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CITIZENSHIP IN MULTI-ETHNIC MALAYSIA: AN INVESTIGATION OF STUDENT TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDINGS, VALUES AND BELIEFS

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

to

Moray House School of Education
University of Edinburgh

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Declaration

I certify that this thesis has been written by me and is my own work except where explicitly stated otherwise. I further declare that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Noor Banu Mahadir Naidu

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Undertaking this PhD has been a truly life-changing experience for me and it would not have been possible to do without the support and guidance that I received from many people. I would like to firstly say a very big thank you to my supervisors, Dr Lorna Hamilton and Dr Jim Crowther for their non-stop support. Without their guidance and constant feedback this PhD would not have been achievable. I gratefully acknowledge the funding received towards my PhD from the Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia and Sultan Idris Education University (SIEU), Malaysia. Special thanks go to my family, who have inspired me in many ways, for their personal support and attention, and, especially, to my dearest Daddy, who has always been pillar of strength. *Al Fatihah*. Finally, thanks are due to my husband and two daughters who no doubt suffered in my pursuit of this work and who will be delighted to see it submitted.

It has been argued that western models of citizenship and identity could not fit easily into the Asian world. Western models tend to place an emphasis more on rights traditions, whereas most Asian countries focus on communitarian traditions that propose community values over individual rights. Western multiculturalism and minority rights have had an influence in many Asian countries, promoted by western academics, governments and international organizations. Western models have often not been well understood in the region, and may not suit the specific historical, cultural, demographic, and geopolitical circumstances of the Asian region. Malaysia is one of the countries which has its own citizenship concept and experiences. Malaysia has adopted its own version of an 'ethnically differentiated model of citizenship' which ensures cultural and political superiority of the more populous but economically less powerful Malays, but strives for a unified notion of citizenship and a Malaysian national identity. This study aims to investigate the citizenship constructs and experiences of multi-ethnic Malaysian student teachers at a major university. In the spirit of ethnographic design, twenty-eight mixed age and gender multi-ethnic student teachers, who were enrolled on a citizenship and citizenship education course, participated. The data was analysed using a thematic analysis methodology. The current study suggested that citizenship and identity experiences in multi-ethnic Malaysia could be viewed from the perspectives of identity and belonging. At a context level, I used two social reality identity approaches to capture identity experiences from above (macro policy) and from below (lived experiences). Within the paradigm of the Malaysian national vision (belonging, identity and rights responsibilities), in depth interviews, observation and focus group were used to elicit the multiple and shifting ways in which the experiences of belonging and the politics of belonging were configured in student teachers' everyday citizenship experiences. Using the framework of belonging and the politics of belonging, the findings showed that student teachers' lived citizenship was found to reflect both an emotional attachment to place and a sense of 'belongingness', and also to reinforce socio-spatial boundaries between majority and minority groups. Within the belonging framework, student teachers' identity narratives suggested that they belonged to manifold social locations (cultural, religion and age) which have an impact on rights, responsibilities and re-imagined communities' experiences. These social locations could be viewed within an intersection approach that promotes both a sense of 'belongingness' and 'unbelonging' to the Malaysian nation. This study suggested that a multidimensional approach to citizenship, identity and belonging was crucial to understand the complexities of citizenship and identity discourse in Malaysia.

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List of Abbreviations

CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CCE	Civic and Citizenship Education
FMS	Federated Malay States
JHEQA	The Department of Aboriginal Affairs
KMM	Kesatuan Melayu Muda (Young Malays' Union)
KPM	Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia (Ministry of Education Malaysia)
MAS	Malayan Administrative Service
MARA	Majlis Amanah Rakyat (Peoples' Trust Council)
MCKK	Malay College Kuala Kangsar
MCA	Malayan/Malaysian Chinese Association

MCS	Malayan Civil Service
MIC	Malayan/Malaysian Indian Congress
MYC	Malaysian Youth Council
NHEF	National Higher Education Fund
NEP	New Economic Policy
PAS	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (Pan Malaysian Islamic Party)
POASM	Persatuan Orang Asli Semenanjung Malaysia
SITC	Sultan Idris Training College
SIEU	Sultan Idris Education University
UMS	Unfederated Malay States
UMNO	United Malay National Organisation

Introduction

Background to the Study

This study addresses the meaning of citizenship in the context of a pluralistic, multi-ethnic, Malaysian society, which, until the 1950s, was a British colony. It will focus on how student teachers at one university understand citizenship and the purposes of citizenship education. The contemporary experience of citizenship in Western societies is also increasingly shaped by social differences and multiculturalism, so this study may well have a wider interest beyond the Malaysian context.

Citizenship in the Western world has undergone what scholars have claimed as a 'crisis of citizenship', which has emerged as a result of globalization and mass international migration (Koopmans & Statham, 1999). The increase in pluralistic populations in many countries has weakened the ideology of distinct and autonomous national cultures, and with it, the integrity of the nation state (Soutphommasane, 2005). For Young (1989), the concept of 'universal citizenship' no longer seems capable of providing a sufficient basis to describe political belonging. It has become indefensible for citizenship to demand political and cultural homogeneity, or to claim that it can transcend particularity (Young, 1989); although the universal notion of citizenship has played an important role in giving the individual civil and political rights, and in protecting minorities through a liberal notion of citizenship. Nevertheless, these common rights of citizenship are not sufficient to accommodate all forms of ethno-cultural diversity. In some cases, certain 'collective' or 'group-differentiated' rights are also required. Indeed, there is a clear trend within liberal democracies toward the greater recognition of such group-differentiated rights (Kymlicka & Cohen-Almagor, 2000).

Citizenship is not only deeply linked to the dimensions of individual rights and freedom but also to the importance of recognition of the full dignity of all citizens and their right to difference and diversity (Benhabib, 2005). From the civic republican tradition to liberal, social and multicultural citizenship, the notion of citizenship has neither been absent from the political and sociological debate nor from the educational arena.

The question of citizenship in multicultural states also relates to the issue of national identity, and is very much alive in multicultural debates. Moran (2010) pointed out that critics of multiculturalism, in Australia for example, Blainey 1984, 1991(as cited in Moran, 2010), suggests that multiculturalism is threatening national loyalty and undermining national identity. On the other hand, many proponents of multiculturalism (or supporters of pluralism) have been suspicious of national identity, seeing it as a homogenising force that intimidates cultural diversity (Moran, 2010). Banks (2008) disagrees with the notion of universal citizenship in diverse societies, and argues that citizenship and citizenship education should be expanded to include cultural rights for all citizens, of diverse social groups, cultures, ethnicities, and languages.

Many countries in the world today are characterised by socially diverse populations; this might include indigenous people living with those who colonised them, diverse immigrant groups that have arrived at the shores and borders of countries in the past and in the present day, or different ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups that have become fused into a single state (Dejaeghere, 2009). Living in a multi-ethnic society, democratic states are presented with many challenges for the functioning of state institutions, including ensuring equality and participation in key aspects of citizenship within a democracy (Banks, 1998; Kymlicka, 1995). The questions around democracy in these diverse societies relate to claims for equal rights, social justice, and the participation of all in public life.

Nevertheless, historical and current practices in most democracies seem to be characterised by inequality, discrimination, and exclusion (Dejaeghere, 2009).

Education has long been considered as a key institution for the development of democratic citizens, particularly through citizenship education. Levinson (2005) stated that schools are key sites "for the consolidation of the meanings about democracy" (p. 335). Schools, and the educational processes within them, can be spaces in which conflicts and inequalities among diverse students are perpetuated, and in which perspectives about the assimilation of diverse peoples into a singular meaning of citizenship are indoctrinated (Dejaeghere, 2009, p. 225). Gutnam and Parker (as cited in Banks, 2008) suggest that educational institutions can be spaces where students from diverse backgrounds and their families can engage with each other to debate and enact the meanings of democracy, citizenship, and the ideals of equality in society. Citizenship, and civic education in particular, is construed broadly to encompass the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens and, in particular, the role of education (through schooling, teaching and learning) in that preparatory process (Kerr, 1999).

According to Print (2008), a fundamental, well organised, yet often undervalued task of schooling should be the preparation of the next generation of citizens. It has been suggested that, to achieve the goal of active citizenship, students need to learn about civic and citizenship education (Eyler & Giles Jr, 1999; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007). Effective and appropriate pedagogies have been suggested to engage students to become active and participative in their democracies (Annette, 2008; Print, 2008). Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework of good citizenship proposes that participatory citizens suggest an actively engaged population, involved in public affairs and the life of the community. They argued that participatory and justice-oriented citizens can really contribute to making democracy effective. One of the teaching strategies for engaging students in civic engagement is service-learning. Service-learning has long been associated with

important civic learning outcomes such as enhancing students' involvement in the community and developing their sense of civic responsibility (Hurd, 2006). Evidence suggests that the promotion of 'service-learning', as opposed to traditional classroom learning, is a more successful approach to inculcating active citizenship and civic duty (Brown, 2012). Studies of students' participation in service-learning projects or community service indicates positive outcomes of social responsibility, personal empowerment and a commitment to promote racial understanding, as well as educational benefits (Astin, Sax & Avalos, 1999). Soukup (1996) stated that service-learning was the best locale to provide students with 'first-hand experience of diversity and multiculturalism' (p. 9), by giving students the opportunity to mix with people different from themselves.

Research Aims and Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse citizenship, identity and belonging in multi-ethnic Malaysia. On the one hand there is the citizenship experience of multi-ethnic citizens, and on the other there is the question of how these complexities of experience relate to the nation-building project through education in Malaysia. Two factors influenced the researcher's interests and ideas in this research: the political and cultural status of the Malays (a dominant and privileged ethnic group) in Malaysia, and the position of the researcher, as a teacher who is involved directly with the teaching of citizenship and citizenship education to multi-ethnic student teachers in higher education. The researcher's status is as a member of the core, privileged group and a person of Malay origin; as such, she has regarded the related privileges as a form of 'protection' and felt reluctant to observe and understand the citizenship experience of 'others'. Therefore, in the early stages of this study, the researcher's values and beliefs about citizenship were very minimal, and she believed citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia to be about obeying the Malaysian national vision that promotes Malayness or Malay group identity. Nevertheless, the researcher's personal values and beliefs shifted as she experienced a 'reversed

position', as she was in a minority in a Chinese institution in Kuala Lumpur, Tunku Abdul Rahman College, which is owned by the Malaysia Chinese Association (MCA). As part of the 'minority group' in this institution, I felt lost, discriminated against, left behind and had to fit in with the majority of Chinese staff and students. Nevertheless, ten years of being a 'minority' in the institution gave me another insight in relation to the ethnic relations, feelings and expressions of being in a minority in multi-ethnic Malaysia as a whole. I slowly grasped the whole idea of citizenship in multi-ethnic societies, within the context of state aspirations for nationhood and nation-building through ethnic, preferential citizenship. My earlier values and my belief in the myth of Malaysia as a Malay nation have changed, and I have had to deal with the different stories and experiences of the multi-ethnic students that I teach. Apart from the personal experience of the researcher, my involvement in teaching and structuring the moral and citizenship education programme at the leading university in Malaysia amplified my interest in the study of citizenship education. The emergence of a colonial, plural society driven by British colonial policy has resulted in ethnic cleavages that have segregated and divided groups along ethnic lines as well as in economic, cultural and political terms. Given that Malaysia is an ethnically plural society, one of the major, on-going tasks of the Malaysian government has been to develop a harmonious, integrated and democratic nation that promotes shared values and a Malaysian national identity for the people.

Statement of the Problem

Throughout western history, the development of the concept of citizenship has been constructed as an individual relationship with the nation state. Lawson and Scott (as cited by Rapoport 2010) stated that obedience and loyalty to the state, common identity, equality and tolerance have been the overarching principles of citizenship. Nevertheless, modernization and globalization discourses have profoundly challenged the traditional idea of citizenship. Among the changes, there includes the

impact of social movements that seek to achieve more inclusive citizenship with regards to gender, ethnic, and social class recognition.

Citizenship education is not just a matter of learning the basic facts about institutions and procedures of political life (Kymlicka, 1995). It also involves acquiring a wide range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties closely linked to the practices of democracy (Balakrishnan, 2010). Citizenship education not only teaches civic knowledge, but also understanding about politics, the law and the economy, and the civic skills to engage effectively and responsibly in public and democratic life. Therefore, citizenship education is fundamental to living in a democratic society. For example, the concerns about citizenship education in Europe related to the essential fabric of democratic societies: their values, the forms of social interaction and organisation, and the perceived threats to them, and to the consequences and the management of changes in societies (Cecchini, 2004). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggest that the importance of democratic citizenship education is varied; for some, a commitment to democracy is a promise to protect liberal notions of freedom, while for others democracy is primarily about equality or equality of opportunity. For some, civil society is the key, while for others the idea of free markets is the great hope for a democratic society. For some, good citizens in a democracy are volunteers, while for others good citizens take an active role in political processes by voting, protesting, and working on political campaigns (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).To make this aspiration a reality, citizens have to be participative and active and be willing to have an influence in public life (Crick, 1998). The types of curriculum and the programmes of citizenship education reflect the type of society and citizens the state aims to encourage.

The three types of citizen proposed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) are: (1) the personally responsible citizen, (2) the participatory citizen and (3) justice oriented citizens, and each reflect different visions of a good democracy. The concept of these model citizens can be quite valuable as a foundation framework around which to

build a curriculum, including assessment as well as pedagogy, in civics and citizenship education in the new millennium (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Taking all these aspects into consideration, tertiary education, and especially teacher training institutions, should take on this challenge and prepare the well-equipped teacher, to make citizenship education more meaningful for future citizens. To meet these requirements, various pedagogical approaches including service-learning, community service and volunteerism have been designed. Service-learning is a pedagogical practice and learning method that integrates service and academic learning. It aims to promote an increased understanding of course content while helping students to develop the knowledge, skills, and cognitive capacities to deal effectively with the complex social issues and problems that communities face. It is an approach that emphasises reflection and field-based learning as a way to engage the learner personally with the curriculum (Eyler & Giles 1999). As a pedagogy, service-learning emphasises meaningful student learning through applied, active, project-based learning that draws on multiple knowledge sources (academic, student knowledge and experience, and community knowledge) and provides students with ample opportunities for ethical and critical reflection linked to practice (Eyler & Giles, 1999). Service-learning is becoming acknowledged as one of the most useful pedagogical tools in promoting civic responsibilities, social justice and civic engagement (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005). The nature of service-learning, and the difference between service-learning and other experiential learning, will be described for the purpose of this study. Service-learning has long been associated with important civic learning outcomes, like enhancing students' engagement with the community and developing their sense of civic responsibility. Evidence suggests that the promotion of service-learning, 'as opposed to traditional classroom learning, is a more successful approach to inculcating active citizenship and civic duty' (Brown as cited in Birdwell, Scott, & Horley, 2013, p. 186).

Citizenship education in Malaysia used to focus on civic knowledge and on patriotism, and the importance of the structure and type of government (Ministry of

Education, Malaysia, 2004). This might be expressed as 'minimal citizenship education', which stresses the basic knowledge of laws; systems of government and the basic principles of the constitution; and individual rights and obligations. Students were required to memorise symbolic events, anthems and facts of national importance, and the core ideas and ideals of citizenship education were located and embedded in such subjects as Moral Studies, Malaysian Studies, Islamic Studies, Social Studies and History (Ministry of Education, Malaysia, 1994, 2002, as cited in Bajunid, 2008). The new 2005 Civics and Citizenship Education structure focuses on three main components: knowledge, skills and values. The curriculum aims to reinforce the goals of civil society, Malaysian nationhood and patriotism. The renewal of citizenship education in most countries in the world is proposed for 'maximal citizenship education' (Evans, 2000) or education for citizenship (Crick, 1998). Evans suggests that there are two types of citizenship education in schools. The minimal citizenship model stresses a basic knowledge of laws, systems of government and the basic principles of the constitution. She added the maximal citizenship model of education which is focussed on the development of critical, reflective and independent thinking regarding issues surrounding the community. The notion of education for citizenship is that it should help the individual understand both their own identity and the nature of society, and how to actively engage with the complex relationship of rights and responsibilities that exists between the two. In relation to the Malaysian context, the current citizenship education aims to promote not only civic knowledge but also civic values and civic skills. To encourage civic skills, teachers are expected to use various teaching methods to develop the three components of civic education. Service-learning, as one teaching strategy, seeks to give the students the opportunity and experience to engage with the community. At both primary and secondary school levels, students are encouraged to participate in service-learning for at least 10 hours a year. The service-learning in the new Citizenship Education Curriculum in Malaysia requires the students to involve themselves in the community, either within the school

community or the neighbourhood community (Curiculum Development Centre, 2005).

Teachers have a role to play in creating the future citizenship; however, their understanding, attitudes and beliefs about what is the best framework of citizenship education are rooted in their own personal experiences of citizenship, as determined by their individual backgrounds. The new curriculum of Civics Education and Citizenship was formulated in 2005 by the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education in Malaysia and reflects on the need for three components of citizenship education (civic knowledge, values, and skills) to be developed. However, with such complexities of citizenship experiences among the student teachers in this study, driven by their different citizen 'status', the outcome may be to create different understandings of citizenship in a multi-ethnic society. Citizenship practised within a framework of 'ethnically differentiated citizenship' has challenged the notion of citizenship and how it can be negotiated to be more inclusive. Nation-building projects, that aimed to balance ethnic divisions and attempted to integrate a multi-ethnic Malaysia through a common identity, could not be easily achieved.

The importance of national integration is a central part of state policy, as the country faces a complex social pattern, with a population that is multi-ethnic in nature, and divided as a result of the different ethnic groups that have their own cultures, languages, identities and values. In many ways, this situation can be viewed as an inheritance from British colonialism. The government's concern about national integration has also resulted in education being regarded as an important policy domain through which to pursue national integration. Accordingly, amongst the aims of the national education policy, national integration is a major, hoped-for goal. It has been accepted that education is expected to play a significant role in nurturing national consciousness, moulding national identity and forging national unity amongst the various ethnic groups in Malaysia. This is in line with the

common reality of education contributing in all societies to the creation of the 'imagined community', which is the nation (Anderson, 1991). However, in spite of this, all these efforts could not be simply implemented; rather there was contestation and ethnic bargaining. In summary, it is the younger generation, especially the student teachers, who are accountable for making and creating the new kind of citizens, and who are expected to be equipped with the civic knowledge, values and skills to impart knowledge to their students in order to prepare them to be socially and morally responsible citizens.

With all of the above issues in mind, specific research questions emerged, as indicated below, in order to guide this study:

1. What policies are currently shaping citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia within student teacher courses, and specifically within service-learning?
2. How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic backgrounds and ethnicities) view their identities in multi-ethnic Malaysia?
3. What are student teachers' beliefs about what makes a 'good citizen' in the Malaysian context?
4. How does engaging in in-service-learning affect student teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia?

The Malaysia nation-building project through education can be divided into two sections: one is through national policies and the second is through the curriculum. The objectives of forging a united nation with commonality are to be attained through a series of national policies, and national education policies in particular. Ethnic challenges to educational policy in Malaysia exist, and these are marked by the competitive discourses of language, culture and identity, and are also influenced by the discourse of *bumiputera* and *non-bumiputera*[1] or Malay and non-Malay in

[1] *Bumiputera* or *Bumiputra* is a Malaysian term to describe the Malay race and other indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia, and used particularly in Malaysia.

Malaysian social, political and economic spheres, in and through the policy processes. The ethnic challenges regarding the policy produced for Malaysian education are rooted in the different principles and interests of different ethnic groups in relation to education. While the Malays continue to fight to hold on to their position as the 'sons of the soil', and believe that their language and culture should be at the core of national identity, the Chinese and Indians struggle for their rights, equality and justice with regard to their culture and identity.

Malaysian education policy initiatives aimed at achieving national integration, in general, are not without problems in both development and implementation. In order to manage, mediate, and integrate multi-ethnic groups, as a means of nation-building through the education system, it is necessary to address the ethnicity issues which continue to be among the main challenges to education policy aims and processes, and the ethnic divisions in the structure of school provision.

Structure of the Thesis

Citizenship is 'an essentially contested concept'. It is contested at every level from its very meaning to its political application, with implications for the kind of society that it aspires to promote. Citizenship is also 'a contextualised concept' (Siim, 2000). The language of citizenship and its meanings vary according to the social, cultural and political contexts and reflect different historical legacies. These different perspectives are mirrored at the level of the individuals, in the idea of 'lived citizenship'. This is the meaning of citizenship that actually 'governs people's lives and the way in which people's social, cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens' (Hall, Coffey, and Williamson, 1999, p. 2). Therefore, particularly for this study, it is important to understand the Malaysian idea of citizenship, which differs from western models of citizenship.

Concepts of multiculturalism and minority rights have had an influence in many Asian countries, often promoted by western academics, governments and international organizations (Kymlicka & He, 2005). Kymlicka and He (2005) noted that these western ideas of citizenship are often not well understood in the Malaysian region, and may not suit the specific historical, cultural, demographic, and geopolitical circumstances of the region (p.2). Two main characteristics of the western notion of citizenship that may not fit easily in the Asian context are the nature of liberal, cultural and multicultural citizenship, and the idea of liberal democracy. The Malaysian national vision promotes the dominant group identity over others, and the nation-building project aims to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysians on its own terms. However, in this study, the idea of what citizenship means also incorporates the everyday lived experience of citizenship among multi-ethnic Malaysians. I outline, in Chapter 3, a framework of belongingness, and the politics of belongingness are suggested as a different way of looking at citizenship experiences. In respect of the new citizenship education project (which began in 2005), this study also aimed to look at the role of service-learning as a tool for civic engagement in multi-ethnic Malaysia.

The first and the second chapters present the literature analysis of this study. **Chapter 1** deals with the contextual analysis that presents related concepts underlying citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. It is divided into two sections; the first section covers the historical perspectives of a pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, multi-ethnic society. The importance of the Malaysian national vision from above, which believed in developing a tool to integrate multi-ethnic, social groups, is discussed. Next, the Malaysian idea of an ethnically differentiated citizenship, that promotes the dominant Malay identity as the national identity in Malaysia, and issues surrounding this identity, are also discussed. This chapter also explains the philosophical ideology and policies that underlie citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia, and how this backdrop impacted on identity formation and negotiation among Malaysians. This chapter has two intentions: firstly to help the reader to

understand the backdrop of citizenship formation and development in Malaysia, and secondly it serves to substantiate discussion of the empirical findings in the analysis and discussion chapter. At the end of this chapter, the promotion of the Malay national building project through citizenship education will be discussed. This includes the development of citizenship education in Malaysia, with an emphasis on the service-learning method, to create good Malaysian citizens (good multi-ethnic citizens).

The importance of a new, integrated curriculum for primary schools in 1983, and for secondary schools in 1989, which started with the aim of achieving a common Malaysian identity and integration by emphasising educational values as core to the nation-building project, will be emphasised. Citizenship and history education in schools, and general studies and nationhood in higher institutions, are among some of the efforts of the nation-building project in Malaysia. The contextual analysis in Chapter 1 also explains how national policies and national education policies within ethnic preferential policies were negotiated and challenged, not only because of cultural differences but also because of other differences such as regional, social class, age and gender.

Chapter 2 deals with the western conceptual analysis of citizenship, ethnicity, nation and nationalism. Citizenship theories, from classical to contemporary theories of citizenship, in diverse societies, are also covered. In brief, the literature on citizenship from a number of theoretical and ideological perspectives: civic republicanism, liberalism and communitarian, will be discussed. It then addresses contemporary debates with regard to the citizenship discourse, which enrich this study and have a particular resonance within the Malaysian context. This chapter draws out the underlying key concepts of citizenship, identity and belonging, and the debates around these. The contemporary discourse of citizenship in particular, and the notion of Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship that informs the framework of this study will be discussed. Later, the key elements of citizenship,

rights, responsibilities and participation are discussed, as the key ideas that help to understand how the student teachers in this study understand and experience citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia.

The discourse of identity and belonging will also be discussed, as these elements are important as far as citizenship in multi-ethnic societies is concerned. To understand the complexities of identity, citizenship and belonging experiences in multi-ethnic Malaysia, Yuval-Davis' (2006) work on belonging and the politics of belonging was also suggested as another theoretical framework for this study. In addition, the framework of 'good citizens' in a democratic society (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004a) is also explained, as different perspectives on citizenship also have significantly varying implications for the curriculum. In relation to this study, it is important to examine how 'good citizens' work within the Malaysian nation vision framework. The ideological context of citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia is also discussed. The Malaysian National Ideology, federal constitution and Asian Values are the main themes underpinning Malaysian citizenship.

The aim of **Chapter 3** is to describe and provide a rationale for the research design adopted for this study. It therefore presents the research questions, and introduces and explains the research perspectives considered in the research design process. To begin with, the research paradigm and methodology that influenced the choice of research methods, and also lead to the concern of research ethics and the related research approach and strategy, will be discussed.

The selection of the design of a qualitatively interpretative approach will be discussed. This includes data gathering and analysing, and the approach for data collection used. Furthermore, issues in terms of my positionality as an insider researcher in relation to my interviewees; the research validity and the processes of data analysis; and how the findings are presented, are discussed in detail in the reflexivity section.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings of this study. **Chapter 4** deals with the core privileged group's citizenship experiences. In detail, the chapter presents the analysis of coreprivileged student teachers' experiences of citizenship within a Malaysian national vision. This chapter applies the Malaysian national vision and Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework to a discussion of the citizenship experiences of the core privileged group of student teachers (i.e. the dominant/majority group). The imagined communities framework that reflects the four quadrants of the pre-determined key themes, to understanding how the multi-ethnic student teachers perceived citizenship, are used in analysing the findings. The four key areas of citizenship and citizenship education experiences of the multi-ethnic student teachers are: belonging, rights, responsibilities, and identity, and the implications for the one nation vision project are discussed in detail.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of belonging, rights, responsibilities and the imagined communities' experiences of the peripheral and unprivileged groups. This chapter applies the same Malaysian national vision and Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework to a discussion of the citizenship experiences of the peripheral and unprivileged groups of student teachers (i.e. the subaltern group). The chapter presents the peripheral and unprivileged groups of student teachers' everyday experiences of citizenship that consists of four sections, representing the four main ideas of the framework: belonging, rights, responsibility, identity and their implications for the one nation vision project.

Chapter 6 reflects on the findings of the study and focuses on the current realities and challenges of the reimagining Malaysian citizenship and identities project. This chapter discusses in detail, and reflects on, how the two groups of student teachers, who are different in identity and citizenship 'status' experienced citizenship differently, and how this had different implications for the one nation vision project. The important of service-learning, not only as a citizenship education method of

learning, but also as a boundary breaker between multi-ethnic student teachers and achieving the one Malaysian nation ideal, will be discussed in detail.

In **Chapter 7,** the concluding chapter, the findings of the study are considered in relation to the research questions. The first part of this chapter summarises the findings then sets out to discuss the data analysis offered in the two findings chapters, in relation to my research questions. I then proceed to state the contributions this research has made, as well as the limitations embedded in this research. This chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the role of this research within the context of the development of service-learning as a mechanism for encouraging mutual understanding and a more informed understanding of fellow citizens.

Chapter One

Contextualising Citizenship: Multi-Ethnic Malaysia

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to establish with maximum clarity what the current state of knowledge is within the field of study related to the topic of this thesis. This study aims to investigate student teachers' understandings, values and beliefs of citizenship and citizenship education through their everyday experience of citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The main objective of this chapter is to present the socio-political background of the development of identity and citizenship in Malaysia. This chapter discusses the origin and development of the citizenship concepts in multi-ethnic Malaysia through certain historical events. To be specific, this chapter presents a historical background of multi-ethnic Malaysia from the pre-colonial to the postcolonial era, the idea of preferential citizenship in Malaysia, and the Malaysian national vision and nation-building project within this preferential citizenship. The chapter also explains the philosophical ideology and policies that underpin citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia and how this backdrop has impacted on identity formation and negotiation among Malaysians. This chapter has two intentions: firstly, to help the readers understand the backdrop of citizenship formation and development in Malaysia and, secondly, it serves to substantiate the discussion of the empirical findings in the analysis and discussion chapter.

The chapter begins with the historical background to the formation of Malaysian multi-ethnic society, the colonial ideas of citizenship, the contestation and nationalist group, the postcolonial government, and national ideology and policy that framed the national vision of multi-ethnic Malaysia. The key themes of

citizenship, drawn from British Malayan Union citizenship that promotes liberal and equal citizenship, and a postcolonial citizenship framework through Malaysian ethnically differentiated citizenship, will also be discussed. Later, I discuss briefly the rise of early nationalism in Malaysia and the impact of the 1969 tragedy which saw the emergence of Malay nationalism assert its influence in reshaping the project of nation formation in Malaysia. The major post-independence national policies, namely the *Rukun Negara* (the National Ideology), New Economy Policy (NEP), and the Education and Language Policy will be discussed as strong influences on the Malay nationalist agenda in the creation of a Malaysian 'ethnically differentiated citizenship'(Hefner, 2014).

1.2 Multi-ethnic Malaysia: Historical Background

The notion of citizenship in multicultural societies reflects the very ideas of cultural pluralism: democracy, ideology and the needs of the society to form their own nation. In recent years, there has been rekindled interest in the problem of democracy and cultural pluralism, or in what has been stated by Kymlicka and He (2005) as 'multicultural citizenship'. For Hefner (2014), most models of multicultural citizenship continue to focus on Western industrialised societies as the projecting point of their discussion. He notes the importance of non-Western multicultural societies as well as the need to confront 'their own history of pluralist challenges' and their own need to devise meaningful formulas for their resolution (Hefner, 2014, p. 5). He argues that the basis for non-Western multicultural societies is still not far from the normative political philosophy of the Western grounds, which is 'the extent to which society meets norms of justice, individual freedom and deliberative democracy' (Kymlicka & Norman, as cited in Hefner, 2014, p. 3). Kymlicka (2005) makes a similar point as he argued that Western theories and examples of multiculturalism and minority rights have had an influence in many Asian countries, often promoted by Western academics, governments and international organisations. Kymlicka & He (2005) suggest that:

> Western models are not well understood in the region, and may not conform to specific historical, cultural, demographic, and geopolitical settings of the region. Moreover, many Asian societies have their own traditions of peaceful coexistence amongst linguistic and religious groups, often dating to pre-colonial times. All of the major ethical and religious traditions in the region, from Islamic and Hindu to Confucian and Buddhist to their own conceptions of the value of tolerance, and their own recipes for sustaining unity amidst diversity. (p. 1)

These traditions continue to influence people's beliefs and practices in the region. The legacies of colonialism and national liberation struggles also employ a powerful influence on how issues of ethno-cultural diversity are understood (Hefner, 2014).

According to the 2010 census, the total population of Malaysia is almost 28.3 million. Of the total of Malaysian citizens, Malays belong to the predominant ethnic group in Peninsular Malaysia. They constituted 63.1%; other indigenous groups (namely non-Malay *bumiputera*, or 'sons of the soil') constituted 54.5%; Chinese constituted 24.3% and Indians 7.3%. The estimated population in the Eighth Malaysia Plan showed the growth of the multi-ethnic population in Malaysia in 2005, where Malays comprised 67.3% of the total population, Chinese 24.5% and Indians 7.2% (Malaysia Census, 2010).

Geographically, Malaysia is made up of two major entities, namely West Malaysia and East Malaysia. West Malaysia, usually known as the Malay Peninsula, is contiguous with the land mass of Thailand to the north and linked by a causeway to the island-state of Singapore to the south. The other principal region of Malaysia is the northern portion of the island of Borneo, the rest of Borneo being the small state of Brunei and Kalimantan, which is part of Indonesia. This northern portion of the island of Borneo is called East Malaysia (Yeoh, 2006) (see Appendix A). The Federation of Malaysia has a total of thirteen states. Peninsular Malaysia comprises eleven states, which constituted the Federation of Malaya up to 1963. The remaining two states are *Sabah* and *Sarawak*, physically located on the island of Borneo. For complex reasons, Singapore, although it was part of British Malaya, remained a

British colony when Malaya was formed in 1948 and attained its independence in 1957. In 1963, the Federation of Malaya merged with Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore to form the Federation of Malaysia. However, Singapore seceded from Malaysia in 1965 as a result of irreconcilable differences between the federal government of Malaysia and the state government of Singapore (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

Apart from geography, the separation of these two regions holds a different demography and history. The western Malaysia, previously known as Malaya is the inheritance of a Malay kingdom, dominated by the Malay people. British occupation led to a changing society, moving from a Malay homogenous society to a colonial plural society, with the inflow of immigrants from China and India. On the other hand, the Eastern Malaysian people are the natives (indigenous) of Sabah and Sarawak. In Sabah and Sarawak, unlike in the Peninsula, the non-Malay indigenous groups as a whole outnumber the Malays (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Ongkili, 1985). There is a small population of Malay and Muslim groups in occupied *Sabah state* (north Borneo).

Pre-colonial Plural Society

The pre-colonial context of Malaysia was rooted in the maritime centres of the Malay Archipelago, often referred to as 'the Malay World' or the 'Malay-Indonesia World'. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Malaysia was relatively homogenous as far as its demographic distribution was concerned. It was a singular society of Malays, the indigenous people. In 1880, Malays constituted about 90% of the population in Peninsular Malaysia (Gullick, 1987; Hefner, 2014).

According to Cheah (2002), Malaysian historical indication shows that Malays were the first politically organised indigenous people in Peninsula Malaysia. In a wide social and cultural definition, the term 'Malay' was initially used self-referentially, by the peoples residing in the Malay Archipelago (the Malay Kingdom before

colonialism). The land of Malaysia has been a centre of trade and commerce since the tenth century AD, when ancient Malay kingdoms were revealed in the northern peninsular region of Malaysia. Most of these kingdoms were under Buddhist or Hindu influence. During that time, the region was highly desirable due to its geographical position between the Chinese and Indian civilisations (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Yeoh, 2006).

The establishment of the *Sultanate of Malacca,* as the earlier Malay kingdoms, highlights the existence of a form of cultural pluralism, not just in pre-colonial Malaysia but also around South East Asia, due to the amazing growth of its coastal ports. This initial, or pre-colonial, pluralism created a culture of respect and tolerance in inter-ethnic relations among the locals and the traders (Ibrahim, 2004). The Malaysian historian Wang Gungwu explains,

> ...the tradition of coastal pluralism evolved in (the) island (of) South East Asia, including the various states that became Malaysia, from earliest times...The port towns were conspicuous examples of cultural pluralism in the traditional milieu and were open to new and alien influences. (Gungwu, 2001 as cited in Ibrahim, 2004, p. 118)

The rule of the *Malay Kingdom* came to an end when it was occupied by the Portuguese in 1511. The downfall of *Malacca,* as the Malay Kingdom, to the Portuguese connoted the beginning of foreign colonisation of Malaysia, and was followed by the invasion of the Dutch. This was followed by the intervention of the British during the late eighteenth century, which then led to the colonisation of the whole of Peninsular and Borneo Malaysia. This period of colonisation continued for almost two centuries until independence was granted to Malaysia in 1957 (Yeoh, 2006).

In terms of faith and beliefs in pre-colonial Malaya, Islam is believed to have arrived in the Malay Archipelago around the 14th century, introduced by Arab traders from the Middle East. Nevertheless, it was not until the formation of the *Sultanate of*

Malacca in the 15th century that Islam became the main religion in the South East Asian region. During this era, Malacca became the main merchandising port of Asia where European merchants wanted to obtain the valuable goods of spices that were readily available in Asia but not in Europe (Yeoh, 2006). On the other hand, Asian traders came to hunt for foreign goods in return for theirs. The tactical position of *Malacca,* protected by the neighbouring land, provided protection for the travelling merchants from the harsh monsoon winds. Most of these traders would spend months in Malacca waiting for the wind direction to change for the right conditions to sail home. Malacca quickly became one of the busiest cosmopolitan cities in Asia resulting in it being dubbed 'the Venice of the East' (Yeoh, 2006, p.4).

In terms of administration during the *Malacca Kingdom,* the common people were generally divided into two groups: free men and slaves. Distinct from free men, slaves were attached to their owners. They were claimed as the property of their owners and their owners in turn were responsible for them. Although their duties were not defined, they held social and political functions and certain responsibilities that were related to the division of labour. Such functions and responsibilities were created to coordinate the system of administration as well as to support the government system. The common people, whether free men or slaves, were also responsible for carrying out public tasks (Fang, 1976).

The traders assimilated themselves easily into the local Malay culture. European and Chinese traders, for example, became accustomed to Malay customs and learnt to speak the Malay language. Cross-cultural marriages between traders and the people of Malacca were common during this period (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Yeoh, 2006). In relation to the Malacca kingdom administration, it had its own 'law of Malacca' to assist the incumbent ruling group. Each member of society had its own role and function. The existence of the law itself, together with other systems, led the regulation and control of social order. With its own systematic form of administration and codification of laws *(the Malay Digest),*such factors formed the

basis that contributed towards the creation of a state with an orderly administrative and political system (Milner, 1981).

Afandi (2011) claimed that by having a proper administration and laws, the Malacca Kingdom had a concept of sovereignty, in which the king (including the royal, political and cultural elements), as a charismatic king and chief administrator, could be seen as the very initial idea of citizenship. The ruler (king) was the law and ordinary people bestowed upon him their highest respect and obedience. The administration during the period of the Malacca kingdom was organised and systematic and people were bound under the 'law of Malacca'. The *Sultanate of Malacca*'s sovereignty was developed and linked to the concept and symbolic rule of kingship (Gullick, 1987). This symbolism was created in order to provide certain exclusive privileges and status to the rulers, superior to those enjoyed by his subjects. It could be said that those people who lived in the pre-colonial Malay *kerajaan (Malacca Kingdom)* are better described as subjects rather than citizens. This is because the word 'subject' emphasises the subordinate position of the individual relative to the monarch, in which the monarch retains a few personal political powers under the constitutional monarchy, while citizens enjoy legal rights against arbitrary decisions by their government and play an active role in influencing government policy (Afandi, 2011).

In relation to the existence of pre-colonial plural societies, Hefner (2014) in his multi-ethnic Malaysia study, labelled Malaya a 'flexible ethnicity' and 'canopied pluralism', together with the terms 'cultural mobility and hybridity', and while cautiously aware that 'there were clear limits in this pattern of flexible ethnicity', he nevertheless confirms that 'for a comparative sociology of ethnicity and plurality, the "permeable ethnicity" seen in the archipelago certainly ranks as one of the most distinctive features of the *Malayo-Indonesian tradition*' (p.28). Anthony Reid (as cited in Hefner, 2014), an international scholar historian, notes that while most of the region's mercantile ports were Muslim domains, 'the Southeast Asian trading city

was a pluralistic meeting-point of peoples from all over maritime Asia' (p 13), attracting visitors ranging from Arabs, Chinese (Muslim and non-Muslim), Indian Muslims and Hindus, tribal animists, some Christians, and even the occasional visiting delegation from Japan (Hefner, 2014).

Historically, in relation to identity discourse in Malaya, the formation of 'Malay' and Malayness identity in the pre-colonial era was associated with two major elements: first, a line of kingship acknowledging descent of the Malacca kingdom; and, second, a commercial diaspora retaining the customs, language and trade practices of Malacca. Kingship, and its polity (*kerajaan*), was a prominent pillar of Malayness in the area around the Straits of Malacca (Malacca Kingdom). Later, the introduction of Islam to this kingdom changed the Hindu elements in the society and Islam became another pillar of Malayness because it provided the kingship with some of its core values (Syed, 1981).

The commercial diasporas constituted a group of people nearby the *Straits of Malacca* area, for example Borneo, Makassar and Java, who had similarities to the Malays in Malacca. They defined their Malayness primarily in terms of language and customs, the third and fourth accepted pillars of Malayness, respectively. Historically, the Malay language was the *lingua franca* used in trade and commerce and was the principal language of communication. The Malay language became the 'distinguished language of scholarship, commerce, diplomacy and religion' (Collins, 1998, p.23). Collins' description is supported by Reid's observation (1993) that noted that Malay was the main language of trade throughout South East Asia. Malay was used not only in Malay cities and ports, but also in the Philippines, Vietnam and Cambodia. In Burma and along the coasts of Malabar in India, Malay words and terms were widely used. The significance of Malay as the lingua franca in the Age of Commerce in the sixteenth century is pointed out by Reid 1988 (as in Collins, 1998, p. 25):

> The Malay language thereby became the main language of trade throughout Southeast Asia. The cosmopolitan trading cities came to be classified as Malay because they spoke that language and professed Islam, even when their forbearers may have been Javanese, Mon, Indian, Chinese or Filipino.... At least those who dealt with matters of trade and commerce in the major ports had to speak Malay as well as their own language.

In summary, the history of multi-ethnic Malaysia started long before colonialism. The so-called pre-colonial plural societies involved interrelations between traders and locals, kings and peoples. The traders assimilated into the local culture and identity. Key elements of cultural pluralism and Malay identity existed during this time. The question of identity has been discussed since pre-colonial times. The early notion of identity was mainly focussed on cultural identity rather than political character. There are four pillars of Malay identity that were practised by the locals and were accepted and assimilated by traders.

The Indigenous Society of Sabah and Sarawak

While Malacca was the focus of the Malay world in Peninsular Malaysia, Brunei emerged as a similar focus further to the east, in the Straits of Malacca. Both Sabah and Sarawak (Eastern Malaysia) were parts of the Brunei Sultanate (kingdom) before the foreign administration. The pre-colonial histories of the indigenous political systems in North Borneo and Sarawak shared some similarities to the polity (*Kerajaan)* model in Malaya, with the Sultan (King) as the political authority and below him a hierarchy of local chiefs or *Datu* playing pivotal roles in making and breaking alliances with the established sultanates in Brunei and the Sulu Archipelago (Wells & Villiers, 1990).

The indigenous people of Sarawak and Sabah are more heterogeneous that those of the Peninsula. The indigenous communities of Sarawak include the *Ibans* (*sea Dayak*), the *Bidayuhs (land Dayak)*, the*Kayans, Kenyahs* and *Kelabits,* all of whom are non-Muslims. The small population of Muslims in Sarawak are *Kedayans,* the

*Bisaya*and *Malanaus*. In Sabah (north Borneo), the largest indigenous groups are the *Muruts* and *the Kadazans*, who are largely non-Muslims, alongside smaller group of Muslims, the *Bajaus, Sulus, Ilanus* and *Bruneis*. Compared to the Malacca Kingdom in Peninsular Malaysia, the Brunei Kingdom was relatively remote from the commonly used trade route between East and West Asia (Ongkili, 1985). The formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 introduced a new dimension to the understanding and definition of 'Malay' and Malayness, arising from the addition of the Muslim groups in Sarawak and Sabah, such as the *Dusun* and *Murut* in Sabah and the *Melanaus* in Sarawak (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Ongkili, 1985).

Colonial Plural Society

The rule of the *Sultanate of Malacca* lasted for a century until it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1511. The fall of Malacca at the hands of the Portuguese represented the start of a prolonged period of foreign colonisation of Malaysia. Malacca prospered for another century until the invasion of Malacca by the Dutch. This was followed by the intervention of the British during the late eighteenth century, which subsequently led to the colonisation of Malacca and ultimately the whole of Peninsular and Borneo Malaysia. This period of colonisation lasted for almost two centuries until independence was granted to Malaysia in 1957 (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

The Malayan colonial economy was characterised by the exploitation of raw materials, namely tin and rubber. These remained by far the 'most profitable colonial industries'. Malaya contributed almost '£20 million to the imperial profits in 1928' (Bowie, 1991, p.42). The success of capitalist enterprise in Malaya was measured by the ability of the colonial administration to optimise economic production and revenue collection (Ibrahim, 2004). Western, and particularly British, colonialism had left a long-lasting impact on Malay society and altered its historical trajectory. The first European power to set foot in the Malay Peninsula, the

Portuguese, colonised Malacca between 1511 and 1641 and left important historical artefacts, notably the fortress *A Famosa*, as well as a small Portuguese community. The Dutch, who expelled the Portuguese and ruled Malacca between 1641 and 1824, also left certain historical remnants but did not alter the traditional Malay social structure (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

Unlike earlier colonial powers, the British impacted on the social, political and economic aspects of Malaya due to the fact that their period of colonisation lasted for almost 200 years, beginning with the takeover of Penang in the 1780s, right up to Malaya's independence in 1957. As the first industrial state, and the most powerful nation on earth in the 19th century, Britain ruled the waves, and the Malay Peninsula became Britain's biggest 'dollar earner' (Harper, 1999). Penang was ceded to Britain in 1786, and the British then proceeded to take over Singapore in 1819, and Malacca in 1824. The three formed what was known as the 'Straits Settlements' in 1826. From these trading centres, Britain penetrated the resource-rich Malay states, first taking over *Perak* in January 1874 and then Selangor later the same year, while *Pahang* and *Negeri Sembilan* accepted British residents in 1888 and 1895, respectively. These four states were located under one administration in 1896, called the Federated Malay States. The rest of the Malay Peninsula, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu (which were then ruled by Siam) and Johor came under British rule by 1914 and were known as the Unfederated Malay States (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

British Administration in Malaya

As explained in above section, the British proposed three separate administration entities: The Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States (FMS) and the Unfederated Malay States (UMS). While the Settlements were a Crown Colony, the other states accepted British administrators but retained their sovereignty.

Certain characteristics of the British administration marked important elements of 'the colonial plural society'. The first characteristic was the administrative power of the British and Malay Ruler. In the Federated and Unfederated Malay States, religious, cultural and traditional matters were governed by their own Malay rulers, or *Sultans*. They were assisted in the administration of the states by the Resident General, or the Malayan Civil Service, senior posts which were held by British personnel (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Harper, 1999; Stockwell, 1995). A British resident was appointed as adviser to the Malay ruler in the matter of administration of the state, establishing law and order and introducing more modern ways to the states.

The British had the expertise to symbolically acknowledge the *sultans'* sovereignty over each state, whose rule encompassed matters relating to Malay traditions such as customs (*adat*), language (*bahasa*) and Islam. The *sultans* were also provided with 'bureaucratic and legal machinery to implement their directives in a more systematic and invasive manner than ever before in Malay history' (Hefner, 2014, p. 16).With the exception of the Islamic religion and Malay customs (*adat*) issues, all political and administrative matters were transferred from the Malay ruler to the authority of the colonial administration. The official British position was that they were there to support and advise the Malays in governing their own land. While the Malays were seen as the original populace and hence the legitimate rulers of Malaya, they were regarded as insufficiently mature and therefore qualified for governance by the British (Ibrahim, 2004).

The second characteristic of colonial plural society was the creation of an administration along ethnic lines, within a divide and rule policy. As mentioned earlier, for economic purposes, the British started to import many Chinese and Indian workers into Malaysia to meet the country's labour shortage. As noted by Hefner (2014), the early nineteenth century was a period when Malaysia was covered with 'massive forest expanses and a relatively small Malay population who

were mostly situated in the peninsula's few fertile rice growing regions' (Hefner, 2014, p. 18). Most of the 'workers' were concentrated in the Straits Settlements, comprised of Penang, Malacca and Singapore which were busy cosmopolitan cities (Yeoh, 2006). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Malaysia became the world's largest producer of tin, and the Chinese people were needed to share their expertise in this field. The British invited the Indians because of the need for labour in the plantation sector, especially in the rubber industry. Due to the increased number of Chinese and Indian migrants, initiated by the British administration in Malaya, an artificial occupational segregation along ethnic group lines was created: Malays in agriculture, Chinese in commerce and Indians in plantations (Haque, 2003). In 1929, Malaya was producing onethird of the world's tin supply. About 67 per cent of the tin output was controlled by European companies, while the remaining 33 per cent was produced by the Chinese ethnic group (Jesudason, 1989).

The arrival of Chinese and Indian ethnic groups inevitably changed the ethno-pluralistic setting of Malaysia. Due to the influx of workers, the Chinese outnumbered the Malays in Peninsular Malaysia during the early 1920s. A decade later, the Chinese population in the four federated states (*Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan* and *Pahang*) that were subject to the direct rule of the British comprised 64 per cent of the population. In other states that were not under direct British rule, the Chinese comprised only 27 per cent (Hefner, 2014). This imbalance of the ethnic composition presented an obvious problem to the socio-economic stability of the country that was further compounded by the 'divide-and-rule' policy of the British. Through the 'divide-and-rule' policy, different ethnic groups were not allowed to intermingle with each other; and they only existed within their own ethnic spheres. The Malays were primarily in the rural areas engaged in agricultural work, while most of the educated Malays were hired as government servants (Yeoh, 2006). Most of the Chinese workers who dominated the trade industry lived in the city, while the Indians remained in the plantation sector. Thus, the policy of 'divide and rule'

certainly worked for the colonialists in terms of gaining capital. Nevertheless, it led to the creation of a symbolically plural society. This colonial plural society showed the lack of interaction between these different ethnic groups and resulted in each ethnic group's lack of knowledge of each other (Andaya & Andaya, 2001). The Malaysian social anthropologist Ibrahim contends that it was the subsequent elaborations by colonialism upon this 'initial pluralism' (pre-colonial pluralism) which gave rise to the 'competing ethnicities currently inherited by the modern Malaysian nation-state' (Ibrahim, 2004, p.116).

This period of colonialism in Malaysia corresponds with Furnivall's theory of pluralism. Furnivall (1944) was largely responsible for coining and introducing the term 'pluralism' to the European world. He derived his theory from his experience of colonial economies in Burma and Indonesia. Hefner summarises Furnivall's definition of pluralism:

> a plural society is a society that comprises 'two or more elements of social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit.' As with Chinese, Indians, and Malays in British Malaya, this combination of geographical propinquity and social segregation, Furnivall argued, is accompanied by a caste-like division of labor, in which ethno religious groups play different economic roles. This social segregation in turn gives rise to what Furnivall regarded as these societies' most unsettling political trait: their lack of a common social will (Furnivall, as cited in Hefner, 2014, p. 4).

This policy of 'divide and rule' marked the beginning of a segregated, multi-ethnic society that was administered along ethnic lines. This further disrupted the ethnic stability of the newly independent Malaysia in 1957, and the early seeds of dissatisfaction had been sown. The Chinese people were perceived as a threat to the dominant Malay group (Hefner, 2014) because ethnic groups like the Chinese were perceived as being wealthier than others. Chinese business influence ranged from the production of tin and rubber to the transportation sector, and the Chinese community was seen as monopolising the economy (Koon, 1996). The seeds of

resentment were explained by Yeoh (2006), 'In as much as Chinese and Indians figured in this formulation (of ethnic pluralism), they did so largely negatively as foreigners who threatened to marginalise Malays in their homeland' (p.9). Malays were left behind, and no protective socio-economic measures were introduced to help the Malays compete with the Chinese-dominated merchant community, which had already established a network of capital and credit through their connections with different Chinese associations and chambers of commerce which had been established as early as 1906 (Koon, 1996).

The British occupation in Borneo represents different stories and routes. Sabah was ruled by the British North Borneo (Chartered) Company from the 1880s, while Sarawak, previously under the rule of the Sultan of Brunei, came under the domination of the Brooke family, established as the 'White Rajah', in the 1840s. These two states became independent only after joining Malaya in forming the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 (Roth, 2012).

To provide a summary of colonial administration in British Malaya, it can be concluded that several important changes occurred as a result of British colonial rule. First, there was the change of the 'Malay Kingdom' political system. The Malay kingdom, or Malay sultanate, was transformed into a colony under indirect British rule. The power of the 'Malay King' was reduced from figurehead to having power only over Islamic religion and Malay customs, while British residents, or advisors, held the majority of the power (Embong, 2002, p. 45). Embong added that the Resident System changed the power of the Malay King, which then symbolised the loss of independence and sovereignty of the Malay rulers and their people.

Secondly, the historic economy that depended on feudal agricultural and trading was altered into a colonial dual economy, dependent upon the metropolis and serving as a producer of raw materials for Britain. In fact, by the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, rubber and tin, which were so crucial in sustaining the

industrial revolution in Europe and America, became the mainstays of the Malayan economy. Nevertheless, the dual economy developed by the British led to the indigenous people being left in the rural sector while the migrants, particularly Chinese and Indians, were involved in the modern urban sector of the economy (Embong, 2002). Thirdly, the postcolonial plural society was administered along ethnic lines. Fourthly, in relation to education in Malaya after independence, a common education should have been a crucial mechanism through which both the values of each other's civilisations could be learnt, and also as a useful means of facilitating interaction between members of the different societies. Instead, colonial education was in line with the British economic division among ethnic groups. This reflects the idea of British vernacular education in Malaya. During British rule, each ethnic group experienced different education systems (Mohammad, 1991). Most Malays were educated in the Malay government school system, located in rural areas and using the Malay language as the medium of instruction. Most Chinese, on the other hand, sent their children to schools using Chinese as the medium of instruction, established by Chinese voluntary associations. At the same time, for the Indians, Tamil education (only up to primary level) was basically just to ensure that they remained on the rubber estates or worked as labourers elsewhere (Embong, 2002).

In summary, it could be argued that although the British helped the Malay ruler in term of modernisation and systematic administration, they, nevertheless, created a colonial plural society which challenged the status of the dominant group (Malays) in socio economic development. The very idea of an economically disadvantaged group was perceived by the Malays as one of the main issues that required to be addressed by a post-colonial government.

Postcolonial Plural Society

One of the challenges in the creation of a constitution for newly independent Malaya (subsequently Malaysia) was an attempt to grant equal citizenship rights to non-Malays, principally those settled in Malaya of Indian and Chinese origin (Harper, 1999; Ratnam, 1965; Roff, 1994). As a result of the British proposal for equal citizenship, the Malays opposed an ethnically neutral 'civic' citizenship partly because they were worried about 'open competition' with non-Malays who were economically advantaged during the British administration (Fenton, 2003). The Malays feared that the 'immigrants' (Chinese and Indians), who were urbanised and in a better position, would benefit more from independence and modernisation. The Malays continued to claim Malaya as their home, of which they were the original and indigenous people, and continued to perceived the Indians and Chinese as immigrants (Fenton, 2003).

The 'compromise' solution was to grant full citizenship to non-Malays but build into the constitution a certain primacy of Malay culture (Islam, Malay kingship and Malay language) and recognition of the special position and privileges of the Malay population. The effect was to give primacy to Islam in official public culture whilst permitting freedom of religious faith among non-Malays. This, in a sense, raised the issue of whether multi-ethnic and multi-religious Malaysia could or should be called an Islamic state (Martinez, 2001). The shape of pre- and post-independence politics was to bring 'ethnic identity' into the focus of politics, reflecting the fact that the British, as colonial rulers, had, it was argued, created colonial Malaya as an ethicised state, that is, a state in which ethnic difference was mapped on to civic and socio-economic relations (Hirschman, 1986). The 1950s' emergency and its suppression constituted another element in the formation of ethnic political consciousness; the emergency was a response to a communist uprising, mostly supported by the Chinese.

One of the major controversial issues in this young, newly independent nation state was the question of citizenship among different ethnic groups. While the Malays were acknowledged as the rightful owners of the land, along with the indigenous people, the citizenship rights of the Chinese and Indians were questioned. A concession was finally achieved between the three major parties of the ruling coalition in Malaysia: the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) representing the Malay ethnic group, the Malaysia Chinese Association that represented the Chinese-Malaysian ethnic group, and the Malaysia Indian Congress representing the Indians in Malaysia. This concession met the notion of so-called consociational democracy (Lijphart, 1977). Lijphart defined consociational democracy as:

> consociational democracy can be defined in term of four characteristics, a government by a grand coalition of the political leaders of all significant leaders of the plural society, mutual veto of concurrent majority rule which serves as an additional protection of vital minority interests, proportionally as the principal standard of political representation, civil service appointment, and allocation of public and high degree of autonomy for each segments. (Lijphart, 1977, p. 25)

Evidence shows that most political writers (Lijphart, 1977; Mauzy, 1978; Sani & Azizuddin, 2009) describe Malaysia's political arrangements since 1955as consociationalism. This concession was enshrined in the Malaysian constitution under Article 153 that entitles citizenship to non-Malays and, in return, grants Malays special rights in the fields of education, public services and commerce. Non-Malay communities obtained Malaysian citizenship but it was not an equal citizenship. In Hefner's words, this form of citizenship was a 'differentiated citizenship' (Hefner, 2014, p. 28). Stafford (1999) contemplates the ethnicised political approach in Malaysia as an example of the consociationalism articulated by Lijphart (1977), as the model interprets such a political system favourably because under this system the structure of ethnic composition in society is reflected or

denoted in the structure of political parties and institutions to lessen interethnic tension and enhance social harmony (Lijphart, 1977; Stafford, 1999).

1.3 Nationalism in Malaya/Malaysia

Ethnic nationalism on the Malay Peninsula is essentially a twentieth-century phenomenon, resulting partly from the policies of British colonialism and partly from the different political visions of the indigenous and immigrant populations. Pre-independence Malaya was principally a settler society, populated by various Malayo-Polynesian groups, southern Chinese and Indian labourers, traders and carpet-baggers. Although most Malays claim indigenous status and this forms a continuing theme in Malay nationalism, the historical record suggests that their initial movements into the peninsula from the Asian mainland took place between 2000 and 500 BC, with an earlier migration of peoples now known as the *Orang Asli* (Aborigines) (Bellwood, 2007).

The period from 1945 to 1957 marked an important period in Malaysian history. It was the final twelve years of British rule, marking the end of Western colonialism and the beginning of the decolonisation of the Malay states (Mauzy, 2006). Short-term Japanese occupation (1941–45) promoted the growth of Malay nationalism by placing an end to the myth of European superiority and by promoting the anti-colonial theme of 'Asia for the Asians', which was adopted by the Malays as an interesting slogan (Mauzy, 2006). Therefore, local historians have perceived the Japanese occupation as a blessing for the Malays (Fauzi as cited in Arifin, 2014). During this period, political awareness among the Malays and their interest in claiming their political and national rights became more obvious.

After the Second World War, the initial British plan for independence addressed the problems inherent in a plural society and aimed to create a multi-ethnic and multiracial state. The proposals for a Malayan Union marked a significant break

with the pre-war British policy towards the territories of the Malay Peninsula. The proposed Malayan Union envisioned a civic citizenship basis, in which all citizens of the Union were to be granted equal status irrespective of their race or ethnicity (Stockwell, 1995). This would have resulted in the creation of a unitary state with equal citizenship rights for all who had resided in the peninsular for ten years, regardless of which ethnic communities they belonged to, and would have resulted in a state effectively run by 'the emergent multi-ethnic bourgeoisie' (Brown, 2003, p. 220). The plan addressed pre-war inconsistencies, such as the lack of representation for immigrant minorities, their claims now stronger in the light of Second World War developments. It would also have created a society more equitable and acceptable to socialists, eradicating the institutional power of traditional elites. Nevertheless, the Malayan Union marked the rise of Malay politics, and when the plan was withdrawn in the face of strong Malay opposition, the British government restored Malay sovereignty and Malay ownership of the country and thereby ensured Malay political primacy among the various races (Leete, 1996).

Early Malay nationalism was influenced by the nature of colonial rule along with the existing feudal traditions. Nevertheless, the nationalist struggle was slow in developing during the early years of colonialism, primarily because the Malays were loyal to their feudal rulers (Mauzy, 2006). Malay leaders showed little interest in political change, mainly after the British raised their incomes and status and thus enhanced feudalism. Soenarno's (1960) writings, which are among the earliest available documentation on Malay nationalism, posit that there were three distinct stages in the development of Malay nationalism: religious (1906–1925), socio-economic (1926–36) and political (from 1938). He also observed that Malay political awareness had actually begun to develop in the 1920s. In his opinion, political awareness and Malay nationalism had undergone a slow-moving evolutionary process, and it was the modernisation measures carried out by the British that catalysed this awareness.

Early Malay nationalism was stirred by pan-Islamic activism in the Middle East, leading to a growth of religious schools and the spread of Islamic literature on the Peninsula (Roff, 1994). There was also a small, pan-Indonesian left-wing nationalist movement led by a group of Malay intelligentsia that developed in the formation of some writers' clubs and later some radical political organisations. However, the movement remained small and on the fringe until it died out. Early nationalism witnessed the people supporting their leaders, not on the basis of political or national consciousness, but rather due to blind loyalty or because they had been forced to support them under the 'feudal system' (Aziz & Shamsul, 2004).

The early twentieth century observed the steady growth of political consciousness throughout the colony of Malaya. The nature of such awareness, however, varied along ethnic lines, with each ethnic group determined to protect the interests and rights of its members; the embodied dispositions of most Malayans that were distinctly ethnic in nature. Malay political leaders disapproved of the colonial administration for neglecting Malay welfare, while also expressing their fears over being outnumbered by the non-Malay immigrants being allowed into the colony. Malay nationalism therefore emerged as a defensive response to a perceived invasion into their political and cultural spheres by an internal 'Other' (O'Shannassy, 2013).

For the Malay ethnic group, three Malay ethnic streams of nationalism came to the forefront, the most prominent being those led by the English-educated elites, the Malay group from *Kuala Kangsar Malay College*, with close links to the traditional Malay ruling class (Shamsul, 1996). They established voluntary organisations known as Malay Associations in various parts of the country, and these were the predecessors of the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the dominant Malay ruling party, still in power today (Shamsul, 1996). UMNO exemplifies the interests of the Malay 'administocrats' (elite groups), a moderate brand of Malay nationalism which was successful in assembling Malay support as a protector of

Malay rights. The second group was a Malay-educated group that emerged as a radical Malay nationalist movement. These dissidents comprised the Malay-educated intelligentsia, the Young Malay Union (KMM), and were formed mainly from the peasantry (educated in the Malay vernacular of SITC or Sultan Idris Training College), and were strongly influenced by the left wing of the Indonesian nationalist movement (Mauzy, 2006). They wanted to shed the vestiges of colonial rule through a union with Indonesia in a greater pan-Malaysianism *(Malaysia Raya)*. This so-called radical Malay intelligentsia was against the coalition forged between the British and the traditional rulers, as mediated by the English-educated elite. As a result, they came under cautious observation by the British and were also doubted and feared by the Malays, who found their views too radical (Omar, 1993).

Though divided, the groups were brought together in a temporary united front against the post-war 'Malayan Union' proposal by the colonial government of 1946, which sought to reduce the political status of 'feudal' rulers and open up citizenship rights to immigrant groups, bringing a temporary united front among the above groups headed by the Western-educated elite. It was also at this time that Malay associations from all over the country united themselves to form UMNO to assert the notion of Malay supremacy *(ketuanan Melayu)* (Baharuddin, 1996). In a series of negotiations between the coalition pre-independence government and the British, what later became known as the Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948, the British reiterated the rights of the Malay rulers and 'the special position of the Malays' in return for the protection of the 'legitimate interests of other communities' (Ibrahim, 2004, p. 127) and the liberal granting of federal citizenship to immigrant communities based on birth and residential requirements.

Nation and Nation-Building in Multi-ethnic Malaysia

The concepts of nation, national identity and nation state have been defined and redefined by scholars in a wide range of disciplines. These concepts are inter-

related and cannot be discarded in discussing the nation-building project. Therefore, this section provides a discussion of the concept of nation and the cluster of associated concepts such as nation state, nation-building and national integration. The main concern here is to explore and discuss the concept of nation that is an underpinning element for the ideas of national integration in terms of nation-building in multi-ethnic Malaysia. In the previous section, I discussed the historical background of pre- and post-war nationalism developments in Malaysia and the proposal for a civic nation by the British Malayan Union project. This historical nationalist movement involved several phases, from the anti-feudal to the anti-colonial phase. This section will briefly discuss nationalism from the Western perspective and how it impacted on Malaysian ideas of a nation. Later, I will discuss the Malay-dominated government's 'national vision' or nation-of-intent and the competing nation-of-intent from everyday realities. This discussion serves to support the identity and belonging narratives from the multi-ethnic student teachers in Chapters 4 and 5.

According to the classical model, nationalism and national identity are reflections of essentialist and cultural traditions codified in the institution of the nation state. These views associated nation with culture, which locates the ethnic dimension as a main aspect of nation formation. Most of the authors within this perspective see culture and ethnicity as significant elements for explaining the concept of nation (Armstrong, 1982; Connor, 1994; Geertz, 1963; Smith, 1981). For Geerzt (1973), the nation is based on ethnic groups built around certain cultural markers such as religion, language, values and traditions that differentiate one nation from another in terms of objectives. Deutsch (1979) suggests the nation is the outcome of the transformation of people, or several ethnic elements through the process of social mobilisation. Smith (1989) believes that nations are developed from ethnic cores that have existed since early human history. Smith (1989) claims that all nations are products of age-old building material that is based on the cultural, symbolic, ethnic and myth-making aspect of nation-building. To Smith, nations emerge from older

ethnicities, despite admitting that they are a largely modern phenomenon. A nation in his view is:

> a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights (p. 342).

Smith regards nationalism as both an ideology and a form of political behaviour. As an ideological movement, nationalism serves the purpose of 'attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity and identity of an existing or potential nation' (p. 108), whilst as a political movement, nationalism 'often antedates, and seeks to create the nation, even if it often pretends that nation already exists' (p.343). In Smith's view, to materialise nationalist goals, be they autonomy, unity, identity and so on, there needs to be some core networks of association and culture, around which there is ground on which the nations can be built. Proponents of this model argue that the growth of nationalism in Europe was congruent with the major social and economic developments that produce a nation. A nation is invented and designed by political and cultural means.

Gellner (1983), a modernist scholar, saw that socio-economic factors embodied in the process of modernisation and industrialisation played a role in the rise of nationalism. Therefore, it could be said that the key disagreement between the 'ethnicist' and 'modernist' schools of thought lies in the argument as to whether the existence of ethnic culture constitutes a precondition for the rise of nationalism. For the ethnicists, this element was crucial, as nationalism derived its strength and energy from 'older ethnic ties' (Smith, 1986). On the contrary, modernists maintained that the impact of the changing nature of economic, social and political conditions brought about by the process of modernisation and industrialisation were far more crucial than anything else (Gellner, 1996).

Anderson considers the 'nation' to be a modern phenomenon that links a cultural group and the state to create an abstract community. In his famous words, a nation is 'an imagined political community imagined as both inherently limited and

sovereign'. *Imagined* in this sense does not necessarily imply that the nation is 'invented', but rather the people who define themselves as members of a nation 'will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). In brief, Anderson attempts to convince that there is a cognitive process involved in the construction of an idea of a nation.

More recent research has expanded upon Anderson's theory of 'nation' as a modern phenomenon that links a cultural group and the state to create an abstract community. Apart from Anderson, Chatterjee's study on India (1986) is also an interesting contribution that provides a crucial insight into the understanding of ethnicity and nationalism in several developing countries. Chatterjee critically rejects Western concepts, or rather the Western template of nationalism, which is largely based on the European experience as outlined in the works of Anderson and Gellner. His main contention is that nationalism in India and perhaps elsewhere is of a different form (Chatterjee, 1993). Chatterjee (1993) and Van der Veer (1994) have indicated that anti-colonial Indian nationalism has not been a secular political movement because it partly reflects the consolidation of Hinduism in the struggle. In particular for the Malaysian context, studies by Muzaffar (1979), Milner (1982), Omar (1993), Roff (1994) and Shamsul, (1996b) have also indicated that Malay nationalism has not been a secular movement, but rather that *Agama Islam* (Islam), *Raja* (Malay Ruler) or *Bahasa* (Malay Language) have formed the basis of Malay nationalism. Roff (1994), in his study of Malay nationalism, demonstrated that the role of the 'reformist' Malay religious scholars was extremely crucial at the early stage of the development of Malay nationalism. On the whole, the nature of the rise of nationalism in India and Malaysia clearly contradicts Anderson's (2006) contention that 'the dawn of nationalism was also the dusk of religion' (p. 11).

1.4 Differentiated Citizenship in Malaysia

Malaysia has adopted its own version of the 'ethnically differentiated' model of citizenship that ensures the cultural and political superiority of the more populous but economically less powerful Malays. Citizenship tends to be premised not on the notion of universal rights but on 'differentiated citizenship', whereby the rights of ethnic groups are recognised alongside individual rights (Parekh, 1991). The current national vision of the Malaysian nation is also articulated within this 'preferential citizenship'. The membership of the political community, national identity and nation-building are framed within this approach of citizenship. The Malaysian model of ethnically differentiated citizenship, which recognized that the difference of the dominant group was articulated through preferential policies, can be traced back to the period of colonialisation and was reinforced by the Malay dominant postcolonial government.

Colonial Malay Preferential Policies

The legal basis for Malay special rights and privileges can be traced to the original treaties providing for British protection of the Malay state. The concept of Malay special rights originated with British colonial rule in the FMS in 1874 (Suwannathat-Pian, 2009). To maintain its colonial powers in Malaya, the British had to accept that the Malay, as the rightful owners of the country, should and could be maintained by granting them special status and 'protection'. This protection included the 'protection' of the Malay rulers that meant they would 'protect' their Malay subjects and, therefore 'protect' the interests of the Malay rulers. It is clear that colonial policies and practices were meant to keep the colonised population weak and divided (Lim, 1985). The protection was also meant to safeguard the colonial administration in Malaya.

Britain's intervention in Malaya was clearly for economic purposes. The making of British Malaya aimed to created colonies for the purposes of trade and the acquisition of raw materials (Lim, 1985). The British imported a mass of immigrants from mainland China and India to work in the tin mining and rubber industries that required waged labour (Andaya& Andaya, 2001; Lim, 1985). This threatened to disrupt the life of the Malay peasantry. To maintain a form of colonial rule which would still be viewed as being in the interests of the Malays, the concept of 'protection' was created. Although it is clear that this concept was aimed at safeguarding the Malay ruler and the peasants, by the same token, this 'protection' disallowed them from engaging in modern economic activities and therefore left them behind while economic growth advanced. The Malay ruling elites were also 'protected' in political aspects by the British continuing to acknowledge them and allowing them to retain symbolic sovereignty (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

During the colonial era, Malays enjoyed special rights and privileges in three main areas; land law, public services recruitment and education. The first laws to enunciate a system of special rights for Malays were those which involved land ownership. These laws were the product of colonial policies designed to promote economic development whilst protecting the Malays from the economic dislocation that resulted from the influx of European enterprises and the immigration of large numbers of Chinese and Indians to the Malay Peninsula (Lim, 1985). In relation to land protection, the British introduced the Land Laws. The aim of Land Law was to protect the peasant Malay land from the non-Malays.

Education Rights and Public Employment

The concept of 'protection' then expanded into education and public employment. As explained, 'British Malayan' intervention commenced with the establishment of British power in the Malay sultanates. As part of the British intervention to increase the effectiveness of their colonial rule, they supported a local 'elite' class, in this case

the Malay aristocracy, to be junior partners in the administration. A Malay College in Kuala Kangsar was established in 1905 to provide English education and upper-class English culture to the children of Malay aristocrats 'who would supply the pool of subordinate administrative officers in the bureaucracy' (Tilman, 1968 as cited in Hui Lim p, 253). There were two types of colonial administration. The first one, which was dominated by the British, was the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) and the second was the Malayan Administrative Service (MAS) filled exclusively by Malays, recruited from Malay college. Both the MCS and MAS were inaccessible to non-Malays (Lim, 1985). The policy was designed to 'please' the Malays by involving them in government administration but and to lower the cost of administration, and to appease the Malay aristocracy who had lost political power.

Because the Chinese and Indians were considered to be aliens and 'others' in Malaya, the government avoided any responsibility for offering Chinese and Indian-medium schools (Guan, 2005). Instead, such schools were largely self-financing as a result of contributions from their respective communities.

Free and compulsory education for Malays originated in 1891, but a shortage of teachers and limited government funding confined such services to a relatively few Malay communities. Most of the Malay aristocrats and their children were given a good English education whilst ordinary Malays were provided with poor-quality Malay education to continue in their occupation as peasants (Lim, 1985). This was confirmed by a British official who declared that:

> The aim of the Government is not to turn out a few well-educated youths, nor yet numbers of less well-educated boys; rather, it is to improve the bulk of the people and to make the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and a man whose education will enable him to understand how his own lot in life fits in with the scheme of life around him. (Loh as cited in Lim, 1985, p 254).

Post-independence 'Privileges'

The newly independent Alliance government tried to fix the economic exclusion of the Malays by helping them enter into the modern sector and attain economic parity with non-Malays; the concept of 'protector' was maintained, only this time the 'protectors' were the Malay Sultans and politicians. Article 153 specifically refers to the need for Malays to be given opportunities in the fields of public service, education and business. Preferential recruitment ratios were set, of four Malays to everyone non-Malay in the MCS, and a corresponding three to one ratio in the Judiciary, External Affairs and Customs Services, whilst no quotas were set for professional and technical services (Lim, 1985).

The elite Malay group and Chinese immigrants had previously profited from their education. The Malays were fortunate because the Malay-dominated post-independence government made a lot of effort to improve educational opportunities aimed to increase the Malays' upward mobility. For example, scholarship opportunities were given generously to Malay students, and special institutions were established to provide vocational and professional training for Malays. Enrolment standards for education were lowered for Malays compared to those for Chinese and Indians (Lim, 1985).

The post-independence Malay-dominated government played a role in upgrading the 'disadvantaged' Malay group during colonialism. The government emphasised 'special rights' in education for the Malays. Numerous efforts were made to improve educational opportunities for Malays. The principal institution set up for educating Malays was the Council of Trust for the *Bumiputera,* or the MARA Institute of Technology in 1967 that aimed to train Malay professionals and businessmen (Lim, 1985).

MARA was set up almost exclusively as a higher education institution for Malays; other tertiary educational institutions were not. In the sixties, the only university in Malaysia was the University of Malaya. Its student composition in 1963–64 was 21 per cent Malays, 60 per cent Chinese and 19 per cent Indians (Snodgrass, 1980, p.248). Nevertheless, in accordance with the affirmative action programme, the intake of Malay students grew steadily, and by 1970, when two other universities were established, the composition of students in local universities was 40 per cent Malays, 49 per cent Chinese and 11 per cent Indians and others (Malaysia Report as cited in Lim, 1985).

The Malaysian affirmative action policy was different from affirmative action policies in other countries in terms of the beneficiary groups. For most countries, affirmative action policies were for the most economically and socially disadvantaged and politically subordinate groups. Affirmative action in Malaysia was a constitutionally authorised and exclusively ethnic-based policy where only the Malays and some other native groups were entitled to receive preferential treatment. Besides being written into the Constitution, the wording of Article 153 links ethnic preferential treatment to the safeguarding of the 'special position' of the Malay community. This has given rise to the prevalent and prevailing Malay popular opinion that views preferential treatment as part of their 'special rights' and thus not open to negotiation (Guan, 2005).

The New Economic Policy: Malay Preferential Policy Milestone

It was the 1969 racial riots that became the milestone of Malay special rights. In order to overcome the Malays' relative underperformance in terms of the economy and their lagging educational achievements, the government decided to launch a major programme to give Malays a more equitable share of the country's economic wealth (Jomo & Sundaram, 2004). Reference has already been made to the New Economic Policy (NEP), which had as its prime objectives 'to eradicate poverty' and

'to restructure society'. It was clearly aimed at increasing Malay participation in modern sectors of the economy. Intense expansion of Malay special rights combined with a series of programmes to aid rural areas in diversifying meant encouraging economic development to those areas of rural poverty predominantly settled by Malays. In practice, the objectives of the NEP involved the extension of Malay special rights to new government programmes and to the private sectors of the economy (Jomo & Sundaram, 2004). The most significant aspect of the NEP was the participation of the government in corporate ownership through its state enterprises. To meet the objective of 30 per cent *bumiputera* ownership, the financial allocations for existing and new state enterprises were increased substantially. In summary, it could be said that the NEP aimed to eradicate poverty, irrespective of race, and to restructure Malaysian society to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic functions; nevertheless it has been argued that the NEP's real aims were to promote and upgrade the socio-economic status of the Malay group (Gomez & Sundaram, 1999).

Still, Malays felt that not enough was being accomplished under this programme. In the fields of education and public employment, where the record was better, the rate of success was uneven. All this gave rise to Malay dissatisfaction. Non-Malays were resentful that they had been discriminated against for so long. They found it increasingly difficult to obtain scholarships, admission into higher educational institutions and employment in public service. This ended with a racial confrontation in 1969. A direct result of the riots was the promulgation of the NEP, based on the philosophy articulated at the First Bumiputera Economic Congress that recognised the limitations imposed by a *laissez-faire* economy in promoting the development of a disadvantaged class (Gomez & Sundaram, 1999). The congress specifically proposed increased government intervention and regulation to promote Malay economic interests, a strategy which found expression in the explosion of public enterprises after 1970 (Means, 1978).

Ethno-religious Special Rights

Islam, the dominant religion of the Malays since the fifteenth century, was introduced largely through the ruling elites and royal courts, which took the lead in adopting it. The Malay Sultans utilised Islam to legitimise their rule and incorporate Islamic principles of law and administration into the earlier legal and political systems.

When the British extended their sway over the Malay states, the Sultans gradually forfeited substantial powers but, in the treaties with the British, they nonetheless retained responsibility for matters 'touching Malay Religion and Custom'. As the Malay rulers had their prerogative powers circumscribed by the British system of 'indirect rule', they devoted more time to ceremonial and religious matters. As a consequence, Islam became more institutionalised and codified into the laws governing Malay society.

Even more important, Islam became a symbol of the unity and religious-cultural identity of the Malays, and gradually developed into an important element of Malay nationalism. To the Malays, the special position of Islam, recognised under British rule, symbolised that the country was legitimately theirs. The prerogative powers of the Malay rulers 'to safeguard the Muslim religion' were utilised to prohibit the proselytising of Muslims, both by non-Muslims and by 'unorthodox' Muslim sects, as defined by the Islamic hierarchy in each state. Islamic courts protected Islamic doctrine and enforced Islamic religious practices and obligations, especially in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance rights (Means, 1978). With such protection, insulation and domination by traditional elites, Islam remained relatively static, except during the later years of the colonial era, when new religious currents from the Middle East began to stimulate a reappraisal of Islam. The primary vehicle for these new ideas was the Islamic schools, established alongside the government-supported Malay vernacular schools.

After 1948, nearly all Malay states began to establish or expand their Departments of Religious Affairs to improve Muslim administration in order to provide new services for the Malay Muslim community. State governments accordingly became more directly involved in collecting Muslim taxes, providing Muslim social services and organising and improving the enforcement of Muslim criminal and moral codes. Increased government funds supported higher salaries and more jobs for Malays in the administration of Muslim affairs. The products of Islamic schools found difficulty in obtaining jobs, but discovered new opportunities for recruitment to the staff of this department. Islam was made an official religion in the new Federal Constitution with the Malay Ruler in each Malay state remaining Head of the Muslim Religion (Means, 1978).

Malay Special Rights: Impact and Challenge

In theory, the ethnic preferential policy was supposed to assist all indigenous *(bumiputera)* groups including the *Kadazans, Ibans, Orang Asli* and other indigenous groups, including the Malay community. A study of the affirmative action policy in Malaysia showed that the non-Malay indigenous people*(bumiputera)* have lagged behind the Malays economically. For example, in terms of participation in the modern economy, equity ownership and enrolment in higher education, non-Malay indigenous people from Sabah and Sarawak remain underrepresented. More importantly, the incidence of poverty among the non-Malay indigenous people remains noticeably higher than among the Malay community. The findings also showed that the smaller indigenous groups, the aboriginal groups, best indicate how the existing ethnic preferential policy has benefited the indigenous *(bumiputera)* groups unevenly. The aborigines, comprising 0.5 per cent of the total population, have the highest incidence of poverty; in 1997, 81 per cent of the community lived below the poverty line while the overall poverty rate was 7.5 per cent. Several studies have indicated that the *Orang Asli* (aborigines) group's overall condition has worsened considerably over the years despite their status as an indigenous

(bumiputera) group. In practice, however, it appears that the ethnic preferential policy has been implemented disproportionately between the Malay indigenous *(bumiputera)* and non-Malay indigenous *(bumiputera)*groups (Nicholas, 2005).

Poverty has also become more common within the *non-bumiputera* groups. There is growing evidence of rising poverty among the Indian community. Large numbers of Indians working in the plantation sectors are condemned to a life of poverty precisely because socio-economic conditions in the sector neither help to promote education nor enable the acquisition of critical skills. Moreover, since 1990, rapid economic growth has resulted in many plantations making way for industrial and residential development, which in turn has caused the plantations' Indian labour forces to be displaced and forced to migrate to urban areas. By and large, because of their low achievements in skills and education, they end up living in squatter areas and joining the ranks of the urban poor (Lim, 1985).

It cannot be said that the affirmative action in Malaysia has failed. The implementation of 'ethnic preferential programmes' and policies has helped to redress the underrepresentation of Malay participation in the economy, especially in the modern economic sector and in tertiary education. The inequality gap between Malays and Chinese has narrowed considerably, and Malay equity ownership had reached more than 20 per cent by 1990 (Guan, 2005). A growing number of the Malay professional middle class, corporate and business community have emerged (Lim, 1985). Nevertheless, it could be said that this has been inadequate in addressing the rising new phenomenon of intra-ethnic inequality for all ethnic groups.

1.5 Differentiated Citizenship in Multi-ethnic Malaysia: The Philosophical Context

The National Ideology (Rukun Negara)

The *Rukun Negara* was formulated in the wake of the 1969 racial riots. The National Ideology was the next turning point in the definition of nationhood. It expressed the pledge of united efforts in nation-building and citizenship education, guided by the principles of Belief in God, Loyalty to King and Country, Upholding the Constitution, respecting the Rule of Law and inculcating Good Behaviours and Morality. It was an early attempt to rebuild the new nation. The *Rukun Negara* established five guiding principles as the baseline foundation of nation-building (Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, & Fairbrother, 2013).

Table 1.1: Malaysia National Ideology

The Pillars	Description
Belief in God	The importance of religious values and belief so that people are healthy in their thinking, inclined to do good and avoid evil.
Loyalty to King and Country	Instils patriotism, responsibility and readiness to serve.
Upholdingthe Constitution	It is noble or glorious because it is the supreme source of legislation
Rule of Law	Everybody should have responsibility to obey enforcement bodies like the Police.
Decorum and Morality	Wholesome qualities upon which a sound personality is built.

The*Rukun Negara* also proclaimed five aspirations for nation-building: greater unity, a democratic way of life, distributive justice, liberalism in diverse cultural tradition and progressivism based on modern science and technology. The *Rukun Negara* has been the guiding principle for all national policies, particularly national educational policies (Ghazali, 1985). The *Rukun Negara* also serves as the lynchpin for the curriculum framework and curriculum specifications for all subjects from primary to tertiary education.

In accordance with the *Rukun Negara*, the National Education Policy was officially laid out in 1987 and placed a significant emphasis on the goals of education, concerning the overall development of the individual, and a nurturing, balanced development in each individual by providing the potential for physical, intellectual, emotional, moral and aesthetic thought development as Malaysians, and thereby upholding the *Rukun Negara*. The National Education Policy, based on the *Rukun Negara*, explicitly acknowledged the outcome expectations for the individual: obtaining greater insights and understanding into Malaysian ecological and cultural heritage, social institutional values and practices, societal pressures and challenges, and to enable the individual to function and fulfil his commitments and responsibilities as a citizen, to develop the human resources of the nation by helping the individual to become a skilled, competent, rational and responsible planner, producer and consumer (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2008).

There is an apparent goal of moulding young citizens in a virtue based on religious values and laying emphasis on character development and valuing education in the national ideology. Interestingly, the type of nation that Malaysia wants to build combines the nation state themes with the religious themes. Although Islam has been constituted as the state religion, other religious values have also been admitted and shared. As a result, Malaysia has a set of 17 shared core values that have been accepted by multi-ethnic Malaysians (Curriculum Development Centre, 2005).

Asian Values

The attempt to define the ideas of so-called 'Asian values' arose in contrast to human rights and the 'liberal democracy' notion of the 'West' that did not seem commensurate with the Asian stance that places faith, family and community as the principle tenets of human rights in a continuation of classical Confucian traditions. In relation to democracy, the regime offers quite dissimilar names: communitarian democracy, Confucian democracy and pragmatic democracy. Defenders of Asian

values have claimed that Western-style liberal democracy is neither suitable for, nor compatible with, Confucian East Asia, where collective welfare, social duty and other principles of Confucian moral philosophy are deeply rooted (Park and Shin, 2006). Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohamed, the most prominent spokesmen for Asian values, argue that there is a set of core values which are distinctively Asian and which entail a political-social practice other than the Western style of liberal democracy. As the regime is based on the classical Chinese traditions of 'human rights', proponents of the Asian way usually refer to Asian values as all the good things that Asians have inherited from their ancestors, without any explanation of what the actual contents are and why it is these values rather than others that are important. It is as though Asian values are simply generated out of the very place the West fails to fill (Sani, Yusof, Kasim, & Omar, 2009).

Prominent advocates of 'Asian values' in South East Asia have two models, namely, the Singapore and Mahathir models (Mendes, Hampson, Molot, & Ruduer, 1997). The Singapore thesis is based on the premise that the West rejected 'Asian values' because they refused to acknowledge that South East Asia was becoming a world centre. The economic, social and political rights in the region are improving, while in Europe and North America, their democratic systems are rendered ineffective due to an overemphasis on individual rights.

In the Malaysian context, the original idea of Asian ways or values was modified by the fourth prime minister, who was an advocate of 'Malaysian Asian Values' (Sani et al., 2009). Mendes (1994, p.3) labels the Malaysian version of Asian values 'the Mahathir model' to differentiate it from other types of Asian values, such as the Singaporean school that places emphasis on Confucianism, and the Chinese Model with its combination of Chinese-Nationalist-Communist values. 'The Mahathir Model' is basically influenced by Malay-Islamic values (Azizuddin & Sani, 2010). Mahathir claimed that the Malaysian perspective of 'Asian values' is based on Malay-Islamic culture and should be protected against absorption by Western

values. He urged that the three most basic elements of Malayness – feudalism, Islam and *adat*(traditional customs) – as he outlined them in his book *The Malay Dilemma* (1970), should all be classed as features to be merely accepted as realities and perhaps adapted to modern needs (Barr, 2004). He rejected universalism or the Western liberal notion of human rights, which, he believed, had the ability to corrupt Malaysian culture and religious beliefs.

Mahathir (1991), mentioned that Malaysians (Asians) should respect authority because authority assures social stability: without authority and stability there can be no civility, even a Western society lauding individual rights will fragment and become more disordered. However, Mahathir argued that strong authority does not of course mean autocratic rulers. Mahathir admitted that he still believes in democracy, because democracy enables the removal of a leader without bloodshed. Nonetheless, he argued that 'even within the most democratic system, citizens must pay due respect to government and understand the need for a healthy balance between individual rights and obligations to society '(Sani, 2008, p. 7).

The Mahathir model also touches on western social and moral decline, as opposed to a rich Asian civilisation and a successful model of development. According to Mahathir, a Western liberal democracy represents the ability to carry guns, flaunt homosexuality, disregard the institution of marriage, disrupt and damage the well-being of the community in the name of individual rights, destroy a particular faith, have privileged institutions which are sacrosanct even if they indulge in lies, and institutions which undermine society.

The basic tenets of the Singapore school and the Mahathir model can be summarised as follows: (1) values are learnt differently in the West and in the East; (2) Western-style democracy can lead to undisciplined and disorderly conditions inimical to development. Asian leaders place the material needs of their people first, even if this means temporarily sacrificing civil liberties and individual freedom. For

Mahathir (1999), Western values such as democracy and human rights can be dangerous and a threat to stability; and it has been advertised many times that too much freedom is dangerous (Mahathir and Ishihara, 1995).

The central argument of proponents of 'Asian values' is that the interests of the community should come before those of the individual. This is in contrast to the Western view, where individual freedom is fiercely protected. People in East Asia are supposed to be more group-conscious, and be loyal members of a family, clan, neighbourhood or community. Group awareness is also linked to values such as self-effacement, self-discipline and personal sacrifice for the greater good (Inoguchi and Newman, 1997). Supporters of Asian values emphasise certain values that need to be upheld, such as respect for kinship and the elderly, hard work and team spirit. These values and practices give rise to public morality, harmony and social dynamism (Inoguchi & Newman, 1997; Mendes, 1994).

Akin to communitarian perspectives, Malaysians typically believe that the community should take priority over individuals. The importance of the community in Asian culture and society is incompatible with the primacy of the individual in Western society, which is the basis of Western notions of human rights. Modern Asian orientalism was based around the proposition that 'Asian' culture, with 'its priority on the group rather than the individual, was ideally suited to modern, industrial society' (Robison, 1996, p 310).

Malaysian Constitution

Article 153 of the constitution gives the native indigenous people of Malaysia *(bumiputera),* primarily the Malay group, special rights and privileges. These provisions are commonly referred to as *bumiputera* rights. These rights include reserved quotas in the public service sector, university placements and government licences for trade and businesses. The first clause of Article 153 states:

> It shall be the responsibility of the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (King) to safeguard the special position of the Malays and natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of other communities in accordance with the provisions of this Article.

In relation to Islam, the religion professed by the majority Malays in Malaysia, Article 3 (1) of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia states that Islam is the religion of the Federation. Government policies promote Islam above other religions. Minority religious groups generally remain free to practise their beliefs. The constitution protects freedom of religion; however, portions of the constitution, as well as other laws and policies, place some restrictions on religious freedom. Article 11 states that 'every person has the right to profess and practise his religion', but it also gives state and federal governments the power to 'control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the religion of Islam'. The law allows for citizens and organisations to sue the government for constitutional violations of religious freedom (Constitution, 2006).

In summary, Malaysia proposed that it should have an ethnically differentiated citizenship that reinforces dominant group recognition and privileges through affirmative action policies. The rights of subordinate groups were minimally recognised, along with the dominant Malay special rights. Citizenship practised within a framework of 'ethnically differentiated citizenship' has challenged the notion of citizenship and how it can be negotiated to be more inclusive. Nation-building projects, that aimed to balance ethnic divisions and attempted to integrate a multi-ethnic Malaysia through a common identity, could not be easily achieved.

The government's concern about national integration has also resulted in education being regarded as an important policy domain through which to pursue national integration. Accordingly, amongst the aims of the national education policy, national integration is a major, hoped-for goal. It has been accepted that education is expected to play a significant role in nurturing national consciousness, moulding

national identity and forging national unity amongst the various ethnic groups in Malaysia.

1.6 Education, Civics Education and the Nation-building Project

In relation to education, Malaysian national policies aim to foster national unity based on an ethnic-national identity through the curriculum, especially through civics, history, moral education and Islamic education. Civics as a school subject was first introduced in 1953 as the manifestation of the emphasis on civic training for all schools, in the Education Report of 1952 (Sidin & Aziz as cited in Jaffar & Habib 1992). Subsequently, the Education Report of 1956, a year before Malaysian independence, also stressed the importance of Civics as a compulsory subject for citizenship training, especially towards social solidarity and social cohesion among multi-ethnic Malaysians. Therefore, Civics as a school subject involved basically the teaching of the National Ideology to achieve the objectives of fostering loyalty and patriotism, tolerance of others, developing self-reliance, innovative attitudes, correct social conducts, good behaviour and morality (Tejima, n.d.). Civics as a separate subject has been given a statutory status since 1960 by the Education Review Committee in the *Rahman Talib Report* and was taught throughout the 1970s (Barone, 2002).

In the introduction to the citizenship education syllabus, the Ministry aims to foster unity by recognition of Malaysia as a plural society, and the need to build a nation that is united. The unity aimed at was one which came from the idea of the spirit of cooperation and harmonious relations (Hashim & Tan, 2009). The Civics syllabus was revised in 1976 in line with the themes of *Rukun Negara* (National Ideology) that was formulated in 1970 and aimed to achieve its goals (Barone, 2002). The objectives of Civics were to: (a) foster a spirit of patriotism, (b) inculcate an attitude of tolerance towards other races and groups, (c) develop independence and self-

reliance, (d) develop a positive attitude towards change and (e) inculcate good character (Hashim & Tan, 2009).

Basically the contents of the curriculum covered personal attitudes and responsibility, the duties and rights of Malaysian citizens, national identity and the government. Certain noble values aimed for in the curriculum were mutual respect, cleanliness, punctuality, independence or self-reliance, industry and respect for all kinds of honest work, sportsmanship, appropriate use of leisure time, and respect and obedience to rules and the law (Bajunid, 2008; Hashim & Tan, 2009). It was suggested that teachers should play a role in upholding harmonious relations between students of the various ethnic groups by being role models. Nevertheless, Civics was withdrawn when the government introduced moral education in 1983, as will be discussed later. This led to complaints from the Congress of Teachers' Union, observing that due to the withdrawal of civics education, the younger generation had become less civic-conscious and responsible, showed less respect to diversity and lack of awareness of national issues. Consequently, it was restored into the curriculum in 2005 (Hashim & Tan, 2009; Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2004).

A refurbishment of the education system took place in the 1980s and with it, the subject was replaced with another subject called "Man and Nature", where the elements of civics were embedded in the primary school curriculum (Farouk & Husin, 2011). While the previous subject focused on civics-related matters, the new subject combined Science, History, Geography and Health, which, prior to this change, were taught as separate subjects (Barone, 2002). Although the aim was to embed civics knowledge across other curricular subjects, this resulted in lessening the focus on civic education or civic elements. In addition to this curriculum refurbishment, the 1980s also marked a strong priority given to "science and technology" by the government which resulted in dividing the subject into two separate subjects, "Science" and "Local Studies" (Balakrishnan, 2010). Thus, while

from the 1950s through to the 1970s civic education was treated as a stand-alone subject with clear objectives, from the 1980s through to the late 1990s, civics education was left aside for more core subjects, which were more aligned with the country's aspiration for economic development (Jaffar & Habib, 1992).

In line with the National Education philosophy apprehended by the government, that views education as a tool for integration and realizing social harmony and mutual understanding, the syllabus of civic education in Malaysia exposes students to the cultures of the various ethnic groups in the country. Exposure to the different cultural practices of its population is deemed crucial, as each ethnic group exists within its own space, with distinct ways of life and belief systems. By introducing students to the differences that exist in the society, it is hoped that a higher level of understanding and tolerance will be achieved (Farouk & Husin, 2011). Civics education is also used to spread the ideas of/from the ruling class of the accepted ways of being a Malaysian. This is achieved by inspiring a sense of loyalty to the country. The re-introduction of civic education into the curriculum is still grounded in this philosophy, despite being envisioned as a curriculum that will create active citizenship among students. While this new outlook on civic education is a positive change, there are challenges in its implementation (Balakrishnan, 2010).

Education in Malaysia is based on an exam-oriented system, meaning that subjects that are taught but not examined, including civics and citizenship education, have to compete with other subjects such as mathematics, *Bahasa Malaysia* (Malay language), English, biology and physics for students' attention and teachers' commitment(Farouk & Husin, 2011). In an attempt to make the subject interesting and relevant, current civics and citizenship education focuses on 'education for citizenship and education through citizenship' by encouraging service-learning and by taking the subject out of the classroom (Balakrishnan, 2010). Citizenship education should not only be about memorising important national symbols and historical facts; it is equally important that it should lead to political literacy on the

part of young Malaysians. As this should be one of the objectives of the current subject, teachers must also be equipped with the necessary teaching tools, while society as a whole should view this subject as equally important, despite it not being one of the major examination subjects.

Over the years, the Malaysian government has favoured the importance of teaching civic education in schools. As pointed out in Malaysia's Third Outline Perspective Plan (2001–2010), the aim of developing human resources with positive values and attitudes that are 'inherent in the religions, cultures and traditions of Malaysia's multi-ethnic and multicultural society' was viewed as 'an important facet in nation-building and in expediting the moulding of a Malaysian nation' (EPU, 2001). In detail, Malaysia aims to develop:

> a new curriculum combining civics with religious or moral education, will be taught in both primary and secondary schools to inculcate these values, such as discipline, strive for excellence, loyalty and love for the country, unity, good citizenship as well as respect for leaders and elders. (Economy Planning Unit, 2001, p. 165)

The new Citizenship and Citizenship Education (CCE) policy aims 'to make students realise their roles, rights and responsibilities towards society and the country and to develop society and citizens who are united, patriotic and able to contribute towards a harmonious society, country and world' (Curriculum Development Centre, 2005, p. 2–3). The teaching and learning of CCE should emphasise hands-on activities both inside and outside the classroom. Therefore, it could be said that besides learning civics knowledge, students are supposed to be involved in hands-on or active learning. Debates, discussion and role-play are some of the activities suggested in the syllabus (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2004).

In the new Civic and Citizenship Education policy (CCE) 2005, the Citizenship Project (service-learning) was introduced to promote the development of participative and responsible citizens. Service-learning forms one of the most

important elements of the curriculum. At both levels students have to participate in a minimum 10-hour service-learning project during each school year. The objectives of service-learning in Civic and Citizenship Education in Malaysia are to enable students to apply the knowledge, skills and values gained in civic and citizenship education outside the classroom, to contribute towards the well-being of the family, school and community and to foster patriotism, caring and promote a sense of responsibility towards family, school and community (Bajunid, 2008; Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2004). Themes for the service-learning project are suggested in the syllabus, which for a Form Two (year 2) secondary school project is 'Living in Society'; a Form Three (year 3) project is 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' and a Form Four (year 4) project is 'Malaysian Sovereignty'. Among the community projects suggested in these documents are helping elderly people in their homes, volunteering at the homes of special needs children or orphanages, organising a Malaysian multicultural exhibition, undertaking Malaysian multi-ethnic cultural performances or exhibitions on the meaning of independence, and researching the contribution of Malaysia's leaders. Students are given the opportunity to discuss and decide on the activities that they would like to undertake . A simple strategy for implementing the community service project, which includes planning, practical work, reflection, reporting and giving acknowledgements is also provided in these syllabus specifications (Curriculum Development Centre, 2005).

In addition to civics education, the idea of citizenship and patriotism is also propagated through the subject of history. In 1978 (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1978), the syllabus stated that the purpose of history was to understand the national identity through knowledge of the nation's history; to foster a spirit of togetherness towards the nation as a single unit; and to foster a common memory of history as a framework for national consciousness among Malaysian citizens (Ahmad, 2004; Bajunid, 2008). Through the four pillars of citizenship education teaching and learning: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live with others and learning

to be, with an emphasis on civics knowledge, skills and values, itis hoped students will achieve a sense of being citizens of 'one Malaysia'.

This chapter has explored the key concept of identity and citizenship, in particular the nature of the Malaysian way of citizenship. Consideration has been given to the historical background of Malaysian multi-ethnic society and colonial and postcolonial society, through which the ideas of nation, identity and citizenship have been explored. Attention has also been given to the Malaysian national vision framework that reflects on ways of understanding and experiencing identity and citizenship in Malaysia. The similarities and differences between Western and Malaysian concepts of citizenship were discussed. The nation-building project through education, in particularly civics education, in Malaysia was discussed. The role and importance of Civics Education were discussed. In Chapter 2, the key concepts of Western citizenship are explored through the development of citizenship theories. Contemporary debates on multiculturalism and oppressed groups' struggles for recognition are examined. Politics and the politics of belonging framework are analysed as the key frameworks for the study.

Chapter Two

From Civic Republican to Differentiated Citizenship

2.1 Introduction

This study explores student teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in multi-ethnic Malaysia, in order to develop a better understanding of how student teachers experience citizenship in Malaysia in the context of the broad ideological themes that have informed concepts of citizenship. It is not the intention of this chapter to offer a detailed exploration of the history and development of citizenship, but there is some need to contextualise the study in terms of the key ideas that underpin the concept. The rest of this chapter reviews literature on citizenship from a number of theoretical and ideological perspectives: civic republicanism, liberalism and communitarian. It then addresses contemporary debates with regard to citizenship discourse that enrich this study and have particular resonance with the Malaysian context.

The academic literature on citizenship shows that citizenship is 'an essentially contested concept'. It is contested from its very meaning to its political application, with implications for the kind of society that it aspires to. Citizenship is also 'a contextualised concept' (Sim, 2000). The language of citizenship and its meanings vary according to social, cultural and political contexts and reflect different historical legacies. These perspectives are reflected at the level of the individual in the idea of 'lived citizenship' whose meaning of citizenship is 'the meaning that it actually has in people's lives and the way in which people's social and cultural backgrounds as well as material circumstances affect their lives as citizens' (Hall & Williamson, 1999). In this study, 'lived citizenship' includes how citizenship and

citizenship education are understood among multi-ethnic student teachers in Malaysia.

Characteristics of Citizenship

Citizenship is a concept that is very much at the centre of policy debates within and across national borders, either explicitly or implicitly. This is particularly true in the Western context in which welfare states have recast and redefined notions of citizenship in an era of restructuring and retrenchment. Crucial here have been both the shifting relationship between the rights and obligations of citizenship and questions of membership of national communities in an era of economic globalisation, migration and increasingly multi-ethnic populations. The idea of citizenship is not a 'natural' concept but a created one that shifts within economic, political and social changes (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). The concept of citizenship can vary from one society to another, depending on the place and the historical, contextual and political organisation. Citizenship conceptualisation differs from the perceptions of those who talk of its emergence being based on various factors such as ideologies, history and political culture. Debates on citizenship have continued through the centuries, though some would argue that the origin of citizenship has its roots in the Greek polis (Heater, 2013; Manville, 2014). Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of citizenship, as it is known today, it is essential to explore the historical roots of debates about it.

In particular, Western citizenship mainly defines citizenship concepts through two traditions, namely a distinction between what are usually termed civic republican and liberal citizenship (Heater, 2013). There are two distinctive schools of thought about participating in governance: one is, that a republic is impossible without the active support and participation of citizens. The liberal tradition, on the other hand, emphasises the duty of the state to supply citizens with equal civil rights (Heater, 2004).

In this chapter, discussion on the historical development of citizenship is essential as it provides the necessary background for a better understanding of the emergence of the concept. It then proceeds with an elucidation of the emergence of modern citizenship, which developed from the French Revolution. The discussion of modern citizenship includes Marshall's tripartite formulation of citizenship that incorporates classical and socio-liberal notions of citizenship rights. The discussion of modern citizenship also inevitably involves the idea of national citizenship that emphasises membership of the polity (nation state).

According to Schugurensky (2005), citizenship is an idea that is multidimensional, contested, dynamic and contextual. It has meanings and characteristics that change over time and is therefore considered to be dynamic. It connotes four different dimensions, and is hence considered multidimensional. The dimensions of citizenship are: 'status, identity, civic virtues and agency'. Citizenship as status is about membership issues; identity is about a sense of belonging to a nation, community or state; civic virtue is about behaviour, character and values; and agency is about political efficacy and engagement (Schugurensky, 2005).

A very simple yet comprehensive definition of citizenship is as follows:

> Citizenship in a democracy (a) gives membership status to individuals within a political unit; (b) confers an identity on individuals; (c) constitutes a set of values, usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit; (d) involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life; and (e) implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures, and processes of governance. Citizenship, at least theoretically, confers membership, identity, values, and rights of participation and assumes a body of common political knowledge (Abowitz& Harnish, 2006, p. 653).

2.2 Historical Evolution of Citizenship: Citizenship as a Duty to Participate

The classical Athenian account given by Aristotle supposes a strict division between public and domestic life, and requires that citizens should participate in decision-making (to rule and be ruled): to be able to participate, a citizen must be 'a male of known genealogy, a patriarch, a warrior, and a master of the labour of others' (Pocock, as cited in Shafir, 1998). These prerequisites excluded many people from access to it, including the poor, women and slaves. Although the republican tradition values membership of a political community and political participation as an expression of freedom in a good sense, it is nevertheless an exclusive, patriarchal citizenship which relegates women to the private sphere, which is perceived as being of secondary importance. As Ignatieff (1995) notes, classical republican citizenship 'inheres only in those capable of material, social and intellectual dependence' (p. 57). Oldham (as cited in Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) observed that civic republican discourse largely maintains the benefits of exclusivity. The civic republican discourse draws the sharpest lines of inclusion and exclusion in its expressions of political membership. Oldham further states that this idea of exclusive membership, which lies at the heart of the civic republican tradition, gives priority to political and national community over universalist or humanist ethics (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

The idea of citizenship has its origins in the ancient Greek polis, notably in the fifth century BC, and a classical account of citizenship can be found in *Aristotle's Politics*, where he discusses the activity of ruling and being ruled. The ancient Greek notion of citizenship centred around citizens recognising a common commitment to their civic duties in matters of government, and defence of the state (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2004). The classical republican vision of citizenship demanded loyalty and engagement from citizens who were expected to live according to shared values and rules which they participated in making. Citizens were charged with both making and obeying the laws by which they lived. It also emphasised 'public interests over

individual consideration as an element to guarantee good government' (Dwyer, 2004, p. 18). Citizens were defined by their involvement in public duties, usually centred around common commitments to civic duty in governing and defending the state (Dwyer, 2004; Faulks, 2000). In this tradition, the citizen is 'constituted as political actor underpinned by the submission of individual interest to that of the common good' (Lister, 2003).

The question of what makes a citizen is extensively discussed in Aristotle's *The Politics* through a series of deliberations about the constitution, the state and the role of the public. For Aristotle, man is by nature a *'political animal'* and only through participation in the affairs of a *polis* (city-state) could his full potential in life be realised. Book three of *The Politics* looks at how we should define the word citizen, with a recognition that 'there is no unanimity, no agreement as to what constitutes a citizen' (Arsitotle, as cited in Heater, 2004, p. 17).

Citizenship was awarded to men on the basis of 'jus soli'. This meant that in order to be granted citizenship within the polis, a person had to be born there. However, in order to participate in the running of the polis, even Athenian males had to satisfy further obligations. They had to own property; property ownership inferred a good solid character (Oliver & Heater, 1994).

Citizens, in the common sense of that term, are all those who share in the civic life of ruling and being ruled in turn, which indicates a form of citizenship in which individuals are directly involved in rotation. In detail, Aristotle explained that 'ruling' entails political and judicial participation. Citizens should help to frame policies and laws through membership of an assembly, council and other bodies, or by sitting on juries. For Aristotle, (as cited in Heater, 2004, p. 18) states that 'citizenship was a privileged status of the ruling group of the city-state and was confined to the effective participation in the deliberation and exercise of power.'

Further, Aristotle explains, a perfect citizen is defined as:

> What effectively distinguishes the citizen proper from all others is his participation in giving judgement and in holding office. Some offices are distinguished in respect of length of tenure, some not being tenable by the same person twice under any circumstances...Others such as members of a jury or of an assembly, have no such limitation (as cited in Ackrill, 1988, p. 157).

The element *'holding office'* denotes an ideal form of political or civic duty. This participation is closely tied to Aristotle's vision of the *best* constitution, that of a democracy, since in other constitutions there is nobody comprising the people, nor a recognised assembly, but only an occasional rally; and justice is administered piecemeal (p. 170).

Nevertheless, the nature of citizenship in the polis was highly exclusive. Citizenship was valued in part because of its exclusive nature and as a mark of superiority over non-citizens (women, slaves and barbarians). Athenians applied strict criteria to determine which residents qualified for citizenship status. For example, citizenship was reserved only for those residents whose parents were both born in the polis (Faulks, 2000). Slaves were not given citizenship, as they were thought to be incapable of exercising any power of free choice or of making rational decisions. The ability to make rational decisions was important to Aristotle, as ultimately he likened irrational behaviour to that of animals, which did not have the power to reason. Women and children were also excluded from full citizenship. Women were considered as lacking the rationality necessary for political participation. Aristotle believed that women were hindered by their own biological make-up, their power to exercise any form of rationality being thwarted by their own bodies (Heater, 2004). Women and children were given protection under the law, but were not allowed to own property. Their relationship to the polis was via their male protector, who could be a husband, father or other male relative (Faulks, 2000).

In contrast to Greek exclusivity, the Roman conception of citizenship was more inclusive. At the time of the republic, citizenship was a privileged status (as in Greek society) associated with political participation. However, in the imperial age the concept lost its association with participation and became a tool of social control and pacification (Faulks, 2000). As it is clear in the Roman case, the change in the scale of the community requires a new understanding of citizenship. Cicero (as cited in Turner 1997) converted the ancient Greek conceptions of civic virtue and public obligation to the polis into a new rhetoric appropriate to the changing conditions of Roman society. The Roman Empire granted citizenship to the people of lands it conquered, at first only to some, and by degrees, then (in 212 AD) to all subjects of the Empire (Faulks, 2000).

It is true to note that this concept of inclusivity by the Romans was inconceivable to the Greeks who, until the decline of the *polis*, even treated the citizens of neighbouring Greek cities as foreigners. The Romans had also introduced the 'Roman' and 'Latin' citizenships so that a man could simultaneously be a citizen of his own city and of Rome (Heater, 2004). The concept of dual or multiple citizenship has been adopted by some countries in the world today. Indeed, Roman citizenship provided complete equality before the law as no discrimination of race, religion, descent or wealth was applied in determining acceptance for citizenship (Heater, 2004). Citizenship in the Roman Empire was at first limited to residents of the city of Rome but was subsequently extended to all free inhabitants of the Empire. The concept of citizen shifted from being a political to a legal member of a community. A citizen of Rome was not someone who made and executed the law but someone under the protection of the law. Therefore, citizenship was relatively easy to extend to a large and heterogeneous population. For the peoples of the Empire, citizenship was an important but occasional identity, a legal status rather than a fact of everyday life (Walzer, as cited in Ball, Farr, & Hanson, 1989). The Roman notion of citizenship can be seen as the first step towards a universalistic citizenship status that was associated with certain common rights, but citizenship gradually lost its

association with participation and instead became a tool of social control and pacification. For example, the Romans found that granting citizenship to the peoples of the Empire made it easier to collect taxes and result in the incurring of less expenses for uncertain military power (Faulks, 2000).

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, the importance of citizenship weakened in the West. The quest of honour through the exercise of citizenship was replaced by the search for personal salvation, in the Middle Ages. In the context of the feudal system, the Church replaced the political community as a focus of loyalty and moral guidance. However, a number of Italian city republics, such as Florence and Venice, were exceptions in terms of a participatory citizenship. Citizenship in these cities was conceptualised as 'non-universal, hierarchical and exclusionary, for instance, citizens' rights varied according to property ownership' (Faulks, 2000, p. 21).

The idea of republicanism reached its peak with the French Revolution in 1789, and the modern idea of democratic citizenship was expressed through a declaration of the rights of men as citizens. The French Revolution is important for any inquiry into the idea of citizenship because revolutionary processes transformed the relationships between citizens and states. In the Jacobin phase of the revolution, citizenship was formulated as a dominant ideology vis-à-vis the alternative identities of religion, estate, family and region (Walzer, as cited in Ball et al., 1989).

In summary, though citizenship under the Greek ideal sounds inclusive, where a citizen was recognised as a full member of a city-state with the right to make decisions and speak in public, in reality that was not the case. Athenian citizenship was not for everyone but rather was a status and privilege of a few categories of people in the *polis*. The status of citizenship was confined to the effective participants in the deliberation and exercise of power, thus neglecting women, the aged and the young, and working men, all of whom were excluded from political participation. The Roman notion of citizenship, despite appearing more inclusive,

was non-democratic as power remained concentrated in the hands of the wealthy (Faulks, 2000). Civic republicanism citizenship should not be dismissed as invalid, however, as its ideas and tone heavily influenced the thinking of a range of contemporary communitarian scholars to promote new ways of understandings of citizenship in contrast to liberal thinkers.

Liberal Citizenship: Rights of an Individual

In the liberal concept of citizenship, individuals are seen as the basic units of society, 'all possessing the same rights to participate in the political, economic and cultural life of society' (Kymlicka, 1989, p. 141). Liberal political theory is a rights-based one; it takes the rights of individuals as the fundamental basis for the society. Nevertheless, liberal citizenship's equality before the law, and freedom to choose one's way of living, is called a negative freedom from the interference of the state as a means of social control (Kymlicka, 1995).

Liberal theories promote the idea that citizenship is a status that entitles individuals to a specific set of universal rights granted by the state (Jones & Gaventa, 2002). The liberal concept of citizenship flows from enlightened thinking and is deeply rooted in the liberal tradition, which takes individualism as its main component. The liberal tradition of citizenship is linked to the development of capitalism and the nation state. It emerged out of wider social changes that represented a challenge to the old feudal order of states governed by absolute monarchs (Dwyer, 2004). Central to the liberal concept of citizenship is the ability of each citizen to conduct their lives free of state interference, by promoting and protecting their civil and political rights (Dwyer, 2004; Faulks, 2000). Along with the freedom to choose one's way of life, equality before the law can be held as one of the most important aspects of the liberal notion of citizenship. In the liberal tradition, citizens should be able to choose their way of life freely, so long as they do not harm others. They should be able to

live their lives and make choices as to the ends they determine worth striving for, free from coercion (Kymlicka, 1995).

For liberal theorists, individual citizens act 'rationally' to advance their own interests, and the role of the state is to respect and protect the political and civil rights of its citizens (Oldfield, 1990). From the point of view of some liberals, all interference in the affairs of individuals can be seen as coercive, and the role of the state should be only a minimal one in order to truly protect everyone's rights (Nagel & Nozick, 1975). Other theorists (such as Rawls) believe that a state needs to have a greater role and that for instance the redistribution of wealth may be necessary. There are many different strands within liberal theory, but they all share some basic principles (Kartal, 2001).

In the discussion on the role of the state in liberalism, it is helpful to note the difference between libertarian liberalism and egalitarian liberalism. The libertarian view sees a limited role of the state. Libertarians believe that the function of government is limited to ensuring civil and political rights. The state action required to secure social justice merely interferes with market mechanisms. Adam Smith's (1776) laissez-faire approach guarantees 'individuals' self-interest as actors in the marketplace' (as cited in Dwyer, 2004, p. 23). Thus, the most important point is that individual citizens are liberated from 'state intervention and given the freedom to engage in economic transactions of their own choice' (p. 24). For libertarian liberals, the state acknowledges the extent of its responsibilities by promoting an economic framework while upholding individual civil and political rights.

As for egalitarian liberalism, Rawls (as cited in Kartal, 2001) advocates the idea of liberal democracy beyond traditional libertarian preoccupations with civil and political rights, and proposes a concern for distributive justice which attempts to take into consideration the equality of the claims of each individual. The equality of each individual's claim means respecting their basic needs and the means by which

those needswill be met. Rawls rejects the principle that the market will distribute goods fairly, instead asserting the need for the state to recognise certain social rights. It is therefore seen as legitimate for the state to intervene in the lives of citizens to ensure redistribution of material resources. Liberal egalitarian theories of justice seek to combine the values of equality, personal freedom and personal responsibility. Rawls's theory of justice defines and enumerates what he considers to be social primary goods which are to be distributed according to the principles of justice as fairness (Kartal, 2001). The central organising notion of Rawls's justice concept is the idea of society as a fair system of social cooperation. Two fundamental ideas follow this central idea: firstly, the idea of citizens (those involved in cooperation) as free and equal persons and, secondly, the idea of a well-ordered society that is designed to advance the good of its members when it is also effectively regulated by a public conception of justice (Rawls, 2009).

Historical writers contend that the development of modern citizenship is tied very closely to the development of capitalist societies (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2013). Stemming from seventeenth-century political thought, the liberal political perspective favours a legal model of citizenship that recognises and promotes individual rights and guarantees these in law. It is essentially in favour of formal equality among full members, and sees the state as performing a minimal function. It emerged out of wider social changes that represented a challenge to the old feudal order of states governed by 'absolute monarchs who claimed a direct link to God as the basis of their sovereign right to rule' (Dwyer, 2004, p. 22). Heater (2013) characterises the rise of liberalism as a shift from a 'monarch-subject relationship to a state-citizenship relationship' (p. 4), which essentially underpins the formation of a nation state. The notion of individual freedom, the right of each person to choose and be at liberty to pursue their preferences in life, is a focal point in the early liberal tradition.

Marshall's Extension of Individual Rights

As Lister notes, most modern accounts of citizenship take as their starting point Marshall's celebrated exposition of citizenship (Lister, 2003). Marshall's lecture, delivered in 1949 and published in 1950, marked a 'highly influential' (Dwyer, 2004) account of the development of post-war welfare and citizenship. Marshall (1950) was the first to focus on the conflict inherent in modern industrial societies: the tension between equality, as an assumption behind the notion of citizenship, and inequality, as a consequence of the class structure of capitalist society. Marshall's point of departure in analysing the relationship between citizenship and social class, in his essay Citizenship and Social Class (Marshall, 1963), is the possible conflict of citizenship (as a system of equality) with capitalism (as a system of inequality).

According to Marshall, citizenship is essentially a matter of ensuring that everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society (Dwyer, 2004). The way to ensure this sense of membership is by according people an increasing number of citizenship rights. Marshall divides citizenship rights into three categories, which he sees as having taken hold in England in three successive centuries:

> civil rights (e.g. freedom of speech), which arose in the eighteenth century; political rights (e.g. the extension of the franchise), which arose in the nineteenth century; and social rights (e.g. to public education, health care, unemployment insurance and pensions) (Marshall, as cited in Dwyer, 2004, p. 40).

For Marshall, the fullest expression of citizenship requires a liberal democratic welfare state. By guaranteeing civil, political and social rights to all, the welfare state ensures that every member of the society feels like a full member of that society, able to participate in and enjoy the common life of society (Kymlicka, Norman, & Beiner, 1995).

For Marshall, 'equality of status' would be ensured by the state provision and advocacy of three sets of interlocked rights. The following quotation illustrates this point:

> The civil element (...) is (...) the rights necessary for individual freedom –liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice [...] By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power as a member of a body invested with social authority or as an elector...By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being. (Marshall, as cited in Heater, 2013, p. 13).

Marshall's tripartite formulation became the principal paradigm of citizenship in the post-war period in the UK and many other countries. Marshall presents an argument that the effective exercise of political rights requires civil rights; political rights require social rights; civil rights are predicated upon social rights and political rights, and so on. Marshall's unified conception of citizenship needs to consider civil, political and social rights in relation to, not in isolation from, each other (Lister, 2003).

Marshall's historical analysis claimed that civil rights were held to belong to all adult members of a community in the eighteenth century in England. At first, the terms *freedom* and *citizenship* were interchangeable in the towns. Then, when freedom became universal, citizenship was transformed from a local into a national institution. Although freedom and citizenship gave legal powers, class prejudice and lack of unity were obstacles to their use. The formative period of political rights began in the early nineteenth century, when civil rights (attached to the status of freedom) had already been associated with a general status of citizenship. The nineteenth century was a period in which the foundations of social rights were laid (in the case of education and factory legislation) but the principle of social rights as an integral part of the citizenship status was either denied or not clearly admitted. Marshall argues that the right to education is a genuine social right of citizenship,

because the aim is to shape the future adult. For him, it should be regarded 'not as the right of the child to go to school, but as the right of the adult citizen to have been educated' (Marshall, 1977, p. 89).

The sociological importance of Marshall's contribution is his contention that citizenship modifies the negative impact of the market by a (modest) redistribution of resources on the basis of rights, and as a consequence there emerges a more or less permanent tension between the principle of equality that ultimately underpins democracy and the actual inequalities of opportunity, wealth and income that characterise a capitalist society (Turner, 1997). For Marshall, members of society were deemed to need more than civil and political rights. They should be entitled to a universal right to a real income which is not proportionate to the market value of the claimant. Welfare state policies and institutions, the educational system and the social services are the main expressions of this third layer (Kartal, 2001).

For Marshall, the demand for diminishing economic inequality between social classes has been met by incorporating social rights in the status of citizenship. Apart from equalising incomes, social services aimed at 'an equalisation between the more and the less fortunate (between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active) as individuals' (Marshall, 1977, p. 113).

Communitarian Tradition: Citizenship as Duty

Communitarian critiques of the liberal tradition rest upon the ontological suppositions of the liberal individual as someone who is divorced from constitutive social relations. This *pre-social* individual is liberated from all traditions, common values and binding ties. Unlike this liberal conception of *pre-social* and *unencumbered* self, communitarians comprehend self as *situated* within a community (Kartal, 2001).

Communitarian can be seen as a particular heritage of civic republicanism. Sketching from the classical thinking of the past, it strongly repudiates the dominance of individualism at the heart of liberalism and it emphasises instead loyalty to the community and conformity to shared values (Van Gunsteren, as cited in Dwyer, 2004). Communitarians claimed that the liberal attitude does not take ample notice of the importance of community in shaping individual identity and wider moral or political thinking. A strong sense of community, which is proposed as a basic need of the communitarian, is defined as 'a body with some common values, norms and goals in which each member regards the common goals of its own' (Avineri and de Shalit, as cited in Dwyer, 2004, p. 25).

For communitarians, citizenship is defined through, and is seen to develop, particular 'civic virtues', such as respect for others and recognition of the importance of public service (Smith, 1998, as cited in Jones & Gaventa, 2002). In contrast to liberal thought that dismisses the possibility of assigning any political or legal meaning to group rights, communitarianism asserts the group as the defining centre of identity and all individuals imagine themselves only in relation to the larger community as the basis of common ground (Isin & Wood, 1999, p. 2).

Communitarian perspectives indicate the possibility of individual autonomy by protecting and sustaining their members and in return are able to demand and justify individual loyalty to communally defined obligations and practices that are particular and specific to a designated community (Wood, 2009). Etzioni, a north American sociologist, claims that communitarianism offers the necessary 'balance between social forces and the person' (Etzioni, 1993). He adds that communities offer the opportunity for moral reconstruction.

> Free individuals require a community, which backs them up against encroachment by the state and sustains morality by drawing on the gentle prodding of kin, friends, neighbours and other community members, rather than building on government controls or fear of authorities(p. 15).

Different communities hold different views as to what constitutes citizenship, whether from the notion of rights bestowed upon them or the duties performed to earn citizenship (Turner, 1990).

2.3 Contemporary Debates on Citizenship

The idea of citizenship has been continually redefined and reconstructed as the nation state developed. Throughout most of the twentieth century the dominant understanding of citizenship continued to place the individual at its core, and citizenship was seen as a legal status indicating the possession of rights which an individual held equally with others. This dominant liberal model of citizenship, as seen above, has some limitations. Contemporary debates on citizenship and rights have therefore questioned the idea that the (individual) citizen can enjoy rights independent of the contexts or circumstances to which he or she belongs, i.e. class, race, ethnicity and gender.

Since the 1980s, in western society, due to immigration and globalisation, multiculturalism and plurality, diversity and differences have become significant terms of reference in thinking about citizenship. Globalisation affects every aspect of communities, including beliefs, norms, values and behaviours, as well as business and trade. Two important aspects of globalisation have implications for citizenship. Firstly, the movement of people across national boundaries to live and work calls into question issues of national identity and belonging, of membership in a polity and of the rights that accrue to that membership. Secondly, a hallmark of globalisation is the existence of transnational and multinational organisations that are important counter forces on national sovereignty. These exist in parallel with the nation state and both complicate and diffuse the rights and privileges that accrue to citizenship (Gans, 2005). In addition, worldwide migration has increased diversity in most nation states and is forcing nations to rethink citizenship and citizenship education (Banks, 2008). National boundaries are eroding because millions of people

live in several nations and have multiple citizenships (Castles & Davidson, as cited in Banks, 2008, p. 132). Millions have citizenship in one nation and live in another. Others are stateless, including millions of refugees around the world. Banks (2008), further added that in Western countries, the number of individuals living outside their original homelands increased from approximately 33 million in 1910 to 175 million in 2000. Today this figure will no doubt be much higher. Developments in communication technologies, the transformation of trade and increased migration have all altered the sense of the world and have opened up new challenges to the way we live our lives (Sallah & Cooper, 2008).

Given that modern societies are increasingly being recognised as multicultural, the liberal understanding of the idea of citizenship has been opened up to debate. The specific contextual, cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic characteristics of citizens are now seen as determining citizenship in significant ways. This ongoing claim aims to make visible those differences which liberal theory saw as irrelevant for understanding citizenship. In most societies, campaigns for the recognition of ethnic, religious and racial communities have highlighted the limitations of the dominant unitary conception of the nation state. Several authors (Carens, 2000; Taylor, 1994; Young, 1989) claimed that these challenges highlight the need for an alternative conception of the modern state that can accommodate the aspirations of diverse cultural, ethnic and national groups. Taylor and Carens (2000) propose distinctive models of liberal democratic citizenship that seek to recognise multiple forms of belonging to the political community and overlapping identities and citizenships. For Young (1989), group differences are not included in a universal conception of citizenship. As a result, marginalised groups that have experienced structural exclusion and discrimination, such as women and people of colour, are suppressed. A differentiated conception of citizenship, rather than a universal one, is needed to help marginalised groups attain civic equality and recognition in multicultural democratic nations (Young, 1989).

A notion of differentiated citizenship has therefore gained currency within citizenship theory to accommodate the needs of specific cultural groups. Young's 'differentiated citizenship' takes into account distinct group identities and group concerns in a multicultural society. 'The inclusion and participation of everyone in public discussion and decision-making requires mechanisms for group representation' (Young, 1989, p. 251). This implies that the entity recognising and granting citizenship rights must also provide for the recognition of differences between groups of recipients and, hence, also legally provide for means of reducing, if not eliminating, the factors that have led to the historic disadvantage or exclusion of such groups. According to Young (1989),the proposition of recognising differences in access to civil, political and social resources by certain groups 'is understood either as just compensation for groups that have suffered discrimination in the past, or as compensation for the present disadvantage these groups suffer because of that history of discrimination and exclusion' (p. 271). Her argument marked a shift in the political theory of the rights of disadvantaged groups, especially in a welfare state. The universal notion of citizenship implied that 'citizenship status transcends particularity and difference' and 'laws and rules . . . are blind to individual and group differences' (p. 250). As a result, some groups were treated as second-class citizens because group rights are not recognised and the principle of equal treatment is strictly applied (Banks, 2008).

Differentiated Citizenship

The notion of universal citizenship, in some cases, requires citizens to give up their first language and culture to become full participants in the civic community of the nation state (Young, 1989). Group differences are not included in a universal conception of citizenship. Consequently, the differences of groups that have experienced structural exclusion and discrimination, such as women and people of colour, are suppressed. Critics of universal citizenship maintain that a notion of universalised citizenship cannot be maintained in the context of plural societies

(Faulks, 2000). Therefore, an alternative conception of citizenship is required. A differentiated conception of citizenship is suggested to help marginalised groups achieve civic equality and recognition in multicultural democratic nations (Young, 1989). Modern political thought generally assumed that the universality of citizenship status transcends particularity and blind difference.

Citizenship has traditionally been seen as a universal relationship of equality between all members of a political community. As Young puts it,

> Modern political thought generally assumed that the universality of citizenship in the sense of citizenship for all implies a universality of citizenship in the sense that citizenship status transcends particularity and difference. Whatever the social or group differences among citizens, whatever their inequalities of wealth, status and power in the everyday activities of civil society, citizenship gives everyone the same status as peers in the political public. (Young, 1989, p. 250)

Young's (1989) understandings of universal citizenship are different from differentiated citizenship, in that universal citizenship in general has two meanings in addition to the extension of citizenship to everyone: '(a) universality defined as general in opposition to particular; what citizens have in common as opposed to how they differ, and (b) universality in the sense of laws and rules that say the same for all and apply to all in the same way; laws and rules that are blind to individuals and group differences' (p, 250).

In the late twentieth century, however, when citizenship rights were formally extended to all groups in liberal capitalist societies, some marginalised groups still found that they were treated as second-class citizens. Young further argued that social movements of oppressed and excluded groups have asked why the extension of equal citizenship rights has not led to social justice and equality.

Young's (1989) theory of differentiated citizenship marks a break with liberal tradition. She argued that the liberals' notion of universalised citizenship has led to the oppression of minorities and the denial of difference. Five facets of 'oppression' identified by her are exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence, and any group that experiences this oppression are victims of oppression (p, 261). For her only by 'asserting the differentiated citizenship that built upon group rights can pluralist societies maintain order and move towards a just society' (Young, as cited in Faulks, 2000, p. 88).

Increasingly pluralistic populations in many countries have undermined the ideology of distinct and autonomous national cultures and, with it, the integrity of the nation state. As a result, traditional concepts of 'universal citizenship' no longer seem capable of providing a sufficient basis for political belonging. It has become untenable for citizenship to demand political and cultural homogeneity, or to claim that it can transcend particularity (Young, 1989). In a similar vein, Kymlicka (1989) posits that ethnic and cultural diversity call for a form of 'multicultural citizenship' which acknowledges not only the individual but also the value of the different cultural forms in and through which individuality is expressed.

To reflect on the account so far, it is important to recognise that citizenship concepts are intimately tied to the development of the liberal state and specify the relationship between the nation state and its individual members which procedurally establishes the rights and obligations of members and a set of practices by which these expectations are realised. This is drawn from the French Revolution, which first established the principle and practice of citizenship as the central feature of the modern socio-political structure, laid on the foundation of the transition from a monarch-subject relationship to a state-citizen relationship. In a modern democratic state, the rights and duties of citizenship are inseparable. Democratic theory holds that the state gains and retains the loyalty of its citizens by affording them the opportunity, through their influence on the political system, to gain the

maximum achievement of their own goals. In a democracy, being active in political participation with the acceptance of some special responsibilities of governmental actions is an essential requirement. To note what Turner explained about modern citizenship:

> ... modern citizenship presupposes some notion of equality, an emphasis on universalistic criteria and a secular system of values to reinforce claims and obligations. Societies organised on this principle emphasise contract over status, the dominance of secular reality over the sacred, the importance of universalism over locality and particularity, and the importance of extending citizenship rights to women and children so as to call into question the dominance of patriarchy. (Turner, 1986)

Faulks (2002, p. 29) explained that 'the development of modern citizenship in Western society was coterminous with the development of the modern state and the construction of constitutional democracy.' However, citizenship in modernity is ambiguous. On one hand, liberalism as the dominant ideology of citizenship has stressed the universal nature of status but on the other hand, citizenship has been bound closely to the institution of the nation state and therefore in practice has acted as a prevailing tool of social closure (Brubaker, 1992). Brubaker added that as a powerful instrument of social closure, citizenship plays an important role in the administrative structure and political culture of the modern nation state and state system. Every modern state must formally and legally define its citizenry by excluding all others as non-citizens or aliens (p. 21). In doing so the state emerges above mere territoriality and becomes a membership organisation of its citizens, granting not only legal but also social rights to its citizens. Modern forms of social closure can be found in both institutions and practices, namely the existence of a territorial border, universal suffrage, military service and naturalisation. For Brubaker, citizens have an unquantified right to access and employ both suffrage and military service, while naturalisation pronounces that the right to citizen status is closed and restricted to those qualified by the state (Brubaker, 1992). Therefore, Brubaker declares that 'citizenship is both n instrument and an object of closure '(p. 23).

However, global immigration and the increasing diversity in nation states throughout the world challenge liberal assimilationist conceptions of citizenship where marginalised racial, ethnic and language groups demand recognition (Banks, 2008). These groups have argued for identity recognition to maintain important aspects of their cultures and languages whilst participating fully in the national civic culture and community. They raise complex and divisive questions about how nation states can deal effectively with the problem of constructing civic communities that reflect and incorporate the diversity of citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals and goals which all citizens of a nation state should support (Banks, 2007). Struggles for recognition by ethnic and religious minorities have highlighted the limitations of the dominant model of the modern nation state as an administratively centralised and politically and culturally homogeneous unit. As explained earlier, to cater to these challenges, several authors suggest an alternative conception of citizenship that can recognise the aspirations of diverse cultural, ethnic and national groups.

2.4 Citizenship, identity and belonging

Citizenship may be understood as the core institution of the nation state, essential for democracy and national identity. Throughout the history of citizenship, there has been an increasing number of individuals who have come to enjoy more and more rights and freedoms as part of being a citizen. In the early days, these 'citizenship rights belonged to a small group of men of noble descent, later expanding to include most men, and eventually including everyone, regardless of race, gender or social position' (Nordberg, 2006, p. 525).

In the contemporary discourse of citizenship, citizenship is not only about rights and responsibilities, but also about identity and the experiences of belonging. Although belonging can be expressed in relation to a variety of fields, more often the usage of belonging is related to identity, and in particular national and ethnic

identity. In this study, belonging is evoked in association with identity, national identity and citizenship rights and responsibilities (Yuval-Davis, 2004). Yuval-Davis, referring to the communitarian understanding of citizenship as a way of belonging to a community, suggests that:

> Belonging is not just about membership, rights, and duties . . . nor can it be reduced to identities and identifications, which are about individual and collective narratives of self and other, presentation and labelling, myths of origin and destiny. Belonging is a deep emotional need of people. (p. 215)

Anthias (2008) claimed that the notions of identity and belonging are symbiotically connected as illustrated below:

> Identity involves individual and collective narratives of self and other, presentations and labelling, myths of origin and myths of destiny with associated strategies and identifications. Belonging on the other hand is about experiences of being part of the social fabric and the ways in which social bonds and ties are manifested in practices, experiences and emotions of inclusion (p.8).

Yet, any sense of belonging is likely to be affected by the associated concept of identity, political belonging and the rights and responsibilities of the citizens and how these interact.

In discussing the notion of identity in multi-ethnic states, building a nation that is based on shared identity is a challenge. As mentioned in Chapter 1, most postcolonial nations with diverse ethnic populations, due to the exigencies of history, struggle to define the characteristic of the nation. These nations have not only one but many significant languages, largely as a result of the immigrant ancestry of the multi-ethnic population, created under the aegis of colonial powers. This, therefore, leads to developing countries facing a fundamental challenge in

nation-building, that of 'the problem of the opposition between primordial group loyalty and the civic loyalty to the nation' (Das Gupta as cited in Gill, 2014, p. 19).

The issue of identity is central to the contemporary discussion around group belonging and struggles for a 'difference' in recognition (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Most contemporary writing has asserted that the way in which people understand themselves as citizens is likely to have an impact on the way they perceive their rights and duties and on whether they participate, in what and why (Jones & Gaventa, 2002).

In her belonging and the politics of belonging framework, Yuval-Davis (2006) defines belonging as a dynamic process concerning emotional and ontological attachments' (p. 197), while the politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities. She differentiates three levels: social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, and ethical and political values. The first facet of social locations concerns the varying positionalities such as ethnicity, nationality, age and class which shape people's sense of belonging; the second she comprehends as individuals' identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings, and the last is closely associated with the politics of belonging. Yuval-Davis argues that these different levels are interrelated, but cannot be reduced to each other, as so many political projects of belonging tend to assume (p. 196–203).

In a similar vein, and following Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework of belonging, Antonsich (2010) proposed belonging as a personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home' in a place, or what he termed 'place-belongingness'. He added that individual feelings of place-belongingness highlight five factors which can contribute to generate such a feeling: autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal (p. 8). Following his concept of place-belongingness, he argued that one's personal, intimate feeling of belonging to a place should always be

reconciled with the discourses and practices of 'socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play in that very place and which inexorably conditions one's sense of place-belongingness' (p. 12).

In the detail of Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework of belonging, she defines belonging as emotional attachment, of feeling 'at home'. She adds that belonging tends to be naturalised and only becomes articulated and politicised when threatened. Her politics of belonging involves specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities. She proposes three levels within her belonging framework: social location, identification and emotional attachment, and ethical and political values. Social location is the first level. Social location concerns the divergent positional ties such as age, gender, ethnicity and nationality, which generate people's sense of belonging. For her, people can 'belong' in many different ways and to many different objects of attachment. These can vary from a particular person to the whole of humanity, in a concrete or abstract way; belonging can be an act of self-identification or identification by others, in a stable, contested or transient way. Even in its most stable 'primordial' forms, however, for her 'belonging is always a dynamic process, not a reified fixity, which is only a naturalised construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199). In relation to social location, she argues that belonging should not be linked to any one social location over others but that belonging has to be considered at the 'intersection of many different locations such as gender, nationality and class' (p. 13).

In addition to the analytical separation of 'belonging' and the 'politics of belonging', Yuval-Davis, (2007)also emphasises that analyses of 'belonging' must be founded on an intersectionality perspective. She argues that '... there is no meaning to the notion of "black" that is not gendered and classed, no meaning to "women" that is not ethnicised and classed'. Yuval-Davis further adds that discussion of belonging tends to 'homogenize the differential meanings of such identity notions' (p.565-66).

Yuval-Davis' (2007) intersectional approach mainly focuses on gender, ethnicity and social class: 'social location' in this study, I suggest that intersections are not particularly focused on gender as part of intersection social location but more towards ethnicity, citizens' status and culture. Therefore, an intersectional approach seems necessary, one which explores the experiences of identity, belonging and citizenship of multi-ethnic, mixed aged and gender student teachers that can only be understood by taking account of their varying social locations, including a citizens' status, ethnicity, culture and religion.

The second level she understands as identity narratives: the stories people tell themselves and others about who they are and who they are not. These can be about individual attributes, body images, vocational aspirations or sexual prowess, and these stories often relate, directly or indirectly, to self and/or others' perceptions of what being a member of such a grouping, or collectivity, means (ethnic, racial, national, cultural and religious). The identity narratives can be individual or they can be collective; identity narratives can shift and change, be contested and multiple. They can relate to the past, to a myth of origin; they can be aimed at explaining the present and, probably, above all, they function as a projection of a future trajectory (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 201).

The third and last level, ethical and political values, is associated with the politics of belonging which is concerned with 'boundary maintenance': boundaries of the political community that separate the world population into 'us' and 'them'. The politics of belonging involves not only the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers, but also their contestation and challenge by other political agents (Yuval-Davis, 2006). The politics of belonging includes struggles around the determination of what is involved in belonging, in being a member of a community, and of what roles specific social locations and specific narratives of identity play in this. The politics of belonging is also linked to citizenship as social control through exclusion, or divide and rule. As such, it encompasses contestations both in relation to the participatory

dimension of citizenship as well as in relation to issues of the status and entitlements such membership entails.

Antonsich (2010) suggests that Yuval-Davis' framework of belonging leans towards the politics of belonging and gives less attention to the emotional aspects of belonging. He expands Yuval-Davis' framework of belonging by emphasising the emotional aspects of belonging that are associated with 'place' as a tenet of belonging. Antonsich (2010) states '...to belong means to find a place where an individual can feel at home' (p.646). 'Home' for him stands for a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment which he reflected on from a phenomenological approach in human geography. He also suggests that there are five factors which generate the emotional 'place-belongingness': 'autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal' (2010, p. 648).

In relation to Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework of belonging, it is suggested how, within her politics of belonging dimension, membership rights and responsibilities, that is membership rights and responsibilities to a political community, duties sometimes become requirements rather than mere duties. A set of requirements was needed by a citizen to entitle him or her to belong to a collectivity. She suggests that in the politics of belonging, some of these social locations were less permeable, such as religion and ethnicity, whilst others, like language and culture, can be permeable boundaries between 'us and them'. As an example, Yuval-Davis suggested that 'democracy and human rights may be a set of commonalities that break the boundaries between us and them' (p. 209).

2.5 Western Citizenship Traditions and the Asian World

This section explains the ways in which Western concepts of citizenship have influenced Malaysian ways of citizenship. Citizenship in the Western tradition has underlined the strengths and limitations of what should be the elements of

citizenship and what is good citizenship. Most contemporary republican writers share the same basic principles and values as liberal writers, such as the appreciation of political freedom, democracy and free speech (Iija, 2012). There are many different features in Western citizenship discourse and all of them have an impact on how the concept is perceived. There is the traditional, exclusive notion of citizenship (citizens as male patriarch-warriors), and a rights based citizenship approach that 'prioritizes the rights of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life' (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p.661) that became the background to contemporary discussions on citizenship. Then, there is the multicultural citizenship discourse that challenges the notion of universal human rights and outlines how different groups and difference are not included in a universal conception of citizenship (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Banks, 2007). Multicultural citizenship focuses on minority and marginalised groups that struggle to have their differences recognised. These are all very different ideas that arise from different backgrounds and discourses, and although they all have an effect on how the concept of citizenship is understood, in most cases it seems hard to reconcile these different elements in a discussion about what constitutes citizenship. Drawing from the Western lens of citizenship, the next section will discuss how Western citizenship discourse is conceptualised in the Asian world.

As mentioned in the introduction, an Asian democratic model tends to embrace civic republican and communitarian citizenship, in contrast to the liberal democracy model of citizenship. South East Asian nations such as Malaysia have attempted to articulate and practise forms of soft authoritarian democracy, or 'Asian' democracy, as a response to, and in rejection of, Western liberal democratic models. The attempt to define the ideas of so-called 'Asian values' arose in contrast to the human rights and 'liberal democracy' notion of the 'West' that seems unacceptable to the Asian position, which places faith, family and community as the principles of rights, continuing on from classical Confucian traditions (Manan, 1999). In relation to democracy, the regime offers dissimilar names: communitarian democracy,

Confucian democracy and pragmatic democracy. Defenders of Asian values have claimed that Western-style liberal democracy is neither suitable for nor compatible with Confucian East Asia, where collective welfare, social duty and other principles of Confucian moral philosophy are deeply rooted (Park & Shin, 2006).

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, in South East Asia, prominent advocates of 'Asian values' have two models, namely, the Singapore and the Mahathir models (Mendes et al., 1997). The Singapore thesis is based on the premise that the West rejected 'Asian values' because they refused to acknowledge that East Asia is becoming a world centre. Economic, social and political rights in the region are improving, while those in Europe and North America, namely their democratic systems, are being rendered ineffective due to an overemphasis on individual rights (Sani et al., 2009). Mendes (1994) labels the Malaysian version of Asian values as 'The Mahathir Model'. The Mahathir Model' is basically influenced by Malay-Islamic values. Mahathir claims that the Malaysian perspective of 'Asian values' is based on Malay-Islamic culture and should be protected against absorption by Western values. He urged that the three most basic elements of Malayness: feudalism, Islam and *adat* customs), as he described it in his book *The Malay Dilemma* (1970), should all be classed as features to be merely accepted as realities and perhaps adapted to modern needs (Barr, 2004). He rejects universalism, or the Western liberal notion of human rights, which, he believes, could corrupt Malaysian culture and religious beliefs.

To reflect again, Mahathir (1991) mentioned that Malaysians (Asians) should respect authority because authority guarantees social stability. Without authority and stability there can be no civility, even in a Western society, when lauding individual rights will result in fragmentation and more disorder (Manan, 1999). However, Mahathir argued that strong authority does not of course mean despotic rulers. In fact, Mahathir admitted that he still believes in democracy, because democracy enables the removal of a leader without bloodshed. Nonetheless, he argued that

even within the most democratic system, citizens must pay due respect to government and understand the need for a healthy balance between individual rights and obligations towards society (Sani et al., 2009).

> For Asians, the community, the majority comes first. The individual and minority must have their rights but not at the unreasonable expense of the majority. The individuals and the majority must conform to the norms of society. A little deviation may be allowed but unrestrained exhibition of personal freedom which disturbs the peace or threatens to undermine society is not what Asians expect from democracy (World Youth Foundation, as cited in Sani, 2008, p.8).

Two main characteristics of the Western nation of citizenship that may not fit easily in the Asian context are the nature of liberal cultural and multicultural citizenship and the idea of a liberal democracy. Kymlicka's work on multicultural citizenship is very helpful to inform this research on balancing the Western and Asian notions of citizenship. Kymlicka and He (2005) noted that Western theories and examples of multiculturalism and minority rights have had an influence in many Asian countries, often promoted by Western academics, governments and international organisations. Nevertheless, these Western models are often not well understood in the region, and may not suit the specific historical, cultural, demographic and geopolitical circumstances of the region. Moreover, many Asian societies have their own traditions of peaceful coexistence between linguistic and religious groups, often dating to pre-colonial times. Most Western diversity has arisen as an impact of migration within and between states but in most Asian societies it is the legacies of colonialism that have created a plural society and which have had a powerful influence on how issues of ethno-cultural diversity are understood. Ibrahim (2004)also argued that in modern nation states such as Malaysia, it is not the current globalisation phase which has rekindled ethnic differences, nor for that matter has it been responsible for the presence of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism in its midst. Indeed, multiculturalism and indigenous variants of cultural pluralism in the pre-capitalist civilisation of the Malaysian region pre-dated the arrival of Western

colonialism itself. For most Asian states, managing diversity is a key to political stability in the region. The centralised, unitary 'nation state' model adopted by postcolonial states appears increasingly unable to meet this challenge.

Another important characteristic that poses a challenge to Asian citizenship is liberal democracy. 'Asian' democracy is a response to, and a rejection of, Western liberal democratic models about whether 'Western' models are compatible with the 'Eastern' nature of social control democracy. Most Asian countries value the communitarian model of citizenship. Malaysian ways of democracy embrace duty before rights and loyalty to the political community. This inevitably raises the spectre of the 'Asian values' debate. The proponents of Asian values believe in strong authority, prioritising the community over the individual and a strong, family-based society. According to proponents of the Asian value hypothesis, Western liberal democratic political systems are grounded in the ideas of individualism and competition, whereas Asian societies are grounded in the ideas of 'communitarianism', with a greater emphasis placed on harmony, deference and paternalism (Kymlicka and He, 2005).Therefore, Malaysia has proposed for its own Malaysian model of citizenship one which embraces the 'Asian Values of democracy' and ethnically differentiated citizenship that promotes the Malay identity through it national vision project.

To reflect again on Malaysian national vision, the construction of national identity was based on the dominant group identity that acted as an integrating tool for Malaysia. I have reflected on an identity framework in Malaysia as mentioned in my contextual analysis chapter. The two social realities identity framework proposed by Malaysian anthropologist Shamsul (1996) is very helpful in order to understand identity discourse in Malaysia. Shamsul (1996) proposed that identity formation in Malaysia takes place within what he called a 'two social reality' context: firstly, 'authority-defined' social reality and secondly 'everyday-defined' social reality. The 'authority-defined' identity refers to authority defined by people who are part of the

dominant power structure and the 'everyday-defined' social reality refers to the reality experienced by people in the course of their everyday lives. As mentioned in my contextual analysis chapter (Chapter 1), Malaysians have promoted a Malay preferential citizenship. Therefore, it is understandable why the authority (via the national vision project) has defined social reality as being Malayness, or promoted the Malay identity as the Malaysian national identity. At times, however, the authority-defined national identity may conflict with the everyday definitions or everyday identity experiences of multi-ethnic Malaysians. The discourses of identity and citizenship in Malaysia should reflect discourses of belonging as both notions are connected. The Malaysian authority's definition of social reality may promote the notions of exclusion, inclusion and belonging but questions often emerge because there are a range of spaces, places, locales and identities. The authority-defined social reality's focus on the Malaysian national vision project show that the construction of identity may be forced upon people for purposes of the nation-building project agenda.

2.6 Limitations of Malaysian model citizenship

Following the literature analysis of Western and Malaysian models of citizenship, it could be argued that there are certain limitations of the Malaysian model of citizenship, especially with regard to the pursuit of more active forms of inclusion for all citizens rather than just for the dominant Malays, in a multicultural and diverse population. There is an uneasy tension here between the aim of rectifying historical inequities believed to have affected the Malays adversely and a modern incarnation of Malaysia as an inclusive multicultural nation with a common vision for the future. Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship model is appropriate in Malaysia for two reasons: firstly, it accommodates cultural pluralism where multi-ethnic Malaysia is concerned, preserving cultural ways within the Malaysian national vision. Through its national policies, Malaysia embraces other languages and cultural activities. For example, vernacular schools for Chinese and Indian

students in multi-ethnic Malaysia aim to support cultural and language continuation. Secondly, it encourages a national hyphenated identity (Hill & Lian, 2013) such as Malaysian-Chinese, Malaysian-Indians or Malaysian-Malays and these hyphenated identities suggest a more complex and fluid notion of an individual sense of self and relationships within and between diverse groups. As noted by Hashim and Tan (2009), Malaysia and Singapore have adopted a concept of 'ethnic-national hyphenated identity' meaning that both governments are striving to foster national unity by instilling a common national identity that is based on ethnic diversity. The aim of having a Malayness identity as the common identity in multi-ethnic Malaysia is to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysians with one language and one culture, and create one Malaysian nation. However, there is scope for an ongoing tension as the language, religion and culture which dominate within this vision belong to one particular ethnic group in Malaysia (that of the Malaysian-Malays)

Nevertheless, the ways in which Young's differentiated citizenship has been interpreted and practised in specific contexts may result in very different outcomes for members of different social groups within the citizenry. It is suggested from the contextual literature analysis that Malaysia's differentiated citizenship is conceptualised within the notion of the politics of differences (Joseph, 2006); in particular, Joseph's explanation on the politics of identification in Malaysia that relate to the notion of difference. Difference for her is not just attributed to diversity but to differences that are embedded within webs of power. Identity discourses in Malaysia are characterised within the political identity that determines privileged rights to the dominant group.

Malaysia's differentiated citizenship is a recognition of the distinctiveness of the dominant group, the Malays. That Malaysian Malays' identity is used to represent Malayness, and involves special recognition for the Malays. The practising of ethnically differentiated citizenship is in favour of the ethnic majority (Malays). According to Haque (2003),the managing of ethnic tensions in Malaysia is done by

expanding the interests of Malays as a dominant ethnic group rather than mediating the interests of all ethnic communities. In the case of Malaysia, because the state was already under the political command of the dominant ethnic group after independence, in the subsequent years it played an instrumental (rather than autonomous) role in expanding the interests or privileges of Malays as the dominant group in terms of its greater special rights or preferences (Haque, 2003).

Another limitation is seen in issues surrounding Malaysia's positionality as a nation in a state of a stable tension. Shamsul (2008) has pointed out that the efforts of the government to maintain stability through inter-ethnic relation bargaining and economic development has lead to the idea of a state of "stable tension," (p.10). By this he meant that multi-ethnic Malaysian people 'have been living in a society dominated by many contradictions but have managed most of them through a continuous process of consensus-seeking negotiation' (p.13).

Malaysia has achieved a number of national economic development objectives. Evidence suggests (Haque, 2003; Lim, 1985) that Malaysia occupies a strong position in economic, social and peace development and that this is owed to a centralized planning approach, adopted since 1950, especially in relation to policies and strategies that were envisaged in the Outline Perspective Plans (1971-1990) and systematically implemented through Malaysia's national five-year plans. After the racial riots incidents in 1969, solidarity, harmony and unity between ethnicities was seen as a vital agenda for the country's stability. Nevertheless, some have argued (Koh, 2015; Pietsch & Clark, 2014) that the practice of ethnically differentiated citizenship demonstrates a lack of consideration for the political, social and cultural rights of ethnic minorities in Malaysia. In the long run, it has meant that ethnic minorities may have become increasingly dissatisfied with their experience of citizenship (Ibrahim, 2013; ; Nicholas, 2005; Ongkili, 2003) and that they may feel that as they do not hold the same status as Malays or they may not be valued as much. The imbalance of power inherent in the national vision can lead to issues for the various ethnic minority groups. Consequently, evidence suggests (Joseph, 2006;

Pietsch & Clark, 2014; Shamsul, 2005) that minorities' status as tension arises may be seen as an uneasy tension rather than a stable tension since inequities of status and access may increase concerns for such groups. Khoo Kay Kim, a well-known historian, in his comments in a Malaysian local newspaper (*The New Sunday Times*, 19 February 2006) related to a public discourse on ethnic relations in Malaysia when he pointed out his concerns about inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia. Khoo expressed concern that ethnic unity in Malaysia seemed to be in a continuously "worrying and fragile state." (Khoo as cited Shamsul 2008,p.13). He further argued that the situation had become this way due to 'numerous misunderstandings and episodes of miscommunication'(p. 14) between the different ethnic groups. Less recognition of minority ethnic groups may lead to prejudice towards, and stereotyping of, ethnic groups in Malaysia.

2.7 Synthesising Citizenship, Identity and Belonging Framework

Having considered the key ideas of citizenship, identity and belonging within both Malaysian and Western analyses of citizenship and identity discourse, I am proposing the differentiated citizenship and belonging, and the politics of belonging as the main frameworks of this study. Later I use Shamsul's (1996) 'two social realities' identity approach as my supporting framework. These frameworks serve as a guideline to how the everyday experiences of citizenship are articulated, understood and negotiated. The details of the frameworks will be explained in the next section.

Drawing on Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship framework, Yuval-Davis'(2006) belonging framework and Shamsul's (1996) two social realities identity framework, I have built a framework to try to understand more fully the nature of being a citizen in modern day Malaysia. This framework is grounded in Young's notion of differentiated citizenship. The recognition of group difference in Young's differentiated citizenship model gives an early insight into Malaysian recognition of

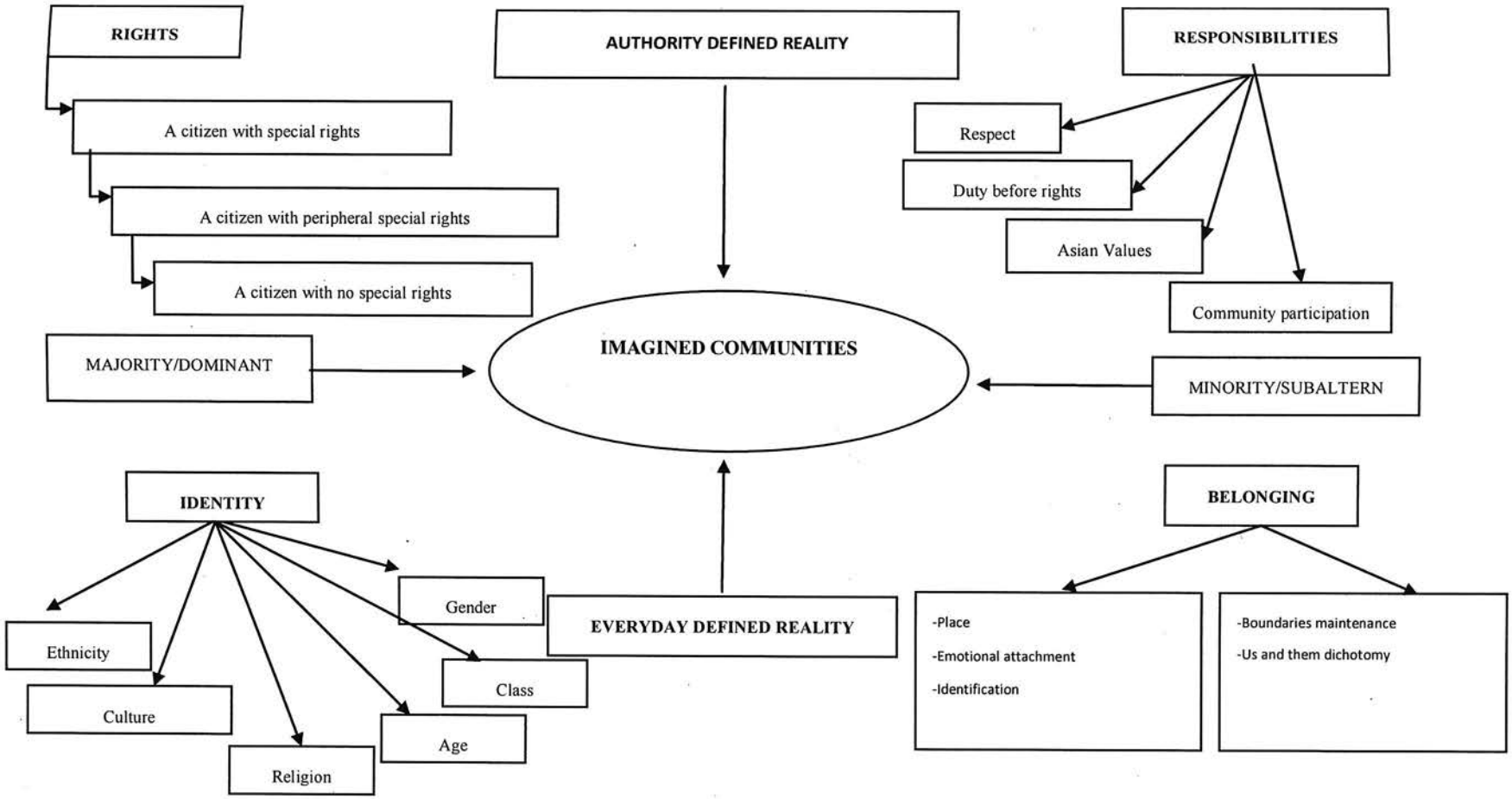
pluralism in Malaysia. Malaysia's differentiated citizenship follows certain criteria reflected in Young's differentiated notion. Several studies on citizenship in Malaysia have used the idea of differentiated citizenship (Hefner, 2014; Koh, 2015; Pietsch & Clark, 2014) as a means of understanding the diversity of citizenship experiences in this context. Nevertheless, after examining Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia, I realised that identity and status mattered. The complexity of the experience and understanding of citizenship in Malaysia were likely to be substantial as individuals engaged with key aspects of their sense of self (identity), sometimes positively and sometimes negatively.

Within the Malaysian national vision or Malaysian ethnically differentiated citizenship, different groups hold distinctly different statuses and may experience citizenship in different ways depending on their identity and connection to specific groups. It was at this point that I began to talk about an individual's sense of belonging and I was directed to Yuval-Davis's work in order for me to develop this idea further. Her notions of belonging and the politics of belonging were highly relevant as she argued for different kinds of belonging, highlighting the different narratives that might play a part in citizenship construction. Yuval-Davis' belonging was used in my framework as a key component of individual belonging and is illustrated in my diagram as related to everyday realities of identity and belonging. On the other hand, the politics of belonging pointed towards official, formal discourses strongly reinforcing the national vision model of citizenship formed of rights and responsibilities. These ideas were revisited many times and tentative models generated to begin to create a potential way of thinking about the topic. However, these two frameworks have a Western basis and to grasp the ideas of the Malaysian way of citizenship and identity, the framework of citizenship and identity in Malaysia needed to understand clearly how Western ideas of identity and citizenship could be translated within the Malaysian context. Therefore, I found that Shamsul's (1996) two social realities (the authority defined and every day defined realities) might provide a means of deepening my understanding of the

diverse influences in this process of being and becoming a citizen of Malaysia. So it was that a tentative model emerged and provided some sensitising concepts for thinking about the data and the analytical process. As the latter progressed, a more substantial framework was created and revised and I continued to review it as I returned to the literature and to the data analysis in turn.

Therefore, two phases of this framework were created. The first phase considers the key themes of citizenship and identity within the national vision framework, within the discourse of identity, citizenship and belonging. The first framework was used as a guideline for the data gathering and findings. The second phase, a more refined framework, was developed during the analysis chapter and I will discuss this in detail in the analysis and discussion chapter. The discussion chapter, in particular, will reflect on the first phase of this framework and highlight the development of the framework throughout the findings chapter. The detail of the first phase of the framework is as follows:

Diagram 2.1: Imagined communities framework



The four main constructs of citizenship are rights, responsibilities, identity and belonging. Each of these themes has sub-themes that represent the pre-determined themes from the citizenship discourse in the literature chapter. The four themes are discussed within the vertical and horizontal dimensions. The vertical dimension represents how the key themes could be discussed within both the authority-defined and everyday-defined realities. Most identity discourses in Malaysia focus on the authority-defined rather than the everyday-defined reality. This study attempts to capture how authority-defined identity may conflict with everyday-defined identity experiences. The horizontal dimension represents the participants in this study, that is, multi-ethnic Malaysian groups. The two groups seem to be set in a paradoxical way, as one represents the dominant group, or citizens with special rights, and the other represents the subordinate group, or citizens with peripheral and unprivileged special rights. The identity, citizenship and belonging experiences of both groups were analysed to capture how these experiences promoted a sense of belongingness and how they reinforced boundaries between the two social realities of citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. Although some of the sub-themes were included in the diagram, for example within the identity sub themes, I included gender as one of them as a reflection of the literature analysis chapter of citizenship, identity and belonging; nevertheless not all of these elements in the diagram can be explored in depth in this thesis. Instead I dealt with such ideas as gender as they emerged from the data.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has argued that citizenship is a multifaceted concept that is irreducible to a single explanation. There is no one interpretation of what citizenship means or should mean, and there are differences in the values attributed to 'good citizenship'. Evidently, the main traditional approaches to citizenship: civic republican, liberalism and communitarianism have influenced and shaped the language of citizenship. Nevertheless, there are many powerful challenges to these dominant

notions of citizenship and civic life. Arguably, the universal nature of citizenship has been called into question by the process of globalisation and massive immigration in Western society. Liberal citizenship conceptualisations, based on individual freedom and equality, and focusing on individual rights, have failed to accommodate cultural pluralism in the late twentieth century. In the past hundred years, social, political and economic movements have inspired new forms and ideals of citizenship and are invigorating old forms. It is suggested that citizenship must begin to look beyond the universal to the particular, to encompass the notion of 'difference', as arguably citizenship, in addition to being a legal status, is also a source of identity. The traditional and modern citizenship discourses that include marginalised groups such as feminists and cultural minorities have developed or retained their vigour as a result of unfulfilled promises, shaping new forms of civic agency, identity and membership. Critical and transnational discourses of citizenship raise basic questions about identity (who we are as citizens), membership (who do we belong to and the location of the boundaries) and agency (how might we best enact citizenship) (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Many scholars, such as Carens (2000), Taylor (1994) and Young (1989), have proposed differentiated citizenship and praised the advantages of cultural fragmentation in the name of the 'politics of difference'. The idea behind this is to provide inclusion for traditionally excluded and marginalised groups. Although a commitment to equal citizenship implies that a state should acknowledge the different histories, needs and goals of the various communities that constitute it, a multicultural society must at the same time develop a genuinely shared culture and maintain common ground among the members of the society. These difficult questions surrounding political stability and the equality of citizens cannot be easily resolved. It is not the aim of this chapter to promote a solution to what citizenship is or what good citizenship is, rather it focuses on developing different discourses of citizenship to help understand the different languages of citizenship at different times and contexts. The aim of this chapter is also to study how different discourses of citizenship in Western perspectives are understood in the Asian and Malaysian contexts.

In summary, the two broad traditions of citizenship – civic republican and liberal tradition discourses – have had a powerful influence on shaping Western citizenship. Civic republican discourse attached much value to political institutions because its proponents felt they were a means of developing autonomy, which is why they linked freedom to citizenship. The republicans' idea of democracy is deliberative, where citizens have a voice and the ability to think and participate actively; thus, power is not through oligarchy, but rulers are held accountable to their citizens. In addition, republicanism as a political theory concentrated on the questions of how to pursue the common good, how to achieve good government, the political virtues needed by citizens, the importance of political participation and the resistance of oppressive modes of government. Civic republican tradition places a strong emphasis on active citizenship, the virtues of citizens and involvement of citizens in decision-making (Heater, 2013). Civic republican discourse expresses the values of service to one's political community (local, state and national). Its views on civic membership in the political community are characterised by an exclusivity not seen in other citizenship discourses (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). In addition to political community, it embraces the early idea of commonality, consensus and unity. Oldham's (1998) observation on civic republican, suggests that civic republican discourse largely retains the benefits of exclusivity. He added that the idea of exclusive membership, which was the key of the civic republican tradition, offers priority to political and national communities over universalist or humanist ethics. (Oldham, 1998 as cited in Abowitz & Harnish, 2006)

The liberal tradition prioritises the rights of the individual to form, revise and pursue his or her own definition of the good life, within certain constraints that are imposed to promote respect for and consideration of the rights of others. The important notion of liberal citizenship is about equality, and one that provides the marginalised and oppressed with the opportunity to exercise freedom in society. It guarantees individual freedom as well as political, civil and social rights that are applicable as fundamental rights in most democratic societies today. Attempting to

broaden and deepen the liberal agendas of human freedom, these discourses focus specifically on exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality or socio-economic class. Cultural citizenship discourses interrogate how different ethnic, minority language and other cultural groups have found citizenship to be a role and an identity. There are many different aspects to citizenship and all of them have an influence on how the concept is perceived. There is the old, exclusive ideal of citizenship (citizens as male patriarch-warriors) that is in the background of contemporary discussions on citizenship. In addition, there are the influences of culture and the debate on the importance of nationalism and nation-states and the relation between these two debates. And last but not least, there is the multicultural discourse on universal human rights that shape the understanding of citizenship. These are all very different ideas that arise from different backgrounds and discourses, and although they all have an effect on how the concept of citizenship is understood, it seems hard in most cases to reconcile these different elements in a discussion about what constitutes citizenship.

This chapter has drawn out some key concepts underlying citizenship, identity and belonging and the debates that surround them. The key elements of Western citizenship discussed above have nevertheless influenced Asians in general and Malaysians in particular in relation to citizenship, identity and belonging. Nevertheless, due in particular to the historical nature of Malaysia's multi-ethnic society and opposition to Western liberal democratic society, the Western discourse of citizenship may not fit easily into Malaysia's national framework of citizenship. The two literature review chapters have informed us how Western ways of citizenship may have influenced Malaysian ways of citizenship. Key elements of citizenship, rights, responsibilities and participation are the key ideas to understand how the student teachers in this study understand and experience citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The questions of identity and belonging are also important as far as citizenship in multi-ethnic societies is concerned. The Western elements of citizenship that have influenced Malaysian ways of citizenship are patriotism and

loyalty to one political community from a civic republican tradition, respect for equal fundamental rights from liberal traditions, as embraced in the Malaysian constitution, and community values over individual values from the communitarian tradition. Beyond these, questions on identity within the Malaysian national vision have implications for ways of belonging and of being a multi-ethnic Malaysian and these elements must also be part of the study of citizenship in Malaysia. At the end of this section, an imagined community national vision framework was developed that reflects the key elements of identity, citizenship and belonging as a guideline for data collection and for the analysis and discussion chapter.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The last two chapters drew on citizenship literature analysis to illustrate on how citizenship is understood in Malaysian contexts, and Western models of citizenship and how these have impacted on the Malaysian context. Three key concepts of citizenship membership – rights and duties, identity, and belonging – were introduced in the preceding chapter. These concepts were central to the construction of the theoretical foundations for this study and, as the research progressed, their redevelopment.

The aim of this chapter is to describe and provide a rationale for the research design adopted for this study. It therefore presents the research questions and introduces and explains the research perspectives considered in the research design process. The research methods, research objectives, theoretical frameworks and research questions are interrelated. The use of research methods not only responds to the research questions, but also reflects the researcher's beliefs. In this chapter, I outline my research paradigm and methodology that influenced my choice of research methods and also led to my concern for research ethics and the related research approach and strategy (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The key themes represent gaps in identity, citizenship and belonging in studies on citizenship and citizenship education understandings, values and beliefs that focus on student teachers' (from diverse ethnic backgrounds and ethnicities) everyday living experiences and their formal experiences in school and university. They offer

a conceptual and theoretical framework through which four research questions are specified as follows:

1. What policies are currently shaping citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia within student teacher courses, specifically in service-learning?
2. How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic backgrounds and ethnicities) view their identities in multi-ethnic Malaysia?
3. What are student teachers' beliefs on what makes a 'good citizen' in the Malaysian context?
4. How does engaging in service-learning affect student teachers' understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia?

This chapter presents the research process, explaining the research methodology and research methods used in this study. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate student teachers' formal and informal everyday living experiences of citizenship. The purpose is not to test a hypothesis, prove a theory or to gather statistical evidence but to explore multi-ethnic student teachers' beliefs, values and attitudes on citizenship. Using an ethnographic approach best serves my purposes.

3.2 Research Paradigm

A paradigm consists of the following components: ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods. Epistemology is concerned with the nature and forms of knowledge (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Epistemological assumptions are concerned with how knowledge can be created, acquired and communicated. In other words, epistemology is *what it means to know*. Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain that epistemology asks the question 'What is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known?' Ontology is the study of being (Crotty, 1998, p. 10). Ontological assumptions are concerned with what constitutes reality. In other words, ontology refers to *what is* (Scotland, 2012). Different

paradigms hold differing ontological and epistemological views; thus, they have differing assumptions of reality and knowledge which underpin their particular research approach. This is reflected in their methodology and methods. Methodology is the strategy or plan of action that lies behind the choice and use of particular methods (Crotty, as cited in Scotland, 2012).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain that methodology asks the question 'How can the inquirer go about finding out whatever he/she believes can be known?' (p. 108).In an attempt to explain the qualitative research approach used in this study, I agree with Crotty (1998) that the research should be distinguished from epistemological and theoretical perspectives in which a researcher could not claim to be both objectivist and constructionist at the same time.

In the two preceding chapters, I explained my understanding of the key themes that underpin identity and citizenship theories and their related issues within the field of citizenship. I also positioned myself within the debates on identity and citizenship with regard to the literature on both Malaysian and Western aspects of citizenship. These understandings in turn informed the nature of the research questions raised, an indication that this research falls within the constructivist research paradigm. The details, understandings, values and beliefs of the multi-ethnic student teachers in terms of everyday citizenship experiences were reached by following a research string of constructionism, interpretative and ethnography. The decisions and justifications behind selecting this approach are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Within the social constructivist research paradigm, reality for an individual is an outcome of a process through which that individual makes sense of the social and physical worlds around him/her. It is through the process of interacting with the social and physical worlds that an individual constructs what reality is for him/her on the basis of how s/he makes sense of it. These constructions then become the

perceptions that individuals develop and these perceptions are reinforced through their interactions with others. Reality is based on an individual's understandings and experience of the world, which in turn has implications for the life of that individual making the construction, and for others with whom s/he interacts (Cohen & Manion, 2007).

3.3 Research Approach and Design: Interpretative Approach and Ethnographic Research

This study was conceptualised within the interpretive paradigm. As explained earlier, interpretivists reject the assumptions made by positivists concerning the nature of human beings and the ways of knowing about social phenomena. Meanings for the interpretivists are not fixed (Scotland, 2012). They are continuously being created, changed, modified and developed through interaction. Interpretations are based on what human beings know of the objects and/or people with whom they are interacting (Wallace and Wolf, 1999). The aim of understanding the subjective meanings of persons in studied domains is essential in the interpretive paradigm.

The main goal of the interpretivist is to understand the meaning of the social situation from the point of view of those who experience it (Thomas, 2010). The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals. They use meaning-based (versus numerical measurement-based) methodologies that focus on participant observation and interviewing and which rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and subjects. The researcher must interpret the event, understand the process of meaning construction and reveal what meanings are embodied in people's actions. Highlighting its difference from a positivist paradigm, Walsham (1993) posits that:

> interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by

> human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. Thus there is no objective reality which can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others, in contrast to the assumptions of positivist science(p.5).

In summary, interpretivists are concerned with understanding the meanings that people give to objects, social settings, events and the behaviours of others, and how these understandings in turn define the settings. In order to ensure the integrity of the phenomena under study, interpretivists approach research differently from positivists. First, they study people in their natural surroundings (Connole, Smith, & Wiseman, 1995). Second, they use methods of data collection that allow the meanings behind the actions of the people under study to be revealed. Commonly used methods in interpretivist studies are informant interviewing, participant and non-participant observations and analysis of all kinds of documents (Gephart, 1999).

Following the discussed research paradigm, I was more inclined towards approaching the study qualitatively because developing an understanding of student teachers' identity and citizenship experiences was a complex phenomenon that could not be measured in terms of numbers or fixed categories (Bryman, 2001). By doing the study qualitatively, I was able to give priority to gaining an understanding of the complexities, varied perspectives and experiences of the respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Approaching a research study qualitatively primarily implies that the research is aimed at understanding the meaning of human actions through the use of non-numeric data in the form of words. To achieve the above objective, the researcher studies things in their natural settings and attempts to make sense of, or interpret, the phenomena being studied in terms of the meaning that people associate with those phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Ritchie, Lewis, et.al, 2013). Accordingly, this study was approached qualitatively because of its aim to generate direct interpretations of how the research participants made sense of their own reality (Bryman, 2012).

A qualitative interpretive research approach has been adopted for this study. The qualitative approach breaks away from traditional research methodology in that it does not focus on the production of objective and reproducible data but is concerned with meaning, and how it informs subjective understanding (Banister, 2011; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Qualitative analysis emphasises the importance of the context of behaviour as it is influenced by historical, ecological, socio-economic, political, cultural and temporal conditions, and subsequent interpretations of the meaning thereof (Patton, 2005). Lincoln and Denzin (2005) explain qualitative research as:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that set the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self (p. 3)

At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009).

In this particular study, the student teachers' everyday experience narratives, as an instrument of identity and citizenship construction, were framed by the particular interview encounter. It unfolded as a process of meaning-making, weaving together experiences and events in a particular gestalt, or overall construction of reality.

In broad terms, this particular study can be seen as a project that built upon ethnography and focused ethnography design. Consequently, this study used certain characteristics of ethnography and the tools of ethnography, and I was able to achieve a richness of data collection from the perspectives of student teachers, and this also allowed me to explore the issues and vulnerabilities of these different

groups of student teachers. This study aimed to obtain information of a socio-cultural nature about Malaysia and in particular the citizenship and identity experiences of multi-ethnic Malaysians. Becoming a part of the experiences of these young people, and observing their struggles and challenges, I felt more confident that I had established clear insights into the lived worlds of these participants, an idea which is at the heart of ethnographic work. Another characteristic of this study was the use of multiple methods in order to develop the 'story' as experienced by the multi-ethnic student teachers. The use of ethnographic tools in this study: observation, focus group activity and in-depth interviews as the main instruments, and also short-term fieldwork at sites, justify why this study is seen not as a traditional ethnography but instead as a focused ethnography design. The focus groups and in-depth interviews were complemented by ethnographic accounts of the student teachers' service-learning sites, namely the university and service-learning placement sites, through participant observation, informal interviews and documentary evidence. The application of focused ethnographic design as my research approach was particularly appropriate, given the nature of my aim and research questions.

Nevertheless, to get a clear understanding on how this study draws upon the elements of ethnography, the explanation of actual and focused ethnography will be explained in detail. Originally, ethnography was a qualitative research method used by anthropologists to describe a culture (Whitehead, 1981). By definition, culture has many meanings but usually consists of values, roles and material items associated with a particular group of people. Ethnographic research, therefore, attempts to fully describe a variety of aspects and norms of a cultural group to enhance understanding of the people being studied (Byrne, 2001). Generally, the main aim of ethnography is to provide a whole and rich insight into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights and sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection of in-depth observations and interviews (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008).

Ethnography is a qualitative approach that does not set out to test hypotheses but to explore social phenomena. Ethnography refers primarily to a particular method or set of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer, participating overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Culture itself refers to the beliefs, values and attitudes that influence the behaviour patterns of specific groups of people. In this study, the historical creation of multi-ethnic Malaysia brought together different peoples, cultures, values and beliefs in one nation. Furthermore, the differences in 'status' accorded to the majority and minority groups added to the different experiences of citizenship and citizenship education.

Ethnography seeks not only to find out answers to 'what' questions but also to 'how' and 'why' questions, as participants may differ in their understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. Greener (2011) explained that ethnographic design embraces a range of methods, from participant observation and interviews, to documentary analysis, and these are described in greater detail later in this chapter.

This study did not intend to test any hypothesis but it relied on what can be inferred from its subjects and an understanding of the student teachers' citizenship and identity understandings, values and beliefs by adopting an induction process. In other words, it was assumed that by probing the participants' accounts of actions, it would help to understand how they experienced identity and citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. As the interpretative perspective is characterised by the subjectivity of knowledge, the researcher was actively involved with the participants through various methods of data collection in order to understand belonging, identity and citizenship and citizenship from the perspectives and experiences of the student teachers. Thus, the researcher did not isolate himself from the investigated context;

rather, the researcher was the main data-collecting instrument and was the active contractor of the meanings (Radnor, 2002).

As mentioned, this study was not designed following conventional or traditional ethnography that involves an extensive amount of time in participant observation, but was rather designed in the spirit of ethnography and a focused ethnography. In the spirit of ethnography, the instruments used in collecting the data were participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus group interviews that are similar to the conventional ethnography. In addition, I designed my study as focused ethnography. For Knoblauch (2005), focused ethnography is not necessarily different from traditional ethnography and is a design that has been used widely, specifically when researching 'contemporary societies which are socially and culturally highly differentiated and fragmented in phenomenon' (p.1).

Certain features of focused ethnography suit this particular study. Firstly, in general, focused ethnography is focused on short-term field visits '(settings that are 'part-time' rather than permanent)' (p.2). Nevertheless, as suggested by Knoblauch (2005), the short duration of field visits are normally added to with 'the intensive use of audiovisual technologies of data collection and data analysis' (p.2). Therefore, data collection in focused ethnographies is usually data intensive. For Knoblauch, a focused ethnography produces a large amount of data in a relatively short time period, which, therefore, requires intensive analysis'(p.2). The analysis of data may be said to be utterly time-intensive since it focuses on a massive amount of data collected in a short time, in contrast to field notes which cover long durations. I used traditional ethnography tools: participant observation in citizenship education classrooms for seven weeks and participant observation at service-learning placements (fieldwork projects). I also used focus group interviews, in-depth interviews and document analysis (service-learning reflective journal).

The focused ethnographic design was able to achieve the aims of this study as the researcher wanted to investigate multi-ethnic student teachers' ways of belonging, through their understandings, beliefs and values of citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia over three different stages: before, during and after having experienced a service-learning project of citizenship and citizenship education. I documented the student teachers' narratives of identity, belonging and membership experiences. This involved a cultural interpretation which 'involves the ability to describe what has been heard and seen within the framework of the social group's views of reality' (Fetterman, 1989).

Following Knoblauch's (2005) focused ethnography model, I undertook a scheduled and comprehensive data collection in the thirteen weeks and six days of the fieldwork (see Appendix G). The thirteen weeks (three months) were spent during the second semester of the 2011/2012 session at SIEU. I also spent six days at two service-learning placements. This included three days at an aborigine village and three days at a care home for elderly people. Nevertheless, the short time period of the coverage was compensated for by another type of intensity – the use of different kinds of instruments – as I was dealing with a massive amount of data which demanded an intensive analysis. All the data collection methods were scheduled systematically.

3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is perceived as an integral process in qualitative research whereby the researcher reflects continuously on how their own actions, values and perceptions impact upon the research setting and can affect data collection and analysis (Gerrish & Lacey, 2010). It is important for the researcher to acknowledge that his/her personal opinions will control to some extent how one perceives the social world studied. As Ball (1990) notes, the researcher's identity, values and beliefs are ingrained within the research, and they are 'a built-in component that cannot be

eliminated as an influence on the end product as findings of the project' (cited in Denscombe, 2010). The ethnographer therefore needs to be reflexive about how his/her personal experience, beliefs and values may have shaped the interpretation of the events. It is unavoidable for the researcher to not have preconceptions about the group she is studying; therefore it is crucial for the researcher to be reflexive. Reflexivity in social research is not a single phenomenon but assumes a variety of forms and affects the research process through all its stages. The ethnographer continually has to be reflexive and consider whether or not her own biases and expectations of the surrounding study are influencing their results and findings. Bryman (2001) expounds on the importance of reflexivity when he comments that 'researchers should be reflective about the implications of their methods, values, biases and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate' (Bryman, 2001).

The Research Process through My Positionality

As mentioned in detail in my introduction chapter, I am Malay and a Muslim, a citizen with special rights that means I belong to a dominant group in multi-ethnic Malaysia. I have had experience of working with multi-ethnic colleagues and students for almost 16 years. My 'status' as a citizen with special rights, in theory, makes me insensitive towards others and means I have a lack of understanding of others' rights, identity and belonging. Nevertheless, having experience of working with diverse undergraduate students in an 'unprivileged group institution' and having personal experience of being in a subordinate group in an institution ultimately led to my interest in conducting qualitative research to learn more about the experiences of multi-ethnic students in relation to identity, and belonging and identity. Through formal and informal conversations with students of different ethnicities about their citizenship experiences, I heard stories in which students shared their struggles with intolerance and the disrespect of their identity and rights, and who wanted their stories heard. This particular study aimed to

understand the ways in which students in the subordinate groups (citizens with peripheral special rights and citizens with no additional rights) negotiated their everyday experiences of identity, citizenship and belonging in a predominant Malay culture.

I see myself in two interrelated positions: as a member of the privileged Malay majority and as an educator involved in related citizenship and value education. Being an'insider researcher' for me, here, has two meanings. Firstly, despite differences at the level of ethnicity, the researcher and the researched shared the same national ideology and language. Secondly, 'insider' refers to my own institution, where the participants were my students. Certain boundaries and limitations had to be considered to avoid power bias. Power here referred to my membership of the dominant group and my authority as the teacher. For an ethnographer researcher, reflexivity is very important. The researcher listened, and was involved in conversations and sometimes, where there was uncertainty, the researcher interviewed informants on the issues (Davies, 2008). Therefore, it is important for the researcher to reflect on the information collected in order to note the way interpretations of the data are being made and, in addition, to reflect on gaps in what people say or do which point to common sense. Assumptions are also being made, and these need to be clarified with the informants.

Positioning My Role in the Research

Before entering the field for my data collection, I imagined that I, the researcher, was the one who needed to find answers from the participants through their stories and experiences. I had not expected that my own knowledge and values might have influence on the data gathering and data analysis process. I realised that having situated my research within the social constructivist research paradigm, in which the researcher's values and role(s) in the research are acknowledged, there was a

need for me to become transparent as to what role(s) I played in the research process (Charmaz, 2014; Simons, 2009).

Insider-Outsider Positions

The literature generally characterises insider research as being conducted by a researcher who is part of a group or organisation for a period of time (Temple & Edwards, 2002). Outsiders are considered non-members who do not have access to privileged or intimate information of the group under study (Griffith, 1998). Griffith (1998) added that an 'insider is someone whose biography (gender, race, class, sexual orientation and so on) gives her familiarity with the group being researched' while an outsider is 'a researcher who does not have any intimate knowledge of the group being researched, prior to entry into the group' (p. 361). I learnt that both insiders and outsiders assert the accuracy of their dealings with the research process. Insiders claim that only members of their ethnic or cultural group can really understand and accurately describe the group's culture because their socialisation within the group gives them unique insights into it. Outsiders claim that they can more accurately describe a culture because group loyalties prevent individuals from viewing their culture objectively (Banks, 1998). Throughout the research process, I came to realise that my role incorporated that of both outsider and insider to the research context. I was aware of my role and I decided to use that awareness and consciously negotiated both roles. In deciding to take on both roles, I was wary of the fact that people relate to one another through culturally understood roles in which obligations and responsibilities are known to both parties (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). In this study, I saw myself as an insider as well as an outsider researcher. At the level of the organisation, my position was as a member of academic staff in the Social and Citizenship Department, SIEU, where I had been lecturing and teaching undergraduate Moral Education and Civic and Citizenship Education since 2006. The student teachers in general knew me as one of the Social and Citizenship Department academic staff at SIEU. At this point, I positioned myself as an insider

of the organisation. I had easy access to the university building and other facilities. I could also easily make arrangements with the academic staff who taught the service-learning course. I could easily have access to classrooms during the service-learning course. The student teachers felt comfortable sharing most of their citizenship experiences with me as they saw me as a citizenship education teacher. They respected me as a teacher and they readily shared their formal experiences of citizenship.

I am a Malaysian. I have been living in Malaysia for over 30 years. I have always been aware of Malaysia as a multi-ethnic society and of the ethnic relations and historical background of multi-ethnic Malaysia. I have been engaged in a plural society since my school years and this is enough for me to have a deep understanding of Malaysia's multi-ethnic culture and society. I perceive myself as one of the society's (multi-ethnic respondents) 'members' and have a member's knowledge. From the above position as an insider researcher, I see myself as a researcher who has explicit background knowledge of Malaysian multi-ethnic 'culture'.

I am also an 'organisational' insider researcher. I am one of the academic staff at SIEU, an institution that has existed since 2006 and is the setting for this study. I have been involved with the citizenship education curriculum development and implementation committee at SIEU. As part of the team I am responsible for developing and refining the citizenship education course as a minor programme. As part of the teaching staff, I have engaged with higher education students from diverse ethnic backgrounds at two education institutions. I have taught ethnic relations, nationhood, moral education and citizenship. Both my positions (social and professional insider) exposed me to 'members' knowledge' of the 'societies' in this study.

I have experienced the teaching of ethnic relations and Islamic civilisation. Most importantly, I have experienced working at Tunku Abdul Rahman College (a Chinese–Malaysian aided institution) where I have experienced teaching minorities, or non-privileged groups, in Malaysia. At this institution, I also became more aware of others as part of multi-ethnic Malaysia. I learnt how the subordinate students struggled and negotiated in relation to their education rights, opportunities in higher education, financing and scholarships, and also religious and cultural intolerance.

I also positioned myself as an *indigenous insider* (Banks, 1998), because I am also a member of the core privileged group (Malays) in multi-ethnic Malaysia. My Malay student teachers are also from the core privileged group. We share the same language, religion, culture and privileges in multi-ethnic Malaysia. At this point I viewed myself as an insider in terms of the organisation, a local and cultural insider. During the in-depth interviews with the core privileged group it was evident that participants sometimes thought that I should have known the answers to some of the questions because I was one of them. As an insider, there is a possibility of being biased in favour of one's own culture. I had to be careful of this and tried as much as possible to be objective. To overcome this, I asked other natives in order to be accurate. We need to be an insider to gain the perspectives of the group, as well as to be trusted with the concealed behaviour often withheld from outsiders. Yet, a researcher must also maintain some critical distance so that she is not merely an unfiltered advocate for the group.

Nevertheless, as this study deals with multi-ethnic student teachers, I also observed and interviewed the peripheral privileged and non-privileged groups who have fewer or no special rights, less recognition and a different culture and religion. Also, I was intimidated or reluctant to ask some questions that I should have asked, I was careful to represent the topic of stereotypes as a multi-group construct rather than as one that affects only groups that are victims of prejudice and discrimination.

Nevertheless, for most of the time during the fieldwork I engaged myself by interacting with the student teachers from the early beginning of the study and during the rapport-building informal interviews, the in-depth interviews and focus group interviews. The data presented reflected more of what I heard in the field than what I saw. Rapport and Cohen (1995), noted that listening is at least as significant to ethnographers as observation. This study sought to discover and describe the citizenship and citizenship education experiences that influence the multi-ethnic student teachers' understandings, values and beliefs in terms of their rights and duties, identity and belonging in multi-ethnic Malaysia. To address the research questions within an ethnographic research design, the data were obtained through the use of focus group interviews, in-depth interviews, observation and the student teachers' service-learning reflective journals. The following sections describe the setting, participants, data sources and data collection procedures, data analysis and the researcher's role.

3.5 Process of Sampling

The student teachers who participated in this research were sampled on the basis that they showed some features of interest for the research purpose and questions raised. Therefore, the participants were purposively sampled (Silverman, 2010). My aim was to look at multi-ethnic student teachers' experiences of identity, citizenship and belonging and how they understand identity and citizenship within the framework of the Malaysian national vision. Therefore, as I was looking at the everyday experiences of citizens in Malaysia, the main criterion was that the multi-ethnic Malaysians were relevant and that their experience had direct reference to the research questions. I listed **two main sampling criteria** that guided me in selecting the research participants for this research project. The criteria for the selection of the participating teachers are outlined below.

The first criterion was the **settings** where the multi-ethnic student teachers were engaged and directly involved in citizenship education. This particular research comprised two settings: the institution (SIEU) and the setting for the service-learning fieldwork, where the community service-learning project took place. The settings included all student teachers enrolled into the service-learning course at that time.

My fieldwork was conducted over a period of three months, beginning and ending in February and May 2012, respectively. SIEU is a premier education university in Malaysia. The university was given the responsibility of providing the nation with a knowledge-based community of quality educationists, who are problem-solvers in educational development. They are well equipped in the humanities and in science and technology to enable them to play distinctive roles in balancing language, fine art, literature and culture against the impacts of information technology. The university has held a distinguished tradition in Malaysia's education system since its establishment as Sultan Idris Training College on 29 November 1922.

The university offers undergraduate and postgraduate programmes using both the English and Malay languages as the medium of instruction. The Faculty of Human Sciences was established in February 2005. This faculty has a strong teaching tradition in the study of Geography, History, Moral Education, Islamic Studies and Malaysian Studies. These programmes offer a combination of theoretical knowledge and practical experiences to ensure that potential graduates are able to face global challenges, as well-trained graduates in various fields of science and social studies of the science education humanities. Programmes are offered to produce human resources in administration, planning and public service agencies and in private, international and diplomatic relations and management. The role of graduates in these areas is equally important as in other areas of managing the development of an organisation or a country in general.

Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE) was introduced in 2010 as a minor programme for the Bachelor of Moral Education. The CCE programme comprises eight courses with twenty-four credit hours. The general objectives of the programme are to produce: graduates with content knowledge in the field of CCE, graduates with professional skills in teaching and managing the subject of civic education offered at school, and graduates with a high level of understanding of good and effective citizens. The CCE course was implemented to create awareness among students of their roles, rights and responsibilities in the community and the country in order to produce members of society and citizens who work together, are patriotic and can contribute to the good of the community, country and wider world. Therefore, the student teachers enrolled into this CCE course were those who directly experienced citizenship education. These particular student teachers also engaged formally as pre-service civic education teachers who teach citizenship education throughout Malaysia (UPSI, 2014). The service-learning course is one of the subjects offered to student teachers enrolled on the Bachelor in Moral Education Programme at Sultan Idris Education University (SIEU). Students who enrol onto the Service-Learning course have to engage in a service-learning placement project. They plan, engage and reflect on the service-learning process.

The setting for my fieldwork was at the service-learning placement project where the student teachers experienced everyday interactions on citizenship, identity and belonging. I was involved in two community works at the service-learning placement project. The same students who enrolled into the civic and citizenship education minor programme were engaged in community work as part of their citizenship course. I was the participant observer at these service-learning projects. For this group, the community placement project was about 'understanding the Aboriginal community', through three days' community work at one of the aborigine villages in Malaysia. The particular aborigine village involved was located within *Selangor* state, a one-hour drive from SIEU. The project was aimed at getting to know the aborigine people's origins, ways of life, culture and the issues they

faced. Throughout the observation to take field notes, I found that most of the student teachers had some general knowledge about the aborigine groups and they now had the opportunity to engage with them through the voluntary work project.

I spent another three days at the second placement project, community work at a care home for the elderly. This care home was occupied by elderly Indian and Chinese people. The multi-ethnic student teachers who participated in the care home community work project built up a good rapport with these elderly citizens. The aim of the care home community project was to engage with older citizens. In this setting, I observed how the student teachers interacted with the elderly people, heard their voices and listened to their life stories.

The second sampling criterion was 'multi-ethnic' student teachers who had experienced citizenship in Malaysia. The selection of student teachers represented multiple ethnicities in Malaysia. Malays, Chinese, Indian, aborigines and the indigenous people of East Malaysia were all selected. Different ethnicities also implied the participants' different legal 'statuses' as citizens. Malay Muslims are considered as a dominant group and as citizens with special rights, the aborigines and Eastern Malaysians are citizens with peripheral special rights and the Indians and Chinese are citizens with no special rights. For the purpose of this research, I categorised the multi-ethnic student teachers based on their political status. I used three terms to represent this group. The 'core privileged group' represents the Malay Muslim groups; the 'peripheral privileged group' represents the Eastern Malaysian indigenous people, aborigines and 'others', that is the Thai-Malaysian people; and the 'unprivileged group' represents the historical immigrants that are the Chinese and Indians. A summary of the research participants is shown in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Student Teachers' legal status in multi-ethnic Malaysia

Category	Group	Character
Core privileged group (CPG)	Malay	Muslim
Peripheral privileged group (PPG)	Non-Malay, non-Muslim	Eastern Malaysia indigenous, aborigines, Thai-Malaysian people
Unprivileged group (UPG)	Non-Malay, non-Muslim	Chinese and Indians, historical immigrants

For the purpose of presenting the findings of the analysis, I will sometimes use the following abbreviations in reference to the three groups: CPG for core privileged group student teachers, PPG for peripheral privileged group student teachers and UPG for unprivileged group student teachers.

Sample bias

A qualitative research sample is determined by the research purpose, and the size of sample in qualitative research usually relies on small numbers (Patton, 1990). The underlying search for the qualitative researcher was 'not the amount of data but rather the richness of the data, not the total counts but the detailed descriptions' (Carey, 1995, p. 492). In this particular research, when I decided to recruit my potential sample from the main sample of multi ethnic student teachers who were enrolled onto the service-learning course, I realized that of the whole 69 of my potential participants, there were only two main ethnic groups in the classroom; Malays and the indigenous eastern Malaysian group. This meant my potential participants were not just small in number but also limited in representing the target population of multi-ethnic Malaysia. To ensure that a sample was inclusive of a range of ethnicities, I proposed to recruit a new sample using random sampling but within the criteria assigned in this study. I managed to recruit the sample using snowballing methods from the existing participants. Participants proposed another group of potential participants who had already engaged with the service-learning course in their second year and were now in their final year. I managed to recruit

the participants that represented multi-ethnic Malaysians. The existing group I named as groups A and B whilst the additional group I named as group C.

Although I was not involved as a participant observer for the group C service-learning classroom and service-learning placement project, I handled an extra focus group activity for the C group to gain information and data on the service-learning classroom as well as the service-learning placement projects they had experienced. I also had access to C group student teachers' reflective journals from their placements. Therefore I managed to reflect on the C group service-learning classroom and service-learning placement project.

The issues of limitations to the research as a consequence of sample bias can be countered by the use of a number of research strategies. One of the strategies that I adopted was the use of different methods of collecting data (Tuckett & Stewart, 2004). For example I cross checked the data from the A and B group observation field notes with the data from the C group extra focus group activity on service-learning. Therefore I was able to consider the congruence and complementarity (triangulation) of each participant's group and each participant's journal reflection with the data from the participant's in-depth interview (Greene & McClintock 1985).

3.6 Process of Data Generation

In line with the ethnographic design to develop a line of inquiry and the vigorous approach required for the in-depth data collection, I engaged two methods of data generation. These were participant and non-participant observations and focus groups, and in-depth interviews. The methods used were designed to complement each other and enrich my ability to develop a better understanding. I spent three months on the fieldwork, covering 14 weeks of the term for the service-learning course at SIEU. During the first seven weeks of the term, I was involved as a non-participant observer in the service-learning course classrooms. The informal interviews and non-participant observations were performed prior to the

participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews so that the information generated from one approach enriched and completed the knowledge and understanding that had already been generated by the other. My aim was to clarify meaning and draw out the multiple realities within which the research participants lived (Flick, 2002; Stake, 2010).

In the first seven weeks, I started my data collection with the informal interviews, aiming to get to know the student teachers' backgrounds, including their culture, language, religion and the communities in which they lived. In week eight (April 2012), I started the focus group interviews aiming at building a better understanding of what 'good citizens' meant in multi-ethnic Malaysia. From May to June 2012, I conducted the semi-structured in-depth interviews that were more comprehensive and extensive than the two methods conducted up to that point (i.e. focus groups and non-participant observations). The in-depth interview was semi-structured, where I had already formed a predetermined guide, and pre-themes were informed by the framework determined from my reading of the literature on identity and citizenship (chapters one and two). I prepared flexible and open interview sessions so that the student teachers could choose any time during the period of weeks 8 to 10 of the term. In weeks 10 to 12, I was involved as a participant observer at the service-learning placement project.

Interviews: Focus group and in-depth interviews

Patton (2005) defined a focus group interview as 'an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic'. It is not necessary for the group to reach any kind of consensus. The purpose of the group is to produce qualitative data to 'provide insights into the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of participants'. The researcher will provide discussion questions or topics of citizenship and assist the groups to interact with each other. It is not a problem-solving discussion but is more about conducting interviews in an interactive way.

There were two types of interviews in this study: the focus group and in-depth interviews. I conducted two phases of focus group interviews; the first set was informal and was aimed at building rapport between the researcher and the researched. Through this first focus group, I had the opportunity to relax my status as their teacher as well as that of a researcher and get familiarised with the participants, their personal background, the communities they lived in and their experiences of inter-ethnic relations. The first focus group interview also provided preliminary insights into the citizenship experience. The data from the first focus group interviews highlighted that the multi-ethnic student teachers had experienced living in a multi-ethnic society and showed what they knew and how they experienced tolerance and recognition. The second set of focus group interviews was an activity based on what good citizenship means in multi-ethnic Malaysia, as perceived by the student teachers.

Focus Group Interviews: Good Citizens in Multi-ethnic Malaysia

The second set of focus group interviews was conducted once for each of the three groups. Basically, the aim of the second focus group was to explore the understandings of good citizenship, as it was perceived by the student teachers. I adopted Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) vision of what constitutes a good citizen – personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented – through a hypothetical case study activity. During the activity, the student teachers were given the hypothetical case study. The idea of the hypothetical case study came out during observation conducted in the service-learning classroom. The course aimed to engage students with community work and student teachers shared their previous informal and formal experiences of community work that they had participated in. Some of them had joined a youth club to participate in community work. Most of the student teachers had also joined an extra-curricular activity in the university and had experienced community work through this. I noticed that in the community work that they experienced and shared, some of them enjoyed themselves being

with the community. They learnt about the community and the needs of the community in a setting outside the institution. During the first focus group, I used this opportunity to ask them more about their experience of community work. I also learnt from the student teachers that they had proved their engagement as more personally responsible citizens. They pay their own utility bills, pay their motor tax and they have experience of donating to people in need. This activity aimed to explore what kind of citizens they perceived themselves to be, following Westheimer & Kahne's (2004) good citizenship framework. Hypothetical situation:

> The area near your house was hit by flash floods; the flooding situation was very serious. The floods caused damage to public as well as private property. The homeless population increased and many of the victims were moved to a temporary transfer centre. Humanitarian aid was provided by the authorities and NGOs.
>
> As a citizen you will choose to:

A. Donate essential items like food, clothes and blankets to the victims.
B. Set up a booth or participate in volunteer groups to help the flood victims.
C. Gather and express your views on the causes of these problems, questioning who is responsible for the disaster.

The student teachers were asked to outline the rationale for their choices. Their responses would provide an indication of how Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) good citizenship framework was understood in the Malaysian context.

Participant Observation

Non-participant observations (NPO) and participant observations (PO) of twenty student teachers were conducted over a period of 14 weeks throughout the service-learning course. NPO was carried out in the classroom setting, with PO conducted during the service-learning placement project. Ethnography is a cyclic iterative

process in which the ethnographer moves back and forth between observations, interviewing and interpretation. I started with descriptive observations that aimed to identify the most general features of the phenomena, and recording information within the social setting (Spradley, 1980). Along with the general or descriptive observation, I carried out informal interviews or natural conversational ethnographic interviews, which were intended to build up an understanding of the student teachers' background, culture and language. The focus of the observation included what, who, how, where, when and why people were observing or learning about the settings or situations. The informal interviews conducted during the descriptive observation were useful as the researcher was able to identify various themes and values that subsequently guided her during the PO and semi-structured in-depth interviews.

The PO undertaken during the service-learning programme aimed to respond to the research question about the nature of citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia. PO is a qualitative method in traditional ethnographic research that aims to help researchers learn the perspectives held by the studied population. PO always takes place in community settings and in locations believed to have some relevance to the research questions. The undertaking of PO at the service-learning placement project aimed to investigate how the student teachers learnt the citizenship experiences of others. The researcher approached participants in their own environment rather than having the participants come to the researcher. Generally, a researcher engaged in PO aims to learn what life is like for an 'insider' while remaining, inevitably, an 'outsider' (Lapan, Quartaroli, & Riemer, 2011). My position as a participant observer at the placement involved was as one of the members of the project. I joined the project meeting being conducted by the students. My task was to run activities with the aborigine children, to take part in the aborigine village project and to prepare food at the care centre for the old people's project.

Apart from describing the most interesting or most telling observations, I used Spradley (1980) and Lofland and Lofland's (2006) systematic list to describe everything that happened, related to the objectives of my observations. I created a table in Microsoft Word and arranged the observation lists in the templates. The lists included places, people involved, the activity and event, the time and the emotions felt and expressed. My observations in both settings – the classroom and the service-learning placements were immediately written down as handwritten notes in my empty observation template and I typed them in when I returned. The process of typing was useful in that it helped me to elaborate further on the notes, and I developed questions through this process that I wanted to ask each student teacher during the in-depth interviews (Patton, 2005). On some of the busy days, when I did not have time to write my field notes properly (for example, because I had in-depth interviews scheduled in between my class observations), I would simply take short written notes of my observations and thoughts and then type them up immediately when I returned home. Moreover, to help the student teachers get used to my presence as an observer in their classroom context and of me being a part of their environment; I attended their weekly meetings in the service-learning classroom and placement projects.

During my service-learning placement project observations, I captured how the student teachers engaged in the service-learning, and how they learnt about others' identities, citizenship and belonging. I talked informally and had discussions with the student teachers during the placement. This was when the student teachers shared their experiences. One of the key important aspects of observation, after entering field notes and negotiating a role in the group of people, was building a rapport with the informants. Establishing rapport with their informants is the goal of every ethnographic research. Briefly, rapport means communicating a feeling of empathy with the informants and having them accept it as sincere, penetrating people's 'defences against the outsider' (Agyris, 1952 as cited in LeCompte and Goetz, 1982), having people open up about their feelings and sharing in the

informants' symbolic world, their language and their perspectives. In the present study, the rapport built between the researcher and the researched was quite important as the student teachers may already have had thoughts and boundaries as the researcher was a member of academic staff at SIEU. I explained that my position as a researcher was to learn from them, not to teach them. This was to reassure them that any information they revealed would not be shared with other staff and would be treated in a non-judgemental way. I explained that any thoughts, acts, views and opinions expressed would be used for the purpose of the research only. The informants (i.e. student teachers) should be comfortable and free to express their experiences and feelings without fear of it affecting their course of study, and this was what I strove to achieve.

Recording and Field Notes

Field notes should normally be recorded after each observation, as well as after more casual contacts with the informants. An ethnographer is advised to write complete and comprehensive notes during the observation. The field notes for this research should include an account of the events, actors (student teachers), the time of the events, the manner in which the student teachers behaved or reacted and their feelings about the activity or event. I wrote two sets of field notes: one during my role as non-participant observer in the service-learning course classroom and the other at the service-learning placement project. The classroom field notes that I made were largely descriptive, capturing the learning and teaching activities taking place in the classroom. I captured the student teachers' responses to the service-learning syllabus, which largely included the themes on citizenship engagement in the community. During discussion in the classroom setting, I carefully observed the student teachers' actions as well as their participation in order to see how they responded to the topics related to citizenship, the rights of people in need, neighbourhood rights and dealing with people in power, with a view to them managing the service-learning project. I also decided to capture inter-ethnic

relations during the discussion in the class because, as explained in Chapter One, I was also interested in looking at multi-ethnic relations where citizenship in multi-ethnic society is concerned. The notes taken at the service-learning placement project illustrated how the student teachers engaged and reacted with the community as citizens. The notes also demonstrated how they experienced and learnt that listening to the voices of others is part of being a citizen in multi-ethnic Malaysia.

In-depth Interviews

Understanding how the multi-ethnic student teachers perceived their identity and defined citizenship was one of the major aims of this research. The student teachers were not living in a vacuum. They all carried their own social and cultural backgrounds which influenced how they would interpret and re-interpret the definitions of citizenship, and all struggled with their construction of identity and belonging within the Malaysian national vision framework throughout the process, based on their formal and everyday experiences and backgrounds. Through the in-depth interviews, the participants were allowed to illustrate their self-identification of citizenship. For some of the student teachers in my research, usually viewed as the minority or as subordinate within the nature of ethnically differentiated citizenship, the in-depth interviews were extremely significant as they could be given a voice, and they presented other meanings of citizenship through their life stories. The students who participated in the interviews could also challenge the notion of the image of the ideal citizen in the government's agenda, according to previous literature.

The individual, semi-structured in-depth interviews with each of the 28 student teachers were scheduled for some time following the focus group interviews. The time allocated for each participant was approximately 60 minutes. In-depth interviews were chosen because they offer a particularly advantageous means of

obtaining in-depth, authentic and rich descriptions (Bryman, 2001). In-depth interviews allow research participants who do not have much opportunity to speak in everyday settings to speak for themselves (Greener, 2011). In-depth interviews capture comprehensive and detailed responses that are expressed in different stories, values, and in the feelings experienced by the student teachers. These detailed responses are very meaningful to the ethnographic study. The student teachers expressed their ideas and opinions in their own words. Conducting interviews with the research participants was in line with the constructivist theoretical perspective, because the interviews focused on how each of the research participants experienced reality. In this study, I was successful in capturing rich and meaningful data from the in-depth interviews. There were multiple views expressed and there was also an explanation of how different student teachers experienced citizenship differently. I dealt with student teachers who were entitled to different rights (special rights, peripheral special rights and unprivileged rights), therefore sometimes certain stories that had not been told during the focus group interviews and observations were genuinely shared by the participants. My aim was to investigate the student teachers' understandings, values and beliefs on identity and citizenship in Malaysia that are reflected in the framework of identity citizenship and belonging, therefore I thought it was necessary to develop my interview questions around these themes.

Pilot tests for the interviews were conducted prior to the actual data collection processes to ensure that the instruments were working as intended. These were also carried out to ensure that the instruments were clear and understandable. It also helped me to reword questions, reorder the sequence of questions, clarify the meanings of statements and identify items that had to be removed and others that needed to be added (Oppenheim,2000). The interview sessions were audio-recorded with the permission of the student teachers. Communication during the informal and formal interviews and the observation process was conducted in the Malay language, as this is the national language and also the institution's language of

instruction. This raised issues of translation and the difficulties associated with this, to which the researcher needed to be sensitive.

3.7 Different People, Different Stories: Personal Lives

Twenty-eight (28) student teachers of mixed age, gender and ethnicity participated in this research. All sixty-nine (69) student teachers who were enrolled on Citizenship Education as a minor programme were divided into ten groups, according to their course lecturer, for the purpose of their service-learning fieldwork project. I choose two (2) groups using purposive sampling, indicating the representation of multi-ethnic student teachers. For the purpose of the focus group interviews and PO at the placements, these twenty-eight (28) student teachers were divided into three groups – A, B and C – based on the dominant and subordinate or Malay and non-Malay group classifications. The use of non-PO in the service-learning course classroom aimed to capture the multi-ethnic relationship, to note how the different ethnicities interacted with each other and to find out whether there were any gaps in the stories shared during the observation and focus group interviews. Group A was a single-ethnicity (i.e. Malay) group of student teachers and Group B was a mixture of ethnic groups. They were in semester four of their Moral Education undergraduate studies and at the same time had enrolled on the civic and citizenship education programme at the SIEU Faculty of Human Sciences as their minor programme. Group C was the additional group that had been added to fit in with the needs of the research. As this research is examining citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia, I attempted to include as many ethnicities representing multi-ethnic Malaysia as possible. As the majority of student teachers were Malays, and from the indigenous Sabah and Sarawak groups, I tried to make multi-ethnicity more meaningful by adding one more group, Group C. This group of student teachers were final year Moral Education programme student teachers who had enrolled onto the civic and citizenship programme as their minor course.

Group A: student teachers' profiles, family and community backgrounds

Overall there were two (2) male and nine (9) female Malay student teachers in this group, aged twenty-two (22). They were in semester four of their degrees in Moral Education. In Malaysia, the average age of entering university is twenty, after students have finished their form five level or form six (upper level) in secondary school. They finish their four-year degree programmes by the age of 24. They are then placed in secondary schools all over Malaysia as moral education teachers as their major subject, and citizenship education as their minor subject. Moral education is compulsory for non-Muslim students in secondary school, whilst citizenship education is compulsory for all students. None of these student teachers wanted to become moral education teachers as none of them had ever experienced learning it at school. Four came from a religious school and wanted to be Islamic education teachers. Most of their parents were non-professional workers, except for the parents of three student teachers, whose jobs were teacher and information technology officer. The education and work backgrounds of the student teachers' parents in some cases influenced their own attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on citizenship.

The student teachers were also asked about their community background, referring to the types of community in which they lived and where they came from. SIEU is located in the central part of Peninsular Malaysia and its students come from all the states in Malaysia. The student teachers were classed as 'mobility residents' of Perak State in which the university is situated. They all returned to their respective hometowns during the semester break. The communities represented in this study ranged from family institutions and village communities, to community organisations where the student teachers were directly or indirectly involved. Chaskin (2001) explained that community can be defined as the space and place in which people share social interests and characteristics (e.g. language, customs, class or ethnicity).

The student teachers came from all over Malaysia generally but those in Group A came from West Peninsular Malaysia. All came from the Malay ethnic group and all lived with people of the same ethnic background. Most of them lived in Malay villages where all of the other villagers were Malay Muslims. Some of them explained that there was a small family from a different ethnic background in their Malay village.

All of the student teachers went to national primary schools but attended different types of school in their respective secondary years. Four of the student teachers went to Islamic religious schools, whilst the reminder went to national secondary schools. The main public secondary school is the national secondary school, which uses Malay as the medium of instruction. The other government or government-aided secondary schools include Islamic Religious Secondary School (*Sekolah Menengah Agama*), Technical Schools *(Sekolah Menengah Teknik)*, Boarding Schools and the MARA Junior Science College. In relation to Islamic primary and secondary religious schools in Malaysia, there are also state-funded and private Islamic schools. These schools mainly differ in the inclusion of religious instruction in their curriculum according to their management and funding sources. National religious secondary schools fall directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, while state religious schools are managed by their respective state's Islamic agency, and the people's religious schools are established by the local community (using a combination of funding from federal sources, state agencies and private donations) and are overseen by a board of governors. The four student teachers who went to state-funded Islamic religious school aimed to further their study in Islamic studies. They had no experience of socialising with people from different ethnic backgrounds during their school years. This was why these particular students had a tendency to feel somewhat uncomfortable in terms of sharing food, hostels or rooms with others from a different ethnic background. The remainder of the seven (7) student teachers went to national secondary school, where they had mixed with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, all claimed that their

relationships with people from different ethnic backgrounds extended only as far as interacting with each other when engaged in group work or discussions for the purpose of learning.

Group B: student teachers' profiles, family and community backgrounds

The ten (10) student teachers in this group were of mixed gender and ethnicity and all were 22 years of age. They were in semester four of their Moral Education undergraduate programme. There were two main ethnicities in this group: the Malay ethnic group and the indigenous group from East Malaysia. In other words, this was the group comprising individuals from West Malaysia and East Malaysia. All the Malays in this group came from West Peninsular Malaysia, whilst the indigenous group came from Eastern Malaysia. This different demographic had somewhat different understandings of citizenship. As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, population distribution patterns in multi-ethnic Malaysia show different states having different ethnic proportions, as derived from colonial political and economic arrangements. Historically, the three groups differ markedly in terms of their geographic distribution.

Traditionally, Malays are concentrated in the rural areas of the Eastern and Northern states. Chinese and Indians arrived in the peninsula during the time of British rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to work in tin mining, rubber cultivation and commerce, settling in locations concentrated on the west coast of the Malaysian peninsula (Andaya and Andaya, 2001). Five (5) student teachers from this group were Malays from West Peninsular Malaysia, whilst four were from indigenous groups from Eastern Malaysia (Borneo state). The group consisted of three males and two females. Most of the student teachers' parents were non-professional workers such as farmers, lorry drivers, labourers and factory workers. The indigenous student teachers had chosen the moral education programme as they had experienced it in school. The indigenous student teachers

were non-Muslims and had thus been obliged to take moral education at school. The Malay student teachers went to national schools, where they initially formed relationships with students from other ethnicities. Different from the Malay student teachers, who interacted with different ethnicities for education and learning purposes in school, the indigenous group of student teachers formed relationships with others from different ethnic backgrounds for more than purely learning purposes.

Most of the student teachers in this group lived with others of the same ethnic background in their hometown, but they also had friends from different ethnic backgrounds at school. The same pattern of relationships appeared clearly here, where the Malays in Groups A and B gave the same reasons for their dealings with different ethnicities. They claimed that the non-Malays were more sensitive to the Islamic religion, specifically with respect to the month of fasting, prayer times and providing the permitted *(halal)* food. The Muslims and Malay Muslim student teachers posited that it was the responsibility or duty of the non-Muslims to respect the Malay Muslims.

Group C: student teachers' profiles, family and community backgrounds

Group C student teachers were a mixed ethnicity group. This group was added to meet the needs of this research. As mentioned above, Group A comprised only the Malay group (core privileged group) and Group B comprised only student teachers from East and West Malaysia, that represents the indigenous group from eastern Malaysia. The absence of the two main ethnic groups in the west of Malaysia, Chinese and Indian, is extremely important as they represent the 'immigrant' population, from the time of the colonial occupation, and are the unprivileged *non-bumiputera* group on the one hand and the minority group on the other. Their stories, feelings and understandings of citizenship might be different from those of the *bumiputera* or the privileged Malays. This group also contained minority groups

who were also *bumiputera* (sons of soil) in Malaysia, namely aborigines and Thai people. Overall, the categories of all student teachers from Groups A to C can be summarised in the Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2: Student teacher category profiles

Status	Ethnic	Description	Location
Bumiputera/Muslim privileged group	Malay	Politically privileged group Have Malay 'special rights' Malay supremacy Islam as the federal state religion	Group A Group B Group C
Bumiputera or Non-Muslim privileged group	Indigenous group East Malaysia, Thai-Malaysian people and aborigines	Theoretically privileged group but different in practice	Group B Group C
Non-bumiputera or Non-Muslim Unprivileged	Indian and Chinese	Unprivileged group	Group C

The above descriptions aim to clarify 'who' the multi-ethnic student teachers were and 'what' their political and cultural statuses were in multi-ethnic Malaysia. These descriptions are aimed at helping the reader understand the differences between those having the same legal rights but different privileges, or those hailing from different ethnic groups but having the same legal status. Group C was quite interesting because it included the most diverse range of multi-ethnic groups in this study, namely Malay, Chinese, Indian, Indigenous Sabah and Sarawak, aborigines and Thai-Malaysian people. Student teachers in Group C were final year Moral Education undergraduates who also took civic and citizenship education as their minor programme. They had already completed all eight courses in the civic and citizenship minor programme. There were three (3) males and four (4) females in this group. They essentially lived with others of the same ethnic background when back in their respective hometowns. The Chinese and Indian student teachers went to Chinese and Indian national primary schools, not because of familial or cultural influences but for reasons of convenience, as these were the closest schools to their homes.

3.8 Transcription, Analytical Approach and Translation

Let me now discuss the issues of transcription, data analysis and translation in this research. In collecting, recording and interpreting a research, the researcher collects details about people's lives, conducts interviews and reports them. The nature of the connections between the researcher and the researched was referred to by Stanley (as cited in Temple and Young, 2004) as 'intellectual autobiographies'. Stanley added that the 'intellectual autobiographies' of researchers would give impact to their understanding and interpretations of the world. Therefore, researchers' knowledge about the social, cultural and the 'cultural scripts' have an impact not only on the fieldwork and interview processes but also on the process of transcription, translation and analysis (Liamputtong, 2008). In this research, which was conducted mainly in another language (Malay language), the generation of data had to go through the multi-layered process of transcription, analysis and translation into the formal language (English). Firstly, let me explain my experience related to transcription and data analysis before I describe my approach to the translation.

Transcriptions

As mentioned above, there were two reasons for conducting the data gathering in the Malay language. Firstly, Malay is the national language in Malaysia and the first language in most of the higher institutions in Malaysia, and my personal background of growing up and being part of multi-ethnic Malaysia allowed me to conduct this research using mainly the national language (Malay language). The student teachers felt comfortable with this and the language itself was part of the rapport building between the researcher and the researched. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The focus group interviews and in-depth interview recordings were transcribed by an experienced Malaysian research assistant who was familiar with the language as well as the socio and cultural settings of Malaysia.

The transcriptions were verbatim and remained as close to the original spoken form as possible. As the transcriber was an experienced research assistant, she professionally highlighted the pauses, unfinished sentences and the exact use of terminology. The transcriber sent the transcriptions to me to verify the meanings and to make sure she had done it correctly. After that, in order to ensure the accuracy of the data, I went through all the transcripts again while listening to the interview recordings. I carefully took some time to listen to the interview recordings over and over again and also tried to 'visualise' the interview sessions. I found this to be challenging as each in-depth student teacher interview took nearly one hour and as a result there were around 50 to 60 pages per in-depth interview recording. As I had spent one hour interviewing each student teacher, and been extra careful with the recordings, I could visualise each session by listening and imagining the real sessions. I added non-verbal cues (e.g. tone, facial or body expressions) or incidental interaction (e.g. when dominant student teachers spoke about their indignity or ways of being Malays or Muslims). I found this helpful to illuminate the interview contents for a deeper understanding (Silverman, 2006).

Analytical Approach

The data from these transcripts and field notes were in the Malay language and I analysed the data using a thematic approach. As mentioned, I had already developed certain 'pre-theme concepts' from the semi-structured interviews in the pilot study. Overarching themes of citizenship such as 'identity', 'rights', 'good citizens' and 'reimagined communities', influenced by literature, were experienced in these themes upon observation and while interviewing during the fieldwork. However, I would not classify my analytical approach as either 'deductive' or 'inductive' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). On the one hand, the generation of themes and development of thematic codes did involve my prior knowledge and perspective on the formal and informal understandings and beliefs on identity and citizenship contexts, which directly influenced my interpretation of the student

teachers' living experiences through observation and interviews. Yet I was sensitive to the 'significant statements' (Creswell, 2013), special incidents, quotes and particular choice of words that appeared in the field notes and transcripts and which enhanced the conceptual understanding of my data.

While the framework mentioned in Chapter 2 (diagram 2.1) provides a potential theoretical frame and conceptual links, these were used as potential sensitising topics not as a set frame for analysis. Concepts then were developed mainly inductively from the data and raised deductively to a higher level of abstraction, allowing their interrelationship to be traced out. So while induction was central, deduction was needed to enhance theory development and theory verification as well. This sort of qualitative data analysis is a series of alternating inductive and deductive steps and thematic analysis is an inductive process in which the different parts of the text capturing the data are grouped under themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) that represent particular ideas or concepts. Such themes can be ducted directly from the written text but their formation can be also be influenced by prior reading of the literature and early framework generation.Therefore, the data were analysed through a combination of a deductive and an inductive approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Coding, categorizing and themes

Creswell (2005) discusses six steps commonly used in analysing qualitative data. The first step is to generate a large consolidated picture from the detailed data (transcriptions or typed notes from interviews) to the more specific: codes and themes. Secondly, it involves analysing data while still in the process of collecting the data. In qualitative research, the data collection and analysis are carried out at the same time. Thirdly, the phases of research in qualitative research are recitative, where the researcher can move back and forth between collecting data and analyzing. Fourthly, qualitative researchers analyse their data by reading it over

several times and conducting an analysis each time. Reviewing the material allows the researcher to continue to explore for more details and patterns related to each common theme. Fifthly, there is no single approach to analyzing qualitative data although several guidelines exist for the process. Sixthly, qualitative research is interpretative: the researcher makes personal assessments of the data in a descriptive format. The researcher then develops the themes that capture the major categories of information, thus bringing their own perspective to the interpretations. In the context of this study the data collected included my field notes (classroom observations or service-learning placement observations), and focus groups and interviews transcribed into the Malay language.

During the observation (classroom and service-learning placement), I wrote down my field notes and I kept my observation notes carefully and began to reflect on the aims of the observations and the ideas of service-learning as well its relationship to citizenship ideas. These reflection activities also helped me to add to these observations whenever necessary and at times to inform the interview questions. This was to make the questions relevant to the specific circumstances while interviewing each of the student teachers in this study (Patton, 2005). The classroom observation was very important as I gained insights into both ideas of this study, that is, the service-learning multi-ethnic ideas. I observed how the multi-ethnic student teachers interacted with each other from the beginning through to the planning and handling of the service-learning project. Doing this supported my thinking through what was happening in the research context.

I began to develop my observation notes by typing out each class observation in detail. As I was also conducting my scheduled meetings with my focus groups, and in-depth interviews, I also listened to the interviews briefly in order to help me identify whether there was anything I needed to raise or pay particular attention to as the study progressed (Stake, 2010). This process supported my reflection on what

was happening in the data that had already been generated. I also was writing my field notes during the service-learning placements.

Once I finished my interviews, I transcribed the in-depth interviews and focus group interviews fully in detail. Although each form of data collection aimed to answer certain research questions, I saw my in-depth interviews as the main data contributions to this study. As I read the data, I kept in mind the sensitising concepts from the original framework as well as the key research questions but I was determined to be open to new or different ideas and I also made reflective notes of important issues arising.

In transcribing the interviews and writing up my observation notes, I focused more on the content of what was being said and done. My decision to focus on the content of the data was because my research focuses on this content and not on the details of expression and the use of language. Moreover, on the basis of my planned process of data analysis, I was aiming to carry out an analysis in which, to begin with, codes and themes would be identified (Gibbs, 2008; Robson, 2002). I resolved to transcribe everything including grammatical errors, repetitions and incomplete utterances in the first instance. I did this because any attempt to edit while transcribing proved not only time consuming but also meant that I was beginning to add my interpretation into the transcripts. I decided to represent interruptions and a sudden change in the focus of the discussion with three dots (...) while transcribing. The advantage of this was that when reading through the transcripts, it was easy for me to remember the interview situation and the participant's presentation of them once I came across those interruptions and repetitions (Gibbs, 2007; Silverman, 2006).

Coding process

The definition of codes offered by Miles and Huberman (1994) is most useful:

> "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes are usually attached to "chunks" of varying size – words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting." (p56)

Miles and Huberman's preference is in entering the field with some pre-established codes designed with reference to the research question and the conceptual framework (1994, p. 58). Before I started coding the data, I transferred the field notes, observation notes and interview transcripts into a table where I followed (Saldaña, 2015) practical tip for a coding process. I typed the data on the left two-thirds of a page and left the right margin open for notes (p.17). Influenced by the coding process proposed by Braun & Clarke, (2006) and Miles and Huberman (1994), I started my analysis with a descriptive or latent coding before proceeding to inferential coding.

First Phase : Gaining Insight

In the first cycle, I analysed field note observations, focus group and in-depth interviews separately using a descriptive coding process to get the early meaning of each data. At this stage, I focused on wording, phrasing, consistency, frequency and specificity of comments (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). For example, from my field notes, I coded the multi-ethnic student teachers' inter-ethnic relationships within and across groups as important.

The sample of descriptive coding process of each data is presented below:

Table 3.3: Observation field notes sample

Service-learning Placement Observation Place: Aborigines' Village, Selangor State, Malaysia Course: HMS 3013 Service-Learning Day 1: Students:10 Date: 11th May 2012		
Description	Researcher Observation	Open coding
Group A student teachers do their service-learning placement project at the aborigines' village. The village is situated in one of the states in Malaysia. Settlements of 35 families comprising some 130 aborigines have occupied this area for more than one hundred years. The student teachers organised and planned the project based on the needs of the community. They have met the state legislative assembly representative of the area to discuss their community service placement. They planned very well as each student in the group hadtheir own task during the community work. There were activities that they had arranged for the two day event. On the arrival day the student teachers arranged a 'Get to know activity' for the aborigine family. Each member of the group was assigned to be with one aborigine family. The activity meant to familiarise the student teachers with the aborigine's family background, get to know them better. At this point each student teacher had a different family to engage with. They spent a night and helped the women in the family to cook, mingle with the rest of the family and prepare themselves for the cultural night the next day. Student teachers held	I follow the students to the aborigines' villages. It's a small settlement area. We were welcomed by the people in charge, the officer for the aborigines' village; We have a tea with some of the aborigine people. I saw the aborigines' kids playing around. The village is situated in a rural area and has no proper road access. We have to use a small and uneven and bumpy road before getting to the village. I was surprised that when we were having tea with the officer, I realised that the head of the tribe was not there. The deputy tribes said he was busy, but then we had secretly been told by the officer that the head of tribe felt a bit uncomfortable with us. He said last time when the voluntary group came they tried teach about Islam to the aborigines people. The Head of the tribe thinks that our group is also an Islamic voluntary group who wants to preach about Islam. Most of the aborigine people were non-Muslims. Student teachers in this group start their 'get to know' activity with their assigned aborigine family. All of this family welcomed them. While the students went to their aborigine families, I continue my conversation with the deputy tribe and officer in charge. From this conversation, I found that most of the aborigines' children were disinterested in schooling and left school at the early age. A small number of young aborigines is educated. Most of them follow their parents' footsteps as forest dwellers. I met the student teachers again at night after spending their time with the 'get to know' activity with the aborigine family. Student teachers expressed their experiences with	Small area improper road access not welcomed by the head of tribe uncomfortable feelings School dropout

informal interviews with their aborigine family. Through the observation during the community placement project, apart from having a better understanding of local community needs, the student teachers have an opportunity to explore other people's voices. The A group who went to the aborigine village had an opportunity to have a better understanding of who the aborigines are, their community, religion and culture.	the aborigine families. They have an opportunity to communicate and get to know this group better. They said that the aborigine families welcomed them and asked them to cook the dinner with them. Some of the students met the young girls of their own age who have left school and married at an early age. The student teachers were quite surprised that none of the girls went on to higher education. They said these young girls just want to get married so that they are not their parents' burden anymore. Furthermore they think that going to school means they have to burden their parents to send them to a school which is quite far from them. Parents have to find more money for petrol for the motorbikes that they use to send the girls to school. Most of the aboriginepeoples are poor people and low income earners. Most of them work as forest dwellers or worki in a factory. From the student teachers' explanations, I found that aborigine people could share their everyday life experiences with the student teachers. Student teachers the have experiences learning about other groups. This is the first time the student teachers have explored the life of the aborigines and realised that they found the importance of voices other than their own. This voice in important for empowerment of the aborigines. Illiteracy and poverty oppressed this group. The student teachers reflection in their report recommended that this group's voice can be achieved by empowering them through education. I also found that student teachers can interact and mingle with other ethnic/tribal groups and place aside their own cultural and religious backgrounds.	Rapport building, interactions Dropout school Felt sorry for parents Poor family Respect the diversity, recognition and tolerance Oppressed experiences

Table 3.4: In-depth interviews descriptive coding sample

In-depth Interview Descriptive Coding 1. How do you see your primary identity in Malaysia? 2. What do you think of the national identity in a multi-ethnic Malaysia? 3. What do you think about the Pro- Malay policy in Malaysia (preferential policy)			
Participants	Ethnic/ Religion as Identity	National Identity	Pro Malay Policy
GCST1	I see myself as a Malaysian- Chinese as my primer identity because it showed who I am. I want people to know me as part Malaysian and part Chinese. Malaysian because this is	It necessary to have a national identity as a symbol of who we are as Malaysian. Malay identity as our national identity,	I don't mind about the pro Malay policy because we already get used with it. I look it as a positive opportunity to learn other language as for an example

	my country. Chinese because that is my culture.	erm not a problem only we (others) need to be recognised.	Malay language
Codes	Chinese-Malaysian identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity acceptance-recognition others	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in
GCST2	Firstly I would like to be known as a Malaysian followed by my ethnicity, It is important to represent out ethnic identity as Malaysia is known as a multi-ethnic society	The national identity is very important to represent a nation. If we didn't have a national identity we would be confuse to follow whose identity. It's good that we have Malay language as a national and common language as our identity.	I think most of the minority people won't mind with the pro Malay policy. In a surface we didn't capture any type of discrimination but for me it has a bit inequality in the policy, but most of the citizen didn't realize and know about it.
Codes	Malaysian-ethnicity identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in- felt discriminated
GCST 3	Em, I wanted people to know me as a Sarawakean /state based, because I am very proud to be A Sarawakean (Borneo state)	We should have a national identity as a symbol, so people from around the world will know who we are. But we need a mutual respect	I think we already get used of the policy. We don't mind
Codes	Eastern Malaysia-cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies
GCST4	I see myself as a Malay and Muslim	I think we should have a national identity as it's constitute in the constitution, this is our identity	I think people already get used with it, noboby is arguing about that. The Malays were the dominant group and should be give the priviliges.
Codes	Malay-Muslim identity-ethnoreligious	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in
GCST5	I see myself as aborigine people and I am very proud with that	I agree of Malaysian national identity that represent the dominant, nevertheless other should be recognised too	I personally accept the Malay preferential policies but in my everyday experiences I think that this policy make others felt discriminated
Codes	Ethnic/cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity- recognised others	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in- discriminated
GCST6	I would see myself as an Indian although Indian in a minority among the three main group, I would like people to see me as Indian as it's represent my identity	I think we should have a national identity as a symbol who we are as a Malaysian.	I did agree with the Federal citizenship, although it's give the privileges to the Malays but we still have the same fundamental rights.
Codes	Ethnic/cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies
GCST7	I would like to see myself as a Siamese who born in Malaysia. I really felt uncomfortable when delaing with these matter, normally when we fill up any form the problem usually in the part of ethnicity because they don't give a Siamese ethnicity choice so I think people would hardly recognise us and will forget we also Malaysian.	It's good to have a national identity as a guideline for us. For an example we wanted to have lunch or buy a grocery, how we want to communicate if we don't have a national language	I always wanted to comment on this matter, I really don't mind about Islam as the state religion, and actually I love to learn about Islam and I do find Islam teach us to be tolerate and fairness but the problems is the believers itself(Malays). The Malays didn't understand their religion well, they sometimes pretend they ere good people but they not.
Codes	Ethnic/cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness	Acceptance of Malayness

		identity	identity-fit in- and preferential policies-hegemony- less recogntion, less respect by dominant group
GCST 8	I already mentioned that I wanted to see myself as Indigenous Iban as they best known as head hunter. I am proud to be Iban.	It very important we have a national identity as identification. People will know that Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country, Malay as a national language.	Honestly I never dispute the pro Malay policy. I never felt been differentiate and comfortable with what I've been given. Although it's give a privileges to the Malay yet we still been given to move freely in this country.
Codes	Ethnic/cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in
GCST 9	that I wanted to see myself as Indigenous Bidayuh from Sabah (eastern Malaysia state)	Important as a symbol	Em sometimes feel uncomfortable been treated differently from the Malays, but just let it be
Codes	Ethnic/cultural identity	Acceptance of Malayness identity	Acceptance of Malay preferential policies- fit in-uncomfortable
Remarks	Cultural identity-religious identity-region identity	Acceptance-recognition-	Acceptance- fit in-discriminated-less recognised-less tolerance

At this stage, I was focusing more on 'what is going on?' and 'who are the actors involved?' and through the process of familiarisation, I began to see what the data might be indicating (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Following the descriptive coding of all sets of the data where I gained the basic labels, I began to see similarities and different interactions/events and these were grouped together to form categories and subcategories. Following DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, & McCulloch (2011), I started to develop my analysis and I began the process of a second cycle of coding the interpretative codes. Using the framework of the study and keeping the research question in mind, my second stage codebooks comprised a code, its definition, and an example of where the code had been used:

Table 3.5: Codebooks sample

Code	Description	Examples
Identity-cultural-religious-region	Student teachers perceived their identity in multi-ethnic Malaysia	I would like to see myself as a Siamese who born in Malaysia. I really felt uncomfortable when delaing with these matter, normally when we fill up any form the problem usually in the part of ethnicity because they don't give a Siamese ethnicity choice so I think people would hardly recognise us and will forget we also Malaysian.

Acceptance of Malayness identity	Student teachers' experience of national identity	It's good to have a national identity as a guideline for us. For an example we wanted to have lunch or buy a grocery, how we want to communicate if we don't have a national language
Inter-ethnic relation	Student teachers' experience of inter-ethnic relation	I have friends from different ethnic background when I joined Sultan Idris Education University. I have a housemate from different ethnic background. I don't mind sharing a room.
Rights	Student teachers' understandings of rights	Every citizen have their rights to perform their own religion
		We are happy with the rights given
Special Rights	Student teachers' understandings of special rights	Scholarship opportunity in higher education
		Special rights only for the dominant group
Responsibilities	Student teachers' understandings of responsibilities	Good citizen those who abide the laws, always commit oneself with the community
		Respect diversity
		Tolerance to each other

At the second phase of coding, that is interpretative codes, I realised at this stage the that 'hidden' data was beginning to reveal itself, showing that within descriptive codes there may be distinctions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The obvious thing from interpretative codes showed the different meanings and understandings of identity and citizenship experiences between two groups: the dominant/ majority and the subordinate/minority group. Each group's feelings about identity, for example, held different meanings when discussed from the perspective of their own everyday experience.

With the continuous process of coding and reviewing the codes, I progressed to pattern codes. Reflecting on my early framework of identity, citizenship and identity, pattern coding enabled me to see the data in a more inferential and explanatory way. My focus shifted towards understanding the underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualizations and ideologies that might have underpinned what the participants had said or done in the course of the data generation. Paying

attention to these ideas and underlying assumptions led to the development of the connections and relationships between the codes, themes and categories at the later stage of the analysis.

Second phase: making sense of the data

Once I had finished coding and gone through the entire data set, I began to develop a table that combined the sensitising theme with the new emerging themes using a table as attached in Appendix L. At this stage I started to re-focus the analysis at the broader level of themes, rather than codes. This involved sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I used tables to analyse different codes and considered combining different codes into categories and forming overarching themes. Some of my initial codes became main themes while others formed sub-themes. This is when I also started thinking about the relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes (e.g., main overarching themes and sub-themes within them). In this kind of analysis, some preliminary codes may become main themes, while others may form sub-themes, and others still may be discarded. At this stage, if any codes did not seem to belong somewhere they were housed – possibly temporarily – in a miscellaneous folder. The sample below illustrates the pattern codes, categories and themes that I have developed on identities experiences between two groups:

Table 3.6: Pattern codes, categories and themes sample

Themes		Codes		
Recognition as acknowledgement			Minority	Majority
	Self-categorising	Ethnic	Respects the difference Accept the difference Recognition the difference	ethnic nationalism? Dominant identity overrides others (republican citizenship) -equivalence
differentiated citizenship in demand?			Acknowledge difference	Insisting respects
		Religious affiliation		Dominant identity overrides others (republican

				citizenship) -Marker of personal affiliation i. Dress attire ii. Praying iii. Fasting -Claim/demand respectful by others -Claim/demand understanding by others
Negotiating recognition understanding and mutual understanding		Political identity Malaysian	civic nationalism? nation state cohesion and unity	-represent tolerance to others -represent cooperation to others Represent one nation Common shared values
		region (East Malaysia	Mutual understandings Mutual tolerance Mutual respect	-

This was the last phase of coding and starting my themes. Developing this table enabled me to look across three different kinds of data - field notes, interview transcripts and student reflective journals as well as within each dataset. These tables enabled me to begin to identify patterns of practice that were peculiar or different within and across school contexts. I used these tables as a strategy to display my data (Miles & Huberman, 1994) in order to begin to see patterns and relationships more clearly.

The next step was reviewing and refinement of the existing and emerging themes. At this stage I reflected again upon the existing framework and, during this stage, I found that some of the themes became reinforced and some themes were separated out and some were combined (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The last stage before writing up my analysis involved refining definitions and names of themes. As mentioned earlier, through the coding process, I realised that there were obviously different experiences of citizenship, identity and belonging in citizens with different status (privileged and non-privileged groups). Therefore, the findings and analysis that emerged from this research were presented and discussed in two chapters; Chapter 4 represents the views of the dominant or privileged group while Chapter 5

represents the peripheral and non-privileged group's experiences of citizenship, identity and belonging. The table 3.7 and 3.8 below illustrate the process of categorising, building themes and refining and naming themes:

Table 3.7: Categories, building and naming themes (core-privileged group identity and citizenship experiences).

Core privileged group identity and citizenship experiences		
Categories	**Themes**	**Refined and naming themes**
Security and risks	Material base recognition	Rights and responsibilities experiences
Privilege and rights	Political and legal base of privilege	Rights and responsibilities experiences
Identity	Ethnicity, religion, nation- social basis of privilege	Identity and belonging experiences
Everyday life	Cultural expressions of divisions	Identity and belonging experiences

Table 3.8: Categories, building and naming themes (peripheral and unprivileged group identity and citizenship experiences).

Peripheral and unprivileged group experiences of identity and citizenship		
Categories	**Themes**	**Refined themes**
Security and risks	Material base recognition	Rights and responsibilities experiences
Unequal rights	Political and legal disadvantages	Rights and responsibilities experiences
Identity	Ethnicity, religion, nation- minimal recognition	Identity and belonging experiences
Everyday life	Cultural expressions of divisions- cultural experiences of inequality	Identity and belonging experiences

Translation

Spivak (1992), as quoted by Temple and Young (2004, p. 165), argues that translation is not a matter of synonym, syntax and local colour, rather language as rhetoric, logic and silence and the relationships between these. Simon (2003), discussing translation issues, argues that:

> the solutions to many of the translator's dilemmas are not to be found in dictionaries, but rather in an

> understanding of the way language is tied to local realities, to literary forms and to changing identities. (p. 137–138)

As mentioned, the interviews were conducted in the Malay language and the data were also transcribed and analysed in the same language. I positioned myself as a researcher, as a translator who offered opportunities to understand the context and the constructs of meaning of the participants. I tried to understand and interpret the meanings in the local Malay language and discuss with the student teachers to check the validity of my interpretation through a member-checked process before translating it to English. Therefore, I made sure that my local language interpretation was clear before I carefully translated the interview transcripts into English so that misinterpretation due to translation could be minimised. The extracts from the interviews and field notes were translated based on the meaning conveyed rather than a literal and simple translation of words. Being an insider researcher who shared a common culture with the researched offered me opportunities to understand the cultural meaning of certain terms used by the student teachers. My insider positions as a multi-ethnic Malaysian citizen and a teacher at the institution where the research took place enabled me to understand and interpret the living citizenship experiences. The data transcriptions in Malay were placed in a table system (manually) according to the pre-themes and interview questions. Each response was translated at the bottom of the answer in the Malay language. Some examples of data transcriptions and translation are attached in Appendix L.

Nevertheless, the representation of data seemed a bit challenging since it involved the transfer of meaning from the research participants to the researcher, and then from the researcher to the thesis readers, who are likely to have a minimal understanding of the Malaysian context. Temple (1997) highlights how multiple meanings are inherent in the translation of language: 'When different cultures and languages are involved epistemological problems in constructing similarity and

difference are compounded, if there is no one meaning to a text, then there can be no one translation of it' (p. 60).

Temple (2005) illustrates how sociolinguists, anthropologists and writers in translation studies have shown that there can be no single correct translation of a text. Muller (2007) suggests that 'instead of striving for an unattainable "correct" translation, translation must seek to confront premature closure by bolstering up the undesirability and indeterminacy of critical translation.' Thus, in the process of translation, I recognised the 'impossibility of achieving equivalence' (Muller, 2007) but remained sensitive and attempted to work with the translations rather than deny the meanings produced through translation.

Ensuring quality in qualitative research

Quantitative researchers have often been questioned on the trustworthiness of qualitative research since the concepts of validity and reliability originating in quantitative work cannot be applied in the same way within naturalistic inquiry (Shenton, 2004). For quantitative research, validity, reliability and generalisability are three essential criteria when assessing their findings (Kvale, 2008). In qualitative work, a similar but different kind of rigour and quality accountability is needed. Several authors have suggested ways in which qualitative researchers can enhance the quality of their research. Guba and Lincoln (1994) argues that in qualitative research, the concept of validity should be substituted by 'authenticity', while Miles and Huberman (1994) advocate the use of the term 'trustworthiness' to describe the quality of qualitative research instead of 'reliability' and 'validity'. Guba and Lincoln (1994) construct four criteria to assess trustworthiness in qualitative research; a) credibility; b) transferability; c) dependability and d) confirmability.

I will apply the framework suggested by Cuba and Lincoln (1994) to illustrate the quality of my research:

Credibility refers to whether others can identify with the study findings, or in other words the internal validity of a study.Validity simply refers to the extent to which the findings of the research are accurate or credible and it is up to the researcher to have taken steps to ensure that this has been maximized. A number of approaches were suggested to enhance credibility.Yin (as cited in Shenton, 2004, p. 64) identifies the importance of incorporating "correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" Through providing a detailed account of choices, decisions and processes, there is a transparency with regard to the conduct of the research which reinforces the credibility of this study as well as the dependability.

Credibility also can be achieved through the triangulation of data collection instruments and/or perspective: using two or more forms of instrument or view. (Shenton, 2004) explains that triangulation may engage the use of different methods, especially observation, focus groups and individual interviews, which form the major data collection strategies for much qualitative research. As mentioned in detail at the beginning of the methodology chapter, I used four different methods in this study: classroom observation and service-learning placement site observation, focus group interviews, in-depth interviews and student teachers' service-learning reflective journals.

As suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1994), member checks were used as one of the most important provisions to strengthen a study's credibility. In this study I employed various phases of member checks. The first phase was during data collection, for example in interviews, when I asked for accuracy of the data "on the spot" which is at the end of the data collection dialogues. Sometimes I reiterated a key point back to the interviewee (i.e. did you mean...?). At other times I summarized the key points the respondent was making and asked for confirmation that this was an accurate synopsis. After I had completed my first stage and second stage analysis, I presented all the preliminary data to the participants through a

mini presentation so that the participants could give feedback on my interpretation of the data.

Dependability relates to the conditions of clear and transparent description as to how the data were collected and analysed (Flick, 2002; Merriam, 2009). To enhance the dependability of this study, I presented a detailed description of the way the data were collected, the analytical approach used and steps taken during the data analysis (as outlined in sections 3.5 and 3.7).

In relation to the dependability and transferability of a research process, Guba and Lincoln (1994) recommend that a research report should be able to provide a track of the process through which the research was carried out. The main aim of this chapter is to provide the necessary details of how I carried out this research. I have provided this trail to reflect how interview situations and access were negotiated for the purpose of bringing to life and explaining some of the situations within which data was generated (Seale, 1999).

Transferability "is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (Merriam as cited in Shenton, 2004, p. 69). In this study, the extent to which the findings are transferable can be determined with sufficient 'thick description' of the student teachers' everyday identity, citizenship and belonging experiences through various methods supportive of in-depth engagement with the student teachers, leading to rich description. I have provided sufficient fieldwork site information (what happens at three different settings and at three different phases, before, during and after the service-learning placement project were explained in detail) to enable the reader to determine whether the research is transferable.

Transferability can also be enhanced by the inclusion of variation in the study sample. As described in section 3.4, I paid careful attention to selecting the student

teachers as a sample. This study looked for the criterion of multi-ethnic Malaysians and those who would be involved in learning and teaching citizenship education in Malaysian schools. I also looked for the service-learning's role in citizenship education in multi-ethnic society. Therefore, I selected particular student teachers in this study, for example, student teachers who were involved in citizenship education courses, who were from multiple ethnicities and who were participants in service-learning in order to achieve the maximum variation in the sample.

Miles and Huberman (1994), consider that a key criterion is the extent to which the researcher admits his or her own predispositions. Researcher beliefs underpinning decisions made and methods adopted should be acknowledged within the research report and the reasons for choosing one approach over another need to be explained. As a qualitative researcher, I have engaged carefully with this reflective process and I have also acknowledged my role as the researcher being a key instrument in the research process (Cohen & Manion, 2007; Simons, 2009). I believe this process meets that criterion of confirmability as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Situating my research within a social constructivist paradigm, I explained how I acknowledged my values, background, experiences, priorities, actions and positions as the researcher and how these played a role in the research process (Creswell, 2013). I explained in detail my position as both an insider and outsider in this study.

Research Ethics

It is acknowledged that research ethics are the moral principles that govern how researchers should carry out their work. These principles are used to shape research regulations and are agreed by groups such as university governing bodies, communities or governments. This chapter therefore concludes with details of the particular strategies adopted to address ethical concerns at different stages of the current research. The first stage concerned ethics before the data collection begin. I

read about the ethical issues and after discussing these with supervisors, I submitted an ethical application form to the relevant committee. I informed all participating students and teachers about the purpose of my research and interviews, providing whatever information they needed about the research, and also ensuring that they were participating voluntarily and comfortably. I sought the consent of all of the student teachers, who were asked to sign a consent form prior to the interviews being conducted, a copy of which is attached as Appendix E. The rights of the participants were explained clearly before the interviews and observation process. I had prepared consent forms to issue to all of the participants before entering the field. The second stage concerned ethical consideration during the interviews, whereby the research participants were informed of their right to withdraw and were asked to sign the consent form. I read the consent form to the student teachers to remind them of their rights. The last stage concerned data protection. All of the recordings were secured in a safe place.

To ensure anonymity and privacy, from writing up to the presentation of findings, all participants were renamed. I have used pseudonyms in this thesis to anonymise all of the research participants. I have not mentioned the student teachers' real names. I followed the University of Edinburgh ethical approval procedure and Ethical Guidelines for Educational research by SERA *(Scottish Educational Research Association)* 2005, which address the issues of anonymity, confidentiality and data protection with regard to the research aims, data gathering and analysis procedure