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**Globalisation in the Malaysian context:
The experience of Malay adolescents with ‘conduct
disorders’**

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Abstract

The process of globalisation offers opportunities for a country to progress to be a greater and more competitive nation. The Malaysian government is highly inspired by the concept of globalisation in progressing towards the vision of becoming a developed nation by the year 2020. Globalisation as a process is very demanding, requiring changes to the Malaysian political, cultural, economic, educational and social landscape. These changes have presented immense challenges to Malay adolescents where Western values have conflicted with traditional values and aspirations. Without adequate preparation, the potential incommensurability of values affects the locally defined well-being among Malay adolescents. Given that, how Malay adolescents understand and adapt to the globalisation process remains elusive. Therefore, this research is designed to explore the experiences of Malay adolescents who are considered to experience ‘conduct disorders’ within the Malaysian context of globalisation. This research is a qualitative research inquiry, which utilised Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a method of analysis. IPA is an approach that explores in detail personal lived experience to examine what the world is like from the point of view of the participants. Initial data was collected from 28 participants with 12 participants selected from a rehabilitation centre for young offenders in Malaysia for a more thorough analysis. The lived experience of the participants is presented and explained through three levels of analysis, the participants' demographic background and history, detailed life experiences of each case and finally, the meaning they attached to their experiences. The analysis suggests that the understanding of the Malay adolescents is constructed reflecting the changes in the dynamic of all segments of life alongside the emerging new lifestyles that are embedded in the processes of globalisation. Their lived experiences are described by referring to a complex relationship with and various tensions between different tenets. Those tenets include the traditional Malay cultures, values, beliefs and practices, which are much influenced by Islamic teaching, and the emergent new values and worldviews associated with globalisation and modernisation. Due to their vulnerability regarding self-characteristics, innate capabilities and the systemic flaws of relevant support systems, they are described as problematic in meeting the new, yet challenging environment. The participants lost their primary and reliable sources of survival. Instead, they are being introduced to various alternative resources that promote values and cultures that are against the normality of local practices. As a result, they end up in the criminal justice system. Realising that they have gone “off track”, the participants shared their intention to recover through various strategies, which include both action oriented and cognitive frameworks, but at the same time, they expected to face a range of hassles that may contribute to some difficulties for them to make progress. This research comes out with an argument that questions the appropriateness of the relevance of the diagnostic system of conduct disorders as defined in DSM. The experiences of the participants’ suggested that they simply reacted to the changing context which offered immense challenges to their lived experiences. Therefore, rather than disordered the adolescents can be understood as responding to the conflicting conditions they face.

Keywords: Malay adolescents, globalisation, conduct disorders, lived experiences, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

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List of abbreviations

BN	: <i>Barisan Nasional</i> (National Front)
CC	:Cyber cafe
DSM	:Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
EPF	:Employees Provident Fund
GLC	:Government Linked Companies
FGD	:Focus Group Discussion
IPA	:Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
j-Qaf	:Jawi, Quran, Arabic Language, Fardhu Ain
KAFA	: <i>Kelas Agama Fardhu Ain</i> (religious Classes)
KPT	: <i>Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi</i> (Ministry of Higher Education)
KWAP	: <i>Kumpulan Wang Persaraan</i> (Retirement Fund)
LPPKN	: <i>Lembaga Pembangunan Penduduk dan Keluarga Negara</i> (National Population and Family Development Board)
LTAT	: <i>Lembaga Tabung Angkatan Tentera</i> (The Armed Forces Fund Board)
LTH	: <i>Lembaga Tabung Haji</i> (Pilgrims fund Board)
MKD	: <i>Syarikat Menteri Kewangan Diperbadankan</i>
MNEs	:Multinational Enterprises
MYR	:Malaysia Ringgit
NYDP	:National Youth Development Program
PBUH	:Peace Be Upon Him
PERKAMA	: <i>Persatuan Kaunseling Malaysia</i> (Malaysia Counselling Association)
PKBM	: <i>Pasukan Kadet Bersatu Malaysia</i> (Malaysia United Cadet Team)
PMR	: <i>Penilaian Menengah Rendah</i> (Lower Secondary Test)
PND	: <i>Permodalan Nasional Berhad</i>
RELA	: <i>Jabatan Sukarelawan Malaysia</i> (The People's Volunteer Corps)
SCT	:Self-Control Theory
SOCSO	:Social Security Organisation
SPM	: <i>Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia</i> (The Malaysian Certificate of Education)
UMNO	:United Malay National Organisation
UPM	:Universiti Putra Malaysia
UPSR	: <i>Ujian Penilaian Sekolah Rendah</i> (Primary School Evaluation Test)

1 Introduction

I am a Malay Muslim man who grew up in a semi-urban area that was only beginning to adopt and adapt to a modern lifestyle. During my childhood, I was exposed to the old Malay traditions, which were influenced by the teachings of Islam. The traditions were commonly practised by the Malay community in my hometown. This was also the case for the traditions of other ethnic groups such as those of the Chinese and Indian communities, who were also influenced by their respective religious beliefs. In fact, religion is significantly implicated in the socialisation processes of Malaysians as a whole. It is important to note here that, in Malaysia, all Malays were born to be Muslim as defined in the Constitution of Malaysia. Thus, Malays' own link to Islam is a culturally embedded moral code. As time passed, I witnessed the old traditions become gradually marginalised and replaced or blended with new modern lifestyles. This marginalisation of traditional culture and values is closely linked to the movement of civil society towards a transformation of the country to an industrialised and modernised society, which is consistent with the progression of Malaysia towards becoming a developed nation by the year 2020.

One of the strategies that have been put in place to achieve Vision 2020 was active participation in the globalisation process. Globalisation can be understood as the forces that promote greater interaction, integration and interdependence among people and organisations across borders. This strategy has provided a platform for the rapid importation of technological advancement and sharing of knowledge internationally. It is undeniable that Malaysia has benefited from the globalisation process in its development and transformation of various sectors, which encompass economic, education, social, and cultural movements. Engaging in globalisation, the Malaysian government also realised the need to protect the privileges that were granted to the Malays through the legacy of colonial administrative systems. Thus, the status of Malay dominance in the political arena was retained through the current government's administrative structure and the Malaysian Constitution. With regards to economic distribution, the government employed policies such as New Economic Policy (NEP) that named the Malays as the principle beneficiaries of economic distribution. While the NEP was maintained, the government of Malaysia has also executed a neo-liberal economic model that promotes openness and competitiveness of economic activities. This administrative model allowed other ethnicities to compete in economic distribution.

Unfortunately, despite the Constitution of Malaysia positioning the Malay into a dominant position culturally, economically and politically, the Malays have been struggling to gain momentum in economic sectors. Other ethnic groups, predominantly Chinese, have been much more successful in this regard. It is evident through the national statistics that Malays are the majority group living in poverty in Malaysia. The statistics show that the political privileges granted to the Malay are not well-translated in ensuring the progress of Malays in other life segments especially economic gains. As a consequence, the economic disparities significantly leave the Malays with a challenging life circumstance in ensuring their survival.

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon to Malaysia, but, in recent years, the essence of globalisation has not only changed the physical aspect of development such as economic, technological and infrastructure development of Malaysia as Islam was secularised as consumption becomes commodified. This has impacted on how Malay adolescents understand and react to the changing world. As globalisation promotes modernisation, which is shaped by dominant global players, particularly Western countries, the process cultivates the desire to consume among the Malay adolescents as they attempt to make sense of contemporary beliefs and lifestyles. Thus, the essence of globalisation has presented immense challenges that have exposed Malay adolescents to conflicting values and aspirations. Also, the essence of globalisation undermines the family and community support in helping the youth navigate their way through adolescence. As a result, Malay adolescents have become disfranchised from their traditional cultural norms, and are now rated as the highest ethnic group involved in criminal activity.

Within this context, it is important that I acknowledge my responsibility to ensure the survival and well-being of the Malay in my contribution to research. As a member of the Malay ethnic group, I feel responsible for ensuring that the privileges that have been granted to the Malay are retained through respectful means so they do not compromise the harmony of the country and its ethnic diversity. I strongly believe that this target can only be materialised if the Malay continue to be strong economically and morally as well as respected by others. This positioning has led to the idea of empowering the Malay ethnic community to help them prepare and face the contemporary and upcoming challenges. As a starting point, it is important to unfold the lived experiences of Malay adolescents who had experienced behavioural issues that could be understood as ‘conduct disorders’ in Western psychology so that necessary actions can be planned and executed consistent with their experiences.

As a Malay psychologist who has been trained in Western clinical psychology, I was invested in how to understand Malay adolescents' moral disengagement from the framework of 'conduct disorder' with the potential to provide services to reduce their 'risk'. I was curious about how appropriate and relevant would be to frame these young Malays' experiences of offending through the framework of 'conduct disorders' as they met the Western criteria of having been detained and incarcerated for breaching both civil law and societal norms. With questions about the application of Western diagnoses, I have written 'conduct disorder' in scare marks to indicate that the understanding of moral disengagement as disorder among Malay adolescents was under question. Accordingly, no diagnostic procedures for 'conduct disorders' were conducted prior to the research process.

To understand the problem of applying Western cultural knowledge, I believe that it is essential to explore and contextualise the lived experiences of the Malay adolescents. One way of doing so was through an explorative study that focussed on an in-depth understanding of Malay adolescents lived experiences. I wanted to explore the phenomenon "freely" to understand how moral disengagement was perceived by the participants. My focus was on the voices and themes that were important to the Malay adolescents whom I interviewed without being influenced by existing theoretical observations. Therefore, qualitative methodologies were the most helpful and meaningful to attain that goal. Consistent with the research aims, I chose Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to appreciate and illuminate the perspectives of Malay adolescents. Through the different levels of analysis, IPA enabled the voice of the adolescents to be heard and to be attentively attended to and analysed.

Having heard the voices of the research participants, it became necessary to challenge the concept of conduct disorder. While the DSM individualised particular symptoms, the participants voiced their concern over the enormous challenges brought by their chaotic life circumstances, which I have located as emerging from the globalisation process. The participants may not be able to understand what globalisation is about from the lens of their 'limited world', my research standpoint locates the participants and enabled and constrained in and through changing context that has happened due to globalisation. In this vein, this research opened up a broader perspective in understanding and shaping culturally sensitive conduct issues or 'disorders' among the Malay adolescents.

2 The background of Malaysia

2.1 Malaysia and colonialism

Geographically, Malaysia is a relatively small country located within the South East Asia region. Malaysia is strategically located along the Straits of Malacca and the southern part of the South China Sea, which are frequently described as significant pathways for trade purposes between different parts of the world especially among West and East (Ismail, 2012; Wasey & Khan, 2004; Yilmaz, 2010). This movement had attracted British to occupy Malaysia through colonial power. In the late 18th century, the British through the British East Indian Company sent Francis Light to occupy Penang, who later founded Georgetown, a capital city of Penang (Wasey & Khan, 2004; Yilmaz, 2010). It has been suggested that, while the British had the intention to occupy Malaya, the presence of British at that time was also by invitation from the Malay kings who felt insecure in retaining their power as the Malay king at that time had received multiple external threats (Wasey & Khan, 2004) such as from Siamese who had repeatedly fought with Malay Kingdoms since the sixteenth century (Yilmaz, 2010). The Malay kings felt that the British would benefit them if they allowed the British to enter Malaya as the British would bolster claims to the throne of their preferred royal pretender (Wasey & Khan, 2004).

This invitation was, however, perceived differently by the British. For the British, it was a golden opportunity for them as they identified Malaya as geographically and geopolitically strategic to fulfil their hidden defence and economic agendas (Wasey & Khan, 2004). With regards to defence agendas, the strategic location of Malaysia (as it is located on the middle route between China and Britain) enabled Britain to safeguard their influence in Southeast Asia (Ismail, 2012; Wasey & Khan, 2004). Economically, Malaya was well known for its rich natural resources such as high-quality tin and gold, and land that was highly suitable for plantation purposes. Indeed, Malaya had produced one-third of the world's tin since the industry was developed in the country (Ismail, 2012).

2.2 The emergence of a plural society in Malaysia

The continuous growth of the tin mines industry in Malaya, which was established by the British colonials, meant a large number of labourers was essential. Therefore, during the early nineteenth century, the small Chinese population was substantially increased by bringing immigrants from China to become traders and workers in the tin mines (Giacchino-Baker, 2000). Later in the first twentieth century, separate from tin mines, the plantation industry, particularly rubber and

construction sectors were introduced to Malaya. As these industries kept expanding, the British opened the door to a huge influx of immigrants from India and China to work in those sectors (Kaur, 2008; Yilmaz, 2010). While the British brought in the immigrants for the purpose of trade and to meet the shortage of labourers, it was the intention of the British that the immigrants would be repatriated, especially during the depressed economic conditions in the 1920s (Kaur, 2008). Thus, the Malays were recognised as the legitimate owner of Malaya and non-Malay as immigrants (Pietsch & Clark, 2014).

However, the plan was not materialised due to the recognition of the right to citizenship given to all qualified people through the Jus Soli scheme which was introduced before the Federation of Malaya was formed in 1948 (Kheng, 2002). Regardless of ethnic identity, the scheme ensured citizenship for all people born in the Federation and their children. Following the signing of the Federation of Malaya on 1st February 1948, citizenship on the basis of Jus Soli was withdrawn (Kheng, 2002). Only Malay who were born in a Malay state would become a citizen automatically and for those without birth status were not included unless they had been a resident for fifteen years and were able to demonstrate knowledge of English or Malay languages, and completed a citizenship oath (Kheng, 2002; Wasey & Khan, 2004). The willingness of Malay rulers to approve citizenship of non-Malay in their New Malay nation “marked a major shift towards inclusionary multi-ethnic nationalist perspective” (Kheng, 2002, p. 20).

In governing the multi-ethnic issues, the British colonial system introduced a ‘divide and rule’ policy. Through this ‘divide and rule’ policy, each ethnic group in Malaysia was encouraged to practice their own unique cultural identities and values. Thus, all ethnic groups in Malaysia did not often live, work or study together (Giacchino-Baker, 2000). As a result of this ‘divide and rule’ policy to the Malaysian culture, there is no such thing as a unitary culture in Malaysia as each ethnic group has been practising their own languages, traditions, religions and lifestyles (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010). In addition, there is no united territory where people from different ethnic groups live together harmoniously. While most Malays settle in underdeveloped areas, in particular, the East Coast region of Malaysia’s peninsular, most Chinese have settled in the more established and advanced areas, especially in the West Coast region of Malaysia’s peninsular (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010). This segregation offers more benefits to the Chinese in terms of economic development as they were strategically located at the ‘heart’ of the economic resources. The problem for most of the Malay has been their limited access to the resources that affects their progress in the economic sector. Hence, through the competition of social, economic and political power, racial identities began to emerge and Malay began to claim their dominance over the Malaya territory (Gabriel, 2015;

Yilmaz, 2010). Thus, the colonial period has had many contributions in the existence of multi-ethnic and multiculturalism in Malaysia (Giacchino-Baker, 2000). In fact, the colonialism resulted in major political, economic and social transformations in Malaysia today (Kaur, 2008).

2.3 Malaysia today

Currently, Malaysia is divided into two regions, namely Peninsular Malaysia and West Malaysia. It is further split into thirteen states and three Federal Territories. The capital city is Kuala Lumpur while the Federal Territory of Putrajaya serves as a federal administrative centre for the Malaysian government. Malaysia's Population and Housing Census 2010 estimated the population of Malaysia to be 28.3 million people, of which 67.4% are Malay, 24.6% are Chinese, and 7.3% are Indian. Based on sex categories, 50.9% are male, and 49.1% are female. The combination of people aged between 10 - 14 and 15 - 19 years forms the largest group of around 26.9% of total population (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2012).

As for distribution of the Malaysian population based on religion, 61.3% of the Malaysian population are Muslim, followed by Buddhism (19.8%), Christian (9.2 %), Hinduism (6.3%) and others (2.1%) (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2012). The practice of religion is often attributed to ethnicity (Ahmad, 2007), such that, Islam is practiced by all Malay (The Commissioner of Law Revision, 2010) and even the word 'Muslim' has been used almost as synonym for 'Malay' (Wu, 2015), Buddhism combining Taoist and Confucian is practiced by a majority of whom are Chinese, Christianity is practiced by various ethnic groups, and Hinduism is practiced mainly by Indian (Yeoh, 2006). There are also a few non-Malay ethnicities who are Muslim either by conversion or by birth. People in Malaysia are guaranteed freedom of religion and the right to practice their own cultures and not be forced to follow other identities (Musa, 2002). Despite these freedoms, the Malay and Islam has become the key to the governance structure of the Malaysian population and federal administration based on the Constitution of Malaysia that provided special privilege to the Malays who were also recognised as Bumiputras (sons of the soil) (Giacchino-Baker, 2000).

In Malaysia, Islam is protected and imposed systematically through the Sharia Court to all Muslim in Malaysia (Farid, 2012). According to Article 121 (1A) of the Federal Constitution, exclusive jurisdiction has been given to the Sharia Court in the administration of Islamic Laws. Sharia Court has jurisdiction over Muslims only, and it does not hold the same authority over non-Muslims. As such, the freedom of religion is not absolute as parts of the constitution placed some

restrictions on religious freedom among Muslims. Article 11 mentions that "every person has the right to profess and practice his religion," despite that the government has the power to "control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the religion of Islam" (State, 2011, p. 2).

The governance of Malaysia is based on the principle of power sharing among all ethnic groups (Ahmad, 2007). Malay, Chinese and Indian lead the number of representative in the Malaysian parliaments when compared to the representatives from other minor ethnic groups including from West Malaysia, which includes Sabah and Sarawak. The non-Malays have been granted some opportunities to gain political power but with some limitations (Pietsch & Clark, 2014). The limitations, however, are not clearly written, but they can be traced to the practice of the government. As such, in the Malaysian Parliament, which is based on Westminster system rooted in the British colonial system, out of 222 members, 133 seats are held by the ruling coalition or Barisan Nasional and 87 seats are held by the opposition parties. The other two seats are held by independent representatives (Parliament of Malaysia, 2012). Currently, Barisan Nasional is formed through a combination of at least 13 component parties with the United Malaysian National Organisation (UMNO) recognised as the dominant partner (Barisan Nasional, 2016). UMNO is also known as the founding member of Barisan Nasional. UMNO was formed with the aims to uphold the aspirations of Malay nationalism and to protect Malay culture as well as Islam (Byrnes, 2006; Singh, 1998). Currently, UMNO has the largest number of representatives in the parliament or specifically 88 (66.2%) representatives (Parliament of Malaysia, 2012).

Furthermore, the Malaysian cabinet members who are led by the prime minister are dominated by Malay as well. Chinese, Indian, and other ethnic minorities were also in the cabinet, but the number is much smaller than the Malay. To be exact, out of 69 members of the Malaysian cabinet, 45 are filled with Malay representatives. The rest are Chinese (10), Indian (5) or non-Malay Bumiputera (9). To some extent, the different numbers reflect the proportion of the Malaysian population according to ethnic groups. Non-ethnic Malay have never contested the top two positions in the cabinet, namely Prime Minister and his deputy. Thus, since the first general election in 1957 until today, all elected Prime Ministers of Malaysia have been Malay. Despite that, it does not mean that the Malay have a legal right to these two positions. Non-Malay ethnic groups can contest the top positions, but due to the governance structure within which the king has the authority to appoint a Prime Minister is a Malay (Article 38 (181) of the Malaysian constitution), open contest for both positions is almost impossible. Politically, this governance structure portrays the dominance of

Malay since independence, and the structure somewhat explains the limitation of political power experienced by ethnic groups other than Malay.

While the Malay are well represented in government, which adheres to a political non-discriminatory agenda (for example power-sharing), there appear to be ongoing tensions for non-Malay who frequently report that they have unequal access to political power. The tensions lead to challenges to the political system that question Malays' entitlement to special treatment (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010). Given the power-sharing structure of the Malaysian government, the argument for "special treatment" is not explicit in its non-discriminatory principle, making the assumption open to challenges. This structure is important to the Malay, as it means that the Malay status as the dominant settler is potentially temporary.

2.4 Economic status

The colonisation history in Malaysia not only impacts on the movement of people but also the whole system of Malaysia. In the economic sector, during the colonisation period in Malaysia, ethnic-based economic concentration was practiced. The Colonialist agenda that brought in migrant labour along racial groups and effectively segregated each ethnic group has had an ongoing impact on the economic structure of each group, particularly the Malay (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups were separated and encouraged to work in different fields. The Chinese were mostly placed in urban areas, while Malay worked in rural areas in agricultural industries. Indians, on the other hand were placed in estates by the British colonials to work in the rubber production sector and the relatively unskilled labour section (Gudeman, 2002; Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010). This unfair racially based treatment has resulted in Malay and Indian to be left behind as agriculture did not lead to a significant impact on the economic development of its people when compared to business and trade sectors, resulting in the Chinese continuing to dominate the economic sectors. Thus, the colonial legacy in the Malaysian governance system has left the Malay behind non-ethnic Malay, especially Chinese, in terms of economic status.

2.4.1 New Economic Policy (NEP)

Following the decline of participation in economic sectors among the Malays, in 1971, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced (Aziz, 2012). One of the objectives of the NEP policy was to bridge the gap of economic disparities between ethnic groups (Aziz, 2012). Malays were

named as the principal beneficiaries of the NEP (Koon, 1997). With the introduction of the NEP, Malay economic status was hoped to be improved. The NEP was described as a pro-business, free-market policy prioritising the Malay by increasing the level of Malay corporate ownership to 30%, reducing corporate ownership by non-ethnic Malays to 40% and restricting foreign ownership to no more than 30% by 1990 (Webster, 2014). As an impact of the National Economic Policy (NEP), the processes of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation took place, which has significantly transformed Malaysia's socioeconomic structure, particularly the Malay economy (Aziz, 2012). Malay were no longer focusing on agricultural sectors, but started to become involved in business and industrial sectors. They have been prioritised by the government in receiving financial and other forms of support. The transformation also resulted in the growth of a middle class society, particularly among the Malay (Aziz, 2012). Moreover, the change has transformed the country from low income to a middle income, industrially diversified and export-led market economy (Webster, 2014).

Note that, while the NEP had been implemented as a means to secure the economic status of the Malay, capitalist ideologies were also actively harnessed to promote a competitive environment in economic development among all Malaysians (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). This ideology allows other ethnicities to compete and venture into economic activities freely (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). Thus, despite the gains of NEP for Malay, the capitalist ideologies have put the Malay economic status at risk as other ethnics were also allowed to compete for economic resources.

2.4.2 Look East Policy

In the meantime, during the 1980s, the Malaysian government launched a policy known as 'Look East Policy'. The policy is proposed mainly to know how the effective management strategy works in Japan and South Korea, so that Malaysia could learn something from them and gear towards the more Asian style of doing things. For some, this policy was also an indication that the Malaysian government, led by the former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamed, was anti-Western in nature (Furuoka, 2007). Tun Mahathir believed that Japan and South Korea, two East Asian countries that had achieved impressive economic success, could provide a good alternative development strategy and become role models to Malaysia (Furuoka, 2007). It also meant that the government wanted to remove as much as possible the western influences on the administration of the Malaysian government and instil Asian values instead.

2.4.3 Vision 2020

In the post-1990 period, the Malaysian government led by the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir Mohammad, intensified the Malaysian economic development plan aiming at becoming a developed nation by the year 2020. The vision aims for the country to become a developed nation by the year 2020. The vision was announced by Tun Mahathir Mohamad (1991) the former Prime Minister of Malaysia. He then proposed nine Malaysian central strategic challenges that Malaysia must be overcome in order to become a developed nation. They are: 1) to establish a united Malaysian nation with a sense of a common and shared destiny, 2) to create a psychologically liberated, secure, and developed Malaysian society, 3) to foster and develop a mature demographic society, 4) to establish a fully moral and ethical society, 5) to establish a mature, liberal and tolerant society, 6) to establish a scientific and progressive society, 7) to maintain a fully caring society and a caring culture, 8) to ensure an economically just society and, 9) to establish a prosperous society (Tun Mahathir Mohamad, 1991). In addition, the use of science and technology became a key development indicator (Samsudin, 2001).

It seems to me that in response to an economically just society that the government has maintained or established government linked companies (GLC) to meet particular goals, of which one was to protect and strengthen Malay economic privileges. GLCs are companies in which the Malaysian Government has a direct controlling stake (Irene & Lean, 2015) through Khazanah, Ministry of Finance (MOF), Kumpulan Wang Amanah Pencen (KWAP), and Bank Negara Malaysia (BNM). The GLCs are also controlled by other federal government linked agencies such as Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB), Employees Provident Fund (EPF) and Tabung Haji. Moreover, the government has the authority to appoint board members, senior management and make major decisions (e.g. contract awards, strategy, restructuring and financing, acquisitions and investments) such that, it provides a big opportunity for Malay to shine in business as the government is led by Malays.

While the effect of establishing opportunities through the establishment of GLCs are anticipated, the Chinese have continued to demonstrate their dominance in non-governmental businesses and trades. Almost all big business entities other than GLCs are owned by the Chinese. Yet, as NEP is no longer in favour of the present government as it ended in 1990 (Aziz, 2012), Malay not only lost ground in their economic competition to the Chinese, they represent the highest number of the poor population in Malaysia (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2012). Therefore, it is

my position that, if there were no GLCs, it is unlikely for Malay to be in the top rank of big companies. The issue is, how many GLCs are there in Malaysia and how big can the job market (at top ranking positions) be offered to the Malay? Indeed, the number of GLCs are less than private companies. There are thousands of large private companies throughout Malaysia and mostly they are owned by Chinese, and Khazanah (the government fund holder) listed only seven GLCs in Malaysia i.e. EPF, Khazanah, KWAP, LTAT, LTH, MKD and PNB (Irene & Lean, 2015). So, it is a big challenge for the Malays to securely locate themselves in highly competitive economic sector.

2.5 Education system

Generally, the long history of colonialism has also influenced Malaysia's formal educational system. During the British colonial period, different types of schools for Malays, Chinese and Indians were established (Rozita, 2007), which constitute another instance of segregation of the ethnic groups in Malaysia. The different types of schools were established by the colonial government based on certain objectives. For Malay and Indian ethnic groups it was primarily to attain literacy by teaching the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic and for the Chinese, apart from those basic skills, the objectives were to maintain ties to China (Chiu, 2000; Rozita, 2007). In fact, the colonial government felt least responsibility for the education of Chinese. Therefore, in most cases Chinese have established their own schools to provide educational opportunities for their children. Teachers and textbooks for the schools were often brought in directly from China (Chiu, 2000). The education system at that time also did not provide opportunities for ethnic integration (Chiu, 2000). As a result, different cultures and values were instilled in pupils based on their origins. It was somehow strengthening the sense of belonging to their original country and not to Malaysia as their new home.

As a multi-ethnic country, education is viewed as the main tool to build an integrated generation (Ahmad Ali, Abdul Razaq, Zahara, & Ahmad Razaai, 2011). When the education system failed to duly address the integration agenda, Malaysia was exposed to interethnic conflicts that risked the peacefulness of the country. Therefore, after independence, the idea of nationalising the Malaysian educational system was proposed through the Razak Report 1956 and Education Ordinance 1957 that were aimed at building a national identity and promoting integration among Malaysian society (Rozita, 2007). Among the measures taken in order to nationalise the education system were through regulating the curricula and teacher training, fostering the Malay language as

the national language and indigenising the colonial knowledge (Rozita, 2007). However, the Chinese believed that they were discriminated against in the new education system because the Malays were given all educational privileges such as the 'quota' policy that helped Malays to become an advanced group in education through free primary and secondary education for Malays (Chiu, 2000). In responding to the weaknesses of the previous education system, especially in promoting unified culture, new educational policies were introduced in 1961 (Chiu, 2000). The important agendas in this newly revised education policy were the establishment of the National Schools for Malay with Malay language as the medium of instruction while National-Type Schools or vernacular schools for Chinese and Indian with either Malay or English as the medium of instruction. Mandarin and Tamil languages on the other hand became one of the subjects taught at vernacular schools (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010).

2.5.1 The democratisation of the Malaysian education system

The Malaysian government had tried to come out with an education system that could account for students with different attributes and abilities so that they had the opportunities to progress to higher education. Thus, in 1962, the Malaysian government implemented the democratisation of the education system (Sua, 2012). It was begun with primary education, and then was expanded to secondary education. The democratisation at secondary education focused on two important dimensions that are known as the horizontal dimension and vertical dimension. The horizontal dimension emphasises physical aspects of education, such as educational infrastructural expansion while vertical dimension deals with quality aspects of the education, such as the operation of educational institutions (Sua, 2012). Consistent with the concern for achievement in higher education, the Malaysian education system is organised through three educational stages: 1) primary education, 2) secondary education, and 3) tertiary education. Primary education is for pupils between the ages of 7 to 12, secondary education is for pupil aged between 13 to 19 and tertiary education is for students aged 20 onwards (Rozita, 2007). This system is applied to all national and vernacular schools.

Open certificate examination at secondary education is another instance of the significant features of the democratisation of the Malaysian education system that was applied in order to meet the diverse needs and capabilities of the students (Sua, 2012). This open certificate examination assures that students are allowed to choose their elective subjects of interest apart from several core subjects. Several different types of schools were established such as special classes or school for

students with learning disabilities, sport schools for those who excel in sports, art schools for students who are inclined towards performing arts, National Religious Secondary Schools for Muslim students, science and technical school, and vocational schools for academically weak students (Sua, 2012).

2.5.2 Total usage of Malay language

Another important turning point in the Malaysian education system was in 1970 when the government called for a total usage of the Malay language in all national schools (Rozita, 2007). However, this change was not welcomed by other ethnic groups especially the Chinese. The Chinese worried that they might lose touch with their mother tongue (Rozita, 2007) and the new policy was seen as a form of discrimination to all ethnicities other than Malay (Chiu, 2000). Nevertheless, this policy was seen by the Malay rulers as a way to strengthen the Malay dominance and to promote nationalism through education system (Haa, Kho, & Chng, 2013).

2.5.3 Moral education

In line with the objectives of the present study, it is also essential to see how the values are inculcated in young people through the Malaysian education system. In 1977 for example, there was an effort to instil moral values in pupils through formal education by introducing moral education in the formal school curriculum, which covered spiritual, humanitarian and social aspects of human life (Balakrishnan, 2010). The subject was taught to first year pupils commencing in 1983. The subject was taught only to non-Muslims as Muslims would follow their Islamic teaching which also covers moral agenda (Asmah, Siatan, Solehan, & Abu Bakar, 1982; Balakrishnan, 2010). Thus, this values inculcation has shown that the government did realise the broader functions of education, especially in building a well-rounded nation. In the Ninth Malaysian Plan, the Malaysian education system has been reviewed. One focus in the new education strategies was on flourishing human capital development. So, moral education was one of the essential mechanisms to fulfil the human capital development agenda (Balakrishnan, 2010). Through moral education, it was hoped that students would acquire noble values and positive attitudes (Balakrishnan, 2010). Up until today, moral and religious education at school has become an important mechanism in building the Malaysian society with high moral values that “encourage students within their sociocultural domains to discover the needs of the state, their culture and their religion, as well as the changes within a global community” (Balakrishnan, 2010, p. 100).

2.5.4 Bridging the educational gap between ethnic groups

The effort to narrow the educational gap and opportunity between different ethnic groups in the Malaysian education system has continued and been reviewed several times (Chiu, 2000; Rozita, 2007). The changes include: 1) national school (*Sekolah Kebangsaan*) as a main primary school and this school uses the Malay language as the medium of instruction 2) vernacular schools, also known as the national-type schools (*Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan*), which can use their mother tongue as the language of instruction such as Mandarin in Chinese schools and Tamil in Indian schools but the pupils at these schools still have to become proficient in Malay in order to further their study at higher levels (Chiu, 2000). In terms of financial support, all the national schools are fully sponsored by the government while vernacular schools are either fully or partially funded by private organizations (Rozita, 2007). The success of the implementation of the policy is arguable, in that the preferential policies currently used in Malaysian Education make the majority population the beneficiaries instead of aiding the other minority population of the country (Chui, 2000) and, it has somewhat contributed to the complexities in the development of just society.

2.5.5 Politics and educational policy

From a political point of view, the Malaysian education system was also formulated based on the aspirations of the leader of the country. Since independence until the present day, six people filled the position of Malaysia's Prime Minister and each of them have been keen to develop the country based on their own unique visions and aspirations. Owing to that, Malaysia has gone through different administrative systems and changes in policy development, including education policy throughout the fifty-five years after independence. For example, when Tun Mahathir Mohamad (The fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, between 1981 and 2003) was leading the country, he aimed to developing Malaysia towards an industrialised country in the near future and a developed nation by the year 2020 (Tun Mahathir Mohamad, 1991). Therefore, during that time he emphasised the importance of producing as many local scientists and technical-based experts as possible to meet the urgent needs of the country. His agenda can be seen through the implementation of educational policy such as the 60:40 streaming policy whereby, 60 percent is streamed for science and technical education while 40 percent takes up art education (Sua, 2012). However, the emphasis on technical and managerial skills at the expense of the traditional academic subjects as a response to market demands indicates that the educational system in Malaysia is nothing more than acquiring specific skills and techniques with less emphasis on moral education (Kamal, 2005).

Things changed immediately after Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi became the Prime Minister in April 2009. The focus of Malaysian education has shifted from producing more scientist and technical-based experts to building human capital. Accordingly, while moral related subjects have been emphasised and maintained from the previous policy to both Muslim and non-Muslim students, more moral and spiritual-related subjects such as j-Qaf were introduced at primary school to serve the purpose, particularly to Muslim students. Md.Sawari and Mat (2014) stated that:

The name of j-Qaf program represents a symbolic definition. The first small letter 'j' stands for the Malay language written in the *Jawi* script or alphabets. The second capital letter 'Q' stands for the Quran, the divine and holy scripture, the third capital letter 'A' stands for Arabic language. Lastly the fourth capital letter 'F' stands for the Arabic terms Fard 'Ayn which means the religious obligations or duties imposed or prescribed upon each Muslim individually such as the religious obligation to perform the five obligatory prayers during the day and night, and to fast during the month of Ramadan. (p. 154)

These two examples to some extent provide a brief explanation of the rationale behind the policy development of the Malaysian education system.

In sum, the role of education in Malaysia, is seen as comprehensive as it is not only to teach people to attain literacy, but it is also important as a socialisation agent and disseminator of universal values in building a well-rounded nation (Ahmad Ali et al., 2011). Nonetheless, despite the fact that the government have tried to balance the physical and moral education in the national education policy, the latest research has found that civics and moral education subjects were among the subjects that were negatively appreciated by students in Malaysia (Ting, Liu, Tee, & Hoon, 2010). The questions that need to be raised here are how do the students view the Malaysian education system from their own perspectives and do they understand the government's aspirations through the education system? These questions are essential because understanding the true purpose of education may keep students on the right pathway in moving towards a progressive nation as intended by the Malaysian government. Otherwise, students will not benefit from the education system. This may lead to other problems in students such as high rates of school dropouts and conduct problems (Sua, 2012).

2.6 The challenges in identifying shared national cultural identity

Rooted in the racial segregation in all segments of life is the issue of cultural disintegration. The differences between one ethnic group and others in Malaysia that are centred on their respective cultural and religious understanding has become the critical element in a Malaysian group identity (Giacchino-Baker, 2000). Those differences contribute to cultural diversity which potentially hinder the progress of Malaysia becoming a well integrated and united community with a unitary culture (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010). Thus, maintaining plurality has impacted on issues of identifying one national cultural identity in Malaysia that could be used to define one Malaysia. Also, it leads to complexity in formulating one single rule that can be applied to everyone regardless of their ethnicity.

This conflict is more apparent between Malay and Chinese when compared to other ethnic groups (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). While Malays believe that they must keep the country a Muslim one in line with their faith, culture and values (Giacchino-Baker, 2000), Chinese argue that their cultural values which have a lineage of 5000 years are superior and should be given appropriate attention (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). Despite the claims of the Chinese, the Malay has continued to be prioritised due to the fact that the Malay representatives (through UMNO) who aim to uphold the aspirations of Malay nationalism and to protect Malay culture as well as Islam (Mohd Ridhuan Tee, 2010) dominates the political power. As a result, tensions emerge between ethnic groups when promulgating their voices in formulating and defining the national cultural identity. Non-Malay continue to have their voices heard by the government, placing the government in a challenging situation.

In the 1970s, the Malaysian government introduced the Malaysia National Cultural Policy to combat the issue of cultural conflict and to sought to ensure the unitary Malaysian culture was well defined. However, again the policy was seen favouring Malay cultures as Islam, and the Malay language was adopted as a major elements in the policy. Chinese were unhappy with the introduction of the policy as they claimed that the policy might erode their cultural values which centred on the practice of their language and their unique educational system (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). Alternatively, the Chinese advocated the concept of multiculturalism and inter-culturalism so that they could retain their traditional cultures and values (Wan Norhasniah, 2012). Despite the objections and avocations, Malay language and Islam remains as a major element in the policy with Islam recognised as the official state religion and Malay language as the national language.

2.7 Understanding the Malay ethnic group

Article 160 of the Malaysia Constitution defines a Malay as someone who habitually speaks Malay language, practices Malay culture and embraces Islam (The Commissioner of Law Revision, 2010). In this definition, the Malay is understood within the traditional cultures and values framework, which are regarded as essential in understanding Malay identity. For the purpose of this research, culture is referred to as a framework of behavioural patterns, values, assumptions and experiences shared by a social group (Mohamed Aslam, Selamah, Ruzita, & Hazizan, 2001). Values are defined as a multifaceted set of principles of any particular society that guide one's conduct, presentation of self to others, judgement, evaluation and rationalisation (Mohamed Aslam et al., 2001; Selamah & Ruzita, 1999). Consistent with these standards, Malays are believed to uphold diverse cultural and values, that guide all areas of life, including family laws that comprise marriage, family structure and functions, roles of family members and the relationships within the family unit (Yaacob, 2009). Research suggests that this diversity is influenced by many factors, and particularly through the teaching of Islam and the diverse cultural influences encompassing Siamese, Javanese, Sumatran, and Indian (Krisnan, 2004 ; Yaacob, 2009) .

According to Andaya (2001), Malays have a cultural origin where “proper behaviour, customary laws and standards of government, language and literature derived from the oral and written traditions of Melaka became ‘primordial’ values associated with being Malay” (p. 316). Also, the manifestations of Malay cultural values are typically expressed through traditional Malay sayings, poems, proverbs and verses (Hashim, Normahdiah, Rozita, & Siti Sarah, 2012). For example, in the socialisation process of their children, Malays always use proverbs and maxims as a guide, such as “*melentur buluh biarlah semasa masih rebung*” (to bend a bamboo, while it is still a shoot), which means if you want to teach your child, it is better to do so when he is still young. Furthermore, extracted from those different forms of expression, Hashim Hj. Musa (as cited in Hashim et al., 2012) found 26 core Malay psyches or Malay social character traits to categorise what constitutes a good Malay. The traits include abiding by Islamic teaching, cooperation, respect, moderation, and caring. According to Hashim et al. (2012), those Malays who possess these traits were considered to have high moral and ethical values and were highly respected by Malay society. They were regarded as have acquired three noble traits, namely: good-natured, well-mannered and urbane, polite, sensible and insightful in speech and wise and knowledgeable. However, in a study conducted by Hashim et al. (2012) to discover the degree of conformity or divergence from the core social character of Malays today, it was found that while the Malay still retain their religious, ethical

and moral values, and basic knowledge, they have deficits in upbringing, nurturing and putting the values into practice in their daily lives. Consequently, the absence of the core Malay values has often been linked to the rise of social ills and decadence in the Malay society of the past and present .

As for Malay family structure, consistent with the Islamic principles, the dynamic of the relationship within Malay family is centred on the roles and the responsibilities of each family member. The Malay emphasised the cooperation among family members, which has become one of the most cherished values in Malay society (Yaacob, 2009). The Malay family has always been patriarchal in which primary power lies in the hands of the father (Juhari, Yaacob, & Talib, 2013). Younger members in the family are always expected to pay full respect to their parents and older family members and as a reciprocal relationship, elder family members, especially the parents are expected to place a high value on the proper upbringing of children (Yaacob, 2009). This task is a shared responsibility between other immediate family and kin members. In such a manner, parents are expected to play significant roles in the socialisation process of their offspring. Given that Malay parents are expected to equip their children with not only worldly knowledge but also religious knowledge, leading to a balanced life for the present and the future of their children (Juhari et al., 2013).

It is important to note here that, the above definition, and understanding of Malay is extracted from a traditional framework, and it is arguable when referring to modern Malay who has been exposed to and is practising new emergent values that may render a new definition of Malay. There are Malay who do not habitually speak Malay, even some Malay who are unable to speak the Malay language at all because they were born and raised abroad. While it is clearly defined in the Malaysian constitution that the Malay must be Muslims, questions are raised about the difference between identifying as Muslim and practising as Muslim. Being a Muslim itself is not a mandatory for the Malay as article 11(1) of the the Malaysian Constitution guarantee the freedom of religion (Ahmad, Masum, & Ayus, 2016). So, conversion out of Islam is implicitly 'allowed'. It was evident through a controversial case in 1998 in which a Malay woman was allowed to convert to Christianity (Kirby, 2008). It is an indication that the Malaysian Constitution is not always fixed (Ahmad et al., 2016). From this example, we might need to reconsider the issue of what an ethnic identity is. As Malay encounter the effects of globalisation, what has traditionally been understood as Malay culture has seen some shifts which have challenged any fixed meaning of Malay culture within the complexities of ongoing change. Amid the challenges and complexities in defining the Malay, the idea that

religion is an important factor in determining Malays' values has always been maintained in the Malay family functioning and socialisation process (Mohamed Aslam et al., 2001).

2.8 Summary

The history of colonisation that led to the emergence of a plural society in Malaysia and the complexities that have emerged as a result of the colonisation process in addressing the Malaysian social, economic, political and education systems are always linked closely to the processes of globalisation. Furthermore, globalisation processes have contributed to new ways of understanding ethnic identity, particularly among the Malay. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will discuss the globalisation processes and how the processes change the system of various segments in Malaysia that eventually impact the well being of the Malay population, particularly Malay adolescents.

3 Globalisation in the Malaysian context

The movement of foreign workers into Malaysia as entrenched in the modern history of Malaysia as discussed in the earlier chapter marks the progress of the globalisation processes in the Malaysian context. However, it is important to note here that globalisation is not a new phenomenon in Malaysia; rather it is embedded in a history that began in the 15th century with the evolution of capitalism, and later spread itself all over the world (Rondinelli & Heffron, 2007). Globalisation as a process (Harvey, 2000) is understood as “the movement towards greater interaction, integration, and interdependence among people and organisations across national borders” (Rondinelli & Heffron, 2007, p. 1), such that, through interaction, globalisation processes promote greater interaction between people in and across nations. Through interaction, the process constitutes a borderless integration of all aspects of life, which includes economic systems (Krieger-Boden & Soltwedel, 2013), cultures and values (Mohd Abbas, 2011), and individual and social lifestyles (Kamal, 2005). These integration processes are driven by forces that encompass technological progress that emphasise growth in computational, communication and transportation technologies that have made information transfer more efficient (Rondinelli & Heffron, 2007). In addition, the integration processes are driven by industrial organisations’ innovations that allow for the emergence of multinational enterprises (MNEs) as well as outsourcing and offshoring activities that increase interdependency between entities across national borders. At the same time, financial market innovations are also considered an essential driving force towards economic integration (Krieger-Boden & Soltwedel, 2013). As an effect, the consistent process of borderless interaction and integration through its driving forces has contributed to the interdependency between people and organisations across national borders. Thus, based on these three key structures of the globalisation processes, I underscore how globalisation is perceived as a big ‘industry’ in producing, promoting and shaping the life of the people of the world; in particular through the opportunities that globalisation has to offer.

When discussing the modern history of globalisation in the Malaysian context, it is often attributed to the efforts made by the West i.e. the history of colonisation, which is directed toward developing countries (Mohd Abbas, 2011). Mohd Abbas (2011) in his paper concerning the impact of the globalisation process on education and culture contextualises Western subjugation of Muslim countries (including Malaysia) and that through this history, he argues that the impoverished are left behind in the process of nation building. Thus, the gaps created by colonisation when compared to the affluence of the West do matter to the progress of Malaysia. Modernisation which was promoted

through the globalisation process replace the local host culture by Western culture and that has led to deterioration or the loss of what is unique to the Eastern culture (Mohd Abbas, 2011). Drawing from the processes of interaction, integration and interdependency of the globalisation process, in this chapter, I discuss how these three globalisation structures play roles in the economic, technological and cultural as well as educational globalisation in the Malaysian context. This discussion further unpacks the issue of deterioration of local Malay values, which is reflected in the criminal engagement of Malay adolescents.

3.1 Globalisation and its relation to behavioural and psychological issues among Malay adolescents in Malaysia

The consistent and rapid changes that happen due to economic globalisation, technological globalisation and educational globalisation have been accelerated with an insatiable drive for growth, innovation and new market system (Diaz & Zirkel, 2012). But I would contend that although globalisation processes are an inevitable and fast moving phenomenon, people should have the freedom to accept and alter the dimensions of globalisation. Having said that, it means that globalisation is not necessarily a fruitful process nor a bad process as it brings both negative and positive effects to the participating nation (Marsella, 2012).

Table 1 shows the positive and the negative societal outcomes of the globalisation processes. The effects stem from the economic, political, cultural, geographic and technological changes. Based on this table, it can be pointed out that, while globalisation offers various opportunities and positive changes to the nations, it also brings about difficulties to the participating countries like Malaysia. The table suggests that globalisation processes affect all segments of human experiences which include economic, culture and values and social experiences. Thus, extracted from the effects of globalisation as presented in Table 1 and considering the massive effects of globalisation in the education system, in the following section, I highlight economic globalisation, technological and cultural globalisation as well as educational globalisation, and associate them with the deterioration of Malay life within the global domain.

Table 1. Potential positive and negative societal outcomes of globalization

Positive	Negative
Alternative beliefs, values, lifestyles	Cultural disintegration, abuse, dislocation, collapse
Increased quality-of-life	Future shock, culture shock, identity shock
Increased level-of-living	Decreased predictability and control
Increased GNP and national wealth	Greater divisions between rich and poor.
Social mobility	Income equality.
New life meanings, purposes, opportunities	Exploitation of labor forces, land, environment, culture
International integration and networking	New social dysfunctions, disorders and deviancies (e.g., substance abuse, youth alienation, family disintegration, divorce, suicide, generational conflicts, prostitution, mental health)
Exposure to new ideas and customs	Breakdown in traditional values and customs
Increased population diversity	Loss of national sovereignty to foreign powers and multinational corporations
In-Migration	Cultural homogenization
New technologies (e.g., Internet)	Out-migration
Changes in gender status and opportunities	Commodification
Opportunities for economic growth via foreign companies	Increased dependence on foreign sources
Sense of global solidarity with humanity	English language penetration
	Distrust of authorities, foreign governments, businesses
	Unemployment (switch from agricultural to manufacturing economy)

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3.1.1 Economic Globalisation

Economic achievement has always been part of the indicators for the success of the state (Mucciarone & Neilson, 2011). Through globalisation processes, the emergence of neo-liberalisation as an essential economic model in the modern era exerts significant effects on the countries participating in the globalisation processes. Neoliberalism promotes the economic model centred on the openness and competitiveness of economic activities (Rowlands, 2013), which is described as ‘a market-oriented economic model’ (Ongley & Crothers, 2013, p. 136). Specifically, neoliberalism is a product of the re-conceptualisation of classical liberal theories which are always employed in political consideration about government and individuals (Rowlands, 2013). Its coverage ranges from the “importance and security of private property, the rule of law, the importance of economic ‘maximisation’ models to policy, the role of the state, the nature of obligations individuals hold to one another, the state (social and private contacts) and the markets, and choice and public decision making ” (Rowlands, 2013, p. 262). The market-oriented economic model favours the relatively free movement of goods and capital across national boundaries (Ongley & Crothers, 2013). In this model, privatisation of public enterprises, reduction of control in capital movement and free trade movement dominate the process of economic transformation. While this new economic policy was oriented towards the efficient functioning of markets, adapting to the new policy making the economic circle has become more competitive. Thus, the state is expected to provide the conditions for market

competition rather than intervening or participating in the market (Ongley & Crothers, 2013) or, in other words, the state is powerless in regulating the economy. It leaves the economic players to compete in maximising their profits. As a consequence, it builds greater gaps between the rich and the poor (Marsella, 2012).

Responding to these implications of economic integration, the Malaysian economic system has engaged in a free trade system and open market policy, which has led to privatisation policies, deregulation of the market system, as well as control of the market by free-trade regulation (Harun & Hasan, 2008). These engagements and changes, however, have not benefited all groups of people, instead, they have become a risk to those who have been excluded from its benefits (Peow, 2011). For instance, the shift in the focus from agricultural to an industrial-based economy (Peow, 2011) has affected people who are dependent on agricultural revenues, especially the Malay, to pay for their cost of living. This situation has caused an increasing risk of economic insecurity among them (Rondinelli & Heffron, 2007). The changes have led most of the affected groups to migrate to the urban areas where the job opportunities have been perceived to be better (Mohd Fadzil & Ishak, 2009). However, in reality, the process of getting a new job is hard especially for local unskilled labours with the increased number of legal and illegal foreign workers in Malaysia (Ramesh Kumar Moona, Charles Ramendran, & Yacob, 2012). As an implication, the new economic model introduced through the globalisation processes offer a challenging environment for those who have fewer resources (i.e. Malay) to participate in the economic sector.

As an effect of neoliberalism, earning money can be a daunting experience for the Malay, who have limited economic opportunities and resources. It is argued that people who live and work in countries with “an advanced state of capitalism are more possessed by a sentiment of insecurity in relation to the prospects of keeping their job, while the intensification of manual, and intellectual work, constitutes a fertile ground for the creation of” psychological issues (Antonopoulou & Dervisi, 2009, p. 1048). Such insecurity is linked to the fact that every industrial company inclined to engage in transformative solutions including downsizing the labour force in order to minimise cost and maximise profits. Thus, with limited and competitive job opportunities, people have also have to fulfil essential criteria that are anticipated to boost company’s profits in order to secure jobs, namely “creativity, imagination, and availability” (Antonopoulou & Dervisi, 2009, p. 1048). While the affected people are experiencing the job market difficulties because of new labour force structure, and are lacking the new skills required, help from the government is not always available. The unavailability is due to the limitation of state power in an economy that is regulated by the market,

not by the people or the state (Ongley & Crothers, 2013). As a result, it is likely to leave the affected people unemployed.

The problem does not stop there. Being unemployed can be disastrous for individuals, families and society. At the individual level, the affected individual has to live with uncertainty as they may experience difficulties in deciding what to do to ensure their survival financially and the implications for their family. Sometimes, the affected individuals have to engage in temporary or casual work that offers minimal wages and the availability of such works is often inconsistent. Subsequently, the affected person may suffer from social isolation, stigmatization and the lack of time causing an increase in stress, depression, anxiety (Bordea & Pellegrini, 2014; Riumallo-Herl, Basu, Stuckler, Courtin, & Avendano, 2014), and suicide (Coope et al., 2014; Pompili et al., 2014). This, at least in part, has been linked to an increase in crime and it is the Malays who are the highest population living in poverty in Malaysia (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2012; Hamzar & Lau, 2013). The Malay have become vulnerable to the effects of globalisation as the urge for money and the failure to secure good jobs in the labour market have encouraged the affected Malay to do all that it takes in order to ensure their survival (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013). This argument is further compounded by statistics that show Malay adolescents are the highest population group of offenders that are placed in institutions for juvenile delinquents (Maznah, Sa'odah, & Juliana Rosmidar, 2008). Moreover, unemployment is not a single course that potentially leads to criminal offending, but other indicators for economic adversity which include fluctuations in low-skill wages and household income are also prevalent for the Malay (Weatherburn & Schnepel, 2015). In a study on the prevalence of truancy, Shamsul Azhar et al. (2012) found that household incomes of Malay students with truancy problems, which have become one of the significant risks for conduct problems engaged by adolescents in Malaysia are lower when compared to non-truant students. Therefore, it can be argued that economic insecurity which includes unemployment, low wages and household income has impacted on the involvement of adolescents at risk of developing conduct problems.

At the family level, parental unemployment or receiving low wages potentially exerts damage to family institutions by paving the way to financial problems and poverty (Mustaeva, 2010). Specifically in the Malaysian context, economic factors have become a dominant factor contributing to family issues (Dora & Halim, 2011). Parental unemployment, for instance, decreases life satisfaction for both partners (Luhmann, Weiss, Hosoya, & Eid, 2014). In most cases, divorce has become the final solution after the affected individual is unable to cope with the challenging situation as they face difficulties to perform their basic functions as parents (Kawata, 2008; Mustaeva, 2010). As an effect, they fail to create the normal conditions necessary for the socialisation of children

(Mustaeva, 2010). This scenario may affect the children's happiness (Powdthavee & Vernoit, 2013) and later, increases the dissociation between parents and children (Mustaeva, 2010). This dissociation does matter to the children as there are tendencies for the affected children to move out of the home and find an alternative family that can react to their needs and desires accordingly (McAdams Iii, Foster, Dotson-Blake, & Brendel, 2009). Consequently, their reference points have been shifted to their new "family", which often described as a problematic solution as it may lead to a detrimental end i.e. criminal engagement. Moreover, children who are affected by the problem may potentially commit crimes in order to earn money to support themselves as a response to the failure of their primary caregiver to provide their basic needs. Thus, the crimes they commit are not necessarily due to some spoilt dispositions, but may be regarded as a matter of survival (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013).

At the societal level, the failure of the family institution as an essential unit in the social system would contribute to societal instability and dysfunctions (Astoyants, Kovalev, Davljatova, & N. Shevchenko, 2016). While those who face financial issues are forced to concentrate more on earning enough money for their livelihood (Burgoon, 2013; Mohd Najmi et al., 2013), other social members are also unable to assume social responsibility as they themselves may struggle to live their life too. Thus, with the breakdown in the social connection, collective efficacy and social cohesion (Uchida, Swatt, Solomon, & Varano, 2014) have not taken place. As a result, it lessens the establishment of social capital that emphasises social network and collective action to regulate social control (Haines, Beggs, & Hurlbert, 2011 2011; Moore & Recker, 2016). In this sense, the individual need is prioritised at the expense of the wider social responsibilities. Thus, this situation decreases the likelihood of social control to be executed. Instead, it may contribute to high-risk behaviours or crime (Haines et al., 2011; Magson, Craven, Munns, & Yeung, 2016 & Yeung, 2016).

Although the Malays are privileged in term of the distribution of economic resources in Malaysia, the shift of concentration from agricultural to industrial based economy and the movement of people from rural to urban areas indicate that the privileges that the Malay have received have not guaranteed their economic security. Given that the Malays are much affected by the rapid economic changes that stem from the new economic policies, which are deregulated by the free market system (Thomas, 2007) have limited the government's role to sustain the welfare of the Malay. In other words, the Malay has limited access to the economic resources due to the limited help from the government. Even with the introduction of the New Economic Policy, which name the Malays as principal beneficiaries (Koon, 1997), it does not materialise as the Malay continues to record the highest number of people living in poverty (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2012). Therefore, it is

my position to say that; the neoliberal environment does not benefit the Malay but rather it worsens the Malay economic status through the capitalist economic structure.

Indeed, the integration of economic processes is bound by international laws to create international economic cooperation (Zitkiene & Zitkus, 2012). But, due to some negative implications brought by international laws, the Malaysian local government need to consider the effects and adjust the laws to decrease the negative impacts on social, cultural and demographic outcomes for the Malay (Zitkiene & Zitkus, 2012). Hence, it is suggested that in implementing 'welfare capitalism' through which market regulation is executed, social priorities via state action such as through subsidy support to ensure the economic welfare of the Malay needs to be attended to simultaneously (Thomas, 2007).

3.1.2 Technological and cultural globalisation

Scientific and technological advancements, especially in the field of communication have also become the key in the success of the globalisation process. Continuous innovation of modern technologies has been contributing to the improvement of Malaysia by reducing the cost and time entailed in the movement of goods, information and people. As for communication for example, the innovation in the postal system, the telegraph, the radio, telecommunications and the worldwide web have changed communication patterns (Rondinelli & Heffron, 2007), which allow people to communicate, to exchange ideas, services and products in more effective and faster ways when compared to the previous communication tools (Harun & Hasan, 2008).

Thus, having the borderless interactions and interdependencies via technological innovations, the spread of cultural influences and the ability of people in the world to communicate with each other across borders are enhanced. This phenomenon has encouraged Malay adolescents to be exposed to foreign knowledge, cultures and values as they are found to spend more time with social media, which has become a cultural dissemination agent rather than their family (Samsudin, 2001). As a result, the local culture becomes vulnerable to risk sustainability and may result in deterioration (Mohd Abbas, 2011), particularly in the life of the Malay. Local researchers, such as Mohd Abbas (2011) are very critical of the effects of excessive exposure to Western culture and values. For him, this process is understood as an effort to re-colonise the East by the West without the West being present. He uses the term neo-colonialism to explain his understanding of the re-colonisation attempt. He also argues that this is a new approach on how to impose Western hegemony to the people in the East. While I would contend that not all Western cultures and values are necessarily

detrimental, problems do emerge when there are inconsistencies between Western and Malay cultures, values and practices leading to unpredictable and ambivalent reactions among Malay adolescents (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013).

The dissemination of culture through technological advancement results in cultural globalisation and liberalisation issues, which potentially create a cultural mixing that aggravate the already difficult situation (Melluish, 2014). The division of global and local culture is hard to pin down as local culture also changes in response to globalisation (Melluish, 2014). Therefore, we need to understand that the complexity and effects of cultural flows are not simply one-way, but cultural flows create a cultural hybrid that lead to the creation of something new (Melluish, 2014), suggesting that resistance to the new culture is not necessarily a way to survive in the globalised environment. Therefore, the psychological consequence of globalisation is that it shifts our reference point and impacts on how we think about ourselves in relation to our social environment (Melluish, 2014). This phenomenon is also referred to globalisation-based acculturation, which depicts the process of incorporating aspects of other cultures into one's lifestyle resulting in a bi-cultural identity that combines a local identity with an identity linked to the global culture (Diaz & Zirkel, 2012; Melluish, 2014). For instance, in Malaysia now, instead of attributing certain behaviour to local culture and beliefs, most Malaysians prefer to apply human rights principles to justify their behaviours (Bernama, 2014). As an effect, issues such as LGBT rights, which are against the local Malay values are now becoming a political movement in Malaysia. This example suggests that acculturation does not necessarily create a cultural hybrid consistent with local values.

Despite human rights movements, total resistance to acculturation in the globalised environment may create an unpleasant situation for the people of Malaysia, as rigidity may reflect insensitivity towards international laws and understandings of diversity. For example, recently a Malaysian couple have been convicted in a Swedish court for beating their children with sticks and coat hangers. Based on the Swedish laws, they were convicted of gross violation of integrity involved in the systematic and repeated violence of their children with ages ranging from seven to fourteen (The Local, 2014). However, the couple insisted that they had done nothing wrong as their behaviours were permitted in their home country as a way in educating and socialising their children (Malay Mail Online, 2014). From the children's perspectives, as reported in the media, all four children have spoken of violence in the home by testifying that they had been repeatedly hit by their parents (Tariq, 2014). Thus, instead of viewing the event from the Malaysian perspective, i.e. not as violence, but a form of permitted teaching methods, the children's testimony reflects the Swedish

value system, where violence is a crime. This example is a reflection that the children have become acculturated in dominion of the foreign practices, but the parents remained immersed in their own cultural values. The parents were incarcerated for their actions and yet it is understandable that the complexities of cultural interaction and integration do not necessarily lead to cultural hybridity between generations.

3.1.3 Educational globalisation

The process of globalisation is very demanding. More expertise in all the different areas, especially in science and technology, is urgently needed by Malaysia to move along with the pace of globalisation. This issue has been well emphasised in the Malaysian plan to achieve Vision 2020 (Samsudin, 2001). For Malaysia to take up this challenge consistent with the progress of the Malaysian education as discussed in the earlier chapter, the Malaysian educational policy has been revised and formulated in such a way that provides more opportunity for students in the area of science and technology to progress. Accordingly, subjects related to science and technology have been prioritised at the expense of humanity and morality related subjects (Kamal, 2005). This prioritisation came alongside the democratisation of education in the Malaysian education system and promotes open examination certificates at primary and secondary school level that are intended to allow all students to progress to higher education even though they may have failed their national examinations (Sua, 2012).

There are, however, problems with this democratisation of education. Malay students have historically not performed well in subjects that are attributed to successful outcomes in the physical development of the country i.e. science and technical subjects (Kamal, 2005), yet the forward progression to higher education is more likely to benefit those who have academic ability, which is unlikely to benefit many Malay students. Sua (2012) has argued that the strong preference of the government for science and technical subjects goes against the policy objectives of meeting the diverse needs of students, which include morality subjects and to provide opportunities to progress to students who are not good in science and technical subjects. Thus, it may narrow the chances of other students especially for those who are inclined to the field of art to progress to the higher level. Given the fact that, Malay students have not performed well in the science and technical subjects (Kamal, 2005), affected Malay students are more likely to engage in truancy and behavioural issues in and outside the school (Sua, 2012).

3.2 Summary

Given the complexities that emerge in the globalisation process, including excessive exposure to foreign cultures and values, I understand the emergence of conduct problems among Malay adolescents through the forms of oppression that disadvantages Malay adolescents as they experience dysfunctional familial, economic, political and societal effects. The chaotic life conditions of Malay adolescents, due to globalisation processes, have forced Malay adolescents to react in specific ways in response to changes in their environment. Thus, it raises the question to what extent the adolescents' conditions are psychologically consistent to normal human life suffering within globalisation?

4 Facing the impact

There is no doubt that globalisation promotes a very challenging environment to Malay adolescents. Unable to locate themselves securely in the changing context due to globalisation processes has led to an increase in criminal engagements among Malay adolescents. Undeniably, efforts have been made by the Malaysian Government to curb the conduct problems among adolescents. For example, with the introduction of the Child Act 2001 as a means to protect the rights and the welfare of children, the establishment of various rehabilitation centres for young offenders, the development of National Youth Development Policy (NYPD), the creation of full-time counsellors in school, and the introduction of parenting courses to provide training and counselling services in dealing with the issues have been established (Maznah et al., 2008). However, it seems that none of these measures has had an effect as the number of adolescents involved in conduct problems in Malaysia remains high. Table 2 shows the number of juvenile arrests based on crimes against person and property between 2002 and 2011.

Without intending to undermine the existing efforts, there must be something lacking in the efforts to respond to criminal behaviour, especially when dealing with the current new globalisation process. As the issues related to the welfare of the children and materialities such as economic development, education, and technological development have been much addressed and discussed by the government and other relevant parties and individuals, I suggest that the focus should also be directed towards the psychological preparation of the adolescents themselves in facing today's globalised era. Individual psychology has been much discussed to address the internal factors that can potentially mediate responses towards the changing contexts in various fields due to globalisation processes (Kamal, 2005; Mohd Najmi et al., 2013). However, before discussing the psychological perspectives on the issue in depth, it is important to explore the developmental pathway of psychology in Malaysia to identify its focus, strengths, and limitations as well as to seek for possible improvement in addressing conduct problems among adolescents in the Malaysian context. Having said that globalisation process has led to significant changes not only in the all relevant segments of the Malaysian governance but also the lived experience of the Malay people in particular. Participation in globalisation has also seen a turn to understanding the increase of criminalisation through the knowledge produced through psychology, with an aim to finding ways to address the issues being faced in a locally meaningful way.

Table 2. Number of juvenile arrests according to crime against people and property (2002 – 2011)

Number of Juvenile Cases According to Crime Against People

Offences	Year									
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Murder	46	35	28	26	30	92	78	53	45	84
Rape	104	122	128	104	236	531	661	834	535	431
Armed Gang Robbery	24	11	6	5	-	10	47	15	20	3
Gang Robbery	59	25	27	31	110	191	577	577	367	134
Armed Robbery	26	40	51	40	-	9	20	5	21	-
Unarmed Robbery	75	105	86	90	208	264	119	81	85	237
Causing Hurt	190	179	150	127	189	427	540	544	354	360
Total	524	517	476	423	773	1527	2042	2109	1427	1249

Number of Juvenile Cases According to Crime Against Property

Offences	Year									
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Theft	1693	2568	2649	2710	3063	3950	4023	4308	2987	3226
Snatch Theft	116	90	60	134	90	128	87	99	77	106
House Breaking	603	469	453	669	365	1041	1015	1102	634	858
Total	2412	3127	3162	3513	4058	5119	5125	5509	3698	4190
Total (person + Property)	2936	3644	3638	3936	4831	6646	7167	7618	5125	5439

Source: Bukit Aman Police Headquarters, 2013

4.1 Counselling and adolescents' problems

In the early sixties, counselling, which is an important subdivision of psychology, was the major focus of psychological practice in Malaysia, especially when dealing with social problems. During that time, other subdivisions of psychology had not yet been recognised by the government as an important discipline in dealing with mental and behavioural issues of the Malaysian people. Counselling psychology was therefore prioritised with the acceptance of the placement of counsellors in school to provide counselling services by the Malaysian Ministry of Education in 1963 (Ching & Kok-Mun, 2010). The aims of the counselling service were to guide students and to promote the gradual development of the ability to make decisions independently among students

(Ching & Kok-Mun, 2010; Scorzelli, 1987). According to the Malaysian Educational policy, school counsellors were important for those students who failed the series of national examinations and were therefore not allowed to progress to higher education. Thus, the counselling services at school assumed the responsibilities to prepare the students for this possibility through vocational guidance programmes (Scorzelli, 1987).

In 1983, as the drug abuse cases in Malaysia were on the rise, the Malaysian Prime Minister at that time made a declaration that the country's drug problem, especially among youth, was a national emergency. Accordingly, the Government launched intensive measures to combat the problem through law enforcement, preventive education, and rehabilitation (Scorzelli, 1987). In line with the rehabilitative objectives, counselling was regarded as the most significant discipline that may contribute to the success of the efforts. Owing to that, the Malaysian Ministry of Education increased the number of counselling and guidance teachers at secondary schools (Ching & Kok-Mun, 2010) and other institutions such as drug rehabilitation agencies and universities (Scorzelli, 1987). The counsellors at schools were primarily teachers, and counselling services to students were in addition to their teaching responsibilities. Thus, no full-time counsellors were employed. Moreover, in responding to the war against drug issues, in 1985, the Malaysian Government appointed teams of consultants from the United States to conduct in-service training for personnel from the Ministry of Social Welfare (counselling services), the Ministry of Home Affairs (drug rehabilitation), and the Department of Prison (Scorzelli, 1987).

Professional training for counsellors specialising in counsellor education in the public educational institutions in the early eighties was only provided through three public universities and one teachers' training institute. The three public universities were the University of Malaya, the National University of Malaysia, and the Agriculture University of Malaysia (now known as Universiti Putra Malaysia), and the teachers training institute was the Special Education Teachers' Institute, Cheras, Kuala Lumpur. In 1980, the Department of Psychology at the National University of Malaysia started to offer a Diploma in Psychology programme with specialisation in counselling. But, the programme was offered only to personnel from the Ministry of Education, mostly teachers (Mohd Mansor, 2003; Wan Rafeai, 1996). It has been reported that the limited training institutions did not meet the demand.

As the demand for counselling services have continuously increased since counselling practice was introduced in Malaysia, experts have come to the realisation that it is essential to form a specialised body of professionals to strengthen and to regulate counselling services in Malaysia. This

is especially so in dealing with an emerging issue of fake counsellors (those who provide counselling services to people without being professionally trained in the profession), and to ensure the effectiveness of the services (Mohd Mansor, 2003). This realisation led to the establishment of PERKAMA or the Malaysia Counselling Association in 1982. The main purposes of the Association are to unite all trained counsellors throughout Malaysia and to promote the profession among the counsellors (Mohd Mansor, 2003). Since its establishment, PERKAMA has played an active role to enhance the counsellor profession in Malaysia until the Counsellor Act 1998 was enacted (Sheng, 2007). Apart from seminars and workshops organised by PERKAMA, the Counsellor Act 1998 provides a code of ethics for the counsellor to abide by so that the professionalism of counselling services in Malaysia would be strengthened and maintained (Noriah, Salleh, & Abu Yazid, 2012).

The establishment of PERKAMA has resulted in the counselling profession, as a new field, having a framework to organise itself. However, the precise definition and conceptualisation of counselling in Malaysia is still uncertain on the basis that there is no clear-cut definition of counsellor's role in Malaysia. Instead, the context of counselling in Malaysia is discussed by referring to the counsellor's code of ethics established by PERKAMA (Noriah et al., 2012). The focus of the code of ethics is on the counsellor's responsibility towards clients, peers, communities and working for organisations. The code is articulated in general terms only, and it is the counsellor's responsibility to ensure their professionalism in meeting the client's need, especially with regard to multi-cultural perspectives. This is an important juncture since the ethics are often described in reflecting to the local cultural context. In Malaysia, counsellors ethical conduct is bound by religious beliefs and moral values (Noriah et al., 2012). For almost all ethnic groups in Malaysia whether Malay, Chinese, Indian or other minor ethnic groups, ethical conducts is guided by their respective religions (Haque & Masuan, 2002; Krisnan, 2004). Thus, we should understand that what is considered as ethical practice can be perceived differently according to counsellors' cultural values (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013; Noriah et al., 2012).

There are some limitations in terms of the roles of counsellors. Principally, the role of the counsellor is mainly to provide counselling services for the healthier and less disordered populations, and the cases are usually not very serious in nature (Norcross, 2000; Rahmattullah Khan, 2008). Thus, the counsellor regards their clients with mental health issues as normal people but, for some reasons they have difficulty to function well in their daily lives. The role of counsellor is, therefore, to facilitate and to help the clients to function fully in their life. They work to “empower diverse individuals, families, and groups to accomplish mental health, wellness, education, and career goals” (Kaplan, Tarvydas, & Gladding, 2014, p. 366). With the focus on vocational counselling, those

clients who are suffering severe mental health issues are beyond the training and therefore capability of the counsellors.

4.2 The emergence of clinical psychology

The history of counselling psychology and its development has been important in the management of mental health issues in Malaysia. Due to the limitations the field of counselling has, there is a growing interest in the development of clinical psychology in Malaysia that can address other severe mental health issues in the population (Norcross, 2000; Rahmattullah Khan, 2008). The approaches of clinical psychologists, in some ways resemble the counselling services and are similar to the practice of the physician. They work on classifying psychological disorders based on prescribed symptoms. However, their approaches are broader by integrating “science, theory, and practice to understand, predict, and alleviate maladjustment, disability, and discomfort as well as to promote human adaptation, adjustment, and personal development. Clinical Psychology focuses on the intellectual, emotional, biological, psychological, social, and behavioural aspects of human functioning across the life span, in varying cultures, and at all socioeconomic levels” (APA, 2013, p. 1).

Thus, clinical psychologists are trained to apply psychological principles in a wider scope, which include in their assessment, prevention, and rehabilitation of psychological distress, disability, dysfunctional behaviour, and health risk behaviour, and to the enhancement of psychological, physical, and behavioural well-being. Clinical psychology offers more extensive skills to address the needs of clients who are commonly described as abnormal compared to a counsellor who is trained to treat healthier clients within the education system (Ching & Kok-Mun, 2010; Rahmattullah Khan, 2008; Scorzelli, 1987).

Realising the potential of clinical psychology in providing better mental health services to psychological issues in Malaysia, in 1980, the Department of Psychology at the National University of Malaysia offered a training programme for clinical psychologists for personnel from the Ministry of Health who were involved in mental health programmes (Ward, 1983). The training was aimed at improving health services that accounted for mental health issues. While the training was offered to ‘clinical psychologists’ there were no permanent clinical psychology posts at the governmental agencies until recently. Moreover, as a new psychology department, there were problems recruiting qualified Malaysian psychologists of whom there were few, and the university found it necessary to appoint qualified psychologists from foreign countries, especially from Indonesia (Ward, 1983). The

progress of clinical psychology in Malaysia is marked by the establishment of new departments of psychology in new public and private universities, colleges, and other educational institutions such as International Islamic University Malaysia and University Malaysia Sabah (Wan Rafei, 1996). In addition, psychological departments or units have also been established as a subdivision in governmental as well as in private organisations.

4.3 DSM categorisations of disorder and cultural specificity

Most of the arguments on the development of psychology in Malaysia are centred on the lack of locally trained psychologists, recognition of clinical psychologists as professionals in the Malaysian public service, and cultural appropriateness (Rahmattullah Khan, 2008; Scorzelli, 1987; Wan Rafei, 1996; Ward, 1983; Zakaria & Asyraf, 2011). As for the appropriateness of the psychological knowledge in Malaysia, with reference to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), there are tensions in the constructs of the classification system that is dependent on the Western knowledge system. The system of classification is inconsistent with the local Malay cultures, values and practices. Marsella and Yamada (2010) argued that,

it is essential we recognize that Western mental health professions and sciences are a ‘cultural construction’. As such, they must be seen as relative to the historical, linguistic, and socio-political influence of Western cultural traditions, and as such, they should not be considered ‘objective’, but rather representations of cultural knowledge and practice (e.g., ontogenies, epistemologies, praxiologies) rooted within Western cultural traditions. (p. 106)

Drawing from Marsella and Yamada’s argument the culturally specific construction of mental health knowledge, it can be understood that mental health knowledge highly depends on socially decided norms and values, which coincide with the cultural context of its emergence. Hence, evidence-based practices of mental health issues developed in Western countries may not be culturally appropriate, feasible or effective in other contexts. Consistent with this concern, philosophers and mental health professionals have echoed the need for socio-cultural consideration in dealing with psychological disorders since the early development of modern psychology. For example, in 1904, after a series of visits to non-Western groups in Southeast Asia and the Lakotah Indian tribes, Professor Emil Kraepelin, (1856-1926) also known as father of modern psychiatry, concluded that his classification and diagnostic system of mental disorder was not as universal as it

had been argued and that the knowledge generated appeared to have little applicability to non-Western groups (Marsella, 2012).

This historical evidence suggests the need for further interrogations and the formulation of new ideas so that the system of classification of mental disorders would be meaningful in cross-cultural settings. Furthermore, these new ideas will also generate knowledge that can be used not only for diagnostic purposes but to develop culturally-tailored interventions (Yamada & Brekke, 2008). Accordingly, the acceptance of the current epistemology of mental disorder in Malaysia needs to be reconsidered and re-evaluated so that the knowledge is appropriate to the local historical, political and socio-cultural traditions.

The issue here is that in Malaysia, the unique classification of mental health has not yet been established, leading to a reliance on the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), which was developed in the West. While the DSM offers no formal procedure for assessing the relative impact of specific contexts on an individual's experience of the diagnosed disorder (Bitsika, 2005), it is clear that if it is to be useful, it needs to support clinicians to review culture in a systematic way, and to pay attention to the cultural aspects of presentation and interactions in psychiatric diagnostic practice (Baarnhielm & Rosso, 2009). A cultural formulation is characterised as a, "culturally focused idiographic approach to complement the nomothetic approach of DSM-IV" (Baarnhielm & Rosso, 2009, p. 408). The emphasis is on the relationship between culture and the diagnostic system taking care to reflect the practices in cross-cultural settings.

Given the limits of the DSM categorisation with regard to cultural appropriateness, it raises the question of how it is possible to make use of the research on conduct disorders in culturally relevant ways. How might it be possible to reconceptualise the meaningfulness of diagnostic criteria for the benefit of Malay adolescents? The main limitation identified in the criteria for Conduct Disorder as presented in the DSM is that, they are nomothetic in nature, which describes the development of the criteria based on generalised norms from series of cases, supposedly governed by universal law (Baarnhielm & Rosso, 2009). These norms are culturally embedded and reflect the context of their origin (Marsella, 2012). Therefore, this approach is unlikely to account for individual's experience of the allocated diagnosis and does not account for the cultural specificity of the ability to function in day-to-day life (Bitsika, 2005). Because this approach focuses on identifying specific symptoms in isolation from the context in which they occur, it does not quantify or describe the environmental factors that impact on the expression of these symptoms. It denies the fact that mental disorders are a result of complex interactions between an individual and their

environment. Furthermore, the trend of the interaction is unique between one and another. Hence, if the normative data are the main substance in the classification system of mental disorders, it also means that it denies the importance of the “reflective self-consciousness” (the individual’s evaluation of the environment and its role in understanding of his or her behaviour) (Bitsika, 2005) that reflects the idiographic commitment.

The discussion on limitations of the nomothetic approach suggests that the symptoms of Conduct Disorders should have, at least in part, the elements of cultural specificity. Therefore, the idiographic approach should be incorporated to make more sense of Conduct Disorders diagnosed in individuals within their cultural context, especially for the Malay in the Malaysian context (Wigman et al., 2013). The focus of an idiographic approach is to complement the nomothetic approach of the DSM. The idiographic approach in classifying mental disorder focuses on individual and unique cases such as symptoms that are unique to any particular individual or context (Wigman et al., 2013). In this respect, the classification of conduct problems in a specific cultural context needs to be merged with the standardised classification system of Conduct Disorder as presented in the DSM. Having the different paradigms of nomothetic and idiographic approaches, it can be assumed that Malay adolescents will not experience the disorder similar to many others who are diagnosed with the same disorders, from different cultural contexts. It also suggests that the Malay adolescents who are diagnosed with Conduct Disorder are most unlikely to benefit from a universal standardised treatment.

Despite these limitations, the DSM offers space for developing a cultural formulation by bridging nomothetic and idiographic aspects in the classification system as a strategy in making DSM relevant to other cultures, given that DSM remains the authority in legitimating the process of diagnosing and classifying mental disorders. Having said that, if we understand mental disorders as a cultural construction (Marsella, 2012), it should enable us to question whether the classification system of mental disorders can be holistically meaningful in cultural contexts that differ from the culture of its origin. Holistically in this sense refers to not only the classification criteria but also its development process. Taking up the DSM without question would mean to recognise its legitimacy without considering our own culture to determine our lived experiences. The DSM is still important as it provides a structure for understanding conduct disorders, particularly against the background of globalisation. Therefore, it is our job to critically analyse the structure to produce knowledge for our own interpretation of mental wellbeing.

4.4 Conduct problems from the Malaysian perspectives

The DSM groups problematic behaviours that fit into conduct disorders into four main categories. These four categories are organised through a pattern of behaviours that include aggression to people and animals, property destruction, deceitfulness and serious violation of rules (APA, 2013). These symptomatic groupings are described as occurring in a repetitive and persistent patterns that violate societal norms (APA, 2013). The DSM states that a functional consequence of conduct disorder is a legal response, where the exhibited behaviours often involves a young person coming into contact with the criminal justice system. This is similar to the Malaysian legal system response to the illegal behaviour committed by young people who breach both the Penal Code and norms of a various social institution such as familial and school (Maznah et al., 2008).

The Penal Code (section 82) explains that the term juvenile delinquency is used to describe adolescents with conduct problems. The section prescribes that a juvenile is a child who has reached the age of criminal liability or responsibility, namely ten years of age. Section 83 of the Penal Code, describes conditional protection for a child who is above ten but below twelve years of age from being prosecuted, provided that he/she has not attained sufficient understanding of the nature and consequences of his/her act during the commission of the crime. These provisions illustrate that children are liable for their involvement in crime once they have attained the age of criminal responsibility. Delinquency refers to any behaviour that violates the criminal law committed by a young person below the age of eighteen (Maznah et al., 2008). Juvenile delinquency, according to the Malaysian law refers to a young person who has committed a criminal offence and has been convicted by the juvenile court. Offences or crimes committed by juveniles range from minor to major indexed crimes such as petty theft, traffic violation, drug abuse and trafficking, robbery, and crimes that cause grievous harm to other persons (Maznah et al., 2008).

With regard to violations of social norms, Mohamad Aslam et al. (2001) in their research on the relationship between values and social problems among Malaysian teenagers, define social problems as “conditions that affect a significant number of people, are considered undesirable, as they are incompatible with the values held by people; are perceived as undesirable by significant number of people; and are remediable by collective effort” (p. 69). While the DSM focuses on individualism and secularism, the Malaysian context embraces the aspects of community and spirituality that reflect their religious values (Ross-Sheriff & Husain, 2004; Williams, 2005). Therefore, for the Malay in particular, drinking liquor, sex (discriminate or indiscriminate), stealing,

drug abuse, close proximity between sexes in a closed/secluded place, gambling, running away from home, loafing, illegal motor racing, truancy, smoking, vandalism, gangsterism, and watching pornographic videos are all crimes against not only the Penal Code but also the Islamic laws that are enacted by Muslims in Malaysia only (Mohamed Aslam et al., 2001). In sum, the undesirable behaviours according to the Malay perspective are inclusive of three different aspects, which include breaching Islamic laws, civil laws and social norms (not imposed by any laws but social expectation).

4.5 Towards producing new conceptions of mental health knowledge: The fundamental issues

As discussed in the earlier section, Islam is perceived as superior in deciding the Muslim codes of conduct (Ataullah, 1997; Haque & Masuan, 2002; Krisnan, 2004). There is no limitation in inculcating the essence of the Islamic teaching in all aspects of life (Husain & Hodge, 2016). Therefore, it is also important to analyse the frameworks that manifest the classification of conduct disorders from the Islamic perspectives. Compared to Western “values such as independence, self-actualization, self-expression, and explicit communication styles that express individual opinion, Islam tends to affirm interdependence, community-actualization, self-control, and implicit communication styles that safeguard others’ opinions” (Husain & Hodge, 2016, p. 396). As such, Malay psychological well-being is described in a relational way that suggests personal wellness is grounded in the relationship with Allah (the God) rather than through a sense of autonomy (Hatta, 2010).

Islamic teaching suggests a very different view from those in the West concerning ethics and morality. Conceptually, from the western perspectives, ethics and morality are both derived from different origins. Ethics or “ethos’ is originally a Greek word while morality or ‘morals’ is a Latin word. Literally, both denote the same meaning, habits or customs. Technically, moral means commonly felt while ethics means appropriate and rational (Ataullah, 1997). Both ethics and morality are rooted in the value of human reason, human experiences and customary laws. In imposing the ethics and morality guiding behaviour, they are less likely to account for religious beliefs (Adibah, 2013). According to this perspective, the ultimate pursuit of the human existence is to generate good behaviours through rational thinking and that individuals serve a supreme authority to reach this goal (Major, 2013). Therefore, in Western critical morality, individualism is stressed through autonomy, well-being, character and excellence (Wall, 2013).

Individualism, with the lack of engagement and attachment to the religion, family and society, people who perpetrate culturally improper conduct within their culture of origin have a high tendency to justify their conduct by employing an ‘individual right’ discourse (Bernama, 2014). Even in Malaysia, through globalisation processes, individualist human rights discourse is finding its way into the lives of Malaysians, especially the Malay (Bernama, 2014). For example, issues pertaining to LGBT (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender) people are now marking the development of new trends in the social movements of the Malaysian people (Muniandy, 2012). The active dissemination of knowledge through the globalisation process by its powerful means i.e. mass media has contributed to the newly approach in informing, shaping and framing the individual experiences with regard to social issues. Thus, the contemporary people prefer to structure the conduct issues they are experiencing into the individualistic and worldly structure that is manifested through private frames, social frames and governmental frames. Yet, most of the time there is less or total absence of relational and interdependence values between man and the God expressed through religious frames (Mucciaroni, 2011).

While Islam is vital for the Malay, Hatta (2010) argued that there are those “whose faith in Islam is only ‘skin-deep’”(p. 338) and know little about the basic tenets of Islam despite their claims to being Muslim. In most cases, these people are in favour of emerging new values that appear to be consistent with their desirable outcome. As an effect of the inculcation of other’s values, in the current situation, it seems that the Malays in Malaysia who used to be very submissive (Al-Attas, 1977; Goddard, 1997) have started to have found a voice through the human rights platform. This new phenomenon in Malaysia is also known as ‘humanrightism’ established on the core beliefs of humanism, secularism and liberalism (Bernama, 2014). As an implication, rather than framing the issues from within the religious right discourse, most of today’s Malays prefer to frame their conduct issues through an individual right. It is necessary to mention here that the current government of Malaysia does not legislate against human rights’ principles, but argues that individual rights need to be applied moderately based on the principle of justice, fairness and excellence (Bernama, 2014).

From a the fundamentalist position, attending to psychological knowledge is accepted so long as it is from an Islamic framework that is centred in the spiritual and religious moral values. Hence, the Malays who hold a secular mindset are perceived as a deviation from their fundamental beliefs and practices (Kamal, 2005). This belief is generated in response to the inflated acceptance of Western knowledge by the Malays. Thus, there has been a continuous effort commenced by local and international experts in revisiting the knowledge of development issues to ensure that knowledge is consistent, acceptable and meaningful across culture. As a result, since the 1960s there have been

several Muslim intellectuals who were keen to Islamise psychological knowledge. Their efforts are based on the beliefs that spiritual and religious factors play a vital role in mental health among the Malays (Haque, 2005). Most of these efforts are centred on countering the philosophical underpinnings in the development of psychological knowledge in general and are less likely to focus on a specific psychological issue such as conduct disorder. Therefore, we should consider the capacity of the DSM for accommodating socio-cultural diversity in making psychological knowledge more meaningful to the Malay people.

I am convinced that Islam has its own concepts and models in governing the morality issues among Muslims.. Morality is also known as Islamic ethics or *akhlaq* (in Arabic), which means character, nature and disposition. The concept of *akhlaq* in Islam can be further divided into two divisions that include physical and spiritual forms of mankind. The word *akhlaq* is associated with the close relationship between man and God (Adibah, 2013). Based on this knowledge, Muslims do have religious responsibilities that are reflected through their behaviours. The concept of Islamic ethics or morality is grounded in al-Quran as the primary source and the *Sunnah (tradition or the way of life)* of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h). Both Al-Quran and the *Sunnah* are also known as the scriptural morality (Adibah, 2013). Given these resources, Malay adolescents are expected to adhere to these principles through Shariah Law which is extracted from those resources.

Through the lens of Islam, the prohibition of certain kinds of behaviours such as drinking alcohol is obviously mentioned in the primary sources of Islamic teachings and therefore it is forbidden to all Muslims (Assanangkornchai, Talek, & Edwards, 2016). Thus, the prohibition is considered absolute and unchangeable. Such a clear instruction can be found in the primary sources of Islamic teaching, however some aspects of behaviour, particularly with regard to emerging contemporary lifestyles is left to Muslims to interpret and to decide on their appropriateness (Ataullah, 1997). Therefore, the process of interpreting and engaging in contemporary lifestyles must be considered in a systematic manner so that it is consistent with the fundamental principles as outlined by Islam. In doing so, there are several alternative resources other than Al-Quran and the Sunnah for Muslims to refer to. These include Islamic theology, Islamic philosophy, Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic mysticism (Adibah, 2013). These resources offer some methodologies in embedding the emerging new values and lifestyles into the Muslim life. So, Islam does promote flexibility in applying its knowledge into the Muslim life.

4.6 Summary

The progressing of psychology in Malaysia sheds light on the development of appropriate psychological knowledge that is meaningful to the Malaysian as a whole and the Malay in particular. While the complexities in understanding and conceptualising conduct disorders from the local perspectives are acknowledged, the clear principles of Islam with regard to how to approach behavioural issues offer space for discussion on how the structure of the Western knowledge system can be embedded meaningfully within the contemporary Malay community in Malaysia.

5 Research Methodology

The present research employed Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to examine how Malay adolescents with conduct disorders make sense of their lived experiences in responding to the effects of globalisation process in the Malaysian context. The aim of this research is to examine the participants' understandings of and orientation towards the world around them, which might play a significant role in their participation in criminal offending. To make sense of the experiences of the participants, I interpreted their understanding of their lived experiences in a way that reflects the complexities and tensions of the relationships between local Malay culture, values and practices that are much guided by the Islamic teaching and global culture alongside worldviews associated with modernity and globalisation. I also questioned the appropriateness of Western knowledge of conduct disorder to the Malay cultural and ethnic context, and whether it may be useful for understanding the tensions Malay adolescents face in their everyday lives.

In dealing with the adolescents' experiences, it is important to note that not all research questions can be answered through a quantitative approach as mainstream psychology usually does, especially when dealing with the meaning the participants attach to their experiences that explain the relationship between the individual and their reality. In my view, the interpretative phenomenological approach has the potential to complement quantitative measures in understanding the lived experience of the people in depth. This notion is consistent with the idea that the scientific findings will be more meaningful, well framed, clarified and justified when there is collaborative work between multiple research designs (Miner-Romanoff, 2012). Thus, IPA, which focuses on both epistemological and ontological dimensions of human experiences (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) enables a research process that attends to descriptive and interpretive analysis that allow in-depth exploration of participants' understandings of their lived experiences. As such, the process may offer new insights into what is happening to Malay adolescents in the current globalised era from their own perspectives.

Adolescents' understandings of their lived experiences are subjective in a complex manner (Miner-Romanoff, 2012), particularly when they are linked to the impacts of the globalisation process (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013). Therefore, the utilisation of in-depth exploration of their subjective perceptions and interpretation is essential in explicating the complexities experienced by them. To explicate the complexities, I examined the tensions experienced by the Malay adolescents on the changes in many different facets of their lives due to globalisation processes, which included,

familial, economic, social, educational, cultural and Islamic values. To me, to contextualise the participants' experiences, it is essential to examine the various contexts they are embedded in. Utilising IPA as a method for the present research enabled an in-depth exploration of the Malay adolescents' lived experiences within these multiple contexts. This notion is possible as the process involved in IPA was not limited to descriptive phenomenology, but also analysing the adolescents' voices and understanding through their language (Shinebourne, 2011) in reflecting on their everyday experience.

In choosing the method used in the present research, it is also essential to consider my research background in which I have to admit that, I have no strong philosophical background. Therefore, I prefer to engage in more clear approaches, philosophical underpinnings and corresponding methodologies, which were offered by IPA. To me, IPA is a user-friendly method that allows the researcher to use their creativity in adjusting the method depending on the need of the research situation or context and objectives. IPA recognises the central and active role of the researcher in making sense of the research participants lived experiences (Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty, & Hendry, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). Hence, IPA may contribute to increased understanding of research issues and produce findings that reveal individual experiences and genuine thoughts and reflections with few difficulties (Miner-Romanoff, 2012).

5.1 IPA and its philosophical underpinnings: Phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography

IPA by definition is an approach that explores in detail personal lived experience to examine what the world is like from the participants' points of view. IPA has its roots in psychology and recognises 'the central role of the analyst' in making sense of the personal experiences of research participants (Smith, 2004). According to Smith et al. (2009),

IPA is a qualitative research approach committed to the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences. IPA is phenomenological in that it is concerned with exploring experience in its own terms. The philosopher Edmund Husserl famously urged phenomenologists to go 'back to the things themselves', and IPA research follows his lead in this regard, rather than attempting to fix experience in predefined or overly abstract categories. (p. 1)

IPA is influenced by the phenomenological approach, which has its roots in Husserl's philosophical work, who suggested that in order to understand everyday experience, we need develop a 'phenomenological attitude' toward a process by which we redirect our thoughts and immerse ourselves in the ways the world manifests itself (Shinebourne, 2011). As a process of phenomenological reduction, "the researcher transcends or suspends past knowledge and experience to understand a phenomenon at a deeper level. It is an attempt to approach lived experience distinct from theoretical experience" (Anderson & Spencer, 2007, p. 269). This process suggests that phenomenology aims for fresh, complex and rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it is concretely lived (Finlay, 2009). Miner-Romanoff (2012) contends that phenomenology has taken place through what she termed as "descriptive phenomenology", which is based on the researchers' ability to achieve 'transcendental subjectivity'. She defined 'transcendental' as "the researchers continuous efforts to neutralise personal knowledge, preconceptions and biases; transcending them so that they do not impact or obscure faithful or accurate recordings or participants' responses or the analysis of the data" (p. 7). Thus, the focus of phenomenological research then is on "how the object appears to consciousness" (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 17). Smith et al. (2009) contend that Husserl's phenomenological approach is essential in IPA as it guides the systematic study of human experiences.

However, Husserl's phenomenological approach has its limits, particularly with its focus on descriptive phenomenology (Smith et al., 2009) which involves the process of describing the lived experiences in the absence of meanings (Pringle et al., 2011). Therefore, Smith et al. (2009) argued that to understand other people's lived experiences, it is necessary to modify our inquiry. Thus, IPA engages with both the phenomenological and existential philosophy of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre, to understand that people are embodied and embedded in particular historical, social and cultural contexts (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). IPA brings not only description but drawing on hermeneutics. It enables researchers to facilitate the meaning of their experience through interpretation. Consistent with this view, IPA through its interpretative commitments, provides meaning for the descriptive phenomenology (Shinebourne, 2011). To embrace the theoretical assumptions of phenomenology and hermeneutics, IPA works in a way that does not fully advocate the use of bracketing (Finlay, 2009). Instead, it requires certain kinds of reflexivity, which refers to the engagement of the researcher in the continuous process of self-reflection to generate awareness about their feelings, actions and perceptions in order to make sense and to contextualise the lived experiences (Darawsheh, 2014). In this way, describing the experiences of the Malay adolescents in

the absence of contextual reflexivity would be unlikely to produce a meaningful explanation about the Malay adolescents' experiences.

In IPA research, 'double hermeneutics' has become its critical dimension (Wagstaff & Williams, 2014). Double hermeneutics refers to the process by which "the participant is trying to make sense of their personal and social world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of their personal and social world" (Smith, 2004, p. 40). Specifically, in the present research, the 'double hermeneutic' was practised by linking those lived experiences of the Malay adolescents with the changes that happen due to globalisation processes. Those changes were viewed as human resources that people drew upon in making sense of their lived experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Furthermore, in making sense of the participants' interpretations, reflexivity to the local Malay settings is paramount. In this sense, the process accounts for the complex interaction between the adolescents' life experiences, the local traditional Malay norms, Islamic values, the global cultures and the worldviews associated with modernisation as an effect of globalisation processes to interpret the sense making by the participants.

Such reflexivity in interpretation makes IPA dynamic and iterative, bringing into the hermeneutic process the researcher's insider knowledge and the data that is being interpreted. IPA engages in an empathic engagement and a hermeneutics of suspicion, which enables a critical engagement of "what it is like from the point of view of the participants" (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 21). In this sense, familiarity with the context of research being studied is vital. Considering the fact that I am, as a researcher who has the insider knowledge of living as a Malay studying psychology, and at the same time I serve as an analyst for the participants' interpretation would, therefore, offer some benefits in undertaking the hermeneutics approach. From this position, my pre-existing knowledge was used to make sense the participants' experiences so as not to construct any judgmental account of their interpretation and experiences. Having that critical engagement may lead me, as a researcher, to another level of interpretation which is an attempt to problematise the complex interaction between the meanings made by the participants and various circumstances surrounding their lived experiences (i.e. local Malay norms, culture, beliefs and practices, emergent values and worldviews associated with modernisation) as an impact of globalisation processes. Moreover, the process facilitates the attempt to articulate the discrepancies between local and global psychological knowledge systems in a more meaningful way.

The third theoretical underpinning of Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis is idiography, which retains an in-depth focus and detailed examination of particular instances as well as a

commitment to the “detailed finely textured analysis” of lived experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Idiography offers opportunities to learn about a particular individual or small group of cases and their response to specific contexts as well as connections between different aspects of the individual accounts. Shinebourne (2011) asserted that “the individual case can be used as a starting point in the process of analytic induction, affording an opportunity for working from the ground up by drawing together additional cases to move towards more general claims” (p. 47). Unlike other research methods that are aimed at the nomothetic approach that focuses on shared experiences across cases (Smith et al., 2009), IPA embraces the need to look into a single case or a small group analysis to examine in detail about a person or a small group experiences in response to a specific situation (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). For a small group of cases, the analysis begins with an analysis of each case and then to look for commonalities and differences across cases. This single case or small group analysis focus is an examination of a “pattern of meaning and reflections on shared experience” or themes (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 23). Thus, IPA enables the researcher to understand a unique perspective on the engagement in criminal behaviours and to see how this unique perspective sheds light on the nomothetic perspective (Smith et al., 2009)

5.1.1 Summary

In sum, in this research, the phenomenological aspect of IPA is represented by two research questions: 1) how do Malay adolescents with conduct disorders describe the impact of the process of globalisation on their lives, and 2) how do they describe the context that shapes their decision to engage in criminal activities? In this regard, the participants were asked to describe their experiences in facing the impacts of globalisation on different key areas that encompass economic, technological and educational areas to produce in-depth and detailed descriptions of the phenomena. The third research question, which was how the participants understood and made sense of their experiences in facing the impact of globalisation processes offers an interpretative approach, which is consistent with the hermeneutic goal of IPA. The idiographic approach was addressed by asking how the individual experiences of the effects of globalisation were understood from their perspectives, including an understanding of the particular. This also opened up the possibility for understanding similarities and differences at an individual level. Each participant was asked to provide the details of their personal experiences in experiencing the impact of globalisation processes in educational, technological and economic areas.

5.2 Validity and quality of the research

Ensuring validity and the quality of qualitative research presents a tough challenge in the sense that the qualitative research process is not as straightforward an undertaking as quantitative research. Engaging in the interpretative process, for example, can be a tricky process as researchers face some difficulties managing our presumptions and prejudices (Shaw, 2010). According to Berger (2015), our position as researcher is dependent on our personal experiences, including language, beliefs, and our theoretical and political ideologies. How we emotionally respond to a participant will also impact the narratives that are generated and necessarily shape the findings and the conclusions.

In IPA studies, the validity of the research is assessed through the research processes itself starting from the initial choice of the method through to writing up the research report (Shinebourne, 2011). In those processes, sensitivity to the context is observed at all times (Shinebourne, 2011). For example, in choosing the IPA method for the present study, the objective was to study a small relatively homogeneous group and their lived experiences in a particular context. The context here refers to the complex interaction between the unique local Malay culture, values, beliefs and practices that are closely allied with the Islamic values and the changes in many different facets, the emergent values and worldviews associated with modernisation as an effect of globalisation. It is then followed by the sensitivity towards the understandings of research participants of their individual experiences. In the analysis process, the verbatim account portrays a sensitivity to the raw data (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA concerns itself with the notion of rigour, which refers to the “thoroughness of the study” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 181). This thoroughness involves the appropriateness of research questions to the research participants, the quality of the interview and the thoroughness of the analysis process. Additionally, in determining the validity and the quality of research, IPA deals with transparency, which refers to “clarity of the stages in the research process” (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 27). Darawsheh (2014) argues that to reflect the transparency commitment in IPA research, all research procedures that include selecting participants, preparing the interview schedule, the interview process and analysis stages need to be explained with specific details. In this research, reflexivity is adopted to enable transparency and to attain rigour of the research process and the research report (Darawsheh, 2014). Conceptually, reflexivity is seen as a process of self-appraisal or self-reflection (Darawsheh,

2014), such that, the researcher engages in recognising and generating awareness about their actions, feeling and perceptions (Berger, 2015; Darawsheh, 2014; Shaw, 2010) that enabled the researcher to listen to the perspectives of the participants without judgementally projecting his interpretation.

It was unavoidable that my background, prior knowledge and experiences would subjectively influence the research processes and findings. Through reflexivity, the focus of the research is directed towards the researcher himself (Berger, 2015). Given that, the research process reflects the knowledge that the researcher has about particular phenomena being studied and how the knowledge is acquired (Berger, 2015; Darawsheh, 2014). Thus, researchers are expected to engage in reflexivity in the research processes because incorporating reflexivity in IPA studies helps the researcher to position himself or herself in the research process as it may influence the setting and the people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretations (Berger, 2015). For this reason, consistent with Shaw (2010), I perceive reflexivity is a vital component of each stage of the research journey.

Smith et al. (2009) further suggested that to attain validity for IPA research, having an independent audit would be a powerful means to provide an external check on the research process. Therefore, in response to the suggestion, in the present research, three independent audits or reviewers could be attributed to the thesis supervisors who have reviewed the research process from time to time to ensure the validity and the quality of the research.

5.3 Research Method

5.3.1 Seeking research approval

The process started with developing a research proposal. In depth and regular discussions between me, my supervisors and significant others about all relevant procedures to undertake this research were negotiated during the preparation of the research proposal. I prepared a manuscript of the research proposal. The preparation of the manuscript was closely supervised and reviewed from time to time. The research proposal developed all the necessary information about the background of the research, the background of Malaysia and identified the research gap, which led to the idea of undertaking the present research.

Since the data for this research was collected in Malaysia, I had deliberated on a number of local and international procedures carefully, especially prior to the data collection process. Specifically, with regard to the local (Malaysian) requirements for conducting research, I approached

relevant individuals and organisations (such as Economic Planning Unit (EPU)) in Malaysia to seek local requirements for undertaking the research project and other related information. Through a direct phone call to the person in charge and by referring to the information provided by EPU on their official website, the rules for conducting research in Malaysia were thoroughly explained. I complied with the rules in undertaking the research in Malaysia.

Furthermore, I studied the measures that need to be taken in order to interview vulnerable youngsters to safeguard their well-being and their rights. In this regard, recruitment procedures and possible harms to participants were seriously discussed alongside the appropriate measures of how to manage them. I had consulted the institutions where the potential participants were placed to identify possible support provided by the institution.

5.3.2 Participants

Participants for this research were recruited from two rehabilitation centres for young offenders in Malaysia. Twenty-eight participants were selected through purposeful sampling based on the idea that the participants have particular features or characteristics that enabled the detailed exploration of the phenomenon being studied (Frost, 2011). The inclusion criteria for the participants were: a) Malay male, b) aged between 16 and 18, c) with identified behavioural problems, d) able to read and communicate in Malay or English, e) willing to participate and share their personal experiences, f) attended school before admission to the detention centres, and g) having no identified cognitive psychological deficit that may affect their participation in the research process. The Malay status was determined through the participants' personal details as declared in their official personal documents (birth certificate).

5.3.3 Seeking for ethical approval

Once the research proposal was completed, ethical approval was from the Massey University Ethic Committees (HEC: Southern A Application – 13/23) (see Appendix E). In the application, I was requested to explain all ethical considerations involved in my research processes, and they were explained in the application form provided. The ethical issues that were discussed and implemented in the present research were as follows.

5.3.3.1 Ethical considerations

5.3.3.1.1 Privacy and confidentiality

In dealing with the young offenders at the rehabilitation centre, privacy and confidentiality requirements were vital. The issue here was to protect the participants' identities and to maintain the data collected from the participants from inappropriate disclosure. Hence, to respond to privacy and confidentiality issues, the researcher drew attention to both the interview and data management procedures.

5.3.3.1.2 Interview procedures

The interviews with the participants were conducted in private rooms and were not observed/heard by other people including the staff within the facility. The idea was that it is inappropriate for a third party to be present in the room at the time of the interview being conducted to maintain the confidentiality of the information disclosed by the participants. Also, the presence of a third party may be perceived as coercive or may influence responses.

However, because the research involved face-to-face interviews, the participants were not anonymous to the researcher/interviewer. Thus, any identifying information of the participants was not disclosed to anyone else other than the researcher and the research supervisors. It is also important to mention here that, the participants were not anonymous to the institutions' authorities where they lived because of the recruitment strategy. The authorities, however, could not access the research data.

5.3.3.1.3 Data management

In the data management protocol, the focus was on where and how the data was going to be stored to maintain the confidentiality of the participants' and institutions' identities. Initially, while I was in Malaysia, consent forms were planned to be stored in a secure location at the Universiti Putra Malaysia, separate from the interview data. However, due to the location of the research site, which was a considerable distance from the university, the consent forms had to be securely locked in my home. The copy of a voice recording and the soft copy of the interview data were saved on my computer and were password protected, and all identifying information in the transcriptions was removed.

The consent forms were stored in a locked cabinet at the School of Psychology, Massey University, Palmerston North separate from the transcripts on return from Malaysia. The data that were stored in computers or other electronic devices were protected by a password. Only my supervisors and I had the authority to access the documents. The data will be stored for five years before being destroyed by the supervisors.

The results will be shared through presentations at the seminar/conference, and publications (e.g. peer review journals). Copies of the final report will also be sent to the Malaysian Prison Department, Economic Planning Unit and the Royal Police Department, Malaysia. Access to the document may be restricted to the participants at some points because of the centre's regulations. The researcher would make a request to the authorities to arrange the participants to access to the report if they request it. It is anticipated, however, that the participants will no longer be in the location where the interviews took place on completion of the research.

5.3.3.1.4 Security measures: Possible harm to the participants

Since the interview involved an in-depth exploration of participants' lived experiences, I anticipated the possibility that recalling their experiences may be distressing for them. Therefore, I took all steps to minimise and alleviate any distress or discomfort for the participants. Should a participant disclose institutional abuse, I was aware that it was unethical to disclose the abuse to the centre without the participant's consent. Should consent be given, then I prepared to support or follow through registering a complaint through official channels, under the supervision of the site advisor. Participants (if any) who demonstrated distress or discomfort during the session were able to discontinue participation at any time. If necessary, participants would be referred to professional counsellors available at their respective institutions.

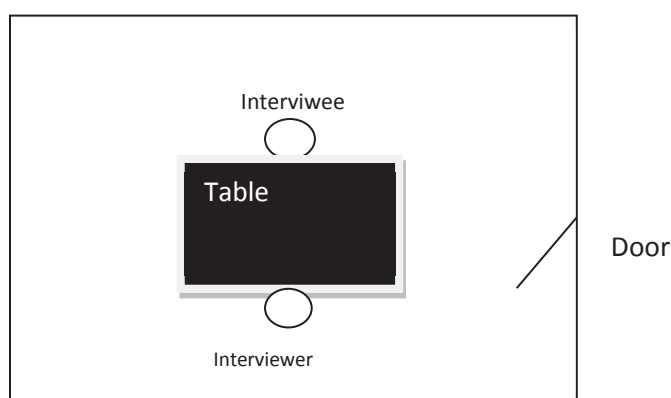
Also, I paid attention with regard to providing a contact person in the case that any adolescent being researched or any significant others were not happy with me as a researcher or the research process. Thus, in the first place, the site advisor was named as an appropriate person to be contacted other than the researcher. Accordingly, the site advisor was mandated to advise the researcher should any further action be required.

5.3.3.1.5 Security measures: Possible harms to the researcher

I am pleased to report that no harm was experienced by me as the researcher during the research process. However, since the research involves young offenders, prior to the interview I had considered the small possibility of the participants reacting aggressively either verbally or physically during the interview sessions. This reaction might happen due to some questions unexpectedly triggering discomfort in the participants. As a result, they may reveal their distress through some aggressive behaviours. As a precautionary measure, I ensured that the research was undertaken in a safe and respectful manner. I had tried to avoid/minimise harm by the use of appropriate phrases for any questions that had the potential to cause discomfort in participants. Besides, the tight rules and procedures of the institutions involved aided the safety of the researcher and the participants during the research process.

Just in case I noticed any sign of aggressiveness in participants, some intervention techniques were planned (for example, to show more empathy and concern to the participants through appropriate phrases), and included the suspending or terminating the interview. In the real setting, I am pleased to share here that the interview sessions were conducted without any sign of aggression shown by the participants. This may be an effect of the selection of the participants by the institutions' authorities prior to the research process. Apart from the predetermined inclusion criteria, only those young people who were deemed able to behave appropriately were included in the potential pool of research participants.

Figure A: Sitting arrangement for interview sessions: The interviewer sat at the nearest point to the door, and the participant was on the other side of the desk.



I also ensured that the interview room was set up in such a way that accounted for the safety of the interviewer. I sat at the nearest point to the door and possibly on the other side of a desk (as

illustrated below). I maintained a safe distance from the participants. Other safety measures as discussed above are adequate to protect me as a researcher from any harm. Should any problem have emerged, I was granted full physical and psychological support from the site advisor and Universiti Putra Malaysia throughout the research process (see Appendix F). In addition, as a staff member of a local public University (Universiti Putra Malaysia), I was eligible for free medical consultation and treatment at the university's health centre and the governmental hospitals/health centres nationwide.

5.3.3.1.6 Research funding

Another important issue that had been discussed was about financial support to pay the cost of the research process. Research funding was essential because I needed funding to enable me as the researcher to travel overseas to collect data. In this regard, I am a sponsored student. I was sponsored by the Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education. The sponsorship was inclusive of the return flight ticket (New Zealand to Malaysia) for research purposes. The researcher was also financially supported by the School of Psychology Massey University (PGRF) fund allocated for PhD students. All money that I received from both parties was enough to pay all relevant expenses for the present research. None of the funding constituted a conflict of interest.

5.3.3.1.7 Meeting with the Massey Human Research Ethic Committees

As a normal practice, the Massey Human Research Ethics Committee regularly held a meeting to deliberate the ethics application. I attended the meeting accompanied by one of my research supervisors. At the meeting, I was asked to clarify some aspects of the ethical issues that appeared unclear to the committee.

For example, I was questioned about the references to 'globalisation' and 'conduct disorder' in the title and whether or not I was looking at the use of Western psychological assessment in a Malaysian context. I responded that the process of development and modernisation in the Malaysian context have substantially changed society, and I intended to look at the effect of globalisation and how adolescents adapt. Also, I noted that the fact that Malaysia was made up of multicultural societies, which has led to the difficulty in addressing conduct problems among adolescents in Malaysia from a single definition and perspective. That was because each social group was practising their own unique cultures, values and beliefs. Therefore, against a background of globalisation and the effects of a changing world, this research locates the emergence of conduct problems among adolescents within a history that is specific to Malay. Consistent with the argument,

the objectives of this research are to examine the tensions faced by Malay adolescents with conduct problems and discuss their contingent responses towards globalisation.

In response to a query regarding the definition of ‘conduct disorder’, the researcher stated that in this instance the definition was inclusive of disorders as defined in the DSM but through the cultural specificity of Islamic law, e.g. consuming alcohol, sexual intercourse before marriage, etc. The DSM has been imported into psychology in Malaysia and was used to treat people. However, it was at odds with the cultural context. I explained that the study was interested in how the ways in which the DSM was intended was at odds with other cultures. I noted that all youth in the rehabilitation centres had been placed there as they have been labelled as having a conduct disorder and were being treated for disorders, but that often these disorders are at odds with their cultural context. The committee noted this and suggested that in the title of the study conduct disorders is placed in quote marks (‘conduct disorders’) to indicate that it was a diagnosis under question.

The committee was also concerned about the Malaysian authorities doing an initial screening. I responded that the researcher would request the authorities of identified rehabilitation centres put forward potential participants for the research based on inclusion criteria prepared by the researcher. I also explained that not all young people in these rehabilitation centres were permitted to have contact with persons outside of the centre, due to their sentence. Therefore, the authorities would advise of potential participants, and the researcher would then meet with them to explain the research and provide the participants with information about the study. In this way, no pressure had been imposed by the facility on participation.

The committee also asked about how the consent forms and the data would be safely kept while I was travelling between Malaysia and New Zealand. I explained that all consent forms and data would be transported back to New Zealand by me personally. The forms and the data were securely kept in the researcher’s hand luggage rather than cargo. I ensured them that the data and the forms were always with me while travelling from Malaysia to New Zealand. Upon arriving at Massey University, the consent forms were kept in a secure location in the School of Psychology.

My human research ethics application was a success with minor amendments on the original ethics application form. The amendments were based on the issues raised and discussed in the meeting as mentioned above.

5.3.3.2 Travelling to Malaysia

After the approval was granted by the Massey Human Ethics Committee, I began the process of seeking official approval to conduct this research from the Malaysian Welfare Department (the department in charge of the identified rehabilitation centres for young offenders in Malaysia) through the Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Department of the Prime Minister, Malaysia. The application was completed online. Apart from my personal details as a researcher, through the online application, I was requested to attach several documents, which included an official application letter to the Economic Planning Unit, approved research proposal, consent letter and a research schedule.

After all local and international requirements for undertaking research overseas were met, including the official approval from the Welfare Department and the Economic Planning Unit of Malaysia (EPU) to conduct the research (see Appendix A and C), I travelled to Malaysia to collect data. In Malaysia, at first, I went to the EPU office to collect my research pass. I was required to submit several other documents, including two passport size photographs for the Research Pass. The pass was issued for the duration of one year (see Appendix B). Upon receiving the research pass, I went to the institutions involved and met the person in charge at each rehabilitation centre. In our first meeting (with the institutions' authorities), I explained to them in detail my research process and then, in return, they explained about the detailed procedures and requirements while being in the institution. As both centres were highly secured and protected, I was required to provide a complete plan and schedule of interview sessions prior to the interview process so that the officer in charge could prepare the necessary security and safety measures during the process.

5.3.3.3 Recruitment procedures

As for recruitment procedures, the authorities of identified rehabilitation centres were responsible for selecting potential participants. Negotiating participation with the institution was a requirement of the research procedures as access to participation depended on their regulations because some of the young people were not permitted to have contact with persons outside of the centre due to their sentence.

The agreement between the researcher and the institution maintained voluntary participation, and no pressure was imposed by the facilities to ensure participation. Upon receiving the list of potential participants from the centres' authorities, I prepared a meeting schedule for each participant as requested by the centre authorities. I was advised not to meet the participants as a group to outline

the study for safety and security reasons. I, therefore, met the participants individually to explain the research and provide the participants with information about the study. There were several occasions where I met the participants in a group of two or three in order to explain the research with the consent of the institution's authorities. This action was taken because of time constraints. The sessions were conducted with tight safety measures, and only those young people with good behaviour were allowed to join the group sessions. The sessions were closely monitored by the centres' authorities from outside the meeting room.

At the beginning of the research briefing session, each participant was informed about the nature of the research and their rights should they decide to participate in the research. They were also asked to read the information sheet before consenting to participate. The briefing session was done in a friendly and interactive manner and the participants were allowed to ask questions about the process if they wanted to. Under the Malaysian Law (Child Act 2001), children under 18 years old are considered minors, hence, they do not have the authority to give consent without consent from a parent/caregiver. In this research, the authority for consent was the delegation of the rehabilitation centre for those participants between 16-18 years of age.

Upon consenting, each respondent was requested to complete at least two semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted at the rehabilitation centres where the participants were placed. The duration of each interview session ranged from 50 to 60 minutes per session. The interviews were conducted during the working time/day only. All interviews were digitally recorded. An interview schedule was used to guide the researcher in exploring the participants lived experiences. During the interviews, the participants were asked to share their lived experiences from many different angles, which include their family, social, economic, and education experiences. Open questions such as "can you tell me what brought you here?" and "can you tell be about your family background" were asked. There were several participants who were good at explaining their lived experiences guided by the questions asked by the interviewer, but there were several others who were unable to talk about their lived experiences when an open question was used. More questions relevant to the topic being discussed were used to probe to encourage these participants. The probing questions remained broad and general to allow the participants concerned to lead the conversation, so their psychological and social world could be explored in depth (Smith & Osborn, 2008). During the interview, the language used depended on the participants choice. For example, rather than using a standard Malay language, I used a specific Malay dialect as spoken by the participants such as the Northern dialect. I found that this flexible approach in using the right language facilitated rapport that made the participants more comfortable in sharing their thoughts

and experiences. There was one participant who was comfortable to communicate in both Malay and English. While all interview sessions were conducted in a way that satisfied the participants' ways of expressing their experiences, the research objectives and principles were maintained alongside the IPA commitment.

The participant sample size was determined on saturation. It means the process of recruiting the participants was continued until there was sufficient data to ensure that no new ideas emerged. During the first phase of interviews, I interviewed twenty-eight participants (N=28). All recordings were then transcribed verbatim and checked for accuracy. Because the interviews were conducted in the Malay language, all transcripts were then translated from Malay into English. The translation process was done by myself. After completing the first stage of the translation process, all the translated transcripts were checked and verified by an independent translator who was fluent in both Malay and English. To respond to ethical issues about the verification of transcription procedure as suggested by (Hagens, Dobrow, & Chafe, 2009), at the end of the data collection process the participants were given the opportunity to review and verify their transcripts respectively. This procedure was aimed to increase the accuracy of the transcripts. The participants were also assured that their transcripts would not include confidential information such as their name and their identifying information (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008).

After a preliminary analysis, I found that the first interview sessions were lacking in terms of interpretative elements of participants' life experiences that were vital to meet IPA commitments, which is to explore in-depth and detailed lived experiences of the participants. Because the transcripts of the first phase of interviews had not provided much data on how participants made sense of their experiences, it was decided that follow up interviews that were more conversational would add value. Due to the movement of young people in and out of the detention centres, follow-up interviews were conducted with twelve (N=12) participants. Upon completing the second phase of the data collection process, all remaining recordings were then transcribed verbatim and translated into English for later analysis processes.

5.3.3.4 Data Analysis

The transcripts were analysed using IPA. The analysis followed the seven analysis stages as suggested by Smith et al. (2009), 1) reading and re-reading, 2) initial noting, 3) developing emergent themes, 4) searching connections across emergent themes, 5) moving to the next case, 6) looking for patterns across cases and 7) taking the interpretations to a deeper level. However, these

steps were followed with some modification to suit the objectives and specific circumstances of the present study. That modification is explained alongside the following discussion on the step-by-step analysis process undertaken in the present research.

The process of analysis was started after the first phase of the data collection process was completed with all twenty eight participants. The analysis began with the researcher carefully reading and re-reading each transcript to become familiar with the data and to generate a general perspective about the data. The researcher wrote some relevant notes in the margins while reading the transcripts as he explored the content. This stage involves stage one, two and five of the IPA analysis stages (Smith et al., 2009). Upon completing this analysis stage, I came to understand that the participants lived experiences were very much affected by the changing context of their life circumstances. For example, the engagement in criminal behaviour was seen as a response to their missing of a role model in their family institution and as an effect of economic insecurity.

Once the steps one, two and five were done, instead of going to step three which is to develop emergent themes, the researcher prepared a table of background information of all twenty-eight research participants (see Table 3), which included their age, economic status, family background, social relationships, education levels, type of criminal offences, experience of arrest, place of living and level of computer literacy. This stage was necessary to portray a general perspective on the life history of the research participants across many different areas. The table indicated some commonalities and differences across cases and patterns of offending that ended with participants being in the institutions.

Table 3: Table of participants demographic background

Demographic Variables																	
Participant	Age	Rape (302)	Rempit (illegal road racing)	Cigarette	Alcohol	Drugs	Truancy	Criminal offenses					Gang		Porno	Friendship	
								Theft (379)	Robbery (392/393/395/397)	Causing Hurt (324/326)	House and Car Breaking (454/457)	Indirectly	Directly	Peers		Older people (Who involved in crimes)	
1	18	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y	-	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	
2	18	Y (M)	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y*393	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3	16	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	
4	17	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
5	17	-	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	-	Y	-	Y	Y*(H)	-	-	-	Y	Y	
6	18	Y*	Y	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
7	18	-	Y	Y	-	Y (D&A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	
8	16	Y (M)	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
9	17	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y*	Y	-	Y (H&C)	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
10	17	Y (M)	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
11	18	Y (M)	Y	Y	-	Y (D&A)	-	Y*	-	Y	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	
12	18	Y (M)	Y	Y	-	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	Y	Y (threat)	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	
13	18	-	-	Y	-	Y (D&A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	
14	17	-	Y	Y	Y	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	
15	17	-	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	-	-	-	Y*	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
16	17	-	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	Y	Y (V)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	
17	17	-	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	-	Y*(V)	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
18	16	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y*(V)	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
19	17	-	Y	-	Y	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y*(H)	-	-	-	Y	Y	
20	16	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	
21	17	-	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	-	Y	Y*(unarmed robbery)	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	
22	18	-	-	Y	-	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	-	Y	-	
23	18	-	-	Y	-	Y (A)*15A	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
24	18	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y*(H)	-	-	-	Y	Y	
25	17	Y (M)*	-	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
26	16	-	Y	Y	-	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y	Y*509	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	
27	18	-	Y	-	-	Y (A)	Y	Y	-	-	Y*(H)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	
28	18	-	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y	Y*	-	Y	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	
Total	N= 17.25	10 (35.7%)	22 (78.6%)	25 (89.3%)	10 (35.7%)	21 (75%)	21 (75%)	24 (85.7%)	7 (25%)	10 (35.7%)	5 (17.9%)	3 (10.7%)	2 (7.1%)	16 (57.1%)	26 (92.9%)	23 (82.1%)	

Y= Yes M=Mutual consent D=dealer (drug) A=addict (drug) * =Main charge H=House C=Car
 V=Vehicle F = Father U = Uncle S=Sister GP=Grandparents

Participant	Family													Economic Status	
	Bio. Parents are still together	Divorce d	Single Parent (Passed Away)	Single parent (divorce d)	Raised by extended family	Step Parents	Adoption	Interparental conflicts	Physical Assault	Family member involve in crime	Intact but live separately	Disabled parents	Comm. Problems with other family members	F=father	M=mother
1	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F= Gov. Servant M=H.Wife	
2	-	Y	-	-	-	Y (D)	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	F= Unskilled Labour M=H.Wife	
3	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	F=Van driver M=Cashier	
4	-	Y	-	-	Y (GP)	Y (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y		
5	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F=S.G M= Unskilled Labour	
6	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	Middle Class	
7	-	Y	-	-	Y (Aunty)	Y (M)	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	-	F=House Keeper	
8	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y (often)	Y	Y (S)	-	-	-	F=Bouncer M=H.Wife	
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Single Mom (a tailor)	
10	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	F=Policeman M=Rest. Assistant	
11	-	Y	-	Y (M)	-	-	-	Y	-	Y (F & U)	-	-	Y	F=Unemployed M=boutique	
12	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F=unskilled labour M=S. Canteen	
13	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Both parents are farmers	
14	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	F=Retired M=H.Wife	
15	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	F=Lorry Driver M=unskilled labour	
16	-	Y	-	Y (M)	Y (GP)	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	Financially supported by the mom but her job is unknown	
17	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Poor	
18	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	F=unskilled labour M=	
19	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	F=Farmer M=H.Wife	
20	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	F=Food Stall M=H.Wife (Assisted by JKM)	
21	Y	-	-	-	Y (Aunty)	-	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	-		
22	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	PPRT (Poor)	
23	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	F=Self-employed M=Food stall asst.	
24	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	F=Repair bicycle M=unskilled labour	
25	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	F=retired army M=H.Wife	
26	-	Y	-	-	-	Y (M)	-	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y	F=Dispatch M=Airforce	
27	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	Own a small family business	
28	-	Y	-	Y (F)	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	F=a farmer	
Total	19 (67.9%)	7 (25%)	1 (3.6%)	3 (10.7%)	4 (14.3%)	4 (14.3%)	2 (7.1%)	7 (25%)	9 (32.1%)	5 (17.9%)	1 (3.6%)	1 (3.6%)	7 (3.6%)		

	School experience			Computer Literacy		Arrest		Start to involve	Place of living		Being the victim of a bully (Before involving in crime)	Remarks
	Drop out (Voluntarily)	Expelled	Age of dropping out	Yes	No	First time	Repeat		Urban	Rural		
1	Y	-	15	Y	-	Y	-	13	Y	-	-	Indirectly involve in gangsterism.
2	-	Y	14	Y	-	Y	-	14	Y	-	-	Attempted to commit robbery, involve in gangsterism at the age of 15
3	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	15	-	Y	-	
4	Y	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	8	-	Y	-	Lives with grandparents
5	-	Y	15	Y	-	-	Y	13	Y	-	-	
6	-	-	-	Y	-	-	Y	13	-	Y	-	
7	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	12	Y	-	-	Lived with the father (food provided by his aunty whom live next to his house; attended Westland school (all boy and a problematic school), Dad is deaf-mute
8	-	Y	15	Y	-	-	Y	13	Y	-	Y	
9	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	15	Y	-	-	
10	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	Family status is intact but they live separately
11	Y	-	15	Y	-	-	Y	10	-	Y	-	Dad and uncle involve in crime
12	Y	-	14	-	Y	-	Y	13	Y	-	-	Lived with his aunty; had been arrested 5 – 6 times before his current case
13	-	-	-	Y	-	-	Y	14	-	Y	-	
14	Y	-	16	Y	-	Y	-	12	-	Y	-	
15	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	14	-	Y	-	
16	Y	-	14	Y	-	Y	-	14	-	Y	-	Had undergone a rehab prog. at private institution, lives with grandparents
17	Y	-	13	Y	-	-	Y	13	-	Y	-	Dad has passed away since he was small
18	Y	-	15	Y	-	Y	-	10	Y	-	-	
19	-	Y	16	-	Y	Y	-	13	-	Y	-	
20	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	13	Y	-	-	
21	-	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	15	-	Y	-	Live with aunty but run away at the age of 14, went back to his mom home
22	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	12	Y	-	-	
23	-	Y	15	-	Y	Y	-	12	Y	-	-	Illiterate, his friends were mostly older than him
24	Y	-	13	-	Y	-	Y	16	-	Y	-	Sharp weapon*, illiterate, never been into secondary school
25	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	-	15	Y	-	-	Lives in the middle of Kuala Lumpur, rarely meets his dad at home
26	-	-	-	Y	-	-	Y	10	Y	-	-	threatening others
27	-	Y	16	Y	-	-	Y	13	Y	-	-	
28	-	Y	15	-	Y	Y	-	12	-	Y	Y	
Total	9 (32.1)	7 (25%)		21 (75%)	7 (25%)	18 (64.3%)	10 (35.7%)	M=11.85 8 = 1 (3.6%) 10 = 3 (35.7%) 12 = 5 (42.9%) 13 = 9 (46.9%) 14 = 4 (14.3%) 15 = 2 (7.1%) 16 = 1 (3.6%)	15 (53.6%)	13 (46.4%)	2 (7.1%)	

Having completed table 3 for the twenty eight participants, I had an understanding of their offences in general that led me to conduct further in-depth interviews with twelve participants to generate a more in-depth understanding of the meaning attached to their life experiences which are consistent with IPA commitment. This second phase produced another set of data for an in-depth analysis that enabled a case by case analysis of the conversations that took the form of a narrative that included a reflection on the participants' lives from their early memories through to their detention. In this way, the twelve case studies facilitated the participants' self-reflection and enabled the researcher to elicit the meaning of their psychological and social worlds through dialogue (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The researcher highlighted all the significant statements identified in the transcripts that were useful for the next stage of data analysis.

After all twelve participants' detailed descriptions of their lived history were completed the researcher went back to the original transcripts to extract all the significant statements that were relevant to the research objectives and research questions, to understand how Malay adolescents with 'conduct disorder' make sense of their lived experiences in response to the globalisation process in the Malaysian context. All the extracted statements were then organised into boxes alongside the researcher comments, reflections, the initial idea of themes and possible emerging superordinate and

subordinate themes (see Table 4), which were consistent with step three of IPA analysis, the development of emergent themes. At this stage, the analysis process was conducted case by case. In keeping with IPA's idiographic commitment, each case was considered and examined in its own terms (Smith et al., 2009).

Table 4. Sample of initial coding process

Transcripts	Interpretation / reflection	Theme
<i>I feel sad, stress... I was quite close to my family previously, we used to go for shopping together... but not now, everything has changed... everyone busy with their own business</i>	Disappointed with his family life	Disappointed with family
<i>(I hope) my family will be back together... but I am not sure about this... it was ok before this... but once I was at secondary school level, I started to feel uncomfortable to stay with my family... it was in 2010, at that time I was in form 1, my family started to have problems, so I prefer to stay outside... sometimes both my parents fought each other....</i>	Consistent with his psychological development + family instability worsen the conditions Unhappy to stay at home with family Family conflict	Started to live independently Spending much time outside Family conflict
<i>They did care about me... that was why (I guess) they have lodged a police report when I didn't return home for sometimes...when I returned home, they mad about me, then, soon after that, I ran away again, I could not stay at home...</i>	Aware that his parents do love him Unhappy to stay at home with family	Bonding emotionally with parents Unhappy with his family

The emerging themes in each case were examined and clustered together with the remaining cases, according to their conceptual similarities (step six). I then started clustering the themes into more precise superordinate and subordinate themes also noting idiosyncratic instances. The final superordinate and subordinate themes were then described and interpreted in a more meaningful way according to research objectives in a continuous process of referring back to the demographic data and the individual cases. A table of the final themes for analysis is presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Superordinate theme 1: Contextualising the experiences

Subordinate 1	Subordinate 2	Subordinate 3
Changes in family dynamic	Lack of quality family involvement Feeling disconnected to family emotionally Inter-parental conflict Negative feeling about family life Parenting issues	
	Cognitive framework	<i>Absence of proper deliberation</i> <i>Cognitive dissonance</i> <i>Limited knowledge about the implications</i> <i>Negativity about the outside world</i> <i>Lack of filial piety</i>
Psychological developmental issues	Motivation to involve in crime	<i>Seeking immediate enjoyment</i> <i>To avoid being bullied</i> <i>Believing in the right to make decision</i> <i>Wanting to quickly learn about the world</i> <i>Like to try out others' experience</i> <i>Admiration for people with good criminal skills</i> <i>Got backup</i> <i>Crime turns into habit</i> <i>Poor law enforcement</i>
	Individual patterns and vulnerabilities concerning personal characteristics	<i>Lack of self-resilience</i> <i>Aggression</i> <i>Self-orientation</i>
Contextualising social experiences	Peer pressure Joining criminal gangs Feeling about friendship Reasons for befriending adults Perspectives on coupling issues Poor functioning neighbourhood	
School experiences	Subject-oriented Issues pertaining to English as medium of instruction The nature of the school Inconsistency between personal interest and what the school has to offer Experiencing teaching and learning issues Philosophical framework related to school experiences	
Religious framework		
The meaning of crimes	Stealing Vehicle theft Substance abuse Rape Understanding about crime in general; crime is for adults	

Table 6. Superordinate theme 2: Recovery plans and processes

Subordinate 1	Subordinate 2
Strategies for recovery	Engaging in social activities Engaging in religious activities Married and having a family Adherence to the laws Ignoring other peoples' perception Inculcating religious framework Self-beliefs
	Family as a source of motivation to change Focus on the implications
Motivation to change	Concerned about social perceptions Unresolved family issues Peer pressure Lack of motivation to change Holding a grudge Religious disorientation Drug dependency

6 Analysis 1: Participants' demographic information and life history

Apart from discovering their lived experiences, interviews with participants enable the discovery of multiple demographic variables. The variables include participants' age, types of criminal offences, previous criminal history, familial background, educational background, socioeconomic status, place of living, computer literacy and social life. In order to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, the real names of the participants are replaced by pseudonyms and all their identified information was also removed. It is also important to note here that, all analyses presented in this section are based on primary data as reported by the participants in the interviews. No secondary data (e.g. official documents) were collected and analysed. All participants underwent a rehabilitation programme at either one of two selected rehabilitation centres for young offenders located in the Northern region of Peninsular Malaysia for a duration no less than 13 months and not exceeding three years.

Table 7. The age of participants

Participant	Age
Ajam	18
Akmal	17
Mat	17
Arif	18
Asif	18
Madi	16
Dino	17
Adib	17
Youp	18
Sidi	18
Mirun	18
Alif	17
Zam	17
Hairi	17
Syam	17
Zul	16
Zakuan	17
Nuar	16
Rahim	17
Amy	18
Irwan	18
Fatah	18
Leman	17
Mizi	16
Tapa	18
Usop	18

M=17.25

Table 7 shows the age of all the 28 participants involved in this research. The age range of participants was between 16 and 18 years (Mean=17.25). This age range was determined prior to the recruitment process. This age range was selected because the adolescents in this age are deemed capable of responding to questions about their memory characteristics and capable of understanding their lived experiences (Berliner, Hyman, Thomas & Fitzgerald, 2003)

As a response to an initial question about what brings the participant to the rehabilitation centres, all participants started by sharing their main or official charge as prosecuted by the juvenile court against them. Accordingly, out of the 28 participants, ten (35.7%) participants have been charged with theft, the majority of whom committed vehicle theft. Two (7.1%) participants have been charged with robbery (armed and unarmed robbery respectively). Four (14.3%) participants have been charged with breaking into houses, two (7.1%) participants have been charged with causing bodily hurt to others, four (14.3%) participants have been charged with drug-related crimes, one (3.6%) participant has been charged with possessing weapons and five (17.9%) has been charged with rape.

Further exploration of participants lived experiences showed that apart from those main charges; the participants also shared their experiences of being involved in various other offences. Nonetheless, they have never been caught or charged by the relevant authorities for participating in those offences. Out of 28 participants, 27 participants shared that they used to participate in multiple behavioural problems as shown in Table 8. The problems entail drug trafficking and addiction, truancy, alcohol consumption, armed or unarmed robbery, sexual intercourse, illegal road racing, theft, breaking into houses and/or cars and causing bodily harm. Only one participant claimed that he had committed one offence only. Nine of those participants who had engaged in a sexual relationship admitted that their sexual activities were established on mutual consent. It is important to note here that the feeling of mutual consent was from the point of view of the participants and not necessarily from the perspective of the ‘victims’.

Although the majority of participants had described engaging in illegal road racing, no one had been officially charged with the offence. Those participants involved in illegal road racing or locally well-known as *rempit*, also reported that they had engaged in multiple other behaviours that could be ‘conduct’ offences alongside the illegal road racing. Such crimes encompassed drug trafficking and addiction, illegal sexual activities, theft, truancy, smoking, breaking into cars and houses, as well as robbery. Meanwhile, six out of the 22 participants who were involved with drugs reported that they were involved in both drug trafficking and addiction. Those participants involved in drug addiction had also become involved in other kinds of problematic behaviours, which included theft and robbery.

Table 8. Criminal offences committed by the participants

Participant	Criminal offenses												
	Rape (302)	Rempit (Illegal road racing)	Cigarette	Alcohol	Drugs	Tuancy	Theft (379)	Robbery (392/393/395/397)	Causing Hurt (324/326)	House and Car Breaking (454/457)	Gang Indirec t	Direct	Porno
Ajam	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	-	-	-	-	Y	-	Y
Halim	Y (M)	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y*393	-	-	-	Y	Y
Akil	-	-	-	-	-	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akmal	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Mat	Y	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	-	Y	-	Y	Y*(H)	-	-	-
Arif	Y*	Y	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Asif	Y	Y	Y	Y (D&A)	Y (D&A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miadi	Y (M)	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Dino	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y*	Y	-	Y (H&C)	-	-	Y
Adib	Y (M)	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Youp	Y (M)	Y	Y	Y (D&A)	Y (D&A)	-	Y*	-	Y	-	Y	-	Y
Sidi	Y (M)	Y	Y	Y (D&A)*	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	Y	Y (threat)	-	-	-	Y
Mirun	-	-	Y	Y (D&A)	Y (D&A)	Y	Y*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alif	-	Y	Y	Y	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zam	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	-	-	-	Y*	-	-	-	Y
Hairi	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y (V)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Syam	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	-	Y*(V)	-	Y	-	-	-	Y
Zul	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y*(V)	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Zakuan	-	Y	-	Y	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y*(H)	-	-	-
Nuar	Y (M)*	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-	-	-
Rahim	-	-	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	-	Y	Y*(unarmed robbery)	-	-	-	Y	-
Amy	-	-	Y	-	Y (D&A)*	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Irwan	-	-	Y	-	Y (A)*15A	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	Y
Fatah	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y*(H)	-	-	-
Leman	-	Y	Y	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Mizi	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y	Y	Y*509	-	-	-	Y
Tapu	-	Y	-	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y	-	-	Y*(H)	Y	-	Y
Usop	-	Y	Y	Y (A)	Y (A)	Y	Y*	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Total	10 (35.7%)	22 (78.6%)	25 (89.3%)	10 (35.7%)	21 (75%)	21 (75%)	24 (85.7%)	7 (25%)	10 (35.7%)	5 (17.9%)	3 (10.7%)	2 (7.1%)	16 (57.1%)

Y = Yes M = Mutual consent * = Main charge A = Addict D & A = Dealer & Addict V = Vehicle H & C = House & Car

As shown in Table 9, ten participants reported that they had experienced repeated criminal detention. One participant asserted that he had been detained more than five times before being admitted to the current rehabilitation centre. The remaining participants (18) were undergoing their first detention. Some, however, described that they had received warnings from the police or other relevant authorities at least once prior to their current detention.

Table 9. Experience of arrest

Participant	Arrest	
	First time	Repeat
Ajam	Y	-
Halim	Y	-
Akil	Y	-
Akmal	Y	-
Mat	-	Y
Arif	-	Y
Asif	Y	-
Madi	-	Y
Dino	Y	-
Adib	Y	-
Youp	-	Y
Sidi	-	Y
Mirun	-	Y
Alif	Y	-
Zam	Y	-
Hairi	Y	-
Syam	-	Y
Zul	Y	-
Zakuan	Y	-
Nuar	Y	-
Rahim	Y	-
Amy	Y	-
Irwan	Y	-
Fatah	-	Y
Leman	Y	-
Mizi	-	Y
Tapa	-	Y
Usop	y	-
Total	18 (64.3%)	10 (35.7%)

Y = Yes

During the interviews, the participants recalled the time when they showed warning signs of misbehaving for the first time. In the analysis, the mean age for early participation in conduct issues among the participants was 12.9 years. The majority (24 or 85.7%) of the participants started demonstrating disruptive behaviour at the age of 13. They began showing signs misbehaving while in secondary school (between the ages of 13 to 18). Only four (14.3%) out of 28 participants showed signs of misbehaving at the age of 12.

With regard to family life as shown in Table 10, the majority of the participants (18 or 64.3%) stated they still have their biological parents, however, not all of them lived with their

biological parents. To be specific, one of them was raised in his extended family by his aunty. For one participant, although his biological parents were still in a legal marital relationship, he reported that both his parents had long lived separately because of work. They normally meet during weekends only. The participant lived with the mother. Meanwhile, one participant reported that several different non-biological families, including his current family had adopted him since he was small. The status of his biological parents was unknown. According to him, his first adopted family found him near a drain.

The parents of seven (25%) out of 28 participants were reported to have been divorced. Those participants who experienced divorce experienced multiple different familial difficulties as well. Four of the divorced parents have remarried. Three of the participants with divorced parents were raised by their extended family, two of whom were raised by their grandparents and one participant was raised by his aunt. In the meantime, three participants (10.7%) have been brought up by a single parent, two of whom were raised by the mother and one by the father. One of the participants whose father remarried was alternately raised by his father and his aunt. According to this participant, his father was a disabled person as he suffers from being both deaf and mute.

Seven (25%) participants reported that they faced inter-parental conflicts between their parents. They used to watch their parents fight with each other. With regards to family violence, nine out of 19 participants who still have both biological parents described having received different forms of physical assault. Several had experienced physical assault by their parents, with an objects such as a belt or a cane. All of the participants who reported experiences of physical assault claimed that it was at the hands of their father. Five (17.9%) reported that they had family members who had histories of criminal behaviour, including fathers, uncles and/or brothers. Seven of the participants reported that they had experienced communication and attachment problems between family members.

Table 10. Family background of the participants

Participant	Family Background												
	Bio. Parents are still together	Divorced	Single Parent (Passed Away)	Single parent (divorced)	Raised by extended family	Step Parents	Adoption	Inter-parental conflicts	Physical Assault	Family member involve in crime	Intact but live separate	Disabled parents	Comm. Problems with other family members
Ajam	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Halim	-	Y	-	-	-	Y (F)	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-
Akil	Y	-	-	-	-	Y (F)	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Akmal	-	Y	-	-	Y (GP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Mat	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arif	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Asif	-	Y	-	-	Y (Aunty)	Y (M)	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	-
Madi	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y (often)	Y	Y (S)	-	-	-
Dino	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adib	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Youp	-	Y	-	Y (M)	-	-	-	Y	-	Y (F & U)	-	-	Y
Sidi	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirun	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alif	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Zam	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	Y
Hairi	-	Y	-	Y (M)	Y (GP)	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-
Syam	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zul	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-
Zakuan	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Nuar	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y
Rahim	Y	-	-	-	Y (Aunty)	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Amy	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-
Irwan	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Fatah	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Leman	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Mizi	-	Y	-	-	-	Y (M)	-	Y	-	Y	-	-	Y
Tapa	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-
Usop	-	Y	-	Y (F)	-	-	-	Y	-	-	-	-	-
Total	19 (67.9%)	7 (25%)	1 (3.6%)	3 (10.7%)	4 (14.3%)	4 (14.3%)	2 (7.1%)	7 (25%)	9 (32.1%)	5 (17.9%)	1 (3.6%)	1 (3.6%)	7 (3.6%)

Y = Yes M = Mother F = Father GP = Grandparents S = Sister

In terms of location of the participant's residence, 15 (53.6%) participants were from urban areas, while 13 (46.4%) were from rural areas. Most of those participants who reside in the urban area lived in low-cost apartments intended for those who make the minimum household monthly income. Two participants reported that they dwell in the heart of Kuala Lumpur where the modern, liberal (to some extent) and chaotic lifestyles are anticipated. Some of the participants who live in rural areas had easy access to a big city where they usually lived their life. Only one participant reported that his criminal activities occurred within the rural area where he lives and that his house is located far from the town. He rarely spent time in the town. Some participants reported that they had neighbours who were involved in criminal offending.

Table 11. Place of living of the participants

Participant	Place of living	
	Urban	Rural
Ajam	Y	-
Halim	Y	-
Akil	-	Y
Akmal	-	Y
Mat	Y	-
Arif	-	Y
Asif	Y	-
Madi	Y	-
Dino	Y	-
Adib	Y	-
Youp	-	Y
Sidi	Y	-
Mirun	-	Y
Alif	-	Y
Zam	-	Y
Hairi	-	Y
Syam	-	Y
Zul	Y	-
Zakuan	-	Y
Nuar	Y	-
Rahim	-	Y
Amy	Y	-
Irwan	Y	-
Fatah	-	Y
Leman	Y	-
Mizi	Y	-
Tapa	Y	-
Usop	-	Y
	15 (53.6%)	13 (46.4%)

Y = Yes

Table 12. The parents' source of income

Participants	Parents' career
Ajam	F= Gov. Servant M=H.Wife
Halim	F= Unskilled Labour M=H.Wife
Akil	F=Van driver M=Cashier
Akmal	N/A
Mat	F=S.G M= Unskilled Labour
Arif	Middle Class
Asif	F=House Keeper
Madi	F=Bouncer M=H.Wife
Dino	Single Mom (a tailor)
Adib	F=Policeman M=Rest. Assistant
Youp	F=Unemployed M=boutique
Sidi	F=unskilled labour M=S. Canteen
Mirun	Both parents are farmers
Alif	F=Retired M=H.Wife
Zam	F=Lorry Driver M=unskilled labour
Hairi	Financially supported by the mum but her job is unknown
Syam	Poor
Zul	F=unskilled labour M=
Zakuan	F=Farmer M=H.Wife
Nuar	F=Food Stall M=H.Wife (Assisted by JKM)
Rahim	N/A
Amy	PPRT (Poor)
Irwan	F=self-employed M=Food stall assistant.
Fatah	F=Repair bicycle M= unskilled labour
Leman	F=retired army M=H.Wife
Mizi	F=Dispatch M=Airforce
Tapa	Own a small family business
Usop	F=a farmer

F = Father M = Mother

Concerning economic status, the monthly income or household income of the participants was not specified. However, as shown in Table 12, their economic status was described and categorised based on their verbal explanation about their family financial background. It was found that most parents of the participants were working as unskilled labourers, which offers a limited income. These unskilled jobs encompass van or lorry driver, small-scale farmers, housekeeper, bicycle mechanic, restaurant assistant and performing multiple village jobs. There were several parents who ran their own small business such as running a small food stall. The working hours for the majority of the parents was also uncertain. Some of the parents were described as working both day and night. Most participants reported that their parents and family were unable to provide sufficient money for them to live comfortably. Some participants, however, reported that their family was financially secure.

With respect to school experiences, 16 (57.1%) out of 28 participants were school dropouts. Nine of them dropped out voluntarily and seven participants were expelled from school for different disciplinary reasons. The mean age of school dropouts was 14.7. The majority (seven) of those participants dropped out at the age of 15, which is equivalent to form three at secondary school. Two dropped out at the age of 13, which is equivalent to form

one at secondary school. These two participants reported that they decided to drop out of school after finishing their primary school and before they progressed to secondary school. Others who had been expelled from school described having offended both at school and outside the school. Those who committed crimes at school were involved in theft and were frequently absent from school.

Table 13. School experiences of the participants

Participant	School experience		
	Drop out (Voluntarily)	Expelled	Age of dropping out
Ajam	Y	-	15
Halim	-	Y	14
Akil	-	-	-
Akmal	Y	-	N / A
Mat	-	Y	15
Arif	-	-	-
Asif	-	-	-
Madi	-	Y	15
Dino	-	-	-
Adib	-	-	-
Youp	y	-	15
Sidi	Y	-	14
Mirun	-	-	-
Alif	Y	-	16
Zam	-	-	-
Hairi	Y	-	14
Syam	Y	-	13
Zul	Y	-	15
Zakuan	-	Y	16
Nuar	-	-	-
Rahim	-	-	-
Amy	-	-	-
Irwan	-	Y	15
Fatah	Y	-	13
Leman	-	-	-
Mizi	-	-	-
Tapa	-	Y	16
Usop	-	Y	15
Total	9 (32.1)	7 (25%)	M = 14.7

Y = Yes N/A = Not Available

With regards to computer literacy, 21 (75%) participants were computer literate while another seven (25%) participants reported that they were not familiar with computers. Those participants, who used to play on a computer, usually visited social websites, especially Facebook. They also like to participate in online gaming. Sixteen out of 21 participants who used to play computer games visited pornographic websites. One of the participants reported that he had a pornography-based business through which he downloaded pornographic videos from the internet and sold them to his colleagues. Those 21 participants who were familiar with computers preferred to spend most of their time at the cyber café. Most of them admitted that they learned to visit social websites, online gaming and pornography at the cyber café.

Table 14. Computer literacy

Participant	Computer Literacy	
	Yes	No
Ajam	Y	-
Halim	Y	-
Akil	Y	-
Akmal	Y	-
Mat	Y	-
Arif	Y	-
Asif	Y	-
Madi	Y	-
Dino	Y	-
Adib	Y	-
Youp	Y	-
Sidi	-	Y
Mirun	Y	-
Alif	Y	-
Zam	Y	-
Hairi	Y	-
Syam	Y	-
Zul	Y	-
Zakuan	-	Y
Nuar	-	Y
Rahim	-	Y
Amy	Y	-
Irwan	-	Y
Fatah	-	Y
Leman	Y	-
Mizi	Y	-
Tapa	Y	-
Usop	-	Y
	21 (75%)	7 (25%)

Y = Yes

In terms of social life, 26 (92.9%) of the participants befriended their peers while 23 (82.1%) of participants made friends with people older than them. 21 (75%) participants established a friendship with both peers and older people. The rest (seven) either established a friendship with peers only (five participants) or older people only (two participants).

Based on this demographic analysis, in general, we can understand that the participants had challenging life experiences. While they had to face economic adversities, multiple familial and social issues, for example, they were missing essential support systems that could provide them with physical and moral support. Their reference point for support had been shifted to their peers or friends. Thus, they were experiencing disintegrated and dysfunctional system life connections, which is vital for their psychological and behavioural well being.

Table 15. Social relationship

Participants	Social Relationships	
	Peers	Older people (who involved in crime)
Ajam	Y	Y
Halim	Y	Y
Akil	Y	-
Akmal	Y	Y
Mat	Y	Y
Arif	Y	Y
Asif	Y	Y
Madi	Y	Y
Dino	Y	Y
Adib	Y	Y
Youp	Y	Y
Sidi	-	Y
Mirun	Y	-
Alif	-	Y
Zam	Y	Y
Hairi	Y	Y
Syam	Y	Y
Zul	Y	Y
Zakuan	Y	Y
Nuar	Y	-
Rahim	Y	-
Amy	Y	-
Irwan	Y	Y
Fatah	Y	Y
Leman	Y	Y
Mizi	Y	Y
Tapa	Y	Y
Usop	Y	Y
Total	26 (92.9%)	23 (82.1%)

Y = Yes

7 Analysis part 2: Participants' detailed life experiences

Extracted from the interviews with research participants, I produced a life history documenting the experiences of each of the 12 participants who completed the second phase of detailed storying. These life histories are described below in the form of individual case studies.

7.1 Ajam

Ajam is an 18 year old boy. He is the fifth of seven siblings. The eldest is his sister who passed away years ago from kidney problems. The second is his sister who has married but lives together with their parents. The third and the fourth have their own careers (not specified). His younger siblings are still at school. According to Ajam, no one in his family has dropped out of school except him. All his brothers and sisters have graduated from secondary school. Ajam's father works as a blue-collar worker with a governmental agency while his mother is a full time housewife. He asserts that he has no problem with his family members. He is close to all his siblings, especially his sister. According to Ajam, his sister has always supported him during hard times. He was very close to both his parents to the extent that he could share his ideas and feelings with them openly. He added that they always laughed and grieved together. He described his father as firm yet kind. His father always smiled and always corrected him if he did anything wrong. His father trusted him in making decisions for himself. He said that his father gave him at least '85 percent' authority to make decisions for himself. After he began working, his father no longer interfered in his life, especially in making decisions.

Ajam reported that he had to work to support himself and his family. He asserted that his father, as a blue-collar worker, received a relatively low salary and not enough to support the entire family. Ajam said that the salary he received for his work was also not that much. Sometimes he had to depend on his father, especially in the middle of the month until the next pay day. Ajam's family lives in a low-cost apartment with only two rooms. He explained that one room is for his parents and another is for his married sister. The rest of his family members have to sleep in the living room. He described that this was the case in his previous house as well. Before that, his family lived in government quarters. The house was also small

and had only two bedrooms. Hence, his family members were accustomed to this arrangement.

Pertaining to his school experiences, Ajam reported that he went to a normal primary school from standard one until standard six. He reported that academically he did well when he was in primary school. He managed to score 3As, 1B and 1 C in the UPSR (Primary School Achievement Test) examination. When he progressed to secondary school, he reported that he did not feel like going to school from day one. For him, the school was not a conducive place to study. The school faced a number of student who were presenting with disciplinary problems. Furthermore, most of the subjects were taught in English, which made it difficult for him to follow the lessons. He denied that he had a problem with English as he could understand and speak English quite well. However, he had a problem when there were so many new terms being introduced in English that he was not familiar with. He became demotivated to learn all those new lessons, especially in English, which led to him engaging in acts of truancy. He reported that when he was in secondary school, he used to shake and kiss his parents hand before going to school. At that time, he used to wear a proper school uniform. However, once he reached the ground floor of his home apartment, he would change his dress and instead of going to school, he went somewhere else.

There was an occasion when his brother caught him being truant. At that time, he was absent from school for a week. His brother found him while he was playing snooker with his friends at a shopping complex. Immediately after his brother found him, he was beaten badly by his brother. Then, his brother took him home. At home, he had to confront his father. His father reacted by giving Ajam two options, either going back to school or quitting and look for a job. Ajam chose to quit school. After Ajam had made his decision, his father warned him not to ask for money from him or his mother, he asked Ajam to find a job instead. If Ajam failed to secure a job, his father simply asked him to leave the house. Ajam dropped out of school when he was in form three. He was supposed to sit for the PMR (lower secondary assessment examination) examination in that year, but because he had left school, he did not sit the examination and looked for a job instead. Luckily, soon after leaving the school, he successfully secured a job. From that point on he no longer had a problem with his parents. Every month he would give some money to his mother.

Ajam made friends with people from many different backgrounds. He befriended his peers as well as older people. The age range of his friends was between fourteen and late

twenties. However, he preferred his older friends more than others because according to him, they were more mature. He also chose to socialise with people younger than him and did not consider them as friends but brothers. He considered them his adopted younger brothers in order to draw close to them and give them advice and protect them from any wrongdoings. He had around four to five boys whom he adopted as his younger brothers. He was not comfortable to consider all the boys as his friends as they were too young. All of them still went to school, but not the same school as Ajam used to go. He met them for the first time at many different places during school time while they were committing truancy. He intended to offer them advice so that they will not continue with their truancy and to save their future. He wanted them to learn from his experiences. In the eyes of Ajam, some of them were nice people, but others used to behave like a gangster.

During free time, Ajam loved to hang out at a nearby shopping complex with his friends. Most of his friends who used to hang out with him at the shopping complex were directly affiliated with certain criminal gangs especially 00 (not the real name). But he himself never joined a gang. While hanging out with his friends, he liked to engage in activities such as singing at karaoke centres, playing snooker or teasing people on the street. He also used to consume alcohol together with his friends. When he was asked to provide further details about the gang 00, he explained that the gang was a Chinese gangster group. They often caused harm to others who disturbed or hurt any of their group members. Since Ajam was close to them, they also offered protection to Ajam. Other than this 00 gang, Ajam was also close to *mat rempit* (an illegal road racing group) groups and other smaller gangs. He clarified that he and all his friends were alike. All of them shared the same interests such as smoking. Some of them also worked at the same workplace. However, compared to his friends, Ajam considered himself more sociable. Among all of his friends, four of them were his best friends. Those four friends had recently graduated from secondary school. All of them were aged 19, one year older than Ajam.

Ajam also actively established relationships with many girls and grown up women who he knew through social media websites, particularly Facebook. There were also girls with whom he initiated a relationship face to face. At first, the relationship was with girls younger than him by means of 'adopting' them as younger sisters. The relationship between him and the girl was a secret. He never openly exposed his relationship with those girls to his family because he was afraid of his father's reaction. His father had warned him several times not to engage in any serious relationship with girls. His father believed that Ajam was still too

young for that kind of relationship. The oldest woman with whom he had a relationship with was a 25 old woman. She was from the northern part of Peninsular Malaysia. When he first met the woman, he was 16 years old. It happened in the month of *Ramadhan* (a fasting month for Muslims). Another woman was from the southern part of Peninsular Malaysia. The woman was in her early twenties and was studying at a college near Ajam's house. Other than these girls and women, Ajam also used to have many girlfriends. He had between four and five girlfriends. He used to have a sexual relationships with all his girlfriends. Usually, he brought the girls to his friend's house if he wanted to have sex with the girls. He said that his friend never cared about what he wanted to do in the house because his friend also used to do the same. Normally, before Ajam brought the girls home, he would inform his friend that he would bring a girl to his house. His friend never had a problem with it.

Ajam became involved in serious behavioural issues when he was in form two or 14 years old. However, he denied that he was involved in a sexual relationship during that time. He reported that he started to have sexual intercourse with one of his girlfriends when he was in form three (15 years old). He had developed a relationship with the girl for about nine months before they engaged in sexual activities. They did it quite often. Usually, they did it either at Ajam's house or Ajam's friend's house. Ajam reported that he got to know that particular girl through his friend. The girl was still in school. She was one year younger than Ajam. She was fourteen years old when she had her first sexual contact with Ajam. Ajam was also still in school at that time. During their first sexual contact, Ajam invited the girl to come over to his house. None of his family members were at home at that time. Therefore, Ajam used this opportunity to engage in sexual intercourse with the girl. Other than this girl, Ajam also used to have sex with another girl two years older than him. The girl was 17 years old. He used to have sex with the girl in the school compound. After Ajam left school, they often had sex at either the girl's home or Ajam's home. From this point, he was actively involved in sexual activities with many other girls. His sexual activities led to his arrest.

Ajam has been charged with rape (Act 376 of the penal code). However, he said that it was not supposed to be considered a rape case because it happened through mutual consent. But he understood that, because the girl was underage, he had no way out. He was arrested ten days after the *Hari Raya* celebration (the Festival of Fast-Breaking). It started when the girl's mother noticed something wrong with her daughter. There was a love bite that could be clearly seen on her neck, and the girl's mother suspected that her daughter had been raped. Her mother then lodged a police report. At the time the police report was lodged, Ajam was

working at a restaurant. Ajam received a call from a police officer from a district police station at work requesting him to surrender at the police station. Ajam adhered to the request. He went to the police station with his family. He was detained at the police station for a week before his father bailed him out at some cost. He was released for two weeks while waiting for the court decision. Ajam was charged with rape by the judge in a juvenile court and was sentenced to three years in the current rehabilitation centre. However, if he is able to maintain good conduct, he will be released earlier: after completing 13 months in the centre. At the time the interview was conducted, he had been detained at the centre for 11 months without further behavioural issues. This information was verified by the Centre's authorities, which means that Ajam had, at least, two months until he has the possibility of release.

Ajam was also involved in drug abuse. He took shabu and cannabis. Nonetheless, he reported that he had never felt addicted to the drugs even though he took the drugs quite often. According to him, he took it just for fun. He took the drugs at least once a day. He bought the drugs from his friends. He claimed that he used his own money to buy the drugs. If he did not have money, he would ask for some money or drugs from his friends. Sometimes he pretended to be good with drug dealers with whom he used to have business with. He would hang out with them. According to Ajam, the drug dealers used to place a large amount of drugs on a table. While chatting with them, he would steal one or two tubes of drugs, enough to satisfy his need for drugs for one to two days. For him, the drugs were not that expensive. It costs about RM50 per use. He recalled that if he attended certain events with his friends such as a birthday party, he would buy more drugs than usual. He and his friends used to take a bigger dose of drugs when they had a party. He explained that usually the drugs came in two kinds. One is powder and the other is in thicker pieces, about four to five centimetres long. Ajam preferred the thicker pieces because it gave better effects.

Ajam liked methamphetamine (*shabu*) more than other drugs. He justified that methamphetamine (*shabu*) made him feel fresh. It helped him feel awake and alert for a long time. He explained that one tube of drug was not enough for one use. He needed more than that. The way he took the drug was by inhaling it in a manner similar to smoking, with the only difference being that he inhaled through a straw. Before that, he filled the drugs into a bottle along with some water. Then, he simply inhaled. He added that if people looked at the way he took the drugs, people may assume that he was seriously addicted by the drugs. But actually, he assured me (and himself) that he was not addicted. The amount of drugs he took depended on the situation. If he took it with many others, he would take more than usual.

Otherwise, he took only a small amount or never. Other than drugs, Ajam also used to drink alcohol. He began drinking since he was 16 years old. He reported that only a small numbers of his friends drank. The majority of his friends were addicted to drugs.

Ajam reported that before he was detained, he decided to stop all his bad behaviour. He wanted to quit smoking and stop drinking. He also did not want to ‘touch’ any more girls. He had a haircut to show his commitment to change. He mentioned that he used to have quite long hair. His mother advised him that, if he really wanted to change, he must cut his hair first. That was what he did in order to change. Unfortunately, soon after he started making a move towards being a new person, he was arrested by the police. Despite his arrest, his intention to change remained strong. He anticipated that after he has been released from the current centre, he was committed to become a new person. He wants to go back to his old job as an assistant at celebration planning company. He plans to work there for one year. He aims to gain some money while looking for a more secure job, which provides more benefits such as EPF (Employee Provident Fund), SOCSO (Social Security Organisation) (a labour protection scheme). He recalled that such benefits were not offered by his previous employer.

With regards to the local culture and values, first and foremost, Ajam said that he is proud to be a Malay because, for him, the Malays’ live on their own land and have their own country. However, he hates the Malay teenagers who have a strong tendency to join certain gangs. From his observation, when those Malay teenagers join the gangs, some of them dare to burn al-Quran, insult the Malaysian rulers, and sometimes insulted the *Ulama* (Muslim scholars). Moreover, they do not know how to talk to people politely. He justified his opinion by referring to the total number of Malay inmates in the rehabilitation centre and in prison. Additionally, he discussed how the overrepresentation of Malay adolescents in rehabilitation was due to breakdown of Islam values and he linked this to his understanding of an explanation for the commonly held view that Chinese had started to take over the country. According to him, before this breakdown, the majority of the Penang population were Malay, but now there are more Chinese than Malay. Kedah and Selangor are the same. He made an inference that it is not impossible that Malaysia will be ‘colonised’ again by others in a short time. He claimed that, nowadays, the true Malay culture can only be seen in remote villages.

7.2 Arif

Arif is a 17 year old adolescent who has been incarcerated for nearly a year. He is the second child of six siblings. The eldest is his sister who is 21 years of age. Arif's father works as a security guard while his mother is a full time housewife. Both his parents and all his other siblings live together. His family lives in a village house surrounded by paddy fields. The house is approximately 15 kilometres from the closest city. According to Arif, the land upon which they live belongs to his mother who inherited it from Arif's grandparents. Arif describes himself as somebody who is extremely hot tempered to the extent that he finds it difficult to accept people staring at him. He would often have a tantrum with those staring at him. He often fought physically with others over a girl or if he lost his personal possessions.

Arif asserted that he was not happy with his family and was not close to all his family members. He rarely communicated with them. Moreover, he and his other siblings dislike sharing their thoughts and activities with their family. They preferred to keep their personal affairs to themselves. He added that, at home, his family rarely ate together, including during festive seasons. Each one of them preferred to mind their own business without interfering in the affairs of other family members. Due to this distance between them, Arif rarely spent time at home especially during weekends. Although he believes that both his parents really do love him and his other siblings, he speculates communication problems between family members are the cause of much of his family problems. Other than his sister, Arif has a younger sister who is 16 years old. He mentioned that he would prefer his younger sister stay at home because according to him, his younger sister is a beautiful young woman. He was afraid something bad would happen to his sister. To him, his older sister is not as beautiful as his younger sister. His fourth younger brother is still in primary school. He recounted that his fourth brother used to steal his parents money. Every time he did it, he would steal at least RM10. The other two siblings were still small. One was eight years old and another was seven months old.

Arif went to kindergarten at the age of six before continuing on to primary school at the age of seven. He reported that he had no problem during his primary school education and he enjoyed going to school. Then, when he progressed to secondary school, he began to demonstrate signs of delinquency. He used to return home late at night and sometimes he went out at night without informing his parents beforehand. At first, he attended a normal secondary school, which was located nearby his home. But, after his parents discovered that

Arif had displayed several behavioural problems in and outside the school. Arif stated that he was uncontrollable at that time. Therefore, his parents moved him to another secondary school with a hostel facility. His parents thought that it was better for Arif to stay at the hostel, so that his activities will be well monitored by the school authorities.

However, based on Arif's descriptions, moving to a boarding school was ineffective. He continued to be truant from school. He also engaged in coupling (engaged in an intimate relationship with a girl and not necessarily having a sexual relationship) at the hostel and used to smoke cigarettes within the hostel compound. He was in the school until form five. When he was asked about his preferred subjects, he explained that he was most interested in Mathematics and the Malay language. He also mentioned that he was well motivated to sit for the SPM (the Malaysian Certificate of Education, which is taken by all fifth-year secondary school students in Malaysia) examination when he was in form five. Unfortunately, two months before he was to sit for the examination, he was detained by the police for the crime he had committed. He was detained for two weeks until he was bailed out by his parents. Owing to the case, he was expelled from the hostel. Luckily, he was not expelled from the school. Thus, he had the opportunity to sit for the SPM examination. But, Arif reported that he could not concentrate on the examination because his mind was on the impending trial. After he was bailed out, he stayed with his cousin who was unaware of Arif's real story. He stayed there until he finished his SPM examination. He scored no A or B in the examination. However he could not remember specifically his SPM result.

With regards to his social life, Arif made friends with his schoolmates as well as older people from outside the school. Sometimes, he also mingled with people who were younger than him. But, the majority of his friend were older than him. According to him, he never joined any gang, but he socialised with people who had close connections to gangs. He had two best friends who he used to spend most of his time with, one of them was studying at the same school as he was and another did not go to school. He used to spend time with his best friends at a park nearby his house. When he was in form four, he started to make friends with *mat rempit* (illegal road racing group) groups where he became involved with mat rempit activities and would participate in illegal racing at night.

Arif is technologically literate. He has owned a mobile phone since he was in form one (13 years old). But, according to him, it was not a smart phone, it was an ordinary mobile phone without internet access. He used to borrow his friend's mobile phone if he intended to

access internet using a mobile phone. Otherwise, he would use a computer. Since he was in form two (14 years old), he liked to spend time with his friends at the cyber café. He learned about how to play with computers from his friends at the cyber café. He started with playing online gaming. After he was better aware of the use of computers, especially the internet, he began to visit pornographic websites by himself. According to him, the cyber café where he used to visit was not a good cyber café due to the lack of proper rules. The customers were allowed to smoke cigarettes on the premise and they were free to do whatever they wanted to do with the computer as long as they could pay for the service. Thus, Arif used this opportunity to visit pornographic websites undisturbed despite the owner knowing what he was doing.

Principally, Arif was charged with incest. He was charged for raping his older sister. Nevertheless, he claimed that his sexual relationship with his sister was established based on mutual consent. Despite this claim, he described that at first he had to force his sister to have sex with him. Then, it seemed to him that his sister could accept it. This assumption is purely from Arif's point of views. He raped his sister twice when he was in form five. The second incident happened two months after the first incident. Both incidents occurred during school holidays when all hostel students were allowed to visit home. Both incidents happened in his sister's bedroom. After the second incident, he learned that his sister who worked as an assistant at a wedding boutique felt afraid that Arif would repeat the incident for the third time. She revealed the incident to her close friends who then convinced his sister to lodge a police report. Other than his sister, Arif denied that he had ever slept with other girls, including his girlfriend.

Soon after that or about two months before the SPM examination, Arif was arrested by the police when he was at his school. He was detained in the police station for around two weeks before his parents bailed him out, allowing him to sit for the SPM examination. After the SPM examination, the court ordered him to be detained at the rehabilitation centre for three years. Not many people were aware of the details of Arif's case. He believes that only his family and his neighbours knew about his case. When he was asked how his neighbours came to know about it, he replied that, it might be because of the police who had come to his house to look for him before they learned that he was at the school. His neighbours noticed the presence of the police officers at his house which led them to inquire or speculate. To Arif, if possible he did not want any people except his family to know about his case. That was why he lied to his cousin and some other people. He created many reasons to convince

people around him that there was nothing wrong with him. He told them that he just wanted to concentrate on the SPM examination. That was why he decided to give up his hostel and live with his cousin. To him, it was an embarrassing case.

Further exploration regarding Arif's life experiences revealed that the incest case and illegal road racing are not the only issues he faced. He disclosed that he had been actively involved in the pornography business. He not only visited the pornographic websites since form three, but also used the websites to generate income. He downloaded pornographic videos onto memory sticks and sold it to his friends and others. His customers consisted of form one and two students at his school. Sometimes his own relatives also requested pornographic videos. Others were people who were older than him who were no longer in school but close to him. Usually, he operated based on request and the capacity of the memory sticks. He used to charge his customers MYR25 for one gigabyte. He said that he enjoyed doing the job even though he did not appear to have financial difficulties. The money he earned mostly went to fund his motorcycle interests. He claimed the motorcycle was his father's motorcycle.

Arif shared his feeling over his case with the interviewer. He felt guilty and sad for being involved in such a case. He wanted to repent and change after he was released from the centre. He plans to further his study in vocational areas. Specifically, he is interested in repairing air conditioners. He applied to Pusat Giat Mara (a vocational learning centre), but his application was rejected because he is still under the court order. He was requested to reapply after being released. Although his detention in the rehabilitation centre was for three years, but due to good conduct, Arif is expected to be released earlier, i.e. after he completed 13 months. He admitted that he has tried his best not to be involved in any behavioural issues while staying in the centre so that he could be released early.

With regard to the knowledge of the local cultural values, Arif responded that the Malays are always associated with celebrating many festivals. He describes Malays as polite and strongly engaged with religion. He suggested that Malay women should wear the head cover to comply with the Islamic teaching. Furthermore, he explained that the Malays emphasise on harmonious family relationships and a sense of togetherness, which was not evident in Arif's lived experiences.

In terms of religious education, Arif was exposed to Islamic education since he was small. Initially, he learned the Quran from his father. He was often forced by his father to

learn the Quran. He was not happy with the way his father treated him. Sometimes, when he refused to learn the Quran from his father, he would lock himself in his bedroom. Thus, he often missed the lesson. This issue is further confounded by the fact that his father was also not at home most of the time because of work. Usually his father returned home late in the evening. By the time his father reached home, Arif had already left. Other than his father, Arif also learned about religion in both primary and secondary schools. At school, he learned about Quran only when his religious teacher asked him to do so, otherwise he preferred not to. He admitted that he could recite the Quran, but he is not good in *Tajweed* (rules governing pronunciation during the recitation of al-Quran). He also never completed fasting in the month of Ramadhan since he was small without the exception of during his stay in the rehabilitation centre

7.3 Madi

Madi is a 17 year old boy who reported that he has never experienced a harmonious family life. Both his parents often fought at home. According to Madi, this problem was rooted in his father's behaviour which involved being in a relationship with another woman in his workplace. The problem started in 2008 when Madi was in standard five, or 11 years old. His father is described as firm and fierce who used to work in the army. Thus, no one in the family had the courage to confront their father. Madi himself was regularly physically assaulted by his father. In terms of religious orientation, to Madi, both his parents did not show any sign that they are devoted Muslims as his father rarely prayed and his mother liked to dress up like a modern young woman without wearing a head cover. His father worked as a bouncer at a night club and rarely returned home.

Since childhood, Madi had seen and experienced a number of family problems. Throughout the interview session with Madi, he continuously shared his disappointment over his family life. According to him, other than his father's extramarital relationship, another issue that inflicted terrible damage to his family life was financial turmoil. His father was the only person who provided financial support to the family. His mother was unemployed. His father was unable to provide sufficient financial support for the family. Hence, Madi felt that he should take the responsibility to help his family. He could not take it any longer to see his family suffer because of poverty. He decided to look for a job at a very young age. He was 13 years old when he decided to work. Through his 'brother in law's' help, he got a job at a local gambling centre. He was assigned to the main entrance at the centre. He received approximately MYR100 per week. He had to work at night and go to school by day. He would give some money to his mother every month. Part of his income went to drugs. He added that, while working at the gambling centre, he also learned a lot about the criminal world.

Because of his family problems and the small size of his home (as he lived in a low cost apartment), Madi felt uncomfortable staying at home. Therefore, he preferred to stay outside with his friends. He spent most of his time in a cyber cafe. There was one occasion when Madi did not return home for a couple of days. That incident led his parents to lodge a police report. He said that he did not have any intention to run away from home, but he just wanted to hang out at the cyber cafe. To him, the cyber cafe was the place where he could release his tension and forget his family problems. When he was asked where he slept while

he was away, he looked surprised and he said that, he was on drugs, therefore he didn't need to sleep. The drugs caused him to remain awake. He could stay awake without sleeping when he was on drugs for a maximum of three days.

With regard to Madi's education, at the age of seven, Madi started to attend a normal primary school (a government funded school). Although, academically out of five subjects he scored only and four Cs and one D in the UPSR examination, he had no major behavioural problems throughout his primary school. As he progressed to secondary school, he started to feel awkward going to school. He reported that he was not interested in school because he believed that he is a slow learner. In addition, he was unable to adapt to the new school environment. At the secondary school, he began to demonstrate many disciplinary related behaviours. He was frequently absent from school. He described that despite the fact that he had repeatedly had disciplinary problems, he never received any punishment from the school authorities. He justified that this was not because the school authorities ignored his problems, but that he was not at school most of the time. He also attended several counselling sessions, but he could not explain how those sessions benefited him. In the meantime, Madi was rather active in co-curricular activities at school. He represented his school in badminton and handball in inter-school tournaments. He also joined PKBM (Malaysia United Cadet Team). Unfortunately, due to his serious and repeated multiple disciplinary problems, eventually he was expelled from school when he was in form three.

Madi was caught by the police while he was pushing a motorcycle that he had stolen and was charged with vehicle theft. He admitted that he had stolen motorcycles more than 20 times. However, he was charged for stealing one motorcycle only. He said that he had stolen the motorcycles because he was desperate for drugs. He took methamphetamine. He needed roughly MYR200 a day in order to get the drugs. He used to get the drugs from a dealer at the gambling centre where he used to work. He was introduced to the drugs by his friends who also worked at the gambling centre. When asked whether he ever thought to stop taking the drug, he replied that he was seriously addicted by the drug, therefore he had never thought to stop taking the drug. He became seriously addicted when he was 13 years old after taking the drug several times. He also started being involved in other criminal activities from 13 years old.

Normally, he stole motorcycles at public places such as at the night market and other public parking spaces. He would steal the motorcycles whenever there were requests from his

'customers'. He explained that, after successfully stealing the motorcycles, he would bring the motorcycles to the ground floor of his home apartment. Then, he would break the motorcycles into parts before selling them separately to his 'customers'. The frames of the motorcycles were then thrown into a river. The police have never discovered the skeletons. Although he had continuously worked on the motorcycles at his home apartment, his parents never discovered his criminal activities as he usually did that at night. All motorcycle parts would be kept in a secret store underneath the staircase before delivering them to his 'customers'. Sometimes, before he dismantled the motorcycles, he would use the motorcycles for illegal road racing.

Apart from vehicle theft and illegal road racing, Madi was also involved in many other behavioural issues. He reported that he had a 15 year old girlfriend. He used to date the girl. However, he denied that he had slept with his girlfriend, instead, he used to have sex with other girls who he knew at school. He was involved in sexual activities since he was 14 years old. It happened quite often in the girls' home. Again, he blames the drugs for his involvement in sexual activities. He said that, the drugs made him unconscious and had caused him to have sexual problems. Other than that, he was also involved in robbery. He did it in a group of five. The majority of the members of his group were his peers. He used to rob people on the street. He targeted Singaporean girls who he believed to possess a lot of money. He was also involved in a series of snatch thefts

7.4 Dino

For Dino, his family background differs from other participants. He is an adopted child. He has no idea who his real parents are. He was found nearby a drain when he was still an infant. Immediately after he was found, a family who had no connection and was not known to him adopted him. He stayed with the family until he was two years old. After that, he was passed to another family who were interested in adopting him. However, it did not last long either: the family cared for Dino until he was four years old when his current family adopted him. According to Dino, the reason why his current family adopted him was because his adopted mother had only one son who had already grown up. Her son was in his early twenties at the time Dino was adopted. Based on his narrative, at first, it was quite difficult for him to adapt to living with the new family. As time passed, he slowly grew accustomed to his fate. He lived with the family in a small town located in the northern part of the Malaysian Peninsular.

Dino went to a Chinese school located nearby his house for his primary education. He attended the school starting from standard one to standard six. He could speak and write Mandarin fluently. When he was asked about how he learned about Islam at the school, he reported that during moral education, non-Muslim pupils would remain in class while all Muslim students would be requested to move to another class for Islamic lessons. Other than school, he learned about Islam, including how to recite the Quran from his mother at home. He has finished reading the entire Quran three times. In the UPSR examination, he scored one A, one B and three Cs. Meanwhile, he explained that he was involved in disciplinary problems since he was in primary school, particularly vandalism. He used to inflict malicious damage to school property as well as to his teachers' cars. After primary school, he went to a normal secondary school (a government funded school). His favourite subject was science. In contrast, he hated history. He reported that he was active in extracurricular activities at both primary and secondary schools. He represented his school in basketball for inter-school tournaments. During his secondary school, he played sepak takraw, football and volleyball. He reported that he was interested in school, but at the same time, he loved to hang out with his friends.

Dino was often truant from school. Instead of going to school, he loved to spend time at a cyber cafe with his friends. At the cyber cafe, he usually visited social websites, especially Facebook and watched videos on online video sharing website particularly

YouTube. Sometimes, he visited pornographic websites at the cyber cafe without any problems. Normally, he would spend his time at the cyber cafe from early in the morning until late evening. He reported that he would also go to the cyber cafe at night. Sometimes he was there until early morning. According to Dino, his mother had no problem with it if he informed his mother where he was beforehand. But usually his mother didn't allow him to go out at night. There was an incident when his brother went to the cyber cafe to find him and took him home.

As he grew older, he began to demonstrate signs of protest towards the parenting style practiced by his adopted mother. According to him, his mother often prevented him from doing anything he wanted to do, such as going out at night. His mother had never given opportunity to him to justify his request. His mother expected him to spend more time at home. But, for Dino, he felt that he had nothing to do at home. Owing to that, he felt distressed and tried to escape the situation. As a consequence, he reported that he had become wild and uncontrollable. He ran away from home to follow his friends. He ran away from home for about three months. While he was away, he stayed at his friend's home. During that time, he also worked at an ice cube company with his friend who was a grown up man, aged over 20 years. He knew the man through his peers. He had become a close friend to the man while he was working at the ice cube company.

After three months, he returned home. By the time he was at home, he received a letter from school saying that he had been expelled from school. Upon receiving the letter, he left school until he was arrested. Dino liked to join *mat rempit* groups as he was really interested in motorcycling. He joined *mat rempits* because he has been expelled from school. But his interest in motorcycles developed earlier, since he was 15 years old. In 2012, his parents bought him a 110cc motorcycle with the hope that it may ease Dino's activities outside. Unfortunately, Dino misused the motorcycle. His parents were unhappy with the fact that Dino did not use the motorcycle as expected. Therefore, his parents decided to sell the motorcycle. Soon after that, with some sympathy, one of Dino's friends offered him a motorcycle. Due to his desperation for a motorcycle, Dino simply took the motorcycle in the belief that the motorcycle was 'clean' (with valid paper work). Unfortunately, it was not, it was a stolen motorcycle. He had been using the motorcycle for months before he was arrested. He used the motorcycle mostly for illegal road racing purposes. He had also a strong tendency to modify the motorcycle so that it was fit for racing purposes.

He described a history of stealing motorcycles to meet the costs of modifying a motorcycle. He had no money to buy the spare parts at that time. The only way he could think at that time to earn some money was to steal motorcycles. On the night when he was arrested, he rode the stolen motorcycle. At that time, the motorcycle was not yet modified. He had been using the motorcycle for approximately three months. He was about to meet with friend of his who wanted to shift to another place to live on the following day. He met him in a small town, about 30 kilometres away from his home. After they met, they decided to go to a cyber café. Dino parked 'his motorcycle' far from the cyber cafe, at a bus parking site. At about 3am, when they were about to leave for home, a RELA (The People's Volunteer Corps) member had approached him wanting to know who the owner of the motorcycle was. Dino denied that the stolen bike was in his possession. The RELA immediately called the police and that led to his arrest on that night. Dino was brought to and held at the police station.

During the police investigation, initially, Dino denied he was in possession of the stolen motorcycle, but at the end, after being intensely interrogated and what he stated was tortured by the police officer, he confessed. Two of his friends were also arrested on that night. At first, Dino was remanded for about two weeks before he was released temporarily until the next hearing session in the juvenile court. During the hearing session, the judge decided initially to temporarily release Dino with bail of MYR3000 while waiting for the verdict that was scheduled later. Unfortunately, his mother had no money at that time to pay the bill, therefore, he was held at a nearby rehabilitation centre for several months. His trial was postponed several times. At the trial, the judge made the decision to release his co-offenders. While he should also have been released, his mother voluntarily put forward his name for rehabilitation purposes because his mother was not able to control him anymore. Dino was somewhat disappointed with his mother's decision, but after some time he was able to understand the wisdom behind his mother's decision.

Further exploration of Dino's experiences revealed that Dino was also involved in many other criminal behaviours. If he did not steal a motorcycle for income, he would also break into houses and cars. Sometimes he also broke into grocery stores and big shopping complexes. He was also involved in robbery. All these crimes were 'pleasurable' activities as described by Dino, for himself and his friends. Dino reported that, when he and his friends participated in criminal activities, it was not necessarily because they were in need of money, they usually did it just for fun. Usually they did it when they felt bored. He and his friends treated their activities like a game. If they managed to escape, they would have attained the

goal, otherwise they simply failed in the game; it was a sort of hobby. Most of the time, Dino acted alone, except for robbery. Usually, their criminal activities were difficult to be traced by the police because someone in their group had become a member of RELA. This particular individual had a walkie-talkie for use in his duties to safeguard the community. This benefited Dino and his other friends because they could easily monitor the police operation and the whereabouts of the police and RELA. It made it easy for them to escape in the event of any operation.

Furthermore, he shared his experience how he started to break into houses and cars. He had a friend whom he admired the most in his criminal world. This particular friend was a ten year old boy. To Dino, this ten year old boy was only young in terms of age but not in his criminal skills. Dino claimed that the boy was a professional criminal. The boy was well known as the most expert car thief. To Dino, the way he broke into the car was amazing. He usually did it calmly. The most money he managed to get in a single crime was MYR16 thousands. He stole it from a mini cooper car, which was parked within the compound of a Chinese house. He managed to remain calm after he had successfully stolen the money. As a matter of fact, the boy was one of Dino's three 'casemates'. The boy was also involved in motorcycle theft. The boy had never gone to school. The boy usually brought along with him a bag that contains all of his most important tools including numerous master keys (for criminal purposes). If the boy felt exhausted while walking on the street, he would simply use his master keys to steal and ride the motorcycle he found on his way home. Another case that amazed Dino was that, the boy had successfully broken into a big shopping complex at about 3 o'clock in the morning. Despite security on duty at the shopping complex being aware of the intrusion, the boy managed to escape safely.

Dino was also asked about his knowledge pertaining to the local culture and values. He explained that Malays are approachable and friendly. To him, some Malays are hardworking, but some are lazy. He portrayed his perspective through drawing on racial differences. For example, he said that usually a Malay would clean his house only once in the afternoon, but his Chinese neighbour would usually clean their house more often, from morning until evening. He added that, the Malay love to wander around and rarely spend time at home. Furthermore, from his observation, the Chinese would not allow their teenage children to go out (without any good reasons), but for the Malay, they have no problem to let their children go out at any time. He suggested that the Malay kids will be safe from any

social problems if they are not allowed to leave the house often. To him, Malay adolescents are very vulnerable to their chaotic environment.

7.5 Adib

Adib is among the research participants who still have both parents. The only problem he has with regard to his parents is that his mother and father have to live separately for work. Adib's father is a policeman while his mother runs a small food stall business. The distance between their workplaces is about 50 kilometres from one and another. They have been living separately for about 3 years. They used to live together before his father was transferred to his current branch. All his siblings also live separately. Two brothers live with his father, while his mother lives with Adib together with his sister. He reported that his parents usually meet during the weekend only. Adib also claimed that his relationship with his family was not going well. His family members communicate with each other only when necessary. Otherwise, they do not even say hello to each other. He thinks that his parents favour his younger siblings. He feels like he is neglected in the family. He tends to speculate that his family does not like him because he was participating in illegal activities.

Adib went to a normal primary school from standard one until standard six. Usually, in the afternoon after his normal primary school session, he would attend Kafa (religious classes) classes to learn about Islam. In the classes, he usually learnt basic Islamic teachings, including different kinds of religious obligations and how to recite the Quran. In his UPSR examination, he scored no A but one B and failed in English. That is all he could remember about his UPSR result. For secondary school, at first he went to a normal secondary school located near his house. He went to the school from form one to form three. Then, he moved to a vocational school from form four to form five. He was interested in vocational subjects more than other subjects, which explains why he decided to move to the vocational school. Although the vocational school was a boarding school, he preferred to stay at home. When he was at the secondary school, his favourite subject was Malay. He was active in co-curriculum activities. He played *sepak takraw*, and he represented his school in an inter-school sports tournament. He reported that he had no major disciplinary problems when he was in primary school. He started to have disciplinary problems when he was in secondary school. He used to smoke at school and often was truant from school.

He made friends with people who were older than him. Their ages ranged between 20 and 30 years old. He knew the majority of them while working at a restaurant. Some of them were introduced by his friends. Other than those older friends, he also had friends of his age, but he did not like to spend time with them. According to him, his peers did not share the

same interests as he did. To him, it is difficult to find a true friend among his peers. From his experience, his peers who were close to him just wanted to take advantage of him because he used to have a lot of money. On the contrary, his older friends whom he described as more mature had never taken advantage of him. He believed that his older friends were honest in their friendship. They did not have any hidden agenda unlike his peers. The majority of his friends were among those who were actively involved in criminal behaviour, especially motorcycle theft.

Adib has been charged with vehicle theft. He was arrested while stealing a motorcycle. He reported that he started stealing motorcycles when he was 16 years old or when he was in form four at the secondary school. He stole motorcycles because he needed money. he described that at the time of his chargeable offence, he did not have a motorcycle and he did not have money to buy one. It had been a while since he started to have an interest in motorcycles, but he was yet to have one. Therefore, he decided to steal a motorcycle to satisfy his needs. Unfortunately, his first attempt was not a success. He was caught by the police. He was detained at the police station for approximately two weeks before he was released. He reported that he failed in his first attempt because his friend who had been detained earlier had revealed his name to the police. Soon after being released by the police, he repeatedly committed the same crime.

Adib also shared his experience of when he wanted to join a motorcycle convoy with his friends to a place located some 200 kilometres away from his home town. Unfortunately, he did not have enough money to join. Coincidentally, one of his friends needed a stolen motorcycle, so, for Adib it was an opportunity for him to make money. Adib had stolen a motorcycle for his friends and he was rewarded with enough money for him to join the convoy program. Adib was well known to his friends as somebody who was an expert in stealing motorcycles. All his friends would look for him should they need a stolen motorcycle. Sometimes, instead of the entire motorcycle, they requested certain motorcycle parts. In that case, Adib would steal a motorcycle and break it into parts. Then, the frame of the motorcycle would be thrown into a river. Usually, he kept the stolen motorcycles at his cousin's house. His cousin was aware of Adib's criminal activities, but preferred not to get involved in his affairs. Adib reported that he had stolen approximately more than 20 motorcycles. However, during the police investigation, he confessed that he stole only one motorcycle and that was the only case for which he was charged.

After Adib was arrested, he was detained by the police and locked up for about two weeks. Then, the court allowed Adib to be released with bail. Unfortunately, Adib's family had refused to bail him out. Due to failure to pay the bailout fee, Adib was ordered by the court to be detained at a rehabilitation centre for about three months while waiting for the trials and the final verdict of his case at the juvenile court. Adib reported that, only his mother regularly came to visit since he was placed at the centre. His father never paid a visit. He believes that his father is still angry with him. On the other hand, further exploration of Adib's history of criminal behaviour revealed that other than stealing motorcycles, he was involved in many other crimes. Before the current conviction, he was charged with rape. However, from his understanding, it was not rape because it happened based on mutual consent. But, because the family of the girl had brought the case to the police, he was then convicted of rape that lead to the current sentence. Apart from that, he was also involved in illegal road racing.

When he was asked about his understanding of the Malay culture and values, he reported that he is proud to be a Malay because according to him, the Malays do not eat weird things. His opinion mainly referred to non-halal food. He added that the Malays are prohibited to consume alcohol, smoke and all other sinful acts. However, he described that he thought about all those prohibitions only after he committed crimes. He had never thought about it before or while doing the crimes.

7.6 Youp

Youp, is an 18 years old adolescent who had to live in a broken family. His parents divorced just before he was arrested. He grew up in a big family of nine siblings. He is the fifth child. According to Youp, the life of his family had been unstable for many years and led to the divorce of his parents. After his parents divorced, he lived with his mother along with his other siblings. His father moved out of their house without any of his children. Youp's mother runs a wedding boutique. His father used to work as a lorry driver before the divorce, however, his father's current career is unknown. His father is described as lacking tolerance and fierce. In responding to the questions regarding his feeling towards his father, Youp reported that he has never cared about his father and really hates him. Before his parents divorced, he witnessed his father taking drugs at home. However, he denied that his father influenced him to become involved in criminal activities. He explained that whatever happened to him had nothing to do with his father. Meanwhile, Youp also experienced a bad relationship with his siblings. They did not interact to each other.

Youp began his criminal activities at the age of 13. He started with drug addiction. Other than drugs, Youp was also involved in vehicle theft and illegal sexual relationships. But his family never discovered his sexual activities. He added that even though his family knew about his other criminal activities, they never offered him advice. They simply ignored him as if nothing had happened. Despite that Youp was actively involved in drug trafficking and addiction, he was not filed for those crimes. He was officially filed with vehicle theft.

Youp also reported that his parents rarely provided him with sufficient financial support. Owing to that, he stated he had to survive and look for money on his own. He used to work as a restaurant assistant, as a factory labourer, and other low-wage jobs. Because of his serious addiction to drugs, he had to ensure that he had enough drugs with him to get him through his daily routine. Unfortunately, he was constantly out of money. Sometimes, when he had no money, he would simply ask for it from his mother. Roughly, he needed about MYR 30 to 40 a day in order to satisfy his need for drugs. Coincidentally, his 56 years old uncle who was also involved in drugs, noticed Youp's strong tendency towards the drugs. Therefore, his uncle offered him a job as a drug dealer. According to Youp, the reasons why his uncle offered him the job was because his uncle worried that his condition would get worse. His uncle was afraid that Youp might sell his household stuff to get the money to buy drugs. Owing to that, his uncle felt that it was better for Youp to work with him so that Youp

could earn enough money in order to buy the drugs. After working with his uncle, he was less likely to suffer from financial problems. Furthermore, as a drug dealer, he always received privilege to buy the drug at a discounted price.

As for school experiences, he reported that he had no problem during his primary school. He did well in the UPSR examination as well. He scored one A, one B and three Cs. He claimed that he used to smoke cigarettes and was involved in glue sniffing when in primary school. He started to smoke when he was in standard four, which is equivalent to ten years old. As his smoking habits had become more serious when he was in standard five, he considered himself to be a heavy smoker. Things became worse when he was in form one in secondary school. He was 13 years old at that time. He had begun taking drugs. At first, he took marijuana and he stopped taking marijuana after he was introduced to heroin. To him, heroin offers more 'benefits' when compared to marijuana. He decided to drop out of school when he was in form three in secondary school. Instead of one full year, he only attended school for two months in that year. He was no longer interested in school. Despite being absent from school, he managed to sit for PMR examination, which was held at the end of the same year he dropped out of school. However, he sat for the exam without proper preparation as he had dropped out of school earlier.

Socially, Youp loves to make friends. The majority of his friends shared the same interests. Most of his friends did not go to school as well. Most of them lived in the same area where Youp lives. The majority of them are older than him. He made friends with his peers only when he was at the school, but after he left the school, he was no longer in contact with his peers. He had known his older friends since he was small. His friends were all involved in many different crimes. All his friends were actively involved in illegal road racing (*rempit*) and adopting free lifestyles. They were often involved in illegal sexual activities. Youp had a girlfriend who he often had sex with. He began to have sexual relationships with his girlfriend in form three. According to Youp, his sexual relationship with his girlfriend was based on mutual consent. They usually did it in Youp's house at midnight or other times when his family was not at home or had already gone to sleep. Other than his steady girlfriend, he also had sex with other girls. According to him, there were about three to four other girls. The oldest woman he had ever had a sexual relationship with was a 22 year old women. Youp had not known the woman before they established the sexual relationship. They usually did it at his friend's house. Surprisingly, his mother's friend was aware of their activities at home. Sometimes, Youp did not know who he had sex with. Based on his description, sometimes his

friend would bring home a girl. Everyone in the house was allowed to sleep with the girl. (Usually, in local terminology, the girl is known as *bohsia*. Technically *bohsia* refers to girls who accompany *mat rempit* in their activities and sometimes the *bohsia* become a reward for those *mat rempit* who win in illegal motorcycle racing competitions.)

In terms of technological literacy, Youp's knowledge of computers was quite good. He usually used the computer to browse the internet. His favourite websites were social websites particularly Facebook and video-sharing websites, especially YouTube. He also used to visit pornographic websites. He had a computer at home, but most of the time he preferred to spend time playing computer at cyber cafe. He reported that sometimes he visited pornographic websites at the cyber cafe. Usually he spent time at the cyber cafe with his friends who also shared the same interest in pornographic videos. When he was asked about where he learned the use of computers, he said that he had learnt it from his friends. It was not limited to learning computers only, he also learned about criminal activities from his friends. Youp added that this was not the first time he was arrested by the police. He was detained once before his current arrest. He had been charged with vehicle theft. According to him, he only felt regret when he was in the lock up. After he has been released, the feeling would have simply gone.

With regards to knowledge about the local culture and values, Youp offered somewhat limited explanation. The only things he could explain are the Malay (women) wear head cover and they wear unrevealing attire. He learned about Islam, including how to recite the Quran since he was small. He learned it at school and at home from his mother. At the time of the interview he was not able to read the Quran. He also reported that his mother regularly performs prayer at home but not his father. His other siblings also perform prayer regularly. In addition, all females in his family wear hijab. When he was small, his mother would scold him if he did not perform the prayer. However, as he grew up, his mother has stopped monitoring his religious activities.

7.7 Sidi

Sidi is from the South. His house is located within the city. He is the third child of six siblings. His eldest brother is around 20 years old. He works at a transportation company in Johor Bahru. His second brother is also working. Both his brothers have been married and live separately. His fourth sibling is also married. The fifth is his younger sister who is still at school. The sixth or the youngest brother is in standard 6 in primary school. Sidi's father works as a general assistant at a governmental agency. His mother works as an assistant at a school canteen. He reported that his family had never had major financial problems. He lived with his family in a two storey terrace house. He reported that he was closer to his mother than his father. He rarely communicated with his father. He also reported that he always stole his father's money. He used to steal his mother's money, but it seemed to him that his mother did not care about it. He described his mother as a kind person who has never scolded or physically assaulted him.

Since he was small and until he finished his primary school, he had been brought up by his aunt. According to Sidi, his aunt had voluntarily adopted Sidi because his aunt did not have a small child at her house, therefore she offered to temporarily take care of Sidi. His aunt's house is located approximately 90 kilometres away from his biological parents' house. It is located in a remote area. He described his aunt as somebody who was firm and rigid. Sidi used to be physically assaulted by his aunt. He reported that his aunt had imposed excessive control over his daily activities. Based on the schedule set up by his aunt, Sidi must be at home by 6.30 in the evening every day. Effectively this meant that after returning from the religious school, he must stay at home. He was prohibited to engage in activities other than those predetermined by his aunt. Also, she prepared a tight schedule for Sidi from early in the morning until the time Sidi had to go to the bed. Because of that, Sidi felt distressed and decided to go back to his biological parents' house. He asserted that he wanted to live freely. Therefore, he made up his mind to run away from his aunt's home. Sidi ran away from his aunt's house when he was about to start his secondary school. Sidi has not seen his aunt since.

When he was asked about his school experience, he immediately responded that he did not like the school. He could not accept the lessons in school. Moreover, he described himself as lazy. He did not like reading and writing as well. He was interested in vocational subjects. At the rehabilitation centre, he attended the automotive workshop. According to him, it is the kind of things that he loves to do. In the UPSR examination, out of five subjects, he scored

three Ds and two Es. He reported that during primary school, although he was not so good in academia, behaviourally he was good. Apart from the normal primary school, Sidi also went to a religious school in the afternoon. At the religious school, he learned many different subjects related to religion. He also used to practice whatever he learned at the religious school. As he progressed to secondary school, he started to develop patterns of truancy and eventually he left the school when he was 14 years old (form two). He reported that he began to face many behavioural issues when he drew closer to his new friends at the secondary school who were also involved in drug addiction.

The majority of his friends were his schoolmates. He also made friends with adults aged over 20 years old. He added that he was the youngest in his group. To Sidi's knowledge, all his friends are still active in their criminal activities. He was confident that he is going to meet them again after he has been released. He reported that in the last Hari Raya break, he was allowed to return home to celebrate the Hari Raya for a week. During the break, many of his friends came to visit him at home, and he maintains a good relationship with them. He described his plans for after he was released from the centre, claiming he would go back to his friends and most probably will take revenge. He is really angry with the police. However, he did not provide any further explanation about his planned revenge. He was confident that his *ex-tauke* (a drug dealer who used to supply the drugs to Sidi) will look for him after he has been released.

Sidi did not like to play computer. He was not good in computer either. He preferred to play snooker more than playing computer during his free time. This does not necessarily mean that he has never played computer. His *tauke* had a laptop and he often let Sidi play on it. Sidi reported that he used to visit pornography websites on his *tauke's* laptop.

Sidi has been charged with four offences. First, he has been charged with failure to show up at the court, the second is failure in the urine test, the third is drug trafficking and the last is drug addiction. For each case, he was sentenced for up to three years in the rehabilitation centre. However, the court ordered all the sentences to be carried out simultaneously. Sidi reported that he began taking drugs at 15 years old (form three) and became a drug dealer when he was 17 years old. He stated that he felt extremely uncomfortable if he did not have his daily drug intake. Usually, after receiving the drug, he would check-in into a hotel where one of his friends worked, so he did not have to pay. He reported that most of his friends were all taking the drugs except some who only consumed

alcohol. Before he started taking the drugs, he used to smoke cigarettes which began in form one at the secondary school. At that time, he was involved in glue sniffing. After he began taking drugs, he stopped sniffing glue. He described a history of drug taking, he spent approximately RM200 per day for drugs, which is excessive comparable to his age peers. He shared the drugs with his friends. Usually, they collected the money among them to buy the drugs. Other than making collections he also worked on a daily basis to get the money. If he did not have enough money, he would steal motorcycle parts. He would steal high value parts of the motorcycle, such as a carburettor. He was usually paid for RM50 per carburettor.

To Sidi, it was such an enjoyment taking drugs. When he was taking heroin for instance, he could stay awake for about two to three days and it was ok for him not to eat for days as an effect of the drugs. He felt lightheaded and he became more energetic. Additionally, if he was on drugs, he had more courage to do anything he wanted, especially his criminal activities. He did not feel nervous at all. He was aware of the consequences of being involved in drugs, but it never affected him. When he was asked how did he become a drug dealer, he reported that there was a *tauke* (a drug dealer) who had asked Sidi to help him to sell the drug. The *tauke* had handed over to Sidi some amount of drugs and he asked Sidi to sell it. He would ask for 1000 Ringgit per day from Sidi and Sidi could keep the rest of the money. Sometimes Sidi managed to get 1000 Ringgit per day in cash after paying the *Tauke*. By becoming a drug dealer, Sidi could get the drugs for free and could earn some money as well. The *tauke* also provided free accommodation for Sidi. He lived luxuriously at that time. He never worried about the police because he reported that his *tauke* had bribed the police. Therefore, they believed that their activity was well protected.

He explained that he usually sold the drug to regular customers, except sometimes he made the deal with new customers. However, before dealing with the new customers, he had to be careful because he was afraid that his customers might be accompanied by the police. Usually, the new customers would inform him of the colour of their dress, and he would identify them based on that. He would instruct his customers on what they should do. Usually Sidi put the drugs in a cigarette box, and then he would approach his customers and pass the cigarette box to his customers. Then, his customers would take the drugs and put the money in the cigarette box. His customers would pay him only if they were satisfied with the deal. After his customer had returned the box to Sidi, he would leave the scene. During the time Sidi was active as a drug dealer, he rarely came home. His family had warned him to leave his criminal

activities many times. However, the verbal warning did not work on Sidi. Eventually, his family simply ignored him.

He added that he simply did not care about other peoples' perceptions of him. To him, he did not like to interfere in other people's lives. In return, he expected others not to interfere in his. Sidi had many friends. If anyone disturbed him or caused him harm, he would hurt them badly. However, he was confident that nobody dared to harm him. He reported that his *rempit* group was among the cruellest gangs in his area. A slight mistake made by others against his gang would lead to serious consequences. For instance, when they bet for racing, if the opponent lost and they ran away without paying the money, they would find their opponent and do something bad to them. His family members also have never interfered because they were all afraid of him.

Sidi asserted that he was rarely beaten by others, including his parents because all people knew that if he was mad he would act indecently and violently. Besides, both his older brothers were also known as gangsters at that time. Both of them were ex-Hendry Gurney (prisoner school for young offenders) inmates. One of them would back him up. If his brothers knew anyone had tried to do something to Sidi, they would react aggressively. He stated that now, both his brothers have already married and live normally. Sidi added that, it was normal for Sidi to be beaten by his brothers if they found him making any mistakes, especially drug related problems.

Sidi also reported that he used to have a motorcycle. He bought the motorcycle using his own money. Sometimes he used the motorcycle for road racing purposes. Usually, before he went racing, he would drink alcohol. He also had a girlfriend. He used to have sex with his girlfriend. His girlfriend used to accompany Sidi in racing events as well. Other than his girlfriend, Sidi used to have sex with other girls. He reported that he used to have sex with at least five girls. Sidi was also involved in stealing and robbery. He used to steal car sport rims. He would steal the rims from the cars that were parked in public parking spaces. He had all the necessary tools for the purposes of his criminal activity. He was also active in robbery. His victims were usually foreigners, specifically Bangladeshis and Indonesians who work in Malaysia. He usually took all valuable things from the victims such as mobile phones and jewellery. Then, he would sell those things in order to get money and to buy drugs.

He was arrested by the police while processing the drugs before delivering it to the customers. He was in a group of six people at that time. They had just received a new stock of

drugs, so they needed to repack the drugs into smaller containers. Each container was valued at 100 Ringgit. Around 9.30 on that night, the police raided their house and everyone in the house was arrested. He reported that he was aware that the police always monitored his whereabouts. But the police had never caught him. Sidi speculated that on the night he was arrested, the police had planned the raid in the house that led to his arrest. Before that, the police used to see him selling the drugs. But, the police always failed to arrest him. He reported that if he was riding a motorcycle, no one could catch him. It was really difficult to catch him if he was with his motorcycle. Unfortunately, on the day he was arrested, he was in his house. Thus, he had no chance to escape. He reported that during that night, too many police officers were involved in the raid. To his knowledge, the police commenced a large scaled operation on that night.

It is important to note here that it was not the first time he was arrested, he was arrested at least five times before that. He was arrested for many different offences such as illegal road racing and riding an unapproved modified motorcycle. But, according to him, it was not his motorcycle, his motorcycle was in standard condition and free from any modification. It was not suitable for racing purposes.

With regards to the Malay culture and values, at first, he responded that he had no idea how to explain because he said that, he had never cared about it. However, after the interviewer gave him several examples of the Malay culture and values, he said that he has never practiced all those values. He believed that the Malays are the most problematic people in Malaysia. He portrays his belief through the experience of his dealing; the Chinese are like a boss, they always become the drug dealer and sell the drugs to the Malays. He bought the drugs from a Malay drug dealer, but on top of the Malay dealer was the Chinese businessman. He also said that at the rehabilitation centre where he is staying, the majority of the inmates are Malay. The number is vastly different from other races.

Before he was arrested, he simply did whatever came across in his mind. But it is different now. He reported that he learned a lot while living in the rehabilitation centre. He agreed that the centre has helped him to improve to become a better person. Sidi claimed that he has gained weight while staying in the rehabilitation centre. Before he was admitted to the centre, his weight was about 45kg as an effect of drugs. Now his weight is over 60kg. When he returned home recently, everyone was shocked to have seen him gain so much weight. He reported that it is still difficult for him to learn about religion. He could guarantee that he

would completely change after he has been released from the centre. But, he added that he really misses drugs. He also said that his parents mean nothing to him but his girlfriend does. He would do whatever his girlfriend asked him to do. He blamed his aunt for what has happened to him.

7.8 Zul

Zul is a 16 year old boy. He is the youngest of eight siblings. His father works as an unskilled labourer and his mother is a full time housewife. The eldest of his siblings is his brother who is almost 50 years old. His brother is married and has four children. In the interview, Zul repeatedly condemned his eldest brother for behaving badly. His eldest brother used to take alcohol and drugs. To him, his eldest brother is the worst sibling in his family. Sometimes, his mother had to support financially all his brothers' children. When his brother was desperate for money, he would steal anything valuable in the house and sell it. This particular brother had no permanent job as well. His eldest brother has been imprisoned because of drugs. The second is his sister who is married. The third is his brother who lives with their parents. The fourth is his sister who is also married lives with her husband. The fifth sibling is his sister who is also married. She lives separately but her house is not far from their parents' house. The other two are both females. One of them is still in school, or specifically form five. He described his father as strict and fierce. Zul was physically assaulted by his father from a young age. He described his family as meaningful to him.

With regards to his family's religious orientation, Zul reported that he used to see his mother perform prayer at home. However, he was unsure about his father. He mentioned that he used to see his father perform prayer when his father returned home from work early, otherwise, he was unsure. He also reported that all his brothers and sisters except the eldest brother performed prayer regularly. When he was placed at J's correction centre (his first correction centre) before he was admitted to the current centre, he said that performing prayer was compulsory for all inmates and all inmates should know how to perform prayer. However, in the current centre, he found it weird knowing that the centre's authorities are not serious about the prayer. He said that he wanted to learn and perform prayer regularly, but it is difficult to get the opportunity to do that. On the other hand, he loved to listen to people reciting al-Quran. He wished he could read the Quran fluently as others do. Unfortunately, he cannot because according to him, his Ustaz (male religious teacher) is never available at the centre to teach him about the Quran. Also, the Ustaz's approach failed to attract Zul's attention. Sometimes, if the Ustaz was teaching religion at the mosque, usually, Zul would sit outside because he is not really interested in listening to the Ustaz's teachings. He stated he was only interested if the Ustaz made jokes. Otherwise, he would feel sleepy.

According to Zul, he was a hot-tempered person. If he was mad at someone, he would act aggressively. One of his victims was his own girlfriend. He used to physically hurt his girlfriend if she did not listen. Zul reported that he physically hurt his girlfriend on one occasion after school when she did not listen to him. After this incident his girlfriend wanted to break up with him but he did not allow it as he still loved her. That was not the only incident where he had acted violently. He reported that he often physically hurt other people too. He used to beat up his own brother and almost killed him. The majority of his victims were his own friends. He added sometimes when he met a stranger on the street, he was likely to hurt them even for a slight mistake. He simply hates outsiders who tried to get into his affairs. He mentioned that he thought nothing when he was violent.

Zul used to have many friends. All his friends came from different backgrounds. Some of them were older than him, some of them were his age and the rest were as young as 13 years old. However, he was close to three people only, they were 21, 16 and 13 years old respectively. To him, those three people were his closest friends. All of them live nearby his house. He also had many girlfriends. He had dated three girls before he was arrested. One of them was pregnant, but he said that it was not because of him, and he stated he had not had sex with his girlfriend. He shared an incident when he attempted to commit suicide because he had seen his girlfriend date another boy. He cut his hand using a sharp knife. According to him, at that time he did not feel pain, even though his hand had been cut badly. After he cut his hand, he decided to jump off the school building. However, when he was about to jump off the building, one of his friends held his hand. Immediately after the incident, his friends took him to the teacher's room. Then, his teacher rang his father, asking his father to fetch him from school. Zul reported that he is still in a good relationship with the 17 year old girl. During the last Hari Raya break, he took the girl to his home to meet his parents and family. Her house is not far away from his house. If he wanted to meet his girlfriend, Zul would go to his sister's house and meet her there. For him, it is quite difficult for him to forget his girlfriend during his time in the centre. Pertaining to his school experiences, he reported that he went to a normal primary school from standard one until standard six. He then progressed to a normal secondary school. He dropped out of school when he was 16 years old. He could not remember his UPSR examination result. However, he remembered that he scored seven Ds and one E in his PMR examination. He asserted that, primarily he was interested in studying, but described himself as a slow learner. He stated that teachers also played important roles in his school experiences. He mentioned that sometimes his interest to stay in

class depended on who taught the subject. If the teacher was rigid and unfriendly, he would simply feel bored. He was interested in the Malay language but not in other subjects, especially science and English. He used to follow his friends and was often truant from school. His criminal activities began after he dropped out of school.

Zul was actively involved in stealing motorcycles. He mentioned that the reason he stole a motorcycle for the first time was because he needed several spare parts for his friend's motorcycle. He claimed that he just helped his friend to get the spare parts without hoping for any payment in return. He added that it was also the first time his friend had committed the crime. Zul used to have a 110cc motorcycle. Usually, he used the motorcycle for illegal road racing, and was in several road accidents. He carries a scar from one.

He also shared his experience about the moment he was arrested. According to him, he was arrested after he and his friends had stolen two motorcycles. During that time, he was in a group of four. After they successfully stole the motorcycles, they rode them on a slippery road. Suddenly, one of the motorcycles slipped over. Because of panic, his friend left the motorcycle and ran away, but he failed to escape. He was arrested by the police. During the police investigation, his friend disclosed Zul's identity to the police. Not long after his friend's disclosure, Zul was arrested. Zul was charged with motorcycle theft. He was held in the police station for seven days before his father bailed him out at the cost of RM1200. After his father bailed him out and while waiting for the court's decision, he kept doing the 'job'. He was almost arrested again when someone in the public saw him trying to steal a motorcycle. That was the last crime he committed. After that, he just stayed at home.

At his trial, the judge ordered him to be placed at a correction centre. At that time, he attended the trial with his friend who faced the same charge. His friends were sent to other correction centres. Soon after he was admitted to the correction centre, he ran away from the centre, and returned to his family home. He reported that his mother was sick at that time. His father informed the staff at the correction centre and he was taken back to the centre. He reported that another reason that led him to run away from the centre was that he was bullied by his seniors. After several attempts to run away from the centre, he was transferred to the current centre.

He acknowledged that the current centre offers a better experience compared to the previous centre. He no longer experienced bullying. The staff are more friendly compared to the previous centre. He started to learn *Iqra* (initial stage in learning about the Quran).

Currently he is on *Iqra* 4. He learns it from his friends. According to Zul, the Ustaz who should teach the *Iqra* is rarely available at the centre to teach him and other inmates. Sometimes, the Ustaz teaches them only once in a month. In the meantime, Zul stated that all staff in the centre are friendly. In instances that they (the inmates) do anything wrong, public caning would be employed, but the staff did it with valid reasons only. He added that the approach was hugely different when he was in the previous correction centre. According to him, any mistake would lead to a serious punishment. Usually, the staff in the centre would beat them up badly. Zul shared that he does not want to cause any problems while staying in the centre because he wanted to improve his grades so that he could be released earlier. He wanted to leave the centre as early as possible. He also wished that he could further his studies in welding courses.

7.9 Nuar

Nuar is a 16 year old boy who originally came from Pahang, but grew up in Kuala Lumpur. His father works with the Malaysian army and his mother is unemployed. His father is expected to retire in several months. He has three siblings. He is the second. The eldest is his brother, aged 20. Currently, his brother is taking A levels as preparation before going overseas to further his study at a tertiary level. He will be majoring in medicine. His little sister or the youngest child is still in standard three at the primary school. He reported that his father is currently attending business courses offered by the Malaysian government for retirement. At the same time, his father runs a small food stall. Sometimes, Nuar helped his father in the business.

Nuar was closer to his mother than his father. Thus, he was more comfortable talking to his mother than his father. He claimed that his father was not really concerned about him, and stated his father paid more attention to his brother and his little sister. He speculates that his father favoured his brother more than him, maybe because his brother was good in school. His brother always did well in all national examinations. His father used to physically discipline Nuar. His father used to slap him on his face. However, he noticed that ever since he was admitted to the current centre, his father has changed. His father always comes to the centre to visit him. It seems to Nuar that his father has started to love him. Nuar did not encourage his parents to visit him at the centre often because their house is too far away from the centre. Despite the distance, his parents insist on visiting him frequently. Normally, his parents came to visit him once every two months. Although he felt that his father loved his brother and his little sister more than him, his relationship with both his siblings was good. Nuar used to hang out with his brother and sometimes they smoked cigarettes together. However, they rarely met because his brother stayed in the hostel and was rarely at home. He added that his brother had never discovered his criminal activities.

Nuar made friends with people from all different ages and backgrounds. He also made friends with Chinese and Indian ethnic groups. The majority of his friends were older than him, mostly over 20 years of age. When he was asked how he knew all those older friends, he replied that he knew them through his friends. They used to hang out at Bukit Bintang (best known as fashion and entertainment centre) especially during the weekend. If he and his friends did not go to Bukit Bintang, they usually spent time at many different shopping complexes around Kuala Lumpur. Some of his friends were closely linked to certain groups

such as skinhead groups. However, he said that he was not interested in joining the group. Sometimes, he brought his friends to his home. Nuar reported that he loved to spend his time at a cyber cafe where one of his friends was working. Thus, he had the opportunity to use the computer at the cyber cafe for free. At the cyber cafe, he liked to play online games. He also visited pornographic websites. He added that he had a computer at home with an internet connection. If he played computer at home, he could do anything he wanted with the computer because his parents were not skilled in computer use. Therefore, they were not able to closely monitor his activities with the computer.

Nuar went to a normal primary school in downtown Kuala Lumpur. He was often truant from school, especially on co-curriculum days which were every Wednesday. He had to stay at school from morning until late in the afternoon. For him, it was unbearable. Therefore, he would skip the program by leaving the school around 12.30 in the afternoon. Both of his parents were aware of that. He had told them that he was not interested in joining the co-curricular programs. Usually in the afternoon or after coming back from school, he would help his father at the stall. Nuar reported that he was somewhat interested in school. He scored four As and one B in the triall UPSR examination. In the real examination, he scored only three As. During primary school, he had not known his criminal friends.. He began to have problems when he was in form two after he started hanging around with his criminal friends. He went to school until form three only. After the PMR examination, he dropped out of school until he was arrested.

Nuar has been charged with section 336: endangers life or personal safety of others. He blamed his friends for what has happened to him that led to the arrest. It was a gang-rape. Nuar claims that his friends asked him to join them having sex with the girl. The incident happened at his friend's house. It was a party night. On that night, the parents of his friends were away, leaving his friend and his sister alone at home. Nuar was accompanied by another girl who he usually had sex with. According to Nuar, his friend came from a rich family. They lived in a double-storey house in Ampang (elite area). However, his parents were rarely at home as they often had to work outstation (away from their hometown) for several days each time they went out. Therefore, their son took advantage of their absence and hosted wild parties at home. His neighbours were not concerned about what was happening in the house. Usually he would invite all his friends, including boys and girls to join the party. Normally there were about 15 people invited to the party. The party usually lasted until early morning. Alcohol and drugs would also be available at the party. Nuar reported that all the people in the

party would dance and at the end they would wrap up the party with sexual activities. Nuar was arrested after the victim lodged a police report. He was detained at a police station for two weeks before being referred to a juvenile correction centre while waiting for the court's decision over his case. The court ordered him to be detained at the current rehabilitation centre.

The girl with whom he had sex on the night that led to his arrest was older than him. She was between 17 and 18 years of age. Nuar rarely met the girl. Normally they met at the parties. They met outside the party once only. Nuar could not recall exactly how many times they had had sex together, but Nuar said that there were several times. Every time they met, they would have sex. The girl was the best friend of his friend who hosted the party. He claimed that on that night he did not have sex with the girl, he had sex with another girl. However, Nuar speculated that most probably she noticed the presence of Nuar at the party, and that was why she identified Nuar too. Before knowing the girl, Nuar reported that he started to have sexual relationships with other girls at the age of 15. He had a girlfriend who he spent most of his time with. He often had sex with his girlfriend. He said that he had never thought about the implications of his sexual activities and how they might be regarded as wrong.

Other than rape, Nuar also reported that he was involved in drug abuse. He started taking drugs when he was 14 years or form two in secondary school. He used to take marijuana, and ice (methamphetamine). However, he never bought the drugs by himself. Usually, he asked for the drugs from his friends. According to him, his friends were close to a drug dealer at the pub where they usually visited. He described himself as a heavy smoker. Every day he smoked cigarettes in the morning, afternoon and once after meals. He smoked roughly four to five cigarettes a day. Apart from cigarettes, he also smoked shisha (smoking tobacco using a special pipe) at a local restaurant near his house. His parents never knew he smoked cigarettes and shisha. Every day he needed to have some money in order to buy cigarettes and to do other activities with his friends. He did not like to ask for money from his parents. He preferred to use his own money in order to buy the cigarettes and to pay for his activities outside. Hence, he decided to work at a catering company. At the company he was assigned to work as a cleaner and sometimes he was also asked to do other tasks. His parents knew that he was working at that time. He went to school in the morning and worked in the afternoon until midnight.

According to Nuar, the incident that led to his detention was not his first experience of being detained by the police. He was detained for the first time because he had ridden a motorcycle without a valid license. He also failed a urine test. He took marijuana the night before he was detained. His friend lent him some money to bail him out. He reported that the police did contact his parents on that night, but his father just ignored them and refused to bail him out. When he came home, his father nagged him a lot. However, the incident did not constrain his criminal activities.

7.10 Mizi

Mizi is a 16 year old boy, originally from the Northern part of the Malaysian peninsular. He is the second child of five siblings. The eldest sibling is his sister and he has two younger sisters and one stepsister. Initially, Mizi lived with his biological mother who was working at a catering company. His father married to a second wife. But, for certain reasons, in 2011, Mizi shifted to his stepmother's house at the age of 13. According to Mizi, his father divorced his biological mother twice. After his parents divorced, the Sharia' court made the decision to put Mizi under his father's custody. But his father decided that it was better for Mizi to live with his biological mother so that Mizi could be a better person, so, Mizi was handed to his mother. But things turned out to be different from his father's expectations. Mizi always went out at night. Sometimes he did not return home until early morning. He also was often truant from school and did not come home after school. He went to a cyber café instead. Mizi had become wild and uncontrollable. His biological mother thought that she could no longer control Mizi's behaviour and made the decision to send Mizi to his father and live at his stepmother's house. She works as an air force officer. Mizi reported that he had a good relationship with his stepmother.

Mizi reported that, to his knowledge, his father has married three women, including his biological mother. However, other than the biological mother, Mizi only know his father's second wife with whom he lives. Mizi's father lives in Penang alone, while Mizi's stepmother lives in the southern part of the Malaysia peninsular. Mizi's father works as a supervisor at a bread factory. Sometimes, his father also serves as a bread dispatcher. His father earns around RM1500 per month. Sometimes, his father came home to give his mother some money. He described his father as a nice person who always treated him nicely as long as he did not behave inappropriately. Otherwise, his father would be a very fierce person. Mizi used to be physically assaulted by his father from a young age but Mizi described this as normal discipline. The last such incident occurred when he was in standard two in primary school.

Mizi went to a normal primary school from standard one until standard six. In the afternoon, he used to attend religious classes (KAFA). He scored one A, two Ds and two Es in the UPSR examination. He scored an A in the Malay language. He then progressed to a normal secondary school. However, he did not complete his secondary school. He dropped out when he was in form three, following his arrest. He reported that the school authorities did

not know about his arrest. Mizi also reported that he was not interested in school. When he was in school, he described that physically his body was in school, but his mind was somewhere else. Instead of studying, he felt like doing something else, such as going to the cyber café, playing games and spending time with his friends. He added that his teachers at school always missed the class. They were usually busy with other programs. He also said that he is interested in vocational subjects. He does not like to read and write. He holds the belief that if people are not good in school, they must be good in a vocational area and have sufficient skills to survive. He said that he is not good in writing and reading, but he is good at repairing cars and motorcycles.

Mizi reported that he was relatively good in computers. He used to spend time in cyber cafes playing computer. He liked to play online games, watching funny videos through video sharing websites such as YouTube and visited social media websites especially Facebook. He has eight Facebook accounts. He also often visited pornographic websites. He mentioned, if he had nothing to do, pornographic websites would be his first option. Usually he visited the pornographic websites at the cyber café. When he was asked about the rules of the cyber café he visited, he said that he did not care about the rules because the computer that he usually used was located right at the back of the cyber café. Therefore, it was difficult for the owner to see what he was doing with the computer.

Mizi has been charged with criminal intimidation (section 506 of the penal code). He reported that during the incident, he was unconscious because he was on drugs. He also described how the incident happened. According to him, before the incident, he played his iPad with his friends. Then, one of Mizi's friends told him that he wanted to buy a brand new iPad. Therefore, he asked Mizi to join him going to Kuala Lumpur with his friend's mother. Mizi simply agreed, then he went home to collect his personal stuff in preparation before going to Kuala Lumpur. Coincidentally, his mother was home at that time. He asked for some money from his mother, but she refused to lend him some money so he became aggressive and threatened his mother. He used the word 'amok' to describe his action at that time. Because his mother refused to give him money, he threw away everything he could in the house. He also used a wooden stick to physically assault his mother.

The tension reduced and Mizi returned to normal. His mother told him that she wanted to go to the grocery shop, and left Mizi alone at home. As he was about to have lunch, several police officers raided his house. He could not comprehend what was going on. All his

neighbours from the other two apartments in his neighbourhood came to his house to witness the incident. He said that he did not expect that the police would come to arrest him in his house. He reported that the police had tortured him before they handcuffed him. They kicked and slapped him. He then learned that his mother was the one who reported him to the police. It was then that he saw that his mother was afraid of him, and so were his younger siblings who kept holding his mother's hand as if Mizi would hurt them.

Mizi was taken to a police station where he was held for about two weeks. He had undergone a thorough investigation by the police. He was also required to attend a series of trials in the juvenile court. He was remanded for two months at a correctional centre. After being remanded at the centre, he attended a trial session at the juvenile court. The court decided to release him on bail and his father paid the fee. About two months later, he attended his final session at the juvenile court and was found guilty of intimidating his mother. Due to the conviction, he was ordered by the court to be sentenced for three years at the current rehabilitation centre.

According to Mizi, before the incident, he had never been arrested by the police because of drugs. But, he said that two or three days after he had been released, he took the drug again. He could not refrain from taking the drug as he saw his friends take it. He added that usually, after taking the drug, he would disturb and cause harm to other people.. He often threatened his mother. He did that as often as about three times a week. Usually, he put his mother at risk if his mother refused to give him some money, and blamed it on the effects of the drugs. Before this conviction he had been spent a year in detention for a similar offence. Following his initial release, he was put under court supervision for a certain period, and despite being detained several more times, Mizi continuously continued offending and had no remorse. He was charged with many different offences, such as use of drugs, robbery, snatching and vehicle theft. He could not recall exactly how many times he had been detained by the police, but was only placed in correctional detention for three offences including his current one. For the others, he merely received a warning or was set free by the police. Some of the young people at the current rehabilitation centre also recognised him as they used to meet at other detention centres. He also described drinking '*ketum*' (leaf juice), and blamed his friends for his behaviours.

Mizi started taking drugs in standard four in primary school. At that time he lived with his biological mother in Perlis. He began with glue sniffing before taking other drugs. He

bought the drugs from his friends. It cost him about MYR 2.50 per small plastic container. He committed many crimes in order to get the money to buy the drugs. For example, when he went to shopping complexes, he would steal anything that looked valuable to him, especially expensive clothes. Sometimes, he also stole some food. He shared with the interviewer about his thoughts on stealing food, explaining that it was not a good idea as it caused his stomach to inflate. Therefore, most of the time, he preferred to steal things other than food. He was never caught by the police for stealing. His friends always helped him to escape after stealing things from certain shops. He started to steal when he was in primary school. His father was unaware of his criminal activities. His mother knew about his criminal activities, but according to Mizi, his mother could do nothing to stop him.

In the interview, he shared his feeling about the crimes he had committed. According to him, he would feel relieved after he had successfully got away with them. He has never thought about change, despite sometimes feeling a little regret. He added, if he happened to feel regret, it never lasted long. He could only hold the feeling for a couple of days before he went back to his criminal activities. He mentioned that he liked to engage in bad behaviours. He liked to meet his problematic friends more than others. He loved to go out and hangout with them in most of his leisure time. When he saw his friends doing something bad, he always felt like joining them. He simply enjoyed being with his problematic or criminal friends.

With regards to his culture, values and belief orientation, throughout the interview session, he continuously voiced his concern over what he thought of as the Malay problems. He kept questioning why there are so many Malays placed in prison or other correctional centres, but not other ethnic groups. He speculates that, this is probably because Malays are always influenced and ruled by the Chinese. When he was questioned about his understanding about the Malay values, he replied that what differentiates Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups is the way they perform prayer. Moreover, to him the Malay is polite. Malay can adhere to the rules, unlike Chinese and Indian groups. He asserted, throughout his life span and until he was detained at the current rehabilitation centre, he had never learned about Islam and Quran from others including his parents. He learned about al-Quran at school only.

Currently, while living in the rehabilitation centre, he reported that he has learned a lot about religion. The religious teacher at the centre always conducts religious and Quranic classes. However, there is no fixed schedule for the classes. Other than religious classes, he

also joined a welding course offered by the centre. According to him, he was not really interested in welding. He is more interested in an automotive course, because he is interested in cars. He is happy with the fact that living in the centre gives him chances to acquire many certificates such as certificate for religious programs, marching, certificate of good conduct, certificate of motivational programs and many others. He believes that all those certificates will help him to survive after he has been released.

For him, the centre has changed him because the programs at the centre have resulted in reducing his intention to commit crimes. He thinks a lot about change and to engage in good deeds after he has been released. He also thinks a lot about his parents. He feels sad because all other adolescents at his age can live happily with their parents, can ride motorcycles and do other things but he can do nothing. After he has been released, he wants to take care of his parents. According to Mizi, throughout his stay at the centre, his father came to visit him every week, but his mother came only once. Sometimes, he feels like running away from the centre, but he is aware that if he does that, he might have to face a more severe punishment. When he goes back home, he plans to socialise himself with the community at his place. He will go to the mosque more often. He does not mind what people want to say about him. If possible, he plans to stay away from his criminal friends after he has been released. Also, he plans to further his study at Giat Mara.

7.11 Tapa

Tapa is 18 years old. He is the seventh child of eight siblings. The eldest is his brother, the second, the third and the fourth are sisters, and the fifth is a sister but acted like a tomboy (a girl who exhibits characteristics considered typical of a boy). There are five females and three males in his family. The eldest, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth siblings are all working with his father. His second and fifth siblings (sisters) are working in Singapore. They work as a bus driver and as an assistant at a fast food restaurant respectively. His father runs a small business. He sells *goreng pisang* (fried banana). According to Tapa, his father has opened many branches after the king of Johor bestowed him the business site where he is working. He has four *goreng pisang* stalls in total. Other than *goreng pisang*, his father also sells noodles, fish crackers and other local dishes. He has been doing the job for about 20 years. Before that, his father worked as a security guard. Currently, his father earns at least MYR1000 a day. After subtracting all capital costs and his employees' salaries, his father is able to get about 200 – 300 a day. Despite that, Tapa claims that his family is not a rich family. His house is a semidetached house. All his siblings live together in the house except his second sister who has been married and lives separately with her husband.

During childhood, Tapa reported that his parents had spoiled him. Whatever he asked for from his parents, they would fulfil. Usually he asked for toys, but it was different when he was 12 years-old. At that time, he began to steal his parents' possessions. He used to steal his mother's jewellery, such as her bracelet and her necklace, and sell it for money. Consequently, after his parents discovered his stealing habit, whatever he asked for from his parents, they would not necessarily fulfil it. For example, when he asked for money from his father, his father would ask him to look for a job. When he realised that his parents no longer believed in him, he decided to stop his stealing habit in order to win back his parents trust. However, it did not last long. After sometimes, he returned to his stealing habit. When he was in secondary school, his behavioural issues became more serious and he was expelled from school. Following his expulsion, his mother thought it would be a good lesson for Tapa to change. Unfortunately, Tapa's problem was getting more serious until he was arrested when he was 18 years-old. His mother could not take it anymore and gave up on Tapa. His mother was the one who suggested Tapa be placed in the rehabilitation centre. Tapa reported that none of his other sibling were involved in social problems except him. He added that he had a

good relationship with all his family members, especially after he had stopped stealing stuff from his own house.

He made friends with his schoolmates and his neighbours. Some of them were at his age, and some of them were older than him. Their age was around 20 and over. None of them were working. They just stayed at home and did nothing legally for a living. All of them lived nearby Tapa's house. They also rented a house where they spent most of their time together. The house had become the place where Tapa and his friends took the drugs. Usually, Tapa and his friends went out at night to do their criminal activities such as burglary. Tapa reported that he was involved in crime because of his friends. He engaged in crimes for money. Tapa described all his friends were useless, but he enjoyed spending time with them. Tapa also had a friend who was younger than him. They used to commit crimes together. Some of his friends joined criminal gangs, but Tapa stated he had never joined any criminal gang because he was busy with his personal criminal activities. He added that he had learned a lot from his friends, especially about drugs and other crimes. However, during the interview, he disclosed his feeling of disappointment over his friends. He said that, his friends should have covered him at the time he was doing the 'job', but they ran away, leaving Tapa alone. They managed to escape, but he did not. He does not want to trust them anymore.

Tapa also had a girlfriend. His girlfriend was still going to school. She is 17 years-old. He used to date his girlfriend and he said that he loves his girlfriend. His girlfriend has no idea of the real Tapa and what he was doing. She thought that Tapa was a good person. Currently Tapa is still in a relationship with his girlfriend despite the fact that he has to stay in the centre. When his family visited him, he would use the opportunity to contact his girlfriend using his mother's mobile phone. He lied to his girlfriend by telling her that he is studying in Penang and will come home in months. Before Tapa was arrested, he also liked to play football during his free time. Usually, he was the one who would contact all his friends to play football. Furthermore, if there was a concert being organised nearby his place, he rarely missed the event. Normally, before going to any concert, he took drugs to ensure he kept awake throughout the concert. Another activity that he loved to do was browsing the internet. He liked to visit social media websites, particularly Facebook. Sometimes, he visited pornographic websites as well. He used to download the pornographic videos onto his mobile phone. If he did not download it from the internet, he would simply copy the videos from his friends.

Tapa went to a normal primary school from standard one to standard six. However, he did not sit for the UPSR examination. According to Tapa, he was absent during the examination. Tapa recalled that he had no major behavioural issues from standard one to standard five in the primary school. But, when he was in standard six, he began to follow his friends engaging in criminal activities. At that time, he just wanted to have fun. Then he progressed to a normal secondary school located nearby his place. When he was in the secondary school, at first he went to the school regularly. He reported that he was not interested in school. He said that he was interested in listening to his teacher in class only, but he did not like to write. Subjects like Mathematics, Islamic Studies, and Malay language made him feel sleepy. He started losing interest in school at primary school. But it became more obvious when he progressed to form one at secondary school. He preferred to study at vocational learning centres like *Giat Mara* because he is interested in fixing motorcycle and car engines. He was never interested in reading and writing. When the interviewer suggested to him that at the secondary school, the vocational subjects are also offered, he replied that he is not interested in the vocational courses at school because he still needed to read, write and sit for the examination. He does not like to engage in such academic activities.

When he was in form two, his truancy began. Instead of going to school, he usually went to his friend's house. Sometimes he slept over at his friend's house. Usually, he would tell the teacher that he was not well, for example he would say that he suffered from headache, fever etc. Usually, he was absent at least 10 days in a month. He asserted that being with his friends made him feel better. At his friend's house, he played computer games or simply hung out and did nothing. Sometimes, if he went to school, he would stay there for a short time only, and then he would leave. Everyday his father supplied him MYR 5 for pocket money. According to him, that amount of money was enough for a two way trip to school and to wander around the town. Tapa did not sit for PMR and SPM examinations. His parents were aware of his failure to sit for those examinations, and he stated they were really worried about him, but could not do anything about it.

Tapa was actively involved in stealing and robbery. He started becoming involved in the crimes after his friends asked him to join them. Tapa and his friends had committed crimes in many different places. Every time he successfully committed the crime, he felt good and satisfied, especially when he managed to get a lot of money. He treated the crimes as if they were his hobby. He would feel bored if he had been deprived of doing the crimes. Therefore, he committed the crimes almost every day. He reported that he never felt afraid of

the consequences. He did not even think about the consequences. Looking for a legal job has never been on his agenda. He added that the money he got from the criminal activities was more than he could earn from other legal jobs. With the money, he could buy anything he wanted such as new clothes, go to the cinema and buy drugs, specifically marijuana.

Tapa was detained while breaking into a house. He had no idea whose house it was. It was a big house. He did it with one of his friends. His friend was assigned to wait outside to inform him in case anybody noticed their presence. While his friend was waiting for Tapa outside, his friend noticed that several people were heading towards them. Immediately, his friend ran away and left Tapa alone in the house, and Tapa was trapped inside. Tapa was caught by several men who raided the house, and he stated he was fortunate at that time because the people who caught him did nothing violent to him. They tied him up and they let him sit down on the floor while waiting for the police to arrive. When the police arrived, the police immediately contacted his parents. Soon after that, his mother arrived. His mother was really mad with him. After seeing Tapa at the scene, his mother insisted on sending Tapa to a school for bad people or in other words to a correctional centre. Tapa felt sad hearing his mother saying that. He reported that at the bottom of his heart, he felt sad with his mother's decision.

Before the current detention, he had been caught stealing from his own school. It happened when he was in form four. He and his other two friends had broken into the school in the early morning before the students and the teachers arrived. They stole several laptops that belonged to a discipline teacher. Unfortunately, they did not realise that the room they entered was equipped with CCTV. As a result, the school authorities easily identified them. The school authorities decided not to lodge a police report, but requested Tapa and his friends to return the laptops they stole instead. After careful deliberation, the school authorities decided to expel all three of them from school. Tapa asserted that he felt sad with the outcome, but it did not affect his decision to continue with his criminal activities outside the school.

With regards to drug addiction, Tapa was involved with drugs since he was 13 years old or form one at secondary school. Before that, he used to smoke cigarettes. He reported that after he became accustomed to cigarettes, he decided to try a new drug. His friends were responsible for introducing him to marijuana. When he first took it, it made him feel good. He reported that his father had caught him with marijuana which was found in his pants. At first,

Tapa denied that the drug was his, but his brother was the one who breached the secret by telling his father that the drug belonged to Tapa. As a result, his father was mad with him and beat him badly using a metal stick. His brother also joined his father to beat him. Tapa was 15 years old at that time. After the incident, he felt regret and decided to stay away from drugs. He added that his drug use just wasted his money. After the incident, he decided to stop all criminal offences.

But it did not last long, after two years, he went back to his old behaviour. This time, his friends introduced him to a new drug known as 'ice' (methamphetamine). The ice affected his physical condition badly. He became much thinner than he used to be. He explained that usually methamphetamine would give people more energy to stay awake, and became hardworking. It excited people to engage in certain activities, although it was unnecessary. Compared to the 'ice', marijuana made people feel lazy, experience dizziness and it caused people to eat a lot. His mother was aware that he was taking ice and advised Tapa to stop. But Tapa said that he never listened to his mother. He kept taking ice until he was seriously addicted. As an effect, he always needed money in order to satisfy his need for drugs. Therefore, he committed the burglary which led to his arrest. He asserted that whatever he did at that time was meant to enable him to enjoy his life together with his friends. Usually when he broke into other people's houses, he managed to get a lot of money, jewellery and other valuable things. It made him feel good. Again, he said that he had never thought about the implications. For him, the most important thing at that time was to do their 'job' and then escape. For him, if he wanted to commit a crime, he would do it straight away without a second thought. He must be confident with himself and there would be no turning back.

Tapa reported that he would feel uncomfortable if he did not engage in criminal activities in a day. The crime was a must to make him feel good about himself. Usually, between 5pm to 6pm every day, he would conduct a meeting with his criminal friends. In the meeting, they planned their next criminal activities. For instance, they would choose either to break into a house, a cyber café or a gambling centre. Their target was to get some money and then to escape safely from the crime scene. His excitement was an important part of his pattern of offending, and he got bored if it became repetitive, like house theft. Therefore, they would plan for a series of robberies. Tapa reported that he used to have a sword that he used for robbery purposes. Usually, he robbed at a gambling centre. Also, he targeted Chinese people as victims. The highest amount of money he and his friends had ever gained from a single robbery activity was 18 thousand Ringgit. He added that, at that time he and his friends

were all rich. They spent the money to entertain themselves, treat girls and bought new clothes. All 18 thousand Ringgit was spent in a week.

Other than the criminal offending discussed above, Tapa also joined the *mat rempit* (illegal motorcycle racing group). He used to have a motorcycle. He bought the motorcycle using the money from his illegal activities. When his father asked him where he got the money to buy the motorcycle, he told his father that he used his own money from his work. He lied to his father by telling him that he was working at a factory after being expelled from the school. Usually, he went out of his home in the early morning and he would return home late in the evening. His routine made his father believe that he went to work. But, he went to his friend's house instead. Tapa reported that his mother knew everything about his criminal activities, and he would give her money. He warned his mother that if she told his father she would have to pay the money back. His mother had used the money to buy the home wares and to pay her loan, so she said nothing. He was only afraid of his father.

Tapa was also asked about his culture, values and belief orientation. He reported that when he was eight years old, after the normal primary school session in the morning, he went to a religious school in the afternoon, but he said he was always absent. Consequently, when he was 11 years old, he was expelled from the religious school. He just learned about religion in the normal primary school only. At home, his mother was always concerned with prayer. She would ask Tapa to immediately perform prayer in every praying time. Usually he would listen to his mother. He would enter his bedroom and put a praying mat on the floor, but instead of praying he would play computer games. When his mother came and checked on him in the room, he would pretend that he was performing prayer. Normally he had enough time to do that because his mother used to knock on the door before entering his bedroom. He asserted that his parents performed prayer regularly. His siblings rarely performed prayer. He added that his brother married to a Chinese woman and that they lived separately from his family. He was quite sceptical about his brother's way of life, but did not further explain what his issue was. He added that none of his sisters wore a head cover. Pertaining to the Malay values, Tapa suggested that the Malay are easily influenced by the Chinese, Indian and other ethnic groups. Many Malays are involved in drugs. He argue that the Malay adolescents are also easily influenced by their peers. That is why many Malays had become criminals. For Tapa himself, any activity that seems enjoyable to him, he would join no matter what. He stated that he is proud to be a Malay because he could perform prayer, and being a Malay

also makes him become a morally better person as compared to other ethnic groups. However, he regrets that he had never thought about that before he was admitted to the current centre.

Finally, he shared his feeling about living in the centre. First and foremost, he said that he was not happy with his life. He is thinking about going back home and he misses his parents a lot as he could not see his parents often. He meets his parents only once in a while because his parents live in Johor, about 800 kilometres away from his current placement. He plans to go back to his parents after he has been released. He wants to help his father in his business. He also would like to help his grandparents on their palm farm. At some point, he feels grateful to have the opportunity to live in the current centre. He started to think about his mistakes while living in the centre. He believes that the centre is the right place to change to be a better person. He could not imagine what would happen to him if he was still outside, and suggested he would probably still be offending. In the centre, he joined the hairdressing workshop. He is not really excited about it, yet he does not have a problem with the workshop. According to Tapa, his mother suggested that after he has been released, it would be better for him to stay in Penang with his aunt, so that he could stay away from his friends. But he insists he wants to go back to his family in Johor. His mother is afraid that he will repeat the same mistakes after he has been released since all his criminal friends are still there waiting for him to come back.

7.12 Usop

Usop is 18 years old. He is the eldest of six siblings. The second is his sister, aged 16. She is studying in form four in a nearby secondary school. The third is his younger brother. He is 14 years old. Usop reported that he often fought with his younger brother. The fourth was his younger sister. She is 10 years old. The fifth was his brother aged between eight and ten. He was not able to recall the exact age of his fifth brother. He has recently learned that his mother just gave birth to his youngest sibling who has become the sixth and the youngest sibling. He has not seen the baby yet. According to Usop, both his parents favoured of all his other siblings. He felt like he was neglected in the family. He asserted that although his relationship with his siblings was not that good, he loves all of them. His father is in his late thirties. His father used to work as a rubber tapper. He also worked in a palm field and in a durian orchard. His father earns a couple of hundred RM per month. Sometimes, when he had no money, his father used to run a small business such as selling fish oil, *tempe* (a local traditional food) or assisted at a nearby restaurant. His mother is aged around 30 to 35 years old. The age is merely a guess as Usop was not able to exactly recall his parents' ages. His mother works as a tailor from home. Sometimes she also works in the paddy field and trading traditional medicine from home to home. She earns approximately MYR300 per month.

His family lives in a house that is built by the Malaysian Welfare Department. The house is built on the land that belongs to his grandparents on his mother's side. He said that there were a number of issues pertaining to the land and the house. His aunt claimed that the land and the house belong to her. At the same time his mother also claimed the land. It is an unending dispute. He added that both his parents were in a bad relationship. They have not communicated to each other for a long time. Usually the problem is rooted in the fact that his father often suffered from financial problems. When it happened, his father would run away from their house. Usually he went back to his mother's house. According to Usop, his father also had to take care of his mother (Usop's grandmother) at that time. Shortly after Usop was admitted to the current rehabilitation centre, he received a bad news that his grandfather (on his mother's side) passed away. However, Usop's mother did not allow him to go back to pay his last respects to his deceased grandfather. It was because his mother still could not accept his father. Usop reported he preferred to listen to his mother over his father. He was close to his mother. He asserted that currently both his parents live separately, but they have not yet divorced. All his siblings live with his mother.

Usop used to run away from home because he had some problems with his family, especially his parents. However, he blamed himself for the problem. He reported that he did not listen to his parents' advice. Outside the home, he committed a number of crimes that embarrassed his parents. At some points, he hated his father. He hated his father because his father did not allow him to do whatever he wanted to do such as going out at night. His father also used to physically assault him. Sometimes, Usop suffered serious injury because of his father's violence. His father used to beat him using a belt, pour hot water onto him and squeeze his throat. Those incidents made him decide to take revenge against his father. Hence, Usop used to spread bad rumours about his father to the people in his village. He told them that his father was a playboy. He often texted other married women. He also told the villagers that his father had cheated them with the rental payment of the land which is used for agriculture purposes. He told them, that actually his father had some money, but he refused to use the money to pay for the rent. His father used the money to pay his mobile phone bills and to enjoy himself. Usop claimed that he made up some of the bad stories about his father, but some part of the stories were true.. As a result, Usop reported that the villagers kept talking about his father's bad behaviours. Thus, his father refused to go out of their house because he felt embarrassed to face the villagers. His father also often fought with his mother. There was an incident whereby, due to Usop's fake stories, his father was nearly attacked by the villagers. At that time, Usop felt like whatever his father did to him had been paid off. He loved to see the villagers come and attack his father.

In response to the questions pertaining to religious orientation, Usop reported that before he was arrested, he knew little about the religion. He did not know how to perform prayer. For him, when he heard *Azan* (calling for prayer), he felt uncomfortable. It was such a disturbing sound to him. He also never recited the Quran. He reported that his parents rarely performed prayer and fasting in the month of Ramadhan. His parents just took for granted the religious obligations. He was never concerned with Islamic teachings. When he was in school, especially the primary school, he did learn about Islam and its teaching. He could not remember what he had been taught in class. Usop shared his experience of dreaming about the punishment he received for not performing Islamic obligations. In his dreams, there was an Ustaz who came to visit him and offered him some advice. The Ustaz asked Usop to change and to become a good person. Usop claimed that the dream has opened his heart to seriously learn and practice Islam. It is important to note here that, the stories about the dream is literally re-narrated without further examination of its truthfulness. Moreover, he added that

he started to slowly understand about Islam only when he has been admitted to the current rehabilitation centre.

His school experience started at a kindergarten when he was six years old. He went to a normal primary school from standard one until standard six. For him, although he was not good academically, he enjoyed going to the school. When he was in primary school, he used to be involved in co-curricular activities, extra tuition classes and educational visits. He loved being involved in such activities. The subjects he liked the most were art and Malay language, while the subjects he hated the most were Mathematics and English. He has never passed in those subjects. When he progressed to secondary school, he reported that he started to gain new experiences. All his friends whom he was close to when he was in primary school had moved to different secondary schools. Therefore, he said that he had less friends in school. He loved going to school, but due to several factors, he felt uncomfortable being in the school. He reported that his daily routine when he was in secondary school was different than before. After coming back from school, he would change his school uniform and he went out again. He usually went to a cyber cafe. At the cyber cafe, he liked to play online games and sometimes he visited a social media website, specifically Facebook. He mentioned that he learned basic computer skills in school. He said that spending time in the cyber cafe offered him more opportunities to learn about the computer.

Usop was always truant from class. He went to school, but he did not enter the class. He would hide in the prayer room or in places where he believed no one would find him. He did it because he had been bullied a lot. His classmates used to force him to do many things. He reported that he felt like a slave to his classmates. If he refused to obey his classmates' instructions, they would beat him up badly. His classmates used to ask him to carry their school bag into the class and to do their homework. If he refused, they would punch him on his face and sometimes throw a chair at him. There was an incident in which his head was seriously injured and bleeding. Some of his teachers were aware of Usop problems, they used to offer advice to Usop. But, Usop refused to cooperate with the teachers. It was not because he did not want to, but he was afraid of his classmates. They used to warn Usop not to inform the teachers about their behaviour, otherwise, Usop had to face the consequences. He received a warning letter from the school, but he insisted he could not enter the calssroom. Due to the problem, he was expelled from the school. His parents advised him to go back to school, but he made up his mind to leave the school.

After he left the school, he reported that he rarely came home. He spent most of his time with his friends. He used to hang out with his friends all night until early morning. While hanging out with them, they would make noise with the sound of their motorcycle engines and stoning people's houses. If they hated someone, they would stone and splash paint on the house of the people they hated. Also, he reported that all his friends were involved in many different crimes. By joining them, Usop was also involved in their criminal activities. They used to break into houses, steal money from the mosques, steal motorcycles, were involved in illegal road racing, drinking alcohol and engaged in illegal sexual relationships. He asserted that when he was in school he did not have many friends. After leaving school he started to make friends who were engaged in criminal offending. According to Usop, there were some reasons why he befriended all those friends. He intended to be a stronger person. He did not want to be bullied anymore. For him, he believed that his new friends should be able to make him become a new strong person. He wanted to take revenge against all the bullies. He reported that all his new friends were still in school. They were all at Usop's age.

He started knowing his friends since he was in primary school. But, at that time, they were not close to one another. All his friends lived within his neighbourhood. In the eyes of Usop, those friends were strong and looked like a gangster. Those factors attracted him to join them. He added that before he was accepted in the group, his friends asked him to prove to them that he was serious and committed. They asked Usop to hurt one stranger in front of them. His victim was a member of another gang from a different area. The victim was alone at that time. He simply did as instructed by his friends. He felt good after accomplishing his first task. Starting from that point, he rarely returned home. There was an incident in which his parents threw all his possessions outside. His parents asked him to leave the house. His parents were mad about him after they consistently heard from their neighbours about Usop's criminal activities. Then, he collected all his stuff and moved out from his parent's house. He went to his friend's house. After moving out from his parents' house, he worked at a motorcycle workshop.

Usop was arrested during the Hari Raya celebration. At that time, he was on his way to a Hari Raya open house. He walked to the venue of the event. At that time he did not have a motorcycle but all his friends had at least one. Therefore, he was thinking about the fastest and easiest way to own a motorcycle. While he was walking, he noticed a motorcycle was parked in front of a Chinese house. After seeing no one was around, he took the motorcycle and pushed the motorcycle away. After successfully stealing the motorcycle, he used the

motorcycle for about five days. He modified the motorcycle beforehand, including changing the registration number. On the fifth day, he took the motorcycle to a workshop. While he was in the workshop, he was suddenly attacked by three Chinese guys. He was beaten up badly with a car steering lock and a metal stick. As a consequence, he was seriously injured.

Following the beating, the Chinese guys took him to a police station where he was then detained. He went through a thorough interrogation all night long. During the investigation, he admitted to the police that he did steal the motorcycle. The police also forced him to disclose all his friend's names involved in the same crime. Usop simply adhered to the police instruction. None of the friends whose names he disclosed to the police were involved in the crime, but because he was afraid the police might torture him physically, he just mentioned whosoever's name that came across his mind. On the same night, the police asked him to direct them to his friends' houses and they too were arrested in the night. After the following day, Usop was taken to a district police station. He was held at the police station for about one month. He was then ordered to be remanded at the Kajang Prison for almost three months while waiting for his trial at the juvenile court to end. Before he was brought to the prison, the court allowed him to be bailed out at some cost. However, his parents did not have the money to pay for bail, which resulted in his detention at the prison. Usop and his friends were convicted of vehicle theft, and sent to a correctional centre located in Kualau Lumpur. They stayed there for about three weeks before they were taken to the current rehabilitation centre. Usop shared his plans for what he is going to do once released from the rehabilitation centre. He said that first and foremost he would like to apologise to his parents. Then, he would like to apologise to whomsoever he had hurt, including his neighbours and his friends. He would like to start a new life. He will look for a job. He plans to do so many things such as working as a computer trainer and starting a small business. He said that probably he will be going back to his father, not his mother.

During his time at the centre, he has become hugely inspired by the Prophet Muhammad in living his life. Furthermore, he shared his thoughts about the Malaysian context. He mentioned that, lately all Malaysian people no longer base their actions in their respective religions. All they wanted to do is to enjoy and to gain worldly happiness. Not many Muslims can be seen in the Mosque. He added that the Malays are the most impolite people when compared to other ethnic groups. In the centre, he claims that he was bullied a lot. All the perpetrators are Malays. Sometimes he was seriously injured. But he has never reported the bullying to the centre's authorities because he was afraid of the perpetrators.

7.13 Summary

The detailed life history each of the participants offers an insight that each participant context and particular events they had experienced as they reflected on their circumstances. Consistent with IPA commitments, this section suggests that even though the participants might share some similarities between one another with regards to the emerging themes, such as the meaningfulness of motorcycles in the youth population, their experiences should be attended to and contextualised individually as each of them had their own story that led them to their current situation. How the details of the participants life stories come together to inform an understanding of the effects of globalisation on the local Malay culture operating through the lived experience of these adolescents who are currently held in detention centres for their criminal conduct.

8 Analysis part 3: Making sense of lived experiences

8.1 Contextualising the experiences

To better understand the Malay adolescents' lived experiences, it can be of some help to recall the purpose of this research, which is to explore the experiences of Malay adolescents who could be considered to have 'conduct disorders' in the Malaysian context of globalisation. Specifically, this research is looking at how these adolescents make sense of their lived experiences in many different facets which include family life, social life and school experiences. In line with this purpose, the theme 'contextualising the experiences' is conceptualised to construct the many different facets of the unique lived experiences of Malay adolescents. This construct is vital in linking the changes due to the Malaysian context of globalisation and the emerging conduct issues among Malay adolescents.

Globalisation as a process is widely recognised as an important paradigm in helping a country to progress. In the earlier chapters about globalisation, I highlighted some important insights explaining the historical context and rationale that has led Malaysia to participate in globalisation processes. Here, I would like to recall some of these markers to make sense of the conceptualisation of 'contextualising the experiences' theme. Malaysian development is highly driven by its target of becoming a developed nation by 2020. Hence, changes in many sections of the Malaysian life, including impacts on cultures and values are anticipated. Through globalisation processes, new political, economic and educational systems have been introduced alongside technological advancement through which cultures and foreign values have been negotiated and integrated into the development of Malaysia. Inevitably, all these changes require the Malay adolescents to adapt to emerging new values, which at some points contradict local practices. Some Malay adolescents have difficulties adapting to these changes, which has resulted in their criminal engagement. However, these affected adolescents have their own stories as to how their lived experiences are impacted through the globalisation process. So, this research aims to give them a voice to share their stories and thoughts. Their stories are tailored uniquely within the boundary of their lived circumstances, which I refer to as a contextual explanation.

In this regard, six emerging subordinate themes, which illustrate the contextual experiences of the participants are discussed in this chapter. In this chapter, the subordinate themes include the changes in the Malay family dynamics, psychological development issues,

contextualising social experiences, school experiences, religious framework and the meaning of criminal behaviour for the participants. These subordinate themes portray the unique location of the adolescents' life difficulties concerning globalisation processes. The themes reflect the association between the adolescents' understandings about their lived circumstances and their criminal engagement.

8.1.1 Changes in the Malay family dynamic

The changes in family dynamics theme were manifested in the participants' personal accounts that were related to the changes in terms of family structure and the family process. In traditional Malay culture, within which the Malay customary laws (*adat*) and Islamic teaching function as dual principles in describing the Malay family dynamic (Kling, 1995), family structure refers to the family system within which the family is established by either a family with two biological parents, a family with single-parent or step family (Baharudin, Krauss, Yacoob, & Pei, 2011). In Malaysia, a single parent family is defined in three ways. Either it is 1) a single mother who is the head of the family and is a divorcee or separated permanently from her husband and has unmarried children staying with her, or 2) she is the head of the family and is married but her husband is not able to work because of his poor health and there are unmarried children in the family, or 3) she is the head of the family and has never been married and has adopted children or children of unconfirmed status (Bernama, 2015). Rooted in the analysis of demographic background of the research participants, it was found that several participants lived with their single parents (mothers) of different categories. For example, Dino has been adopted by a single parent and Youp has been living with his divorcee mother.

The family process, on the other hand, refers to parent-child interaction and family environment (Baharudin et al., 2011). Traditional Malay cultures emphasise patriarchal hierarchy, kinship network and flexible boundaries in the Malay family dynamic (Baharudin et al., 2011). Patriarchal systems hold the idea that men i.e. the father occupy the major role in the family structure and process (Juhari et al., 2013; Kling, 1995). This patriarchal system is in unison with both the teaching of Islam and the Malay hegemonic customary laws. Issues emerged for the participants when the father was absent in the family and his responsibilities were delegated to single mothers, which constitute flexible boundaries in the Malay family system. A flexible boundary is ascribed to facilitate divorce and remarriage, to enable flexible family membership without a fixed boundary in a family circle (Kling, 1995). However, when

divorce happens the kinship network between children and the father is maintained even though they may live separately. For example, a daughter needs to get permission from the person who acts as her *wali* (legal guardian) for her to get married even though she lives with the mother. In Islam, *wali* is one of the essential requirements in a marriage contract to determine the validity of the marriage (Abas, Mohd, & Mohd Yusof, 2015). A *wali* must be an adult man who has a blood relationship with the woman (e.g. father), a Muslim, being sane and *'adil* (has never committed a major sin and does not continue to commit minor sins), is not *fasiq* (violates Islamic laws), is a free person and is not absent due to *ihram* (performing the *Hajj* or *Umrah*) (Abas et al., 2015)

Ideally, in the traditional Malay family structure, the dynamic of the relationship is centred on the roles and the responsibilities of each family member. Again, the Malay family has always been patriarchal in which primary power lies in the hands of the father (Rumaya, Siti Nor, & Mansor, 2013). Younger members in the family are expected to pay full respect to their parents and older family members and as a reciprocal relationship, elder family members, especially the parents are expected to place a high value on the proper upbringing of children (Yaacob, 2009). This task is a shared responsibility with other immediate family and kin members. In such a manner, parents are expected to play significant roles in the socialisation process of their offspring. Thus, Malay parents are expected to equip their children with not only worldly knowledge but also religious knowledge leading to a balanced life for the present and future of their children (Rumaya et al., 2013).

The idea that religion is an important factor in determining people's values is maintained in the Malay family functioning and socialisation process (Mohamed Aslam et al., 2001). The extent to which this family dynamic with its emphasis on values is sustainable in the contemporary age has become an important issue in the Malay world as many Malay families are moving away from traditional practices due to various unprecedented life events, particularly globalisation (Harun & Hasan, 2008; Kamal, 2005; Mohd Abbas, 2011; Peow, 2011). The processes require them to turn their focus to strengthening their ability to survive in the contemporary and highly competitive world. There are tensions between the obligations of the parents and family towards children, the rights of the children themselves, as well as the struggle to survive in response to the changing context due to globalisation.

Table 16. Family well-being indicators

Domain	Indicator	Domain	Indicator
Family Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Parental involvement ii. Family resilience iii. Family functioning iv. Time with family v. Work-family balance vi. Husband/wife relationship vii. Parental relationship 	Family and Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Community cooperation ii. Community relationship iii. Community involvement
Family Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Family living standards ii. Family economic situation iii. Future savings iv. Debt burden 	Family and Religion/Spirituality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Role of religion ii. Spiritual practice
Family Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Family health practice ii. Family health level iii. Stress management 	Housing and Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Basic amenities ii. Pollution levels
Family Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Emergency response knowledge ii. Safety at home iii. Family safety 		

Note: Reprinted from Executive summary Malaysian family well-being index study, by The National Population and Family Dynamic Development Board (2011). Copyright (2011) by LPPKN.

The National Population and Family Dynamic Development Board (2011) suggested that to measure the family well-being in the Malaysian context, considerations that need to be made are based on 24 indicators covering seven domains as illustrated in Table 16. The seven domains are family relationship, family economy, family health, family safety, family and

community as well as family and religion. Each domain is further divided into indicators. Thus, any issue with the indicators would mean that the well-being of a Malaysian family has been affected. These domains and indicators are established based on literature reviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and pilot studies (The National Population and Family Dynamic Board, 2011).

Literature shows that the interrelations between family and the criminalisation among children was common across nations (eg. National Research Council, 2001; Noszczyk-Bernasiewicz, 2012; Sharma, Sharma, & Barkataki, 2015). But, the way the relationship between the two entities is comprehended, showed differences across cultures. Thus, to better understand the roles of the Malay family dynamic in the participation of Malay adolescents in crime, I am convinced that conventional ecological perspective provides a good framework that emphasises the inter-relationship between family, the surrounding environment and individuals' thoughts and behaviours. From this perspective, the family level of analysis was one of the crucial processes in the multifactor approach to justify the psychological and behavioural issues of adolescents (Baharudin et al., 2011). This multifactor approach suggests that "family lives and choices are affected by economic, educational, religious, and cultural institutions, for example, and by historical circumstances such as the depression, World War II, and the present threat of terrorism" (Lamanna, Reidman, & Steward, 2015, p. 32). Indeed, as discussed in chapter three about globalisation, the effects of all these factors are strongly tailored and engineered by changes that happen due to the globalisation (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013). The processes of globalisation produce a tension between sustaining the traditional Malay family institution and how adolescents adapt to changing values. As a result the wellbeing of vulnerable children is compromised.

For the purpose of reflecting on the contextual analysis, the general theoretical assumptions about the ideal Malay family or parental approach in dealing with children (as discussed in Baharudin et al., 2011; Juhari et al., 2013; Yaacob, 2009) are distinguished from the perspective of the affected Malay adolescents. For example, as found in the analysis of this research, while the parents are understood as having the power to nurture their children (Yaacob, 2009), which include imposing traditional Malay nurturing practices in the contemporary climate, the children in this research believe that they have limited voice or maybe none to question their parents' rights. The rights of the parents give them the authority to impose both mental and physical punishment to the children. As Malay adolescents have been subjected to globalisation processes, they have learned many new values that contradict

the traditional Malay culture. They have learned about autonomy, independence and individual rights which have been disseminated through globalisation process. Malaysia's participation in globalisation requires adhering to international human rights guidelines and Malay children have begun to question traditional family values through knowledge of children's rights in ways that have never before been questioned (Al-Attas, 1977).

In the participants' personal accounts, the relationships and the interactions between family members, particularly with their parents do matter to them. The absence of parents or other family members due to work or other reasons shows how the highly competitive contemporary economic system has forced family members to focus more on the survival rather than their primary responsibilities to their children. Within this context, the participants often associated their criminal engagement with issues pertaining to their family relationships, which included a lack of quality family involvement, feeling disconnected to family emotionally, inter-parental conflicts, negative feelings about family life and parenting issues.

8.1.1.1 Lack of quality family involvement

Several participants showed a strong tendency to blame their family members, especially their parents, for not providing them with proper guidance and support or in other words, they talk about a lack of quality parental involvement. The experiences of the participants resonate with Bosco, Renk, Dinger, Epstein, and Phares (2003) claim that children need direct interaction with their parents, need their parents to be accessible to children when they need them, and need guidance from parents to be able to fulfil their responsibilities. The participants felt that it was impossible to gain support from their family due to the unavailability and unresponsiveness of their parents, especially in helping them cope with their difficult life circumstances. For instance, Arif attributed his criminal problems to the lack of advice from his family. In the interview, he stated that he rarely communicated with his parents and other siblings. He did not like to share his thoughts and activities with his family. As such, he spent very minimum quality time together with his parents and family. Due to the lack of communication, rather than taking responsibility for his behaviour he explained his involvement in crimes as:

“Probably (because of) lack of advice from family too.”(Arif, p. 1).

Youp also attributed his behaviour to a failure of his parents who in his understanding, did not try to correct his mistakes. But analysis of Youp’s family history revealed that his parents themselves had some serious relationship issues that ended up with divorce just before the police detained him. As a result of the breakdown of the family unit, Youp understood his mother’s limited ability to spend time with her children was because she had to take on the responsibility for earning.

According to Youp, both his father and uncle were involved with drugs. So when his father was unable to play roles as a father, his uncle who within traditional family structure was expected to take up the responsibilities to give appropriate advice and support to family members. But, this expectation was not materialised as his uncle himself was a criminal. Therefore, for Youp, within a Malay traditional family system, he did not have a positive role model that has left him feeling unsupported.

“I would blame my family. They never taught me. They never corrected my mistakes.”(Youp, p. 23)

“My parents are not concerned about me. My mum opened a wedding boutique. My mum and my dad have already divorced. I lived with my mum.” (Youp, p.7)

Usop also felt that he could not rely on his family for the moral support he needed during his difficult time or specifically when he was being bullied by his peers and when he had no money. While Usop’s parents were still together, he stated that their relationship was problematic, and he attributed their problems to a lack of money. His father used to do multiple jobs to support the family financially and so did his mother who works as a tailor from home. Both his parents always busy with their respective work and left Usop and his other siblings to survive with what he felt was little support. Usop shared that his family frequently left him alone from a young age. According to attachment theory (Kobak, 1999; Steele, Bate, Nikitiades, & Buhl-Nielsen, 2015) Usop’s feelings of lack of ‘security’ and ‘care’ in his relationship with his parents meant that he was expected to care for himself. He felt disconnected to his parents and did not trust that his parents would help. Usop asserted:

“My parents would not be able to help me if anything happens to me. I don’t think I would ask for sympathy from them. To me, it seems that they are not helping.”(Usop, p. 20)

Other participants indicated that poor family involvement was due to parents having poor knowledge of the contemporary issues involving adolescents. This notion was raised by Dino, who had been passionately involved in illegal motorcycle racing. While his mother had to take on many responsibilities that his absent father, according to traditional values should have been responsible for, Dino took advantage of his mothers’ limitations. He thought that his mother was not knowledgeable about anything related to motorcycle racing, and therefore believed that his mother would not realise the seriousness of his criminal activities:

“My mum was not good (not knowledgeable) at anything related to motorcycles. So, she just take it for granted.”(Usop, p. 24)

Sidi also felt his mother did not care about his behaviour as she did not react to his stealing from her. He stated his mother had never set up clear boundaries to moderate his behaviours. Therefore, with the lack of boundaries and consequences from his mother, Sidi simply concluded that his mother did not care about him. It seemed to him that his mother practised a high tolerance for deviance:

“Yes, I had (taken my mother’s money), but my mum did not care.”(Sidi, p.3)

In Sidi's case, I prefer to describe his meaning making processes through a wider context. He still lives together with both biological parents as well as his other siblings. However, his aunt had brought him up from a young age before he returned to his biological parents at age 12. When he was with his aunt, he reported that his aunt imposed a very rigid 'parenting style' which he could not stand. He decided to run away from his aunt's house and went back to his biological parents house. Hence, a sense of belongingness to his biological parents and family who were supposed to provide primary protection was affected. As a result, he felt as if he had no obligations as a son and assumed no moral responsibility toward his biological parents and family due to failure in a reciprocal relationship as described in the traditional Malay family dynamic. Also, his father and mother were working. So the quality time spent together may have been affected as well. Therefore, his understanding that his mother 'did not care' was complicated by his return to the family who were already working. Sidi had returned home with a drug addiction suggesting that his normal functioning and relationships were already problematic.

The claims made by the participants concerning their relationships with their parents indicates that they were able to recognised that they required guidance from the family. This notion is consistent with developmental theory that at their young age, they may experience a lack of ability to think ahead as their brain development particularly the prefrontal cortex may not yet well developed (Beckman, 2004; Juvenile Justice Center, 2004). Thus, they need appropriate guidance from parents or their care givers as protective factors so that their psychological and behavioural well being are secure.

8.1.1.2 Feeling disconnected to the family emotionally

Feeling disconnected to the family emotionally emerges as a theme in the participants' accounts and showed the degree to which the participants felt disengaged from other family members. Regular meetings and communication between family members were always seen as a sign of strong connection to one and another. On the contrary, when there was a failure in communication, especially when the failure tears apart the bond between each family member, the participants felt estranged from other family members either behaviorally or emotionally. For instance, Arif, who went to a boarding school from the beginning of his secondary school, rarely stayed at home. When he was home such as during school holidays, he preferred to spend his spare time alone in his bedroom or went to a cyber cafe or mingle with his friends outside the home. As such, he spent little time interacting with his family

members. As a housewife, his mother was at home in most of the time, but it seemed that Arif established his own boundaries as he preferred to stay alone in his bedroom or to hang out at cyber cafe that distanced himself from his family members. As a result, he developed non-intimate relationships with his family members:

“We are not really close, and rarely communicate with each other.” (Arif, p. 1)

Adib was disconnected from other family members because his parents lived apart for work reasons. Therefore, he somehow has an understandable reason why he was not in regular contact with his parents and family. Adib reported that because of work commitments away from home, family interactions were limited. The lack of interaction led to feeling emotionally disconnected to his siblings and he felt isolated in the family:

“I rarely met them (other siblings), I am not really close to them.” (Adib, p. 10)

Youp also shared similar feelings of not being connected with family members due to a lack of communication between family members:

“Before I was arrested, I was not close to them (The National Population and Family Dynamic Board). We rarely talked to each other. Sometimes, they ignored me, but I just ignored them (too).” (Youp, p. 9)

The theme of lack of connection was also apparent in Madi and Dino’s account. They felt like when they need a connection with family, no one paid attention to them as all family members were busy with their respective affairs. They felt neglected by their family members, insecure, unprotected and unable to survive. Thus, in the absence of clear boundaries and communication, which should be set by the family, Madi and Dino were searching of connection elsewhere, which include their peers in particular:

“I feel sad, stress. I was quite close to my family previously, we used to go for shopping together. But not now, everything has changed. everyone busy with their own affairs. (I hope) my family will be back together. But, I am not sure about this. It was ok before this. But once I was at secondary school level, I started to feel uncomfortable to stay with my family. It was in 2010, at that time I was in form 1. My family started to have problems. So, I prefer to stay outside (home). Sometimes both my parents fought to each other.” (Madi, p. 31)

“My friends were more important than my family. The family was always unable to stay with us for 24 hours a day. They were always busy.” (Dino, p. 23)

In sum, the participants who were feeling disconnected to family emotionally were searching for connection. But, they spoken that it was not possible in their family. Therefore, they looked for the connection elsewhere, such as friends who were very important during adolescence (Shumaker, Deutsch, & Brenninkmeyer, 2009).

8.1.1.3 Inter-parental conflict

Some of the participants attributed their problems to inter-parental conflicts. In their accounts, the participants suggested that the intolerance that emerged in the inter-parental relationships indirectly affected their lived experiences. The participants indicated that they were the victims of the conflict between their parents. Literature shows that children who witness parental conflict have tendency to commit crimes to show their disappointment over the issue (Edleson et al., 2007). Madi talked about the inability of his mother to confront his father's violence to protect herself from being physically hurt. In addition, no one in the family had the “guts” to confront the father. This issue might have a connection to the patriarchal culture in the Malay family system through which the father has the power to rule the family. In this sense, the mother is granted very limited rights to overrule the power of the father or the mother herself as a woman was physically incapable of confronting the father. Madi tried to express his feeling of hopelessness specifically in passing through his lived experiences:

“My mother could do nothing about my father. (well) My father is a man. My mother was afraid that she would be beaten by my father if she dared to interfere with my father’s life.” (Madi, p. 11)

On certain occasions, Madi demonstrated that he could not take it anymore to see his parents continuously arguing, especially when the father often physically assaulted his mother. He tried to align himself with his mother against his father.

“I fought my father. I wanted to protect my mother. (I could not take it anymore) to see my mother was beaten by my father.” (Madi, p. 12)

Usop’s response to parental conflict was to run away from home rather than watching his parents fight with each other.

“Both my mum and my dad were in a bad relationship. I do not know why. I could not watch them fight. So, I decided to run away from home. (After I run away from home) I stayed at the prayer place, a mosque, at any vacant house. I slept at the back of the house. If I desperate for money or food, I’d break into a shop and I’d steal some money and foods. I ate at the mosque. During fasting month, I used to break the kitchen at the mosque and ate whatever available in the kitchen.””(Usop, p. 5)

Usops crimes could serve the purpose of distracting his parents from the conflict and uniting the parents in a common goal which was to intervene in their children’s issues. It was a kind of scapegoating whereby Usop had to sacrifice by becoming a victim in the conflict between both his parents. Thus, it was hoped that by engaging in crime, their parents could forget the conflict between them, but focus Usop problems.

8.1.1.4 Negative feelings about family life

‘Feeling’ in this category represents the expression of emotion by the participants concerning their family lives. This theme emerged as the participants attempted to build a connection between their family circumstances and their emotional response. Multiple family issues were highlighted by the participants. Instead of perceiving family as a source of comfort and support, the participants perceived family as the source of emotional issues for them. I would phrase this relationship as ‘family life as a stressor’ in the experiences of the participants. In a normal life circle, when an individual suffers from stress or any psychological issues, coping strategies are essential. Hence, engagement in a particular behaviour can be considered a means to ease the psychological pain. In the participants' case, staying away from family and participating in crimes would serve as their coping strategies.

Accordingly, when the participants claim that they felt relieved when they were outside hanging out with their friends or spending time in certain places such as a cyber cafe, it somehow indicates that family life was psychologically such a burden to the participants because they did not receive emotional support from their families. Owing to that, they were looking for an alternative ‘family’ and a place of acceptance and belongingness as a coping strategy.

Madi, who consistently highlighted the conflict between his parents expressed his discomfort when talking about his parents. His parents often fought at home. Madi himself

discovered that his father had an affair with another woman behind his mother's back. It was difficult for Madi and his mother to move away from his father as they were highly dependent on him, especially for financial support. According to Madi, even though they depended on his father's financial support, it was never enough. Madi took responsibility to find alternative ways to get extra money. He struggled emotionally with the conflict at home and sought comfort in other places to relieve the emotional tension.

"It started because of my family. (I mean) family problems. Both my parents used to fight, my sister was rarely at home. So, I started spending most of my time outside. I was wild outside, I took drugs." (Madi, p.1)

"Tension! I don't feel like going home. I just want to stay outside. It made me feel better."(Madi, p.17)

The participants in this study talked about spending more and more time away from home. From a Malay cultural perspective, reaching adulthood does not mean leaving the home is necessary, and the family structure often accommodates multiple relationships. However, these participants had experienced problems in their family relationships, and increasingly spent time away from home. They began forming new identities as they explored interests with their friends. This can be associated with the changes in their psychological needs as they became less connected to their families. As such, Madi asserted that he stopped enjoying life with his family once he progressed to secondary school where he met new peers and learned about new lifestyles. It seems that his desires and interests synchronised well with the outside world but not his family values.

"Yes (my parents used to do something nice to my family and me). It happened when we returned to my grandma's house to celebrate Hari Raya. But when I was in secondary school, I no longer felt comfortable (to stay with my family)." (Madi, p. 13)

Dino experiences feelings of stress which he stated originated from the way his family treated him. As an adopted child he had no knowledge of his biological parents, and while as a child he adapted to living with strangers, he increasingly became detached. Feeling of detachment from adoptive parents is well reported in the psychological literature on adoption, and challenges an adoptees sense of belonging and continuity (Blake & Coombes, 2016) and the disconnection often marks a site of conflict. He became self-contained and did not trust family members. At one point, the disappointment over his family life was also because his

foster parents upheld strict rules in the family that prevented him from doing what he like to do. Furthermore, due to the unavailability of things that Dino could appreciate and enjoy in the familial environment became a stressor in his life. In this way, he rebelled against the boundaries that were set for him.

“Just Ok. At first, I was not comfortable to stay with them (adopted family). I felt so much pressure living in my house because my parents stopped me from doing anything I wanted to do. They (my parents) did not allow me to go out at night. Then, if my friends asked me to join them, my mum would not allow me to do so. That is why I felt so distressed. I had nothing to do at home.” (Dino, p.5)

Ajam talked about his understanding of the issues that adolescents face when there are problems within the family. When family relationships are experienced as inadequate, and they feel emotionally challenged, they turn away from their families.

“Actually, they (the adolescents with behavioural problems) have been trapped (in a bad situation). As a result, they (the adolescents) would easily feel as if they are being challenged. That is why some of them run away from home.”(Ajam, p.25)

Therefore, externalising the causes their offending behaviour by blaming family members was a common theme shared by the participants. Their family histories suggested they had lost the family structure and roles of the Malay family system that should have protected them. For example, Usop firmly located his criminal offending as a result of his father’s violence. In this account, Usop has an understanding of his own behaviour through social learning theory and the intergenerational cycle of violence (Ardelt & Day, 2002; Ormrod, 2016):

“I hate my dad whenever he speaks to me. I strongly believe that my father is the main reason why all these have happene. People always say that the children will follow their fathers’ (attitude).”(Madi, p.33)

8.1.1.5 Parenting issues

Another distressing issue that emerged in the participants' talk about family life was how they understood the parenting styles exercised by their parents. Traditional Malay parenting styles are often associated with authoritarian parenting styles (Keshavarz & Baharudin, 2009). This parenting style tends to be strict, harsh and has an absolute set of standards that children must conform to. What these firm boundaries demand culturally is that children must respect the authority of their parents, and do not challenge that authority. During the interviews, several participants expressed their concern over this parenting style that was exercised by their parents. The participants used the word 'control' to describe the parenting styles exercised by their parents. For them, the act of preventing them from doing what they wanted to do was perceived as their parents' attempt to interfere with their lives. They were not comfortable when their parents limited their movements and their intolerance when deciding what they could and could not do. Therefore, instead of perceiving their parents' parenting styles as nurturing, they preferred to use the word 'controlling' to reflect the feeling of losing freedom of choice in undertaking their life endeavours. The participants felt that the parenting styles were unresponsive to their personal needs and expectations.

"I felt like my family had exerted too much control over my activities." (Dino p. 24)

"My aunt controlled my activities." (Sidi, p. 15)

"I felt like I was controlled. I felt like my parents were exerting too much control over my life." (Nuar, p. 31)

"My dad always controlled my activities." (Usop, p. 8)

Thus, from the participants' experiences, it seems that there were no shifting boundaries in the parenting process being exercised by their parents as participants reached adolescence. As the participants had been exposed to many emerging new values due to globalisation processes, such as tolerance, independence and individual rights, instead of rigidity, they were expecting some flexibility in parenting styles to be exercised by their parents.

Furthermore, parents practising over-indulgence was an issue for one participant. For instance, pleasant childhood experiences through which the parents give too much (anything asked for by the children) was also perceived as the cause for Tapa's involvement in criminal

behaviour. Literature suggests that spoiling the children potentially contribute to the development of a sense of irresponsible in young adult. They are unable to understand the concept of boundaries and lack of consideration of others (Mcintosh, 1989).

“My parents spoiled me. Whatever I asked for, they would fulfil it. Usually, I asked for toys.” (Tapa, p.11)

While strict boundaries were resisted by some participants, Tapa expected his parents to continue with meeting his needs as they had in his childhood. When he was faced with boundaries, he expressed his disappointment at the failure of his parents to fulfil his needs through delinquent behaviour. Tapa’s experience reflects the message of an old Malay saying that ‘spoiling your children is harmful to them’. In this case, it can be understood that boundaries need to be set early in growing the children. But in setting the boundaries, rather than rigidity or spoiling, parents need to be flexible enough to adapt to the developmental stages and embrace the changing contexts of modern Malaysia.

8.1.1.6 Summary

The analysis about family experiences indicates that the central issue concerning the participants’ family life experiences are that there have been changes in Malay family dynamics. While Malay traditions offer a unique conception of family dynamics (Yaacob, 2009), the changing context as an effect of contemporary life events including the globalisation and modernisation process (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013) has transformed the traditional conception of the family dynamic. As an effect of the transformation, the adolescents have established their own modern understanding of family life, which differs from that of adults. Through the emerging themes that are rooted in the participants’ descriptions, the participants reflected on what their family had to offer compared to their expectations and needs.

On one hand, the participants were reluctant to acknowledge the active involvement of their parents and family in their lives as a way of shaping them to become a better person. Instead, parents were perceived as attempting to control their lives. The participants saw the traditional protective parenting styles as authoritative, and practiced by their parents as an attempt to control them. They did not perceive the protective elements in the traditional parenting styles as appropriate to their upbringing as they preferred the freedom of making decisions for themselves. Thus, traditional Malay parenting styles as outlined by (Yaacob,

2009) may need to be revisited to cater for the developmental and lifestyle complexities of contemporary adolescents. On the other hand, lack of family involvement, particularly parents perceived as unresponsive to their physical and emotional needs were experienced as a sign of parental neglect. Thus, the parenting styles exercised by their parents are seen as unreliable and outdated. The issue is worsened by the fact that some of the participants have to face multiple familial conflicts and problems with some of them feeling that they were victimised by those problems. All these issues have led the participants to perceive family life as emotionally stressful..

Furthermore, the analysis of the participants' responses suggested that they have a strong tendency to frame their personal family experiences into individual rights discourse. This tendency was realised through their talk about experiencing a lack of engagement and attachment to the religion, family and society. People who perpetrate culturally improper conduct have a high tendency to justify their conduct by employing an individually correct discourse (Bernama, 2014). Even in Malaysia, lately, fighting for individual rights has become a new trend for its people to circumvent their certain unfamiliar and culturally indecent conduct to the Malaysian people (Bernama, 2014). The active dissemination of knowledge through avenues such as mass media has contributed to the enthusiastic espousal of new approaches in informing, shaping and framing the individual experiences concerning social issues. Thus, contemporary Malay adolescents prefer to structure their offending behavior through private frames. It seems that human rights discourse dominates the options in approaching issues about conduct problems.

The participants were concerned with their right to behave the way they do, and locating the blame for their behavior external to themselves. However, with individual rights discourse, there is also individual responsibility. This does not explain their behavior fully, as the effects of parental conflict and family violence on children who witness it is well discussed in the literature. It seems that seeking connections with their peers rather than family members has also impacted on their criminal offending. In family systems theory it is suggested that all parts of the system are connected to each other and the correct understanding is not possible if considering the parts in isolation. Thus, the emerging conduct problems can be understood as a result of interrelationships, mutual influences and the changes in the dynamics of Malay family structures and processes. As the boundaries of the family system is opened to external influences it is also exposed to various external stressors that potentially affect family wellbeing. Therefore, apart from focusing on the connection

between problematic adolescent behaviour and familial conflict, it is also important to direct our focus on how the behavioural patterns emerge and how they can be adjusted in the context of various environmental, social and community changes (Cross, 2014). Blaming the adolescent for their criminal conduct may not be useful if the issue is approached in isolation from other parts of the system.

The analysis further specifies the need for inculcating changes in designing intervention programs for adolescents. Instead of one-way communication that used to be practiced in the traditional Malay family system, the participants seemingly prefer two-way communication by which they are implicitly requesting an opportunity to be heard. They were unlikely to accept the rigidity of parenting styles practiced by their parents which they persistently termed 'control' to portray the intense protective parenting exercised by their parents. They reacted against the traditional patriarchal Malay family structure and processes by which the father holds the absolute right to nurture his children and in return the children are expected to obey their parents without questioning their rights (Yaacob, 2009). Based on this analysis, I would contend that such an authoritarian approach might have been acceptable raising children decades ago, appropriate to time and the place of tradition. What is needed to meet the needs of adolescents in a rapidly changing context is parenting and family values that are both culturally meaningful but also consistent with the psychological development of the adolescents (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013)

While this analysis draws attention to the family structure through the participants' stories, it does not necessarily mean that families are unresponsive to their adolescent children. Some of the issues faces by the families are connected to their access to resources, especially where parents are required to work. Most of the families were struggling with low economic status that made them vulnerable to inequality and in the participants' accounts, this was often associated with parental conflict. However, the participants also told of histories of violence suggesting that the social and cultural values of the Malay family system is under pressure for these families.

8.1.2 Psychological developmental issues

The psychological developmental issues theme represents the issues that explain the engagement of participants in criminal behaviour, which is approached with sensitivity to differences in the participants' individual psychology through developmental stages. The subthemes include cognitive frameworks, motivation to participate in criminal behaviour, and individual patterns and vulnerabilities with regards to personality characteristics. In this context, all the subthemes were highlighted and combined at the individual level of analysis to portray specifically the multiple aspects of self that influenced their decision making.

This theme posits that an individual must progress through developmental stages *en route* to adulthood (Parke & Gauvain, 2009). Each developmental stage is differentiated from each other through common physical and psychological changes at a certain ages. In articulating the individual psychological issues concerning the process through developmental stages, the adolescents' physical, psychological, and emotional changes are discussed and contextualised to reflect the developmental stage they have been going through. In mainstream Western psychology, adolescents (aged between 11 and 18 years) are described to be located in the most vital developmental stage where they begin to form their self-identity (Mitchell & Ziegler, 2013). It is at this stage of moral development that adolescents begin to assess the values of their parents and the values of others. In the participants accounts, the process of identity formation is complicated by the influence of multiple factors, which include cognitive ability, both emotional and physical support from significant others, and reference points and resources that they experience in their environment. The strengths and limitations of those factors moderate the reaction through which behavioural patterned are developed.

So, in the process of conceptualising the distinct stages of development for adolescents this analysis was inspired by mainstream Western psychology about the changes that happen during adolescence and the disputes concerning the physical and psychological developmental domains of adolescents. These explanations about physical and psychological development were analysed from the local Malay perspectives, which are intertwined with Islamic explanations. This approach is important to locate the moral accountability of the participants' experiences through the local Malay lens with regards to their participation in criminal behaviour. It is important to note here, that unlike the Western conception of adolescence, there is no such age marker from an Islamic perspective. Within Islam, individual

accountability is determined at the onset of puberty, which is usually marked by the experience of first ejaculation for boys, also known as *baligh* (Husin, 2005). Once this happens, individuals are fully accountable for their behaviour. In this sense, an individual goes from childhood straight to adulthood and meet the expectations of adulthood.

The differences between civil law and the expectation of Islamic adulthood in the Malay Muslim community has been complicated through a legal system that is based on the Western concept of individual responsibility for criminal behaviour where adolescents are detained for their criminal activity. Islamic practices and accountability to God, and civil law with accountability to the state have established a contradiction in values of the Malay, and led to confusion not only among the research participants, but also the people who are meant to deal with these adolescents. The contradiction in distinguishing human developmental stages, especially about the age of criminal responsibility, has as its focus, knowledge of physical and psychological development to distinguish distinct stages. This distinction is important to the analysis as it locates the discussion of the participants' accounts within the domain of developmental stages.

Adolescents are suggested to have flexible yet complex thought processes. Ideally, a healthy adolescent is expected to become concerned about the future and ideological problems. Their problem-solving skills would develop, but are likely to be complicated by their thinking styles (Santrock, 2013). Therefore, their thoughts and knowledge may develop, but as suggested in the analysis of the present study, their development may not necessarily facilitate the skills to deal with their emotions. Consistent with this argument, in the context of this research, issues related to moral reasoning the participants' understandings of moral decision making is linked to the ambivalence of their reflections to their cultural context.

With regards to moral development, within mainstream Western psychology, Kohlberg's moral development theory is often cited as the explanation for moral development of individuals. Drawing from Piaget's cognitive development theory, Kohlberg posited that an individual moves through three levels of morality development. Level one is pre-conventional morality. At this level (birth – nine years old), there is no personal code of morality, and children link their behaviours with the consequences (punishment) to decide whether the behaviour is right or wrong. This is followed by the second level (most adolescents and adults), which is conventional morality. At this level, an individual begins to internalise the moral standards that reflect local norms. At level three, the individual starts to develop self-

chosen principles, which are heavily influenced by individual rights and justice (Mitchell & Ziegler, 2013).

However, the moral development theory proposed by Kohlberg has been persistently debated as morality has engaged researcher across the spectrums of disciplines (Lapsley & Carlo, 2014). Through these debates, it has been suggested that moral development is not necessarily cognitive in nature, but rather, it may be influenced by emotions, the pressure of the environment, as well as brain development. The analysis therefore, assumes that cognition is not a unitary process, but it is aligned with other processes for arriving at a moral judgement. It is a complex interplay between cognitive structure and processes including the stimulation of unconscious psychological processes, particularly emotional responses to stressful life circumstances (Saunders, 2015). Research has shown a link between adolescents who have engaged in criminal behaviour and the immature development of their prefrontal cortex that is important for human cognition. This part of the brain “allows us to prioritize thoughts, imagine, think in the abstract, anticipate consequences, plan and control impulses” (American Bar Association, 2004, p. 1).

The following analysis suggests that moral development is influenced by the interrelationship between knowledge of acceptable behaviour according to local norms and values as well as the severe implications of their criminal behaviours, but the pressure of life in the globalised environment overruled their cognitive processes especially where their emotional response to their life stressors is stronger. Thus, cognitive functioning and life circumstances work rather through independent pathways in influencing the participants’ moral judgement.

Moreover, the participants were found to have difficulties matching their behaviours and local Malay values and practices. This indicates that the participants found it challenging to identify and frame their personal desires and interests through local values and practices. This analysis contradicts developmental theories such as Piaget's stages of development, which suggests that at the adolescent stage an individual should be able to apply hypothetical thinking skills and to think logically about abstract propositions (Parke & Gauvain, 2009). This concern links the relevant information, which includes cultures and values in the process of moral reasoning towards making a moral judgement. The inconsistency between beliefs and behaviour as a result of the interference of personal desires and interests, can be understood as cognitive dissonance (Cooper, 2007), motivating the participants to remove the

cognitive discomfort caused by the interference and to modify the thinking process so that cognitive consistency can be restored. In this way, hypothetical thinking ability is disrupted by the lack of capacity that enables individual to engage in the hypothetical thinking processes (Saunders, 2015). In this sense, lack of capacity refers to psychological immaturity and reflects the inability of the participants to reflect on the depth their core beliefs. As a result, the alternative beliefs generated by the participants somehow go against the local norms and practices, which is often found as problematic.

8.1.2.1 Cognitive framework

The first theme of psychological development at the individual level is cognitive framework. The cognitive framework is conceptualised by referring to the ways participants process information and form their understanding of their lived experiences as well as the factors that influence their decision-making process, especially with regards to crime engagement. In this sense, the cognitive framework reflects the process of reasoning, planning, manipulating information, and controlling impulses. All these processes contributed to moral reasoning in making moral judgements (Saunders, 2013) among the research participants. There are disputes concerning the definition and the processes involved in moral reasoning, particularly in identifying the causal roles of moral reasoning that ignore other factors that potentially influence the process (e.g. emotion) (Saunders, 2013). Also, considerable attention should be given to physiological factors such as the prematurity of prefrontal cortex that is implicated in the inability to generate thinking and reasoning processes among the adolescents (Beckman, 2004; Juvenile Justice Center, 2004). However, I explore the role of moral reasoning as a capacity that enables an individual to think consciously and deliberately as well as to consciously apply moral principles to new situations (Saunders, 2013) as vital in making moral judgements in this analysis.

Five subordinate themes: absence of proper deliberation, cognitive dissonance, limited knowledge about the implications, negativity about the outside world and lack of filial piety.

8.1.2.1.1 Absence of proper deliberation

Thinking and considering all the possibilities is essential in making decisions. Kohlberg and Candee' model of morality suggest that the greater the understanding of why moral choice is correct, the greater the probability that an individual will act through this understanding (Mitchell & Ziegler, 2013). Thus, moral reasoning takes place through an imagined state of affairs that assess some alternatives alongside accepted beliefs about reality (Amsel & Smetana, 2014). Dino engaged in a simple moral reasoning process, which is heavily influenced by his strong desire to own a motorcycle. His imagined state appeared to be flawed by his unjustified and ambivalent assumptions and at the same time implicitly influenced by his emotion marked by his strong desire to own a motorcycle. He asserted,

“I thought that the motorcycle was ‘clean’ with valid paperwork, etc. Unfortunately, it was not. It was a stolen motorcycle. But, at that time, I thought nothing. I simply took it.” (Dino, p. 2)

An absence of proper hypothetical analysis in the process of moral reasoning was also identified in the participants’ personal accounts. In this context, hypothetical thinking refers to an ability of an individual to analyse any particular behaviour by linking the behaviour to the consequences. As seen in the participants’ accounts, they had not engaged in a proper moral deliberation process, but simply responded to uncontrolled internal impulses before committing crimes. This scenario also may suggest that the participant may lack frontal lobe development skills, or simply responded emotionally. Arif asserted,

“(It was) nothing in my mind at that time. (But) I would blame myself. I cannot blame others because I have a brain. I should be able to think before doing anything.” (Arif, p. 3)

Dino also shared the same explanation pertaining to the lack of hypothetical reasoning at the time, although it seems he has subsequently thought about the consequences.

“I feel guilty now. However, when I was doing that, I thought nothing.” (Dino, p. 20)

Zul displayed bias in his hypothetical thinking when his personal interests and emotions towards his girlfriend influenced his moral judgement, suggesting that the benefit was the reward from his girlfriend.

“I thought nothing when I was doing it (crimes). I didn’t think properly; I had become a motorcycle thief just because of my girlfriend.” (Zul, p. 24)

Nuar and his friends shared the same desire to live freely. He used to live in an army camp with tight rules. The pressure of living in the camp alongside his strong desire to be with his friends and engaging in criminal behaviours drove him to sneak out of the camp. Joining wild parties with his friends was normal to him. At this time, he was self-oriented and sought to enjoy and entertain himself without considering the implications. His interests indicate the complexities in moral reasoning when personal desires and interests are not guided by moral components. On reflection however, he is now aware that his behaviour at the time was not appropriate.

“When I was outside, I did whatever I wanted to do. If I felt like going out, I would simply go out. My life was such a mess.” (Nuar, p. 30)

Ajam has also become aware that his thinking process that led him to engage in criminal behaviour was wrong.

“Sometimes, when I did nothing, I used to blame myself for my stupidity, not to think properly.” (Ajam, p. 20)

Tapa explained that his personal desires outweighed his moral obligations. For him, at that time, it did not matter if the action he was about to execute was morally wrong as long as he found pleasure. On reflection, Tapa too was able to understand that their collective offending could be attributed to the problems his peers were facing.

“They (the adolescents) themselves have problems. They can be easily influenced by other people. To me, if the activities were enjoyable, I would join no matter what.” (Tapa, p. 18)

The importance of moral reasoning is to mediate thoughts and behaviours. The process of moral reasoning is substantiated by personal moral responsibility and the implications of their behaviours through understanding the social implications of their actions. Usop clearly articulated that he did not have the capacity to think about the implications of his behaviour on others at the time of his offending.

“I had never thought about the consequences. I just did whatever I wanted to do. I never thought about others.” (Usop, p. 34)

8.1.2.1.2 Cognitive dissonance

Cognitive dissonance refers to a situation involving conflicting attitudes, beliefs, and subsequent behaviour (Cooper, 2007). When analysing the talk of the participants, it refers to what they believe is inconsistent with their desires and interests. The discomfort produced by this conflicting situation motivates the participants to expand cognitive and behavioural effects to reduce the discomfort and restore cognitive consistency. Framed through an

understanding of their cognitive process, it seemed that the participants held certain belief or values, but when they engaged in simple hypothetical thinking, the imagined consequences were rendered either meaningless, or contradicted what they understood as culturally embedded beliefs or values. The participants stated that they were aware of the consequences of their criminal behaviours, but the awareness was not reflected in their behaviours at the time.

In their personal accounts, I identified two possibilities that might explain the relationship between the participants' thoughts and behaviours. Firstly, they likely treated the consequences as a myth because they had never experienced the real pain of the consequences personally and they had no examples of role modelling from their parents. Therefore, they failed to recruit imagination that is close to the real world. Secondly, following Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the relationship between their thoughts and behaviours is mediated by internal factors such as ego strength, which helped maintain their self-pride in their criminal world. This relationship led to conflict between what they were supposed to believe and their interests and behaviours. The situation had driven them to reconstruct or to restore cognitive consistency. Usop for example used the word *dosa* (sin) to indicate that he was able to relate his behaviour and the bad consequences to religious perspectives. Nevertheless, he engaged in criminal activity to satisfy his desires. The word *dosa* is commonly used in Malay Islamic religious context to describe human transgression against God.

"The reason I am here is because of the influence of my friends. I ran away from home. The reason was (I had) some misunderstanding with my family. The problem kept getting more serious. So, (as I couldn't stay any longer) I ran away from home. I went to the nearby town and stayed there for almost a month, until hari raya. I hung out with my friends, (I had) involved in illegal motorcycle racing, drinking (alcohol), smoking etc. up to the point that I didn't care about the sin." (Usop, p. 1)

"I've never felt guilty at that time. (I) Just did it (without caring for the implications)." (Arif, p. 3)

Tapa had been successful in escaping the consequences of his criminal activity for some time, and this reinforced his status as a 'good' criminal. As a result, he did not think of alternative actions (e.g. engage in legal behaviours or considering the severe consequences of

his criminal behaviours) if his imagined planned action ended in failure. Owing to this reinforced reasoning processes, which is strongly influenced by his desire rather than thinking about the consequences, he was more concerned about how to escape from the crime scene without being caught or facing the consequences.

“I have never thought about the implications. The most important thing for me at that time was to commit crime and escape.” (Tapa, p. 18)

When Dino was asked whether he thought about the consequences of his criminal behaviours, he stated that he did, although the consequences were about being caught. He was often uncomfortable when committing a crime, as he was aware that his criminal activities could have serious consequences. However, it was not enough to stop him from engaging in crime. His eagerness for stealing was driven by the circumstance within which he needed a lot of money in order to modify his motorcycle. At that time, he was active in illegal road racing that required him to modify his motorcycle up to a certain standard. He was unable to resist the demand, and as he was not working, he engaged in criminal behaviour as the means to fund his activities.

“Yes, I did. However, I did not think about it when I was doing the crime. Sometimes, while breaking into shops, I would feel nervous when hearing cars pass by. I was afraid I would be caught.” (Dino, p. 12)

8.1.2.1.3 Limited knowledge about the implications

In order to satisfactorily engage in the moral reasoning process, adequate and appropriate knowledge is vital. This knowledge facilitates the process of recruiting the imagination, making inferences about imagined states of affairs, and interpreting the real world consequences of the imagined state (Amsel & J. Smetana, 2014). Such knowledge enables an individual to evaluate the actual event and to reason possibilities in light of the imagined states. Consistent with this articulation, the theme ‘limited knowledge about the implication’ is conceptualised following the inability of the participant to explain the possible consequences of their criminal behaviours. For example, one participant realised that he lacked adequate knowledge about the consequences of the crimes he committed. He thought that the only threat that he had to deal with was the police. He was unaware of the punishment process for his crimes. Hence, he was unable to form a mental representation to

evaluate the meaning, significance, and the outcome of choices in the real world. Like Dino, his understanding of the consequences was about being caught.

“Nope. I just know about police, (but) I have no idea about STB (the rehabilitation centre for young offenders) etc.” (Madi, p. 2)

8.1.2.1.4 Negativity about the outside world

When the participants are actively involved in crimes, they end up concluding that the world around them is not a safe place. This theme explains the cognitive process that happens due to an inability to evaluate the circumstances from different perspectives and alternative choices. Arif, for example, who was actively involved in pornography-related crimes found himself trapped in his criminal world. His understanding of the world was revolving around the crimes he had committed. He believed that the same crime would likely happen to his family. Because of his participation, and the belief that others in the world were also capable of similar behaviour, he became protective of his sister. He was able to see the potential consequences for his sister but did not transfer this knowledge to understand the effect of his actions on other families.

“I didn’t allow my younger sister to go out because she is so beautiful, I was afraid something bad would happen to her.” (Arif, p. 6)

Like Arif, Dino stated that his social environment was not safe for adolescents. Dino suggested that the current social life is risky for adolescents. He further argued that adolescents were not resilient to outside threats, which meant they also lived in fear and experienced anxiety. Reflecting on his personal experiences whereby he used to spend most of his time outside the home and ended up as being part of a group. Loyalty to the group meant he was unable to resist the pressures of belonging, including the feeling of being protected. The conflict in the process of moral reasoning, can be linked to overlapping interests to fulfil his moral responsibility and to conform to group norms. His mental representation was unable to infer benefits if he chose not to engage in offending behaviour when there were clear benefits to belonging to a group. His participation in the group offered him both a connection and other ‘incentives’ consistent with his desires and interests. Dino explained:

“If they (parents) do not allow their kids to go out, their kid will be safe from any social problems such as vandalism. The Malay adolescents especially, when they mix with others who are involved in social problems, they would be easily influenced.”
(Dino, p. 22)

8.1.2.1.5 Lack of filial piety

In the Malay culture, filial piety in the parent-child relationship emphasises children's love and respect for their parents (Ismail, Jo-Pei, & Ibrahim, 2009). Lacking filial piety is believed to lead to negative consequences in children. Research on Malay filial piety has found that children whose parents believe in filial piety are less likely to experience conduct problems, suggesting that parents can provide children with the moral education that has a positive effect on children's behaviour. Consistent with this notion, Ajam asserted that the detention he was experiencing was a consequence of disobeying his mother.

“...I didn't listen to my mum (advice), so it happened (illegal sexual relationship), in the afternoon I was detained... (Ajam, p. 22)”.

8.1.2.2 Motivation to participate in criminal behaviour

Motivation is a theoretical construct explaining the direction, persistence, and vigour of goal-directed behaviours (Passer & Smith, 2008). In the Malay culture, in line with Islamic principles, the ultimate motive of life for Malays is to submit the self to the will of God through which one can achieve true peace and happiness (Joshi, 2013). Submission to God simply means abiding by all His commands by maintaining a good relationship with Him and His creatures. The commands of God become the source of motivation to those who believe, especially in the Malay community. Thus, behaviour of an individual to be either culturally good or bad could possibly be judged by assessing their personal motivation in engaging in the action in relation to God's will. For instance, in research on the perceptions of young people in Malaysia it was found that adolescents with no behavioural issues were driven by long-term motives such as being successful in the future and to live a life without regrets (Kok, Goh, & Gan, 2015). In achieving these motives, it was found that emphasis on the relational aspects were often associated with respecting and maintaining their relationships with others. For Malay Muslims, apart from relational aspects between them and other people, it was also necessary to maintain the relationship with the God as an ultimate life motive, which is may be neglected by the participants who engage in criminal behaviours.

In the literature on criminology, various factors are identified as the source of motivation for criminal engagement (eg. Burt & Simons, 2013; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Cornish & Clarke, 2003; Tomé, Matos, Simões, Diniz, & Camacho, 2012; Wikström & Treiber, 2007). Based on self-control theory (SCT) for instance, crime is perceived as a pleasurable activity that has rewards (Burt & Simons, 2013; Canter & Ioannou, 2004). The rewards can be in the form of monetary and material value of goods or have noneconomic gains such as status, respect, and esteem. In contemporary research, it has been found that the effects of self-control are related to individual desires for thrill seeking and individual differences in risk taking behaviours (Burt & Simons, 2013). This theory suggests that rather than the end rewards, thrill seeking may influence the process of crime and affects self-control.

Interestingly, the sources of motivation as discussed above appeared to be a part of the motivation shared by the participants. While some participants emphasised the end rewards as motivating their engagement in the process of crime, some participants also emphasised short-term personal motives that did not necessarily represent their personal interest and desires, but

were a response to the pressure of the circumstances surrounding their lives. For example, some were involved in crime to avoid being bullied by their peers. It seems that by being involved in criminal activities they would gain some sort of respected social status, which can stop others from bullying them. Criminal activity can also be understood through the participant accounts as a ‘therapeutic’ approach that can decrease the risk of involvement in more serious crimes. This perceived benefit is possible by the distinction between perceived ‘minor’ crimes and perceived ‘major’ crimes. This suggests that by shifting the focus from major to minor crimes there could be a decrease in the risks of facing implications that are more serious.

Specifically, through the emerging subordinate themes, the motivations constructed by the participants included seeking immediate enjoyment, to avoid being bullied, believing in the right to make decisions, wanting to quickly learn about the world, to try others’ experience, admiration for people with criminal skills, got back up, crimes turn into a habit and laws enforcement issues. For example, some participants felt proud of being recognised as a gangster. Escape was a source of motivation for the next crime and often ended up in transforming crime into a desire for thrill seeking. Against the motives of those adolescents with no behavioural issues, these motives indicate that the participants assumed no responsibilities towards other entities, including family, society, and religion.

8.1.2.2.1 Seeking immediate enjoyment

In the transition between childhood and adulthood these adolescents are located in a challenging phase of development. The challenges at this developmental phase include limited cognitive functioning, the pressure of their environments, and limited resources to fulfil their desires and interests. At home, they have to abide by many traditional rules, including listening to their parents, with little by way of enjoyment, including access to money. In other words, the challenges were often associated with the pressure to reach a state of happiness and self-satisfaction from their point of view. Therefore, instead of facing the challenges in locally acceptable ways, these adolescents were motivated by personal enjoyment. They considered nothing other than to generate pleasurable arousal for immediate enjoyment.

“I just wanted to enjoy. (I had) never thought about the laws,(and) society.” (Arif, p.

4)

“I just wanted to enjoy.” (Sidi, p. 34)

“When I was outside, I just wanted to enjoy. Hanging out with my friends.” (Nuar, p. 32)

“I just wanted to enjoy. I could use the money to enjoy. At that time, I was thinking only about having fun.” (Tapa, p. 17)

After Ajam was involved in criminal activity for quite some time, he became used to it and it was difficult for him to stop as his personal life satisfaction and happiness was rewarded. His criminal behaviours became about the thrill, so much so that he stole a motorcycle just for fun without any intention to own or to sell the motorcycle. His criminal behaviour was focused on sensory stimulation in the process of crime as a form of reward. This notion was also shared by Dino who believed that most people committed crimes to gain personal pleasure and self-satisfaction.

“Actually, I did it just for fun. Initially, my friends and I were hanging out. Then, we felt bored. So, we decided to steal the motorcycle. After that, we rode the motorcycle. Then we simply left the motorcycle at a farm.” (Ajam, p. 4)

“For the Malaysian, when they committed crimes, they just do it just for their self-satisfaction.” (Dino, p.34)

Several participants asserted that they must commit crimes to feel relieved, whether from boredom, or as a form of escape from the circumstances of the everyday lives. They sought an immediate ‘remedy’ for their emotional turmoil, which was, from their perspectives, only possible through engaging in crime. They enjoyed the sensation of risk taking behaviours.

“I thought nothing. I felt relieved when I did that.” (Mizi, p. 10)

“Felt great after successfully committing crime. When I could do all those crimes, I felt great.” (Youp, p. 26)

The participants managed to get a number of valuable items as reward for their participation in crime. These ‘incentives’ attracted the participants to persistently engage in crime to satisfy their material desires. This notion is consistent with self-control theory, which

suggests that people are attracted to the crime because the rewards gained from the crime is easy and efficient, in this example, both the material gain and the pleasure of that gain.

“When I broke into houses, I usually managed to get a lot of money, (and) jewellery. It made me feel good (or otherwise) I was not comfortable. I had to do it (crime) to make me feel comfortable.” (Tapa, p. 15)

Tapa added that with the money he got from crime, he managed to satisfy his various personal needs, such as to live his life with all activities he enjoyed the most. Apart from stealing, Tapa was also involved in drugs. Tapa asserted that the drugs could improve his mood. The pleasure and the strong effects of the drug influenced him to continue taking the drug.

“(The money was used) to get the drugs (such as) marijuana, etc. (I) Went to the cinema (and) bought new shoes. I felt good if I could do that. After smoking cigarette for sometimes, I felt like to try out new drugs. (So) I took marijuana. During the first time I took it, it made me feel so good.” (Tapa, p. 3)

Crime promises immediate personal satisfaction through positive reinforcement of pleasure. Arif, who was involved in pornographic activities, and rape, felt pleasure when committing such crimes. By selling pornographic videos, he managed to earn money for his personal use. Thus, he enjoyed both the process and the end rewards following his criminal behaviours.

“It was such a pleasurable habit.” (Arif, p. 7)

A common phenomenon among adolescents is the attraction to new behaviours that may seem to enhance feelings of greatness achieved through relationships with their peers. Adolescents have a tendency to engage in certain behaviour through trial and error. Thus, successfully committing crimes may result in the feeling of achievement that may serve as an impetus for repeat criminal behaviour.

“I saw my friend do that (crime), it seemed enjoyable to me.” (Zul, p. 24)

In addition, the participants indicated that they were impatient in fulfilling their desires. Crime was treated as a shorter way in reaching the desires. Dino for example,

mentioned that he could learn about the world in a faster way as compared to conventional ways of doing things. Dino was looking for an immediate accomplishment of his personal desires.

“One more reason, in order to learn about this world through better ways, we need to undergo such a long process, it is such a boring process.” (Dino, p. 25)

The criminal world promotes a world without legal and moral boundaries. An individual is ‘allowed’ to engage in criminal activities without bothering about the moral aspects. By participating in crimes, people could easily gain a number of ‘incentives’ which include money, girls, etc. These ‘benefits’ attracted the adolescents to engage in crimes.

“I was happy with my life. I had all (including) money, (and) girls. I don’t know. I didn’t think about other things except that I just wanted to enjoy.” (Sidi, p. 35)

Being able to escape after participants had successfully committed a crime motivated a repeat of the crime.

“When I did it for the very first time, it was a success because I managed to escape. I felt good about it and it made me feel like I wanted to do more. It was difficult to think about arrest, etc. because every time I did it, it was a success. I managed to escape safely.” (Dino, p. 7)

Sidi described himself as he being his best when he was with his motorcycle. All attempts to arrest him by the police were never successful if he was with his motorcycle while committing a crime. Therefore, he kept doing crimes as he anticipated that he should be able to successfully escape.

“It was really difficult to catch me if I was with my motorcycle. The day I was arrested, I was in the house, not with my motorcycle. That was why the police were able to catch me.” (Sidi, p. 25)

8.1.2.2.2 To avoid being bullied

Being bullied made the life of some of the participants difficult. Madi asserted that when people kept talking badly about him because of his sluggish appearance (wearing old

and unstylish attires), he could not take it any longer. However, it was difficult for him to change his appearance, as he could not afford to buy new clothes. Therefore, he decided to engage in crime so that he could earn some money instantly, and change his style. He was motivated by changing his appearance to avoid negative criticism. Thus, his criminal engagement was driven by multiple factors, including economic pressure, material benefits, and to gain social status.

“I didn’t want to see people condemn me anymore. Then I replied (to my mother), for how long I need to live like this, to show to others that I’m weak. It made others feel like bullying me.” (Madi, p. 14)

In Madi’s understanding, how he looked opened the door for bullying and discrimination. He had become a victim of bullying because he did not meet the standards expected by his peers. To gain peer acceptance, he started to transform his appearance and behaviour and chose to engage in criminal activities so that he would be able to gain respect from his friends. His criminal behaviour enabled him to feel powerful and gain control over who he wanted to be.

“Not so good. Previously, it was ok, (but) when my family had problems, all my neighbours knew about our problems. There was a time when one of our neighbours has condemned me and my siblings for being sluggish. It happened when I was in standard 6. That’s why I have decided to change my looks by dressing up (like others). I didn’t want to see people condemn me anymore. (Not only that) my junior at school also used to condemn me on my appearance. So, when I was in form 1, I started to dress up to show what I was capable of. I started to steal motorcycles. I was really mad about people who always undermined my life. They drove me crazy to the point that I threw paint in front of their house, but I was fortunate, they didn’t know who did it. I did it all alone.” (Madi, p. 37)

Usop was bullied a lot since his childhood. After joining criminal gangs, his bully stopped bullying him. To Usop, being a gangster was a special social status that everyone in his or her ‘world’ would acknowledge. It was such an accomplishment when Usop was accepted to join a criminal gang.

“I felt proud becoming a gangster.” (Usop, p. 13)

8.1.2.2.3 Believing in the right to make decisions

Ajam believed that he was granted the right to make decisions for himself by his parents even though he was underage. It is important to note here that, under Malaysian law, children under the age of 18 are the responsibility and authority of parents. Although Ajam stated that his parents had delegated the responsibility to him, the descriptions of his lived experiences suggested that he himself claimed the right to make decisions without interference from his parents. He dropped out of school at a young age without the consent of his parents and decided to work. Upon starting to work and mingling with older friends, he believed that he was old enough to decide what was best for himself. Motivated by his perceived right to autonomy at an early age, Ajam was unable to accurately perceive the consequences for his choices.

“In terms of making decisions, I had been given between ‘80’ and ‘85%’ authority to make decisions for myself. The rest rely on my family. But, things were different when I started working, they gave me full authority to make decisions for myself.” (Ajam, p. 8)

8.1.2.2.4 Wanting to quickly learn about the world

“Eager to learn about the world” was literally extracted from Dino’s personal account as a motivating factor that led to criminal engagement. He was pondering the roles he should play in his ‘adult’ world and thus locate himself securely in the social domain. Motivated by the perceived rewards the wider society might offer, he spent much of his time with his friends rather than his adopted parents. His reference points were his friends who had become involved in crime.

“To me, I myself became involved in crimes because I wanted to know about the world.” (Dino, p. 25)

8.1.2.2.5 Like to try out others’ experience

At adolescents psychosocial development stage, it is common to attempt to engage in new behaviours. Adolescents experiment with actions that seem right for them in reaching

their personal motives. When Dino observed his friends easily made money through crimes, which was what he sought, it encouraged him to engage in similar behaviour.

“It was difficult for me to make friend with my peers. I love to learn about others’ experiences and to experience it by myself.” (Dino, p. 6)

8.1.2.2.6 Admiration for people with good criminal skills

Admiring skilful people with the expectation that they could be similar is a common attitude of most adolescents as explained in the literature where peers become role models (Tomé et al., 2012). The difference between one adolescent and another in engaging in any particular behaviour was their personal motives and the available resources to satisfy their motives. For the participants in this study, being excessively connected with peers who are similarly disconnected from the resources that guide culturally accepted moral values has led to their admiration of unfavourable role models.

“Another case that amazed me was that he broke into a big shopping complex (without being detained).” (Dino, p. 9)

“I admired my uncle because he had never been arrested.” (Youp, p. 25)

8.1.2.2.7 Got backup

The motivation for committing crime was the relationship between an individual and someone else who had the capability to offer protection. For example, Youp’s uncle had his back to offer protection of a relative. Therefore, the motivation for committing crime was enhanced by the relationship between him and his uncle and the reward was not only the money, but also the protection he gained from his uncle.

“A friend of my uncle had told him that I took drugs. My uncle met me; he said that it would be better for me to work with him selling the drugs. Otherwise, he was afraid my condition would get worse. I might sell stuff to my own home, etc. (In order to get money).” (Youp, p. 12)

Sidi's experience was also about protection. Sidi had his own family or specifically his two brothers who would stand behind him at all times. His brothers were also involved in crimes. They were well known as people who were able to react aggressively and violently to people in their criminal world. Thus, Sidi felt that there was nothing to worry about as his brothers were always behind him and looked after him.

"Yes, he would back me up. If he knew anyone had tried to do something to me, he would react. He was alone. He was an ex-Hendry Gurney, both of my brothers." (Sidi, p .31)

8.1.2.2.8 Crimes turn into a habit

The participants did not have a feeling of guilt when involving in crimes. They never thought about the implications of their behaviour. Factors such as the success of earlier criminal engagements, (or managing to escape), or having become skilful in committing crimes motivated repeat criminal behaviour without feelings of guilt. Eventually, their criminal engagement became a habit that was difficult to break.

"About 2 or 3 times. Not that often. We did it when we felt bored. Our robbery activities were like a game, we did it just for fun." (Dino, p. 8)

As for Dino and Tapa, they clearly perceive their criminal behaviours as a hobby.

"I'm not sure. The activities were like my hobby. I usually took a rest in the morning and I was active in other times." (Dino, p.8)

"Not at all. I got used to do the 'job'. It had become my hobby." (Tapa, p. 10)

Furthermore, Mizi found himself in a situation where crimes were perceived as normal activities. He lived in a broken family where his father divorced his mother. He lived with his biological mother who was unable to get involved in his life because Mizi was a violent person. Mizi often intimidated his mother. As a result, his mother was not really involved in his life. Most of the time, he spent time with his friends who were actively involved in crime. The feeling of belonging among his criminal peers had become a motivation that enhanced his

tendency to commit crimes. Also, by joining his friends, he familiarised himself with the criminal activities until it became a habit.

“I like to engage in bad behaviours. I liked to do all bad things. I mean meeting my (criminal) friends, outing with them and hanging out with them.” (Mizi, p. 11)

8.1.2.2.9 Law enforcement issues

The participants’ accounts indicated that the places that they performed their social lives seemed to have poor legal boundaries. The participants perceived that there would be no consequences for their crimes, as the people supposed to be responsible for administering limits did not react to participants offending behaviours.

“He (the cyber cafe owner) knew (that I was visiting porno websites), but he didn’t mind. Basically, (I would say that) it was not a good cc (cyber café), (because) it has no clear or tight rules. Customers could smoke cigarettes (inside the cc). The owner just took it for granted.” (Arif, p. 7)

When the boundaries were strictly enforced, such as the Army Camp where Nuar resided, the participants found ways to break them. Nuar stated that:

“The rules are quite strict (at the army camp). I don’t like it. Sometimes, when we hang out outside the camp, the army always patrols the camp area. It is difficult to get in or out of the camp after 10pm. That was why I like to spend the whole night at Bukit Bintang until morning.” (Nuar, p. 21)

Nuar was hoping for more freedom. He was uncomfortable when he had to abide by strict army rules while his friends who lived outside the camp were having ‘freedom of life’. Motivated by the lack of perceived rules offered by the ‘city that doesn’t sleep’ (Kuala Lumpur) Nuar broke the boundaries set by his parents and the Camp to seek the pleasures of the city.

8.1.2.3 Individual patterns and vulnerabilities concerning personal characteristics

While motivation emphasises explicit individuals' desires or attempts to accomplish direction, persistence, and goal-directed behaviours in their lives, the consistency of and patterned ways in which individuals think, feel, and behave (Reisz, Boudreaux, & Ozer, 2013) is explored in this section. It describes the individuals' unique pattern of characteristics used to deal with other people and life situations or adverse environments. These patterns are usually linked to either the positive or negative development of the psychological and behavioural wellbeing of an individual. In the analysis of the participants' transcripts, I discovered several patterns that appear to be associated with the participants' criminal engagement, which included a lack of self-resilience, aggression and self-orientation.

8.1.2.3.1 Lack of self-resilience

Resilience commonly refers to the ability to maintain normal functioning and normal development under stressful conditions (Bacikova-Sleskova, Benka, & Orosova, 2014). Normal functioning and development are understood from a cultural perspective, which in the context of this study, specifically reflects Malay values and practices. The inability of adolescents to respond to multiple stressful events (i.e. changes in many different facets due to globalisation) in line with the prescribed local Malay values is associated with resilience issues. The participants indicated that they had difficulties coping with the pressure and adversities affecting their lives. They felt they were unable to avoid engaging in criminal behaviours, even when they were aware that such behaviours were illegal with potentially severe consequences. The participants lacked the ability to withstand the internal stimulation to prevent themselves from engaging in crime. Arif, who was involved in sexual crimes claimed he couldn't control his urges:

"I couldn't control myself at that time. (I) Started by forcing her, and then she consented (to engage in sexual relationship)." (Arif, p. 6)

Ajam became aware that his behaviours were criminal in nature, but because his sexual drive was stronger than his commitment to his moral awareness, he committed the sexual offences anyway. He suggested that, "something good will simply turn bad" (p. 1) based on the understanding of an uncontrollable male sexual desire. Principally, the notion he

highlighted is rooted in traditional Malay culture where contact between a man and woman without the presence of others was highly unacceptable, as local Malays believe that the devil would be the third (hidden) party in the relationship. Ajam believed in the inevitable outcome and he claimed he could not control his biological lust leading him to act against his better judgement..

“Of course I felt guilty. We were doing something very wrong, but then, when you were in a close proximity (with a girl), something good will simply turn to be bad. These are all because of lust, no one had asked me to do that, (and I had) never been influenced by my friends as well. All the decisions to drink alcohol and to take drugs had been made by myself.” (Ajam, p. 24)

Ajam added that being alone would cause people to find ways to cope with boredom or loneliness. Despite knowing the difference between right and wrong, with knowledge of the implications, his lack of connection with family as a moral compass meant he could change the meaning of the wrongful act because others were not aware of it. Without the presence of others, his decision-making felt right.

“I did think about it. I really knew (the implications). But, when we were alone, anything wrong can become right to us.” (Ajam, p. 24)

Lack of moral judgement was another issue that contributed to deficiency in self-resilience, resulting in criminal engagement among the participants. This limitation is further convoluted by the fact that the adolescents had to face multiple life adversities, including relationship issues with family members, financial constraints, and many more. Having these adversities without protective factors such as moral accountability and competent moral judgement resulted in criminal engagement. For example, the in case of Sidi, instead of analysing and rationalising the criminal behaviour he committed, he tended to blame others for his participation in crime.

“I’d like to blame my cousin because when I was at his home, he was the one who introduce me to the drug. Because of him, I become who I am now.” (Sidi, p. 35)

8.1.2.3.2 Aggression

Several participants highlighted that they dealt with their everyday life with aggression. Aggression is defined as behaviours that potentially cause harm to others (Sternberg, 1999). Common forms of aggression are physical and verbal. The participants were unable to control their emotions leading them to engage in violence against people, potentially causing serious physical injury. Without any real consequences to their aggressive behaviour toward others aggression became a means to get their needs met. Unchecked, this behaviour led to more serious offending.

Arif who was involved in perpetrating sexual abuse, clarified that he had difficulties dealing with his aggression in his daily life.

“Sometimes I could not control my hot-temper (that led to violence.” (Arif.6)

Madi worked as a bouncer or doorman at a gambling centre which built on his ability to control others through his physical capability. His work indicated that he possessed the necessary aggressive behaviour that enabled him to react accordingly and efficiently as a doorman in case of trouble. Indirectly, his aggressiveness substantiates his reasons for committing crime.

“I am a kind of hot tempered person.” (Madi, p. 14)

Ajam found that his aggressiveness had become a tool for him to threaten others. The display of lack of guilt or concern for others has been described in the research as a pattern of callous and unemotional developmentally inappropriate or antisocial behaviour among adolescents (Thornton et al., 2015). Furthermore, it appeared that the participants had no regard for the response of others and used threats to control those who might have been in a position to regulate their behaviour.

“Yes, but he didn’t care. He knew me well and he knew how I would react if he dared to bother my life.” (Ajam, p. 15)

Sidi also used the threat of violence to intimidate others so that they would ‘allow’ him to continue his behaviour.

“My neighbours knew what I was capable of. If I didn’t disturb their children, make sure their children also didn’t disturb my life, otherwise, they had to face the consequences.” (Sidi, p. 20)

8.1.2.3.3 Self-orientation

Several participants described themselves as self-oriented in the sense that they overly focused on their own desires, needs, and interests in dealing with their social world. It appeared from their accounts that these participants appeared to lack the sensitivity to others, including their parents, suggesting that they were self-oriented. Self-orientation describes a pattern of antisocial aggressive behaviour where adolescents lack any orientation toward others and is associated with egocentrism (Espinosa & Clemente, 2013). While Youp’s father also shared a criminal history, his self-orientation distanced his offending from his father’s.

“No, it was nothing to do with my dad. I just minded my own business.” (Youp, p. 10)

Mizi also showed a lack of orientation toward others in the pursuit to enhance his own status and lack of sensitivity to the reactions of others.

“I don’t know. I don’t mind what people want to talk about me.” (Mizi, p. 13)

Listening to the advice of others was a difficult undertaking for most participants. They believed in their right to decide what was best for themselves, against the fact that the rights they were claiming were inconsistent with Malaysia’s legal system nor hegemonic Malay culture. As described in the traditional Malay culture, children are always expected to obey their parents no matter what (Yaacob, 2009). As the participants negotiated the complex changes in their psychological development including exposure to emerging new perspectives of how the world works, they strongly argued that others had no right to take part in their lives without their consent. Consistent with a focus on self-orientation, not being able to listen to the perspectives of others may limit their ability to predict the usefulness of the intentions of others. Instead, the value their individual right to independence..

“But I can’t, you can say whatever you want, but when I want to do something, I will just do it. I feel uncomfortable to listen to other people advice.” (Sidi, p. 36)

Nuar stated that it was difficult for him to listen to his parents. The force he felt to join his friends outside home was strong enough that it made him unresponsive to his parent's advice, that sometimes involved verbal aggression.

"Even though my parents didn't really care about me, but I think it was my mistake. I was stubborn. I used to fight (verbally) with my parents. If my parents didn't allow me to go out, I would ignore them." (Nuar, p. 33)

At the time of the interviews, some of the participants had begun to reflect on their offending and there was a shift in self-orientation. Like Nuar, Usop was did not listen to his parents but on reflection he was able to understand that his offending breached cultural moral values and his offending had an impact on his family.

"(The conflict) between me and my family, myself is the cause, it seems that I didn't listen to my parents' advice, I have embarrassed my family." (Usop, p. 2)

Similarly, Ajam also reflected on his behaviour and acknowledges that his parents had done right by him, and that it was he who did not listen.

"I myself have chosen the wrong path. They (my parents) have taught me the right things, but I didn't listen to them." (Ajam, p. 26)

Several participants, however, did not reflect on the effect of their behaviour on others and from their perspective, their behaviour was set, suggesting they were still operating at an egocentric stage of development.

"I am a kind of wild person. I love to play online gaming (and) visit social website, (I mean) face Book." (Madi, p. 14)

"I'm not sure. I was wild when I was small." (Dino, p. 13)

Tapa held the belief that once you started committing crime, there was no room for regret. Rather, you should finish what you started. He talked and confirmed about himself being a self-determined and self-oriented person.

“If I wanted to do something (crime), I would do it straight away, no second thought. I must be confident with myself. When I started doing that, there would be no turning back.” (Tapa, p. 18)

Choosing the right friends was essential to ensure the survival of the participants in this ever-challenging era. While the idea of self orientation is maintained, the need for the presence of others is also important to serve as self-protection that made a person less self orientated. Madi stated that he needed both good and bad friends in order to help him deal with many different situations in his everyday life. He also expecting a dangerous world around him that required him to be well prepared. He believed that developing a bad relationship with friends would help him meet the expected dangers and save them from physical threat. This notion was generated when reflecting on his involvement in crimes which is full with enemies and threats.

“ We need two kinds of friends, firstly, you should have good friends, and another you should have bad friends. You will need the good friends when you don't have good ideas to execute good behaviour, they should be able to help you out, it's not possible to get it from the bad friends, so you would need them... you would need the bad friends when you want to fight with someone.” (Madi, p. 34)

8.1.2.4 Summary

Given the discussion on the individual developmental issues, I conclude that the core issue at the individual level was the lack of capacity for the participants to attend moral accountability and moral judgement, which was complicated by their egocentrism. . The cognitive framework theme may suggest that the participants were having issues with regards to the skills in processing and understanding the information they had. The issues were convoluted by their lack of insight to help them to develop moral reasoning. It is also important to take into consideration their limitations in terms of brain development that contribute to the generation of appropriate cognitive processes.

Eriksons' stages of human development suggest a crisis identity is experienced by adolescents aged between 12 and 18. At this stage, it is believed that the adolescents are exploring the meaning of life by engaging in any behaviour that may satisfy his 'unspecified

and unsure needs' which are understood to be associated with a 'conflict' in identity development. The emerging themes of diverse motivations that led to criminal behaviour indicates that the participants remained at an egocentric stage of development. As such, they indicate some insensitivity towards other people rights and well-being. The participants spoke much about their personal desires and interests such as a desire to achieve immediate personal enjoyment with specific incentives. Moreover, the participants failed to acknowledge, let alone adhere to the Malay cultural values of moral accountability toward self, others and the ultimate motive of life, God. Their motivations to become involved in crimes were also influenced by the forces of their chaotic environment, so the support and encouragement of their peers secured their sense of belonging.

The individual patterns and vulnerabilities concerning the personal characteristics theme suggests that the participants' offending behaviours can be linked to their lack of self-resilience, aggression and self-orientation. They spoke about being self-determined and egocentric, which was associated with their acts of sensation seeking, lack of ability to withstand their internal stimulation such as biological lust, lack of connection with others such as family, as well as lack of moral judgement. They also talked about compromising their egocentric-self as they need to be connected to certain groups of people for certain personal advantages. But, even with a need for connection they remained egocentric as their efforts to develop such relationships was not with the spirit of togetherness but about their personal (hidden) agenda which is to take advantage of others.

8.1.3 Contextualising social experiences

While the previous section discussed a lack of orientation toward others, the analysis also shows that the participants were also influenced by actual, imagined or implied presence of others. In their research with Malaysian youth perceptions of living a ‘meaningful life’ in a context where the protective factors of traditional values have become compromised as Malaysia engages in processes of globalisation, Kok, Goh and Gan (2015) found a strong relational aspect was important even where personal goals and principles (values) were expressed. Although the young people in their study expressed a strong desire for self-determination, it was contextualised differently from their Western counterparts through a strong relationship with the goals of the wider community.

The participants in this study showed that relationships with others was important, although the relational aspects manifested through relationships with peers, participation in gangs and reflected intergenerational cultural differences including relationships that conflict with Islam values. Under the ‘contextualising social experiences’ theme, the participants spoke of their feelings about friendships, reasons for forming friendships with adults, and their perspectives on coupling issues. Finally yet importantly, they shared their experiences about uncondusive social environment that they had to deal with.

8.1.3.1 Peer pressure

Other than family, peers were a vital factor for involvement in crime among the participants. Almost all participants associated their participation in crime with peer pressure. As discussed earlier, most participants preferred to spend most of their time outside the family and established friendships as their alternative ‘family’. It was no coincidence that most of their friends were involved in crime, as the participants were aware of the activities their friends were engaging in. Seeking peers with values that were consistent with their own was evident. Arif stated that his involvement in crime was because he was too close to his friends who were actively involved in crime:

“I became involved (in crime) because of my friends... I’m close to my friends... Maybe because I was too close to my friends, I ran away from home in June.” (Arif, p. 2).

Dino asserted that he was bored and distressed living with his adopted parents. He preferred to move out from his family house to spend most of his time with his friends. To be accepted among his friends, he needed to show some commitment that reflected his intention and desire to maintain a friendship with his friends. He was required to adjust his behaviour to conform to his new friends' norms:

"It happened because my friends asked me to do so." (Dino, p. 8).

The same explanation was shared by Adib, Sidi and Usop.

"I was influenced by them (friends)." (Adib, p. 1)

"(It was because) I had followed my friends. At secondary school, I began to make friends with those involved in drugs." (Sidi, p. 12)

"All because of friends. Also, problems with themselves. I myself, I was influenced by my friends, but I didn't take drugs. One more thing, they like to make friends with older people." (Usop, p. 25)

Friendships with peers became the most meaningful relationships for these participants. Meaningful relationships with peers was also related to a sense of self-determination, and in Youp's account, it was also because he required money for his survival.

"I would ask for money from my siblings. Usually I asked (some money) from my mom, (and) my sister. Sometimes (they gave me money), (and) sometimes they didn't give me any money. If I didn't get money, I would look for the money by myself." (Youp, p. 11).

"I followed my friends. They didn't go to school either, (sometimes I engaged in crime) just for fun. I know about what Islam (Islamic judiciaries) says about it. But I don't know why... I was interested when seeing others (friends) doing it (crimes)." (Youp, p. 28).

Mizi also valued the relational, and in his account, while the focus was on forming friendships, he was also attracted to social relationships that resisted the norms of society.

“ When I saw them behaving abnormally, I felt like joining them. I love to make friends with problematic people.” (Mizi, p. 11)

8.1.3.2 Joining criminal gangs

According to the research, some adolescents commit crime alone and are understood as undersocialised and unable to form bonds with others. The participants in this research valued the relational aspects of criminal offending and engaged in anti social acts with others. They were usually “motivated by their loyalty to a delinquent subculture or gang” (Thornton et al., 2015, p. 368). For instance, Sidi felt proud being part of a ‘dominant’ group in a social setting. He could feel the ‘power’ he gained by joining the gang.

“I would say that our rempit group was the cruellest gang. A slight mistake would lead to serious consequences. Such as when we bet for a racing event, if you lost and you ran away without paying the money to us, then, you should know what would happen to you.” (Sidi, p. 20)

By joining the group, the relational aspects of a meaningful life are confirmed and at the same time his individual goals and desires are expressed.

8.1.3.3 Feeling about friendship

Almost all participants felt that their friends made them felt good about life. In most cases, families did not provide sufficient emotional and behavioural supports or offer meaningful social relationships leading them to seek alternatives. Friends who were commonly perceived as the most important people in their life therefore have become the best option for them to attain their desired goal of worldly happiness. This scenario would also mean that the participants were protesting against their family members who were unable to satisfy their needs.

“I could feel the joy when I was with them (friends).” (Nuar, p. 24)

“I enjoyed being with them (friends).” (Mizi, p. 11)

Living in a Malay family would typically require a person to be thoughtful and sensitive about manners, responsibilities towards self and family within the community, and responsibilities towards religion (Yaacob, 2009). These commitments were talked about as a burden for the participants with very little benefit and therefore they sought an opportunity to escape such responsibilities.

“I was happy when joining them (criminal friends). I thought nothing.” (Nuar, p. 24)

Nuar reported experiencing emotional alienation from his family and his friends became a replacement for having his relational needs met.

“I felt like my friends were more important than my family. Should I have any problem, I would prefer to share my problems with my friends rather than my family. My family didn’t care about me.” (Nuar, p. 33)

Friends were the people whom the participants perceived as being the best able to help them cope with their pressure in life and to feel secure. Usop asserted,

“I love to hang out with my friends to release my stress.” (Usop, p. 9)

The participants’ stories indicated that the perceived failure of family relations being replaced with membership of the groups to achieve meaning in life. But, the participation in the membership was complicated through the tension between Malay values and an increasing desire for self determination.

8.1.3.4 Reasons for making friends with adults

Consistent with Kok, Goh and Gan’s (2015) study, the participants sought meaningful relationships with other, sometimes from an early age, and this also meant seeking out relationships with adults with whom the participants were able to identify as compatible with their personal goals and desires. Being with peers who shared different interests and different perspectives about life made the participants feel uncomfortable, and they became isolated from their prosocial peers. In addition, the participants spoke of the pleasures they gained from exploring the adult world, which for them offered more life choices. Most of those choices met their personal desires and expectations.

“I felt uncomfortable being with them (peers), I used to mingle with people who were older than me since I was small.” (Ajam, p. 11)

“They (peers) were different, they don’t have the same interest as me.” (Adib, p. 6)

Moreover, personal experiences led to a rejection of their peers. For instance, Adib talked about being cheated by his peers. Cheated in his particular context refers to some kind of hidden agenda that was for others personal gain resulting in trust issues. It was like a win-lose situation. In this instance, Adib felt that he was treated as a tool in attaining his peers’ goals.

“It is difficult to get a true friend among my peers. They usually cheated me.” (Adib, p. 26).

Hence, he felt that being with adults was more secure as they were perceived as honest in the relationship.

The participants reported that they reached a certain level of psychological maturity by joining adults. In contrast, being with their peers made them feel immature, as they believed that what they were doing belong to a matured person. Such that Adib responded, *“I felt childish”* (Adib, p.26) when asked about his feeling about being with his peers. As for Nuar, he asserted that he felt like a mature man when mingling with older people.

“Great! I felt more mature (when I joined my adults friends). When I joined my friends at school, I felt nothing interesting, I felt like I was like them (immature)” (Nuar, p. 34)

8.1.3.5 Perspectives on coupling issues

Coupling is a sensitive issue within the traditional Malay culture as the Malay believe a girl and a boy should not be in contact, particularly in a secluded place. This form of relationship is believed to be solely ruled by human desire and lust potentially leading to moral issues such as forming a sexual relationship outside marriage. This kind of relationship is contrary to Islamic teachings (Yaacob, 2009). However, two participants perceived such relationships in a different way. For them, there was nothing wrong with coupling between a

boy and a girl. They suggested that it was not normal not to have a girlfriend, as they believed as an adolescent, having a girlfriend was necessary. Ajam stated,

“Better than I have no one. I don’t mean that I have no other choices. So far she (my girlfriend) is the only one left, the rest is no longer in contact with me.” (Ajam, p. 22).

Again here, the commitment to the relational aspect contradicts the Malay values system of relationships through recourse to self-determination. Once the relationship was established, it became the relationship that provided meaning. Sidi stated,

“My girlfriend (to whom I would listen)... I would do whatever she asked me to do. I was simply lost for a girl.” (Sidi, p. 36).

8.1.3.6 Poor functioning neighbourhoods

The involvement of the participants in crime was also attributed to their uncondusive social environment. The lack of social involvement in their neighbourhood in preventing and intervening in crimes gave the participants opportunities to commit crimes. Here it appears that there is a contest between traditional values of relational and individual responsibility in communities that was perceived by the participants as an opportunity to exploit,

“They (the neighbours) didn’t care.” (Nuar, p.5) and he added that “I don’t know. The neighbour’s seemingly didn’t mind, he (his friend who host the party) himself didn’t know his neighbours.” (Nuar, p. 21)

The lack of adult boundaries as the community becomes less relational within the globalisation process emerged as a problem for Ajam. He argued that the society has always blamed people like him for misbehaving, without taking responsibility for understanding the difficulties that some young people faced.

“Sometimes the adults would simply blame the children who were misbehaving. Actually, they are being trapped (in a bad situation). As a result, they (the adolescents) would easily feel as if they are being challenged.” (Ajam, p. 25)

Ajam perceived that the negative perceptions of the society in which they lived as a challenge that motivated the adolescents to commit crimes. It was somehow an indication that

the adolescents were protesting against the bad treatment of the society towards adolescents. Where adults who are responsible for the moral standards of a community do not take responsibility for the problems of that community, adolescents struggle to form positive and meaningful relationships.

8.1.3.7 Summary

Beyond family circle, the participants talked about their social life experiences that could be connected to their experience of criminal engagement. They spoke about peer pressure and their experience of joining criminal gangs. The participants value relational aspects or social relationship that resisted the norms of society. They spoke about commitments of criminal offending to maintain the social relationship. Also, the participants shared their feeling about developing a friendship. For them, friends have become their source of positive feeling to reach a certain intended stage of maturity and a replacement for having their relational needs met. Several participants also shared that they value relational aspect with adults with whom they were able to identify as compatible with their personal goal and desires. To them, having a relationship with adults offer more life choices and made them feel more secure.

8.1.4 School experiences

This theme is based on the emerging subordinate themes that are associated with the participants' school experiences. The themes are subject oriented, issues pertaining to English as medium of instruction, the nature of the school, inconsistency between personal interest and what the school has to offer, experiencing teaching and learning issues, and individual differences related to school experience. This 'school experience' theme demonstrates issues connecting the education system and the emerging conduct issues among the participants.

Ideally, the school is not the place for teaching an array of conventional subjects only, but also acts as an agent in the socialisation process. These adolescents attended school with the education system inherited from Tun Mahathir's administration, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, who emphasised the importance of producing as many local science and technical based experts as possible to meet the needs of the country in becoming a developed nation by the year 2020. It has been argued that the strong preference of government for science and technical subjects narrows the chances of students who are inclined to art and vocational studies (Sua, 2012). In this study it appears that students who were not able to cope with the demands, simply gave up and chose other directions.

Another important issue with regards to the Malaysian education policy is the introduction of Teaching and Learning Mathematics and Science in English (ETeMS), which was introduced in 2003 by the Malaysian government (Heng & Tan, 2006; Yang & Ishak, 2012). The introduction of this policy was linked to globalisation, which is dominated by English as a medium of instruction. However, this policy was reversed in 2012 due to some limitations such as only small percentage of teachers who fully used English to teach Mathematics and Science and the proficiency of the students in the two subjects had been on a steady decline (Yang & Ishak, 2012). Another significant problem was that rural students had been suffering under the ETeMS policy. Many of them did not understand English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). The analysis in this section highlights the problems that education policies had on the participants as they felt the system did not meet their needs, and they felt they did not belong. The way the school system operated meant that some of the students felt like they did not have the intellectual capacity or the confidence they required to achieve, and some resisted the compulsory requirement to participate in co-curricular activities.

8.1.4.1 Subject oriented

One of the issues highlighted by the participants were the difficulties they had in completing the subjects taught at school. The participants talked about their concern with several subjects that demotivated them to remain in school. English and mathematics were challenging, especially as they progressed through to high school, where they had no choice over the subjects they studied. The challenges they faced increased the stress in their lives:

“I was interested in math, BM (Malay language), (and) BI (English language) but I did not really like English, but I have to.” (Arif, p. 5)

“The subjects that I hate the most were mathematics and English because mathematics gave me a headache, all the calculations made me feel uneasy.” (Madi, p. 25).

It was not only English and mathematics that were cited as difficult. Tapa stated that Islamic studies and the Malay language also made him uninterested in continuing his education.

“Some subjects like mathematics, Islamic studies, and Malay made me feel sleepy. I was not interested in school since I was in form 1.” (Tapa, p. 11)

Nuar mentioned that he does not like writing. All subjects in school placed value on writing over other skills. He felt that the school did not offer any opportunity for him to show and to polish his personal strengths. He was particularly interested in subjects that emphasise technical skills.

“I love vocational courses, but I don’t like writing.” (Nuar, p. 34)

8.1.4.2 Issues pertaining to English as medium of instruction

For one participant, it was English as a medium of instruction that was a problem rather than particular subject areas. While he displayed proficiency in English as a subject, learning other subjects through the medium of English was a challenge and he lost motivation,

“I could understand English well, (unfortunately) some terminologies were very strange to me. I couldn’t understand them. Because of that, I started to feel unmotivated to continue my schooling.” (Ajam, p. 17)

Listening to the perspectives of the participants supports the claim that the decline in academic achievement among school pupils is associated with the introduction of English as a medium of instruction for mathematics and science subjects (Yang & Ishak, 2012).

8.1.4.3 The nature of the school

The participants tended to associate their lack of success at school with the nature of the school. For them, the school environment and the school system were not good enough to convince them to stay at school any longer. There was no excitement offered by the school. Their concerns included the general school environment, duration of the school times, unattractive school programs, unavailability of the teachers and personal bullying. Ajam felt his school was not a conducive place to study. His school was well known among the local community for its history of serious behavioural problems, and its proximity to the amenities that are visible as a distraction from school life.

“(I had a problem with) the school environment. I’m not able to explain that and as you know, I study at XXX school, so, it’s normal (as it is well known or labelled as a problematic school by the society).” (Ajam, p. 17)

The participants also expressed their feeling about learning related activities that did not meet their interests or desires. Studying was perceived as not a pleasurable or enjoyable activity.

“I didn’t want to mingle with good friends because they were always with their books and studies. What a bore (activities).” (Youp, p. 26)

“I felt bored being in school.” (Tapa, p. 11).

The participants responded to their feelings of boredom by becoming truant and instead began to seek more exciting activities that the school did not provide:

“Sometimes, I played truant from class, hung out at the school canteen, if the teacher looked for me, I would run away. If I felt too bored being at school, I would skip school.” (Youp, p. 2)

Without the teachers being responsive to his needs, Youp perceived that the school system was hindering him from socialising with his friends.

“I didn’t enjoy being at school. It was boring. I need to study at all times. I had less time to talk to other people.” (Youp, p. 2)

Nuar reacted to extended days at school, referring to a day a week when all students in his school had to stay until late in the afternoon to participate in extra co-curriculum activities.

“Yes, always (played truant). Every Wednesday was a co-curriculum day. We had to stay at school from morning until late in the afternoon. To me, it was unbearable.” (Nuar, p. 11)

Both Nuar and Mizi expressed a lack of attention from teachers as a problem that reinforced the earlier idea of having no connection with adults that should have cared for them.

“The teacher also didn’t care about us.” (Nuar, p. 27)

“At school, the teachers always went out (for other programs).” (Mizi, p. 14)

Usop who had suffered bullying because he didn’t meet the socially accepted dress code norms of his peers, was also isolated from his peers as a result of poverty. This stopped him from attending classes and despite telling his teacher it seems that this issue was not addressed.

“Whilst I was in the prayer room (at my school), I haven’t had any food, but it was ok provided that I didn’t need to meet my friends. Because of that, I had informed the teacher, I would not go into the class.” (Usop, p. 7)

8.1.4.4 Inconsistency between personal interests and what the school has to offer

The participants in this study became increasingly disinterested in attending to the requirements of school and started turning away from school to have their interests met. Dino did not necessarily dislike school but his friendship group became more interesting for him.

“I simply don’t have passion to study.” (Ajam, p. 20)

“I was not interested in school. I was interested to listen to the lesson only, but I was not interested to write.” (Tapa, p. 6)

“Starting from secondary school, I had never done homework. I was really not interested in doing it.” (Nuar, p. 27)

“I felt like doing something else, such as going to, cc, playing games. I’m not really interested in school. I am interested in things that are more technical.” (Mizi, p. 14)

“Actually, I was interested in school, but I was more interested in hanging out with my friends.” (Dino, p. 17)

“Yes, sometimes I did think about it, I felt like going back to school. But, when I was with my friends, I thought nothing.” (Sidi, p. 15)

8.1.4.5 Experiencing teaching and learning issues

Several participants talked about experiencing difficulties learning, and experienced their failure as an individual deficit.

“I am a slow learner, nothing went into my mind during the class lessons.” (Madi, p. 25)

“I like to study, but I am not good at it. I am stupid... I could not follow the lessons in class. It (also) depended on who taught the subject.” (Usop, p. 12)

“I don’t know, I could not accept the lessons.” (Sidi, p. 15)

8.1.4.6 Individual differences related to school experiences

The participants also made sense of their school experiences through their individual differences in learning. For instance, Dino perceived that studying was a complicated and long process. He found it was difficult for him to follow the normal processes of gaining knowledge through studying at school. He preferred a shorter way of learning which was by engaging in crime. Dino believed that by engaging in crime, the progress of gaining knowledge would be faster and more effective.

“It is not when you commit crimes. You don’t need to attend school, you can do it straight away. So fast. I had learnt a lot while I was committing crimes.” (Dino, p. 25)

Mizi was not interested in the ways schooling is offered as he was more capable at technical tasks, which he stated were necessary to survival.

“If you are not good at school, you must be good at technical things.” (Mizi, p. 15)

While Usop perceived school is the best place to acquire knowledge, the environment itself provided him with little protection. His turn to criminal activity provided him with the ability to learn the skills required to protect himself.

“To me, I cannot get the knowledge from anywhere except school. My mom has said that, it was normal (to be bullied) at school. You should not hope that people would spoil you.” (Usop, p. 8)

8.1.4.7 Summary

Regarding school experiences, the participants described that the education policies and school environment were irrelevant and unresponsive to their capabilities, needs, desires and interests. Furthermore, they felt that the school failed to provide them with any kind of excitement. The participants were concerned about the subjects being taught in school, whereby some participants described that they easily became bored in Islamic studies and Malay language classes. Several others found that English and Mathematics were very challenging subjects. They argued that these subjects had demotivated them to remain in

school. In addition, some participants raised the issue of having difficulties following following the lessons in school, either because English had become the medium of instruction or they felt like they did not have the intellectual capacity that made them feel competent within the education system. As a consequence, all these issues had driven them to become truants, potentially leading to more serious behavioural issues.

8.1.5 Religious framework

Religion, specifically Islam, is significant in the social structure of the Malay community in Malaysia. For many Malay's, serving the God is the ultimate goal of life. The Malay believe that God has the power to decide the best for human beings. This belief is rooted in one of Islam's six articles of faith. *Qada* and *Qadar*, "literally translated as predestination, refers to God's right to supersede man's freewill if he so wishes and that despite man's freedom to decide for himself, God ultimately knows all that man will decide and has decreed (in this sense accepted) it before it happens" (Aydin, 2005). In their own ways, he participants believed that what happened to them was predetermined destiny.

"The God has also decided the best for me, I have no problem with my schooling, but God already determined my destiny, what can I do." (Arif, p. 9)

Attributing their failure at school to destiny, these participants for whom the system has failed can also find a way to not blame themselves for the failure. In this way, these participants were able to remove the cognitive discomfort of personal failure and modify their thinking process through reference to destiny to restore their cognitive consistency.

"With the blessing from God, if He wants me to pass, I would pass." (Ajam, p. 20)

Another issue concerning the religious framework is the association between participation in crime and lack of religiosity. Religiosity could serve as a protective factor in order to reduce the possibility of an individual to engage in crime (Desmond, Soper, & Kraus, 2011). Hence, it is believed that straying from religious teachings paves the way for deviant behaviours. Several participants responded that they lacked religious knowledge during the interview suggesting that they had not had access to traditional teaching.

"I have never (performed prayer). I'm an ignorant." (Madi, p. 8)

"Nothing... I don't understand religion." (Usop, p. 26)

"I have never thought about it (religious teaching). I don't know, (to me) nothing was important in the subject." (Madi, p. 8)

8.1.5.1 Summary

The understanding of participants about their criminal behaviours within the religious framework revolved around the destiny that they believed was predetermined by God. Thus, it was out of their control and they had no choice other than to accept what had happened to them. Also, several of them were concerned about their lack of knowledge about Islam, the knowledge that should be able to prevent them from offending.

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8.1.6 The meaning of crimes

In Malaysia, crimes are clearly defined by federal laws enacted by the Malaysian Parliament. Criminal laws in Malaysia can be divided into crimes against people and crimes against property. The crimes against people include murder, armed robbery, rape and threats.. Crimes against property include theft and robbery (Maznah et al., 2008). Usually, participating in any of these crimes result in a range of penalties such as fines, imprisonment, or even the death sentence depending on the seriousness of the crime. Apart from crimes defined and classified by the federal laws, breaking social institutions' rules and regulations, such as truancy from school are considered problems even though they are not necessarily defined as a crime (Maznah et al., 2008).

Criminal laws are imposed and defined differently for children, especially with respect to procedure and punishment. In this context, a child refers to a person under the age of eighteen years (Husin, 2005). Section 82 of the Malaysian Penal Code prescribes that a child who has reached the age of criminal responsibility, i.e. ten years of age, is subjected to criminal proceedings (Maznah et al., 2008). However, the penal code describes conditional protection for a child between the ages of ten and twelve years from being prosecuted, provided he is incapable of understanding the nature of crimes he committed as well as the consequences (Maznah et al., 2008). As the participants of this research consist of adolescents aged between sixteen and eighteen years, they are liable to criminal procedures and punishments. If the child is charged with an offence, he must be charged in the Court for Children. If found guilty, children are subjected to several punishments, which may include sending the child to an approved school or Hendry Gurney School.

According to Islamic laws as applied in the Sharia' court in Malaysia, "nothing is an offence which is done by a child who is not *baligh*" (Husin 2005, p. 10). *Baligh* refers to an individual who has reached the age of puberty. Hence, there is no specific age limit in classifying the child who may be held liable on criminal grounds (Husin, 2005). Nonetheless, in common practice, due to limitations in enactment and enforcement of Islamic laws, almost all criminal cases involving children refer to the penal code and the code is imposed according to the Malaysian Child Act 2001. Malay children are continuously taught about crimes and the implications from the Islamic perspective, and are expected to be able to reason their actions from both civil and Islamic viewpoints.

‘The meaning of a crime’ as a theme emerges in response to the participants’ account of the meaning they attach to specific criminal behaviours. In this regard, most of the participants tended to classify criminal behaviour based on their understanding of the severity of the crime. They perceived that the crimes they committed could become a healing process for their emotional and physical problems. What became apparent in the analysis was a hierarchy of criminal behaviour, where for example, truancy while relevant to their early engagement in criminal activity, was not perceived as anything more than a minor behavioural issue. The crimes included in this section are both crimes against a person and crimes against property and include stealing, vehicle theft, substance abuse, rape, and illegal road racing.

8.1.6.1 Stealing

Mizi highlighted the implications of stealing by referring to traditional Malay beliefs. Without acknowledging that stealing was a sin, he stated that stealing should not be an issue as long as you do not steal food because it will affect your body. His assertion simply means that there is nothing wrong with stealing material goods as they are lower on the hierarchy of offences. .

“But sometimes I did think that if I steal the food, it may harm me, my stomach may inflate (traditional belief) so I would prefer to steal expensive and nice clothes.” (Mizi, p.6)

In the Malay culture, a person who obtains money illegally is believed to be denied the blessing from the God and will forfeit their right to enter paradise. In making sense of his stealing behaviour, Dino was aware of the religious interpretation of his criminal behaviours as he used the Islamic term *haram* (illegal) and *halal* (legal) in describing his access to money. This suggests that Dino understood the concept of right and wrong from an Islamic perspective however from his point of view, the difference was not relevant. Dino said that:

“One more thing, the haram (illegal) money I had before was like legal money to me.” (Dino, p. 34)

8.1.6.2 Vehicle theft

Vehicle theft, in particular motorcycle theft, was minimised as a crime by the participants when considered in relation to other crimes. For Dino, it was the other crimes he had committed and was not punished for that he considered more serious.

“To me, that (vehicle theft) was just a stupid case. I had committed other more serious cases, but I had never felt guilty and I always managed to escape successfully. That was why I felt awful.” (Dino, p. 25)

Madi also minimised the seriousness of motorcycle theft, and did not think it was worthy of legal intervention.

“I thought that the courthouse only for people who commit serious cases. Mine was only a minor case, not a big deal.” (Madi, p. 37)

8.1.6.3 Substance abuse

Substance abuse, specifically smoking and various types of drug addiction was an issues for most of the participants. Madi clearly drew attention to the issue of substance abuse as serious as it was what led him to his offending, Here, drug addiction considered as a risky behaviour that may lead to other criminal offending.

“All because of drugs (that caused me to become involved in sexual problem).” (Madi, p. 21)

Nuar also talked about drug addiction as being highly problematic. In his perception becoming addicted to drugs meant that he needed to participate in more criminal activity to fund his drug habit which eventually led to more serious offending,

“Do not ever be involved in drugs. Once you are involved in drug, it’s hard for you to stop. Everything (crimes) is started with drugs, and then followed by other crimes such as robbery etc.”(Nuar, p. 33)

Youp also attributed his offences to his desire to be included in drug abuse with his friends.

“It was because I mixed with my friends who were involved in drugs.” (Youp, p. 26)

Drug abuse also affected how the participants felt about their criminal activities. Sidi was able to minimise how he felt about road racing as it decreased his inhibitions.

“If I was on drugs, I was never afraid to involve in illegal road racing.” (Sidi, p. 30)

Once the participants became addicted by the drugs, it was difficult for them to stop. Tapa specifically perceived addiction as the main contributor to his offending and attempted to stop his criminal behaviours by giving up. However, his attempts were unsuccessful suggesting physical dependence.

“A little regret... after that I didn’t take the drugs anymore. I told my friends that I wanted to stop taking drugs. It wasted my money. I (also) would like to stay away from all offences. Then I stopped. But it didn’t last long. After sometimes, I went back to my old behaviours. (This time) I took methamphetamine.” (Tapa, p. 4)

Tapa was not alone in expressing concerns about the negative implications of substance abuse, and there was a clear indication among the participants that their dependence on drugs had emotional and physical effects.

“I began to be seriously addicted by the drugs when I was in form 4. If I didn’t get the drugs, I would feel uncomfortable with my body, I would feel sick.” (Youp, p. 11)

“I felt uncomfortable, I felt blank.” (Sidi, p. 9)

It appears that the participants developed a dependence on drugs as a way of managing their emotions.

“Initially, I was quite disappointed. But, once I took the drugs, I felt nothing about my family.” (Youp, p. 20)

Sidi on the other hand, sought the pleasures of drug taking despite knowing the implications.

“I knew (the implications, but nothing I could do, it was such an enjoyment to take drugs. Once I took it... harrgh (feeling of enjoyment).” (Sidi, p. 19)

The pleasurable effects for Sidi were more than the effects of drug abuse. His lifestyle of using and selling drugs offered him particular freedoms that came with having money.

“I could get the drug for free, (and) I could get money. He also provided accommodation for me. I didn’t need to look for a house to live in. I lived luxuriously at that time. The police was unable to detect our activities. The tauke paid the police... whenever I think about money, I would think about selling the drug. It’s the easiest way to get the money...I like the job (drug dealer)... such a relaxing job.” (Sidi, p. 28)

While Nuar normalised his offending behaviour, he was aware that it was wrong and linked his inhibition to drug abuse.

“To me it was normal (to commit crimes)... sometimes I did think that it was wrong, but I did it anyway.... Maybe because of the drug.” (Nuar, p. 34)

8.1.6.4 Rape

Rape is a highly contested term among the participants. Before discussing the meaning of rape by the participants, it is essential to highlight that rape is a serious crime under Malaysian civil law. In Islamic laws, it is a term that refers to any form of sexual relationship outside of marriage, including consensual sex. According to the participants, sex outside of marriage was a common practice among adolescents, and they did not consider it a serious offence if it was consensual. In Adib’s account, while he was charged with rape according to Islamic law, he maintained he had not seriously offended as it was a consensual sexual relationship.

“I had once, I raped her... (but actually) mutual consent.” (Adib, p. 13)

8.1.6.5 Understanding about crimes in general: Crime is for adults

Youp asserted that crime was for ‘adults’. Young children should not engage in crime. In his personal account, Youp did not allow his little brother to engage in criminal activities because he was deemed too young. In this way, Youp protected his brother and at the same time positioned himself as having the maturity of an adult.

“Only my younger brother knew that I was selling and taking drugs, illegal racing... he knew all my activities. He wanted to follow me, (but) I didn’t allow him (because) he was still small.” (Youp, p. 9)

8.1.6.6 Summary

The participants talked about there being a hierarchy of offending based on the knowledge and experiences they had about other cases. The hierarchy they suggested was not necessarily a reflection on Malaysia's criminal laws or Islamic laws, but merely their assumption based on what they knew of others. Thus, they minimised the seriousness of some types of crime such as stealing, vehicle theft and rape. For instance, the participants' suggested that rape was considered not a serious offence if it was consensual. Therefore, they believed that the 'rape' they committed should not be an issue. They also talked about drug addiction, which for them was highly problematic. They suggested that not only the drug-related crimes themselves were problematic, but also because of the drugs, they anticipated that drug abuse led to more criminal offending. Apart from the hierarchy of the offending, the participants also suggested that reaching certain level of 'maturity' from their perspective would qualify them to criminal engagement.

8.2 Recovery plans and processes

This theme based on the participants' anticipation about their recovery process and their integration into their social environments after their release from the centre. The participants have been placed at the rehabilitation centre for at least six months, and have participated in a number of rehabilitation programs during their incarceration. The programs include regular religious classes and activities, co-curriculum activities such as sports activities and counselling programs. I expected that the participants would be able to draw from these programmes and talk about how they might make better choices with regard to the social, legal and religious expectations to live good lives.

8.2.1 Strategies for recovery

When reflecting on what they have learned at the centre, the participants were not only concerned with changing their behaviours, but also how they could be warmly accepted by society on their reintegration. What emerged was a desire from the participants to engage more in social programs, engage in religious activities, and arrange for a legal marriage. To some extent, strategies highlighted by the participants are consistent with those promoted by Islam. As a Malay Muslim, the well being of an individual is indicated through multi-dimensional concepts which include a healthy psychological state of the self, a good relationship with the God (Adibah, 2013), and a healthy relationship with other creatures. The ultimate purpose is to submit the self to the God. Most of the participants were inspired by the multi-dimensional concept as they have begun to reflect on the significance of the family institution in their lives. They also talked about understanding relationships with community and that a healthy individual is relationally connected within society.

8.2.1.1 Engaging in social activities

The participants understood that their offending meant they would face social stigma. Therefore, one of their plans is to serve the society through active involvement in social programs to strengthen their prosocial behaviours.

“I plan to be actively involved in social programs, like attending the wedding ceremony.” (Arif, p. 9)

“When I return home, I want to socialise myself.” (Mizi, p. 13)”

8.2.1.2 Engaging in religious activities

In traditional Malay culture, the persons who regularly go to the mosque and perform the five daily prayers are considered practicing Muslims (Hatta, 2010) possessing high moral value. Having engaged in religious programmes in the centre, some participants drew on what they had learned and stated they would participate in the practices such as going to the mosque, performing the five daily prayers and studying al-Quran (the religious text of Islam) with the hope that they could recover and return to the society and live normally. Arrif had these teachings reinforced by his father and Mizi was supported by his parents,

“My father advised me that, later, when I have been released from this centre, I should always go to the Mosque.” (Arif, p. 9)

“I will listen to them (my parents), perform prayer...” (Mizi, p. 13)

Being a practising Muslim, an individual is expected to be more involved in religious activities, and Zul stated his desire to attend al-Quran readings.

“If possible, I would like to learn more. I love to listen to people reading al-Quran.” (Zul, p. 18)

Tapa talked about the relationship between attending the mosque and having people trust him. This suggests there is an attempt to conform to local norms so that their reintegration into society can be recognised as a willingness to change in prosocial ways.

“I would like to go to the mosque more often. I’d like to win their trust back. I’d like to let them know that I can change.” (Tapa, p. 14)

8.2.1.3 Married and having a family

The participants stated that they believed they would gain a better life if they were married. In the Malay society, apart from developing a legal relationship between man and women, marriage is considered a solution for building a positive self as an individual. Consistent with Muslim practices and beliefs, some of the participants planned to get married after they have been released from the centre to start a new healthy life.

“I want to get married and I’d like to have my own family.” (Youp, p. 22)

Although Zul did not specify plans for immediately after his release, he had a long term plan that had the expectation to participate in a typical Malay practice of healthy socialisation, which is to get married. When he was asked where he would be in 5 years’ time, he replied,

“Maybe I have been married. My goal is to get married when my age is over 20, maybe around 23 to 24.” (Zul, p. 25)

8.2.1.4 Adherence to the law

Realising that the biggest mistake they did was breaking the rules. The rules could refer to the Malaysian law, institutional laws, and/or family/societal customs. In order to recover, the participants believe they need to fix their mistake. Change means that he should abide by the laws.

“May be I can follow the rules after this. I want to change.” (Nuar, p. 30)

8.2.1.5 Ignoring other peoples’ perception

The participants refuse to bother about social perceptions about him. Madi prefers to focus on how he could possibly do better in the future.

“I don’t care what people want to talk about me. I just think about my future. I want to change.” (Madi, p. 34)

8.2.1.6 Inculcating a religious framework

As the participants reflected on their experiences, they discussed going back to their basic religious beliefs to make sense of what has happened and will happen to them. They understood that everything comes from God and nothing happens outside of God’s will. They also referred to the belief that there is wisdom behind what happened to them. For example,

Ajam believes that his detention is a sign that God wants him to change to become a better person.

“God has already told us that, if He wants us to change, we will change regardless the place and time.” (Ajam, p. 25)

Adib also talked about submitting himself to God’s will. He believes that he will change if God wants him to change.

“With the blessings from God, I’ll change.” (Adib, p. 29)

As a form of coping with their incarceration, the participants focussed on the aspect of wisdom to make sense of what happened to them. They believed everything that happened to them was based on traditional values and reasoned that God wanted them to learn something from their mistakes. Thus, their detention was understood as a sign that God wants to test their faith and being incarcerated means that God wants to give them a second chance to correct their mistakes, and through that chance they have the ability to reconcile their family wellbeing.

“(Indeed) God wanted to test you. God wanted to give you a second chance. I would like make my family feel proud. It is as if their son won’t embarrass them anymore. Enough! I had made a lot of mistakes, I dont want to repeat it again. I have been given a second chance.” (Usop, p. 17)

“Maybe that is sort of punishment from God.” (Dino, p. 33)

8.2.1.7 Self-beliefs

As they reflected on the impact of their behaviour, there appeared to be a significant change in how they understood their own position in the world. With the guidance of God, and in Arif’s account, a return to dignity enabled him to find a place for himself that is consistent with his beliefs.

“... I would stand by my belief... (I believe that) if I don’t want to lose my dignity, I must stand by my beliefs...” (Arif, p. 8)

8.2.2 Motivation to change

The participants talked about a range of motivations to improve their lives. In most of the cases, the participants were concerned about their family, envy about others who have the opportunity to live freely and happily, and the implications if they repeat the same mistakes. Each of these sources of motivation can be understood as restoring their relationships through their understandings of the religious framework that is consistent with local Malay values, beliefs and practices.

8.2.2.1 Family as a source of motivation to change

The participants suggested that their families are a source of motivation to change in many different ways. They were driven by their parents' hope that they will become a good person in the future and are able to take care of the parents when they are old. Despite the problems they faced in their families, this hope has its origin in the concept of kinship in the Malay family structure. The participants considered the burden that their parents had experienced in taking care of them. Another familial factor that motivated the participants to change was an intention to restore their family's good name after they believed that they have brought their family's good name into ill repute following their participation in crime.

Thus, they anticipated that their parents would feel happy and relieved if they decided to change. They no longer wanted to be a burden to their parents and family. For instance, Mizi shared that he would have less intention to offend if he thinks about the impact on his parents.

"I have less intention to commit crimes... I just want to engage in good deeds. I'm thinking about my parents." (Mizi, p. 13)

Several other participants also felt the same way. Usop reflected

"It is a burden for my father to face all these, I promise I want to restore my family's name, that is what I want to do after this, I don't want to commit sin anymore." (Usop, p. 2)

Although Nuar felt that his parents did not care about him, and struggled to feel emotionally connected to his parents, since being admitted to the centre, he felt that his

parents have become more concerned about him. These circumstances made him feel more attached to his family:

“Yes, sometimes (my father physically assaulted me). But since I have been living here, they are a bit different. They are more concerned about me. I regret what I did. I embarrassed my family.” (Nuar, p. 13)

Tapa feels motivated to change because he misses his parents:

“I feel unhappy (about my life). I could not see my parents. I could only meet them once in a while because they live in somewhere... too far away” (Tapa, p. 5)

These examples suggest a shift in development, being less egocentric and developing the ability to understand how their behaviours have affected their parents. As they developed more empathy for the effects on others, they became motivated to change. After disappointing their parents, they were able to feel responsibility toward their parents desires to become better people. Moreover, the participants felt happy to change their attitude if their family could be re-established and transformed into a normal and healthy family. One of the participants felt that he would be happy to return to his family if his family conditions could change along with his recovery process. Otherwise, he feels like it means nothing if he is the only person who recovers, but his family has not.

“If possible, I would like to see my family live together.” (Youp, p. 20)

8.2.2.2 Focus on the implication

Commonly, detention at the centre is for up to three years. However, if the detainees maintain good conduct while living in the centre, there is a possibility that they will be released earlier. They can be released after one year and three months from the first day they were sent to the centre. With this knowledge, the participants tried their best not to get into trouble while living in the centre so that they could be released earlier.

“Sometimes, I feel like running away from here. But, I think, if I run away from here and then, the police will catch me and maybe I have to face a more severe punishment. Maybe I have to stay longer in this centre. If I run away, my parents would be blamed. That is why I prefer not to run away. Besides, I’ll be released soon, probably in this coming June or latest by July this year. It’s up to them to decide.” (Mizi, p. 13)

Dino became aware of the possible serious implications if he was detained for committing crime as an adult. His fear of incarceration in an adult prison was a motivation for change.

“Recently, we had a visit from the Malaysian Prison Department. They talked about canning, etc. it made me feel scared.” (Dino, p. 32)

The implications are not limited to the worldly context, but also discussed in a religious context, particularly in preparation for the hereafter. In Islam, belief in the reward and punishment from God respectively, for good and bad deeds is one of the concepts that a Muslim must believe in. The rewards and punishments are often discussed by referring to the explanation about paradise and hell, which are believed to be real. The participants were reminded about facing the punishments if they continue to commit crime or sinful acts. On the contrary, engaging in good deeds would grant them rewards from God. Skinner’s law of effect suggests that people will engage or repeat certain a behaviour when it is reinforced, whereas punishment will decrease the likelihood a behaviour might not be repeated (Mitchell & Ziegler). In this regard, the reinforcement refers to rewards (i.e. paradise) and the punishment refers to the hell.

“I have learned about paradise and hell. I have also learned that, although we just sell the drugs (without taking it for our own use), it is also considered as a sin. If our customers are sick because of the drugs that we sell, we have to answer to God too.” (Youp, p. 25)

“People said that, it (the disaster) was like the end of the world. That was why I was afraid.” (Dino, p. 33)

“I no longer have courage to commit any wrong behaviour. When the ustaz tell us about the judgement day, what would happen in that day, it makes me realise.” (Arif, p. 9)

8.2.3 Challenges in recovery process

As the participants faced multiple issues in their lives that contextualised their offending, they were aware that if their issues remained unresolved it will become a challenge in their recovery process on release. Family conflicts, adverse social environment, and connections with peers still active in crimes and drugs remained present. However, their increasing awareness of the value of living in a collective society made them concerned about the perceptions of the society towards them. Most of the participants anticipated that the most difficult part in their recovery process would be the stigma held by the society. At some point, the participants stated that the stigma will be difficult to change despite having shown improvement by engaging in good deeds. Therefore, the participants were faced with a conflict; either to change or to remain unchanged. Their major concern was that no matter how they changed, they would be perceived as bad people anyway.

8.2.3.1 Concerned about social perceptions

The participants indicated that they cared about the perception of others and thought they would continue to suffer the consequences of social stigma due to their previous behaviour. Even though the participants have decided to change, social stigma may become an obstacle for the participants to become a new person.

“ (I) feel embarrassed with other peoples’ perceptions. I’m a bit worried about other peoples’ perception towards me. But to make others understand is not an easy task. They have their own perceptions. I’m afraid people will underestimate myself (my credibility).” (Arif, p. 8)

“It is such a shame when I think that I have to face them after this. They all know that I am a bad person.” (Tapa)

Ajam showed that he had reflected on the impact of social stigma and thought about the impact for others, especially for those who had committed ‘minor’ crimes such as stealing money from their parents. For him, it was not worth placing these ‘insignificant’ criminals in the centre because they would likely become the victim of bad social stereotypes. From his point of view, being placed in an institution is the source of stigma and he reflected on the impact of stigmatisation for adolescents who had committed minor offences. They do not deserve to receive such bad treatment from the society.

“(I’m afraid) If they (the young adolescents with ‘minor’ crimes) are admitted here, people would simply label them as bad people because this centre is well known as a school for the bad kids.” (Ajam, p. 25)

Resolution of the conflict between making change and failing to win the respect of others meant that some participants worried that they would fail. In these accounts, it was anticipated that they would never receive proper acknowledgement from the society for the effort they make in order to change which in effect meant that their desire for positive connections within society was strongly influenced by experiences anticipated negative responses.

“It is quite difficult (to change), (especially) about the perceptions of people towards people like me.” (Youp, p. 28)

“If I do the right thing but people are still sceptical about me, I think it would better for me to continue doing the crimes...I had (thought about change)... but when I went home early, people kept saying that I always returned home late at night, so I had decided it was better for me not to go home. When I had stopped taking drugs, people kept thinking that I was taking the drug. It was the same whether I did or didn’t do it. So better I did it.” (Sidi, p. 38)

8.2.3.2 Unresolved family issues

Another issue that haunted the participants accounts was their unresolved family conflict. In the earlier sections of the analysis it was clear that almost all of the participants had problems in their families, Madi specifically worried that his family would be in the same condition as before he was arrested. As an implication, he thinks the only way he could stay away from the problem is by taking drugs.

“I don’t think so, but if my family is still in chaos, (most probably) I would take drugs.” (Madi, p. 32)

8.2.3.3 Peer pressure

One of the biggest challenges anticipated by the participants was peer pressure. Most of their network of friends were still ‘outside’ living freely and still involved in crime. The

participants worried about the likelihood of joining their friends after being released from the centre.

“I am afraid if I return to my old school, I’ll return to my old behaviours. It was difficult to remain at the same school because most probably I’ll meet my old friends. It would be better to go to Giat Mara.” (Dino, p. 24)

“If I meet them (friends) again, maybe I’ll make the mistakes again.” (Adib, p. 29)

In addition, some participants were aware of the experiences of peers who had been released from the centre returning to their same environments. They may have changed when they were in the centre, but were not resilient enough in meeting the pressures imposed by their friends. For instance, Mizi stated:

“I believe that it has happened because they (the senior inmates who have been released earlier) have been influenced by their friends, or (most probably) they have met their old friends.” (Mizi, p. 17)

As a precautionary measure Mizi has set a goal to distance himself from his old friends after he has been released from the centre.

“My goal is, I don’t want to meet my friends again.” (Mizi, p. 17)

8.2.3.4 Lack of motivation to change

Several participants talked about their progress while living in the centre. They shared their feelings on how worried they were about maintaining their desire to change on the ‘outside’.

“Not really. I felt regret only when I was in the rehabilitation centre. After I had been released from the centre, I didn’t feel that anymore. I somewhat wish to change. But I am not sure. I am afraid I’ll go back to my old behaviours.” (Youp, p. 16)

Sidi consistently shared his feeling over his family life. He used to live in a broken family by which his father has already divorced his mother and left the house. He was not emotionally connected to his family, especially his parents. Furthermore, he used to live on his own without depending on his family before he was arrested. He felt unrelated to his family and he has an unclear motive when thinking about change. Seemingly, the changes he experiences while living in the centre were not strongly supported and therefore he believed

that it was temporary in nature. He had no strong reason why he should change, and the happiness he was looking for was waiting for him outside.

“I just feel the same (no regret). I think it’s difficult to change. It won’t be long after my release, I’ll be back to my old behaviours.” (Sidi, p. 33)

Nuar realised that it would be difficult for him to change because he could not anticipate any opportunities and support for him to change on his release.

“I don’t know yet. I’ll try to change even though I have the feeling that it is difficult.” (Nuar, p. 31)

Arif understood the impact of social stigma as all encompassing, and that this would hinder his desire for change.

“People always say that, once you get into a place like this, your life is over.” (Arif, p. 8)

8.2.3.5 Holding a grudge

There were also times when the participants did not feel like their incarceration was warranted. While maintaining the belief that he did not deserve the outcome, he was unable to feel the need to change. He stated that he would reengage in criminal behaviour to show the authorities what the ‘real’ crimes are.

“I’m dissatisfied with the police. I had only a small amount of drugs (during the raid), but I had to stay here. After my release, I’ll make sure to take revenge.” (Sidi, p. 23)

8.2.3.6 Religious disorientation

While the centre implements a programme for moral education similar to the education system for Malay that is based on the inculcation of Islamic teaching, some participants did not experience any benefit.

“Sometimes if the Ustaz teach us in the prayer room, I would sit outside (because) I am not really interested to listen to his teaching. I’m interested if the Ustaz makes jokes. If he is so serious, I would feel sleepy.” (Zul, p. 18)

“I could not listen to the talks (about Islam). But, I would enjoy when I attend the workshop.” (Sidi, p. 36)

Thus, these participants indicated that although they were interested in listening to the religious summons when the element of humour was brought into the processes, or when they were actively involved in workshops. This suggests that the implementation of the programmes matters to how they engage with the teachings.

8.2.3.7 Drug dependency

Being in the centre for a short time and without proper and adequate recovery programs for drug dependency was another challenge faced by the participants. The participants felt it was difficult for them to change because of drug dependency. Zul stated that it was more difficult for people with drug dependency issues to change, and he didn't have that concern, whereas other participants were worried about the possibility for them to experience a relapse when they still could imagine drug taking as being a very real possibility.

“Maybe because they had taken drugs before. I didn't take drugs.” (Zul, p. 25)

“Low possibility (to change)... but there is also the possibility they I'll return (to my old life) because of drugs. I still have the feeling to take it, I have also the feeling to stop from taking it. I feel like 50/50.” (Nuar, p. 31)

“I miss (the drug) so much. I can't have money, sure I'll look for the drug. I cannot forget the drug.” (Sidi, p. 34)

8.2.4 Summary

The participants' recovery plans and processes reflected their thinking and understandings of the implications of their criminal behaviours to themselves, their family, society, and religion that have become the impetus for them to change. Thus, on reflection, they strategised their recovery plans consistent with the local Malay culture, values, and practices and with the hope that they could be warmly accepted by society on their reintegration. They planned to engage more in social programs, participate in religious activities, and arrange for a legal marriage. The expectation of their recovery process was a

challenging one. They expected to face some challenges, including a lack of support and guidance from family, social stigma, peer pressure, drug dependency and their individual problems, which include lack of motivation to change, holding a grudge and religious disorientation. Therefore, they stated that with these challenges, their commitment to change will may not be successful.

9 Discussion and Conclusion

As a Malay man who is socially and culturally embedded in the traditions of Malay and Islam, the witnessing of the implications of Malaysia's participation in globalisation on Malay culture led me to question the effects of the changes to economic, cultural, political and social structures on the wellbeing of Malay adolescents. As Malaysia moves toward achieving Vision 2020, it has become evident that Malay cultural values that have historically provided the moral code for behaviour have been challenged by an increasing secularisation of society. Of particular concern to this research is the disproportionate number of Malay adolescents in crime statistics. My position as a psychologist in Malaysia led me to question how the effects of globalisation are related to the problems that Malay adolescents face. The implementation of DSM into psychological practices of diagnosis in Malaysia has created the conditions for understanding the problem through the construct of 'conduct disorders'. However, the construct was at odds with the Malay cultural context, which is intertwined with the Islamic teachings. Therefore, this research problematised the understanding of Malay adolescents' criminal behaviours through the lens of Western conduct disorders.

Consistent with the objectives of the present research, IPA methodology was utilised to enable the contextualisation of the participants' experiences so that I could get a sense of how the participants perceived the world through their own stories. In the research process, I found that some participants had difficulties explaining their experiences in a way that was consistent with IPA requirements, which is not only describing, but also making sense of those experiences. In response to that issue, I acknowledge that IPA as a method offers some flexibility in employing its step by step analysis procedures depending on research context and objectives. Thus, I took the initiative to comprise a summary of the participants' demographic information and the details of the participants' life histories in the analysis to facilitate the interpretative processes and to position the participants in their unique contexts. This process helped me to formulate and organise themes that explained the experiences of the participants at various life stages. These included the participants' family life, social life, school experiences, issues with their psychological developmental process and their recovery plan and processes. IPA enabled me to frame their experiences through the complex relationships between different tenets, such as the traditional Malay cultures, values, beliefs and practices that are much influenced by Islamic teaching, the emergent values and worldviews associated with modernization.

Being an insider provided me with access to the participants' stories that other researchers may not have had, and gave me a level of insight into the Malay adolescents' experiences. Having been raised in traditional Malay settings impacted my perceptions towards the participants. The challenges I faced in understanding their worldviews were recognising the differences between my cultural position as I developed the questions and during the interviews. I had areas that I wanted to explore based on my preconceived insider knowledge of Malay culture and of the influence of psychological knowledge. In this sense, I had a tendency to frame participants' experiences within the context with which I was familiar, which reflected my knowledge about the traditional culture, values and practices of the Malay. To manage this researcher bias, I had frequent discussions with my supervisors to locate the experience of participants in their understanding so that I could open up more space for the participants to talk about their experiences in their unique contexts. As I was aware of the potential bias, discussions with my supervisors resulted in my engagement in the approach that allowed the participants to set the tone and pace of the interview. While I had prompt questions, I was able to follow the stories the participants chose to share. They had opportunities to talk about their lived experiences using their own words, perceptions and understandings. From my position as a Malay man and local psychologist, I empathised with the participants which likely facilitated the participants' commitment to disclosing sensitive and in-depth information.

The stories shared by the participants indicated a disenfranchisement from Islamic moral values, which are expected to be held by all Malay in Malaysia. It was a surprise that even though the participants were born Muslim, it seems that the religion was missing in how they understood their lives. Despite being asked about religion and what religion meant to them, they were unable to explain how religion played a significant meaningful role in their lived experiences. Instead, they highlighted their rights and desires to consume what they understood as the way of life in popular global cultures. They embraced materialism rather than moral accountability. For them, what they had chosen was understood as essential to ensure their survival. In their personal accounts, they valued individual self-expression, independence and self-autonomy. They felt that they should be free to choose what they desired without the interference of an adult or any authority. From the participants' perspectives, their criminal engagement was seen as trivial and insignificant and they did not consider their actions as serious crimes.

The analysis revealed that they had reasons for being disengaged with traditional values. They either had no opportunity to gain knowledge about those values, or their life circumstances prevented them from practicing those values as they were suffering the effects of huge disparities in various segments of their lived experiences. They experienced family breakdown and dysfunction, which was characterised by divorce, violence, poverty and poor connection between family members. Due to the familial issues, they felt disconnected from their family. As a result, they actively engaged in social relationships to seek connection, especially with peers and adult friends who shared the same desires and interests and were able to offer more life choices. It seemed to them that, by connecting to their peers and adult friends, they could attain their desired goals and reach a certain level of maturity. It was no coincidence that most of their friends were involved in criminal activity that had influenced them to become disengaged. Also, the participants' social lives were further complicated by the poor functioning of the neighbourhood, which lacked the sense of community that might traditionally have provided the conditions for preventing and intervening in criminal behaviour.

While the participants struggled with the dysfunctional family and social structure, the school that is mandated to shape the lives of the participants through the dissemination of good values (Islamic values), knowledge and skills were no longer active in the participants' life endeavors. Although the school did attempt to instill Islamic values through subjects like Islamic study and moral education, there were issues with the teaching approaches as some participants were unable to grasp the knowledge and to practice it in their lives. Also, given the conditions of the participants' lives, the school system was perceived as not being relevant to their diverse needs. Thus, the participants felt disadvantaged by the school system, and for several participants, the learning process at school itself was such a challenging undertaking that they chose to leave school. Therefore, it would offer some help if the education system could be adjusted to meet the diverse needs of the students so that the students feel included in the education system.

Due to the developmental stages of adolescents, living in isolation with the lack of supervision and exposure to knowledge about local laws, values, culture and practices, the participants were deprived of appropriate and adequate guidance to facilitate their moral reasoning processes in making moral judgements. They were unable to engage in hypothetical thinking effectively and hypothesize their actions in line with the local Malay culture and values. As was evident in the analysis, the participants' were unable to explain some basic

knowledge about local Malay values and practices. While some participants struggled with making decisions due to a lack of insight or unclear moral codes, some others showed that they had good insight, but lacked the resources to make effective changes despite their desire to do so. Thus, rather than it being an individualized problem, other factors had forced them to become disengaged. The absence of support systems at a crucial developmental stage, they were unable to become morally accountable towards themselves, family, society and religion, rather they spoke about survival. Thus, given all the disparities in various life segments and challenges faced by the participants in the emerging life contexts, I understood the participants' experiences as being impacted by their life conditions and circumstances that let them down. Rather than a pathology, the participants criminal behavior could be understood as a response to the struggles they faced in their lives. In this way, their experiences can be understood as normal forms of human suffering.

After the participants had been caught and detained at the rehabilitation centre, they were able to reflect on their behaviours to varying degrees, including feelings of regret for not thinking properly before engaging in crime. They started to understand that their involvement in criminal activity not only had implications for themselves, but they had also let down their family, society and religion. These implications, on reflection, became their source of motivation to change and recovery. Thus, consistent with the Malay values, they showed signs of planning to engage in strategies like engagement in religious and social activities, getting married as well as changing in thinking styles. However, it appeared that the external influences such as peers, social stigma and unresolved family issues might adversely affect their recovery on release. Therefore, in the prevention and intervention process, apart from focusing on the affected adolescents, it is also essential to engage in the systemic way that programs can emphasise improving multiple support systems that may potentially impact the ongoing concerns they face on their release. All adopted approaches to curb the issue of disengagement among Malay adolescents must be culturally meaningful.

9.1 Implications/contributions

9.1.1 Body of Knowledge

This study contributes to the body of knowledge in the field of Psychology that promotes the well-being of children and adolescents specific to the Malay Muslim culture in the Malaysian context. Over the years, research on adolescents' behavioural problems in

Malaysia have focussed on the mediating or moderating effects between one specific spectrum (e.g. family, social support, etc.) and the participation of adolescents in crime. This research problematises singular relationships between discrete constructs by infusing the systemic explanation that integrates various life segments such as family, social, economic, education and adolescents' psychological developmental issues in understanding the participations of Malay adolescents in crime. The systemic explanation is described and interpreted from the point of view of participants themselves, which revealed that the changing contexts in their lives produced the conditions that meant they struggled to abide consistently with acceptable local Malay values and practices.

9.1.2 Policy Development

The present study marks the progress towards understanding the behavioural problems among Malay adolescents so that strategies can be put in place to address some of the issues. Over decades, the issue of the disproportionate number of Malay adolescents in crime statistics has been discussed by all relevant authorities, but it seems that there have been no holistic measures being introduced to curb the issue effectively as the crime rate involving young offenders in Malaysia remains high. This study suggests that understanding criminal behavior through drawing on the classification of behavior as conduct disorder may open spaces to evaluate their needs within the context of their lives that can lead to effective and meaningful measures. Additionally, family, schools and communities may provide impetus for addressing the problems these adolescents face, which include prevention, intervention and rehabilitation. Thus, this research may benefit policy makers, associations and related bodies working in the area of counselling, clinical psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy, and social work as a tool to assist in the development of beneficial programmes that seek to improve the mental health and behavioural problems among adolescents in Malaysia.

9.1.2.1 Developing the new classification system of mental disorders

Clinical psychologists may want to consider developing a new model of classification system of conduct disorders in Malaysia. Acknowledging that mental health knowledge is a cultural construction (Marsella, 2012), and taking into account the moral values exercised by Malay which are intertwined with the teaching of Islam as well as the struggles Malay adolescents face due to the rapidly changing context of Malaysia, I would contend that the

definition, classification and application system of conduct disorders should be reviewed and reestablished. This revision will enable the conceptualisation of conduct disorders to be inclusive of and reflective of Malay culture, beliefs and practices, and the emerging new values and worldviews that impact on conduct. In constructing the criteria of conduct disorders, considering the whole development of an affected adolescent's life history is a necessary approach. This strategy is consistent with the analysis of this research about 'contextual life circumstances', which suggest that most of the adolescents are the victims of a non-conducive environment with the breakdown and dysfunction in many aspects of life such as family, social and school system as well as their limited psychological mindedness and emotional repertoire. Thus, they reacted to the changing context of their environment which is viewed as the normal suffering of human life, which is not necessarily pathology.

Moreover, in discussions on Islam and the lived experiences of the Malay adolescents, there are parts of Islamic teaching that are compulsory when they appear clearly in the primary resources of Islamic teaching i.e., Quran and the Prophet sayings that Muslims have no other choice but to adhere to. However, there are aspects of the primary religious resources that provide a basic guide, and it is learned that the God has left it to people to decide what is best for them provided that they manifest their deliberation according to the basic religious principles and beliefs (Ataullah, 1997). With this openness to deliberation, within Malay culture there is room for discussing some of the contemporary issues facing the Malay in the context of globalisation that supports the movement toward the goals of progression, without compromising Malay moral values. It is in this space that we can enable adolescents to achieve a state of psychological and behavioural well-being consistent with the local Malay values, intertwined with Islamic principles and values.

9.1.2.2 The challenges in attending and framing conduct issues in the Malaysian context

Working towards developing a new system of classification for conduct disorders could be a daunting process, especially when defining the ethical and moral codes that are consistent and meaningful to the current situation. This difficulty is grounded in the complex historical, political, social and religious background of the Malaysian people. The reality of modern Malaysia has been formed by the huge influence of Western colonization. Even the Malaysian laws and the model of its social development and movement have been articulated and formulated using the Western systems left by the colonialists. In this sense, probably the neo-

colonisation terminology makes more sense. The terminology implies that colonisation is happening without the presence of the colonial (Mohd Najmi et al., 2013), because it continues through a hidden legacy and the overarching dimensions of the current process of globalisation.

To me, it seems that the more I study questions of morality in Malaysia, the more confused I have become. There is no single existing definition of morality that is comprehensive and applicable across all ethnic groups. Further, there are various rules that govern morality in Malaysia (Maznah et al., 2008). Accordingly, in order to meet the criteria for a psychologically and behaviourally healthy individual, an adolescent has to adhere to different kinds of law, rules and regulations which often times are not consistent with each other. For instance, at a Federal level, adolescents are obligated to abide by the Malaysia Federal Law that reflects the British Model and it is often referred to as ‘secular law’ (Farid, 2012). However, they are also expected to behave in such a way that conforms to their local societal norms and various institutional laws (Maznah et al., 2008). To me, if we are to generate better conditions for Malay adolescents, perhaps it is time to engage in conversations about Islamic Law being the law that shapes interpretations and normalizes the lived experiences of Malay adolescents. It is a shame that although the Malaysian government has also enacted *Shariah* laws (Islamic laws), the laws are not comprehensively interpreted and implemented as it only regulates certain significant aspects of Muslim life such as family life, marriage and several other particularities (Farid, 2012).

Specifically, in relation to the Islamic movement in Malaysia, the fragmentation of Islamic authorities is potentially a significant challenge in contextualising and Islamising the knowledge of conduct disorder. This fragmentation is evident through the formation of so-called liberal Islamic organisations and the fundamentalist movements. Even the ruling party of Malaysia is in competition with its opposition in striving to represent the true Islamic concepts of life (Chinyong, 2004; Muniandy, 2012). While I have argued that Islam does offer some flexibility in applying its knowledge into the contemporary Muslim life, the extent to which the flexibility is tolerable has been debatable. I find this a challenging situation for the development of a new body of knowledge, especially in accommodating the teaching of Islam because to find an agreement in determining acceptable moral conduct would be a difficult undertaking as the traditional and contemporary religious experts always have different views on moral issues. Equally, it is a challenge for local psychologists to re-conceptualise the

classification of conduct disorder from the lens of Islamic perspectives without getting an agreement from the religious experts.

In the long run, I hope to witness the emerging of a classification system for mental disorders specific to the Malaysian context. I am optimistic that, if the local and other significant experts could take the time to understand the issues from the point of view of others, it might lead to further research and produce the knowledge of psychological aspects and experiences that are unique to the local people, with the aim to formulate a distinctive classification system for mental disorders. Given that clinical psychology based on Western understandings of conduct disorder has begun as a practice in Malaysia, it is timely that the culturally sensitive issues are brought forward with some urgency. An array of strong scientific knowledge specific to the Malay and Malaysian in general needs to be established. In addition, supports from experts from other fields, particularly from an Islamic specialization would be advantageous in the development of such knowledge. Therefore, I hope also that this pioneering research would contribute to opening up a broader perspective in achieving culturally sensitive practices for understanding conduct disorder and other psychological issues in general.

9.1.3 Adolescents

It is intended that participation in future research will be a positive and empowering experience for the adolescents, and provide a voice for them to share their experiences and thus feel heard. While the affected adolescents in this study shared with the interviewer their perception that no one cares about them, this research is sending an alternative positive message to the affected adolescents that they are not alone in facing the problems. Some people are concerned about their welfare and life difficulties.

9.2 Limitations of the study

Consistent with the aims of IPA, the number of participants interviewed was 28. This means that by its own standards, the findings are not generalizable. While each participant had diverse life circumstances and were incarcerated for different offences, they were a homogenous group in terms of their location in detention centers. The analysis was able to be sensitive to commonalties and diversities among participants through organizing their stories

thematically. This study recruited male only as participants, therefore, the analysis exclusively applies to male adolescents. Female adolescents will necessarily have different experiences.

Secondly, the focus of the study was limited to Malay ethnic participants only. Therefore, the analysis is not translatable to other ethnic groups (i.e. Chinese, Indian, etc.). The Malaysian history, constitutional laws and policies suggest that each ethnic group in Malaysia is treated uniquely to reflect their historical background and their specific rights as Malaysian citizens. The Malays, for example, are privileged regarding political advantages and economic distribution. Hence, their shared experiences are in line with how they benefit or are disadvantaged through those privileges. The other ethnic groups may have their own version of taking up the issue as a response to how they are treated in various domains. Therefore, this research is limited in its approach to other ethnic groups. In the future, the same research processes that focus on the experiences young offenders from other ethnic groups in facing the changes due to globalisation process would offer constructive components in developing a new holistic model of conduct disorders exclusive to the Malaysian context.

Thirdly, while it was apparent in the analysis that some of the participants were able to reflect on their offending behaviour, how much of this can be attributed to their incarceration, counselling, or the programmes offered at the detention centre is unknown. Thus, the knowledge they had at the time of the interview may have influenced their responses. Therefore, the stories the participants told about the events prior to their offending or the offending that brought them to the detention center was constructed at the time of the interview and related to the questions asked by the interviewer, so rather than fact, the stories were also specific to that context.

Fourthly, the present study focussed on the experience of adolescents with conduct disorders at a time in our history where the transformation of Malaysia into a well-developed and modern country is rapid. Their experiences were analysed from the various angles that research has suggested significantly impact on their participation in criminal activity. However, reflecting on the aims of IPA methods, this research was not intended to find a causal relationship between the changes in various facets of life and the emerging conduct issues among the adolescents, rather the focus was on how they made sense of the changes that they faced from their points of view.

The fifth limitation relates to this research being heavily dependent on the narratives of the adolescents themselves and were not checked with either records or significant others. It might be useful to extend this research through interviews with parents and teachers, not to verify the ‘truth’ of the adolescents, but to understand the issues from their point of view.

10 References

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11 Appendices

Appendix A: Approval letter from Economic Planning Unit, Malaysia

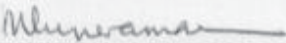
	<p>UNIT PERANCANG EKONOMI <i>Economic Planning Unit</i> JABATAN PERDANA MENTERI <i>Prime Minister's Department</i> BLOK B5 & B6 PUSAT PENTADBIRAN KERAJAAN PERSEKUTUAN 62502 PUTRAJAYA MALAYSIA</p>	 <p>EPU <small>ECONOMIC PLANNING UNIT PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT, MALAYSIA</small></p> <p>Telefon : 603-8872 3333</p>
<p>Ruj. Tuan: Your Ref.:</p> <p>Ruj. Kami: Our Ref.: UPE: 40/200/2993</p> <p>Tarikh: Date: 10 Julai 2013</p>		
	<p>MOHD NAJMI BIN DAUD 6A College Street, Awapuni Palmerston North 4412 New Zealand Email: najmi1108@yahoo.com</p>	
<p>APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MALAYSIA</p>		
<p>With reference to your application, I am pleased to inform you that your application to conduct research in Malaysia has been <i>approved</i> by the Research Promotion and Co-Ordination Committee, Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department. The details of the approval are as follows:</p>		
Researcher's name :	MOHD NAJMI BIN DAUD	
Passport No. / I. C No:	810928-07-5857	
Nationality :	MALAYSIAN	
Title of Research :	"GLOBALISATION IN THE MALAYSIAN CONTEXT: THE EXPERIENCE OF MALAY ADOLESCENTS WITH CONDUCT DISORDERS"	
Period of Research Approved:	6 MONTHS	
<p>2. Please collect your Research Pass in person from the Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Parcel B, Level 4 Block B5, Federal Government Administrative Centre, 62502 Putrajaya and bring along two (2) passport size photographs. You are also required to comply with the rules and regulations stipulated from time to time by the agencies with which you have dealings in the conduct of your research.</p>		

3. I would like to draw your attention to the undertaking signed by you that you will submit without cost to the Economic Planning Unit the following documents:

- a) A brief summary of your research findings on completion of your research and before you leave Malaysia; and
- b) Three (3) copies of your final dissertation/publication.

4. Lastly, please submit a copy of your preliminary and final report directly to the State Government where you carried out your research. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,


(MUNIRAH ABD. MANAN)
For Director General,
Economic Planning Unit.
E-mail: munirah@epu.gov.my
Tel: 88882809/2818
Fax: 88883798

ATTENTION

This letter is only to inform you the status of your application and **cannot be used as a research pass.**

C.c:

Ketua Setiausaha
Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia
Bahagian Perancangan Dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan
Aras 1-4, Blok E-8
Kompleks Kerajaan Parcel E
Pusat Pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan
62604 Putrajaya.
(u.p: Dr. Hj. Zabani Bin Darus)

Appendix B: Research pass



Appendix C: Approval letter from Department of Social Welfare, Malaysia



JABATAN KEBAJIKAN MASYARAKAT
(Department of Social Welfare)
Aras 6, 9-18, No 55 Persiaran Perdana,
Presint 4,
62100 PUTRAJAYA.



Tel : 603 - 8323 1000
Fax : 603 -
Laman Web : www.jkm.gov.my



Rujukan Tuan :
Rujukan Kami : JKMM 100/12/5/2 : 2013 / 185
Tarikh : 17-07-2013

MOHD NAJMI BIN DAUD
810928075857
SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY
MASSEY UNIVERSITY, PALMERSTON NORTH
NEW ZEALAND
4412
JOHOR

Tuan/Puan,

PERMOHONAN MENJALANKAN KAJIAN/PENYELIDIKAN DI JABATAN KEBAJIKAN MASYARAKAT

Tajuk Kajian/Penyelidikan : Globalisation inThe Malaysian Context: The Experience
of Malay Adolescents With Conduct Disorders

Tempat Kajian/Penyelidikan : Sekolah Tunas Bakti Telok Air Tawar, P.Pinang

Asrama Akhlak Paya Terubong, P.Pinang

Dengan hormatnya saya merujuk kepada perkara di atas.

2. Untuk maklumat tuan/puan, pihak Jabatan telah meneliti permohonan tuan/puan untuk menjalankan kajian/penyelidikan di Jabatan ini. Pihak Jabatan **BERSETUJU** menerima cadangan kajian/penyelidikan tersebut dengan syarat tuan/puan perlu menandatangani Surat Perakuan yang disertakan. Tempoh kajian adalah selama **ENAM (6) bulan** bermula dari 17-07-2013 hingga 17-01-2014.

3. Surat Perakuan yang telah ditandatangani hendaklah dikembalikan kepada Jabatan dalam tempoh **14 hari** selepas tarikh surat ini dikeluarkan. Sebarang maklumat lanjut, tuan/puan boleh menghubungi Bahagian Perancangan dan Pembangunan, Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat di talian 03-8323 1936 atau emel jayaraman@jkm.gov.my.

Sekian, terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA"
"BERKAT BERJASA"

Saya yang menurut perintah,

JAYA RAMAN K.C. SEKHAR
b.p. Ketua Pengarah Kebajikan Masyarakat
Malaysia

s.k.:

Ketua Pengarah Kebajikan Masyarakat
Timbalan Ketua Pengarah (Perancangan)

Surat ini adalah janaan komputer, tandatangan tidak diperlukan.

Appendix D: Agreement letter to conduct research at the Department of Social Welfare

PERAKUAN BAGI MENJALANKAN KAJIAN / PENYELIDIKAN DI JABATAN KEBAJIKAN MASYARAKAT

No. Rujukan : JKMM 100/12/5/2 : 2013 / 185

Tarikh : 17-07-2013

Ketua Pengarah
Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat Malaysia
Aras 6, 9-18, No. 55, Persiaran Perdana
Presint 4
62100 PUTRAJAYA
(u.p.: Pengarah Perancangan dan Pembangunan)

Tuan,

Tajuk Kajian/Penyelidikan: **Globalisation in**
Tempat Kajian/Penyelidikan: **Asrama Akhlak Paya Terubong**

Dengan hormatnya saya/kami* merujuk kepada surat tuan bil. JKMM 100/12/5/2 : 2013 / 185 bertarikh 17-07-2013 mengenai perkara di atas dan saya/kami* dengan ini mengakui bahawa maklumat yang dikemukakan dalam permohonan saya/kami adalah benar dan saya/kami* bersetuju:

1. akan mematuhi peraturan yang ditetapkan oleh Institusi/Organisasi di mana kajian/penyelidikan dijalankan;
2. akan mentadbirkan soalselidik/temubual tanpa menggunakan kakitangan dan penghuni di Institusi/Organisasi yang dikaji;
3. akan merahsiakan semua identiti penghuni Institusi/Organisasi;
4. tidak akan menyebarkan maklumat yang diperolehi tanpa kebenaran daripada Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat Malaysia; dan
5. akan menyerahkan dua (2) salinan berjilid tesis/laporan akhir/penerbitan kepada Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat Malaysia sebelum atau pada 31-07-2014

Sekian, terima kasih.

Disaksikan oleh,

.....
(Tandatangan Pemohon/Pelajar/Penyelidik)

.....
(Tandatangan Penyelia)

Nama :
No. KPT :
Alamat :

Nama :
No. KPT :
Cop Jawatan :

E-Mel :

E-Mel :

(Jika Pemohon lebih daripada seorang, ahli kumpulan hendaklah menandatangani dan melengkapkan maklumat di LAMPIRAN A)

Sila hantar salinan yang lengkap kepada Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat seperti alamat diatas.

** Potong yang tidak berkenaan*

LAMPIRAN A

..... (Ahli Kumpulan)
(Tandatangan)

Nama :
No.KP :
Alamat :
E-Mel :

..... (Ahli Kumpulan)
(Tandatangan)

Nama :
No.KP :
Alamat :
E-Mel :

..... (Ahli Kumpulan)
(Tandatangan)

Nama :
No.KP :
Alamat :
E-Mel :

..... (Ahli Kumpulan)
(Tandatangan)

Nama :
No.KP :
Alamat :
E-Mel :

..... (Ahli Kumpulan)
(Tandatangan)

Nama :
No.KP :
Alamat :
E-Mel :

LAMPIRAN

ALAMAT TEMPAT KAJIAN

Sekolah Tunas Bakti Telok Air Tawar
13050 Butterworth

Asrama Akhlak Paya Terubong
11500 Ayer Hitam

Appendix E: Approval letter from Massey University Human Ethics Committee



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

20 May 2013

Mohd Najmi bin Daub
6A College Street
Awapuni
PALMERSTON NORTH 4412

Dear Najmi

Re: HEC: Southern A Application – 13/23
Globalisation in the Malaysian context: The experience of Malay adolescents with conduct disorders

Thank you for your letter dated 14 May 2013.

On behalf of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are now approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch, Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A

cc Dr Leigh Coombes & Dr Kirsty Ross
School of Psychology
PN320

Dr Sita Venkateswar
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331





A/Prof Mandy Morgan, HoS
School of Psychology
PN320

Dr Allanah Ryan, HoS
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council
Research Ethics Office

Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4412, New Zealand T +64 6 350 5673 +64 6 350 5675 F +64 6 350 5622
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz animalethics@massey.ac.nz grc@massey.ac.nz www.massey.ac.nz

Appendix F: Certification of supervision and support letter



UPM
UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

FAKULTI EKOLOGI MANUSIA
FACULTY OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

UPM/FEM/JPMPK/T02022
31 January 2013

To whom it may concern.

Dear Sir,


Certification of Supervision and Support

This is to certify that, I, Dr. Zainal Bin Madon, the head of Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, will undertake the responsibility of supervising and providing full support to Mr. Mohd Najmi Bin Daud while he is in Malaysia doing his collection procedures.

For your information, our department is equipped with complete facilities for educational and research activities, which include computer laboratory, seminar and meeting rooms, counseling laboratories and consultation rooms. We also offer various services such as counseling and consultation in various areas. Therefore, I am glad to inform you that, Mr. Mohd Najmi, who happens to be one of our staff members, is entitled to gain full access to all the facilities and services for the purpose of his research project.

Should you have any inquiry, please do not hesitate to contact me at +603 89467150 or email, zainalm@putra.upm.edu.my.

"With Knowledge We Serve"



ZAINAL BIN MADON, PhD
Head
Department of Human Development and Family Studies
Faculty of Human Ecology
University Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM Serdang
Selangor Darul Ehsan

✉ Fakulti Ekologi Manusia, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia
☎ 603-8946 7051 📠 603-8943 5385 🌐 <http://www.eco1.upm.edu.my>

Appendix G: Information sheet (English version)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Globalisation in the Malaysian context: The experience of Malay adolescents with conduct disorders

INFORMATION SHEET

To whom this may concern.

My name is **Mohd Najmi bin Daud**. I am a student of psychology at Massey University, New Zealand and am in the first year of my PhD studies. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research. I am undertaking research to understand how Malay adolescents experience multiple life events in relation to the process of globalisation in the Malaysian context.

My research is being supervised by Dr Leigh Coombes and Dr Kirsty Ross from the School of Psychology, and Dr Sita Venkateswar from the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University. This research is also being co-supervised by a Malaysian site advisor, Dr Zainal bin Madon from Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Before deciding whether you wish to be involved in the research, please read this letter carefully to ensure you fully understand the nature of the research project and your rights should you choose to participate.

It is important to note that, your caregivers have given the permission for you to participate in this research.

Please feel free to contact either me or my research supervisors if you have any questions or concerns regarding the research.

What would you have to do?

If you agree to participate, you would need to be available for at least two interview sessions with me. Each interview will last between 50 and 60 minutes. In the interview sessions, you will be asked to share your thoughts and understanding of your lived experiences. I am especially interested in talking to you about your experiences that led to you residing in the centre where you are currently placed. I am also interested to know your educational experience, family background and relationships, social and economic background as well as your engagement in computer technology. The interview will be recorded using a digital recording device and it will be transcribed on paper. I will not use your real name. This means **it is harder for you to be identified**. Digital recording will be securely destroyed immediately after the transcription procedure is completed. You will have an opportunity to view the transcripts and make any changes you would like to make.

Confidentiality

The information you give me is strictly confidential. All data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet at the School of Psychology, Massey University. This data will only be accessible to me and

Dr. Kirsty Ross

School of Psychology
Massey University
Palmerston North, New Zealand
Phone: +646 350-5799, Ext 81743
Email: k.j.ross@massey.ac.nz

Site Advisor

Dr. Zainal bin Madon

Department of Human Development and Family Studies
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor Darul Ehsan
Tel: +6038 946715 0/7093
Email: zainalm@putra.upm.edu.my

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 13/23. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 84459, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz

Appendix H: Information sheet (Malay version)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Globalisasi dalam konteks Malaysia: Pengalaman remaja Melayu yang mengalami masalah kecelaruan tingkahlaku

MAKLUMAT KAJIAN

Kepada yang berkenaan.

Nama saya **Mohd Najmi bin Daud**. Saya merupakan pelajar tahun pertama peringkat PhD dalam bidang psikologi di Massey University, New Zealand. Tujuan saya menulis surat ini adalah untuk menjemput saudara untuk melibatkan diri dalam kajian saya. Untuk makluman saudara, saya sedang menjalankan satu kajian tentang memahami pengalaman remaja Melayu dalam mengharungi kehidupan masakini dalam persekitaran yang berkait rapat dengan proses globalisasi yang sedang berlaku dalam konteks negara Malaysia.

Kajian saya diselia oleh **Dr Leigh Coombes** dan **Dr Kirsty Ross** dari School of Psychology, Massey University dan **Dr Sita Venkateswar** dari School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University. Kajian ini juga diselia bersama oleh penasihat lapangan, **Dr Zainal bin Madon** dari Jabatan Pembangunan Manusia dan Pengajian Keluarga, Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Sebelum memutuskan untuk menyertai kajian ini, saudara adalah dinasihatkan untuk memberi perhatian terhadap isi kandungan surat ini bagi memastikan saudara benar-benar memahami perincian kajian yang sedang dijalankan dan hak-hak saudara sekiranya menyertai kajian ini.

Untuk makluman, pihak pentadbir bagi pusat di mana saudara ditempatkan telah memberi kebenaran untuk saudara menyertai kajian ini.

Jika saudara ada sebarang persoalan tentang kajian ini, sila jangan ragu-ragu untuk menghubungi saya atau penyelia saya melalui saluran seperti yang tertera di akhir surat ini.

Apa yang saudara perlu lakukan?

Sekiranya saudara bersetuju untuk menyertai kajian ini, saudara akan dikehendaki untuk menghadirkan diri untuk sekurang-kurangnya dua sesi temuduga dengan saya. Dalam sesi temuduga tersebut, saudara akan diminta untuk berkongsi pandangan, pemahaman dan pengalaman saudara dalam mengharungi corak kehidupan masakini dalam konteks Malaysia. Secara khususnya, saya berminat untuk mengetahui tentang pengalaman saudara yang menyebabkan saudara ditempatkan di institusi yang dihuni saudara sekarang, pengalaman saudara dalam melalui zaman persekolahan, latarbelakang keluarga serta hubungan saudara dengan ahli keluarga yang lain, latarbelakang sosial dan ekonomi serta pendedahan saudara terhadap teknologi perkomputeran masakini. Setiap sesi temuduga akan mengambil masa lebih kurang 50 hingga 60 minit. Setiap sesi temuduga juga akan dirakamkan suara secara digital. Hasil rakaman akan ditaip secara berhati-hati perkataan demi perkataan bagi membolehkan

Maklumat untuk dihubungi:

Mohd Najmi bin Daud
School of Psychology
Massey University
Palmerston North, New Zealand
Phone: +64221943562 / 0166870961
Email: najmi@upm.edu.my

Penyelia kajian

Dr. Leigh Coombes
School of Psychology
Massey University
Palmerston North, New Zealand
Phone: +646 350-5799, Ext 2058
Email: L.Coombes@massey.ac.nz

Dr. Sita Venkateswar
School of People, Environment and Planning
Massey University
Palmerston North, New Zealand
Phone: +646 350-5799, Ext 2515
Email: s.venkateswar@massey.ac.nz

Dr. Kirsty Ross
School of Psychology
Massey University
Palmerston North, New Zealand
Phone: +646 350-5799, Ext 81743
Email: k.j.ross@massey.ac.nz

Penasihat lapangan:

Dr. Zainal bin Madon
Head
Department of Human Development and Family Studies
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor Darul Ehsan
Tel: +6038 946715 0/7093
Email: zainalm@upm.edu.my

Projek penyelidikan ini telah disemak dan diluluskan oleh Jawatankuasa Etika Kemanusiaan, Universiti Massey: Bahagian Selatan A, Permohonan 13/23. Sekiranya saudara mempunyai sebarang masalah tentang penyelidikan ini, sila hubungi Dr Brian Finch, Pengerusi, Jawatankuasa Etika Kemanusiaan, Universiti Massey: Bahagian Selatan A, telefon 06 350 5799 x 84459, email humanethicssoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix I: Participant consent form (English version)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKĒNGA TANGATA

Globalisation in the Malaysian context: The experience of Malay adolescents with conduct disorders

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full Name - printed _____

Appendix J: Authority for the release of transcripts (Malay version)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Globalisasi dalam konteks Malaysia: Pengalaman remaja Melayu yang mengalami masalah kecelaruan tingkahlaku

KEBENARAN UNTUK PELEPASAN TRANSKRIP

Saya bersetuju bahawa saya telah diberikan peluang untuk membaca dan meminda transkrip temuramah yang telah dijalankan bersama-sama saya.

Saya bersetuju bahawa maklumat seperti yang tercatat di dalam transkrip yang telah dipinda mungkin akan digunakan untuk tujuan penulisan laporan dan penerbitan tentang kajian yang dijalankan.

Tandatangan: _____ Tarikh: _____
Nama Penuh _____

Appendix K: Participant consent form (Malay version)



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Globalisasi dalam konteks Malaysia: Pengalaman remaja Melayu yang mengalami masalah kecelaruan tingkahlaku

BORANG AKUAN - INDIVIDU

Saya mengaku telah membaca tentang maklumat kajian dan saya bersetuju bahawa segala perincian kajian telah dijelaskan kepada saya. Soalan-soalan saya telah dijawab dengan baik dan saya faham bahawa saya dibenarkan untuk bertanya soalan dengan lebih lanjut pada bila-bila masa.

Saya bersetuju / tidak bersetuju bahawa temuduga akan dirakamkan.

Saya bersetuju / tidak bersetuju bahawa rakaman tidak akan diberikan kepada saya.

Saya bersetuju / tidak bersetuju bahawa data yang diperolehi dari kajian ini akan direkodkan secara rasmi.

Saya bersetuju untuk menyertai kajian ini sebagaimana syarat-syarat yang tersebut di dalam dokumen maklumat kajian.

Tandatangan: _____ Tarikh: _____

Nama Penuh – ditaip _____

Appendix L: Interview schedule

Interview Schedule

(Note: These questions are intended to be used as a guideline only)

1. Can you tell me what brings you here?
 - What did you do?
 - When did you become involved in the kinds of activities that brought you here?
 - How would you describe your motivation?
 - How do you feel about this now?
 - Do you belong to any group/gang?

Family Background

2. Can you tell me about your family background?
 - What do your parents do for a living?
 - Tell me about your relationship with your parents.
 - How many siblings do you have?
 - What are your relationships with your siblings like?
 - How do you feel about your family?

Social life

3. Tell me about your social life and relationships

Educational Experience

4. Tell me about your experience of schooling.

Technological Experience

5. Tell me about your experience with computer technologies

Cultural and values

6. Tell me what is important about being Malay.

