

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework and Setting of the Study

Sociological theories of religion in developed and developing societies suggest that religion is facing a serious challenge with the rapid socio-economic and political changes in society. The dilemma of religion is more significant in developing and newly industrialised societies, particularly Muslim societies. Modernisation is the consequence of such changes which introduces the new style of life.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Of the various theories of religion, the present study attempts to examine only selective theories to analyse the relation between modernisation and Islamic practice in a developing country such as Malaysia. These theories are chosen due to their look on modernisation and are examined in terms of their reliability among urban Malay society. Therefore, they may be regarded as hypotheses of the study.

1. The trend of socio-economic and political change suggest the secularisation thesis which asserts that *modernisation brings in its wake 'the diminution of the social significance of religion'* (Wallis, 1992:8; Smelser, 1992:381). The relation between

religion and secularism¹ is one of the major issues in the sociology of religion which is considered as a product of modernisation. Some scholars do not see any major conflict between religion and secularism. They believe religion, indeed has not been succeeded by secularism. To quote Cipriani's (1994:277) words, religion never really stops playing its part in society and has reappeared beneath the surface of secularisation². To elaborate the status of religion in modern society³, Parsons views religion as a subsystem of a more complicated system of society. He uses the term 'differentiation' for a society which is undergoing a process of secularisation in the sense of a 'decline of religion'⁴ (Shiner, 1972:476). Therefore, there seems to occur the possible 'decline' of religion, but Parsons remarks that there has been no decline. He implies that particular social values for clarification of religion is not declining in a modernised society. Therefore, there is no decline for religion,

¹ Social scientists had gone to that extent to assume that religion would fall victim to the processes of rationalisation and modernisation (see Hans-Dieter Evers and Sharon Siddique, 1993).

² Cipriani (1994:277) explains:

Between religiosity and secularisation there seems to reign almost a tacit compromise. They are reinforced and weaken virtually in unison. Aspects steeped in religion continue (or return) to manifest themselves in secular reality, whilst in the reality of the church and of religious culture we see a progressive surrender to demands that are less orthodox from the viewpoint of the official model.

³ In 1964, Parsons published an article (Parsons, 1964) arguing that modernisation has come to be seen as primarily the result of new, more efficient social arrangements with bureaucracy and the money market pre-eminent.

⁴ In his view of the social differentiation of the church, most especially as the 'church' has developed on denominational lines in Protestantism in United States, the church has become precisely a much more differentiated organisation over a period of time covering some four centuries since the Reformation (Schneider, 1970:177).

and secularism is not able to put an end to religion⁵.

On the other hand, in modernist reinterpretations of the religion, the doctrines and moral demands of the faith, in Gellner's phrase (1992:4), are then turned into something which is in astonishingly little conflict with the secular wisdom of the age, or indeed with anything. Therefore, as permanent phenomenon of the society, religion plays different roles in different societies and under different circumstances.

2. In traditional and semi-traditional societies there is usually resistance to any innovation or element of change, particularly when it is going to challenge the belief and custom of that society. There are theories that emphasise on the prevailing of modern elements over the traditional ones.

The fact that vast populations, particularly Malays in Malaysia, have faced modernisation process just after Independence⁶ and simultaneously the religious movements occurred during this period, leading some scholars to several assumptions. Raymond Lee (1994:475) sees in the context of rapid social change in Malaysia, "the lag between a pre-

⁵ In treating the family and the church together as organisations that have undergone the differentiation indicated, Parsons clarifies:

This differentiation does not, as often contented, imply that either or both have lost their 'importance' in modern society. It means that the influence they do exert is not through organisational jurisdiction over certain aspects of life now structurally differentiated from them, but through the value-commitments and motivational commitments of individuals [...](Parsons, 1964:307).

⁶ The economic development in Malaysia has come to bring forth the new occupations, status, and class differences among Malays. Nash (1984:75) notes that the once simple tripartite division of aristocrats, peasants, and town civil servants have been complicated by the emergence of a commercial middle class, numerous professionals and an urban proletariat in the new factories and assembly plants of Malaysia.

industrial state of mind, reasonably described as placid, and a highly acquisitive demeanour characteristic of the industrial period has generated a restlessness typified by an ambivalence toward the sacred". He points out elsewhere (1992:163) that Islam in Malaysia provides fertile ground for the organisation of resistance against the forces of modernisation.

It seems that Lee has neglected the important political, sociological and psychological factors in the history of Malaysia both during colonial time and after independence⁷.

Smelser, another scholar of modernisation, believes that during the process of modernisation⁸, social structural differentiation occurs; but, to maintain social cohesiveness, new integrative mechanisms arise (such as welfare agencies, voluntary associations, political institutions, etc.). However, despite the formation of new integrative mechanisms, Smelser regards 'social disturbances' as inevitable. The most significant of which are: the clash between tradition and modernisation, unevenness of structural change, and the rapidity of industrialisation. Therefore, Smelser does not pretend that modernisation is an easy process⁹, and emphasises that industrialisation may have 'hardly begun', but the implication

⁷ For the history of Malays see chapter three, and for the factors of changes on Malays, see chapter one.

⁸ Smelser groups the major process of economic and technological change into four groups: 1) Moving from simple to complex technology; 2) Changing from subsistence farming to cash crops; 3) Moving from animal and human power to industrialisation; 4) Increasing urban-based population.

⁹ His critics suggest that these types of changes are virtually identical to those deemed to have occurred in the industrialised West, and Durkheim pointed out many of them before (Harrison, 1993:23-25).

is that, in the end, it will come, provided that social and political disturbances can be dealt with.

Development in Malaysia has proved that more or less all of Smelser's processes of modernisation are occurring in this country. Since Smelser's group does not provide a clear picture of the level of modernisation, any society in this world to some degree, fits his simple characteristics of progress.

3. Max Weber's historical and typological approaches in 'the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' suggest that **there is a relation between religious ethics and materialist achievements**. The teaching of Protestantism, Weber believes, is the route of the Capitalism that caused tremendous change in human history¹⁰. Weber's theory linking religious beliefs and economic action is based on the rise of Protestantism and the emergence of Capitalism¹¹. This is an example of what Aron (1967:220) calls a 'comprehensive correlation' between a religious way of thinking in the world and an attitude towards certain problems of action, and notably of economic action¹².

¹⁰ He shows that this achievement is the result of inspiration from Protestant Ethics for human efforts to obtain economic purposes. In other words, it is not economics which is absolutely determinative.

¹¹ Weber elaborates his thesis in terms of the rationalisation for its systematic theology. Western history, as Weber analyses, has developed 'rationalisation' as instrumental rationality which it was later to endow with moral sanctions in the growth of modern Capitalism (Hill, 1973:113). Thus, rationalisation conduct within the world, but for the sake of the world beyond (Peacock, 1978:2).

¹² The Protestant ethic enjoins the believer to beware the things of this world, the flesh is guilty, and asceticism in the world is essential. The believer obligates to work rationally with a view to profit and not to spend that profit but to reinvest. Therefore, Weber shows that man's economic attitudes may be governed by their belief systems, just as at a given moment systems of belief may be governed by economic systems (Aron, 1967:223-4).

Weber's argument raises a set of theoretical problems, to use Parsons (Weber, 1965:xxi) terms 'in the field of human social action of the very first order of importance'. Parsons elaborates Weber's thesis to say that the central problem is whether man's conceptions of the cosmic universe, including those of divinity and men's religious interests within such a conceptual framework could influence or shape their concrete actions and social relationships, particularly in the very mundane field of economic action¹³. By using Parsons interpretation of Weber's thesis the study examines **the influence of religious beliefs on the Malay actions**.

While there is criticism of Weber's thesis that the rise of Protestantism is a 'necessary but not sufficient condition' for the rise of Capitalism, Demerath and his colleague (1969:81) note that a few even go further than what Weber intends and they asserts that it is the Protestant Ethic that 'causes' the rise of Capitalism in the full sense. In addition, Weber concentrates on the analysis of the condition under which religion functions to block change. His belief that Capitalism could not arise in the absence of the kind of values associated with the Protestant

¹³Engaging in economic activity, to Calvinism, is to respond to a divine 'calling'. On the other hand the essence of Capitalism as conceived by Weber is embodied in that enterprise whose aim it is to make the maximum profit and whose means is the rational organisation of work and production. Therefore, as Aron (1967:218) concludes, it is the conjunction of desire for profit and rational discipline which constitute the historically unique feature of Western Capitalism. More than that, every man is God's agent, actively working by economic means towards the establishment of kingdom of God on the earth. In Calvinistic belief the individual is impelled toward work in order to overcome the anxiety inevitably resulting from his uncertainty about his eternal destiny. Work - rational, regular, constant - comes to be interpreted as obedience to a commandment of God (Aron, 1967:222). This is, according to Robertson (1970:171-2), more than an ascetic performance of one's earthy role of Puritanism. It contains an especially demanding religious expectation in this respect.

ethic, particularly in comparing with the religions of India and China, opens comments and critics for some scholars¹⁴. Weber notes that magical religions are presumably inimical to societal change and some traditional values prevented the emergence of a 'modern' economic order in the ancient civilisation of India and China (Nottingham, 1971:162-65). Further studies on Asian religion do not support Weber's thesis. Bellah has shown that the Tokugawa religion which led to the rapid modernisation of Japan, contains the same elements as Weber describes in the Protestant Ethic (Lauer, 1973:124).

One Southeast Asian Muslim scholar has commented (Alatas, 1972:12-3) on Weber's theses by saying that the spirit of modern Capitalism can rise in Asia from within itself. He believes that non-religious social and cultural factors can exert greater influence in the rise of an economic ethic. Andreas Buss (1986:7) has doubted Alatas argument to use the term 'Capitalism' for certain Muslims and to find modern Western Capitalism and its spirits among them.

2.2. Modernisation and Religious Movement: Definitions

The important terms related to religious movement and social change are defined¹⁵.

Da'wah Movement. The new religious movement was known as religious revivalism, Islamic resurgence, reawakening of Islam, revival of Islam, and *da'wah*¹⁶ or *da'wah* movement in Malaysia. The

¹⁴ For instance, see Gothoni (1988) and Levy (1992).

¹⁵ For definition of other terms see Abbreviation and Glossary.

¹⁶ *Da'wah* is an Arabic word which means "to call" or "to invite". In Malay language it is pronounced as *dakwah*.

term is used to call Muslims back to Islam and learn and practice the teaching of Islam. It has aimed towards the revival of Islam in the country.

Development¹⁷. Views of 'development' are inevitably linked to some idea of progress, which involves a change, perhaps an evolution, from one state to another, both of which may be 'real' or idealised¹⁸.

Fundamentalism. Among the religious movements in the last quarter of this century, particularly in Muslim societies, the new method of movements, so called 'fundamentalism' firmly repudiates this kind of watering down of the religious claims. Fundamentalism is seen differently by scholars. Wesseks (1984) sees fundamentalism as a legitimate response to economic crises of modern times. Milner (1986:50) warns that one should not attribute fundamentalism entirely to recent circumstances. Fundamentalism, like anti-monarchism, can be traced back to at least the colonial period. Cipriani remarks that the vitality of religion partially runs through the stress on fundamentalism. Lechner (1993:24) sees fundamentalists as anti-modern trends which intended to resolve profoundly new problems by old tradition.

¹⁷Some characteristics of modernisation which are generally accepted by social scientists, planners and politicians since the Second World War are: 1) The unit of analysis of modernisation studies is usually the nation-state, and the nations of the Third World are placed on an evolutionary scale, at the apex of which are 'modern' Western societies. 2) The most active agents in the process of modernisation are considered to be Western-educated elite. 3) There is a dualism in developing societies: the contrast of 'tradition' and 'modernity' (Harrison, 1993:149).

¹⁸Harrison, 1993:153.

The contemporary Islamic movements, as Moussalli (1993) suggests, has two tendencies: 'fundamentalism' and 'modernism'¹⁹. He views both as proponents of change. The two tendencies, modernism and fundamentalism, aim to motivate the Muslims to work towards progress and development, but in different ways. Both see Islam as necessary for the reformulation of history and reformation of civilisation²⁰. Although both trends seek changes, they differ conceptually and practically on the means of their achievement²¹. One of main the differences is related to development. To modernists, though Islam should be the essence of progress and development, its understanding should develop along Western lines; and the concept of *tawhid* should be seen as a process of unity at all practical and theoretical levels and a process of liberation from the past²² while fundamentalists perceive *tawhid* as a process of total domination of life and negate any other form (Moussalli, 1993:73)²³.

¹⁹ Moussalli (1993:51) named Jamal al-Din Asadabadi known as al-Afghani (1839-1897), Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), Muhammad Iqbal (1875-1938), and Ali Shari'ati (1933-1977) as modernists; and Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-80), Hasan al-Banna (1906-49), Sayyid Qutb (1906-66), and Ayatollah Khomeini (1903-89) as fundamentalists.

²⁰ Moussalli believes (1993:73) Islam should provide the metaphysical foundations as well as the motivating force for regeneration. However, Islam as has been understood for centuries should be re-examined and re-interpreted in the light of modernity.

²¹ Ameer Ali (1984:312) distinguish four types of Islamic revivalism namely : radical *iman*-centred, moderate *iman*-centered, radical *umma*-centred, and moderate *umma*-centred.

²² The early Muslim modernists, in fact, were not thoroughly Westernised elite culturally alienated from their own societies. On the contrary, Obaid ul Haq says (1986:340), they had a firm footing in traditional Islamic learning and , they were no less committed to the cause of Islam and Muslim culture.

²³ According to Moussalli (1993:73), from the fundamentalist point of view, man's essential role starts in purification and moves to unification ; to the modernists' perspective it starts in unification and moves to integration.

The Islamic philosophy of science, Ba-Yunus (1985:x) argue, cannot be divorced from the Islamic philosophy of life. Indeed the former could be taken as being only a specific aspect of the latter²⁴. Therefore, fundamentalism or modernism movements can not change this world-view, but there are differences in the ways to implement it.

In Malaysia, fundamentalism has mostly been seen with da'wah groups²⁵, while nationalism has an image of modern tendencies (Abu Bakar:1986).

Industrialisation. Industrialisation means the development of a manufacturing society based on capitalistic profit motive and competitive market principles²⁶.

Islamic Revivalism. In many Muslim countries, religious movement is shaped in the form of Islamic revivalism. The major contribution to the Islamic revivalism has been the failure of the secular governments to recognise the importance of Islam's place in their socio-economic, political and cultural fabric (Hunter, 1988:281). The revivalists view modernisation as a source of violation mandate of religion over society. However, Islamic revivalism is a broad term which include those who view modernisation, as Dekmejian (1988:7) holds²⁷, to bring 'gloom and doom' to them, and those who are eager to use science and modern appliances to develop their society both in spiritual and material aspects.

²⁴ To be a Muslim means to embark upon a mission, so to be a scientist does not promise a Muslim as exemption from this rule.

²⁵ See chapter 3 section 3.6.

²⁶ Perrucci, 1977.

²⁷ In his word to revivalists modernisation brings gloom and doom marked by internal degeneration, secularism, socio-economic injustice, political repression, and military defeat.

Islamic World-view. To understand the process of change as accepted by the Islamic world-view one should know about the relationship of man and nature. The Qur'an declares that the whole of nature is as it were a great, open Book to be understood and interpreted. Alattas (1985:35-36) points out that in Islamic view, those among mankind who possess intelligence, insight, understanding, discernment, and knowledge, know the meaning of that Book; for nature is like a book that tells us about the Creator, it 'speaks' to man as a revelation of God. Therefore, the Islamic beliefs encourage man to change his condition toward progress, and to improve his knowledge and his spirit. In the Islamic point of view:

Man as spirit is already perfect, but man as such when actualised as physical being is subject to forgetfulness and ignorance and injustice to himself and hence is not necessarily perfect. His 'evolution' towards perfection is his progress towards realisation of his original nature as spirit (Alattas, 1985:42)

In this study an Islamic world-view is a comprehensive conception of the universe and man's relation to it. World to a Muslim means not only this world but the other world, too; therefore, it includes both physical and spiritual meanings. The concept includes the belief of God's presence everywhere and God's witness of man's behaviour. Thus, every action of a person is counted and there will be appropriate reward or punishment for it. Moreover, there is continuation of life in the hereafter and that man's condition in his afterlife depends upon his 'this world' behaviour; therefore, in Islamic belief, a Muslim has responsibility over his everyday life.

Modernisation. Modernisation may be regarded as an aspect of 'Westernisation' involving changes which contrast with a previous 'traditional' stability with extensive structural changes²⁸ (Harrison, 1993:155). Such kinds of definitions²⁹ often suggest the direction of change to an ideal model which is that of the advanced industrialised countries³⁰. Therefore, they are Western-centric and have faced criticisms³¹.

Sociologists' interest on modernisation is on the distinctive institutional characteristics which Smelser (1992:381) summaries as follows³²:

Traditional religious systems tends to lose influence. Often powerful non-religious ideologies, such as nationalism, arise. Traditional privileges and authority become less important and the basis of the class system shifts to personal achievement and merit. The family

²⁸ Wallis (1992:12-14) names three salient features of modernisation: social differentiation is the process by which specialised roles and institution are developed or arise to handle specific features or functions previously embodied in, or carried out by, one role or institution. Societalisation is the process by which life is increasingly emergence of modern states co-ordinated through massive, impersonal bureaucracies. Rationalisation involves changes in the way people think and consequentially in the way they act.

²⁹ The concept of modernisation, according to Eyerman (1992:37-8) in classical sociological theory, has its roots in the attempt to come to grips with the meaning and significance of the social changes occurring in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, modernisation in the account of social change and its effect on human experience is the development of a new sense of self, of subjectivity and individuality. This idea distinguishes the modern individual from the traditional one.

³⁰ Such changes not only include an industrialised economy but also a complete transformation of political, social and psychological spheres as well as changes in the understanding of the relationship between man and the supernatural.

³¹ For example, Smelser (1992:382-4) lists down three criticisms for Harrison's definition: being Western-centric, ignorance of the political dimension, particularly group conflict, and ignorance of external factors in social change.

³² Some other characteristics of changes as a result of modernisation, as Haferkamp (1992:99) points out, are: increasing mobilisation of resources, increasing levels of positive effort, power relationships, increasing levels of consumer welfare, increasing dissemination of self-reflection, [...].

ceases to be the main unit of economic production. Extended family and kin groups break into smaller units. Personal choice, not the dictates of parents, becomes the basis for courtship and marriage. In education the literacy rate increases greatly and formal educational institutions develop at all levels. At the same time, the mass media serve as a vast educational resource and information channel. Informal customs and mores decay as new forms of political organisation (for example, political parties) and more complex systems of administration develop.

In a more broader view, Friedman (1994:214) outlines the various aspects of the phenomenon or phenomena of the modern era which he calls 'parameters of modernity'³³ and sees them as "a structure, returning subsequently to its relation to the global and to the question of culture".

Modernisation, if it means change in the sense of progress, is accepted in Islam and considered the mandate of God to man. In his dissertation, Farghal (1978:211) elaborates this view by saying that Islam envisages that man is at the centre of change and Islam focuses on him as the real propeller of the process of change. He is the agent of God and is in full charge of furthering human progress.

Therefore, modernisation is the process by which a society changes from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life. It is not only related to a certain level of technology, economic

³³ For Friedman (1994:213) modernity is the emergent identity space of the centres of global systems which produces a number of constructs that have been taken as paradigmatic of Western society since the eighteenth century, which he considers, are a question of structure rather than a specific 'culture'.

development, and social organisation but also values and world-view³⁴. The modern society is interested in the transmutation of the values of equality, freedom, and humanitarianism.

Religious Movement. A religious movement refers to what Nottingham (1972:228) calls 'any organised attempt to spread a new religion or new interpretation of an already existing religion'³⁵. Hill (1985:124-25) believes that the main channel of social change and development is economic and political, and religious movements may best be seen as distorted expressions or embryonic signs of more substantial social change.

The new religious movements which coincided temporally with the growth of the new social movements is in fact the religious or spiritual dimension of new social movements³⁶ (Beckford, 1990:9). Hannigan suggests (1993:11-15) that the new social movement which conveys 'the global conjunction of sacred and secular concerns the formulation of new theoretical perspectives' in the sociology of religion³⁷.

The religious manifestation of the emotional type is being paid particular attention by some scholars, since it is

³⁴In a modernised society like the United States, Hargrove (1983:27-29) notes, there are changes in values of modernisation such as hard work, moving from the notion of product to the idea of working conditions and material comfort transmuting at least partially to become means rather than ends.

³⁵Religious movement, as a kind of social movement, is considered as a sociocultural movement when making use of legitimate and accepted forms of collective action in their attempts to increase their numbers and secure the right to practice their beliefs. If the religious movement intends to make these beliefs or practices binding on the entire political community, such as many Islamic movements, it is a socio-political movement (Eyerman, 1992:43).

³⁶The rise of spiritual activity in the 1970s and 1980s and its continuation in 1990s, gave rise to theories on interpreting the interrelationships between a new social movement and contemporary religion (Hannigan, 1993).

³⁷By doing so, he considers three specific research tasks: 1) identifying and conceptualising; 2) typologizing; 3) operationalising.

widespread, not only in the new religious movement, but also within the various faiths. The expansion of community emotionalism, according to Hervieu-Leger (1993:145), was seen first and foremost as the manifestation, in the religious mode, of a rejection of the social relations that characterise techno-industrial society, and as the expression of a burst of demodernisation amplified by the crisis. Shamsul Amri (1995) holds a similar view focusing on religious activities in Asia and emphasises the role of religion in awaking the majority of the lower class and the poor people of developing Asian countries. He argues that Bellah's thesis that 'the more progress Asian countries experience, the more they incline towards secularisation', is not relevant. Shamsul believes Bellah and others have seen the negative aspect of religion only (1995:91).

Urban Middle Class Malay: One of the main characteristics of urbanisation in developing countries is the growth of a new middle-class population, due to economic development. Hence, greater complexity of social stratification will appear in modern industrial societies³⁸.

The classical characteristics of the middle class of this kind of society, as Bottomore (1966:24) points out, is the growth of the new middle classes comprising office workers, supervisors, managers, technicians, scientists, and many of

³⁸ There are new elements in the formation of social structure of the new industrialised and industrialising societies. The new middle class is formed by growth of the service sector and more women entering professions and occupations. The class proportion is also changing by two processes: the proportionate decline of an internally homogeneous working class and the continuing development of a heterogeneous array of the middle classes. The analysis of social situation of the very diversity and fragmentation of the 'middle classes' increasingly applied by 'postmodernism' (see Crompton, 1993: chapters 7 and 8).

those who are employed in the service (e.g. social welfare, entertainment, leisure activities).

The Malaysian middle class constitute of old and new groups in which there has been a tendency to refer them as the petty bourgeoisie (Alatas, 1991:116). The old middle class is generally comprised of producers and artisans, while the new middle class, as Alatas mentions, are mostly employed in occupations, commonly thought of as office jobs, including clerical workers in state and multinational enterprises, low level government officials and administrators, etc.

Urbanisation. Urbanisation is the process whereby large numbers of people leave the countryside and small towns to settle in cities and surrounding metropolitan areas³⁹.

The present study is an effort to manifest aspects of religiousness of urban Malays. In attempts to discover manifestations of religiosity, Glock (1972:39-54) distinguishes five dimensions of religiosity: the experiential, the ritualistic, the ideological, the intellectual, and the consequential. The five dimensions give a thorough look to study of religious commitment in a certain society. Since the study seeks to find the relationship between religiosity and modernisation, only those dimensions are applied that are related directly to the behaviour of the adherents. Therefore, the experiential and the ritualistic dimensions are included giving recognition to certain religious expectations and encompass the specifically religious practices expected of religious adherents.

³⁹Calhoun, 1994:519.

The present study does not limit itself to only observation, interviews with certain leaders or expertise, interpretation of certain organisational activities, or events which may be recorded in documents. This study gets its main data from ordinary families in the society. This study aims to present both descriptive and explanatory analyses examining urban Malay religious behaviour over time. The units of analysis are urban middle income Malay families in Kuala Lumpur. The study is designed to use a cross-sectional survey data in order to approximate a longitudinal survey.

The final part of this chapter describes the procedures used for the survey and the localities where the survey was conducted.

2.3. The Survey Population

The study is limited to Malays living in Kuala Lumpur who are considered as a "survey population" from whom the natural sample of the survey is selected. A review is carried out for the ethnic composition of Kuala Lumpur and its changes over time.

Kuala Lumpur is the most populated city in Malaysia, being the centre of commercial, industrial and political activity. It is also regarded as the fastest developing city in Southeast Asia. Like most towns and cities of the peninsula, Kuala Lumpur was set up and dominated by Chinese⁴⁰. Kuala Lumpur attracts not only Malaysians from other states of Malaysia for its social and

⁴⁰ In 1921, out of 78 towns 55 were Chinese-dominated; while in seven towns Malays were in majority. In 1970, 68.36 percent of total towns in peninsula were dominated by Chinese and 21.68 percent were Malay dominated (Sidhu and Jones, 1981:89-90).

economic opportunities, but also citizens of neighbouring countries. This city is at the present the centre of Malay cultural and religious activities. In addition Kuala Lumpur is the centre of international Islamic activities in Southeast Asia and one of the active Islamic political voices in the world.

2.3.1. Early Days and Growth of Kuala Lumpur

The present city of Kuala Lumpur grew spasmodically from a tin-mining area before the nineteenth century⁴¹. The discovery of tin in where now is Kuala Lumpur attracted traders at Lukut and two of them set up their store. The Malay rulers from the state of Selangor handed over nearly all the administrative powers to the most powerful Chinese⁴², on whom they conferred the title of *Kapitan China*. The first known estimation of Kuala Lumpur's population occurred in 1878, then it was estimated that there were 2,000 inhabitants in the city. By 1880, the prosperous Kuala Lumpur became the capital of Selangor and the first British administrations were permanently stationed there⁴³. A superficial sketchy census held in 1884 estimated the

⁴¹In the 1850s Raja Juma'at and his brother Raja Abdullah, with the financial support of two Malacca merchants, dealt in a search in the upper part of the Kelang river. Eighty-seven Chinese miners were engaged in the search for tin deposits. Unlike earlier explorations by Sultan Mohamed in the 1830s, this time they discovered a vast deposit of tin near Ampang in 1857 and exported in 1859 (Gullick, 1988:10; Municipal Council, 1959:7-8; Tsou, 1967:16-17).

⁴²In 1868, Yap Ah Loy became the third *Kapitan China* of Kuala Lumpur. He was a powerful man and owned many tin mines in this place. He was the victor in a Civil War which took place between 1869-1873. Gullick(1988:14) distinguishes three stages in the early period of Kuala Lumpur: From 1862 to 1867, a period of expansion and prosperity with enmity between the Chinese 'secret societies'. The second period ran from 1867 to 1870, a period of civil war between Selangor aristocracy over the revenues of tin mines. In the third period Yap Ah Loy allied with Tunku Kudin against Raja Mahdi and Raja Abdullah.

⁴³By this time Kuala Lumpur was a crowded and dirty village, swept by fire and epidemic disease (Gullick, 1988:8). The second British Resident helped to rebuild Kuala Lumpur which was razed by fire in 1881.

population of the city to be 4,054, which means more than double in six years. The developments of the city⁴⁴ attracted thousands of people, mostly Chinese, to settle in Kuala Lumpur. By 1891 the city's population had reached 19,000, an increase of 470 percent in seven years. In 1896, Kuala Lumpur became the capital of the Federated Malay States. By the turn of the century, the city had 32,381 inhabitants (Municipal Council, 1959: 11-26; Sidhu, 1978:1).

The rapidly increasing number of non-Malay immigrants fostered fear among Malays. Therefore, in 1899, the British Resident of Selangor ordered the first Malay reservation to be created close to the town of Kuala Lumpur⁴⁵.

Being the capital of the Federated Malay States, Kuala Lumpur enjoyed a good market for tin, followed by the sudden rise of rubber planting in the first decade of the new century. By this time, Kuala Lumpur was the most prosperous location in the peninsula.

2.3.2. Malay Population in Kuala Lumpur

Although there were Malay inhabitants in the Kelang Valley, dwelling in villages (*kampung*), Kuala Lumpur was actually created by the non-Malay immigrants⁴⁶ (Sidhu, 1978:1). There was a small Malay village, called *Kampung Rawa*, in the north of Jalan Mountbatten (now Jalan Tun Perak) (Tsou,

⁴⁴Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Kuala Lumpur had hundreds of brick houses, better streets, a couple of companies, a bank, a club, an educational institution, a hospital and a jail. In addition, two daily newspapers (English and Chinese) were published, and the city was connected by train (in 1887).

⁴⁵The policy behind establishing a Malay reserve was to enable Malay families to live in their homeland villages without the fear of being pushed out to the suburban area by the wealthier non-Malays.

⁴⁶In the east of the Kelang River, a trading settlement was developed with a majority of population being Cantonese.

1967:16). In this place the oldest Malay mosque of Kuala Lumpur existed as far back as the 1870s (Municipal Council, 1959). In 1891, there were 2,333 Malays dwelling in Kuala Lumpur, constituting 12.2 percent of the total population (tables 2.1 and 2.2). Even in the very beginning of the town's growth, there were already signs of segregation between Malays and non-Malays due to certain factors.

The Malay reservation policy, as well as two other main factors, ethnic mother tongue and occupation (Sidhu, 1978:2-4), appear to have strengthened ethnic segregation in Kuala Lumpur.

The influx of non-Malay immigrants resulted in the reduction of the percentage of Malays in the total population from 11.5 percent in 1901 to 9.0 percent in 1911. Between 1910-1920, the population of the city almost doubled and the Malay population remained at 9 percent of the total population. Throughout the early history of Kuala Lumpur, the native population remained virtually unaffected by the important changes that occurred around them. Much of the modern economic sector was controlled by the colonial/immigrant complex, while the Malays largely remained as marginal participants (Sidhu, 1978:10).

In terms of religious institutions there were signs of improvement. In Kampung Bahru, a Malay reserve, a mosque was erected in 1903. Five years later, the town mosque (Nakhodah Usah mosque) was built.

During the 1920s and 1930s Kuala Lumpur was more developed, both in terms of population and socio-economic situation. The Malay population of Kuala Lumpur also gradually increased. By 1947, the population of the city was over 175,000,

of which 12.4 percent were Malays. The colonial period initiated some changes among Malays in Kuala Lumpur. These changes involved mainly the aristocratic class being placed in commanding positions in the civil service, police and armed forces.

Table 2.1: Population of Kuala Lumpur by Ethnic Group, 1891-1990

Year	Malay	Chinese	Indians	Others	Total
1891	2,333	13,927	2,367	393	19,020
1901	3,727	23,181	4,435	1,093	32,381
1911	4,226	31,152	9,068	2,272	46,718
1921	7,297	48,587	20,889	3,651	80,429
1931	10,769	67,929	25,889	7,378	111,418
1947	21,989	111,693	31,607	10,670	175,461
1957	47,615	195,822	53,505	19,288	316,230
1970	113,642	247,474	84,043	6,651	451,810
1980	320,588	509,998	140,315	9,425	978,326
1985	381,210	558,110	153,287	10,621	1,103,562
1991	-	-	-	-	1,145,342

Sources: Sidhu, 1978; State/District Data Bank, 1988; Mohd Razali Agus, 1991; Department of statistics Malaysia, 1995.

Table 2.2: Percentage of Population of Kuala Lumpur by Ethnic Group, 1891-1985

Year	Malay	Chinese	Indians	Others	Total
1891	12.2	73.2	12.4	2.0	100
1901	11.5	71.5	13.7	3.2	100
1911	9.0	66.6	19.7	4.8	100
1921	9.0	60.4	25.9	4.5	100
1931	9.6	60.9	22.7	6.6	100
1947	12.4	63.4	17.7	6.0	100
1957	15.0	61.9	16.9	6.0	100
1970	25.1	54.7	18.6	1.4	100
1980	32.8	51.9	14.3	1.0	100
1985	34.5	50.6	13.9	1.0	100

Sources: Sidhu, 1978; State/District Data Bank, 1988; Mohd Razali Agus, , 1991.

In the year of Independence (1957), the town had 316,000 inhabitants, 15 percent of which were Malays. By this time several mosques were set up; an Indian mosque, Alam Shah mosque, Al-Hidayah mosque and the magnificent Masjid Jamek.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Kuala Lumpur attracted more people from other states and rural areas. In 1985, the city had 1,103,568 inhabitants. There were 381,210 Malays constituting 34.5 percent of the total Kuala Lumpur population. It now seems that the population of Malays in Kuala Lumpur continue to increase faster than that of the Chinese and Indians, a trend likely to continue up to the year 2020.

2.4. Procedure of the Survey

The survey population consists of Malay families living in Kuala Lumpur. Since the Malay population is comprised of 35 percent of the city's total population, not all sections of the city are Malay populated areas. There is no unified plan for division of the city. There are offices under the Kuala Lumpur City Hall (*Dewan Bandaraya*) which draw special division and different boundaries of localities to meet their own purposes. *Jabatan Penilaian dan Pengurusan Harta* (JPPH) of City Hall, for example, divides the city into eight zones (table 2.3). Each zone covers different localities which normally consists of *taman(s)*, *bukit(s)*, and *kampung(s)*. For each locality JPPH keeps a record of housing units, apartments and units of buildings according to the name of the owner and the price of the unit. This classification is useful for the present survey, because it

identifies the area by housing units and ethnic background of the owner (the identification was done by distinguishing the name of owners as being a Malay, a Chinese or an Indian).

Table 2.3 : Divisions and Number of Localities in Kuala Lumpur

	Tota 1	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8
Total	234	24	36	40	23	16	26	31	38
Over 30% Malay	108	23	11	31	5	6	2	7	23

Source: Jabatan Penilaian dan Pengurusan Harta Dewan Bandaraya, 1993.

The so-called *Kawasan Parlimen* classification was another possible alternative to identify the area for the survey. *Kawasan Parlimen* provides a good profile of ethnic composition of each district and each locality, but it does not identify the units of house or family. The third possibility was to use census data of the Department of Statistics. This data is more accurate and collected in accordance to a scientific methodology. It can be more useful than the two other ways because it provides information on marital status. At the time of the survey, the report of the 1991 census has not been released yet. The data of the 1980 census was outdated and not relevant to the present survey. Therefore, the main data used for the identification of the population of the survey was the JPPH data. The officers of each zone evaluated each locality in terms of the type and value of houses and location, in five categories for the purpose of this survey: Upper, upper-middle, middle, middle-lower, and lower income groups. They also identified those localities with more than 30 percent Malay

inhabitants⁴⁷. Places with at least a 30-percent population of Malays were included for the population of survey. For more reliability, this data was compared with that from the Office of the Election Commission, which is based on *Kawasan Parlimen* divisions.

2.4.1. Malay Concentrated Localities in Kuala Lumpur

There are 234 localities in eight zones in the JPPH's classification. Out of these, 108 have at least 30 percent Malay inhabitants (table 2.4). The middle income group constitutes 36 percent of the total localities in Kuala Lumpur. The range of the middle income group includes three subgroups namely the upper-middle, middle, and lower-middle income groups. Thus 79 percent of all localities in the city are considered in the range of middle income groups.

The survey population includes a range of Malay middle income groups in Kuala Lumpur. There are 83 localities or 77 percent of total Malay localities which are included in the survey population (table 2.5).

Table 2.4: Income Category of Localities in Kuala Lumpur, 1993

Income groups	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8	Total	%
Upper	6	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	9	4
Upper-middle	6	1	5	2	1	11	-	3	29	12
Middle	8	7	15	20	2	7	8	17	84	36
Lower-middle	4	19	9	-	11	2	15	13	73	31
Lower	-	8	10	1	2	6	7	5	39	17
Total	24	36	40	23	16	26	31	38	234	100

⁴⁷ There is a regulation by City Hall for new housing estate construction that the developer sells at least 30 percent of its housing units to Bumiputera, unless there was no Bumiputera buyer.

Table 2.5: Income Category of Malay Localities in Kuala Lumpur, 1993

Income groups	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7	Zone 8	Total	%
Upper	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5.5
Upper-middle	6	2	1	-	1	-	-	4	14	13
Middle	8	4	14	4	-	-	1	10	41	38
Lower-middle	3	4	7	-	4	2	4	4	28	26
Lower	-	1	9	1	1	-	2	5	19	17.5
Total	23	11	31	5	6	2	7	23	108	100

From the middle-low income group localities, Kampung Dato Keramat was randomly selected. Taman Ibu Kota was also randomly selected from the middle income group localities. Since Taman Ibu Kota is small in size, its neighbour, Taman Setapak from the same category was added to the sample. From the upper-middle income group localities, Taman Tun Dr. Ismail was randomly selected. As a sample of newly developed middle income group localities, Taman Setiawangsa was chosen.

Kampung Dato Keramat is located in zone five; Taman Ibu Kota, Taman Setapak, and Taman Setiawangsa are located in zone three; and Taman Tun Dr. Ismail is in zone one. All of these zones are regarded as Malay populated areas. This is also substantiated by the data of the Election Commission. Kampung Dato Keramat is located in Kawasan Titiwangsa, a new *Kawasan Parlimen* which is 59.7 percent Malay of ages 21 years and above (table 2.6). Taman Ibu Kota, Taman Setapak, and Taman Setiawangsa are located in Kawasan Wangsa Maju. Over 56-percent of the inhabitants of this *kawasan* (21 years-old and above) are Malays. Taman Tun Dr. Ismail is located in Kawasan Segambut with a 31.1 percent Malay population (of the same age group). This

locality was formed as part of Kawasan Lembah Pantai under the old constituency division, which had a large percentage (53%) of Malay voters.

**Table 2.6 : Percentage of Ethnic Groups by Divisions
in Kuala Lumpur, 1992**

Division	Malay	Chinese	Indians	Others	Total
Kepong	2.55	92.91	4.10	0.44	100
Batu	47.69	36.94	14.43	0.94	100
Wangsa Maju	56.12	33.52	9.43	0.93	100
Segambut	31.12	48.23	19.61	1.05	100
Titiwangsa	59.74	29.16	10.59	0.50	100
Bukit Bintang	11.46	77.84	10.05	0.65	100
Lembah Pantai	52.91	26.49	19.77	0.82	100
Seputeh	4.43	89.50	5.22	0.79	100
Cheras	8.28	83.67	7.64	0.40	100
Bandar Tun Razak	49.70	42.15	7.92	0.23	100
Total	32.4	56.0	10.9	0.7	100

Source: Election Commission of Malaysia.

2.4.2. Selecting Samples

The *Dewan Bandaraya's* (City Hall) calculation of the ethnic composition is based on the ownership of the residential houses to determine the share of the Malays in each locality. To use systematic random sampling, the present study benefited from City Hall's data to find out on which street the Malays are more concentrated⁴⁸. The sample is limited to those couples who have

⁴⁸ Using this information the interviewer starts from the first house of the more populated street going ahead to every third house. If the resident is a Malay family then they are asked when they were married. Those who were married in 1968 and earlier and those who were married in 1983 and after are included in the sample and were interviewed later. If the Malay couple was married in the period of 1969-82, or if the residents of the house were non-Malays the interviewer proceeded to the next house and so on.

married in 1968 and earlier and those who have married in 1983 and after.

Both husband and wife were interviewed. In this survey, a Malay family is a family wherein the husband is Malay and a Muslim with or without children. The fourteen years gap between the two age groups of Malay couples indicate a distance between young and elderly families. A total of 476 respondents from five localities were interviewed during April to July 1994. The number of elderly and young samples were almost equal; 235 elderly and 241 young families respectively (table 2.7). The number of respondents for each locality is different due to the size of locality and percentage of Malay families in the locality.

Table 2.7 : Number of Respondents by Locality

Locality	Young families	Elderly families	Total
Kampung Dato Keramat	57	58	115
Taman Ibu Kota	26	30	56
Taman Setapak	25	27	52
Taman Setiawangsa	59	57	116
Taman Tun Dr. Ismail	74	63	137

2.4.3. Religious Characteristics of the Localities of the Survey

This section profiles the five localities which are included in the survey (within the boundary of Kuala Lumpur). The state of religious institutions of each locality is also depicted.

2.4.3.1 Kampung Dato Keramat: Kampung Dato Keramat is located in the eastern part of the city, i.e. Kawasan Titiwangsa is close to Jalan Ampang and is considered as one of the oldest Malay

residential areas in Kuala Lumpur⁴⁹. It is called Kampung Dato Keramat Selatan (South Dato Keramat Village) in the *Kawasan Parlimen's* classification. The entire area covers almost 1.2 square kilometres. There are 1,030 houses in this locality with 954 houses or 93 percent belonging to the Malays and 40 houses to Indians. There is no Chinese house owner (table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Number of the Houses of Sample Localities by Ethnic Ownership, 1993

Ethnic Owner- ship	Keramat		Ibu Kota		Setapak		Setiawangsa		Taman Tun	
	No. of Houses	%	No. of Houses	%	No. of Houses	%	No. of Houses	%	No. of Houses	%
Malays	954	93	270	64	534	43	573	73	1861	46
Chinese	0	0	39	9	487	39	152	50	1841	45
Indians	40	4	88	21	179	14	34	4	282	7
Others	36	3	23	6	50	4	22	3	99	2
Total	1030	100	420	100	1250	100	781	100	4083	100

Source: Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur.

Kampung Dato Keramat is considered as a Malay residential area. In 1993, there were 4,233 Malays 21 years old and over constituting 99.9 percent of the total population of Kampung Dato Keramat. According to the Election Commission, there are only four Chinese and two Indians age 21 years old and over in this area (table 2.9).

The name "*Kampung*" indicates that the locality originated from a rural place. Until recently, it was regarded as a poor area in Kuala Lumpur. Since it is located close to the city's commercial and administrative centre, it became a place for the lower middle class Malay families. There is a big traditional

⁴⁹This area covers the north of Kampung Semarak, to the south of the Kelang River. It extends to the east of Jalan Jelatik and to the west of the Universiti Teknologi Malaysia campus.

pasar (bazaar) in this place. Kampung Dato Keramat is one of the most active centres for the *Madrasah* institution which plays an important role in this community.

Table 2.9 : Population of 21 Years Old and Over of Sample Localities by Ethnic Groups in 1992 and 1993

Ethnic Groups	Keramat		Ibu Kota		Setapak		Seksyen 10		Taman Tun	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Malays 1992	4120	99.8	1526	78.5	1504	36.7	-	-	2201	40.9
1993	4233	99.9	1589	78.9	1567	35.1	2693	54.4	2623	39.0
Chinese 1992	4	0.1	135	6.9	2057	50.2	-	-	2577	47.9
1993	4	0.1	134	6.6	2338	52.1	1817	36.7	3145	46.7
Indians 1992	3	0.07	259	13.3	458	11.2	-	-	541	10.1
1993	2	0.05	269	13.4	476	10.7	420	8.5	889	13.2
Others 1992	0	-	23	1.2	75	1.8	-	-	58	1.1
1993	0	-	23	1.1	78	1.8	24	0.1	71	1.1
Total 1992	4127	100	1943	100	4094	100	-	-	5377	100
1993	4239	100	2015	100	4459	100	4954	100	6728	100

Source: Election Commission of Malaysia

a. Mosque: Masjid Al Akram is a beautiful mosque located in the heart of Kampung Dato Keramat. It was built in 1972 in the place of an old mosque. In 1977, it was renovated. The present mosque has two big, two medium sized, and five small domes. There is a tall minaret, a beautiful garden and a parking space. Some 3,000 Muslims can simultaneously pray in the mosque. It is operated by an administrative committee headed by Dr. Hj. Mohd Fuad bin Hj Ahmad⁵⁰. Hj. Mohd bin Asri is the *imam* of the mosque⁵¹.

⁵⁰ In order to maintain the mosque and its activities, more than RM3,300 per month is required and obtained through public donations.

⁵¹ He is a member of PAS and holds positive feelings toward other religious organisations such as PERKIM and ABIM but not Darul Arqam. He has been the *imam* of the mosque for 15-years. Asri is appointed by Jabatan Agama Islam Wilayah.

There is no activity by other religious organisations in the mosque. Prayers are held five times a day regularly. Usually for *subuh*, *zohor*, and *asar* prayers, about 300 Muslims gather in the mosque and one-sixth of them are women. For *maghrib* and *isyak* the number increases to 600, whereas during the Friday prayer, the mosque is filled with Muslims attending the prayer faithfully. The mosque is actively involved in religious festivals like *Hari Raya Aidil Fitri*, *Hari Raya Haji*, and also ceremonies like *khatan* and marriage.

Adjacent to Masjid Al Akram is a *surau*, *surau Ansar*, in the western part of the place. Usually *maghrib* and *isyak* prayers are held in this *surau*.

b. Madrasah: There are four religious schools (*madrasah*) in Kampung Dato Keramat.

Madrasah Al-Qiramah: Established in 1974, *Madrasah Al-Qiramah* is one of the religious institutions involved in teaching Islam and Arabic. There are between 35 to 40 male and 15 female students in this school⁵².

Madrasahtul Al-Ansar: This school was established in 1980. It has 25 male and approximately 10 female students⁵³.

Madrasahtul Keramat: This is the oldest school in Kampung Dato Keramat. The date of establishment goes back as far as the

⁵²It is financed by donations from the community and the rental of its attached shop. The school is run by *Hj. Shaadon bin Kechut* and another teacher. The headmaster is a member of PERKIM and ABIM and holds positive feelings toward other religious organisations except Darul Arqam.

⁵³The school is financed by donors and is administered by a council headed by *Ustaz Hj. Mat Saman* and a teacher, *Ustaz Muhamad*. Both are religious school graduates. *Ustaz Hj. Mat* is a member of *Jama'at Tabligh*. He and *Ustaz Muhamad* have positive feelings toward religious organisations but have no feelings for Darul Arqam.

1960s⁵⁴. The total number of students is sixty. One-sixth of them are female.

Tadika Islam Kampung Datuk: This is a government religious pre-school.

2.4.3.2. Taman Ibu Kota: Located in Kawasan Wangsa Maju in the northern part of the city⁵⁵. Taman Ibu Kota was originally set up as a residence for the City Hall's employees. There is a modern hall in this locality which is mostly used for sports. Taman Ibu Kota has no shopping centre, and the residents travel to nearby towns, especially Jalan Gombak, for shopping. There are 420 houses in Taman Ibu Kota, with 270 houses belonging to Malays which constitute 64 percent of the total number of houses (table 2.8). Chinese and Indians have 9 and 21-percent of the total number of houses respectively. According to the Election Commission, in this locality there were 1589 Malays in the age group of 21 years old and above in 1993 (table 2.9). This number constitutes 79-percent of the total population. Whereas the Chinese and Indians comprised 7 and 13-percent of the total population respectively. Hence Taman Ibu Kota is regarded as a Malay-dominated area. It is a place for middle income Malays. The Islamic religious institutions of this locality include both mosque and *madrasah*.

⁵⁴Presently it is administered by Tuan Hj. Shaadon bin Kechut, and is financed by public donations. There are three teachers in this school, Ustaz Mussadi, Ustaz Balari and Ustaz Abdullah. All of them have religious academic backgrounds. They teach *tajwid*, teachings in Islam and Al-Qur'an. The teachers have positive feelings toward all religious organisations and one of them, Ustaz Abdullah, is a member of Jama'at Tabligh.

⁵⁵The total area of Taman Ibu Kota is approximately 0.7 square kilometre. It is bounded to the north by the state of Selangor, to the south by Taman Setapak, to the east by Taman Bunga Raya, and to the west by Kampung Lee Rubber.

a. **Mosque:** There is one *surau* in Taman Ibu Kota and Sekolah Agama Rendah Taman Ibu Kota, which is a *madrasah*. The *surau* was built in 1982 and was renovated in 1989⁵⁶. It appears like a traditional mosque in Southeast Asia, with a high site for Azan. It is a simple building with a capacity for 300. The *imam* of the *surau* is Hj. Ibrahim bin Shamsudin⁵⁷. The *surau* conducts prayers five times a day; each time between 50 to 80 Muslims come to pray. One-fifth of the congregation is female.

The main mosque, Masjid Ibu Kota, holds the Friday prayer. It is located outside the boundary of Ibu Kota. Muslims who gather in this mosque travel from other nearby places as well as from Taman Ibu Kota.

b. **Madrasah:** There is one *madrasah* in Taman Ibu Kota which also functions as a *surau*. In 1989, the *surau* was renovated to incorporate a larger place for educational purposes⁵⁸. This school has 300 students with one-third of them being girls.

2.4.3.3. Taman Setapak: Taman Setapak is located in the southern part of Taman Ibu Kota, in Kawasan Wangsa Maju⁵⁹. The ethnic composition of this place is different from the other localities of the present survey. According to City Hall data, there are

⁵⁶The cost of its maintenance and conducting its activities amounts to RM1700 monthly and is financed by public donations.

⁵⁷He has an academic religious background. He is a member of ABIM and holds positive feelings toward other religious organisations except for Darul Arqam. Hj. Ibrahim has been the *imam* of the mosque since 1989.

⁵⁸The *madrasah's* headmaster is Osman bin Yahya. There are three instructors in this school: Ustaz Salleh, Ustaz Suadon, and Ustaz Arifin. They conduct Islamic teaching, *tajwid* and Al-Qur'an. All of them are members of ABIM, and have positive feelings toward other religious groups except for Darul Arqam.

⁵⁹It is bounded to the south by Taman Ramlee, to the east by Jalan Genting Kelang, and to the west by Jalan Gombak. The total area is about 0.7 square kilometres.

1,250 houses in Taman Setapak, with 534 houses or 43-percent of the total number of houses belonging to Malays (table 2.8). Thirty-nine percent of the houses belong to Chinese and four percent to Indians. In contrast, the Election Commission's data shows that 35 percent of the total population are Malays between 21 years of age and above. Meanwhile, 52-percent are Chinese and 11-percent are Indians. There is no doubt that more than 30 percent of Taman Setapak's residents are Malays but in recent years there is evidence of the changing ethnic composition from Malay-domination to Chinese and Indian-domination (table 2.9).

There is a small shopping area in this locality. Although Taman Setapak appears more like a Chinese area than a Malay area, there is a mosque and a *madrasah* school. Malays living in Taman Setapak are regarded as within the lower-middle income group.

a. Mosque: The mosque in Taman Setapak is known as Surau At-tagwa, with the capacity for 900 prayers. It was built in 1974. It is operated by a Surau Committee headed by Syed Kamarul Baharin⁶⁰. Ustaz Mutalib bin Mohd Yussef is the *imam* of the mosque⁶¹. The *surau* holds regular prayer five times a day⁶². There are no women attending the prayers held in the mosque.

b. Madrasah: One religious school, Sekolah Ugama At-tagwa, is connected to Surau At-tagwa in Taman Setapak. The school was

⁶⁰The cost of maintaining the *surau* is about RM1,250 monthly which is financed by public donation.

⁶¹He is a graduate from religious school and is a member of PAS. He has been *imam* of Surau At-tagwa for 11 years. He was appointed by the Surau Committee.

⁶²Approximately 25 Muslims attend the *subuh*, *zohor* and *asar* prayers. During *maghrib* and *isyak* the figure increases to 40. During Friday prayers around 600 come to pray.

established in 1980⁶³. The current enrolment is 97 boys and 81 girls, studying in different levels.

2.4.3.4. Taman Setiawangsa: Taman Setiawangsa is located in Kawasan Wangsa Maju, in the north east section of the city⁶⁴. Taman Setiawangsa is a newly developed locality, still in the process of development. Most of the houses were built during the last six years. There are 781 houses and apartments with 573 units or 73 percent belonging to Malays (table 2.8). Chinese and Indians own 20 percent and 4 percent respectively. Taman Setiawangsa is under section 10 Wangsa Maju in *Kawasan Parlimen* which also includes other places. However, Taman Setiawangsa constitutes the bulk of the section's population. According to the Election Commission data, the area has 54 percent Malay voters. The Chinese share 37 percent and Indians 8 percent of the total population (table 2.9). There is a modern shopping centre in Taman Setiawangsa.

a. Mosque: There is a *surau* in Taman Setiawangsa. *Surau An-Nur* was founded in 1988 in the western part of the locality. The *surau* was renovated in 1994. It is a simple building with a hall which can accommodate 200 people⁶⁵. Abu Hasan and Abd. Hamid are administrators and *Hj. Yusuf* is the *imam* of the *surau*⁶⁶.

⁶³It has four teachers: Siti Mariam, Encik Abdullah Arrahman, Encik Masriah, and Encik Khaimi. The school administrators are the *Surau At-tagwa* Committee and Siti Mariam as the principal. They are not attached to any religious organisation. In this school, students learn Islamic teachings and Arabic.

⁶⁴It is bounded to the north and east by the state of Selangor, to the south by Taman Sepakat, and to the west by Jalan Setiawangsa. The entire area comprises over 1.1 square kilometre.

⁶⁵This year's renovations, cost RM40,000. This amount is mostly financed by public donation.

⁶⁶The latter is a member of Jama'at Tabligh and holds positive feelings toward other religious organisations. He was appointed by the community as *imam* since the *surau's* establishment in 1988.

Regular prayers are held in this *surau*, five times a day⁶⁷. There is no mosque in Taman Setiawangsa for Friday prayer. Therefore, Muslims in this locality travel to the neighbouring mosque, Masjidul Ansar in Taman Desa Keramat, for Friday prayers.

b. **Madrasah:** The religious school of Taman Setiawangsa is connected to Surau An-Nur. The school was established in 1988⁶⁸. There are 150 boys and 20 girls studying in this school taking up Islamic teachings and Al-Qur'an.

2.4.3.5. Taman Tun Dr. Ismail: Taman Tun Dr. Ismail is one of the biggest districts in Kuala Lumpur. It is located in the western part of the city in Kawasan Segambut in an area covering 2.5 square kilometres⁶⁹. The place is considerably new (developed in the late 1970s). Of the total number of houses, 46 percent belong to Malays, Chinese own 45 percent and Indians own seven percent of the houses (table 2.8). Election Commission data indicates that there are more Chinese voters than Malay voters in this locality⁷⁰ (table 2.9).

There is a shopping area in the northern part of Taman Tun and a big shopping centre in the southern part. The people of this locality are regarded as upper middle and middle income groups. There is one mosque and one Balai Islam in Taman Tun

⁶⁷ For *subuh*, *zohor*, and *asar*, about 40 Muslims come to pray. During *maghrib* and *isyak* the number increases to 60 with one-fifth being females.

⁶⁸ There are three teachers: Imam Yusuf, Sheikh Ibrahim and Zainal. Two of them are members of Jama'at Tabligh and all have positive feelings toward other religious organisations except for Darul Arqam.

⁶⁹ Taman Tun is bounded to the north and east by uninhabited areas and to the west and south by Jalan Damansara which is the border of the state of Selangor.

⁷⁰ Malays constitute 39 percent of the total voters, whereas Chinese form 47 percent and Indians 13 percent.

Dr. Ismail.

a. Mosque: Masjid Taman Tun was founded in 1980 as a small surau. In 1983 and 1990 it was renovated and became a masjid. The present building is a modern double-story building with one dome and two minarets. There is a spacious parking area. The mosque was founded by community co-operation and then for subsequent development purposes, under the Taman Tun Development Sdn. Bhd (TTDI). The capacity of the mosque is about 1,500. A mosque committee (Jawatan Kuasa Pentadbiran masjid) administers its activities. The head of this committee is Tuan Hj. Musa Hj Khattab who was appointed by Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan⁷¹. There are four imams for the mosque who are appointed by both the Committee members of the mosque and Jawatan Agama Islam Kuala Lumpur⁷². The administration of the mosque also includes the administration of welfare programs. Several religious organisations are active in the mosque, including Jama'at Tabligh, Bakti and Darul Arqam. The mosque of Taman Tun holds regular prayer, five times a day⁷³.

Balai Islam Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, which is an Islamic centre, is located in the northern part of the area. It has a three and a half story building with one dome and one minaret⁷⁴.

⁷¹The cost of maintaining the building and activities of the mosque is RM650 per month which is financed by TTDI and public donations.

⁷²Hj. Fudzi Hj. Mohd Arif, Hj. Ramli bin Osman, Ustaz Hj. Wan Mat Hj Wan Teh, and Dr. Abd. Khayir bin Syukur. All of them are graduates from religious academic institutions. They hold positive feelings toward all religious organisations including Darul Arqam.

⁷³Some 60 Muslims come to the mosque for subuh, zohor, and asar prayers. In the evening there are 120 people for maghrib and isyak prayers. One-sixth of them are women. On Friday over 1,200 people attend prayers.

⁷⁴About 500 male and 150 female Muslims can pray at the same time in its mosque. Since the balai is still under construction, around RM700,000 is going to be collected from the public donations to complete it.

The main building was completed in 1993. Ustaz Mohd Fauzi is the imam of its mosque⁷⁵. In this mosque the regular prayers are also conducted⁷⁶.

b. Madrasah: There is one religious school in Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, *Balai Islam*, which was established in 1991. It is financially supported by the *Balai Islam*, which in turn is financed by donations⁷⁷. There are 40 boys and 10 girls studying in the school.

⁷⁵He is a graduate from the International Islamic University, having been imam of the mosque since its establishment in 1991. He holds positive feelings toward PERKIM and ABIM and negative feelings toward others.

⁷⁶Some 60 Muslims come to the mosque for subuh, zohor and asar prayers, and for maghrib and isyak the number rises to 180. One-ninth of them are female.

⁷⁷In this madrasah students learn Arabic, Al-Quran and Islamic teachings. The headmaster of the school is Encik Shahlan, and there are three other teachers: Encik Abd. Ghani, Encik Azhari, Encik Ahmad Al-Qasari. All of them are graduates from academic religious institutions. One of them is an active member of ABIM.