such as the Greek and the Romanian ones - that I referred to earlier – it might provide some political participation for the freemen

[8] A. Leo, Oppenbeim. (1977). "Ancient Mesopotamian: portrait of a dead civilization", The University of Chicago Press, p. 31.

citizens, which took to cohesion with the allied tribes that have relations to participation in the collective decision-making of their own.

Such participation was known in the Kingdom of Saba in Yemen, the Kingdom of Qatban, Ma'in and certain traditional "regimes" represent the tribes by the time. Such tribal traditions that were dominated the Arab traditional political experiences along with the commercial development, and stability that imposed by Mecca conditions and its people before Islam. All these have created some kind of "rule of the city" in Mecca, during the regime of Qusai in Mecca.[9] In the same vein, as long as we are digging into the history of Muslim's grandfathers; the early Muslims also got close to such concept that would may be related to citizenship concept, as it has been known before Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. That was clear in the message that carried by Islam from a humanitarian perspective of the oneness of mankind, equality in rights and duties.[10] And in addition to equality; there were also principles of justice, fairness and equity of fundamental principles that were emphasized by the Islamic civilization. Those principles came in many verses of the Quran, for example **(**Indeed, God orders justice and good conduct**)**,[11] In this regards, Sheikh Mahmoud Shaltout (1893-1963)[12] argued that "God orders with general justice" without customizing or specifying special type of people, neither a wide range, all people should enjoy rights and duties equally, Men and women, blacks and whites, Muslim and non-Muslim.[13]

Muhammad el-Shaarawy (1911-1998) also contributed to this interpretation of the verse, he explained justice as "fairness, equality and non-inclination, he argued that non-

[9] Jassim Ali, Sakban. 'Mecca's relationship with metropolitan Arab tribes before Islam', Journal of the faculty of education for girls, Vol. 23, p. 37-42.
[10] Mahmoud Shaltout. 'Tafseer al Qura'an al Kareem, Surat al Nahl, verse 90'. Dar al-Shourouk Pub. 1992.
[11] Quran, "verse 90" Al Nahl.
[12] Mahmoud Shaltoout was an Egyptian Sunni religious scholar and Islamic theologian, he was Imam of Al-Azhar during the Nasser years from 1958 until his death in 1963.
[13] Mahmoud Shaltout, (1992). 'Tafseer al Qura'an al Kareem, Surat al Nahl, verse 90'. Dar al-Shourouk Pub., p. 445-446.

tendency can only be between two contradictory things. Therefore, he gave an example of "a fair judge" he explained that "a fair Judge can be called as Equitable Judge, because when such a Judge has two foes in front of him; the only thing he would do is to provide a half of his composition for each of the foes, like a section of two selves, not to incline to any of them, and that is justice and fairness."[14]

In explaining the meaning of justice in the Quranic verse; Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) did not stand where Shaltout and al-Sha'arawy stopped, he even went further in his interpretation of this verse, and its relations to human rights and justice, Qutb argued that "This book[15] has come to create a nation and regulates a society, then; it would create a world and evaluates a system. It came as a global call against all kind of tribal, national or sexual fanaticism, faith alone is the association."[16] And then the book came with the principles that ensure the cohesion of communities, and reassurance of individuals, peoples and nations, and guarantees confidence among peoples' transactions, the book brought justice which guarantees for single individuals and all groups, that every people has a fixed base to handle when it comes to justice, which does not tend to fancy, and not to be shifting or affected by friendliness, hatred, ratios, wealth, poverty, strengths and weaknesses. However, justice should be collective rather than individual.[17]

The three point of views have shown how much justice and equality took a very important position in the Islamic culture, as long as citizenship concept popularity raises the question of its implications for social justice theory,[18] their interpretations might answer one of my questions about the chaos that the Muslim world is going through.

[14] Moutawally al Sha'arawy. 'Tafseer al Qura'an, al Nahl 90", Maktabat al-Tourath al-Islamy.
[15] Qutb meant the Quran by using the word "book."
[16] Sayyid, Qutb. (1978). "In the shade of the Qur'an", Seventh Edition, vol. 4, Dar al-Shourouk, Cairo, p. 219.
[17] Ibid. p. 220.
[18] Simon Duffy. (2010). 'The Citizenship theory of social justice: exploring the meaning of personalization for social workers', Journal of Social Work Practice, 24: 3, p. 259-263.

However, they still haven't answered the big question yet, which is "why is the Muslim world violently divided against itself?"[19]

1.2. The Modern Concept of Citizenship

Citizenship concept has been found since the beginning of human settlements and community in the world, but the closest meaning to its concept goes back to the ancient Greeks as we previously mentioned. However, modern citizenship application dates back to the European citizenship application, followed by the political experimental rational thought that increased its influence, as a result of the religious reform movement, and its subsequent of the Renaissance and Enlightenment movements in the political life. The modern concept of citizenship has emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it began to spread in the eighteenth century after the "Social Contract" that Jean-Jacques Rousseau called for[20]. However, the concept has not been applied internationally on a large scale, ıt was largely applied only after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the tenth of December, 1948, and then the international law became the one that defends citizenship rights and enhance its concept in many countries in the contemporary world. Citizenship explains the roles, rights and responsibilities of citizens, as it characterized by a special kind of loyalty of citizens to their homeland, like their service in times of war and peace, their cooperation with other citizens through institutional work, or individual formal and volunteerism to achieve the goals that aspire them all.[21]

Citizenship has generally been defined in different ways, some defined it as a Western phenomenon, and understood in many societies as being patriotic. However, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica; citizenship is "the relationship between individuals and the state, in which the individual owes allegiance to the state, and in turn

[19] See, for example, "The Islamic State: Can its savagery be explained?", September 9, 2014, www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29123528

[20] Michael lind. "A Citizen-Based social contract", new America foundation, july 2007, p. 1.

[21] Ali Layla. (2002). "The role of NGOs in combating poverty', Arab Network for NGOs Pub., p. 20.

is entitled to its protection. Citizenship implies the status of freedom with accompanying responsibilities. Citizens have certain rights, duties, and responsibilities that are denied or only partially extended to aliens and other noncitizens residing in a country. In general, full political rights, including the right to vote and to hold public office, are predicated upon citizenship. The usual responsibilities of citizenship are allegiance, taxation, and military service in some countries."[22] Whilst International Encyclopedia and Collier American Encyclopedia did not differentiate between nationality and citizenship.[23] According to the International Encyclopedia; "citizenship is a full membership in the state or some government units," the Encyclopedia confirms that citizens have certain rights, such as the right to vote and to hold public offices, as well as some of their duties such as the duty to pay taxes and defend their country. But according to Collier's Encyclopedia; citizenship is "the most complete forms of a membership in a political group."[24]

Not only, but some define citizenship as a reflection of a moment where a group is moving beyond the initial forms of human gathering, which is represented in the community, clan, or tribe, so that the common interest would become the main criterion that controls the movement of such a group, which supports the integration between its various components. Citizenship means or deals with the relations between the state and individual citizen in one hand, and the political relationship between the citizens themselves from another hand. Hence, if the citizen is a person who belongs to a homeland that is bound by relationship of belonging and loyalty; so the homeland to be the environment and the earth. In this context, the status of citizenship allows only the "citizen" – which means that other individuals who live on the territory of the State are not included - a set of rights such as the right of nomination, elections and the right to hold a public office in the state, in addition to a set of other duties, such as military

[22] Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Citizenship', last updated 3-26-2014, http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/118828/citizenship

[23] Philip W. Goetz. (1998). 'The new Encyclopedia Britannica', Vol. 20, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc, p. 78.

[24] Ibid., p. 715-717.

service that imposed by some countries regardless to the religion of the citizen, origin, or sex. Moreover, citizenship from a psychological perspective; is a sense of belonging and loyalty to the country and the political leadership, which is a source of gratification to some basic needs and self-protection from fateful dangers. In the Sociology dictionary, citizenship has been defined as status or social relationship between the normal individual and political society (state).[25] By this relationship, the first party which is the citizen would offer loyalty, and the second party which is the state should provide a protection for its individuals (citizens), such a relationship between individuals and state; is determined through an existing regimes. In the same vein, world book International Encyclopedia defined citizenship as a "full membership in a state or in some government units." The encyclopedia's definition does not distinguish between citizenship and nationality - as Encyclopaedia Britannica did- which I previously mentioned. And emphasizes that citizens have certain rights, such as the right to vote and hold public office, and some other duties, such as the duty to pay taxes and defend their country."[26] It appears from the three definitions of the encyclopedias that every adults who's holding a nationality in a democratic state, should enjoy certain rights of citizenship. Of course such a situation is not the same in non-democratic countries, and as long as the majority of the Islamic countries are non-democratic states. Therefore; It is natural that nationality would merely be a "subordinate" to those who hold it. they would not necessarily have their political rights of citizenship.

Citizenship basically defines those who are members of state and those who are not members, according to some set of rights and duties. In this regards, it's important to touch the T. H. Marshal's citizenship definition, which has been widely known since the 1950s. He defined citizenship as "a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community, all who posses the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties

[25] In a similar vein; see Carolyn, Mair. Jacqui, Taylor. and Julie, Hulme. 'An introductory guide to psychological literacy and psychologically literate citizenship', The Higher Education Academy Press.
[26] 'world book international' vol. 4, Field Enterprise Educational Corporation, U.S.A, p. 15.

with which the status is endowed."[27] In this respect, I would say that any citizenship model should includes a set of rights and duties towards its citizens, but it won't be enough if we only define citizenship in terms of rights and duties. as there are some other contexts regarding the modern citizenship concept. Will Kymlicka provides those interesting contexts in his book "Mutlicultural Citizenship."[28]

Another definition also, by the International Arabic Encyclopedia, which defines citizenship as "The ndividual's love and loyalty towards their homeland, which includes; their land, belonging to the people, customs and traditions, and to be proud of their history and culture that would serve their homeland."[29] It's obvious that the definition suggests the belonging to the nation only, which is leaning toward the nation-state again, as the definition does not contain any rights and duties values.
Beside T. H. Marshal citizenship definition and the other definitions that I've mentioned; there are many other accepted definitions as well.[30]

1.2.1. Citizenship and Some Related Terms

It is important not to confuse between citizenship and some other terms and concepts that related to citizenship concept, which includes the following terms:

Nationality: citizenship reflects the moral and legal bond between individuals and their country, even if they hold dual citizenship. However, nationality is a legal association that arranges obligations, duties, and features rights that are granted to those who carry the nationality. The word citizen can be used to anyone who holds a nationality of any state, however, that does not mean that their first citizenship can be dropped if they hold a second nationality along with the original nationality - as the case

[27] Thomas H. Marshall. (1950) 'Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays' Cambridge University Press, p. 12.
[28] Will, kymlicka. (1995) 'multicultural citizenship', Oxford University Press, p. 20-43.
[29] 'The international Arabic Encyclopedia', 1996, p. 110.
[30] See for example Derek, Heater. (2004) "A brief history of citizenship", Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

with constitutions of some countries, such as India and Germany.[31] I totally consider such a behavior as rights squandering, although I do not deny that in such cases the oscillating values of belonging among those who hold dual citizenship, and even their psychological elements of belonging to the state can be retracts, especially during the periods of crisis.[32]

Nationalism: citizenship differ from nationalism, nationalism expands the term to include regional dimensions that may reflect on the state of loyalty to a particular regional nationalism group.[33] Such as the Arab nationalism, pan-European, Turkish nationalism, and Pan-Africanism, or African Nationalism. The core of nationalism reflects to a common fate of a group of individuals who live within their countries, and seek to achieve specific goals that can connect them by a collective sense of loyalty and belonging to their nationalism that they belong to.[34]

Democracy: some argue that there is a continuous correlation between citizenship and democracy, since citizens should participate in the law-making in any democratic system, and they have the right to monitor its implementation and accountability of the executive branch about any miss political behavior, if they neglected or disrupted its provisions, as law should be applied to all citizens without discrimination. I believe that there is an organic link in this regard,[35] although there are some who argued that there is a vast gap between democracy and inequality, as democratic system need to be strong

[31] Check the constitutions of those countries.
[32] For more explanations; see Adourrasoul al-Asady. (2011) 'Nationality and international relations', Manshourat Zain al-Hukukiyya Pub., Second Edition.
Also; see No Boyet. (1947) 'Cours de droit international prive-Francais', p. 47.
[33] B. Russell. 'Freedom and organization', London: G. Allen Unwin Ltd., P. 394-395.
[34] See Yusuf Khalil Yusuf. 'Arab nationalism and the role of education in achieving it', Dar al-Katib al-Arabi Pub., Cairo, 1967.
[35] See USAID 'multicultural citizenship: civic education, student course reader', by International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 2012.

and solid basis for its residence, and people who suffer from inequality among its components lose a large part of the social components, and those links formed from the bonds of cohesion in the elements of citizenship. Hence, a democratic system cannot be established or straightened in any society without the existence of citizenship that would enhance some Macro-sense of loyalty towards the state, because democracy means equality and liberty of the citizen, and there is no democracy without citizenship, neither citizenship without agreement, not only on the procedures and institutional levels, but also on the contents as well. Therefore, we'd have a ready environment that will be laying the foundations of democratic system demand; only when we get to the point of deepening sense of citizenship and common interests, as the marginalization of citizens will always lead to an alienation from their homeland and they will definitely lose the feeling of their true citizenship eventually.

1.2.2. Citizenship Dimensions

Legal dimension; citizenship means a set of rights that citizens can exclusively enjoy, such as the right to practice in elections or any other rights that can be enjoyed by citizens, without restrictions such as the right of ownership or the right to run for public office candidacy, as it has been known that non-citizens can not politically involve in any country's domestic politics as a general rule, and that non-citizens do not hold public positions, such as judiciary and the state's representation abroad.

Political dimension; citizenship reflects the source of political law, in a sense that citizen is the one who chooses the governing body and ensure its continuity through the ballot box. Citizens are the only ones who can pull such acceptance and express their protest by various means. Therefore, in democratic societies; political authority can't acquire legitimacy without the acceptance of free citizens and their consensus, which is contrary to the most of the Islamic States.[36]

[36] Patrick, John. (1999) 'The Concept of Citizenship in Education for Democracy', p. 2-3, www.eric.ed.gov

Social dimension; where it means - the association of citizenship - that the political affiliation of the state prohibits any form of discrimination between citizens in terms of differences in religion, sex, sect, or denomination. On the basis that as long as belonging to non-religious bond, there may not be differentiation between individuals and others, to the fact that the individual belongs to the first religion of the majority, while the other belongs to a minority religion, as the same thing can be measured with race and other things. Which Malaysia is not doing too badly in such dimension.

1.3. The Development of Citizenship Between Two Civilizations

It seems logical, to some researchers that citizenship is a reality which uncovered historically. It is, thus, governed by the nature of the development it had undergone. And, if it has started as a limited and restricted reality, now it has expanded to include all the segments of the society. Yet, I can claim that the process of the uncovered concept happened in the Western civilization as a partial reality, and ended up as a complete comprehensive reality. On the contrary, the Islamic civilization has introduced the concept in a comprehensive and full way from the beginning. The concept, however, was subject to reductionism after that Muslims ignored some aspects of their referential framework; reducing, therefore the concept to a fragmented one in some Muslim societies, and making of it a strange concept from the way it first appeared in the fundamental documents of their religion. This is the reason why the motion or development of the concept went in contradictory ways between the Western and Islamic civilizations.

If we try to reduce the concept in the Western civilization, we will find that it didn’t develop at once, but gradually, as we have mentioned. There are many characteristics which have distinguished the historical development of the concept of citizenship in the Western civilization. One of them is its separation from the religious background. This is apparent through two dimensions: the conflict between the church

and the state, which cemented the concept of citizenship to the state, so individuals became no more subjects to the church, but became citizens in the state. And the second dimension lies in the fact that the development of Europe led to the linking of citizenship to the state and its liberation from the background of any mediator organisms like the church or the religious sect. This second characteristic can be understood in a way that the completion of the Western concept of citizenship was to the detriment of deleting mediator groups whether were they family, ethnicity, or religion. The individual in such situations abandons these mediator backgrounds to become free and ready in front of the state, and to be socialized according to the principles of comprehensive citizenship. Based on these facts, the emergence of social groups from different natures, and the belonging of individuals to them seem to damage the principle of citizenship in the Western sense. Therefore, we have witnessed the call for equality as one of the fundamentals of citizenship formed of rights and obligations.[37]

A third characteristic related to the development of citizenship concept, in the Western context, shows that the development had a conflictive nature. Citizenship was achieved due to the partial and gradual social conflict led by the community with the state. In this respect, Ndegwa, based on what Foweraker and Landman said, stresses that citizenship wasn't a privilege or a right given, as proved by history, theory, and politics. It was, however, gained by means of strike and repetitive requests through historical conflicts which aimed at contributing in practicing authority. In this sense, the rights of individuals were not defined by standardized predictions, but became real through the strike against the state. The social contract could be right only when rulers and citizens do not take part in one relationship as two parts, but when citizens between them agree on nominating a ruler.[38]

[37] Willem, Maas. 'The evolution of E.U citizenship: Memo for Princeton workshop on the state of the European Union', Princeton university, Vol. 8, September 16, 2005.
[38] Castles Stephan, and A. Davidson. (2000). 'Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging', Routledge, p. 11.

The said conflict was not the only one which helped in developing the concept of citizenship, but there were other secondary conflicts which were triggered after. One of these was related to the forms of government linked to citizenship. In this respect, we can talk of two opposite principles in imagining citizenship. Stephan and Davidson arggued that Ndegwa and Osagha contributed with important ideas here. Ndegwa pointed out to the liberal and civil views of the republican form of government, where two groups of opposite values make the base of citizenship making of it a big challenge to the projects of the nation state.[39] In addition, Osagha borrows Bendix words in pointing out at two other opposite principles: the Plebiscitarian principle and the functional principle. The first one focuses on the direct relation of individuals to the state, the second argues that the relation between the individuals and the state is meditated by groups to which individuals belong in the form of civil society. In this framework, and whereas the plebiscitarian principle supports the comprehensive citizenship, where citizens are officially equal and have equal rights and obligations, the fundamental principle supports the unequal or even the opposite citizenship, based on the assumption that the social status of citizens depends on the social status of the groups they belong to, based on the social and political scale.[40] And this is what, in the end, means that the development of the concept of citizenship in the European context had basically a conflictive nature. On the contrary, we see that the development of the concept in the Islamic civilization was different. The concept in this context developed through three periods, where it was formed in a specific nature. The first period is the pre-Islamic one.

The genetic start of citizenship concept dates back to the agricultural civilization in the East like Sumer, Babylon, the Chinese, Indian, and Persian civilizations, and even the Phoenicians, the Canaan, the Pharaohs, the Greeks and the Romans, as I've mentioned above.[41] The royal governments which were ruling back then, came to the

[39] Ibid. p. 13.
[40] Ibid. P. 17.
[41] Ibid. p. 18.

demands of some social segments like nobles, priests, and soldiers, and gave them a degree of equality more than the other social classes. There were also some historical figures like Hammurabi[42] who had the wisdom to pay attention to the importance of rules and regulations which organize people's lives and define rights and obligations, in order to realize stability and social peace. So, if we focus on the Arabs' tribal life in the pre-Islamic history we would find the providence of a good amount of political participation by free citizens. The reason behind that was due to the strong relations between tribes and other allied tribes, in making common decisions as we argued before. The most common title for leaders of the tribes was "the Master", who was nominated through free elections by male individuals and not on the basis of inheritance. The government of the traditional Arab tribe, which extended through history, is described as a government where the Master is the first before equals, and he had to consult them in the general affairs.[43] Under the influence of such tribal form of citizenship, the people's councils in the "tribal" state emerged in ancient Yemen, where we could find people's councils next to the throne. The different tribes were represented in various legislative bodies. The tribes' councils also had to gather in case of some special political circumstances. And when they wanted to change some economic systems the tribes' councils and state council had to come out with laws and regulations in the name of the King. Such Arabic tribal traditions have set the floor to the emergence to a type city ruling in Mecca, since "Qussai" became master and regulated the city affairs. Among the important regulations that "Qussai" came with was his gathering of the tribes of Kouraych and their leaders in a council he named "Al Malae" (the upper class), and which was under his mastery. "Al Malae" used to look in the affairs of the "Kaaba", and the affairs related to commerce, and to commercial convoys. It also had to decide in issues of war, and signing agreements and treaties. "Qussai" also established the house of conference and held in Mecca a special government with limited authority, where he had the position of general and steward. And before the coming of Islam, he established

[42] Ibid. p. 18.
[43] Suhayl Khasha. "Code of Hammurabi", Dar al-Warrak Publishing Ltd., London, 2007, p. 7-10.

in Mecca the "Alliance of Inquisitiveness" which used to intervene to set justice between people from Mecca or from outside. When the prophet Mohammed was a kid he witnessed that alliance and after said about it that "if I had been invited to it in Islam; I would have accepted the invitation."[44]

Following on what have been mentioned, we can call what has passed in the Arabic peninsula as premises of citizenship that Islam came with, in a complete way, based on its view to humanity and humans' unity, as well as to equality in rights and obligations as in the quranic verses: (O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted.) (49:13), (O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul) (4:1), and (O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm in justice, witnesses for Allah) (4: 135). Islam's view to equality is based on its belief that peace is the authentic relation between people. Therefore, if the state of peace persists between Muslims and non-Muslims, those latter are considered by Islam as brothers from a humanistic perspective, and have to cooperate for their common good. All along with equality, other principles like justice, justness, and equity were focal principles that Islam stressed on as in the quranic verses that we previously mentioned: (Indeed, Allah orders justice and good conduct) (16:90), and (Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due) (4:58).[45] God's order was general not specifying a species or a group, because justice is a divine system and the people are God's servant and are, thus, equal in front of his justice and wisdom, black or white, feminine, Muslim or non-Muslim, as we argued previously.

Last but not least, there is the principle of "Shoura" (Consulting) and the principle of enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong to corroborate, together with equality between people, the just governing with justice and equity, as well as social

[44] Abdel-Fattah Abu Ali bin Haji. 'Separation offset in the case of coalition', Dar el-Ekab, First Edition, 1993, p. 4.
[45] Al Quran al Kareem. Al Nahl verse.

solidarity between all Muslims as being brothers. The principle of consulting confirms the basics of realizing citizenship, not only for Muslims but also for all the non-Muslims,[46] which means that the Islamic civilization focused on the principle of citizenship as well as the one of Muslim brotherhood. In this line, Adam Metz, a Western historain, cites in his study of the Islamic civilization in the 4th century Hijri, that Muslims were more tolerant than other Christian groups in the Eastern Roman State.[47]

Based on what preceded, we have seen that Islam and the Islamic civilization came with a comprehensive concept of citizenship, which doesn't eliminate anyone because of their religious, racial, or ethnic belongings. Which is totally contrary to what is seen with the Islamic state in the lavent "ISIL" nowadays.[48] However, and if we meditate the reality of the Muslim World; we would find that the comprehensive concept of citizenship as coined by the Islamic heritage has been eroded due to the call to the Arabic nationalism. The first Arab nationalist thinkers[49] only focused on the rebuilding of the Arab community and reunifying it by asking individuals to perform great obligations towards that, and ignored to give them rights, which were let till after the establishment of the big Arab State, when they can become citizens with rights.

And if the nationalist thought deferred talking about citizenship until the constitution of the Arab State, based on what individuals should do as obligations till the achieving of the nation state so that they can benefit from their rights, the thinkers of regional states, on the other hand, deferred the recognition of the complete citizenship to an indefinite term. And if the nationalist state in the West was able to confirm its

[46] See Ali al Kawary. (2004) 'Citizenship and democracy in the Arab countries.' Arab Unity Studies Center, Second Edition.

[47] Saleh Hussein, al Aayed. 'The rights of Non-Muslims in the Islamic World', the ministry of Awqaf of Saudi Arabia Pub., 2008, p. 30.

[48] Reuters, "Exclusive: Iraq says Islamic State killed 500 Yazidis, buried some victims alive", august 10, 2014, http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/10/us-iraq-security-yazidis-killings-idUSKBN0GA0FF20140810

[49] Like: Constantine Zreik, Zaki al-Arsuzi, Satee al-Husary, Abdulrahman Azzam, Mohamed Izza Droza, and lately with Egypt's Abddel Nasser era. See for example, Adeed Dawisha. "Arab nationalism in the twentieth century: From triumph to despair" Princeton, New Jersey, 2003.

existence through its clear conflict with the church and the feudalists, the Arab states were unable to face the nationalists call. Apparently, the State declares its support to the nation-state and to the nationalist unity, but in reality it works to deepen the governing regional state. And to guarantee the development of such state; it had to oppress the demands to any human rights, and sometimes the tribal or party leadership in state turned into a despotism controlling state to the detriment of calls to the nation-state. With the increasing despotism of the different forms of government in the Arab-Muslim States, recently independent, in the forties and fifties of the 20th century, the principle of citizenship started fading away, especially with the excuse of the pressing of the priorities chart that the newly emerging state had to deal with.

And if the development of the nation-state in the west allied with the development of citizenship to the detriment of deleting or the eroding of mediator organisms, the development of the nation-state in the Arab and Muslim World allied with the mediator organisms to the detriment of the development of citizenship. This is very apparent with the emergence of two phenomena. The first one is represented in the increasing of the partisan citizenship and the nationalist party, which was aiming at the creation of the big Arab State, and the emergence of the local party, which was aiming at the creation of the partial regional state. In this framework, emulation has occurred between the nationalist individual and the partisan individual, which led to the emergence of the partisan citizenship, a deformed citizenship, as it worked on separating the society into partisans and the protected. Although a minority, the first benefited a lot of advantages thanks to their partisan belonging, according to the partisan definition of citizenship, whereas the second, being a majority, didn't, as they didn't belong to any parties. The prejudice towards the second category doubled and took extremist forms when the nationalist governing turned into sectarian or tribal governing. This form of deformed citizenship brought back the state of separation of the society to a new governing minority, minor than the partisan minority, which expresses the conspiracy of the president tribe with the controlling part of the party and the whole party against an oppressed mass.

1.4. Citizenship beyond the Nation – State

We cannot talk about citizenship without mentioning the nation – state, as citizenship concept is associated with the nation – state, both of the concepts are inherent, if the nation-state borders has shrunk as a result of separations or division; citizenship borders could retreat as well. and if the borders of the nation-state expand due to religious, patriotic, or doctrinal variables, or due to a federal form, then the specter of citizenship also expands to correspond to the new borders. There has been much arguments going on regarding nation-state and citizenship development and crisis, I will draw several thoughts and trends of those arguments in the following lines.

1.4.1. Nation - state and Citizenship Crisis

If citizenship historically forms the core of the establishment of the nation-state, as it played a role in confirming the integration of the people of the same region inside one specific political society, in addition to confirming political equality between them, considering them citizens,[50] and in developing the structure of rights and obligations related to that concept; nation-state also played an important role in healing the international order in the framework of what we call the "State". The state succeeded in creating that new world through various periods. The first one began with the forming of the society and imposing an internal cohesion between its groups. When it succeeded in that mission, it moved, under the pressure of various needs of the industrial revolution, to utilize other societies, stealing their resources, spreading in return its value and cultural system, and opening up to a new world. And in the third period, when the colonizer state withdrew from its previous colonies, yet the inhabitants of those colonies followed them to form big communities of immigrants and different ethnicities, as in Europe, where we counted in 1995 almost 190 million immigrants from the previously colonized East.[51] This means that the nation-state established an international interaction

[50] Castles Stephan, and A. Davidson. (2005). 'Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging', Routledge, p. 2-3.
[51] Ibid. p. 10.

whether on the grounds of the colonies where its inhabitants went to utilize the colonies resources, or on its own ground, when the colonies inhabitants immigrated looking for better opportunities. That's what created a kind of doubt vis-à-vis many concepts, among them the ones related to citizenship.

If we ponder upon the reality of the actual concept of citizenship we will discover that it became problematic, mainly after it has settled in its nature and limits. also, because citizenship has started to live in deformed status due to the last variables regionally and internationally, and that it is now in a deadlock. And if we see in the crisis a state or a position that precedes the collapse or the recovery, then the crisis of citizenship looks the same. So, either citizenship of the nation-state will collapse and reduce to limited frameworks, and inside ethnic or local borders, or it will regain power and get out of nationalist borders to a broader humanistic cadre, which is demanded by all the religions, and that the theoretical heritage confirms that the world is moving towards it. Therefore, I claim that citizenship is in crisis now. Some of the crisis' variables are purely internal, and basically emanate from within the limits of the nation-state. One of the first effective variables in this context is the alienation of the state from the society, for the society or the people do not control the state anymore, and do not participate in it, in addition to the failure of the nation-state many times in protecting social citizenship in its different dimensions, the thing that pushed the citizens to ask for renegotiating and re-discussing the social contract, which establishes the state, or the one that defines its relations with the society, the nation, and the citizen.

The failure of state in the Muslim World in fulfilling the basic needs of its citizens is considered as one of the dimensions of the crisis of citizenship. As under a specific world order state is no more capable of controlling wholly its resources or mastering the effective justness over their distribution. The State, however, became influenced by the external interventions, breakthroughs, and variables, the thing that pushed many times to the spread of a general status of resentment from the part of citizens inside the borders of the nation state. That resentment was due to an increase in the number of the

inhabitants, who are located under the line of poverty or suffer from extreme poverty (the number of these reached in some Arab countries 40%).[52] In addition to the increase in the zone of social, cultural, and political marginalization, which means that a great extent of the inhabitants live under a status of citizenship crisis, as they don't benefit from the rights which facilitate the performance of their obligations or their engagements towards the State and the society.

The monopoly of the minority to the political and economic abilities of the society is considered as one of the basic variables influencing citizenship. This impacts citizenship in two sides: the monopoly of the minority leads to what we can call the unbalanced citizenship. In such cases, some individuals in the society get many advantages without performing any obligations in return; the thing that most of the times lead to the broadening of the rights zone surpassing what is allowed to arrive at corruption and fraud points. As a result, the feelings related to citizenship are betrayed, and the link of the minority to the country lessens. In the other hand, a feeling of resentment by the majority, who couldn't benefit from those opportunities, arises, pushing them to get away of the society. All these facts lead to a status of a weak citizenship, which means that citizenship is in crisis, and would eventually lead to a revolution or social and political chaos at least.

In addition to that, there are other foreign variables, which play role in putting citizenship in crisis, or at least pushing it to liberate from the nationalist cadre to a global one. These variables basically emanate from globalization which re-constitutes our world order. And if the universal context of citizenship is undergoing radical changes, this means that there are two directions. The first one points out to the emergence of some ambiguous and confusing parts in what relates to citizenship, even if those parts are not yet effective, for the political and social context in terms of nationalistic levels is still stable and firm. The second direction sees that the current

[52] Al Wasat Bahraini newspaper "40% of Arabs live on less than $ 2.75 a day" - Issue 3058 - Thursday, January 20, 2011, http://www.alwasatnews.com/3058/news/read/522176/1.html

crisis of citizenship is related to a big extent to the challenges that face the classical nation-state in Western Europe, and also in the modern States in North Africa and the new industrialized Sates of Asia and Latin America.[53]

Most of the findings seem to agree on the fact that citizenship in the last decade has become subject to questioning, and is undergoing a status of reform due to the universal interactions and changes.[54] Especially with the uprisings that hitted some of the MENA countries.

1.4.2. Arab Nationalism, a Mistaken Identity or Building Blocks of Citizenship?

With the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, or the era of nationalism as some call it, Arab nationalism became the first dynamics and political power that mobalized the masses in the Levant and Iraq. The strong Arab nationalism in the nineteenth century was a reaction to the Committee of Union and Progress's policy (CUP) (Turkish: İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) which began as a secret society established as the "Committee of Ottoman Union". In this regard, Ismat Seif al Dawlah argued that: "In the early twentieth century, all the Arab world countries were under the control of the European occupation, except the Mashreq, which was within the the Caliphate State, until the emergege of the Turkish nationalism which was represented by the (Union and Progress) that effectively abolished the Caliphate State, the State that was a common between two nations; Arab and Turkish. the Ottoman empire turned into a Turkish state that were trying to control Arabs,[55] and looting their national characteristics. Therefore,

[53] Stephan Castles. And Alastair Davidson. (2005) 'Citizenship and migration: globalization and the Politics of Belonging', Routledge, p. 2.
[54] Ibid. p. 3.
[55] Yusuf Khalil Yusuf. (1967) "Arab nationalism and role of education in achieving it", Dar al-Katiab al-Arabi Pub., p. 101.

the Arab nationalism was launched as self-defenses."[56] However, whatever the reason beyond the development of the Arab nationalism; during the emergence of the Turkish nationalist movement and the rise of "Young Turks", majority of the Arab intellectuals attitude increased towards crystallization of a national project, that was obvious in the first Arab conference which held in Paris in 1913, they reached a list of demands for autonomy within the Ottoman state, as they demanded also not to be asked for the Arab soldiers in the Ottoman army to serve outside their regions, except in time of war. Hence, that was the beginning path to the Arab nationalism, cutting up the Ottoman state into pieces and building up the big Arab Nation State.

Arab nationalists seemed to believe in their nationalism ideology as result of a common heritage of language, culture and history as well, in addition to the Arab unity which was and remain the main goal of the Arab nationalists, regardless theire religions or ehnic group. In this line; Azmi Bishara definied Arab nationalism as: "Arab nationalism was not a bond of blood and race, but a group of imagined language tools and means of modern communication that was seeking to become a sovereign nation"[57]

The nationalist sentiment has increased during the collapse of the Ottoman state,[58] followed by the violent repression of the secret societies in Damascus and Beirut. There was a long story of the Pan-Arabism movement, it is the story that arose fitfully by many factors, spread dramatically, and then failed.[59] It faced resistance from some Muslim clerics, particularly from Wahhabi, and other streams such as the Patriotic Liberal Movement, and some communist stream.[60] However, many Arabs have

[56] Ibid. p. 104.
[57] Bishara, Azmi. (2009) 'To be an Arab in the world of today,' Arab Unity Studies Center, Beirut.
[58] For more arguaments about the Arab nationalism; see the following:
Abdul Aziz al-Douri,. 'The historical roots of Arab nationalism,' Arab Unity Studies Center, 2008, Beirut. p. 24.
See also al-Housary and Satee. 'Opinions and speeches of Arab nationalism', al-Itemad Press, Cairo, P. 78-82.
[59] Yusuf Khalil Yusuf. (1967) "Arab nationalism and role of education in achieving it", Dar al-Katib al-Arabi Pub., p. 23-45.
[60] Seif al-Dawla, Ismet. (1986). 'Arabism and Islam,' Arab Unity Studies Center. Beirut, Second Edition, p. 9.

questioned their belief in the Arab nationalism lately, and doubt whether there is a collective Arab or it was just a beautiful song that they used to listen to repeatedly, and that was obvious in Arab modern literature and some of the Arab art works, such as Nizar Qabbani, the most widely read contemporary Arab poet and critic, he wrote once; "Are we Arabs one big lie?" he questioned this in the midst of the latest Gulf crisis, in his poem "Balqis"[61] wondered whether the "Arabic championship" was just an Arabic lie? Or there was something wrong with their history.

After the failure of the Pan-Arabism; unfortunately that many of the Arab nationalists did not realize that any nationalist or religious political project won't work in the twenty first century, my argument may not be a scientific argument, However, there is recent survey which support my idea, the survey stated that half of the Arab nationalist intellectuals believe that Arab unity can only be achieved by force, not by democracy.[62]

As the fall of the Arab nationalists' stream accompanied by the rise of political Islam in the Arab world, actually the political Islamic is a cross-border project in its nature ideology, which believes in Arab unity of course, but establishing an Islamic state is its priority. However, the decline of the Arab Nationalists movement led to an Instability of power in some countries (such as Iraq, Egypt, Yemen and Libya) or internal retreat or subordination to external foreign powers (such as Syria, which is linked to Iran). Such challenges highlighted the need for the renewal of the Arab nationalist in the Arab world in order to reestablish it but with corporation to some other regional non-Arab powers.[63] That was obvious during the Arab spring uprisings in

[61] 'Balqes poem' was a famous poem, by Nizar Qabany.
[62] The survey was conducted by researchers at Yarmuk University, and included almost one thousand respondents from several Arab countries. See Al-Mustaqbal al-arabi (Beirut) 164 (October 1992): 27-33.
[63] Ikhwan Online. 'The Muslim Brotherhood's Attitude towards nationalism, the Arab league, and Arab unity.' January 1, 2010.

Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, there was a new call for reestablishment of Arab unity, through some Facebook pages.[64]

1.4.3. Impact of Globalization on Citizenship Context

Globalization has made our world more connected thanks to the information and communication technologies, and is trying to push towards a unique and one economic system, where multinationals are located in its core. It is being a main cause in the weakening of the nation-state in terms of its sovereignty, and also in pushing people to return back to their ethnic and local referential. One of these variables is seen in the fact that we started to doubt in the relative independence of the nation state, along with that we see that globalization – which includes lots of Western values - doesn't respect the principle of the region as a geographic specter anymore, and also refuses the relation between the authority and the place. Globalization also reduced ideologically nation cultures, which were relatively defined and independent, as every nation state in the world is now formed of many ethnic groups, who have their own languages, histories, and heritages. In addition to that, the rapid development in information and communication technologies led to the emergence of high level of cultural interaction, in parallel with pressing on local and national cultures middle. Globalization has also pushed towards the increase in people's movements across the national borders. The period between 1945 and 1980 has witnessed high immigration rates of people from various backgrounds, permanent and temporary. The immigration of workers, refugees, families and individuals, skilled and unskilled people gave a result of heterogeneous societies culturally and ethnically speaking, but most importantly in terms of social justice and the distribution of wealth. In this flow of facts, some questions are raised related to the citizenship of these immigrants and their children towards their receiving societies. Some thinkers have even claimed that the national citizenship lives in a crisis

[64] Markaz e'ila'am al Qouds. 'The regional revolution renewed hopes of the Arab unity,' May 24, 2011.

whose aspects are the dissociation of the link between immigrant citizens and their nation which was once their country, and the weakness of their link with the new Nation State to which they have immigrated. This has led to the emergence of the global citizenship not yet fulfilled. And between the global citizenship and the national one we find a range of citizenships still forming, the thing that have pushed some thinkers to think of analyzing such citizenships in their flow of constitution, whereas others still stick to the nation state citizenship model.

The first point of view is seen in the range of ideas presented by Kenichi Ohmae, which states that the core of citizenship and the nation state is undergoing change due to the forces of the resisting globalization. These latter imposed a lot of rectifications to the types of citizenship, these are linked to the ideas about technocrats, which focus on the vacation towards administration with a global aspect, and also to the political theories which focus on the increasing role of the standards of transnational human rights. At first Ohmae states that a transnational authority has been effectively developed, and he names it "Interlinked Economy," which formed of the trio of the United States of America, Europe, and Japan. This new power policy works on insuring the free flow of information, money, goods, and services, as well as the free immigration of people and institutions, therefore pushing traditional governments to start installing a new framework to Global Governance.[65]

The global economy is, thus, guided by the choices of clients, which impose a complete openness of all the economies to each other. In this point, the government is obliged to cease protectionism and start working with a conviction that the people will lead a dignified life, if they have the possibility to get better and cheaper goods and services from anywhere in the world.[66] The flow of information across the world also leads to the transformation of people to global citizens following consciously what's

[65] Kenichi, Ohmae. (1995). 'The end of the nation sate, the rise of regional economics', New York, p. 30.
[66] Kenichi, Ohmae. (1991). 'The borderless World,' New York, p. 1.

happening in the whole world, not only the Muslim world, in terms of tastes, preferences, humans' characteristics, sports, and life styles.[67]

Following this line of thought, we find Ohmae summarizing the philosophical idea related to "the eternal life" in the right to buy sophisticated quality goods, therefore, we see that the global citizenship tends to reduce the role of the government to only displacing the barriers out of companies and multinationals ways. In relation with that Ohmae notices that the borderless world is seen as a non-confortable place for those who believe in the national independence. The developing states which are trying to build their economy based on consumption trend; will then fail, because instead of encouraging their national products, they will be obliged to open their borders for the free movement of goods and capitals, regardless of societal costs. Ohmae also states that the borderless world will hold bad news for those who believe in democracy, because the governments will be increasingly unable, and the right in electing them will become nonsense. There are no democratic mechanisms in the places of global markets and multinationals. As a result we see that the global citizen in Ohmae's view is oriented by the consumption tendency and not the democratic one.[68]

Yasemin Soysal has presented a different conception of citizenship or "the post-national membership." In relation with that we see that she affirms that "we observe the uncovering of a new concept of citizenship more global than the period of the postwar." The regulating and legalizing principles of this concept are based more on the global personality rather than the national affiliation.[69] Soysal criticizes researchers in socio-politics for stopping at the nation state with borders as being a zone of rights by saying that "the formal classical system of the nation state and the citizenship related to it has irrevocably ended, the State is no more a receiving organism closed on limited national inhabitants. On the contrary we have an arrangement of constitutionally linked States

[67] Ibid, p. 18-22.
[68] Ibid, p. 22.
[69] Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal. (1994) 'Limit of citizenship: Migrants and post national membership in Europe', University of Chicago Press, p. 1.

with memberships or multi-citizenships.[70] Soysal also claims that there international pressures towards a bigger extension of individual rights, the thing that resulted in an increase in the integration of foreigners in the current citizenship frameworks. At the same time the extension of membership to transnational citizens led to a rectification in the models of current membership or citizenship, and made the national citizenship less important. Soysal ends to an important result, where she confirms that the emergence of the global personality quickly led to the erosion of the nation state limited by borders. In her point of view, this type of nation state was the prevalent or the controlling for a very short period of time from mid nineteenth century till mid twentieth century. The model of Yasemin Soysal related to the affiliation to the nationalist dimension is based on the Universal Human Rights, as defined by international declarations and agreements issued by international institutions like the United Nations, and that were included in the constitutions of the nation states. And although international calls are still implemented by nation-states, they are not limited anymore on citizenship going beyond the laws, which has its rules inside the European Union.[71]

Robert B. Reich starts where Yasemin Soysal ended, although he goes in the opposite way. So, if Soysal confirmed that the post-national membership is about to realize itself, Robert Reich confirms that the nation-state is still the sole reference for citizenship, and might always be, he also added that the global citizenship is built based on realities of a world formed from the nation-state. the nation-State is still the most convincing reference for democratic citizenship, even with international pressures, which push towards changing this field. Reich continues to present a convincing analysis to the influence of globalization, saying that "if all the factors of production – money, technology, factories, and machines- move smoothly through borders, claiming a national economy become non-sense. The question asked by Reich is about the possibility of the rise of a national society in the absence of a national economy. In relation with that, Reich goes to link the idea of the enrolment of the democratic nation-

[70] Ibid. p. 163-164.
[71] Ibid. p. 165.

state which relied on the unity of national interests despite the divisions of classes, globalization and technological change, however, overthrew the basics of national solidarity. As a result; three categories have been created forming the core of hierarchical building:

1. Multi-task workers in multiple life domains.
2. Monotonous production workers. And this category is decreasing.
3. Symbolic analysts, who have high skills and are able to spot problems in the modern society and present solutions to them.

And if we observe well the three categories we will figure out that the first and the second categories are oriented towards working in national and local markets, and do not care of working in the United States or in Japan or in any multinational. On the contrary, we find that symbolic analysts have their national control on the economic power. Therefore, their incomes are much higher than the ones of the two other categories. The workers of the third category have started moving away from the society, they have also stopped contributing to the general expense; instead they spend their money on their excellent schools, their health care systems, and their pastime styles. Moreover, they control the political power, and they see no justification that the rest of the nation contributes with them. On this basis, the political and social interaction swings between those who want to pull back the clock's hands and the cosmopolitan people who feel like global citizens, and believe that there are no specific links which link them to any society.[72]

The main answer presented by Reich to such a status lays in the reaffirming on national solidarity, or in the fact that "the symbolic analysts" are not able to protect themselves, their families, and their wealth from the threat of being looted by the authorities. Reich also focuses on the importance to call for "New Patriotism" based on the faithfulness to the place and not to economic interests. This requires a feeling of

[72] Robert B. Reich. (1991) 'The work of nations', Routledge, New York, p. 8.

belonging and relation to a national objective backed by one of the historic, cultural and political engagements.[73] This means that if Reich knew that a category in the society turned to global citizenship, he nevertheless, focused on the importance of its assimilation inside the solidarity of the nation-state.

Dominique Schnapper's point of view is another one related to the status of citizenship in relation with state and globalization. At first, Castles and Davidson quoted from Schnapper that there are internal and external factors which have weakened the nation state. The external factors are linked to globalization and the increasing of other unities superior to the national unity. For instance, we find that the universal political system –as incarnated in the United Nations- has the possibility to restrict the national power and independence. The need, then, to a collaborative action in order to achieve global security, and to face terrorism, and to limit drugs expansion, makes of the collaboration between the States a crucial act. On the economic level international markets and the growing importance of some international institutions and organizations make it impossible for independent economic policies to be built in national terms.[74]

In addition to that, and according to Castles and Davidson; Schnapper notices that there are contradictions which weaken the state from the interior. The state is also weakening itself by itself through the collapse of its general fundamental systems, like education, the military, the judiciary, and the public services, which play a role in educating the people on the values of the nation and democracy.

Schnapper, thus, presents an analysis to the crisis of democratic citizenship, and sees that the nation state suffers from the growth of a consciousness separated between the majority and the minority, in addition to various types of religious identities. To face that, Castles and Davidson confirm that Schnapper refuses clearly the idea of a multicultural society, assuming that the tendency towards multiculturalism presents

[73] Ibid, p. 311-312.
[74] Stephen Castles. And Alastair Davidson. (2005) 'Citizenship and migration: globalization and the politics of belonging', Routledge. p. 21.

formal shallow solutions to the contradiction between two big value systems of modernity: the values related to the equality between individuals, which are included in citizenship, and the tendency that related the individual to a certain culture. In relation with that Schnapper affirms that decentralization and local democracy are not enough to unify the citizens around a project targeting the establishment of a common will.[75]

By exposing the four points of views on citizenship, it is clear now that the nation state is facing big difficulties. As we have seen that some have confirmed that there are global citizenship premises that the inability of the nation state pushes for. Nation state also suffers from internal contradiction in front of the support of institutions and international interactions accompanied by globalization. Others, on the other hand, see that nation state is actually encountering pressures emanating from internal and external variables, yet it is still persisting and forms the fundament of citizenship, despite the new phenomena and forms imposed by globalization on it, so that it takes them into consideration in order to create a hybrid democratic citizenship to escape the crisis status.

[75] Ibid, p. 24.

CHAPTER II

CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN RIGHTS: LEGAL AND EDUCATIONAL DIMENSIONS

This chapter studies the historical development of human rights in some regional and international conventions, and how they could impact citizenship understanding. Both of the concepts; human rights and citizenship values have their roots in the historical struggle of the mankind, in achieving equality, freedoms and some basic rights. The sum of these rights are the most principles of modern citizenship concept. Therefore, in this chapter, I basically focus on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as one of the fundamental conventional resources in our modern world, mainly after the second World War, taking care of human rights nationally and internationally. I will then focus on three main points of the Declaration. The first one looks at the essence of that declaration and its definition in a general way. The second point ponders upon the controversy which raged about the mandatory legal value of the declaration; whereas the third point sheds light on the important articles of the declaration, namely rights and freedoms in general,[76] and how those freedoms and rights impacted the Muslim World.

2.1. The Development of Human Rights in International and Regional Conventions

The first modern human rights concept might back to the year 1101 in England, when the king Henry announced down at the insistence of the nobility and bourgeois, which known as Charter of Liberties.[77] Later on in England also; in the year 1215, after the people's revolution against the tyranny of King Jean without land “Jean sans Terre,”

[76] Mary Ann, Glendon. (2004) 'The Rule of Law in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' Vol. 2.
[77] ‘Charter of liberties of King Henry I’, A.D. 1100, National Humanities Institute.

what was known as the great document "Magna Carta."[78] Moreover, the struggle on acheiving better human rights conditions continued until 1776, basically in the United States, the Declaration of Independence was issued, included some important principles such as equality between people, enjoyment of the right to live, liberty, and happiness.[79] Nevertheless, the struggle for equality between people, did not stop in the U.S. only, but it was moving toward Europe as well, and particularly in France, on August 26, 1789, just after the French Revolution triumph, the French Human Rights was announced as the Declaration of Human Rights and Citizen, "Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen." The declaration was focused on power and the way to exercise it, in addition to the public and individual freedoms that would contribute to the evolution of society.[80]

Based on these Western human rights declarations; most of Western constitutions have stressed on human rights terms in similar ways, which almost all of them recognized some basic human rights values, such as the equality, the right to free education, freedoms of thought, expression, assembly, demonstration and trade unions, individual freedom, freedom of residence and settlement, communications, and the right of political asylum to the persecuted foreigners. However, the great human rights development came under the United Nations efforts that were through the Economic and Social Council. The U. N. developed a number of charters through the Commission of Human Rights that were known later as "International Bill of Human Rights," which is as follows:

- The Commission of Human Rights 1946.
- The Sub - Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities 1947.

[78] British Library, "Essential information about Magna Carta. Why was it created? What does it say and why has it become one of the most celebrated documents in history?" - See more at: http://www.bl.uk/magna-carta/articles/magna-carta-an-introduction#sthash.OKS8yyBN.dpuf

[79] 'The Declaration of Independence & the Constitution of the United States' http://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/USCIS/Office%20of%20Citizenship/Citizenship%20Resource%20Center%20Site/Publications/PDFs/M-654.pdf

[80] 'Declaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen du 26 aout 1789' http://www.adressrlr.cndp.fr/uploads/media/001_1789_2608.pdf

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. (U D H R).

Beside these conventions; there were some other regional human rights treaties as well:

- The European Convention of Human Rights 1950 (E C H R), and it included three main bodies:

The European Commission of Human Rights 1954

The Committee of Ministers 1954

The European Court of Human Rights 1959

- The Inter-American Human Rights System. (A M H R), It also includes two bodies:
  The Inter-American Commission for Human Rights 1960.
  The Inter-American Court for Human Rights 1969.
- The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights 1966, (I C C P R), which ensures about citizenship concept and requires rights must be recognized "without distinction of any kind of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status"
- The African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples Rights. (A F M R).[81]
- Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam 1990.[82]
- The Arab Charter of Human Rights.[83]

As there were many international conferences on Human Rights around the world, to make sure that all the conventions on human rights shall be applied internationally.

[81] 'African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights', Adopted in Nairobi June 27, 1981, Entered into Force October 21, 1986. http://www.humanrights.se/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/African-Charter-on-Human-and-Peoples-Rights.pdf

[82] 'Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam 1990', http://www.arabhumanrights.org/publications/regional/islamic/cairo-declaration-islam-93e.pdf

[83] 'The Arab Charter of human rights.' http://www.arablegalportal.org/associations/Images/Convention/H2.pdf

2.2. The Essence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as one of the Conventional Sources of the International Care for Human Rights"

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was released after the decision (recommendation) of the United Nations General Assembly N° 217 (the third ordinary session) in December 10th, 1948. The issuance of the declaration in a near unanimous approval, where 48 states out of 56 voted for it, with no opposition, whereas eight states, including six of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics USSR, Saudi Arabia and the Union of South Africa abstained from voting. These states were considered back then as socialist states.[84]

The declaration contained an introduction and thirty articles. The writers of the declaration confirmed in the introduction the general principles which focus on the unity of the human family, and on the obligation to respect the human dignity, and the importance that every person should enjoy his/her rights and fundamental freedoms. The thirty articles, on the other hand, especially the first and the second focused on the three governing principles according to what appears in the declaration in terms of rules and regulations related to human rights. These principles are: the principle of freedom, the principle of equality, and the principle of non-discrimination.[85] The care of the declaration writers to point out to these three governing principles to the system of human rights and basic freedoms doesn't demonstrate a new development in this framework, but is rather a natural development of what have been established before in religious values, political and philosophical thought, and principles of the human revolutions. As we know the monotheist religions have urged on the obligation to respect the rights of all human beings, and on equality, and non-discrimination. We can even go further, without exaggerating, and say that the ideas and religious values related to that subject represent "guiding principles" to a lot of national and international

[84] Johannes Morsink. (2000). "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Drafting, rigins & Intent", Pennsylvania studies in human rights, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 21.
[85] 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights', Articles 1 and 2, September 21, 2010, http://www.supremecourt.ge/files/upload-file/pdf/act3.pdf

political and judicial systems, including many universal conventions and declarations, and even national constitutions of many states.[86]

2.2.1. The Controversy which Raged about the Mandatory Legal Value of the Declaration

Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emerged thanks to a majority vote, however there was a big controversy about it from the first time it appeared in. The controversy was mainly about its mandatory regulations, and the extent of the possibility to implement a judicial case about the international responsibility versus a State or States which do not abide by the rules of the declaration… the participants in that controversy aligned to one of the following three opinions:

The first opinion sees that the declaration doesn't hold any mandatory legal value, the holders of this opinion stick to the saying that the declaration is not more than reinforcement to the general principles founded in the human conscience, and which human rights on national and international levels are based on. The main idea behind that is that the declaration has no mandatory legal value… and based on that saying, the commitment or no to the articles of the declaration is let to the will of the signing States, whether in an individual or cooperative level, a thing which implies the impossibility to present any case of the international responsibility against any State which doesn't abide by the articles of the declaration.

The second opinion discusses the extent of the implementation of the declaration's articles by dividing them into two categories:

The first category includes the rules and principles recurring in the international usage, which makes of them an integral part in the regulations of that international usage, making of them a mandatory law. And based on that any disrespect to the content

[86] Ahmed, al Dassoki. 'Citizenship and human rights in the light of national legislation and international convention.' Dar al-Roda, p. 39.

of these rules and principles might be considered as a legal and objective reason for an international intervention.

The second category includes the other regulations not mentioned in the first ones. These regulations have no mandatory legal value, which means that their legal value doesn't differ a lot from the recommendations of the General Assembly.[87]

The third opinion states that the declaration has a mandatory legal value. The holders of this opinion base their argument saying that the commitment of the States to the rules and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights doesn't actually emanate from itself, more than it emanates from the rules of the Charter of the United Nations. When the General Assembly of the United Nations by releasing that declaration in 1948 intended to point out in a more detailed way to what appeared in the Charter of that organization, focusing on the commitment of states to reinforcing the implementation of human rights and basic freedoms, and providing the necessary guarantees to their practices, which cam on Charter of the U.N. articles 55 and 56. In fact, such a legal controversy about the legal value of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has no theoretical and scientific value anymore, as the events and progress in the interest in rights and related freedoms in the international level surpassed it. We might even dare and say that it has become obvious after half a century from the releasing of the declaration that the ordering legal rules on which the declaration is based form an integral part in what we can describe as "the global world system", in comparison with the idea of the "general system" in internal and national societies.

This conclusion might lead us the understanding the reality which states that after that human rights and the basic freedoms got the interest and involvement of researchers in the domain of constitutional law, they have become now one of the subjects which interest researchers in the domain of international law and international relations. In

[87] Mary Ann, Glendon. (2004) 'The Rule of Law in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights', Northwestern University School of Law Volume 2 (Spring 2004), Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights.

addition to that, and although it is true that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, - even if it didn't bring anything new to the human thinking in general in terms of its view to the human with the perspective of rights and freedoms, - inaugurated an important period in showing the role of the international community in reinforcing those rights and freedoms, and providing the necessary guarantees to their practices globally, and especially in the Muslim World.[88]

2.2.2. Human Rights and Basic Freedoms According to the Declaration

The writers of the declaration in the articles 3 to 28, pointed out to the different classifications of the various basic rights and freedoms of every individual as a human living in an organized community, yet without detailing. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights signed in 1966, took care of the said details… what we observe, thus, is that the declaration gave more interest to the traditional system of rights called by researchers; the civil and political rights as the right in life, the right in freedom, the right in security, and the right in protection from torture.

It is very clear that the writers of the declaration were scrupulous in adopting an impartial attitude between the liberal and socialist (communist) systems prevailing back then… In fact, a lot of the rights that the declaration didn't take into consideration, or the basic details related to it were mentioned in future new conventions as:

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the international covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights.
- The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

[88] See Jochen von Bernstorff. (2008) "The Changing Fortunes of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Genesis and Symbolic Dimensions of the Turn to Rights in International Law", the European Journal of International Law Vol. 19 no. 5, EJIL 2008.

All of these conventions have had strong impacts on the world, whether directly or indirectly.

2.3. The Echo of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the Muslim World

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was received in a very cautious manner in most of the Islamic World countries, due to a number of factors, psychological and substantive ones. However, with the beginning of the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, and even though it's not easy to find enough books related to the modern citizenship concept in the Arab and Muslim world libraries; many Muslims began to show some interests in human rights issue from an Islamic perspective, as a result of some factors that have occurred in the era. Nevertheless, several supportive books and articles of human rights in Islam emerged after crystallization the Islamic thoughts on human rights from an Islamic view.[89] In this regards, one of the most prominent Egyptian writers and preachers; Sheikh Mohammed al-Ghazali (1917-1996), in his book "Human rights between teachings of Islam and the United Nations' Declaration (1992)," he believed that human rights principles are Islamic based principles. According to the introduction of his book, he argued that "human rights principles are being deported to us {this US means Muslims} after we used to export them to peoples, as humane revealed that we have never experienced such values, we own a legacy full of principles and high ideals, I am afraid that there comes a time when the West would deporte to us some basic principles such as washing faces, hands and feet, as a humanitarian cleanliness of bodies."[90] al-Ghazali means that he's afraid one day; the West would teach Muslims the Islamic ablution method. It was obvious that al-

[89] Abdullah b. Abdul Mohsin Al Turki. (1999). "Human Rights in Islam", the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Ershad Pub. First Edition, Saudi Arabia.
Also, Muhammed, Amara. And Ezzat, Qourani. 'Islam and Human Rights", A'alamul ma'arifah 1989.
[90] Muhammad, al-Ghazali. (1992) 'Human rights between the teachings of Islam and the Declaration of the United Nations', Nahdat Masr Pub. Fourth Edition, 2005, p. 210.

Ghazali had a total different view as many Muslims who believe that principles pf the Universal Declaration Human Rights was not something new to the Muslim World.

Mohammed Arkoun, an expert in Islamic studies and Islamic heritage, and professor at the Sorbonne University, he stands on the other side of the modern Muslim intellectuals, he argues in his book "Humanisme Et Islam: Combats Et Propositions" that "The Muslim thought has lagged or has left behind since a long time ago, it cannot absorb the creative outcome of the Arab-Islamic heritage, especially in the - humanitarian innovative - that was dominant in the classical rationality period. Such an underdevelopment was obvious, especially in the last third of the twentieth century, it happened due to some fundamentalist movements – Takfirists – escalation."[91]

It's quite obvious that both of the authors still have some common ground until now, but later on; they seemed to take total different and contradictory ways. Akoun questioned elsewhere on the Islamic declaration of human rights, and its aligning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was by the U.N. he argued that "The principles mentioned in the Islamic declaration shows us how Muslims pleading and begging Quran, and use it to meet their needs, they interpret and use Quran in the form that would be appropriate with their needs, in order to generate an Islamic human rights that would meet with the European and Western human rights, as proclaimed by the French Revolution."[92]

As we can see from the two different point of views, I claim that the Islamic thought still unstable up to date, regarding whether the declaration of the Universal Human Rights can function in the Muslim World or not, even thought there're many Muslim scholars argued that the Universal Human Rights are Islamic based rights. However, there's always been a big argument going on inside the Muslim thougth, as some accept it, and some criticize it, or even reject it, and that's why there were three

[91] Mohammed, Arkoun. (2005) 'Humanisme et islam. Combats et propositions', Paris, Vrin. P. 212.
[92] Ibid. p. 218.

Islamic declarations for human rights in different places and diferent times.[93] Hence, I calim that the Muslim World needs to make more efforts to elaborate Muslim's position toward the Universal Human Rights of the 1948, and address the points of disagreement between the global vision of human rights and the Islamic vision. Declaring hundreds of Islamic human rights will not transform the Muslim world into a democratic Muslim society, nor into a better citizenship concept, as there are many non-Muslim citizens live in the Muslim world. How comes Muslims could set up a declaration based on the Islamic law (Shari'a) when there're millions of non – Muslim citizens share the countries with them? Such a behavior would may lead to Christian, Buddhist, Jewish, or Coptic declarations of human rights that would take the global humanity nowhere. There should only be unique Universal Human Rights for all people over the world, as long as all the humanity shares same values and principles of human rights, those principles are strongly rooted in our humanitarian history, as we have seen that through the development of human rights and citizenship concepts.

2.4. The Impact of The Universal Human Rights on the Muslim World

As we have previously seen in the first chapter how globalization influenced modern citizenship concept, same thing happened to human rights values before the citizenship, as long as globalization doesn't respect the principle of the region as a geographical specter anymore, and we knew that globalization reduced ideologically nation cultures, which were relatively defined and independent. Another reason is the rapid development in information and communication technologies led to emergence of high level of cultural interaction, in parallel with pressing on local and national cultures middle. Not only, but as globalization has also pushed towards the increase in people's movements across the national borders; it did also towards the spread of new concept of

[93] Robert Carle. "Revealing and Concealing: Islamist Discourse on Human Rights", //insct.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Carle.2005.Revealing-and-Concealing.Islamist-Discourse-on-HR3.pdf
And "Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, Aug. 5, 1999"
http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/cairodeclaration.html

the universal human rights. As there are some other factors that can be explained as the reasons behind the new impact in the Muslim World.

2.4.1. The Role of Human Rights NGO's in the Muslim World

"A Human Rights group, or Human Rights organization, is a non-governmental organization which advocates for human rights," NGOs constitute the foundation stone in the promotion and protection of human rights everywhere in the world. By affecting the discussions, decisions, procedures for various human rights' conventions and objective measures of the United Nations bodies, they also provide information about the conditions of their countries in general or on specific cases that will enrich the work of these bodies to monitor some humanitarian situations and make specific recommendations to the concerned countries.[94]

Human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a vital role in the world, especially in the third world countries, like the Muslim World that faced decades of human rights violation. Many non-governmental organizations provide training and carry out programs for education and human rights' education, as they monitor compliance with the mechanisms recommendations. As long as those organizations are part of the United Nations activities, are serving humanitarian goals, whether social, cultural or environmental. There are hundreds of NGOs concerned on the protection of human rights and some fundamental freedoms in the world, the most active of these organizations in the Muslim world are:

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

Amnesty International (commonly known as Amnesty and AI)

The World Council of Churches (WCC)

Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights.

[94] Wikipedia, 'Human rights group', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights_group

Minority Rights Group International (MRG)

The International Association of Penal Law (AIDP) (French: L'Association Internationale de Droit Penal)

Some of these NGOs and some other NGOs have been working in most of the Islamic countries to raise awareness of human rights in those communities and exchange information, research and analysis regarding human rights and to mobilizing people according to the United Nations human rights machinery. With regards to this, Alia M. A'al Fared argued in her research about the reality of the NGOs impacting human rights in the Saudi society; she cited that "By the arrival of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud into power in August 2005, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia KSA has reduced some of the restrictions that were experienced by the community, which included four main issues linked to the human rights, such as freedom of expression, integrity of the justice system, religious tolerance, women rights, therefore, the Saudis became more free compared to five years ago,"[95] she concluded that it was not easy to imagine the vital role the human rights can play in such a country which does not have a constitution according to the global meaning, rather a fundamental system of government that states general principles as "Quran and the Sunnah of his prophet are its constitution"[96]

[95] Alia M. A'al Fared. (2013) 'The role of civil society organizations and the protection of human rights in Saudi Arabia', Aafaak Center for Studies and Research.

[96] Ibid.

For similar issues regarding the role of human rights NGOs in the Muslim world; see the study of Heba Mohamed Fouad, "Human Rights Watch's role in monitoring and responding to human rights violations in Egypt."

Also see Ayse Betûl Çelik. (2005). 'Transnationalization of human rights, norms and its impact on internally displaced Kurds', human rights quarterly, Johns Hopkins University Press.

2.4.2. The U.S. Democracy Promotion and Human Rights Values in the Muslim World

There have been much talks on human rights in the Muslim world lately, while **t**he United States sees itself traditionally as democracy and human rights incubator in the world, especially in the Arab and Muslim world, has been widely discredited through its close association with the war on Iraq and Afghanistan. The U.S always has been calling for global human rights and democracy adoption as long as both of the values are two sides of the same coin. The promotion of democracy came within the strategic concepts of George W. Bush's foreign policy as a way of building democracy and human rights principles in the Muslim World; that would contribute to the war against seeds of terrorism, and drying up its sources.[97]

Such an approach continued for a long period of time, it was obvious during the U.S. Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's speech when she delivered a sharp call for democratic reform in the Arab World, in a major policy speech in Cairo, she critized Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as she said "For sixty years, my country, the United States, pursued stability at the expense of democracy in this region, here in the Middle East, and we achieved neither." [98]The U.S. could not reach the stability nor the democratization process that they wanted, even though former President of the U.S. George W. Bush was famously calling for promotion of democracy in the MENA, his campaign was a major anchor and took a deep position in the U.S. foreign policy by the time. However, he was not the only U.S. president who used such a language, almost most of the presidents of the United States called for it globally, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, or perhaps with Thomas Jefferson In 1793, as Michael Singh argued. However, Bush was the first U.S. president who declared "Greater Middle East

[97] Thomas, Carothers. 'U.S. democracy promotion during and after Bush', Carnegie endowment for International peace Pub. 2007, p. 3-20.
[98] 'Rice calls for Mid-East democracy' http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4109902.stm
Also see Xenia, Dormandy. (2012). 'Reversing Pakistan's descent: empowering its middle class', center for strategic and International studies, the Washington Quarterly, p. 157-173.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2012.666924

Initiative." In the same month of the declaration; Washington forwarded the draft of the initiative to the industrialized nations - G8 members – which included (Germany, France, England, Japan, Spain, Italy, Canada, the United States) - to read it and feedback on it. The initiative indicated the need to promote democracy and good governance in the Middle East as it said "there is a big gap between the Arab countries and other regions in terms of participatory governance."

Even though both of the United States and Europe responded to promote reform in the region in general, the European Union did not translate - as the United States did - to promote democracy and human rights into concrete actions, and of course there were various reasons for such deficit.[99] President Bush also signed on October 9, 2008 the called NSPD 58 Institutionalizing the freedom agenda to serve as a blueprint for future administrations promoting democracy and freedom on a regular basis. That was one of the justifications offered by the Bush administration for the war on Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime and establish democratic systems based on human rights in Iraq and the whole MENA. However, such a project did not work in Iraq, hence, many Muslims and even some Western scholars criticized the Bush agenda, and argued that it went into a negative direction of building the principles of democracy and human rights that Bush used to promote for.[100] On the other hand, and regardless of one's position on the war in Iraq or the international efforts to combat terrorism; we found some other trends that support the Bush initiative, as it was on the right track of building democracy and Human rights for the citizens of the Muslim World. In this respect, Michael Singh argued that there are evidences indicating the U.S. efforts in promoting democracy during the period of the years 2001-2009 have led to important results. "Due to the continuous urge led by president Bush,[101] especially regarding the Middle East,

[99] See Mona, Yacoubian. "The promotion of democracy in the Middle East: European initiatives", United States Institue of Peace, special report. October 13, 2004, http://www.usip.org/publications/promoting-middle-east-democracy-european-initiatives

[100] See Peter, Kaminsky. And Chuck Hagel. (2008) 'America: our next chapter', Ecco Pub. Hagel called the American military invasion in Iraq under Bush administration as "misguided and dangerous.'

[101] See Oussama F. Moukhaimar. "Regional changes and its impact on human rights after September 11: The case study of Iraq", Al-Moneera Pub. 2011.

provided good measure of political space for reformers, as freedom and democracy standards were increasingly becoming part of the public discourses and demands in the region. Even in places where democratic progress was negligible, language of the debate began to change, and that was not a simple achievement of course."[102] In this regards, in 2001, Freedom House listed fourteen countries of the MENA region as "not free" and three as "partly free." But those figures were eleven and six respectively by 2008, which support the point of view of Singh.[103]

There have been many things changed in the Muslim World's draft laws that support and promote freedom and human rights issues, for example, a draft resolution was introduced in the Egyptian house of representatives on February 26, 2009, titled "call of the Egyptian government on human rights' respect, religious, freedoms and freedom of expression in Egypt". These also reflect the impact of such pressures by Obama administration's statements made on behalf of the U.S. state department on September 29, 2010 entitled "Egypt's civil society and freedom of association," which demanded the Egyptian government to allow civil society organizations working freely within the Egyptian society, respecting freedom of expression and providing an opportunity to establish a social associations according to the international obligations.[104]

Democracy and human rights worth the sacrifices of a broad section nations of the whole world, particularly in the Muslim World. However, it is important to distinguish between the objective and the means that can be used to achieve such purpose. There is a big difference between the aggressive promotion of human rights and democratic

[102] Michael, Singh. "The U.S. approach to promoting democracy in the Middle East", paper presented at a conference organized by the Euro-Mediterranean foundation of support to human rights defenders (EMHRF): Democratic change in the Arab region: state policy and the dynamics of the civil society, April 2-3, 2011, Brussels.'

[103] Freedom house data from http://www.freedomhouse.org, accessed March 18, 2011.

[104] Laura Rozen. "Politico cites IRI-NDI letter urging Egypt to allow International Election Monitors, September 30, 2010, http://www.iri.org/news-events-press-center/news/politico-cites-iri-ndi-letter-urging-egypt-allow-international-electio

See also 'Joint Letter to president Obama on Egypt's Crackdown on civil society', November 06, 2014 http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/resource/joint-letter-president-obama-egypts-crackdown-civil-society

values that were used during the Bush administration and the gentle and soft support for democracy and human rights that the Obama administration has used. Although it doesn't matter which way was softer or whether Bush was right about establishing democracy in the Muslim and Arab world. I claim that the recent Arab spring, with its popular uprisings in many Arab countries, has proven to us that the Arab world has been impacted by the universal human rights' values, and meanwhile, it has exposed the confusion at the heart of American promotion for democracy in the MENA. The massive demonstrations in Egypt, Yemen, Tunisia, the smaller ones in Jordan, and Malaysia, all of them have shown us the influence of the Western campaign led in order to improve human rights, stability and democracy in the Islamic world, and the need of justice among its citizens. Not only, but these revolutions will undoubtedly re-evaluate the United States promotion of democracy in the MENA. However, the Arab spring and what's going on in the Middle East with the "Islamic state," have proven to us that the Muslim world trembled by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Western ideas of democratization, is passing through the gravest socio-citizenship, economic and political crisis in the history of civilization that needs to be solved by the pricinples of human rights and citizenship education, instead of investing in war.

2.5. Citizenship Education in the Muslim World

Education for citizenship plays a very important role in educational reform, by promoting principles and values of human rights within the educational learning process. Therefore, I believe that there should be a serious education for citizenship programs that would be based on human rights values for the Muslim World, or even let's call it "Human Rights Education," such a trend, I do not mean education and giving knowledge and perceptions about human rights only for children, however, aiming to come up with values that are associated with such rights. As many countries of the world have adopted the principle of citizenship, as a strategic objective of their education goals, there is no tendency to apply a limited strategy in the curriculum, as some countries tend to include citizenship within the social studies curriculum, while

others integrate it in some other teaching curriculums or activities within different methodology under different names, such as Humanitarian Values in Finland, One World in Germany, and Moral Education in Malaysia.

Even though citizenship education is not a new global phenomenon, as its beginnings date to the writings of Plato and Aristotle. However, democratic citizenship education programs are not implemented seriously in public Islamic educational institutions in most of the Muslim World countries due to many reasons, as some political regimes in those countries are intented on preserving autocratic values and curb freedoms, as a consequence of high levels of illiteracy that usually produced very religious citizens or patriotic citizens in those countries. The educational system in most of the Muslim World countries still instill submission and obedience in their students to the regime and religion, rather than freedom of thought and critical thinking. Many researchers have analyzed the educational systems in Egypt and Tunisia, concluding that the outgoing regimes were consciously trying to create systems that produce submissive and dependent students who are less apt to challenge authority.[105]

In respect to this, Muhammad Faour and Marwan Muasher argued in their paper "Education for Citizenship in the Arab World: Key to the Future," that Education reform initiatives in the Arab countries have not dealt with the citizenship education as it deserves, it either ignored or failed to address citizenship education. They claimed that curricula typically include civic education that reflect "the state ideology, laws, and policies, as well as a strong ethics section emphasizing moral and often religious values and norms."

It won't be fair to apply such an approach to all of the Muslim World, as there're some Muslim countries that have been taking very huge steps in dealing with citizenship

[105] Mustafa, Qasim. (2006) 'Education and Citizenship', Cairo Institute for Human Rights.
And Pakinaz Baraka, (2007) "Citizenship education in Egyptian public schools: What values to teach and in which administrative and political contexts," Journal of Education for International Development, vol. 3, no. 3. Also N. Ayed et al, "Education, diversité et cohésion sociale en Tunisie," en education, diversité et cohésion sociale en Méditerranée occidentale, edited by S. Tawil et al Rabat: UNESCO, 2010.

education, such as Indonesia and Malaysia that nationally designed and implemented with wonderful education for citizenship.[106]

As I priviously argued that citizenship concept is still facing a confusion in the Muslim World, thus, citizenship education is a broader concept that has a lack of a unified concept in the Arab countries and the Muslim World in general. Therefore, I find it logical that most of the MENA countries still couldn't be adapted to it, as long as there's still a serious confusion in the Arab region regarding the concept of the the word "citizen" (muwatin) is linked to the origin word in Arabic (watan) which used in the Arab culture since the days of pre-Islam up to date. It means one's residence or permanent place, or homeland.[107] The word used during the early centuries of Islam as well, Imam Ali bin Abi Talib used it once he said "Poverty in the homeland makes it a foreign place of residence, and wealth in a foreign place of residence makes it a homeland." While the term muwatin (citizen) does not exist in Islamic jurisprudence, it is present as a notion in more than one text and event in Islamic history. Moreover, western connotations of citizenship such as the existence of a social contract between the individual and the ruler based on free will, the concepts of equality, tolerance, and social justice are compatible with Islam as we have mentioned in the first chapter. Thus, teaching these concepts in an Islamic society will not be considered anti-Islamic, as it's been seen during the Arab spring that many young Muslims today; want to be both global and national citizens. Hence, a new Muslim initiative for citizenship education must be clear identified, such the definition of citizenship concepts, goals, approach, and the concept of "who are citizens?" must be clear. In addition to the concepts of "equity", "diversity", "Human Rights," "race", and "identity" should be clearly defined as well. It is also important to define the relation between citizenship and identity in the Muslim

[106] Christopher, Bjork. (July 2004), 'Decentralisation in education, Institutional culture and teacher autonomy in Indonesia,' , Volume 50, Issue 3-4, p. 245-262.
[107] Abdul-Naser Musa Abul-Basal, "Citizenship and Islamic law: Al-Khibra Attarikhiya wal Muqaraba Al Waqi'ya," paper presented at the seminar, under "Citizenship between the Legal perspective and problems of reality," National center for human rights, Amman, Jordan, May 24, 2011, p. 39.

world, rather than linked it to religion and religious rights, as long as there are non-Muslim citizens living in the Muslim World.

Citizenship education and civil behavior are not only a pedagogical goals, they are national strategic choices which fall in the process of building human rights values that would automatically transfer into a modernist democratic society.[108]

[108] For further information on Citizenship Education; see 'Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools' final report of the advisory group on citizenship, September 22 1998. And Wiel, Veugelers. 'Citizenship Education. The Case of Policy, Science and Education in the Netherlands.' University of Humanistic Studies Utrecht, University of Amsterdam. Utrecht, the Netherlands.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP: THE CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIA

It is clear from the previous chapters that the concept of citizenship includes philosophical sayings, which need amendment in the implementation of human rights policies taken by states, in order to apply belonging related issues with their citizens. Citizenship doesn't only mean the feeling of belonging, it is more based on the basics of an operation which affirms the idea of belonging and the feeling of security and social contentment. Proceeding from that saying and others which have emerged through theoretical and research heritage, we have found that it is more appropriate to search in realistic models, which have been able to embed the idea of citizenship through the respect of human rights, in its social policies, and have also been able to contribute in the realization of the objectives of development, modernization, and progress. Based on that, a developmental model focusing on embedding citizenship in specific conditions has been chosen. What we aim at by this, is to show the distinction of that model in terms of multiracial societal composition: it is the model of Malaysia in development and "social integration", which was able thanks to its policies to integrate racial groups in one fabric forming, thus, a developmental power which needs study and analysis.

Even though Turkey and Indonesia are really other interesting cases for anyone to study the interplay between Islam, human rights and democracy, as many observers and scholars have argued that Indonesia has made a successful transition to democracy, by building democratic institutions. However, I just do not think that we can consider Indonesia or Turkey as an example for the Muslim World in a multiracial societal level,[109] even thought both of the countries still can be an example or an asset for the Arab Spring nations in term of human rights and democratic governance, but not a

[109] See for example, Thomas B. Pepinsky. (July 13, 2012) 'The Limits of the Indonesian model', department of government, Cornell University.

model.[110] Moreover, I just find the Malaysian experience more interesting case to be studied for many reasons, as the Malaysian experience became a model to many countries around the world, and not only to the Muslim World, mainly those suffering from problems related to multiracial and multi – religious societies. Of course Malaysia is not the most democratic country in the world, neither the most developed country in the world, but there still many lessons for the Muslim world need to learn from the Malaysia, a multi-religious and multi-cultural country that managed to live in peace and economic development for decades. In the following lines, I present the main axes of a study on the Malaysian experience:

3.1. The Demographic Composition

Malaysia is located in Southeast Asia. It has an area of nearly 330 thousand square kilometers, and a tropical climate with permanent rain and heat throughout the year. Forests and jungles cover about 68% of the total area of the country. The country enjoys many natural resources, such tin, oil and gas, timber, copper and bauxite.[111]

The immigration of people plays a big role in the changing of demographic formations of many world States, Malaysia doesn't represent an exception. The early migrations to the Malaya peninsula from Thailand, Indonesia, China, India, and Australia were an integral reason in rendering Malaysia a multiracial country, which led to multilingualism, and a variety of religions. The land with its resources and richness, thus, became in possession of not only native Malaya people, but was shared by other races of immigrants, mainly Chinese and Indians. The abundant availability of natural resources and water, together with the positive conditions to agriculture and fishing in the Malaya land attracted a lot of immigrants since the announcement of the establishing of the Malaya Empire in 1401.[112] The immigration rate increased after the adoption of

[110] Steven Everts. 'An asset but not a model: Turkey, the EU and the wider Middle East', October 1, 2004, Center for European Reform, http://www.cer.org.uk/publications/archive/essay/2004/asset-not-model-turkey-eu-and-wider-middle-east

[111] "Malaysia", New World Encyclopedia, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Malaysia

[112] Madam Zarinah, Mahari. 'Demographic transition in Malaysia: The changing

different policies by the colonizer. These unbalanced and unjust policies encouraged more immigrants to come to the Malaya land. However, with the uncalculated exploitation of the land's richness and the unjust distribution of wealth, the gap between natives of Malaya and the other minorities like Chinese; deepened, and the relation between them weakened until Malaysia got its independence. Right after that the racial riots burst in May 13th 1969[113]. The racial conflict uncovered the bad management of Malaysian governments in dealing with multiracial issues.

As a result to what the country witnessed in terms of political turmoil after the racial riots, the Malaysian governments decided to adopt a range of policies which aimed at narrowing the gap between Malaya natives and the Chinese immigrants in all economic domains. The outcome of these policies taken by the successive Malaysian governments to narrow the gap between the different Malaysian races, by means of clear goals was that Malaysia started to live a state of social peace between all the cohabitating races.

3.2. The Racial and Religious Composition

There are three big racial groups in Malaysia, as well as many minority groups. The Malayans, the Chinese, and the Indians form those three large races in the Malaysian society.[114] And according to the latest official census that was in 2000, Muslims represente 60.4% of the population, while Buddhists make up 19.2% of the population, most of those Buddists are of Chinese, and Christians represent 9.1%, mostly Chinese with a good number of Indians. Most of the Indians in Malaysia followers of Hinduism, about 6.3% of the total population are Hindu. in addition to that, there are some who

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roles of women', 15th conference of commonwealth statisticians, New Delhi, India, 7-10 February 2011, p. 10. See also, Dorothy Z Fernandez. (1975). "The population of Malaysia: 1974 world population year", Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography Pub.

[113] Zawawi Ibrahim, "Globalization and national identity: Managing ethnic and cultural pluralism in Malaysia", chapter 9, Asian Academic Pr. Ltd, p. 129.

[114] M. Shamsul Haque, "The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia", Sage publications, Vol. 47 No. 3, November 2003.

follow traditional Chinese religions, about 2.6% of the total population, like Confucianism, and Taoism. [115]

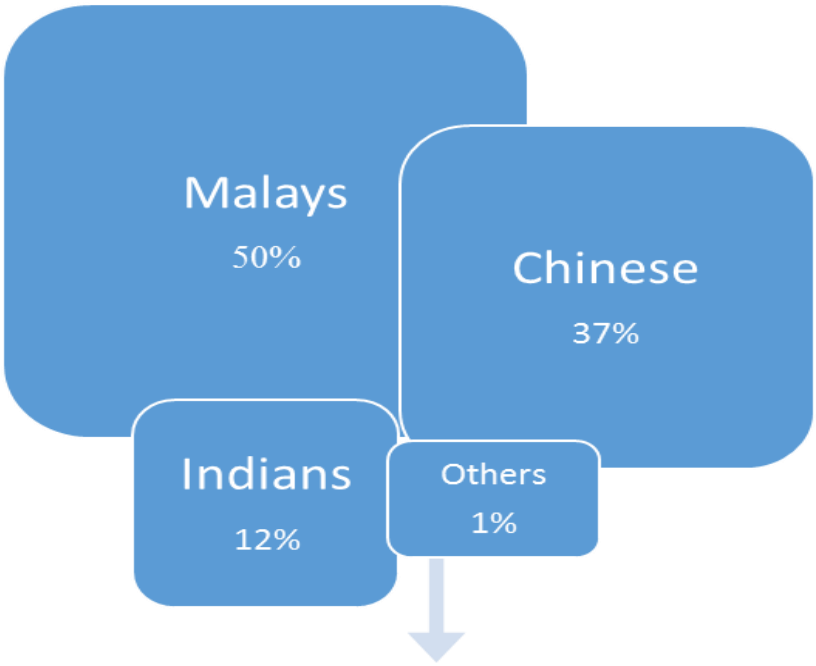

Figure 1: The following graph shows rates of the three large races in the Malaysian society.

The ethnic division in the Malay Peninsula indicates that the Malays are about 50% of the population, while the Chinese constitute 37%, and 12% are Indians.[116]

[115] Population and Malaysia department of statistics, Housing Census 2000, Official Website http://www.statistics.gov.my/english/census/pressdemo.html

[116] "Malaysia: Ethnic groups and languages", Written by: Thomas R. Leinbach, Last Updated 11-3-2013, http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/359754/Malaysia/52533/Ethnic-groups-and-languages

3.2.1. The Historical Factor

We can imagine that the historical dimension of the racial crisis of Malaysia is related to the factor of colonialism. Since the coming of the British colonialism to the land of Malaya in 1896, its administration used force and firmness vis-à-vis any racial conflict, the thing that made of these conflicts discrete ones. In addition to that the minorities apart from the natives of Malaya were not able to ask for equality in citizenship.[117] Those continuing racial conflicts were, indeed, provoked by the role played by the British colonizer. In addition to the British colonizer; was the Japanese colonizer, who also played a role in deepening the crisis between the different races. The war between China and Japan during the Second World War influenced in a direct way the racial problems and increased hatred between the Malays and the Chinese through the resistance of the Chinese minority to the Japanese colonialism; whereas the Malays stood impartial to colonialism, which urged the Japanese colonizer to adopt a preferential policy towards them to the detriment of other minority races. This preferential treatment was displayed in the occupation of Malays to better official posts and in having more economic and educational opportunities. This special treatment caused more trouble between the Malays and the Chinese, and deepened the racial crisis.[118]

Despite the role played by the colonizers to create and deepen the racial crisis, the common interest between the two large races was an objective cause in affirming the possibility of cooperation between the Malays and the Chinese, which had an important impact on their relations. The cooperation between the two races took place in a more operational way in the resistance against the colonizer. And, though each side had their own objectives, they both knew well that their coalition would chase the colonizer away.

[117] For more elaborations; See Khoo Boo, Teik. 'Ethnic structure, inequality and governance in the public sector, Malaysian experiences', democracy, governance and human rights, programme paper number 20, december 2005. See also M. Shamsul Haque. "The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia", American Behavioral Sceintist Assoc., Vol. 47 No. 3, November, 2003, Sage Publications.
[118] Mahathir, Mohammed. (1970). 'The Malay dilemma', Singapore, Times Book International, p. 6-7.

The cooperation between the UMNO party with other minorities' parties under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman led to the independence of Malaysia in 1957.[119]

3.2.2. The Economic Factor

The economic factor might also be seen as one of the factors which caused the deepening of the gap between the Malays and the Chinese, creating, thus, a state of crisis. The aspects of the economic factor were manifested in many causes, especially those related to nature and its impact on both of Malays and Chinese. Nature was not in favor of the Chinese in terms of floods and droughts and famine. The repercussions of such harsh nature were rather positive on the Chinese rendering them strong and smart, but also active and ready to work; whereas the Malaya nature was the opposite of the Chinese one, rendering the Malays lazy and inactive people because of the richness of their land and the various possibilities in fishing and agriculture.[120]

The Malays were very worried of their own destiny, according to the state of mistrust that were between them and the Chinese. The Chinese were the urban population, who used to control the economy and trade of the country by the time, they were 37% of the population at the independence. The Malays were living in villages and rural areas who could not get the share of the economy more than 2% and were suffering from ignorance and poverty. Meanwhile, the Chinese were very worried about their future as well, in case if the Malayas would not recognize them as citizens of Malaysia, even thought 70% of them were born in Malaysia by the indepence time.[121] These aspects played an important role in deepening the economic gap between the Malays and the Chinese. The Malays did not show interest in working or developing their economic level and accepted an easy life style, which had negative effects on their

[119] Ibid. p. 9.
[120] Ibid. p. 25.
[121] Harold, Crouch. (1996) "Government and Society in Malaysia", Singapore: Talisman Pub, p. 17.

development and catching up the developed world, as well as their failure in grasping the new and progressive discoveries.[122]

Another cause was the unjust way with which the British colonizer treated the Malaysian population. The colonizer brought immigrants from China and India to work in tin mines and commerce, and in rubber plantations. The Malays, however, were to work in some simple industries and had their own lands. These policies adopted by the colonizer led to the betterment of the Chinese economic level, especially with the coming of new technologies in extractive industries. The Malays, however, were not able to succeed as the Chinese did. With the increase of tin and rubber productions, the Chinese controlled the mines, and the zones of the extraction of these resources in "Perak", and also controlled commerce in "Penang" and "Selangor". Their control also reached speculative operations and the transport of Malaysian goods to ports.

All these moves resulted in the control of the one third of the country's wealth by the Chinese, even if their percentage doesn't exceed the quarter of the Malaysian population. The native Malays, on the opposite, get only 2.4% of their country's wealth. This was, of course, a crucial factor influencing the relations between races in the country.[123] And according to the facts above, we can determine in some points the nature of economic imbalances between the different Malaysian races, which led to the emergence of a racial crisis:

- The Malays standard of living is less than the other races.[124]
- A large percentage of native Malays live in the country side and in the poor states.

[122] Charles, Hirschman. (August 1987) 'The meaning and measurement of ethnicity in Malaysia: An analysis of census classifications', the journal of Asian studies, Vol. 46, No 3.
[123] Donald R. Snodgrass. 'Successful Economic Development in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Malaysian Case', California University Press, p. 3-6.
[124] Ibid. p. 7.

- The majority of Malays work in low productivity jobs in comparison with other races.
- Malays occupy inferior jobs in different industries and projects.
- The productive and creative capacity of the Malays in different domains is very inferior in comparison with others.
- The Malays own only one third of the agriculture lands, and their part of the industrial and commercial capital is limited.

As a consequence to these facts, the economic factor, which was manifested in a big unbalance in wealth distribution between the Malaysian races, had an important role in the outbreak of racial conflicts.

3.2.3. The Political Factor

As the Malays opposed the Chinese monopoly to the economy of the country, the Chinese also opposed the Malays monopoly to the political affairs of Malaysia. After the independence of Malaysia in 1957; thanks to a tacit coalition between racial parties under the leadership of the United Malays National Organization UMNO party, problems between races started to arise. The Chinese opposed the leadership of the UMNO party to the governing national coalition and its orientation to the Malaysian internal and external policies alone.[125] Based on that stand the factual outcome between the two big races in Malaysia explains how both of them oppose the other. The Chinese because they don't control political affairs are not content, and the Malays because they don't control economy show disapproval. Subsequently, the country's racial crisis subsists.[126]

[125] Mahatir, Mohamed. (1998) "The way forward", London, Weidenfield & Nicholson, p. 4-5.
[126] M. Shamsul Haque. "The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia", Vol. 47 No. 3, November, 2003, Sage Publications.

3.2.4. The Behavioral and Value Factor

The nature of both of Malays and Chinese has various aspects which distinguishes them from each other, and which played a role in reinforcing the trust gap between them. The Malays and due to the conditions provided by the nature of their country are convinced to live in the country side and work in traditional jobs like agriculture and fishing, and avoid entering in any complex commercial transactions. In addition to that, they suffer from lack of skills and competences due to their disinterest in education, thus many of them are illiterate.[127] On the other side, we find that the Chinese, and due to their fleeing their country because of poverty, famine, and natural catastrophes, have developed a lot of characteristics which differed them from the Malays, as the capacity to organize and coexist, as well as their ability to get along with circumstances (M. Shamsul Haque). These characteristics gave them the possibility to live in urban zones and mining zones, the thing that helped them create better economic conditions.

Another cause which also represents an integral cause in the racial gap between Malaysian races is the false interpretation of Islam by the Malays. Malays have always believed in the better life in the hereafter, the thing which made them ignore the hard work in this life, pushing them, thus, to an easy life style in the country side, this choice worsened their social status.[128]

3.3. The Periods of the Racial Relations' Development

The relations between races in the Malaysian society took place through various periods which were impacted by the policies adapted by their administration. These

[127] Mahathir, Mohamed. 'The Malay dilemma', Times Book International, p. 85.
[128] See Wan Norhasniah Wan Husin. 'Cultural clash between the Malays and Chinese in Malaysia: An analysis on the formation and Implementation of national cultural policy', paper of International conference on humanity, history and society IPEDR vol.34 (2012), IACSIT Press, Singapore.
Also see, Wan Norhasniah Wan Husin. July 2013, 'Business dominance among the Malays and Chinese in Malaysia from a civilizational perspectives', International journal of social science and humanity, Vol. 3, No. 4.

periods can be divided into three summarized periods according to the managing style taken by the administration:

- The period of multi races before the British colonialism to the Malaya land.
- The period of multi races during the British colonialism.
- The period of multi races in the period between the independence of Malaysia in 1957 until the outbreak on May 13th, 1969 events.

And the long journey that the Malaysian government passed throught to build on the initial stock of infrastructure and all categories of infrastructure, according to the study of G. Naidu.[129]

3.4. From Ethnicism to Developmentalism: Managing Ethnic Divisions Through Citizenship Values

The sectarian violence that occured in the wake of the Malaysian independence, in 1969, let the Malaysian governments to draw up some important strategies, towards a multi-ethnic society management, those strategies have played the discipline required in a first democratization proccess, in order to prevent a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multicultural country, and multi-religious society, from going up in flames and destroying itself. The sectarian violence has convinced the coalition government by the time, to realize that the economic imbalance between the races, was one of the most important factors that weakened the relations between the Malays and Chines, It also represents a motivating factor for the ethnic conflicts outbreak. Hence, the reason of the ethnic problems emergence, was not due to the language, cultural or religious

[129] Naidu, G. (2008) "Infrastructure Development in Malaysia", in Kumar, N. (ed.), International Infrastructure Development in East Asia – Towards Balanced Regional Development and Integration, ERIA Research Project Report-2, Chiba: IDE-JETRO.Also; See the presentation of Randall S. Wood. (May 2005) 'Strategies of Development: Indonesia and Malaysia 1960.' Also, see Rie, Nakamura. 'Malaysia, a Racialized Nation: Study of the Concept of Race in Malaysia', School of International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia.

differences, however, the reason was mainly due to the imbalance and inequality among the races.[130]

As a result of that; "The Malaysian National Consultative Council" has set up a new economic policy, in order to work on the economic restructuring, with equal distribution of wealth between the various ethnics, and basicly by working to enrich the magority ethnic group of the Malays, and some other minorities, as the article 153 in the Malaysian constitution, provides "special rights" to Malays in Business, education, and public services. In other words, the government was working to promote the level of social development, and increasing the growth of all races, with priority given to the Malays.[131] The government was seeking to achieve two main goals through such a policy:[132]

- Combating poverty in general, regardless of ethnicity.
- Working on the restructuring of the society, and disengagement between ethnicity and economic role by pursuing new economic policy, which lasted for twenty years.

However, my claim is that; providing "special rights" to the Malays in the Malaysian constitution; was not a mature political behavoir, it's kind of inequality withing the ehnic groups, there shouldn't be "special rights" in any democratic consition, as there should only be one and unique human rights for all people. In this regards, there are many researchers and scholars who criticized such a behavor, some of them claim that "it has reiforced the ethnic divisions, antagonized the less-favored ethnic groups especially the chinese".[133] The government has worked within the framework of the new economic policy to reconsider the ownership of productive assets,

[130] Zawawi Ibrahim, "Globalization and national identity: Managing ethnic and cultural pluralism in Malaysia", chapter 9, Asian Academic Pr. Ltd, p. 129-131.
[131] Mahatir, Mohamed. (1998) "The way forward", London, Weidenfield & Nicholson, P. 4-5.
[132] Mahatir, Mohamed. "The Malay Dilemma", Marshall Cavendish Editions, July 1, 2012, p. 75.
[133] M. Shamsul Haque. "The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia", American behavioral sceintist, Vol. 47 No. 3, November, 2003, Sage Publications, p. 258.

with priority given to the Malays, but without causing of any loss or deprivation to the other ethnicities, but rather restructuring it through a growing economy that functions to increase the total production rate by 7% per annum, throughout the period of the policy implementation. And accordingly, as a result the policies pursued by the government of "Tun Abdul Razak," the new economic policy - pursued by his government, have succeeded, in the period from 1971-1990 - to achieve number of goals, including:

- The new policy has been able to eliminate the correlation between a particular race and a particular economic level.
- The new policy has succeeded in reducing poverty rates, which Malaysia was suffering from, as it reduced number of the poor people by the end of 1990.

With the arrival of Mahathir Muhammad to power; he has stressed the need for the continuation of the goals that were prescribed the new economic policy in the period from 1971 to 1990, as his government has embarked on the development of the national development policy for a period of twenty years. In the framework of such new policy, Malaysia was able to achieve high growth rates reached 8% in the period (1987-1996) which considered the highest growth rates in the world.[134] However, M. Shamsul Haque critisized this, as he quoted from Cordingley, P. (2001), he argued that "after two decades of Mahathir's administration praticing preferential policies, the mission of building a multicultural society remains unrelized in Malaysia, and today, the country seems to be more divided along ethnic lines."[135] Contrary to this, Lee Hoch Guan, took a different direction of Shamsul Haque, as she concluded in her study that the ethnic relations in Malaysia have been remarkable stable, and even congenial. And in the cultural arena; Hock claimed that "the stae has relaxed its pro-Malay policy while

[134] Lee Hock Guan. (2000) "Ethnic relations in peninsular Malaysia: The cultural and economic dimensions", Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 15-25.
[135] M. Shamsul Haque. "The role of the state in managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia", American Behavioral Sceintist, Vol. 47 No. 3, November, 2003, Sage Publications, p. 258.

allowing the chinese culture more access and room in the public space." As the economic inequality gap has narrowed between non-Malays and the Malays.[136]

The Mahathir government has developed a set of policies that advanced Malaysia and all of its citizens, regardless their ethnics and religions. The privatization policy of some companies that were owned by the government, were among these policies. Such a policy that gave the Malays a big push to participate in the privatization policy, by owning some projects, managing and taking advantage of their revenues, in economic advancement level, in order to reduce the gap between them and the other ethnic groups. And as a result of the development policies that were put by the government of Mahathir, which led to greater effecst in reducing the gap between the Malays and other ethnic groups, that was obvious in the Initiative that took by the Chinese businessmen, by lending a hand and help some of the Malay stalled companies.[137]

3.4.1. Ethnic Divisions under Democratic Controls

Since the sectarian and ethnic composition in Malaysia was very complex and sensitive, as I previously mentioned, the political leadership realized that there was a need to political, security and social stability, and to provide the right environment to be able to achieve economic growth that all segments of the society can benefit from it, even if it would be to varying degrees.

Tun Abdul Razak, who became the prime minister in 1970, he realized that ethnic tensions should be reduced, through reducing of political competition, he worked on expansion of the governing coalition, thus ensuring a comfortable two-thirds majority in parliament, as he strengthen the prerogatives of the central authorities.[138] Mahathir Bin

[136] Lee Hock Guan. (2000) "Ethnic relations in peninsular Malaysia: The cultural and economic dimensions", Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 26.
[137] Aljazeera, "Malaysian political model and management differences", July 19, 2012, http://studies.aljazeera.net/issues/2012/06/201262111235327448.htm
[138] Julie Chernov Hwang. (2011). "Peaceful Islamist Mobilization in the Muslim World: What went right", Palgrave MacMillan Pub. p. 184-189.

Mohamad also has continued to strengthen the central authorities and the concentration of powers of the prime minister's policy.

The Malaysian prime minister's office enjoys extensive powers, as there are many agencies and authorities function under the cabinet, such as the Anti-Corruption Agency, the attorney general, the economic planning unit, the Islamic development department (Islamic Affairs), the central election commission, the national Petroleum Corporation (Petronas), and the Public Service Commission. as the PM holds the right to declare a state of emergency in the country, and governs by decree takes the force of law.[139]

The Internal Security Act (ISA) is one of the most powerful tools that support the central authority against its opponents, or against any potential unrest. Such a law was passed in 1960, and gave the Malaysan police the authority to arrest anyone on charges of endangering national security for two months without trial. As the detention can renewed without limits, as judiciary and the local justice systems do not have any legal authority over these detainees.[140]

As there are some laws that limiting freedom of media. Malaysian laws prevent all activities on media that can cause discontent against the government or against the judiciary, or what can lead to a state of social discontent, or unrest among ethnics of the society and its sects. There are other laws that prohibit university students and trade unions from political activities.[141] However, it must be noted that the authorities do not use all those laws arbitrarily permanently, but it can be used whenever the stae sees an national interest to that. The two-thirds majority that the the ruling coalition used to obtaine, has enabled them as a majority; not only to pass laws, but usualy, also to

[139] Ibid. p. 190.
[140] Ibid. p. 190-191.
[141] Thomas S. Knirsch. And Patrick Kratzenstein. "Press freedom, New media and Political communication in Malaysia A society in flux." http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_19710-544-2-30.pdf?100526132301

change the constitution, as the constitution has been amended 43 times in the period between1957-2003.[142]

The striking thing is that Malaysia has not been exposed the infection of the military coups that have spreaded in the Muslim World, and the third world countries in general. The civil authorities in Malaysia were able to impose its authority over the military forces, and to prevent them from exercising any political role, as all the Malaysian defense ministers were civilians. Hence, such successes should be counted to the political system.[143]

3.4.2. Investment in Human: Education and Training

The Malaysian government gives great attention to education and training as a part of implementing citizenship values proccess, and usually the rate covers about 20-25% of the annual general budget of the state, or of the total expenditure. Such budget is one of the highest budgets given to education rates in the Muslim World. Beside that; there are some reports showed that Malaysian public education expenditure is usually about three times of what was spent on the Malaysian military and defense, for example, the education budget for the year 2007 reached about 34.33 billion, - as RM 3.1 equals one dollar's – which means that the government spent about $ 10.1 billion on education by the year. While spending on defense and the military services was about 13.36 billion RM, or about $ 3.93 billion, whereas the education budget was for the year 2011 about 40.13 billion RM, or about $ 13 billion, while spending on defense and the army was about 14.04 billion RM, or about $ 4.56 billion.[144] Hence, I am just wondering how

[142] Anne Twomey. "The involvement of sub-national entities in direct and indirect constitutional amendment within federations", University of Sydney.

[143] Rahmat B. Hj. Hassan. (March 2000). Civil military relations: A comparative study between Pakistan and Malaysia, thesis, at Naval postgraduate school, California.

[144] M.T Hirnissa and M.S. Habibullah and A.H. Baharom. "Defense, education and health expenditures in selected Asian countries", http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/13107/ MPRA Paper No. 13107, posted 2. February 2009 14:14 UTC.
See also, Dipendra Sinha. "Government expenditure and economic growth in Malaysia, journal of economic development", Volume 23, Number 2, December 1998. And M.T. Hirnissa. "The relationship

much the Egyptian, Iranian, and Turkish governments spend on their military and educational systems?

3.4.3. Religion and State Relationships

The issue of the relationship between religions and the state in a multi-religious, multi-norms and multicultural country like Malaysia, was a sensitive and accurate in managing the country of course. Even though Muslims (the Malays) were the first inhabitants of the Malay peninsular, however, their numerical proportion was in the range of only half of the population during the Malaysian declaration of independence. The Chinese did not have such numerical strength like the Malays, apart from their economic power that exceeded the influence of the Muslim Malays exponentially, however, the free elections and the democratic system, had forced the Muslim ruling party UMNO to coalite with the Chinese, and that had given the Chinese a political power, and a role in drafting the general trends of the state. In such situations, and with the leadership of Muslims Malays that have had some Western culture, they agreed to establish a secular state, and meanwhile to ensure the religious and cultural freedoms and rights of the various sects.[145] On the other hand, the Malaysian constitution characterizes rare articles that's rarely easy to find them in some other countries' constitutions, the Malaysian constitution defined the "Malay Person" as "a Muslim person who speaks Malay, and exercise his customs." Thus, it is in practice of this legal definition, all Malays are Muslims, but I am just waondering here according to the definition of the Malay person on the constitution; what can we call a Malay's son who leaves Islam, and move to another religion? In this case, I don't think that he can legally be considered as he belongs to the Malays. which means that there is an overlap between what is religious and what is national, So that the Malays nationalism carried a religious status which Islam. So, Islam was a crucial element in determining their identity. The

between defense, education and health expenditures in selected Asian countries", International Journal of Economics and Finance, vol.1, No. 2, august 2009.

[145] Lukman Thib. "Muslim politics in Malaysia and the democratization process", International Journal of Islamic Thought, Vol. 3, June 2013.

constitution described religion of the state as Islam, and the one who rules Malaysia should promise to be a sponsor of Islam in the country, and to prevent non-Muslims from proselytizing their religion among Muslims, but Muslims are allowed to spread their faith amid other people of other religions.[146]

Chinese and Indians in general have been responding in a positive spirit with the special situation that the constitution guaranteed the Muslim Malays, especially since that both of the Indians and Chinese had guaranteed their citizenship rights, religious and cultural freedoms. Which became a kind of "social contract" of their choice, and a symbol of the Malaysian society components. Many of the legal texts taken shape symbolically, in order not to affect the essence of the secular system. the Islamic legal applications remained limited to personal status which does not apply to non-Muslims. like most countries in the Muslim World.

As the general nature of Malaysians characterized by moderation and tolerance, nature of the Malaysian political leadership was characterized by moderate secularism that dealt positively with Islam, institutions and religious symbols, and therefore, the spread of Veil ‘hijab’ among women of the ruling party was not uncommon, the appearance of veiled anchorwomen on the TV screens was in Malaysia before any of the Islamic countries, as there were many projects of establishment of Islamic banks, Islamic institutions and private companies, like the International Islamic University, and the presence of hundreds of religious schools in Malaysia, which is frequented by most Muslim children after the end of their shift from regular schools, and the issuance of the Law of Halal food, And other law prevents the Khulwah "solitude" between Muslim men and women. It was a feature of moderate rule that the state did not resort to repression of the Islamic political movements or pursuit them, however, it preferred the method of coexistence, containment, and competition, which may use some power tools

[146] Constitution of Malaysia. Part I-the states, religion and law of the federation, articles 3 and 11.

like the media or economic pressures on them, but the government did not resort to violence agaisnt them.[147]

3.4.4. Civil Service Commission

The civil service plays a very important role in helping the government to apply its goals and national projects, as it's a major tool for governments in any governance and administration proccess, that the government used to reach society through. In this regards, Muhseen Saleh argued in his article (The Malaysian model and managing differences) that Abdul Ghani Aziz, a retired lieutenant and former commander of the Malaysian Air Force; believes that the most prominent reasons for the success of the Malaysian experience was in the presence of government civil service system that was able to melt all the ethnic groups in the Malaysian society with high efficiency. According to Saleh; Aziz pointed out that the three former Malaysian prime ministers who preceded Mahathir bin Mohamad were civil servants. And when the researcher asked Mahathir said about it; Mahathir said "Yes, they were trained, and we have a very good training institutions interested in upgrading their professional level."[148]

According to Saleh, Mahathir added that the government has a unit concerned to ascertain the safety of Implementation Coordination Unit (ICU), and when you issue an order, you can make sure and rest assured that it is being implemented. Mahathir said "you must have a good administration that can function for all the citizens and facing corruption. And in order to prevent corruption; you should put some strict laws, but more important is the development of an administrative system that is very clear."

Mahathir argues that in Malaysia, they have identified precisely a compilation of procedures that must be taken into implementation of any business, and it should be exactly applied by the state officers, and in the exact time it takes for it, and if the state officer did not accurately apply it within the specified time; the officer can be

[147] Aljazeera center for studies, "Malaysian political model and management differences", http://studies.aljazeera.net/issues/2012/06/20126211235327448.htm
[148] Ibid.

considered corrupt, and consequently they can be charged and take the necessary action against him. He explained that there is an official institution in Malaysia fighting corruption, (Anti Corruption Agency), but he cautioned that the most important thing is procedures, and therefore, there is (Manuel of Procedures), that accurately identifies the government's procedures required for each work.[149] The Malaysian government has developed a set of administrative regulations to curb corruption, which included reducing of the administrative procedures to a minimum level for all its citizens, and the adoption of a method of terminating the transaction through a single procedure, the so called (one stop approving authority). In 1993, public employees law (civil service employees) entered into force, followed by a new law (Ethics of profession of the Judiciary law) in 1994, and the following year, a new law (the ethics of work law) passed in all the departments and institutions of the state. In 1997 the government passed (Prevention of Corruption Act). Such a law has become the most important weapon in the government's hand; it gave wide powers to the Anti-Corruption Agency. And therefore, those who can not justify the existence of certain funds or property entrusted to them, was liable to prosecutions, as the government has the right to confiscation of their money.[150]

This is how it has become Malaysia's successful model of social cooperation between different ethnics.[151] - Fortunately; it did not do as Kuwait did towards the Bedoon minority.[152] - Where Malaysia has benefited from its ethnic and religious diversity, and made a realistic hormonal citizenship concept, which led to the following:

[149] Ibid.

[150] Evan M. Berman. (2011). "Public Administration in Southeast Asia: Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Macao", Taylor and Francis Group, LLC, p. 141-167.

[151] http://WWW.al-jazirah.com.sa/2007jaz/sep/20/ar8.htm

[152] The word "Bedoon" is from the Arabic phrase "bedoon jinsiyya," which literally means "without citizenship" or "without nationality." Kuwait believes that Bedoons are foreign nationals came from the neigbhoring countries, therefore, Kuwait refused to give them her citizenship, to know more about the Bedoons' case; see "Prisoners of the past Kuwaiti Bidoonn and the burden of statelessness", Human Rights Watch's Report, June 2011.

- Malaysia provided the exercise of citizenship requirements for the Malaysians, through the development of its political systems towards democracy, in order to build a mature democratic society, effectively in the development of a country dominated by ethics, human rights values, and mutual respect between its citizens.
- A unified nation governed by a sense of destiny, one common, united socially, securized, sophisticated, proud of his homeland without paying attention to race, class, or a particular religion.[153]
- Building society recognizes the "other" and their role in the society, while ensuring a society of economic and social justice, and the spirit of partnership.
- The high level of public awareness and professional culture among the Malaysian people, as a result; Malaysia was able to overcome the challenges of the sectarian violence witnessed in 1969, have achieved outstanding results and great leaps on the ground, in less than 25 years.
- Lifting the country out of poverty, ignorance, limited income, lack of employment opportunities and production, to a progressive industrial country with good financial resources, and also achieved comprehensive, balanced development, economic, social, political, educational and cultural dimensions.

Such successes were not easy, and without inconvenience of course, but it was after all, which could be accommodated and surpassed. This is what makes Malaysia at the forefront of the Islamic countries and the world's most advanced third world countries, by applying human rights and citizenship concepts that we examined them in the first and second chapters. The country was able to achieve tremendous strides in economy,

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And "the Bedoons of Kuwait: citizens without citizenship", Human Rights Watch's report, august 1995. Also see: Fares, M. Al-Waqayan. (2008) "Stateless in Kuwait: crisis and consequences", Center for Future and Strategic Studies, Kuwait University Press.

[153] Adel, al Jawjary. (2008) "Mahatir Mohamed, the Asian Tiger: from a young rebel, to an Islamic hero", Dar al kitab al Arabi, Damascus, First Edition, p. 94.

education,combating poverty and unemployment, and provision of infrastructure and advanced services to its multi-ethnic citizens.

How could the country manage all that complexities of ethnic threatening that was about to blow up the situation between the Malays, Chinese and Indians, or of a religious differences that was ready to threaten and blow up the situation between Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus and Christians, how could Malaysia achieve these successes? The answer of this question may need more independent studies.

CONCLUSION

Human rights are no longer a national issue nor an internal affair, they have become a global issue, they became essential, not only for life, but for a dignified life, as we have seen in the second chapter, how international human rights agreements drafted that human rights stem from the inherent dignity of human character, and any violations of human rights could deprive the human of their humanity, and hence, citizenship cannot be rooted in the culture of any society without achieving dignity of the citizens on a practical level.

It was obvious that the issue of citizenship has come full circle, the circle began with fetal development in the Greek and the Romanian state, then continued its development and completion across historical periods in a row - as we have explained in the first chapter – until it reached the top of its maturity with the establishment of the nation-state, which took over in the case of development and completion of its citizens' rights and duties. Such a development led to a new twist that has occurred in the globalization era, which began to appear in the framework of harbingers, as a new form of citizenship that emerged as a set of variables function in the direction of citizenship liberalization, beyond the national borders, and the push for global citizenship to generate a general and comprehensive citizenship. Such transformation may be very limited and embryonic now in the Muslim World, however, the awareness of human rights deepens and founded the emotions that associated with citizenship concept in many Islamic countries.

According to the historical transformations that contemporary citizenship concept has passed through; with the Human Rights movements' impacts, parallel shifts occurred at the level of political and social context, in the citizenship concept in the Muslim world as well. The first shift is the expansion of rights and duties in many institutions, which included the concept of citizenship, instead of its limit to the rights and duties of political and legal nature, it has expanded to a full movement of social rights and duties, cultural, economic, and general humanitarian, after the "political and

legal" rights that were located on the back of the relationship between citizens and the state essentially, those rights have been changed lately, and are based on reference of the society, as the Arab Spring has shown us. However, as we introduced some general framework for successive transformations of human rights and citizenship concept that have occurred in the Islamic World; we should be aware not to fall within the framework of the Western European civilization and evolution of the concept, we find it necessary to pay attention to two facts - as has been clarified in the first quarter - the first is that citizenship variable as crystallized in the framework of Western civilization; benefited from the elements that were developed by other civilizations of human rights and citizenship concepts, the Western heritage benefited from the Eastern values and heritage in the past, as the Eastern influenced by some western values in the present.

Last but not least, Malaysia is not the best country in applying human rights and citizenship concept in the world. However, Malaysia has shown us that human rights and citizenship concepts are for everyone, and can be applied anywhere and at any time in the Muslim world. Hence, I have chosen Malaysia as a case study and model of the influence and stability in the Islamic world for many reasons, some are as follows:

The Malaysian political system has succeeded in providing an appropriate mechanism to accommodate religious and ethnic differences in Malaysia, as dealing realistically with prevailing economic and social imbalances between the Malays magority, and the Chinese minority, in the Malaysian society. Malaysians were able to develop their model that managed the differences with a lot of skills, and benefited from their diversity as a case of unity and enrichment, not as a reason to antagonism and conflict. Their system or – the Malaysian model - is not necessarily perfect in the criteria of Human Rights and citizenship, but it was successful enough to avoid the country's political crisis, religious and ethnic conflicts. In addition to that, the system was able to provide high economic growth the country enjoyed, due to its citizenship concept applying policy; in which all citizens almost have an equal right.

Such a model represents a realistic solution of dealing with complexities variables, without any delinquency, a model that I humbly claim the Muslim World should be studied, and take advantages of its experience, especially in some of the African and Arab Muslim majority countries, where sectarian and ethnic crises are taking places.

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