TYPOLOGY OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION
NEO-SALAFI VERSUS PROGRESSIVE ISLAM

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Abstract
This article discusses the principles of two traditions of contemporary religious understanding in Islam today. Neo-Salafi and Progressive Islam, where these two groups are in contradiction with ideological principles, religious practice, and orientation. This article analyzes how these two groups develop a typology of Islamic religious education at the system level and the learning process. Some of the indicators studied to explain typology are tarbiyya and ta’dīb which are in the critical and non-critical ta’līm continuum positions in Islamic religious education. By using the descriptive reflective method, the identifier’s purpose of this typology is to provide theoretical contributions to academics and practitioners as material for reflecting on the pedagogical method of Islamic education in the contemporary era.

Keywords: Islamic education, Neo-Salafi, progressive Islam, tarbiyya, ta’dīb, ta’lim.
A. Introduction

The agenda for changing the paradigm of Islamic education has been of particular concern to conservative Islamic thinkers\(^1\) and modernists\(^2\). Conservatives consider traditional Islamic education to be protected from the onslaught of modernization\(^3\), whereas modernists consider that Islamic education must be in the context of the changing times and require renewal\(^4\).

This article proposes a typology of Islamic religious education that takes into account two competing interpretive traditions within the Islamic community, neo-traditional Salafism and progressive or liberal Islam, and their possible pedagogical manifestations in the field of Islamic religious education. This typology is not only useful for explaining Islamic education in Western, pluralistic, and democratic societies, but also proves useful in explaining trends in Islamic education in Muslim majority societies.

Terminology \textit{al-Tarbiyyah}, \textit{al-Ta’dib}, and \textit{al-Ta’lim} is in the circle of critical debate on Islamic education\(^5\). This debate eventually gave birth to different orientations and paradigms of Islamic education at the practical level, both personally and institutionally and more broadly in the state's context. Even Gross (2010)\(^6\) explains that students' religious knowledge and competence is influenced by the intellectual tendency of teachers and educational institutions in teaching religion to students. This article specifically discusses the typology of

\(^{1}\) Dina Afrianti, “Islamic Education and Youth Extremism in Indonesia,” \textit{Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism} 7, no. 2 (October 1, 2012): 134–46, https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095.

\(^{2}\) Abdullah Saeed, “Ijtihad and Innovation in Neo‐Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia,” \textit{Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations} 8, no. 3 (October 1, 1997): 279–95, https://doi.org/10.1080/09596419708721127.

\(^{3}\) Abdullah Saeed, “Towards Religious Tolerance Through Reform in Islamic Education: The Case of the State Institute of Islamic Studies of Indonesia,” \textit{Indonesia and the Malay World} 27, no. 79 (November 1, 1999): 177–91, https://doi.org/10.1080/13639819908729941.

\(^{4}\) Hidayatulla Azra, “Islamic Education in Indonesia,” \textit{International Handbooks of Religion and Education} 7, no. 1 (2018): 763–80; Mohamad Abdalla, Dylan Chown, and Muhammad Abdullah, \textit{Islamic Schooling in the West: Pathways to Renewal} (New York City: Springer, 2018).

\(^{5}\) Yusef Waghid, \textit{Conceptions of Islamic Education: Pedagogical Framings. Global Studies in Education, Peter Lang New York}, vol. 3 (Manhattan: Peter Lang New York, 2011); Yusef Waghid, “Islamic Education and Cosmopolitanism: A Philosophical Interlude,” \textit{Studies in Philosophy and Education} 33, no. 3 (May 1, 2014): 329–42, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-013-9390-3.

\(^{6}\) Zehavit Gross, “Reflective Teaching as a Path to Religious Meaning-Making and Growth,” \textit{Religious Education} 105, no. 3 (May 19, 2010): 265–82, https://doi.org/10.1080/00344081003772014.
Salafi Islamic education which is more conservative and the typology of progressive Islamic education which is more modernist.

This article also reveals the "grass roots" of the Salafi movement as described in several studies such as Din Wahid (2014) in his dissertation specifically discussing Salafi Islamic boarding schools, Noorhaidi Hasan (2008) also discusses Salafi madrasas that thrive in Indonesia, and Toto Suharto (2018) which examines the transnational Islamic education ideology of the Salafi movement with several forms of Islamic education institutions such as the Integrated Islamic School and the Institute of Islamic Sciences; as well as “grass roots” of the Progressive Islamic movement as described in several studies such as Robert W. Hefner (2008) who examines the politics of Islamic education in Southeast Asia, which has made a number of changes including the modernity of the Islamic education system; and Azyumardi Azra (2019) which specifically examines the transformation from traditional to modernity of Islamic education in Indonesia. This article fills the void in terms of the typology of Islamic education which is not explained by the experts above so that it is unique about the neo-Salafi and Progressive Islam models in implementing Islamic education.

B. Method

This article uses the concept of descriptive reflective method. This method uses written sources such as books, books, and the latest journal articles. The researcher combines various important information according to the desired topic and analyzes these writings so that it becomes a work that explores typology of Islamic Education Neo-Salafi and Progressive Islam.

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7 Din Wahid, “Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia,” Wacana 15, no. 2 (August 28, 2014): 367–76, https://doi.org/10.17510/24076899-01502009.
8 Noorhaidi Hasan, “The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia,” in The Madrasa in Asia, ed. Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen (Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 29.
9 Toto Suharto, “Transnational Islamic Education in Indonesia: An Ideological Perspective,” Contemporary Islam 12, no. 2 (July 1, 2018): 101–22, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-017-0409-3.
10 Robert W. Hefner, Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia (Manoa valley: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).
11 Azyumardi Azra, Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi di tengah Tantangan Milenium III (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2019).
C. Results and Discussions

1. Neo-Salafis versus Progressive Islam

In the development of Islamic education, there are two groups of religious understanding currently developing, Neo-Salafism by maintaining traditionalism style and Progressive Islam with its modernity concept. These two groups each have their understanding of traditional, modernity, civilization, sharia, and Islamic learning. As a consequence, these two groups have legitimacy for religious understanding that is embedded in Islamic education material.

Neo-Salafis are more likely to be traditional, which encourages their adherents to return to the pure Islamic teachings practised by the Prophet Muhammad and *al-Salaf al-Ṣalih* (four caliphs and four madzhāb). The traditional tendency is to bring this group of ideas to a more conservative way which fully supports the literal understanding of the al-Qur’ān and Ḥadīth texts. Even so, Neo-Salafis still accept scientific and technological elements from the results of modernism, but reject epistemological elements such as rationality, humanism, novelty, and equality.

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12 Adis Duderija, “Islamic Groups and Their World-Views and Identities: Neo-Traditional Salafis and Progressive Muslims,” *Arab Law Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (January 1, 2007): 341–63, https://doi.org/10.1163/026805507X247554; A. Duderija, *Constructing a Religiously Ideal, Believer, and Woman, in Islam: Neo-Traditional Salafi and Progressive Muslims’ Methods of Interpretation* (New York: Springer, 2016); Najwan Saada and Zehavit Gross, “Islamic Education and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship: A Critical Perspective,” *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 38, no. 6 (November 2, 2017): 807–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2016.1191011.

13 Susanne Schröter, “Debating Salafism, Traditionalism, and Liberalism: Muslims and the State in Germany,” in *New Horizons of Muslim Diaspora in North America and Europe*, ed. Moha Ennaji (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 203–28, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137554963_14.

14 The are Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, Uthman, dan ‘Ali

15 The are Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, dan Shafi’i.

16 Greg Fealy, “Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: The Faltering Revival?,” *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2004, no. 1 (2004): 104–21; Lily Zubaïdah Rahim, “Discursive Contest between Liberal and Literal Islam in Southeast Asia,” *Policy and Society*, Asia Early this Century: Contested Polities and Mentalities, 25, no. 4 (January 1, 2006): 77–98, https://doi.org/10.1016/S1449-4035(06)70091-1.

17 Duderija, “Islamic Groups and Their World-Views and Identities”; Farid Panjwani, “Fazlur Rahman and the Search for Authentic Islamic Education: A Critical Appreciation,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 33–55, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2011.00574.x; Bassam Tibi, “Culture and Knowledge: The Politics of Islamization of Knowledge as a Postmodern Project? The Fundamentalist Claim to De-Westernization,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 12, no. 1 (February 1, 1995): 1–24, https://doi.org/10.1177/026327695012001001.
Duderija's conclusion (2007)\(^{18}\), Neo-Salafis are built on the romanticism and utopia of the past to extract Islamic law and thought, and rejecting the fluctuating expressions of the times. There is a striking sign from adherents of this group that gender segregation is an obligation in social interaction, including in learning\(^{19}\). As happened in Saudi Arabia, the debate about the separation of men and women in the learning process\(^{20}\), the interaction of regression and Muslim resistance in Iran over restrictions on women’s access to higher education\(^{21}\), dan segregasi gender atas hak perempuan berpolitik di Tunisia\(^{22}\). This has caused controversy and debate in the Western\(^{23}\), which produces a synthesis that Islamic civilization is completely opposed to the West and the cross-pollination of syncretism and modernity is a utopia\(^{24}\).

Neo-Salafists believe that textual sources are the main grip and reality follows the narrative in the text\(^{25}\). So Muslims should not deviate from what is outlined by textual sources, so the holder of religious authority lies in the ‘ulamā’ who are credible. And Muslims may not interpret modernity based on laws made by humans, but must be in accordance and in harmony with the meaning in religious texts\(^{26}\). So as a consequence the understanding of modernity such as the concept of gender equality, democracy, plurality, human rights (Hak Asasi Manusia, HAM), is a heretical narrative to derail the ummah from the correct understanding, even Neo-Salafis strongly reject all forms of diversity in religious

\(^{18}\) Duderija, “Islamic Groups and Their World-Views and Identities.”

\(^{19}\) A. Duderija, *Maqasid Al-Shari‘a and Contemporary Reformist Muslim Thought: An Examination* (New York: Springer, 2014); Felicitas Opwis, “Maqāṣid Al-Shari‘a and Contemporary Reformist Muslim Thought: An Examination, Edited by Adis Duderija, 2014,” *Islamic Law and Society* 23, no. 1–2 (March 14, 2016): 141–46, https://doi.org/10.1163/15685195-02312p06.

\(^{20}\) Roel Meijer, “Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Gender-Segregation Debate,” *Middle East Policy* 17, no. 4 (December 2010): 80–100, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2010.00464.x.

\(^{21}\) Goli M. Rezai-Rashti, “The Politics of Gender Segregation and Women’s Access to Higher Education in the Islamic Republic of Iran: The Interplay of Repression and Resistance,” *Gender and Education* 27, no. 5 (July 29, 2015): 469–86, https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2015.1045457.

\(^{22}\) Sarah Summ Bush and Lauren Prather, “Islam, Gender Segregation, and Political Engagement: Evidence from an Experiment in Tunisia,” *Political Science Research and Methods*, undefined/ed, 1–17, https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2020.37.

\(^{23}\) Bassam Tibi, “Islamic Humanism vs. Islamism: Cross Civilizational Bridging,” *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 95, no. 3 (2012): 230, https://doi.org/10.5325/soundings.95.3.0230.

\(^{24}\) Duderija, *Maqasid Al-Shari‘a and Contemporary Reformist Muslim Thought*.

\(^{25}\) Duderija, “Islamic Groups and Their World-Views and Identities,” 349.

\(^{26}\) Saada and Gross, “Islamic Education and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship.”
Adherents of this group come from the Middle East and extend to Muslim community areas in the West such as in Britain, the United States, and Australia.

In contrast to the Progressive Islamic groups, they position the text and the meaning of traditional religion as the foundation of their religious authority, but provide as much open space as possible in the meaning of religion. Progressive Islam adherents reject dogmatic, patriarchal, static, textual, and syncretic Islamic traditions. They reject rigid interpretations and cut the door to ijtihād on religious meaning, and claim that the authority of the previous religious traditions is sacred and irrefutable. Meanwhile, Progressive Islam prioritizes critical, dynamic, contextual, reflective, equality and open thinking, they believe that the revival of Islam originated from an innovative, critical, and progressive understanding of religion. Progressive Islam emphasizes the involvement of Muslims in taking Islamic law and critical meaning of religion, social justice, a vision of religious pluralism, reducing ethnic tension, and gender equality.

What is striking for Progressive Islam is the separation between religion and religious knowledge which states that al-Qur’ān and Ḥadīth must be interpreted considering the conditions of the times and conditions of Muslims based on what time, place, and context at hand. One product of Progressive Islam is the birth of the humanities and social sciences, criticised the significant discoveries of Muslim scholars in the Middle Ages.

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27 Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Islamists and the Challenge of Pluralism (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and Center for Muslim-Christian …, 1995).
28 Omid Safi, Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender and Pluralism (Oxford: Simon and Schuster, 2003), 16–17.
29 Adis Duderija, “Progressive Muslims—Defining and Delineating Identities and Ways of Being a Muslim,” Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 127–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602001003650671.
30 Saada and Gross, “Islamic Education and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship,” 807.
31 J. Boullata Issa and York Press, Trends and Issues in Contemporary Arab Thought, vol. 152 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
32 O. Safi, “What Is Progressive Islam?,” in ISIM Newsletter, vol. 13 (ISIM, Leiden, 2003), 48–49, https://hdl.handle.net/1887/16920.
33 Safi, Progressive Muslims.
34 Adis Duderija, “Islam and Gender in the Thought of a Critical-Progressive Muslim Scholar-Activist: Ziba Mir-Hosseini,” Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 25, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 433–49, https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.931043.
35 Abdul Karim Soroush and Freedom Reason, Democracy in Islam, Terj. Mahmoud Sadri Dan Ahmad Sadr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
36 Duderija, “Islamic Groups and Their World-Views and Identities,” 356.
2. Typology of Neo-Salafi Islamic Education and Progressive Islam

The ‘ulamā’ have agreed that they divide the objectives of Islamic education into two, namely tarbiyya and ta’dīb. The initiator and collector of these two terms is Syed Naquib al-Attas which reflects the difference between general education and Islamic education. The term tarbiyya emphasizes the internalization of spiritual values into students’ lives, while ta’dīb emphasizes cultivating moral behavior in students’ lives. To achieve tarbiyya and ta’dīb, what we call ta’lim or which means a specific teaching method so that tarbiyya and ta’dīb are carried out well. Khan (1987) provide a distinction that tarbiyya refers to the spiritual component, ta’dīb on morals, and ta’lim on intellectualism.

The concept of tarbiyya is used to explain the meaning of learning by nurturing, which is shown by spiritual and transcendental attitudes that the pillars of faith (arkān al-īmān) and pillars of Islam (arkān al-islām) are the obligations of huquq Allah rather than muamalah. This spiritual goal helps to connect transcendental powers to find out the meaning of religious rituals and wisdom in life, warding off “free radicals” from values that interfere with spirituality.

Meanwhile, the concept of ta’dīb refers to the disciplinary process and coherence of the three elements of human essence such as body, mind, and soul to actualize religious practices with good behaviour. This concept requires students

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37 Bradley J. Cook, Classical Foundations of Islamic Educational Thought: A Compendium of Parallel English-Arabic Texts (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2010); J. Mark Halstead, “Towards a Unified View of Islamic Education,” Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations 6, no. 1 (June 1, 1995): 25-43, https://doi.org/10.1080/09596419508721040; Yusef Waghid and Paul Smeys, “Re-Envisioning the Future: Democratic Citizenship Education and Islamic Education,” Journal of Philosophy of Education 48, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 539-58, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9752.12118.
38 Khosrow Bagheri Noaparast, “Al-Attas Revisited on the Islamic Understanding of Education,” Journal of Shi’a Islamic Studies 5, no. 2 (2012): 149-72, https://doi.org/10.1353/isl.2012.0010.
39 Muhammad Saber Khan, “Humanism and Islamic Education,” Muslim Education Quarterly 4, no. 3 (1987): 25–35.
40 Rukhsana Zia, “Transmission of Values in Muslim Countries: Religious Education and Moral Development in School Curricula,” in School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education, ed. Aaron Benavot, Cecilia Braslavsky, and Nhung Truong, CERC Studies in Comparative Education (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007), 119–34, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6_8.
41 Amjad Hussain, “Islamic Education: Why Is There a Need for It?,” Journal of Beliefs & Values 25, no. 3 (December 1, 2004): 317–23, https://doi.org/10.1080/1361767042000306130; Farideh Salifi and Rumjahn Hoosain, Religion in Multicultural Education (Charlotte, North Carolina: IAP, 2006).
42 Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, The Concept of Education in Islam (Malaysia: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia, 1980).
to always be accustomed to conforming to good behaviour with al-Qur’ān and Ḥadīth and Islamic jurisprudence called fiqh. Modesty in practising religion is an important point in the concept of ta’dīb which ends in the terminology of akhlaq. So that ta’dīb gives a large portion of Islam to focus on muamalah, social interactions, and relating to society, and this implies that morals are more important than spirituality.

If tarbiyya and ta’dīb reflect the material content of Islamic education, then ta’līm is more in the aspect of the pedagogical method as an effort to convey Islamic religious content. Although the method of memorizing has developed in the Islamic world, however, the Islamic philosopher Ibn Khaldun criticized this method and suggested turning to critical reasoning. Educators and Islamic education institutions today must also pay attention to the schedule and time of students in learning, lest programs such as memorizing the al-Qur’ān ignore the student’s tight time so that it results in psychological pressure.

When viewed in recent decades, this criticism has emerged from Progressive Islam groups who want several changes and adjustments to the education system, especially the learning methods as outlined in national policies. The reason is that the traditional learning tradition can no longer stem the demands of society who want the competitive value of Islamic education graduates, so according to Waghid and Smeyers (2014) the direction of progressive Islam seeks to adapt to cosmopolitanism and democracy.

43 Duna Izfanna and Nik Ahmad Hisyam, “A Comprehensive Approach in Developing Akhlaq: A Case Study on the Implementation of Character Education at Pondok Pesantren Darunnajah,” Multicultural Education & Technology Journal 6, no. 2 (January 1, 2012): 77–86, https://doi.org/10.1108/17504971211236254; Imam Sutomo, “Modification of Character Education into Akhlaq Education for the Global Community Life,” Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies 4, no. 2 (December 1, 2014): 291–316, https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v4i2.291-316.
44 David Johnston, “A Turn in the Epistemology and Hermeneutics of Twentieth Century Uṣūl Al-Fiqh,” Islamic Law and Society 11, no. 2 (January 1, 2004): 233–82, https://doi.org/10.1163/156851904323178764.
45 Halstead, “Towards a Unified View of Islamic Education.”
46 Sarfaroz Niyozov and Nadeem Memon, “Islamic Education and Islamization: Evolution of Themes, Continuities and New Directions,” Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs 31, no. 1 (March 1, 2011): 5–30, https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2011.556886; Abdallah Sahin, New Directions in Islamic Education: Pedagogy and Identity Formation (Markfield, England: Kube Publishing Ltd, 2013).
47 Moch Khatifiz Fuad Raya, “Kajian Psikologis Tahfiz Al-Qur’an Anak Usia 6-12 Tahun,” Jurnal Pendidikan Islam 9, no. 1 (July 30, 2019): 1–11, https://doi.org/10.38073/jpi.v10i1.198.
48 Waghid and Smeyers, “Re-Envisioning the Future.”
This typology illustrates that tarbiyya and ta’dīb lie on the continuum of two ta’līm (critical and non-critical). We can see it that Neo-Salafis are more inclined towards non-critical learning (ta’līm) as described in the previous explanation. Meanwhile, Progressive Islam is critical of learning (ta’līm) because it requires renewal and openness in education.

As mentioned Waghid (2011) that the Islamic educators of the two groups are striking in terms of tradition to allow students to express ideas, myths, and things related to religious syncretism. Non-critical Islamic education instils an understanding of religion that is oriented to the past which is based on the results of the ijtihād of medieval commentators, limitations in discussing diversity, human rights, and pluralistic values in society; and emphasis on text and strict exclusion rather than on rational interpretations of the al-Qur’ān and Ḥadīth and

49 Waghid, Conceptions of Islamic Education.
contextual reality. Meanwhile, figures who believe in the Islamization of knowledge such as Syed Naquib Al-Attas and Ismail Raji’ al-Faruqi are those who support the non-critical ta’ilim paradigm.

Critical educators who represent Progressive Islamic views are more towards reforming Islamic education both in terms of systems and learning methods by actively engaging students in questioning the “why” of religious teaching. This group is of the view that learning Islam must be easier to understand and adapt to a democratic, open and pluralistic society. From here, ta’ilim is manifested in critical, independent, open, reflective and fair reasoning in understanding Islam. The consequence is that in Indonesia, learning with a non-critical style focuses more on emphasising religious texts as the main material for understanding the contextualisation of the phenomena that occur, so that the ability to memorise, study classical sources, and teacher-centred is more concentrated. Meanwhile, critical learning has implications for modern learning methods and models that focus on aspects of inquiry, analysis of religious texts on phenomena that occur so that learning in this aspect puts forward critical analysis of phenomena rather than textual deepening.

D. Conclusion

The discussion in this article on the typology of Islamic education of two religious groups (Neo-Salafi and Progressive Islam) does not intend to justify Islamic education as right or wrong, but provides a theoretical framework for educators to reflect on their teaching practice. In the end, each educator is free to choose what is best for him based on his background and theological training and the needs of the students and the school community.

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50 M. A. Al-Jabri, *The Religion, State and the Implementation of Sharia* (Lebanon: Markez Derasat, 1996); Abdullah Saeed, *Interpreting the Qur’an: Towards a Contemporary Approach* (London: Routledge, 2005); Saada and Gross, “Islamic Education and the Challenge of Democratic Citizenship.”

51 Mehran Kamrava, “Introduction: Reformist Islam in Comparative Perspective,” *The New Voices of Islam: Rethinking Politics and Modernity. London:* I.B. Tauris, 2006, 15; Charles Kurzman, “Introduction: Liberal Islam and Its Islamic Context,” *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*, 1998, 3–26; Robin Wright, “Islam and Liberal Democracy: Two Visions of Reformation,” *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 64–75, https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1996.0037; Matthew L. N. Wilkinson, “Introducing Islamic Critical Realism,” *Journal of Critical Realism* 12, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 419–42, https://doi.org/10.1179/1476743013Z.0000000014.
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