KHAMR DRINKING FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE: A SOCIOLOGICAL CASE STUDY ON MALAYSIAN MALAY MALES

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by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AADK	Agensi Anti Dadah Kebangsaan (National Anti-Drugs Agency)
AUKU	Akta Universiti Kolej Universiti
	(Universities and University Colleges Act)
DBKL	Dewan Bandaraya Kuala Lumpur (Kuala Lumpur City Hall)
FD	Free Drinkers
IKIM	Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia
	(Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia)
JAKIM	Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia
JAWI	Department of Federal Territory Islamic Affairs
JHEAINS	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Islam Negeri Sembilan
JHEV ATM	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Vateran Angktan Tentera Malaysia
KAGAT	Kor Agama Angkatan Tentera (The Military Religious Corps)
KI	Key Informant
KKM	Kementerian Kesihatan Malaysia (Ministry of Health Malaysia)
KPM	Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia (Ministry of Education Malaysia)
LTAT	Lembaga Tabung Angkatan Tentera (Armed Forces Fund Board)
MAINS	Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Sembilan
MCS	Malayan Civil Service
MAS	Malaysian Airlines
NAAFI	Navy, Army and Air Force Institute
NIAAA	National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism
OKP	Orang Kena Pantau
OKT	Orang Kena Tuduh
PAID	Pejabat Agama Islam Daerah
PAS	Parti Islam SeMalaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia)
PEMADAM	Persatuan Mencegah Dadah Malaysia
PERNAMA	Perbadanan Perwira Niaga Malaysia
PK MAINS	Pusat Kaunseling Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Sembilan
ROS	Registrar of Societies
SPM	Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (Malaysian Certificate of Education)

LIST OF TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS

A: CONSONANT

ARABIC	ROMAN
۱, ۶	a,'
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
5	j
ح ح خ	ķ
ż	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
j	Z
س	S
س ش ص	sh
ص	Ş
ض	ġ
ط	ţ
ظ	Ż
٤	6
٤ ن	gh
ف	f
ق	q

اك	k
ل	1
م	m
ن	n
ھ	h
و	W
ي	У
ö	h,t

B: VOCAL

SHORT VOCAL	TRANSLITERATION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLITERATION
<u> </u>	а	قَنَتَ	qanata
-	i	سَلِمَ	salima
و	u	جُعِلَ	ju ʻila

LONG VOCAL	TRANSLITERATION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLITERATION
ا,ى	ā	بَابُ /كَبْرى	bāb / kubrā
ي	Ī	ۆكىل	wakīl
و	ū	سُوْرَةُ	sūrah

C: DIPHTHONG

DIPHTHONG	TRANSLIT ERATION	EXAMPLE	TRANSLIT ERATION
<u> </u>	aw	قۇل	qawl
<u>ــَــ</u> يْ	ay	خير	khayr
ھ_ وّ	uww	قوّةً	quwwah
ــِــ يّ	iy / ī	عَرَبِي	'arabiy∕ī

*Transliteration system is referred to the Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (Academy of Islamic Studies University of Malaya, 2012, p. 45)

MINUM KHAMAR DARI PERSPEKTIF ISLAM: KAJIAN KES SOSIOLOGI DALAM KALANGAN LELAKI MELAYU MALAYSIA

ABSTRAK

Ini adalah kajian kes dimensi sosiologi mengenai amalan minum khamar dalam kalangan 12 informan lelaki Melayu Malaysia dari kelas sosial yang berbeza-beza. Kajian ini menganalisis penyebab orang Melayu menjadi peminum khamar dengan meneliti latar belakang sosial mereka. Ia mengetengahkan peranan agen sosial dalam proses sosialisasi yang mempengaruhi mereka menjadi devian dari perspektif Islam. Sudut pandangan Islam disoroti sebagai kerangka asas kajian yang berpaksikan kepada 'aqīdah, sharī'ah dan akhlāq bagi menganalisis identiti orang Melayu sebagai Muslim. Justeru itu, minum khamar adalah satu larangan. Makanya, dengan penyatuan ilmu wahyu dan data emperikal, kajian ini menyumbangkan satu wacana yang unik pada topik tentang minum khamar. Kajian kes yang bersifat kualitatif ini telah mengumpulkan data melalui teknik persampelan bola salji dan persampelan bertujuan dengan analisis naratif biografi dan interpretasi. Temubual dengan informan telah dilakukan di Negeri Sembilan, Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur. Dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa tabiat minum khamar adalah berbeza bagi setiap kelas sosial. Walau bagaimanapun, para informan berkongsi pandangan yang sama tentang pengertian minum khamar. Mereka mengetahui bahawa khamar dilarang dalam ajaran Islam, namun mereka didapati tidak pula memahami secara jelas berkenaan konsep larangan tersebut. Lantaran itulah yang menjadikan mereka peminum khamar. Kajian ini turut mendapati bahawa shaitān adalah faktor penyumbang yang dominan yang menjadikan informan sebagai peminum khamar disamping terdapat ejen sosial yang lain seperti keluarga, kumpulan rakan sebaya dan pihak pemerintah.

KHAMR DRINKING FROM AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE: A SOCIOLOGICAL CASE STUDY ON MALAYSIAN MALAY MALES

ABSTRACT

This is a sociological study about the practice of *khamr* drinking among 12 Malaysian Malay male informants from different social classes. It analysed the reasons that caused these Malays to drink by examining their social background. It highlighted the role of social agents in influencing their socialisation process, hence leading them to be deviant from the Islamic viewpoint. This viewpoint is selected as the basic framework which concerns the concepts of 'aqīdah, sharī'ah, and akhlāq since Malays, being Muslims are prohibited to drink khamr. Therefore, by consolidating revealed knowledge and empirical data, this research provides a unique discourse to the topic of *khamr* drinking. Being a qualitative case study, data were collected through snowball and purposive sampling and analysed by using narrative and interpretive biography. Interview was conducted in Negeri Sembilan, Selangor, and Kuala Lumpur. Findings reveal that the drinking habit is different in every social class. However, the informants share similar beliefs about drinking khamr. They knew that *khamr* is prohibited in Islamic teaching but not clearly understand the concept of prohibition, thus leading them to be drinkers. Furthermore, it was found that *shaitān* is the main dominating factors besides social agents such as family, peer group and government for drinking among the informants.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Humans have been created to possess diversity in terms of their physical state, intellectuality, competency, and tendency. Despite that differences, the fact remains that humans belong to a single species, and they are no different when it comes to humanity, which makes them naturally and mutually dependent on each other to live in this world together. The nature of human life is sociable, making their ideas, behaviour, and habits a means of uniting them to form a society. Society consists of groups of human communities that are interrelated in terms of systems, values, norms, and culture. The common interests that humans share have bound them with a sense of oneness.

Notwithstanding sharing common interests, every individual in society has his or her characteristics that determine their behaviour and habits, which enable them to form many groups in society that share similar characteristics in terms of philosophy, morality, religion, and beliefs. They are separated into different communities and sometimes are in contradiction with each other. Therefore, as in the case where individuals can deviate in behaviour, society can also deviate from the natural order. Deviant behaviour is a result of social tension between the push and pull factors from various social institutions (family, friends, public, and authorities) linked to social norms and stigma¹ that separate good from the bad.

¹ A strong lack of respect for a person or a group of people or a bad opinion of them because they have done something society does not approve of.

In the context of Muslims, they form a society that is grounded by faith ('*aqīdah Islāmiyyah*). '*Aqīdah* is the value system of the Muslims, and *sharī* '*ah* is their norms which regulate the Muslims' behaviour through *akhlāq*. *Akhlāq* must not be understood as conservative behaviour, it is a struggle to uphold the value of truth (the absolute truth) that guides ethical-moral conduct. *Akhlāq* is the main element in creating a thriving society in Islam. It establishes mutual guaranteeing, helping and advising each other for the sake of obtaining Allah's blessings. They are united in the spirit of *ukhuwwah*, which is the unity of heart, mind, and soul that are tied to '*aqīdah*. Thus, the Muslims' support system is their religion, which is Islam that is embraced as a way of life.

Islam is a religion that emphasizes mental and physical safety and peace. In order to ensure human beings are able to live in peace, Islam is against any elements that could affect the well-being of each human life, and to do so Islam provides clear and extensive guidelines. Any deviation from the right path of human righteousness is regarded as cruelty for one own self. Furthermore, individual human rights must not cross the boundaries of the obligations of humans as the servant of Allah. In Islam, the nature of human behaviour is originally more likely to be lustful. Human appetite is constantly troubled which can attract them to evil, except to those who survive from the temptation of *shaitān* (see *Surah Āli 'Imrān* 3:14 and *Surah Al-Hadīd* 57:20).

The Malays are generally defined as Muslims. As Muslims, they are united through the spirit of *ukuhuwwah Islāmiyyah*, and as Malays, they are bonded with the traits of *gotong royong* (communal obligations) to help and support each other in whatever conditions, particularly during hardships. There is a Malay proverb; *'cubit paha kanan, paha kiri pun terasa sakitnya*' that means every hardship in a person's

life will be felt by others in his society as well. This is a basic form of the Malay culture which is parallel with the concept of oneness.

Hardship can be broadly defined as a condition that essentially causes suffering, difficulty or unpleasantness in life. Socially, when some of the Malays violated their norms those in the community who obey the norms will feel threatened. That is also linked to the concept that hardship suffered by an individual can be felt by others; similarly, a hardship caused by an individual will also be felt by others in the society. In fact, the actor of deviant behaviour will also suffer hard when he or she does something that defies the norms since they will be socially ostracised. Thus, as part of a society, the Malays have the responsibility to uphold social integration by applying Islamic teachings as their source of acceptable norms to ensure everybody will be protected from the punishment of the hereafter as well as an adverse effect while they are still alive. Za'ba mentioned the same opinion as quoted below;

"Jika kita memandang kapada 'am umat Melayu dan perhatikan apa ugama yang mereka akui, maka shukor-lah kita ka-hadhrat Tuhan oleh kerana telah di-bahagikan-Nya umat ini dengan ugama "Islam", ia-itu ugama yang di-kehendaki pada sisi Allah Ta'ala dan yang di-aku-Nya sendiri di dalam peratoran tabi'at 'alam-Nya. Akan tetapi apabila kita ingat betapa mustahak-nya ugama itu kapada manusia dan betapa pula mustahak-nya berpengetahuan akan dia, kemudian kita tilek bagaimana dudok-nya kewajipan ini pada umat Melayu dan bagaimana mereka itu menyempurnakan-nya, neschaya redup-lah chuacha kesukaan dan undor harapan yang baik. Maka yang demikian berkekalan sa-lagi belum dapat di-betulkan kekurangan kita yang ada sekarang pada pehak ugama".

(Za'ba, 1958, p. 269)

Translation:

If we observe the Malays and ascertain what religion they claim to be, we are grateful to God because He has assigned these people to the Islamic religion, which is the religion accepted and acknowledged by Him according to the natural order of His universe. But when we recollect how important religion is to humans and how significant knowledge is to them, then when we observe the Malays' stand in terms of responsibilities and how they accomplish these responsibilities, the delight and hope become subdued. Hence, the situation will remain until the present religious failings are rectified.

One of the conducts considered as a violation of the Malays' moral norms is drinking *khamr*². *Khamr* drinking is considered as a social disorder in the Malay community who are fundamentally Muslims. Hence, Malays are prohibited from drinking *khamr* due to the requirement of their faith as Muslims. Noh, Penelope, and Lenore (2013, p. 397) labelled that the consumption of *khamr* for Malays as un-Malay and un-Islamic.

From an Islamic point of view, the practice of *khamr* drinking involving Muslims is a clear statement, drinking is a prohibited action and as one of the big sins. It is a deviation to Muslims norms, which is Islamic teaching. Malays in Malaysian context has directly reflected the Muslims; thus, why does this research need to highlight the Islamic perspective on this issue?

To make it clear, the Islamic perspective in this research is not discussed mainly from the dimension of *fiqh* (Islamic law). The *fiqh* explanation of *khamr* drinking is regarded as a framework to guide the perspective. Therefore, the Islamic

² The effects on behaviour are one of the drawbacks of *khamr* drinking according to health perception, and it socially affects the drinker's daily life because behaviour is the main form of interaction between humans that subsequently determines the stability of society. In personal relationship, *khamr* could lead to arguments over drinking that can cause conflict and breakups such as divorce and domestic violence. In the workplace, *khamr* drinking may lead to poor work performance and absenteeism due to addiction. they are exposed to the road accident risks and may lose driving licence if they failed to manage their hangovers then drive home. In terms of financial burden, *khamr* drinking will lead to healthcare costs and crime costs. In addition, the indirect cost included loss of life, pain and suffering. There is also the decrease in employment due to the decline of productivity and absenteeism that lead to the economic crisis in the family institution. The other negative sides of *khamr* drinking where it reduced the quality of life which exposed drinkers to immoral behaviour that could embarrass themselves and cause them to be involved in violent behaviours. They would be despised in the society especially in the society that rejected the practice of *khamr* drinking in their culture. The drinkers will eventually find comfort to get along with their own circle, and some of them who were being isolated from society will become anti-social and risk to be in a state of depression.

perspective in this research upholds the discussion of *khamr* drinking in the position of social deviance by using a sociological approach.

Deviant behaviour is explained through the social system in Islam by highlighting the role of social agents in influencing the behaviour in socialisation process. It is because the discussion of social in Islam involved the element of *tauhīd* (interaction with God whose name is Allah) that contradicted with the Western school of thought regarding social issues, which is limited to the interaction between humans and humans only.

This Islamic perspective neither attempts to judge Malay Muslim drinkers are the sinners nor to debate the *fiqh* of *khamr* but rather to understand how and why the Malays become the drinkers as they who must perform the obligation as Muslims. In order to understand the reasons, there is a need to analyse the background of the drinkers, which the essence of sociological study that is studying the behaviour of a group in society.

1.2 Research Aim

This research aims to contribute to the enhancement of understanding pertaining to the reasons of Malays become the *khamr* drinkers in Malaysia by analysing their pattern of behaviour via consolidating the sociological domain in the Islamic framework of social deviance.

1.3 Problem Statement

Malay historical manuscripts such as *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* and *Hikayat Hang Tuah* have recorded several phenomena where the traditional Malays made '*tuak*' as one of the valuable drinks for various purposes. Ahmad Jelani (1999), Alijah Gordon (2001), and Andaya and Andaya (2017) had discovered reports about the production and trades of '*tuak*' in the Malay world before the arrival of the outsiders or colonialist.

In *Sulalatus Salatin* arranged by Ahmad Adam (2016) illustrated that *khamr* drinking was part of the tradition for people in the palace either for the kings themselves or the ruling classes who were firmly related to the royal families. For example, Seri Rama was served with *khamr* in *'batil tembaga suasa'* (copper bronze) as requested by the Sultan because Seri Rama was well known as a drinker.

"S[y]ahdan akan Seri Rama itu panglima gajah; ialah asal ceteria; duduknya di kelek-kelekkan kanan; sirihnya bertempatan. Setelah Seri Rama datang mengadap sultan maka titah baginda, "Bawakan pers[an]tapan akan Seri Rama." Maka dibawa oranglah arak pada batil tembaga suasa, disampaikan tampa[n]nya, diberikan pada Seri Rama kerana ia peminum. Maka diminumnyalah oleh Seri Rama; demikianlah adatnya."

(Ahmat Adam, 2016, p. 139)

Siti Hawa (1998) in *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, illustrated the drinking culture of Raja Phra Ong Mahawangsa, who usually drank after waking up in the early morning before his conversion to Islam with the help of Syeikh Abdullah Yamani. After his conversion, Raja Phra Ong was then known as Sultan Muzalfal Syah (1136-1179), according to Kedah Sultanate Hierarchy, and he had requested that all the stock of *khamr* be disposed of.

"Maka sampailah kepada sebuah negeri rajanya kafir, makan arak...."

"Maka raja itu pun bangunlah daripada beradunya meminta piala araknya..."

"Maka raja pun minumlah arak suatu piala itu..."

"Maka Raja Phra Ong Mahawangsa pun mengucaplah dua kalimah syahadat serta bertitah suruh ambil tempayan araknya buangkan ke tanah hingga sekaliannya habis.."

(Siti Hawa, 1998, pp. 107-109)

Also, in Hikayat Raja Pasai, (Russell Jones, 1999, p. 23 & 26) had recorded

the word 'arak api' that was used as one of the elephant names. At that time, elephant

was recognized as one of the symbols of eminence for a country. By naming such a

valued property with the name '*arak api*' implies that *arak* is highly regarded by them.

"Maka disuruh baginda pada gajah yang bergelar Dola Laut dan Cermin Cina dan Raja Beruang dan Raja Tangkas dan Biram Pasai dan Sempurna Derma Utama dan Seri Negeri dan Arak Api dan lain daripada itu pun semuanya itu tiada juga ia patah".

(Russell Jones, 1999, p. 51 & 133)

In *Sulalatus Salatin*, Seri Rama was advised by Makhdum Sadar Jahan about *khamr* that it produced filthy excrement because Makhdum smelled the odour of *khamr* on Seri Rama and Seri Rama was also seen to be intoxicated. This showed that during that time, the people in the palace were exposed to *khamr*.

"Pada suatu malam Bendahara Seri Maharaja duduk dengan Makhdum Sadar Jahan berkata-kata akan 'ilmu. Maka Seri Rama pun datang mabuknya kar(a)na Seri Rama sangat peminum. Apabila Seri Rama datang mengadab maka tittah baginda pada hamba raja, "Bawakan persantapan Seri Rama". Maka dibawa oranglah, pada batil* perak disampaikan tetampan, diberikan pada Seri Rama. Telah Seri Rama datang kepada Bendahara Seri Maharaja maka dilihatnya berkata-kata dengan makhdum. Maka kata Seri Rama, "Mari beta turut mengaji." Maka kata Bendahara Seri Maharaja kepada Seri Rama, "Marilah Orang kaya duduk". Maka dilihat oleh makhdum Sadar Jehan Seri Rama mabuk itu; mulutnya bau arak. Maka kata Makhdum Sadar Jahan, "Al-Khairam (al-khamar) al-habab*; ertinya: yang arak itu ibu sega(la) najis. Maka sahut Seri Rama "Alhamak ahbab*; yang hamak (ahmak) itu ibu segala najis, turun dari atas angina ke mari ini. Bukankah hendak mencari arta dari tamaklah itu?" Maka makhdum terlalu marah mendengar kata Seri Rama lalu ia pulang. Berapa ditahan oleh bendahara tiada juga makhdum mau bertahan; pulang juga ke rumahnya. Maka kata bendahara pada Seri Rama, "Orang kaya mabuk; barang katanya dikatakan. Baik tiada didengar yang dipertuan. Jikalau didengar yang dipertuan, murka yang dipertuan akan Orang kaya." Maka kata Seri Rama, "mana kehendak yang dipertuan, apatah lagi daya, kata sudah terlanjur."

(Ahmat Adam, 2016, p. 324)

Based on that statement, it shown that *khamr* drinking was part of a significant tradition in the pre-Islamic society among the Malays. Drinking was part of the Malay royal tradition, and it was not seen a deviation from the Malay norms.

When Islam prevailed in the Malay world in the fifteenth century, Islam significantly causes that the identity of the Malays is Muslims culture (Andaya & Andaya, 2017, p. 21; Milner, 2011, p. 14; Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, 2014, pp. 171-172). Thus, as Muslims, Malays are believed that *khamr* is prohibited drinks and deviating their social norms (Alijah Gordon, 2001, p.194).

In the context of Tanah Melayu and after that became Malaysia, Swettenham (1895, p. 3 & 9) wrote that real Malays 'never drinks intoxicant' and 'there is no drunken husband' in the Malay families. Syed Hussein Alatas (2010, p. 74) also mentioned that one of the good sides of the Malay is 'he is never a drunkard'. Likewise, Mahathir (2000), in his speech promoted on the characteristic of the New Malay, is not drinkers '*Melayu Baru bukan kaki minum arak*'.

However, in reality, Malaysian Malay drinkers do exist. In fact, it was the common practice among the Malay rulers. Similarly, the Malay elite class who were also culturally westernised by the colonialists. Drinking was regarded in high society as being 'civilized' and 'respectable.' Drinking was their pastime activity during social activities at the night clubs and bars. Even more, *khamr* was honoured as a special drink for their guests during special events known as the 'drinking ceremony' that took longer, and wine would be specifically served (Nordin, 1975, pp. 204-335).

Jernigan and Indran (1997b); Kortteinen (2008); Parameswari (2014) concluded that the primary trigger factor that encouraged the Malays to become drinkers was due to the effect of colonisation. *Khamr* is part of the British historical legacy in Tanah Melayu, which massively affects the sociocultural history of the Malays.

P. Ramlee (1940s-1970s) also had visualised a lot about the reality of the drinking culture among the Malays through his several films. Most of the drinking scenes shown in night club settings packaged with music, dancing, smoking, and women. Even more, in the film *Labu Labi* (1962) scene, in which Labu dreamed himself to be a rich man was smoking, went to night clubs, spoke English, or spoke Malay with English slangs and order the *khamr*. This shows that British culture is significant with that kind of lifestyle.

Syed Husin Ali (2008, pp. 57-69 & 184) categorised the Malays as Muslims who can be grouped into three categories. First, Muslims who have strong religious beliefs and practise the Islamic teachings. Second, they do not practice Islam and understand Islam at the surface level even though they were born as Muslims. However, they would become emotionally disturbed when Islam is criticised. Third, the Malays who claimed that they are Muslims but do not understand Islam at all. He added that the practice of Islamic teachings has to a certain extent, become a culture in the form of rituals and ceremonies rather than philosophy and doctrine. The influence of the western system affects the values and lifestyles of individuals and groups in the upper and middle classes, especially those in the urban area. He viewed that urbanisation gives impacts to the lifestyle of the minority group of Malays who do not strictly obey the religious values. Those groups of Malays were known to have indulged in drinking *khamr* in a coffee shop or hotel, gambling in amusement parks (small scale), or Genting Highland (large scale).

Not only does this affect high-class Malay society, Parameswari (2014, pp. 144-145) also proved that some of the Malays who worked as plantation coolies also drank toddy in a small amount to release fatigue and as an energy booster to help them endure heavy work.

Reports from the media that were displayed in the form of either printed or electronic news also shared cases regarding the practice of drinking among the Malays. In the social media platform, such as in Youtube channels, many videos on practice have been shared by users. For example, the media reported cases involving public figures such as Haneesya Hanee, the winner of Dewi Remaja 2019 (Nur Asyikin, 2019). While, for the case of Kartika Sari Dewi Shukarnor (Archive Utusan Online, 2008-2010), it embarked controversial issued years ago.

As Muslims, the Malays practices in Malaysia are controlled under the Islamic law on the enactment of *sharī 'ah* crimes under the jurisdiction of the *sharī 'ah* court according to each respective states (Abdul Monir, 2000, pp. 90-91). This implementation serves as the reflection of Islam as the official religion of the Federation Malaysian (Abdul Halim, 2015).

As reported by Department of Islamic Development Malaysia (JAKIM), based on the coordination of the law department, the statistics of *sharī'ah* crime offence committed throughout Malaysia from 2011 to 2014, it was recorded that as much as 1,746 cases (JAKIM, 2016) of *khamr* drinking were dealt with by the states' department. The statistics indicated that the number of *khamr* cases among Muslims in Malaysia is at a worrying stage.

Moreover, Mohd Izwan $(2016)^3$ believed that the actual numbers of Muslims drinkers, particularly the Malays are higher based on unrecorded cases, which can also be traced with other *sharī'ah* related crimes such as *khalwah*, adultery, free sex, lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender (LGBT). Also, for cases involving the elite Malay groups, the crimes remained as unrecorded cases as a result of obstruction of justice from groups who possess power in society. Thus, the number of recorded cases handled by the religious department all around Malaysia did not show the exact number of *khamr* cases. In addition to that, the unrecorded cases were quite challenging to trace.

Data from the enforcement unit of the religious department remained confidential since those cases are related to the *sharī* '*ah* court procedure and ethics to secure the identity of drinkers. As a result, the detailed profiles of the drinkers are relatively still unknown because, in Malaysia, there is no specific organisation or institution to deal with *khamr* cases that can provide specific and extensive data. Compared to the drugs, all information and records can be accessed through AADK and PEMADAM.

According to Hasbullah (1988, pp. 20-21), Muslims were caught for drinking *khamr* after the Islamic religious department for each state in Malaysia held an operation to eradicate immoral activity. Although the early establishment of the Islamic religious department was in 1915 in Kelantan, but the implementation of the

³ Ustaz Dr Mohd Izwan is a deputy director in department of family, social and community of JAKIM

enactment of the *sharī* '*ah* criminal code was only initiated around the 90s for most of the states in Malaysia.

Previously two organizations focus specifically on the drinking problems in Malaysia; (i) Pusat Anti Alcoholism Malaysia (PAAM) or Anti Alcoholism Centre Malaysia⁴ (Pusat Anti Alkoholik Malaysia, 1985) and (ii) Alcoholism Foundation Malaysia (1992)⁵. In 1985, PAAM had organised an international conference with the theme '*Alkoholik Mempengaruhi Kehidupan*' which primarily focused on *khamr* addiction. The topics presented covered several disciplines including social science, health, and medical science, psychology, economy, laws and religious which is Islam. Currently, these two organizations cannot be traced. However, there is one association name as Alcoholic Anonymous Malaysia (AAM) that is still available until now which provides service for *khamr* addicts.

Not only that, the health report which could have assisted the search for drinking record involving the Malays was also not available. According to Norli (2018)⁶, the Ministry of Health Malaysia does not have any data on the drinkers' profile, and they rely on the data from the National Health Morbidity Survey (NHMS) that has researched the prevalence of drinkers in Malaysia in general.

According to Mohd Hatta et al. (2014), the Malays recorded as much as 71 persons or (4%) of the current number of drinkers from 1759 people, and 24 of them have been classified as risky drinkers. A year before, Mohd Hatta et al. (2013) concluded that even though Malays drink less and rarely, once they drink, they tend to do it excessively and engage in binge-like behaviour. However, to identify the identity

⁴ Found by Yakob Abdul Rahman W. Scholar in 1984

⁵ Found by Tan Sri Dato' Dr Awang Had Salleh in 1989

⁶ Dr Norli is a head of the Alcohol Unit of Disease Control Division, Ministry of Health Malaysia

of Malay drinkers publicly is difficult and it is more challenging to recognise the people who are involved in the *khamr* industries.

The previous statement strongly indicated the uncertain and limited data about the profile of Malay drinkers in Malaysia and the reasons for their drinking habits. It is undeniable that the study on *khamr*, specifically use the term alcohol, has been widely discussed in the health and medical discipline. At the same time, human behaviour caused by *khamr* drinking has also been heavily discussed in psychology, sociology, criminology, and psychiatry. To the best of the researcher's exploration of previous research, this kind of study which focused on *khamr* involving the Malays, a limited scholarly study has been made either using other terminologies such as alcohol, liquor, wine, beers, arrack, toddy, *arak*, or *minuman keras*. It was equally hard to search for relevant past research.

In 1995, Institut Perkembangan Minda (INMIND) had organised a seminar on Malay societies and social problems. Mahmud Mazlan (1995) who is a specialist in psychiatry, had written a brief article regarding the topic of *khamr* (*arak*) addiction among the Malays for that seminar. So far, the researcher considered his article as the only reference that discussed the issue of *khamr* that specifically focus on the Malays in Malaysia's context. He highlighted that there is no specific data on *khamr* addiction among the Malays, but previously he found out that in 1993, the addiction of *khamr* among the Malays had reached as much as 26% and most of them were the Malays with Indian descendants aged around 30 to 50 years old that came from towns.

Mahmud Mazlan (1995) concluded that the causes of *khamr* addiction could be divided into five factors. (i) family: imitate the family members' behaviour of drinking and genetics factors, (ii) personality: critical anxious, inferiority complex, low self-

esteem and incapable to handle stress and daily problems, (iii) job: jobs that allow easy access to *khamr* such as working in nightclubs, as entertainers, executives who are allowed by the company to entertain guest with drinks and also in the army where they can buy *khamr* easily with the cheapest price, (iv) sociocultural: being an acceptable culture for particular group, and (v) other psychiatric illness: depression and extreme anxiety. He focused on addiction, and the treatment then suggested that the primary treatment for that issue is prevention, which must start with the role of parents who must explain that *khamr* is prohibited in Islam. The parent also has to show good examples of avoiding any substance abuse. He also criticised the government, which advertised the *khamr* in cinemas before the film show by relating *khamr* drinking with high status. This impressed the youth generation who will regard *khamr* as a noble drink.

Then, the studies on *khamr* in Malaysia's context without specific reference to the Malays is conducted by Jernigan and Indran (1997b), who has illustrated the background on *khamr* in Malaysia is mainly focused on the economic aspect. The researcher had considered their writings as the primary key to understanding in general, many essential things about this subject in the Malaysian context. In the same year, both of them also focused on the pattern of *khamr* drinking, and they highlighted the problems and policies in Malaysia (Jernigan & Indran, 1997a). They concluded that *khamr* drinking in Malaysia is low, but it continues to increase because the *khamr* market in Malaysia is profitable. Besides that, the Ministry of Health has failed to run any programs regarding *khamr* due to budget issues and the growth of underground *khamr* production such as *samsu*. They claimed that the Malay elite is one of the primary investors in the plantation system profiting from the *samsu* industries. Next, Kortteinen (1999) studied the impact of *khamr* on social transformation. He was among the early anthropologists who studied *khamr* drinking in Malaysia, which covered the general population in Malaysia using a survey study. He took Kuala Selangor as a sample to represent the Malaysian population. However, he only managed to get a Malay male respondent who admitted that he has been drinking, because drinking is a sensitive issue to the Malay society. They are not open enough to share and admit their drinking practices. Besides, he firmly believed that some Malays were committed to drinking due to the report from the Selangor Religious Department that they received 130-180 reported cases per month of Muslims drinking. He suggested that fellow researchers study the Malays whom he alleged are catching up on the trend of *khamr* drinking, the role of *khamr* in the Malays lifestyle in Malaysia and how much they drink.

After a decade, Kortteinen (2008) revealed that the data in Sarawak indicated that 13% of the respondents were Malays. His study focused on the respondent's social experiences involving *khamr* in order to analyse the role of *khamr* among the ethnic groups in Malaysia. He concluded that the drinking topic in Malaysia is used to separate the races politically and socially and it defined the superiority of the Malays. Drinking is part of a common practice because it was a culture for the Sarawakian Malays that was frowned upon by the peninsular Malays. That is the reason why he was able to get many Malay informants in Sarawak compared to Kuala Selangor.

A year later, there was a research that analysed the drinkers' profile, drinking patterns and influencing factors conducted by Ardiah, Zaidah, and Rokiah (2009). Their samples were the Dusun adolescents in Sabah. They managed to obtain 33 Muslim respondents, which formed 66% of their sample size. Muslims in Sabah are not representative of the Muslims in the Peninsular of Malaysia which is dominated by Malays. The Sabah Muslims consisted of various ethnics which is grouped as 'bumiputra' in the Malaysia context. The drinking culture strongly influences these samples during several ceremonies as part of their cultural tradition. This finding concluded that the most influencing factors that caused drinking were the influence of their social tradition, which was reflected by society's attitudes about ritual, convivial and utilitarian. The Muslim youth sample did not have any abstinence attitude. The researcher considered this research as essential information as a starting point to know more about the Malaysian drinkers' nature in one part of Malaysia. The researcher was motivated to study this topic concerning the Malays who represented Peninsular Malaysia and have a distinct culture and framed it into the context of social deviance.

There are several studies conducted qualitatively on *khamr* consumption involving youth and adolescent in Malaysia from various disciplines as conducted by Mohd Ramlan, Munirah, and Nurul Afiqah (2015) in Kuala Lumpur, Noh et al. (2013) in rural areas of Sarawak, Nor Afiah, Hejar, Kulanthayan, and Fadhilah (2006) in Petaling District, Selangor, Sharivini Lekha (2016) in Klang Valley. The other research on *khamr* that provided numerical data is done by Yong (2014); Yong and Rajah Rasiah (2017) and Mohd Hatta et al. (2013); Mohd Hatta et al. (2014). These numerical data have shown that drinkers in Malaysia are the majority among non-Malays and even though some of the samples represent Malays, such as the research by Noh et al. (2013) but they represented the non-Muslims community in rural areas of Sarawak. Factors influencing Malaysian drinkers involved in *khamr* drinking are closely related to the demographic background which provides a very useful to guide this research in analysing the profile background of the drinkers. The samples from these previous studies shown that drinkers are dominated by males. However, since

numerical data is incapable of explaining in-depth for each profile variables, thus, this research intends to emphasise that aspect.

In 2011, the Institute of Islamic Understanding (IKIM) had organized a round table discussion on *khamr* (*arak*) and its prevention in Malaysia, which had taken various presenters to that represent multiple related agencies to discuss on this topic. Those agencies consisted of JAKIM, Ministry of Health Malaysia (KKM), Ministry of Education Malaysia (KPM), Royal Malaysia Police (PDRM), and law practitioners. The input from the discussion was compiled into a book (Zarifi, Zaleha, Salwa, Rozanim, & Amali, 2016). The suggestions for preventive efforts were explained according to the role and jurisdictions of each agency.

The other dimension of *khamr* studies in the Malaysia context can be referred to Nik Suhaida (2014), who studied *khamr* (liquor) sale control in Kelantan as a case study. Kelantan is the only state that has been implementing the *khamr* sale control strictly and comprehensively compared to other states. Besides, Kelantan is promoting Islamic governance, which has been politically led by Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS).

Room and Makela (2000) asserted that in the modern world, there are a few Muslims who do not abstain from drinking. Laurence and Karen (2006) provided a comprehensive overview of the study of *khamr* involving issues related to Muslims⁷. The researcher moved with their suggestion to Muslims scholars to focus on the study about *khamr* and Islam even though the percentage is still small compared to the majority of the world's population. It is because they claimed that alcohol abuse is a

⁷ The researcher viewed that their study title should not name as 'alcohol and Islam' since there are several *fiqh* issues need to be reviewed further to avoid misunderstood and misconception about the prohibition of *khamr* in Islamic teaching. It is better to name it as 'alcohol and Muslims' because they explored the phenomenon of *khamr* and drinking practices among the Muslims in all over the world which is the researcher considered their study as one of the essential references to understand the issues of *khamr* drinking involving Muslims.

significant social problem in Muslim society, whether in Muslim countries or also in non-Muslims countries where the Muslims are the minority. Even though the Muslim majority countries were placed at the bottom from the list of *khamr* consumption around the world, but they believed that the unrecorded cases are estimated higher in several countries due to several factors such as smuggling, tourism and homemade *khamr* which would be considerably challenging to identify how much of it is consumed.

Laurence and Karen (2006) also highlighted that in the contemporary world, the nature of Islamic laws is not parallel with civil law for each country. The clash between both laws causes issues regarding *khamr* and Muslims. Besides that, the various schools of thought (*madhhāb*) in Islam contributed to the law issues for the Muslims majority countries. The drinking practices as Muslims can be concluded that they misunderstood the *fiqh* of *khamr* in Islamic teachings and the concept of being Muslims.

Three years later, Laurence and Karen (2009) analysed 113 $fat\bar{a}w\bar{a}$ (the conclusion opinion on *fiqh* issues from Muslim scholars) taken from the website IslamOnline.net in response to netizens (majority living in non-Muslims countries) who questioned about the right approaches in facing situations related to *khamr* drinking. The analysis is divided into five themes related to family, work, society, bodily purity, and theology. The researcher wants to highlight that they found some Muslims in non-Muslims countries who drink even though they are minority due to mix marriage, interaction with non-Muslims workmates which have many aspects of differences in terms of culture and religion. Among the Muslim countries, Albania, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan recorded a high consumption of *khamr*.

Zaleha and Nurhani Salwa (2016, p. 20) explained briefly about policy on *khamr* in Islamic countries which in general banned any related *khamr* market but for some countries like Saudi Arabia they banned strictly while other Muslims countries still allowed the sale and serve of *khamr* in certain places with specific conditions and policies.

Amran Kasimin (1993) found that the main factors of Muslims getting involved with *sharī'ah* crimes was because they do not have an idea on Islamic teachings education and the weakness of family bonding. He suggested for researchers to study the profile background of actors of the subject matter in order to understand the initial cause.

Previously, Malik Badri was one of the prominent scholars who studied extensively on the topic of *khamr* from Islamic psychology (Malik, 1976, 1996). The researcher was inspired with his effort, who blended the empirical and Islamic knowledge on the issue of *khamr* addiction (alcoholism), which hugely contributed to the integration of knowledge. Imran (2000) also examined the curing methods according to Quran to treat *khamr* addiction. Both studies focus on prevention and control from the Islamic viewpoint.

Fundamentally, the studies on *khamr*, according to Islamic perspective, are on Islamic law (*fiqh*) about *khamr* in which the sources are mainly written in the Arabic language. In the context of Malaysia, several researchers studied on applied *fiqh* on *khamr* such as Anis Najiha and Wan Nadiah (2014); Anisah and Muhammad Safiri (2010); Nor Musafirah (2011). Several studies regarded drinking as a Muslim community's social problem done by Jasri and Noryati (2012); Wan Sabri (2005); Zaleha and Nurhani Salwa (2016). Amir Husin and Nik Azlan (2008) studied a section

of the Department of Federal Territory Islamic Affairs (JAWI) law enforcement and focused on alcohol tester as the *qarīnah* (evidence).

Ideally, Muslims are not supposed to be drinkers. Drinking *khamr* is considered social deviance because it violates the norm of the Malays and the practice and beliefs of the Muslims. Deviance from the Malay context is the violation of social norms, while from the Muslim context, it is the violation of revealed knowledge. The question that begs to be answered is why some of the Malays deviate from the Malay norms, which the Muslims norms as well that is Islamic teaching?

Therefore, the researcher is keen to investigate and understand as well as to analyse this least researched topic in order to identify the reasons that compelled them to drink. By highlighting these situations, the researcher took the responsibility to study this topic by constructing research questions and objectives as follows.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. Who are the Malaysian Malay male drinkers?
- ii. Since Malaysian Malay males are identified as Muslims, they ideally must not drink *khamr*, but why do they become drinkers, which made them deviate from the Malay and Muslim social norms?

1.5 Research Objectives

- i. To explore the profile of Malaysian Malay male drinkers which consisted of their living and drinking background as well as their Islamic faith background
- To analyse the reasons from an Islamic perspective why Malaysian Malay males who are the Muslims deviate from their social norms by becoming *khamr* drinkers

1.6 Research Significance

1.6.1 Academic Analysis

The researcher has identified that in the preliminary investigation of the topic of *khamr*, there is a distinct lack of written literature pertaining to research about the drinking of *khamr* by Malay drinkers. In the Malaysian context, the study of *khamr* has gained minimal attention, particularly on the drinking practice among some Malays who are also Muslims. By the nature of their faith, *khamr* is consequentially a forbidden drink for them, and the conduct is highly disapproved of by the Malay society. Hence, the issues about the drinking of *khamr* by Malay Muslims are particularly taboo and forsaken compared to the consumption of other intoxicating substances abuse like drug abuse and smoking (Azizan, 2016, p. vii; Pusat Anti Alkoholik Malaysia, 1985).

Noh et al. (2013, p. 398) were particularly concerned about the insufficient considerations given by the Malaysian government to *khamr* drinking compared to drug abuse, which gained more attention. The reality, both forms of abuse must be addressed with urgency because they are social ills in the Malaysian society that should not be tolerated, and they should receive equal attention from the authorities. To this date, there is no exact statistics on *khamr* addiction among the Muslims in Malaysia, which is mostly dominated by the Malays (Mastura, 2016, p. 51).

Although not extensive, the researcher found several pieces of writing from various sources related to Malay lifestyle, and *khamr* drinking is included as one of them. History is one of the most significant areas that hold the key to understanding the background connection between Malays and *khamr*. However, in the discipline of history, there is a significant gap, and any such reference lacked details as claimed by

Azharudin (2017), who has supervised research by Parameswari (2014) on the drinking of toddy in Malaysia.

This research aspires to develop the consolidate frameworks to connect social science and Islamic studies, which has previously separated and is not able to come out with comprehensive findings in explaining the topic of *khamr* drinking among the Muslims. Sidi Gazalba (1976, p. 162) recommended that the sociological study of society should consider the sociography background. Hence, the study of Muslim society should be grounded by Islamic sociological discussion to avoid confusion between Islamic sociology and the sociology of Islam. Waffie Mohammed (2008, p. 5) differentiated between both terms, and he explained that Islamic sociology is how Muslims society is expected to behave, whereas the sociology of Islam concerns how Muslim society behaves.

Mohamad Kamil (1996, p. 109) argued that it is particularly awkward to study Muslim society from an approach that contradicts with the Islamic philosophy of research inquiry that relies on empirical data as a sample to understand the established theory developed from the Quran and Hadith. From the Islamic viewpoint, Islam has already developed a concrete and comprehensive scheme of life and society that is timeless. If sociologists do not acknowledge the nature of the Islamic perspective, they are considered as wasting their time by trying to explain the unexplainable (Ahmad Kamar, 1982, p. 5 & 18).

The researcher aims to uphold Islam as the primary worldview in investigating the deviant behaviour of drinking *khamr* by acknowledging that the revealed knowledge as the source of knowledge and Allah is the highest source of norms and values for all human conduct. The perfection of Allah's attributes is the best and highest example for humans. The obedience towards Allah's law will guarantee social stabilisation and social harmony (Mohd Kamal, 1994, p. 100) which consequently invites Allah's pleasure.

To claim that the drinking practice should be regarded as a personal right and irrelevant to society is something that must be discussed comprehensively since each individual is part of society that has mutual dependence to uphold the social stability and also the consideration of individual social right cannot be dismissed. As a matter of fact, the study of *khamr* and its consumption among the Malays is sensitive and controversial. In general, the society, finds such conduct totally unacceptable since it does not conform to the Malay culture and norms which are strongly bonded with Islamic teachings.

The research about *khamr* drinking is considered a revelation of the dark side of the Malay lifestyle, which makes finding the data difficult. However, this research does not intend to look for faults and disgrace anyone. Indeed, the primary aim is to understand, in-depth, the reasons for drinking by discovering the real way of life of Malay drinkers. Based on this reason, it motivated the researcher to proceed with this research because drinking has become the issue for the Malays when the individual who has started to have a taste of *khamr* may either be just curious or would turn into an addict.

1.6.2 Public Advocacy

This research is significant to study since the research concerning of *khamr* is particularly noteworthy because it is by no means an ordinary beverage that is acceptable in all cultures. The nature, characteristics, culture, and tradition related to

its consumption, as well as the interpretation of *khamr* are diverse, and it holds a distinct social value for different groups of society all around the world 8 .

It is common knowledge that everyone knows and is aware of the detrimental effects of *khamr* drinking on the health and behaviour of those who drink it. Based on that concern alone, what is regarded by some as a 'common trend' remains as an incessant and unsettled issue. Even the policy on *khamr* keeps changing all around the world to suit the reality and implication to society. Various institutions such as World Health Organization (WHO), National Institutes of Health (NIH), Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) and National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) have constructed various frameworks in order to provide the data on consumption, cure, and prevention of *khamr*.

However, unlike drugs, *khamr* cannot be easily identified as something that must be fought like an enemy. Drinking *khamr* has become an option in many societies, and it is legal in certain conditions as long as it is considered as still being under control since it is part of the social tradition for the whole world. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate how far the drinking of *khamr* is part of the Malays' tradition since the Malays were believed to have started drinking and producing *khamr* well before the period of colonisation.

Second, with a sip of *khamr*, it may spark various stigma in the Malay society. The practice of *khamr* drinking is seen as a clear violation of Allah's law and the Malay social and moral norms as well. This is in contradiction with the nature of the Malays

⁸ The consumption and production of *khamr* are happening at the time being throughout the world, and it contributes to a massive industry. The evolution of the *khamr* industry brought with it certain prestige in the social structures. It is known by various names and brands, according to the method of production, sources of main ingredients, the period of fermentation, or the purpose of usage.