SOCIAL CAPITALS AMONG KELANTAN PERANAKAN CHINESE MUSLIMS IN MALAYSIA

Adi Syahid Mohd Ali

Department of Social Sciences, Centre for General Studies and Co-Curricular,
Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia,
86400 Parit Raja, Johor, Malaysia.
E-mail: adisyahid@uthm.edu.my

Received: 16.10.2022   Accepted: 15.01.2023

ABSTRACT

Background and Purpose: Typically, Chinese Muslims have relationship conflict with their non-Muslim family (bonding social capital) and Malay community (bridging social capitals) after converting to Islam. The conflict will affect their social capital. The main aim of this study was to identify the bonding and bridging social capitals among Kelantan Peranakan Chinese Muslim community in Kelantan, Malaysia in the aspects of trust, reciprocity, and cohesion.

Methodology: This descriptive study was conducted utilising the sequential explanatory mixed method approaches, involving Chinese Muslims in the Kelantan state. A total of 75 respondents participated in the quantitative study, and five of them involved in the qualitative study. The methods used for sampling were the purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The quantitative data were collected through a survey questionnaire, while the qualitative data were gathered through semi-structured interviews.

Findings: The findings revealed that the reciprocal and cohesive elements mostly occurred with bridging social capital only. As for the trust aspect, the respondents indicated that they believe in bonding and bridging social capitals only on occasional basis. It was also found that the relationship conflict existed among Chinese Muslim after conversion with their family members who are not converted to Islam and also with the Malay community.
Contributions: This study contributes significantly to the body of knowledge due to lack of recent publications that explain the relationship in the social capital aspect, which is a very essential aspect to change the community, as a means of achieving the community development.

Keywords: Social capital, bonding social capital, bridging social capital, religious conversion, Chinese Muslim.


1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Malaysian citizens are comprised of three main ethnic groups, namely the Malay, Chinese, and Indian, which were formed a long time ago. Each ethnicity is demarcated by a specific religion, such as the Malay as Muslims, the Chinese as Buddhists, and the Indian as Hindus. As for the Chinese ethnic, religious conversion to Islam has given rise to an awkward situation in the community, and they also have formed another new community who are in between the Malay ethnic and their original ethnicity.

Awkwardness in society arises due to ethnicity and religious issues. The Chinese ethnic does not have ethnic liquidity to be regarded as part of the Malay ethnic who are majority in Malaysia (Nagata, 1978). It differs from other Muslim ethnicities, such as Indian and Arab ethnic groups, who are more likely to be considered as part of Malays and share the same religion (Pei-Chien, 2015). This difficulty is always linked to the history of tensions and conflicts between the Chinese and Malay ethnic groups as happened before. Among the major conflicts between the Chinese and Malay ethnics was the 13th May Event in 1969 which was caused by economic imbalance (Lim, 2003) and other riot series (Shamsul Amri, 2011).

The history has left a huge impact on the Chinese community who want to embrace Islam, which is more synonymous to Malays. Other than that, segregation and polarization are still happening between the Chinese and Malay ethnics due to various factors, such as economy, politics, and social (Mohd Azhar et al., 2013). This reality has created various psycho-social factors, such as prejudice, discrimination, and stereotype among races, especially between Chinese and Malay groups, and it also has led to misconception towards the Islamic religion (Noraini, 2009).
However, Chinese Muslim converts consist of two identities, either Pure Chinese or Peranakan Chinese (Straits-born Chinese). Pure Chinese refer to the Chinese who migrated to Malaysia, and some of them were brought in during the British colonial (Teo, 2005). Chinese Peranakan refers to an old-established and stable local Chinese community, with a culture distinct from that of recent immigrants or their local-born offspring. Meanwhile, Zinitulniza (2016) describes Chinese Peranakan as a subset of Chinese ethnic, that was local born and non-local descendent who practice their native culture with local culture (Zinitulniza, 2016). This article focuses on one of the Chinese Muslims from Peranakan Chinese, known as Kelantan Peranakan Chinese (KPC). KPC community is one of the minority Chinese communities in Malaysia. KPC showed a high level of assimilation with the heritage and culture of Kelantan’s Malay who are Muslims (Teo, 2005). This make KPC are a unique and distinctive community from the aspects of language, lifestyle, culture and religion (Mohd Shahrul Imran Lim, 2014). Therefore, KPC have a close interaction with Malays community in Kelantan and their socialization gain an understanding and respect between KPC and Malay community. For this reason, the relationship of KPC Chinese Muslim with Malay community was not affect due to the relationship before converted to Islam. However, after conversion and became Chinese Muslim, their relationship with non-Muslim family and Malays community are unknown.

In the context of community development, relationship has become an important matter to be focused at. Relationship in community development is known as social capital because it is considered as a capital or asset which have potentials to develop a certain community. Through social capital, members of the community can be assured that they can cooperate with each other to be further developed, to strengthen and sustain their relationships effectively, to solve problems, and also to work together towards achieving their aim collectively (Putnam, 1995; Woolcock, 2001; Phillips & Pittman, 2009). Thus, this article aims to identify bonding and bridging social capitals among Kelantan Peranakan Chinese Muslim community in Kelantan, Malaysia in the aspects of trust, reciprocity, and cohesion.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Religious conversion and formation of the Chinese Muslim community have led to relationship conflicts among the Chinese Islamic converts. This is because they are always being viewed negatively, being shunned by family and the Chinese community; while being disregarded as becoming Malays, they are also not welcomed by the Malay community due to the suspected motive of embracing Islam (Nagata, 1978; Amran, 1985; Osman, 2001; Nuraisyah Chua, 2005; Mohd Syukri Yeoh & Osman, 2004; Zainab & Wan Ibrahim, 2009). Due to this reality, it is
generally observed that Chinese Muslims face conflicts with their family members who are not converted to Islam and with the Malay community. This reality showed that Chinese Muslims have problems in the aspect of their social capital.

Social capital can be identified through certain elements, such as interdependency, mutual sharing, sharing values and norms, beliefs, closeness, feelings, and social participation (Cuthill & Fien, 2005; Kay, 2006; Boyd et al., 2008; Dale & Sparkes, 2008; Qingwen, Perkins, & Chun, 2010). However, according to Kay (2006), the main element measuring social capital is closeness to indicate whether social capital of a certain community is strong or otherwise. This is also emphasised by Amir Zal (2016) who stated that closeness is an important element in social capital which manifests the feelings of belonging, affection, and willing to sacrifice something for the benefits of others. Nevertheless, the elements can be summarised as trust, reciprocity, and cohesion (Putnam, 1993).

Trust enabled people of a society achieve their goals more successfully. According to Wojciechowska (2020) trust as a factor that generates social capital and is vital for the growth of social groupings. Meanwhile, trusts also referred as relational glue that facilitates or constrains both formal and informal social contacts, knowledge sharing, and creative processes (King et al., 2019). Next reciprocity refers to a two-way relationship in which a favour done to a friend is followed by an expectation and a moral obligation to return the favour at some point (Tuominen & Haanpää, 2021). In other words, reciprocity is defined as assisting someone without expecting anything in return and knowing that support will always be available when needed (Putnam, 2000). Whereas cohesion explain about togetherness, tolerance and harmonious coexistence (Zihnioğlu & Dalkıran, 2022).

Social capital can be divided into three types of networks, which are bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and networking social capital (Woolcock, 2002; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Bonding social capital refers to the relationship between individuals in a homogenous community, such as close friends, family, social groups, neighbours, and ethnic (Putnam, 2000; Vyncke et al., 2012). Meanwhile, bridging social capital is the heterogenous relationship because the relationship occurs among community members who are different by community group, culture, and socio-economic background (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). As for networking social capital, it is the relationship between institution to institution and the authorities (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

Every social capital has their certain roles. For example, bonding social capital plays a role to well position individuals in the community by creating common identity, developing local reciprocity, increasing closeness, as well as providing social support, crisis aid, and
emotional support (Gittel & Vidal, 1998). Meanwhile, the main role of bridging social capital is to obtain something of importance from the community outside (Michelini, 2013). Relationship in a weak bonding but with strong solidarity can give a lot of benefits to the community. As for networking social capital, it is a vertical relationship between the community and other authoritative groups. According to Amir Zal (2014), the term ‘vertical’ is a recognition to social strata which has unknowingly existed. The role of this social capital certainly involves the existing resources or forces of certain parties (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Furthermore, its characteristic is to support the community from being suppressed and exploited (Middleton, Murie, & Groves, 2005).

Regarding conflicts in bonding social capital, it can be observed that there is also misconception of the family towards the intention to embrace Islam, whereby the Chinese Muslim community is regarded to have betrayed their origin, ancestry, culture, heritage, and religion of their ancestors, at the same time being disregarded as becoming Malay (Marlon, Razaleigh, & Abu Dardaa, 2014). Several studies also mentioned about those who have been treated with sarcastic comments, isolated, not allowed to go home, and have broken family ties (Mohd Syukri Yeoh & Osman, 2004; Osman & Mohd Syukri Yeoh, 2008; Nur ‘Athiroh Tan & Fariza, 2009; Suraya et al., 2013; Marlon et al., 2014). As for married individuals, they are forced to divorce or live separately from their spouse who have not yet converted to Islam (Mohd Syukri Yeoh & Osman, 2004), and they are also faced with the conflict of child custody rights (Osman, 2005). Other than that, there are those who are denied from inheriting their family's business and inheritance (Anuar, 2006; Osman, 2005). In a more extreme condition, there are several Chinese Muslims who are threatened with murder by their original family (Seng, 2009; Osman, 2005).

As for bridging social capital, which is the relationship between Chinese Muslims and the Malay community, Chinese Muslims also have relationship conflicts due to the significant differences in culture, heritage, and value system with Malays; the conflict is more severe for those who are married to Malays and live in their community (Abdullah & Shukri, 2008). Other than that, the Chinese Muslim community also experiences negative perceptions from the Malay community, and Chinese Muslims have to follow the Malay culture and lifestyles after converted to Islam, such as to wear the traditional Malay men outfits, i.e., baju Melayu and kain pelikat, when praying (Mohd Azmi & Maimunah, 2003). Chinese Muslims also face conflicts of being underestimated by others who address them with certain titles, such as saudara baru (new brother/sister), masuk Melayu (becoming Malay), mualaf (converts), and second-class Muslims. There are even those among the Malay community who regard Islam as
the religion for Malays only (Abd Latif, 2007; Asrul, 2002; Mahayuddin, 2001). Other than that, the relationship between the Malay and Chinese Muslim communities has become tense when there are those among Malays who regarded the newly converted Chinese Muslims as having certain motives and interests (Osman, 2005; Yu Joy, 2004).

Nevertheless, relationship conflicts as discussed above are general views and do not indicate social capital per se. Furthermore, the issues did not represent Kelantan Peranakan Chinese Muslim. This has raised questions about how the reality of Kelantan Peranakan Chinese Muslims’ social capital based on trust, reciprocity, and cohesion under the conflicts and problems that occur after their religious conversion.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This study utilised the mixed method research design by combining both the quantitative and qualitative approaches. There were two considerations for researchers to use this research design. The first consideration was based on the need to better answer the research objectives. This is in line with Creswell and Clark (2006) who stated that information in a mixed study can be obtained more clearly and accurately, and researchers can also gain better understanding about problem statements compared to one-method approach. According to McMillan (2012), due to certain limitations in both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the mixed method design is seen as the best approach to address research questions. This mixed method design is solved by one step at a time, i.e., by implementing the survey first, followed by the interview. This approach is called as the sequential explanatory design. This design was used in this study because the researchers aimed to firstly obtain the overall reality of respondents, and then the reality will be examined in more depth. According to Ary et al. (2010), sequential analysis can provide the required information for further implementation of the study.

The study population was Chinese Muslims in Kelantan. Based on the 2010 Population Census, the number of Chinese Muslims in Kelantan is 1,525. Nevertheless, for the study sampling, there was no concrete sampling framework on Chinese Muslims in Kelantan, and the study was referred to the authority and Chinese Muslim Association in Kelantan. Therefore, convenience and snowball sampling methods were implemented to obtain the study samples. This is concurrent with Sabitha (2006) who proposed the use of convenience sampling when there is no sampling framework. A total of 75 respondents were obtained through the sampling procedures. Out of the total respondents, five of them were selected as Informants for the qualitative study.
In this study, quantitative data were gathered through a survey form, and qualitative data were collected through the interview method. Survey form allows researchers to organise questions and receive feedbacks without having to communicate verbally with each respondent (Williams, 2006). In this study, the questionnaire was designed by the researcher based on literature reviews and in-depth interviews. In developing the study questionnaire, the researcher examined related literatures in order to form an operational definition for each variable. These definitions formed the basis for developing a proper survey to be used in this study. This is in line with Yan (2011) who stated that operationalized variables have accurate quantitative measurements. Meanwhile, according to Sabitha (2006), a questionnaire form which presents clear variable definitions has undeniably strong validity. This point is also in conjunction with Robbins (2008) who stated that a questionnaire form which was constructed based on literature reviews would comply with validity and reliability requirement.

Next, the researcher also conducted a series of in-depth interviews. According to Oppenheim (1998), in-depth interviews can assist researchers in constructing survey questions more accurately. Therefore in this study, the researcher was able to ascertain the obtained information from the literature reviews based on the actual realities of Chinese Muslims’ life. A total of four Chinese Muslims were interviewed through open-ended questions. Each informant were asked in an open manner based on the operationalized definitions. After the interview sessions, data were analyzed and the analysis results were used to guide the development of the survey items in the questionnaire.

The constructed questionnaire form in this study achieved the required content and face validity. Content validity refers to the extent to which the measurement of a variable represents what it should be measuring (Yan, 2011). In this study, conceptual and operational definitions were used by referring to the literature reviews in order to obtain content validity of the questionnaire. This is supported by the opinion of Muijs (2004) who stated that content validity can be obtained through the review of past literatures. Through this validity, the researcher confirmed that the study variables were able to measure their actual concepts. As stated by Muijs (2004), content validity can be used to represent a measurable latent concept.

Face validity of the study questionnaire was also obtained whereby the researcher asked several respondents from the Chinese Muslim community through an informal survey. According to Muijs (2004), by asking related questions to the study respondents, face validity of a questionnaire form can be confirmed as the respondents were asked about whether the questions are relevant or not according to their view. This has guided the researcher to measure each of the studied aspects based on the realities of the respondents’ life. Besides, the questions
were also helpful for the researcher to ascertain that the constructed questionnaire has met its intended outcomes. As stated by Ary et al. (2010), face validity is where the researchers believe that their questionnaire has measured what it should measure. In addition to the above, a pilot study was also conducted in order to confirm the reliability of the questionnaire. A pilot study can be used to ensure the stability and consistency of a constructed questionnaire in measuring certain concepts, at the same to evaluate whether the questionnaire is properly developed or not.

As for qualitative data, this study utilised the interview method to address the study objectives with the purpose to detail out the quantitative findings. This was due to the use of sequential explanatory design. According to McMillan (2012), sequential explanatory design requires the quantitative data to be further explained, elaborated, and clarified.

Quantitative data obtained from the survey were analysed by using two types of statistical procedures, which are descriptive statistics and inference. All data were processed using the SPSS software. As for the analysis of qualitative data obtained from the interview, manual method was used whereby data were analysed through Open Coding, Clustering, Category, and Thematic processes. According to Tiawa, Hafidz, and Sumarni (2012), Open coding is the provision of code to each data so that it can be classified according to the study objectives. Meanwhile, Clustering is the process of classifying data which have been assigned with open coding in specific categories. Next, the Category process of the data aims to facilitate researchers in dividing the data according to sections in the study. Thematic is the process of classifying each gathered study data based on more specific themes or concepts.

4.0 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Demographics Profile
Table 1 shows the background of the study respondents in terms of age, gender, and educational level. With regards to age, Figure 4.1 shows that majority of the respondents (32%) were around 46 to 55 years old. This is followed by those with age from 56 years and above (27%) and then those aged between 36 to 45 years (23%). Meanwhile, only few of them were aged around 26 to 35 years and 16 to 25 years (9% respectively). Thus, young groups were smaller compared to the older ones. This was due to the fact that the study respondents were selected among those who involved in the official activities organized by MAIK and MACMA Kelantan. This situation is also in line with Mohd Azmi and Maimunah (2003) who stated that majority of the new Muslim converts who attended the guidance classes are mostly adults.
In terms of gender, the number of female respondents exceeded the male respondents by five percent (i.e., 55% females and 45% males). This indicates a nearly equal distribution in the involvement of male and female Muslim converts in formal activities and guidance classes. Although there were reportedly more females than males among new Muslim converts (Mohd Azmi & Maimunah, 2003), this study has shown that the males’ participation in formal activities and guidance classes was not affected by this situation.

As for the educational background, all respondents obtained their formal education where majority (64%) achieved the secondary school level, followed by the primary school level (23%). Meanwhile, only 13 percent of them obtained higher education level whereby 9 percent received university education and the remaining four percent received college education. These data reveal that most respondents in this study obtained their formal education until the school level.

With regards to the reason, more than half (55%) of the respondents converted to Islam due to their interaction with the local Malay community. Meanwhile, 20 percent of them said that they were attracted to Islam. Other reasons for embracing Islam are the marriage factor (16%), due to research and reading (7%), and following or influenced by spouse (3%). Interaction as the main factor for the non-Muslims to embrace Islam is probably due to the high sociability among the multi-cultural community especially Kelantan Chinese (Mohd Shahrul Imran Lim, 2014). In fact, the interaction among the Kelantan Chinese indicates a high level of assimilation in the way of life of this community group (Teo, 2005). Indirectly, this situation has caused the Kelantan Chinese community to accept Islam. The result in this study is in line with Azarudin and Khadijah (2015) who stated that the interaction among the Muslim community is the main factor of conversion to Islam among the Chinese community in the state of Terengganu.

In addition, the result shows that the original religion of majority of the respondents (87%) before converting to Islam was Buddhism. A total of 7 percent were initially Christians, 5 percent were Confucian, and the remaining 1 percent were atheists. Thus, almost all respondents were originally Buddhists. These results are in line with previous studies which reported that the Kelantan Peranakan Chinese community are still maintaining their religious belief of their ancestors, namely Theravada Buddhism (Teo, 2008; Mohd Roslan & Haryati, 2011; Khoo, 2010).
Table 1: Demographic profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 25 years old</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 35 years old</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 to 45 years old</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Educational Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 to 55 years old</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 years old and above</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reason for embracing Islam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with others</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attracted to Islam</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Original Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting married</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and reading</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following spouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Atheism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Bonding and Bridging Social Capitals of Chinese Muslims

Bonding social capital refers to the relationship with close individuals, i.e., family members who are not converted to Islam. Meanwhile, bridging social capital refers to the relationship of Chinese Muslims with the Malay community. Social capitals are measured based on the frequency of occurrence of bonding and bridging social capitals in the aspects of trust, cohesion, and reciprocity. Bonding and bridging social capitals are measured based on the same survey items.

4.2.1 Trust Attitude

The frequency of trust element was measured to indicate how frequent respondents trust their bonding social capital, i.e., their original family who are not converted to Islam, and also bridging social capital, i.e., the Malay community, in terms of social, religious, and financial aspects. Figure 1 shows the level of trust in bonding social capital. A total of 47 percent of trust in bonding social capital were located at the low level, 32 percent were at the moderate level, and 21 percent were at the high level. Meanwhile, Figure 2 indicates the level of trust in bridging social capital. Only 9 percent of respondents had a low level of trust. Furthermore, a total of 49 percent were at the moderate level and 41 percent were at the high level. In conclusion, majority of respondents had a low level of trust in bonding social capital (i.e.
original family who are not converted to Islam). Bridging social capital (the Malay community) obtained a higher level of trust from respondents whereby almost all were distributed at the moderate and high levels.

![Figure 1: Level of trust in bonding social capital](image1)

![Figure 2: Level of trust in bridging social capital](image2)

Table 2 displays the frequency of bonding and bridging social capitals for the trust element. Overall, respondents seemed to only occasionally trust their bonding social capital (2.6) and bridging social capital (3.4). Respondents sometimes trust their bonding social capital in the aspects of practicing religion (3.2), giving cooperation (2.9), and sharing problems with them (2.7). Nevertheless, as for bridging social capital, respondents occasionally build their trust in different aspects, which are sharing problems (3.4), receiving financial support when needed (2.6), and lending money (2.5). However, in other aspects, respondents indicated that they frequently trust their bridging social capital in giving cooperation (3.9), speaking about religion (3.6), and practicing religion together (4.1). Nevertheless, some respondents also showed that they seldom trust their bonding social capital, particularly in religious and financial aspects. Specifically, respondents seldom trust to talk about religion (2.3), to get money when needed (2.3), and to lend money to bonding social capital (2.0). The frequency of trust was also mentioned by Informants in qualitative study. For bonding social capital, Informant 1 stated that:

“It’s difficult for me to put my trust in my family. It’s nothing.. actually, because we have different religious belief. If we want to borrow some money, share problems, or anything, we’re afraid that our family will look at us negatively for embracing Islam.. like we become lazy when we converted to Islam. No job.. so that’s why we don’t rely on our family at all.”
According to Informant 1, it was quite difficult to trust own family due to religious differences between them. It is of primary concern that such difference might give a bad impression to the religion being practiced; therefore, trust is not placed in the family, either in the aspects of social, religion, and financial.

Furthermore, Informant 1 also provided a statement regarding the frequency of trust in bridging social capital:

“oooo.. it’s different with Malays.. Malay people are more.. they accept with open heart. They care about you.. so, it there’s anything, it’s easy for us to refer them. I always refer.”

This statement indicates that Chinese Muslims frequently trust the Malay community because of their concern towards them. However, regarding their trust in the financial aspect, the informants said that Chinese Muslims do not put high trust in Malays. This is as stated by Informant 3 below:

“ When it comes to money, it’s a bit hard.. it’s about certain Malays who are reluctant to pay back. And then, before converted to Islam, there was also a perception among the Chinese who said that it’s hard for Malays to pay money (debt). They are reluctant to pay.. like my grandmother who sells living chicken.. she let them took items first, but they’re behind payments until now.. maybe my grandmother told others that it’s difficult to deal with Malays.. and then when I was still a kid.. I always heard Malay people said, it’s okay to not settle your debt to Chinese .. they’re kafir (non-believers).”

Informant 3 said that it is quite difficult for Chinese Muslims to trust Malays in the financial aspect due to the perception nurtured in them since they were still not converted to Islam; they were even being exposed to that mindset since they were kids.
Table 2: Frequency of the trust element in bonding and bridging social capitals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Bonding Social Capital</th>
<th>Bridging Social Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cooperating with them</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sharing problems with them</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Telling them about my religion</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Performing religious practices while with them</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Confident to be able to get money from them when needed</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lending money to them</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall mean: 2.6, 3.4

*Note: Average Scores are based on the following scales:
1: Never  2: Rarely  3: Occasionally  4: Often  5: Always

In conclusion, respondents’ trust attitude towards bonding social capital was low and happened on occasional basis only. A similar result was observed for bridging social capital whereby the frequency of trust was also occasionally, yet the level of trust in bridging social capital was found to be at the good level. Besides, other statement also indicates that respondents frequently trust their bridging social capital in social and religious aspects. This shows that bridging social capital, i.e., the Malay community, receive a better trust from respondents compared to bonding social capital, i.e., their original family who are not converted to Islam.

The occasional occurrence and moderate level of trust suggest that the Islamisation of an individual in a certain bonding social capital has caused the lack of trust in their bonding social capital. This imply that Islamisation has changed the trust attitude due to the difference of values in religion which was common before. This relationship was seen to be limited because of such difference in values. This is similar to the view by Brennan and Barnett (2009) who stated that a relationship can be retained because of the common values between connected individuals. A limited relationship restricts the interaction among bonding social capitals, whereas development of trust depends on interaction (Amir Zal, 2016). Furthermore, according to Payne (2006), interaction manifests that trust has taken place. It was observed in this study that failure to maintain the interaction between respondents and bonding social capital happened due to the factor that Chinese Muslims individuals were fear of the negative views by bonding social capital towards their newly embraced religion. This is in contrast to other views stating that the interaction of Chinese Muslims was affected when their family reject the
Islamisation of Chinese Muslims (Nur A’thiroh Tan & Fariza, 2009), and conflicts have emerged in bonding social capital, such as being isolated, treated with sarcasm, not allowed to return home, and family members break the family ties (Mohd Syukri Yeoh & Osman, 2004; Abdullah & Shukri, 2008; Nur A’thiroh Tan & Fariza, 2009; Suraya et al., 2013; Marlon et al., 2014). Therefore, it can be concluded that the low level of trust among respondents towards the family was due to the religious difference which made them feel afraid to connect with bonding social capital, and this was not related to the conflicts with bonding social capitals as faced by Chinese Muslims in other states in this country.

Although the trust element to bridging social capital occurs on occasional basis, respondents indicated their frequent trust for bridging social capital in terms of social and religious aspects. This is because, even before converted to Islam, the Chinese Muslim community in Kelantan generally have a high level of societal ability with the Malay community, and this makes it easier for them to respond to changes in the current environment, such as clothing, food, and leisure activities that are similar to the Malay community (Mohd Shahrul Imran Lim, 2014; Pue & Charanjit, 2014). Furthermore, according to Hanapi (1986), the assimilation of Kelantan Chinese has transformed the social and household organisations into Malay as far as crossing their religious boundary, whereby the Chinese community in Kelantan even invite Muslim spiritual leader among Malays to perform prayer for entering new home. Meanwhile, according to Pue and Charanjit (2014), there is no hindrance for Kelantan people of Chinese descent (peranakan) to apply other religious elements if it is believed to be of benefit to them. Nevertheless, these factors did not make the respondents trust in their bridging social capital for problem sharing and financial aspect. This indicates that closeness, assimilation, and Islamisation do not make it easy for them to share problems and obtain financial resources through their bridging social capital. It is also similar to the aspect of lending money to bridging social capital.

4.2.2 Reciprocity

The reciprocal element refers to the mutuality that occurs between respondents’ bonding and bridging social capitals in social, religious, and financial aspects. Figure 3 illustrates the level of respondents’ reciprocity with bonding social capital. The study findings indicate that 47 percent of respondents’ reciprocity with bonding social capital were at the moderate level, 31 percent were at the low level, and the other 23 percent were at the high level. Meanwhile, Figure 4 shows the level of reciprocity for bridging social capital. 52 percent of respondents indicated the high level, 37 percent were at the moderate level, and only 11 percent of them
were at the low level. Overall, it can be seen that there was a higher level of respondents’ reciprocity with bridging social capital, whereas the level of respondents’ reciprocity with bonding social capital was moderate and some of them were even noted at the low level.

Table 3 indicates results pertaining to the frequency of respondents’ reciprocity with bonding and bridging social capitals. Generally, based on the study findings, reciprocity occurred on occasional basis for bonding social capital (2.7) and frequently for bridging social capital (3.5). In terms of bonding social capital, reciprocal occurs occasionally in the aspects of mutual respect for religious belief (3.1), visiting each other (3.1), and helping one another (3.0). Then, data also shows that respondents seldom (2.4) help each other in the financial aspect. Other than that, reciprocity also rarely happened in the aspect of exchanging religious opinions (2.3) as well as borrowing and lending money (2.1). As for bridging social capital, the study findings showed that respondents were often reciprocal in the aspects of mutual respect for religious belief (4.0), visiting each other (3.8), helping one another (3.8), and exchanging religious opinions (3.7). However, reciprocity seldom occurred in the aspects of giving financial supports to each other (2.9), likewise for borrowing money from each other (2.7).

Frequencies of reciprocity as discussed above were also supported by findings obtained from the interview with respondents. In terms of bonding social capital, informant 2 mentioned that:
“It’s difficult to help each other... or anything... How to help others when we don’t even have enough to eat? Then, my mother wanted to come to help. But, we seldom meet... So, we don’t ask for help... just on our own. After all, we already have our own family.”

According to Informant 2, it is difficult for reciprocity to occur among respondents because they are also living a hard life, and their family seldom come to help them because they rarely meet. Due to this, reciprocity only happened occasionally. In addition, the informant also stated that they do not ask for helps from family and they manage everything by themselves, especially when they already have their own Muslim family. This shows that reciprocity occurs among respondents at moderate level and only on occasional basis with bonding social capital.

As for bridging social capital, the following statement was obtained from the interview with Informant 2:

“I have asked for rice from Malays. We didn’t have any rice to cook... we didn’t borrow. We asked for one or two cups. The Malay people gave us. If we have some rice, we also gave one or two cups to them. There is no problem with Malays. If they are doing hard, we help them as much as we could. It’s because we live together” (Informant 2)

Informant 2 mentioned that the Malay community always help them when they are out of rice, and likewise, the informant also helps to the possible extent the Malay community who are in need. This is because they are living together in the social environment of the Malay community.

Thus, it can be implied that respondents’ reciprocity with bonding social capital occurred less frequently compared to the one established with bridging social capital which was more frequent. At the same time, reciprocity related to the financial aspect which happened on occasional basis for both social capitals.
Table 3: Frequency of reciprocal element in bonding and bridging social capitals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Bonding Social Capital</th>
<th>Bridging Social Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Visiting each other</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Helping one another</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mutually respecting each other’s religious beliefs</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Exchanging religious opinions</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Providing financial helps to each other</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Borrowing and lending money from each other</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Overall mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Average Scores are based on the following scales:
1: Never  2: Rarely  3: Occasionally  4: Often  5: Always*

The occasional occurrence and the moderate level of reciprocity with bonding social capital indicate that respondents’ interdependency towards bonding social capital is decreasing after they converted to Islam. This is considering that, according to Aeby, Widmerb, and Carlob (2014), family is the resource of social capital that involves mutually beneficial relationships, as well as information and emotional supports from one another. This is in contrast to the reality of respondents before embracing Islam. Hanapi (2007) stated that interdependence in family is the characteristic of Chinese in Kelantan, where they help and respect each other, and thus having close relationships among them. However, qualitative findings indicated that respondents are living in hardship after converted to Islam, suggesting that reciprocity did not occur among them. Therefore, this community no longer has a strong bonding (family) to support the community members. Inasmuch as stated by Schmid (2000), the role of bonding social capital is to support the community members. Meanwhile, the reciprocal element with bridging social capital occurred frequently at the higher level. This is line with Azarudin (2015) who stated that the tolerance values between the Chinese Muslim and Malay communities, such as in doing daily activities, visiting each other, exchanging food, helping one another, and so on, implies that there is a mutually supportive level between each other. Nevertheless, this level of reciprocity did not happen in the financial aspect. This is considering that the purpose of bridging social capital is not only for obtaining social needs, but also for economy (Grafton & Knowles, 2004). This finding suggests that Islamisation allows respondents to work...
cooperatively to obtain social and religious benefits from bridging social capital, but not in the financial aspect.

4.2.3 Cohesion

The cohesive element indicates respondents’ feeling that they are being accepted, belonged to, and loved by both bonding social capital (i.e., family members who are not converted to Islam) and bridging social capital (i.e., the Malay community). Figure 5 shows the cohesive level of bonding social capital. The study findings reveal that 37 percent of respondents indicated the moderate level, 32 percent were at the low level, and 31 percent were at the high level. Meanwhile, Figure 6 illustrates the cohesive level of bridging social capital. Based on the results, it can be seen that 52 percent of respondents were at the high level, 44 percent were at the moderate level, and only four percent were at the low level. In terms of cohesion with bonding social capital, respondents were distributed almost equally in each level. This is different with the case of bridging social capital in which majority of respondents indicated a high level of cohesion, and only a few had a low level.

![Figure 5: Level of cohesion with bonding social](image1)

![Figure 6: Level of cohesion with bridging social](image2)

Table 4 shows results pertaining to the frequencies of cohesion with bonding and bridging social capitals. As a whole, cohesion with bonding social capital happened on occasion only (2.8), whereby respondents at times feel in agreement (3.3), friendly (3.3), their religion is being respected (3.3), and can talk about religion (2.5) with their bonding social capital. In
addition, cohesion in the financial aspect rarely happened, whereby respondents seldom talk about finance (2.2) and rarely could borrow money easily (2.2) from their bonding social capital. This finding was noted by Informant 4 who stated that:

“We’re not close because we feel that they (family) shun us.. they feel that we shun them. That’s why we’ve become not very close. Because it’s different now, right... we don’t have the same religion, that’s why.” (Informant 4).

According to Informant 4, cohesion happened not so frequently in bonding social capital due to the different perception between respondents and bonding social capital. The informant also mentioned that religious difference is the reason explaining the occasional occurrence of cohesion.

With regards to the frequency of cohesion in bridging social capital, Table 3 reveals that cohesion generally happened frequently (3.5). Specifically, respondents are often being friendly (4.0) and in agreement (3.9) with bridging social capital. Furthermore, the Islamic religion which they have embraced are frequently being respected (3.9) and they often talk about Islamic religion (3.9). However, when it comes to financial aspect, their cohesion only took place occasionally. At times, respondents can borrow money easily (2.7), and only at occasion where they could talk about financial aspect (2.9) with their bridging social capital. This finding indicates that cohesion between respondents and bridging social capital frequently occurs, except for those involving the financial aspect. This point was also agreed by informants, such as the statement by Informant 3:

“Malay people are very welcoming.. they said that we have become Malays.. we are treated warmly.. they are very open.. Malays feel happy seeing that we could wear Baju Melayu.”

According to Informant 3, the Malay community accepts Chinese Muslims as part of them, and Chinese Muslims are being treated very warmly by Malays. This has resulted in a good cohesive element between the Chinese Muslim and Malay communities.
In conclusion, the cohesive element occurs more frequently between respondents and bridging social capital, compared to bonding social capital which occurs on occasion basis. The occasional occurrence and moderate level of cohesive element as found in this study is different from the reality of the Chinese community. According to Lyndon, Wei, and Mohd Helmi (2014), the Chinese community has a close relationship with their family. In this study, respondents’ conversion to Islam did not lead to the persistence of cohesion between respondents and bonding social capital. Based on qualitative findings, respondents generally stated that there are different perceptions between respondents and bonding social capital whereby in the relationship context, respondents felt that they are being shunned by family, and likewise for their family. The lack of cohesion among respondents in this study contradicts with the views of Amran (1985), Mohd Syukri Yeoh and Osman (2004), and Osman (2005) stating that the Chinese community have more negative perceptions towards Chinese people who converted to Islam than other religions. On the contrary, our study findings were only related to the family’s perception that the Islamic converts do not want to be a part of the family anymore.

Furthermore, the transformation of Chinese Muslims’ way of life to adapt with the living of the Malay community (Razaleigh et al., 2012) was also observed to be the factor causing the lack of cohesion in respondents’ bonding social capital. This is because the Islamisation of Chinese Muslims is regarded as they are becoming Malay, and thus causing Chinese Muslims to abandon their life as a Chinese.
Another factor that negatively affect respondents’ cohesive elements is because religion has a disintegrative effect in which its presence has built a subtle and thin boundary between those who have embraced a new religion and those who are still holding the inherited old world (Taufik, 2009). Therefore, respondents’ Islamisation has given a certain perception towards respondents and their bonding social capital, and thus reducing the cohesion among them. The fact is that, the cohesive element is important for the community members to feel that they are being accepted by and belonged to the community, as well as having ‘a sense of own place’ in the community (Dale & Sparkes, 2008).

Furthermore, the high level and frequent occurrence of respondents’ cohesion with bridging social capital as noted in this study are not in line with Razaleigh et al. (2012) who found that Chinese people are socially less integrated with the Malay community after they embraced Islam. Similarly, Marlon et al. (2014) who stipulated that racial sectionalism is still taking place between the Chinese Muslim and Malay communities, reported that the levels of understanding, acceptance, and integration of Chinese Muslims towards the Malay culture are still moderate. This shows that there is a difference between Chinese Muslims in Kelantan and those in other states in this country in terms of the cohesive aspect.

5.0 CONCLUSION
The Chinese Muslim community in this study indicated that their social capitals in the aspects of trust, reciprocity, and cohesion with family members who are not converted to Islam (i.e., bonding social capital) only occur on occasional basis after their conversion to Islam. A different result was observed for respondents’ bridging social capital, i.e. the Malay community, whereby their social capitals in the aspects of trust, reciprocity, and cohesion has taken place frequently and most of them were noted at the high level. Thus, it can be concluded that potentials of community, which are social capitals, can be affected by the religious factor. Other than that, bonding social capital could also give implications on maintaining the sustainability of relationship and affect its ownership because those elements bring impacts on the interaction between respondents and bonding social capital. Limited interaction in a strong relationship, like bonding social capital, will lead to the lack of psychological support, as well as negative impacts on the quality of relationship, mutual assistance, and togetherness between respondents and bridging social capital. The lack of those elements can also affect respondents’ harmonious living, and it might as well jeopardise their daily life. Moreover, it is also of concern that respondents’ low level of bonding social capital could cause them to lose social and economic supports in own community, and it is also worrying that it might break the ties...
between respondents and their bonding social capital. Indirectly, this could lead to negative perceptions among non-Muslim family members towards Islam and the Muslim community.

Meanwhile, bridging social capital (i.e. the Malay community) was found to give positive implications to the Chinese Muslim community whereby they can obtain various benefits from the close social bridging. Moreover, it also provides a wider network to respondents when their bonding social capital becomes limited in terms of closeness. Other than that, bridging social capital also contributed to respondents’ collective actions in solving problems, while increasing the closeness among the local community in order to provide a good social environment to the respondents’ group of community. However, in view of the negative aspect, such high level of closeness and frequent occurrence of this element might give the implication revealing respondents as the absolute property of bridging social capital (the Malay community), yet in fact they are actually a part of bonding social capital (family of origin). It is worrying that this element could lead to the emergence of negative perceptions which jeopardise respondents’ bonding social capital. It is even worse when functions of bonding social capital are no longer needed by respondents, although there are still more spaces for them to re-establish their relationship with bonding social capital after they converted to Islam.

Therefore, it is suggested that the Chinese Muslim community should improve and strengthen their relationship and interaction with bonding social capital. Chinese Muslims should also bear in their mind that the Islamic religion as they have embraced is highly emphasising on the need to establish a good relationship with original family who are non-Muslims. Through this effort, the Chinese Muslim community can regain their position as part of their bonding social capital, even with differences in the aspects of religion and values. From another context, Chinese Muslims should also continually strengthen and maintain the relationship with bridging social capital so that such good relationship can give more contributions towards the quality of life of the Chinese Muslim community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article was funded by the Ministry of Education (MOE) under the Fundamental Research Grant Scheme (FRGS/1/2019/SS06/UTHM/03/3).

REFERENCES


Payne, P. R. (2006). *Youth violence prevention through asset-based community development*. LFB Scholarly Publising LLC.


