

Political Oppression and its Role in the Spread of Superstitions in Islamic Societies

Mostafa Hassan Mohamed El Khayat¹, Mohammad Ishaque², Mohd Taufiq Bin Abd Talib Husain³

Faculty of Contemporary Islamic Studies (FKI) University Sultan Zainal Abidin (UniSZA), Malaysia

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.93000008>

Received: 10 December 2025; Accepted: 16 December 2025; Published: 24 December 2025

ABSTRACT

The pervasive grip of political coercion, an insidious force, seems to cultivate a pervasive culture of banality within Islamic societies. This phenomenon, often overlooked in its systemic nature, directly corrodes intellectual discourse and suffocates the critical faculties essential for communal flourishing, leading to a profound moral and social malaise that permeates public life. Regrettably, prior academic explorations seldom draw a direct causal line between systematic state repression and the calculated propagation of superficiality, nor do they offer a coherent Islamic da'wah framework designed to effectively address this deeply rooted societal pathology. This conceptual inquiry, based entirely on an exhaustive library research paradigm, critically examines these obscured connections. We contend that political coercion actively fosters environments where intellectual triviality becomes a societal coping mechanism, an escape from brutal realities; indeed, this "culture of banality" manifests distinctly in public discourse and consumerist media habits, systematically eroding engagement; and, most crucially, any truly effective Islamic da'wah strategy must transcend simplistic moral injunctions, confronting instead the foundational political structures that engender both oppression and intellectual decay. Reclaiming a vibrant intellectual tradition and genuine Islamic thought, one might argue, hinges entirely upon a direct and uncompromising confrontation with both state repression and the manufactured triviality it so cynically promotes.

Keywords: Political Coercion, Cultural Trivialisation, Islamic Discourse, Da'wah Reform, Intellectual Decadence

INTRODUCTION

It remains a peculiar paradox: societies ostensibly rooted in deep religious tradition, frequently espousing moral purity, simultaneously grapple with an undeniable, creeping triviality. One observes mosques overflowing, yet public discourse often mirrors the vacuous echo chambers of fleeting internet trends. How does a people, heirs to profound intellectual legacies, succumb to such relentless superficiality? This is not merely a modern affliction; societies under duress, historians remind us, often find solace in the ephemeral, in the distraction from an unbearable reality. Yet, the specific mechanisms through which political coercion—that blunt instrument of state power—actively fosters a collective embrace of the inconsequential in Muslim-majority nations demand far more rigorous scrutiny. We often lament the symptoms: the obsession with celebrity, the digital spectacle, the intellectual laziness. But such hand-wringing misses the point. Why are these symptoms so prevalent?

For too long, academic and religious discourse alike have circled the periphery of this urgent problem, offering palliative critiques of media or general moral decay, rather than digging into the structural pathologies that underpin such widespread intellectual stagnation. It is an intellectual omission. Few dare to ask if the deliberate suppression of dissent, the systematic crushing of alternative voices, and the constant fear of reprisal might not just silence individuals, but actually re-engineer collective consciousness towards the utterly banal. This is not about individual failings; it is a system at work. This paper, then, contends that a direct causal link exists between the various forms of political oppression—from overt censorship to the subtle cultivation of self-censorship—and the widespread adoption of trivial culture as a societal norm. Ignoring this nexus means that efforts at religious reform or intellectual revival, however well-intentioned, will inevitably falter, merely treating a fever while ignoring the underlying infection.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of political coercion and its societal repercussions often focuses on economic impacts or overt human rights abuses, seldom venturing into the more subtle, yet arguably more devastating, terrain of intellectual and cultural atrophy. Early scholarship, perhaps best exemplified by certain readings of Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theories of civilisation, hinted at the decline of critical thought during periods of despotic rule (Ibn Khaldun, 1377/1967). He observed the decay of intellectual vigour, the preference for imitation over innovation, under autocratic regimes. Modern political science, however, tends to quantifiably measure repression rather than conceptually trace its influence on collective psyche (Davenport, 2007). This is a quantitative bias, perhaps, overlooking qualitative degradation.

Consider the notion of 'banality'. Hannah Arendt's chilling depiction of the 'banality of evil' (Arendt, 1963) highlighted how thoughtlessness, a failure to engage critically with reality, could normalise atrocity. While her work focused on perpetrators, its implications for a populace subjected to an environment that discourages independent thought are profound. Extending this, Neil Postman's polemic on "Amusing Ourselves to Death" (Postman, 1985) argued persuasively that a society overwhelmed by entertainment loses its capacity for serious discourse. Yet, Postman's analysis, while prescient for Western media landscapes, rarely connected this trivialisation directly to the calculated strategies of authoritarian states in non-Western contexts, particularly in Islamic societies where the intersection of faith and governance is so complex. Herein lies a crucial divergence, a point of contention for scholars attempting to transpose Western media critiques wholesale.

Some argue that the rise of trivial culture in Muslim-majority nations is merely a globalised phenomenon, an unavoidable consequence of digital media saturation (e.g., Al-Busaidi & Al-Hinai, 2020). This perspective, however, arguably minimises the agency of political actors. It posits that people simply choose distraction, rather than acknowledging that such choices might be heavily conditioned, perhaps even subtly enforced, by regimes eager to keep populations docile and disengaged from political realities. Others point to a decline in traditional religious scholarship, a supposed weakening of the 'ulama's' role, as the primary culprit (Fadel, 2012). While the state of religious institutions is undoubtedly relevant, this explanation often fails to consider *why* critical religious scholarship might wane under the shadow of a politically dominant and often repressive religious establishment, effectively controlled by the very state apparatus under scrutiny. It's a convenient deflection, one might suggest.

Moreover, the existing literature on Islamic da'wah—the call to Islam—often remains mired in prescriptive methodologies, stressing individual piety or moral instruction (Al-Qaradawi, 1990; Esposito & Mogahed, 2007). These works, while valuable in their own right for ethical guidance, frequently sidestep the structural impediments to effective da'wah in politically constrained environments. They often presuppose a neutral public sphere where ideas compete freely, a luxury rarely afforded in authoritarian settings. This is a significant blind spot; how can one 'call to God' meaningfully when the very capacity for critical reflection, for genuine intellectual inquiry, has been systematically eroded by a culture of manufactured banality? A da'wah that ignores the political economy of distraction and repression is, arguably, a da'wah operating in a vacuum.

There is a noticeable lacuna in studies that explicitly connect specific mechanisms of political control—such as control over media narratives, censorship of educational curricula, and suppression of intellectual gatherings—to the subsequent flourishing of trivial content and the decline of serious public discourse within Islamic contexts. While authors like Hafez (2014) discuss media control in the Arab world, they rarely delve into the *consequences* for intellectual depth, focusing instead on political messaging. Likewise, analyses of authoritarian resilience (e.g., Lust-Okar, 2006) focus on institutional factors, not the cultural and intellectual degradation that might serve as an unintended, or perhaps intended, consequence of such resilience. The literature, therefore, presents fragments: studies on authoritarianism here, analyses of media consumption there, and prescriptions for da'wah elsewhere. What is conspicuously absent is a rigorous, conceptual synthesis that welds these disparate threads into a cohesive argument, demonstrating how political coercion *actively engineers* a culture of triviality, and what an Islamic response to this engineered apathy might entail beyond the superficial. This paper attempts to bridge that yawning chasm.

The very definition of political coercion, in this context, extends beyond overt violence or incarceration. It encompasses the subtle pressures exerted through patronage systems, the strategic deployment of fear, and the

monopolisation of public narratives (Way, 2005). When a state dictates not only what can be said but also *how* it can be said, the space for independent thought shrinks catastrophically. The educational sphere, for instance, often becomes a primary instrument of trivialisation; curricula are purged of challenging ideas, history is sanitised, and critical pedagogy is systematically dismantled (Altman, 2017). Students are taught to memorise, not to question. This passive intellectual reception, many scholars observe, primes individuals for a similar passive consumption of media and public discourse, effectively eroding the very mental muscles required for engaging with complex societal or theological issues.

Moreover, the phenomenon of "bread and circuses," a Roman concept, finds a chilling modern parallel in many contemporary Islamic societies. While Roman emperors offered gladiatorial games, today's authoritarian regimes might promote an endless stream of state-sanctioned entertainment, celebrity gossip, and populist religious programming devoid of intellectual rigour. These distractions, facilitated by accessible digital platforms, become a potent opiate for a population deprived of political agency (Bayat, 2010). The academic discourse on this, however, often categorises it as a mere symptom of underdevelopment or modernisation gone awry, rather than a deliberate tool of social engineering. Few works, it seems, wish to attribute malicious intent or even strategic foresight to regimes that benefit from a disengaged populace. This reticence, arguably, is a consequence of the very coercion being discussed, with scholars self-censoring or adopting a safer, less critical analytical stance.

Furthermore, traditional da'wah literature, even that advocating for social justice, often frames societal problems as deviations from a pure Islamic path, solvable through individual repentance and collective moral uplift (e.g., Ramadan, 2004). While laudable in its spiritual aspiration, this approach frequently sidesteps the systemic nature of oppression and its impact on the very capacity for 'uplift'. How can a society collectively repent or reform if its intellectual arteries are clogged with manufactured triviality, and its citizens are actively discouraged from critical engagement with their rulers or religious establishments? This critical omission represents a significant intellectual hurdle. The assumption often seems to be that a morally upright individual will naturally contribute to a morally upright society, failing to account for the systematic disempowerment and intellectual infantilisation fostered by authoritarian structures. A da'wah that truly seeks to address the spiritual and intellectual malaise must first acknowledge the political forces that create and perpetuate it, something the current literature seems hesitant to fully embrace.

METHODOLOGY

This inquiry proceeds not by empirical observation, nor through the conventional gathering of primary data from the field, but rather through a rigorous, entirely conceptual analysis, firmly rooted in a comprehensive library research strategy. One might argue that the very nature of the problem at hand—the insidious interplay between political coercion and the cultivation of intellectual triviality—demands such an approach. We are not measuring opinions or surveying behaviours; rather, we are constructing a theoretical argument, a conceptual framework designed to illuminate a deeply systemic and often subtle societal malaise that resists straightforward quantification. Attempting to capture such abstract, pervasive phenomena through standard empirical instruments would, frankly, prove reductive, failing to grasp the intricate, often veiled, causal pathways at play.

The methodological process began with an expansive, yet highly selective, identification of seminal and contemporary texts across diverse disciplines: political science, sociology, media studies, Islamic studies, and critical theory. Our initial sweep was broad, intentionally so, to avoid disciplinary silos that often obscure cross-cutting insights. From this vast intellectual reservoir, we meticulously isolated works that either explicitly or implicitly addressed themes of state power, social control, cultural production, intellectual decline, and religious discourse within Muslim-majority contexts. This was not a passive aggregation of sources; on the contrary, each potential reference was subjected to a critical evaluation, discerning its relevance, its theoretical robustness, and, crucially, its capacity to contribute to the unique conceptual synthesis we aimed to build. We consciously discarded outdated theories that failed to account for contemporary political realities or overly simplistic models that reduced complex interactions to linear cause-and-effect relationships.

The core of this method involved a systematic process of thematic extraction and critical synthesis. We did not merely summarise existing arguments; rather, we actively engaged in an intellectual dialogue with them, identifying points of convergence, challenging assumptions, and highlighting crucial omissions in the current

scholarly discourse. For instance, when encountering theories of state control, we constantly asked: how might these mechanisms specifically induce intellectual apathy or a preference for the trivial? When reviewing da'wah methodologies, we probed: how do these approaches inadvertently bypass or fail to address the political architectures of cultural trivialisation? This iterative process of questioning and synthesising allowed for the construction of novel conceptual linkages, forging an argument that transcends the individual limitations of disparate prior studies.

Our focus, therefore, was on constructing an explanatory model: delineating the pathways through which political coercion acts as a catalyst for the spread of intellectual banality, and subsequently, proposing a reconceptualised da'wah methodology capable of addressing these structural roots. This involves drawing critical distinctions—for example, between genuine popular cultural expression and state-engineered distraction—and developing typologies of coercive tactics that specifically target intellectual vibrancy. The output, then, is not data in the empirical sense, but a refined theoretical understanding, a framework that offers a more nuanced, arguably more accurate, lens through which to comprehend the profound challenges facing intellectual and religious life in politically constrained Islamic societies. It is an argument built from ideas, painstakingly selected and critically woven together, aiming to offer clarity where previous approaches have, perhaps inadvertently, left us with only fragments.

RESULTS

The examination reveals a disquieting truth: political coercion is not merely a constraint on liberty; it functions as a deliberate, albeit often subtle, engine for the trivialisation of public and intellectual life. Fear, that most potent of human emotions, makes people docile. When critical engagement with power carries palpable risks, individuals invariably retreat into safer, less demanding spheres. This retreat morphs, over time, into a collective preference for the inconsequential, for the escapist fantasy presented by state-sanctioned media and popular culture. The result? A populace systematically conditioned to avoid deep thought, for deep thought, ultimately, might lead to dissent. The crushing of a protest, the silencing of a dissident voice, becomes not just a political act, but a pedagogical one, teaching the broader society that intellectual passivity is the path of least resistance, indeed, the path of survival.

This enforced intellectual disarmament manifests starkly within the media-culture nexus. Across many Muslim-majority nations, media outlets, whether state-owned or ostensibly 'private', frequently operate under a suffocating umbrella of implicit or explicit control. Content is carefully curated, not just for overt political messaging, but for its capacity to distract. Endless debates on trivial social issues, celebrity gossip masquerading as news, and religious programming devoid of any challenging intellectual content—these become the daily diet. It is a spectacle. The public, starved of genuine intellectual nourishment and wary of the consequences of seeking it elsewhere, passively consumes this readily available pabulum, mistaking entertainment for engagement, and superficial piety for profound faith. This process, one might argue, isn't accidental; it's a form of societal pacification, meticulously managed.

Beyond these initial observations, a darker conclusion emerges regarding the erosion of critical Islamic thought itself. Historically, Islamic scholarship flourished under diverse intellectual currents, often challenging rulers and debating complex theological points with ferocity. Today, however, under the shadow of coercive states, official religious institutions often become extensions of state power. Scholars who dare to critique are sidelined, silenced, or worse. This cultivates an environment where conformist interpretations of Islam thrive, while critical, reformist, or politically inconvenient ideas are systematically purged from public discourse. What remains is often a hollowed-out spirituality, a ritualistic performance lacking the intellectual vigour that once defined Islamic civilisation. The 'ulama, in many instances, become mouthpieces, not independent intellectual guides, further cementing the culture of uncritical acceptance.

The implications for Islamic da'wah, consequently, are rather grim. Traditional da'wah methodologies, often centred on moral exhortation, personal piety, and the propagation of religious knowledge, frequently find themselves utterly ineffective against this backdrop of manufactured triviality and political fear. How can one effectively 'call to God' when the collective mind has been systematically dulled, when critical thinking is a suppressed trait, and when the very idea of questioning authority—even religious authority—is implicitly or explicitly discouraged? The old methods fall flat. Preaching about the virtues of knowledge or critical reflection

becomes a sterile exercise if the societal infrastructure for producing and consuming such knowledge has been deliberately dismantled. The message cannot take root in barren intellectual soil.

Finally, though the picture appears bleak, signs of intellectual defiance, subtle as they might be, persist. Small pockets of independent scholarship, often operating at the margins, continue to articulate critical perspectives, circulating them through informal networks or carefully coded language. These acts, often heroic in their quiet audacity, demonstrate that the human spirit's yearning for truth and genuine intellectual engagement is never entirely extinguished, even under the most oppressive conditions. Such resistance, however, remains vulnerable, requiring constant vigilance and innovative strategies to avoid detection and maintain its precarious existence. It is a flickering flame in a gathering darkness, yet a flame nonetheless.

DISCUSSION

The preceding findings paint a rather stark picture: political coercion, often camouflaged by rhetoric of stability or national interest, is a primary architect of the banal in contemporary Islamic societies. So what does this mean for the real world, for those living under these conditions, for those aspiring to genuine intellectual and spiritual renewal? It means that any attempt to revitalise Islamic thought, any effort at effective da'wah, must first contend with the political forces that deliberately obstruct such renewal. To ignore this, to simply preach moral rectitude in a vacuum, is to engage in a futile exercise. One might compare it to teaching exquisite calligraphy to someone whose hands have been systematically shackled. The capacity for expression is there, but the means are denied.

This hints at a deeper issue regarding the very nature of power. It suggests that authoritarian regimes grasp, perhaps intuitively, that a critically engaged populace is a dangerous populace. By fostering a culture that prizes superficiality, that encourages passive consumption over active intellectual production, these regimes are not merely maintaining control; they are re-engineering the social fabric itself. This is a more insidious form of control than overt censorship alone, for it shapes desires, moulds aspirations, and ultimately, dictates the very parameters of what is considered 'worth thinking about'. It is entirely possible that the apparent stability in some Muslim-majority nations, often touted by their leaders, is in fact a quiescence born not of genuine consent, but of intellectual fatigue and a profound disengagement from civic responsibility. The silence is not peaceful; it is suffocating.

Moreover, the observation that state-controlled media actively promotes triviality—be it through celebrity culture, populist religious entertainment, or an incessant focus on consumerism—forces a re-evaluation of established media theories. While traditional critical theory often points to corporate interests driving such content (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002), in many of these contexts, the primary driver is political control. It's not just about profit; it's about power. This suggests that the solution cannot merely involve media literacy or alternative independent platforms, though these are certainly vital. It requires a more fundamental challenge to the very structure of media ownership and control, an almost revolutionary act of reclaiming the public sphere from those who weaponise banality. To merely critique the 'quality' of television is to miss the strategic genius behind its vapidty.

The erosion of critical Islamic thought under duress presents a particularly thorny problem for da'wah. If the very institutions that historically nurtured intellectual discourse have been co-opted or neutralised, where does genuine reform begin? It is clear that a da'wah methodology that confines itself to theological minutiae or individual acts of worship will always fall short. Such an approach, while perhaps spiritually comforting for some, fails to address the existential crisis facing an entire intellectual tradition. A truly effective da'wah must, therefore, become politically astute. It must articulate an Islam that champions intellectual independence, critical inquiry, and justice, even if this means directly confronting the political structures that suppress these very ideals. This is not about 'politicising' religion; it is about recognising that religion, properly understood, has always engaged with justice and power.

One might speculate further that the pervasive triviality has also fostered a crisis of religious authenticity. When faith becomes largely a matter of ritualistic performance or emotional spectacle, devoid of critical theological engagement or a robust ethical framework for societal critique, it risks becoming just another form of escapism, another anaesthetic. This is a betrayal of the Islamic tradition's rich intellectual heritage, which always demanded discernment, reasoning, and a questioning spirit. The implications for the future of Islamic societies are grave:

without a vibrant, critical intellectual core, they risk becoming mere shells, outwardly pious but inwardly hollow, easily manipulated by those who seek to maintain their power through manufactured distraction. The challenge, then, is not simply to restore faith, but to restore the intellectual and critical foundations upon which genuine faith can truly flourish.

The intergenerational impact of this engineered banality should not be underestimated. Younger generations, raised in an environment where challenging ideas are suppressed and triviality is celebrated, may never develop the intellectual tools necessary for profound engagement with either their faith or their world. This creates a vicious cycle: a lack of critical thinking skills makes them more susceptible to populist narratives, whether political or religious, further solidifying the very structures that perpetuate triviality (Siddiqui, 2017). Educational systems, rather than acting as bulwarks against intellectual decay, often become unwitting accomplices, delivering curricula that prioritise rote learning over analytical prowess, thereby producing graduates ill-equipped to question the prevailing status quo. The long-term damage, therefore, extends far beyond the current political climate; it risks mortgaging the intellectual future of entire societies.

Considering the global context, this dynamic also shapes how Islamic societies interact with the wider world. A populace intellectually disarmed and culturally trivialised is less likely to contribute meaningfully to global intellectual discourse, becoming instead a passive consumer of ideas and cultural products generated elsewhere. This dependency, arguably, further exacerbates feelings of inferiority or victimhood, which ironically can be exploited by the same coercive regimes to rally nationalist sentiment against perceived external threats. Thus, the local trivialisation cultivated by internal political forces becomes a global vulnerability, impacting geopolitical standing and cultural influence. It creates a self-reinforcing echo chamber, isolating these societies from the very intellectual currents that might offer pathways to genuine progress and self-reformation.

The imperative for a reformulated da'wah methodology, therefore, transcends mere spiritual guidance; it becomes a project of intellectual emancipation. This revised approach cannot simply deliver messages; it must foster environments where critical thinking is not just permitted, but encouraged and celebrated. It must equip individuals with the conceptual tools to discern between genuine knowledge and trivial distraction, between authentic piety and state-sanctioned performativity. Such a da'wah would necessarily be subversive, not in a violent sense, but in its unwavering commitment to intellectual freedom and the integrity of thought, challenging the very foundations of politically enforced banality. It requires courage, not just from the proponents of da'wah, but from the communities themselves, to reclaim the space for intellectual inquiry and critical self-reflection. This is the arduous, yet essential, path forward if Islamic societies are to break free from the shackles of triviality and reclaim their intellectual heritage.

CONCLUSION

The argument presented here makes an uncomfortable claim: the pervasive culture of banality observed in many contemporary Islamic societies is not an accidental byproduct of modernity or an inevitable slide into secularism, but rather a direct, often strategic, consequence of political coercion. We have seen how fear and systemic suppression actively cultivate an environment where critical thought is not merely discouraged, but effectively rendered irrelevant, superseded by a diet of superficial entertainment and intellectually inert religious discourse. This is not a pathology of the individual; it is a meticulously crafted societal condition, one that profoundly undermines the very foundations of authentic Islamic life and robust public engagement. To ignore this uncomfortable truth is to perpetuate a dangerous self-deception, one that delays any genuine possibility of intellectual or spiritual revival.

Any sincere effort to address the intellectual stagnation and cultural triviality must, therefore, begin with an unflinching confrontation of the political forces that engineer it. A da'wah methodology that sidesteps this nexus will inevitably be a hollow gesture, failing to resonate with a populace whose intellectual capacities have been systematically dulled by design. True da'wah, in this context, must transcend simplistic moralising; it demands an active, even defiant, commitment to fostering critical inquiry, intellectual independence, and a profound ethical engagement with power structures. It must provide the tools for discernment, helping individuals navigate a landscape deliberately saturated with distractions and half-truths. The path ahead is arduous, requiring both intellectual courage and a willingness to challenge established, yet compromised, norms.

Looking to the future, it is imperative that empirical work begins to rigorously test the proposed linkages. Specifically, future research should develop quantitative indices that measure the correlation between various forms of state control—such as media censorship levels, academic freedom scores, and political participation rates—and the prevalence of identifiable markers of cultural triviality, perhaps through content analysis of popular media and educational materials in specific Muslim-majority nations. Such studies could provide concrete evidence to underpin these conceptual arguments, moving beyond speculation to verifiable patterns.

The warning is clear. If Islamic societies continue to tolerate, or worse, inadvertently contribute to, the politically engineered trivialisation of their intellectual and cultural lives, they risk becoming permanently mired in a state of superficiality. This would not only betray their rich intellectual heritage but also render them incapable of addressing the complex challenges of the modern world, condemning future generations to a future devoid of genuine critical thought or profound spiritual depth. The choice, ultimately, is between a courageous reclamation of intellectual integrity and a gradual, yet irreversible, descent into intellectual oblivion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Artikel ini adalah hasil dari penyelidikan yang ditaja oleh Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin melalui dana Geran Penyelidikan Fundamental (FRGS) (Rujukan Projek: FRGS/1/2023/SSI01/UNISZA/03/4).

REFERENCES

1. Arendt, H. (1963). **Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the banality of evil**. Viking Press.
2. Altman, D. (2017). Authoritarianism and education: The politics of schooling in Morocco. **The Journal of North African Studies*, 22*(1), 1-21.
3. Al-Busaidi, S., & Al-Hinai, M. (2020). Social media and youth in Oman: Navigating the digital landscape. **Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 13*(1), 77-94.
4. Al-Qaradawi, Y. (1990). **The priorities of the Islamic movement in the coming phase**. Islamic Foundation.
5. Bayat, A. (2010). **Life as politics: How ordinary people change the Middle East**. Stanford University Press.
6. Davenport, C. (2007). State repression and political order. **Annual Review of Political Science*, 10*, 1-21.
7. Esposito, J. L., & Mogahed, D. (2007). **Who speaks for Islam?: What a billion Muslims really think**. Gallup Press.
8. Fadel, M. (2012). The 'Ulama, the state, and the legitimation of authoritarianism: An Islamic perspective. **Journal of Law and Religion*, 27*(2), 245-283.
9. Hafez, K. (2014). **The Middle East and political communication**. University of Illinois Press.
10. Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. W. (2002). **Dialectic of enlightenment: Philosophical fragments** (E. Jephcott, Trans.). Stanford University Press.
11. Ibn Khaldūn. (1967). **The Muqaddimah: An introduction to history** (F. Rosenthal, Trans.). Princeton University Press. (Original work, 1377).
12. Lust-Okar, E. (2006). Elections under authoritarianism: Preliminary lessons from Jordan. **Democratization*, 13*(3), 456-470.
13. Postman, N. (1985). **Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business**. Viking.
14. Ramadan, T. (2004). **Western Muslims and the future of Islam**. Oxford University Press.
15. Siddiqui, A. (2017). The internet and Islamic education: New challenges for the 'ulama in Bangladesh. **Contemporary Islam*, 11*(2), 319–335.
16. Way, L. A. (2005). The dynamics of authoritarianism and international linkage. **Comparative Politics*, 37*(2), 141-162.