

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

Noor Banu Mahadir Naidu

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

to

Moray House School of Education
University of Edinburgh

2016

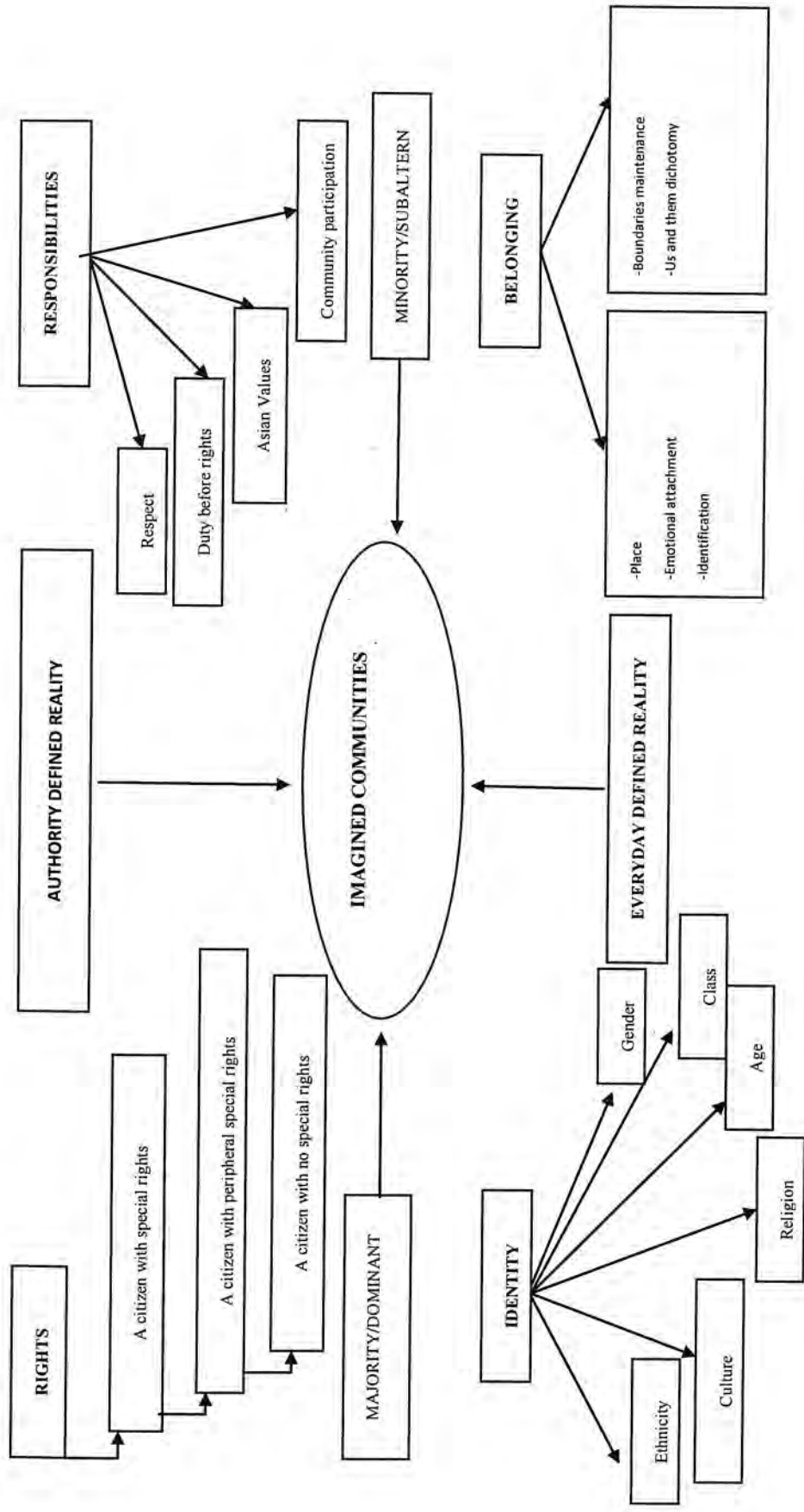
Chapter Four

Citizenship: Core Privileged Group Experiences

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, this study investigates multi-ethnic student teachers' values, beliefs and understandings of citizenship from their experience of citizenship and citizenship education in multi-ethnic Malaysia. In general, the key ideas from the literature chapter that informed this study are belonging, rights and responsibilities, and identity. I have also learnt from the literature that citizenship conceptualisations also concern questions of nation and national identity. To note Yuval-Davis' (2006) explanation on citizenship, generally citizenship is not only about rights and responsibilities, but also about experiences of belonging and recognition. Citizenship includes a subjective feeling of identity, and social relations of belonging to a 'nation', to a state and to a community. This led to an early conceptualisation of what constitutes citizenship and identity (as mentioned in my literature chapter), but in light of the findings of this study a new diagram helps to conceptualise more clearly the divergent experiences and perceptions of different groups within the Malaysian state, as well as the common beliefs which help to generate strands of belonging.

Diagram 4.1: Recap of Imagined Communities Framework

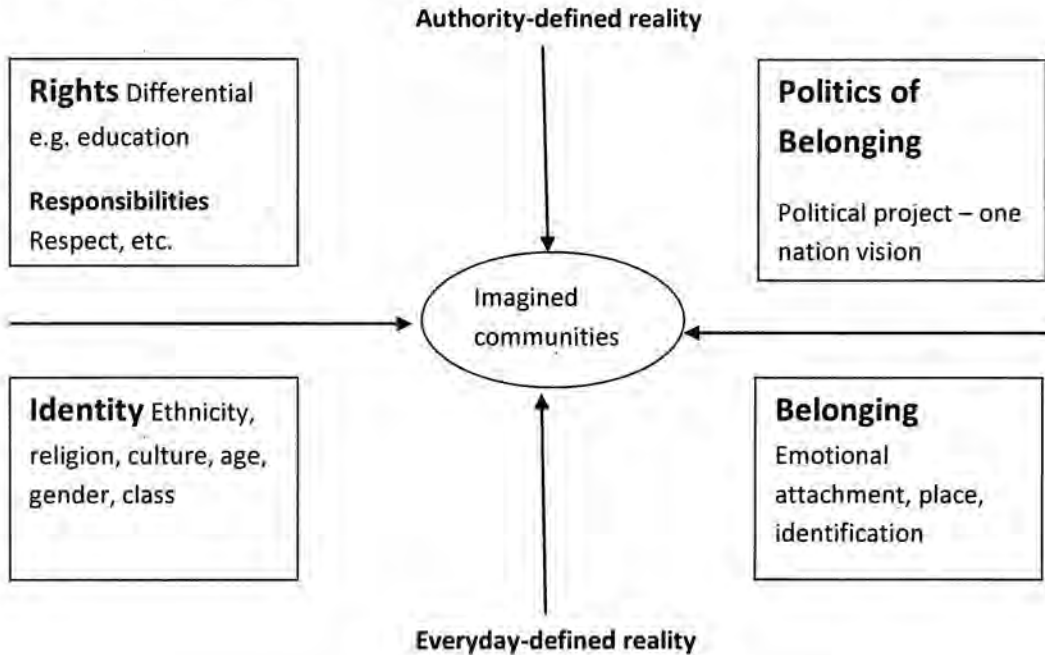


The contextual analysis that informed this study deals with the creation of a Malaysian nation within Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship. Given that Malaysia is an ethnically pluralist society, one of the major ongoing tasks of the government has been to develop a nation which is harmonious, integrated and 'democratic' and which shares a national identity and values as a Malaysian nation. This aim has been a concern of the government from the day of independence right up to the present. This important aspect of national integration is the central part of state policy, particularly in education, as the country faces a complex social pattern, with a population which is multi-ethnic in nature and divided, in which different ethnic groups carry their own cultures, languages, identities and values. In many ways, this situation can be viewed as having been inherited from British colonialism. Accordingly, it has been accepted that education is expected to play a significant role in nurturing the 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 of the mind as well as a territorial unit' (Anderson, 1991). However, in spite of this, not all these efforts were simply implemented; rather, there was contestation and ethnic bargaining.

Malaysian history is embedded in the major Asian civilisations and great world religions that have interacted with each other since the beginning of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, and pluralism has also been a source of the country's strength, vitality and uniqueness. Nevertheless, according to Embong (2001), 'ethnic pluralism has no doubt been the source of tension and conflict in society'. Despite the birth of the nation more than half a century ago, Malaysia is still grappling with the vulnerabilities of a plural society that have the potential to threaten the survival of the regime and the nation. Such a situation has led some to describe Malaysia as a 'nation in the making', with diverse ethnic groups that have not been successfully integrated. Therefore, the data analysis in this study explored multi-ethnic student teachers' experiences of citizenship within a Malaysian

national vision. As outlined in Chapter 2, the framework of identity, citizenship and belonging (Western and Malaysian contexts), and the four quadrants were the pre-determined key themes to understanding how the multi-ethnic student teachers perceived citizenship. I simplify the framework as below:

Diagram 4.2: Simplification of Malaysian national vision framework



I started my analysis with a brief introduction to the existing Malaysian national vision, or nation-building, as shown in the preceding figure. Broadly speaking, nation-building refers to a process of constructing national identity capable of accommodating ethnic pluralism while simultaneously inculcating an overarching sense of nationhood. It is usually a process associated with plural societies. As mentioned earlier, for a plural society, the process of nation-building means the state firstly has to manage the centrifugal tendencies derived from the forces of ethnicity and nationalism, and from this point embark upon the process of mediating identities and moving towards constructing a framework for national identity. In this respect, the idea of a state's nationalism, that precedes nation-

building activity serves as a device to unite people by creating the sentiment of belongingness and common identity.

As explained in Chapter 1, national identity in Malaysia is defined as Malay culture and is 'politically' associated with ethno-nationalism, whose goal is the material advancement of the indigenous people (*bumiputera*) in general and the Malay indigenous people (*bumiputera*) in particular. Malayness has been spelled out in most of Malaysia's national policies: on the economy, education and culture. To explain more about the discourse of national identity in Malaysia, Shamsul Amri, a Malaysian anthropologist, is very helpful in explaining the notion of national identity in Malaysia. Shamsul (1996) proposed 'two social reality approaches' to understand the discourse of identity in Malaysia: the authority-defined and everyday-defined social realities. At the authority-defined level, which is Malay indigenous dominated, the identity question is perceived by the government as a non-issue because its basis and content have been spelt out in a number of policy documents within the framework of the Malaysian Constitution. It is a Malay-defined identity that has privileged many aspects of Malay culture as the 'core' of the Malaysian 'national' identity while recognising, even if peripherally, the cultural symbols of other ethnic groups.

Using diagram 4.1, it will be argued that the majority group (the Malays) in this study inhabit an authority-defined reality where politically, socially, culturally and linguistically, their citizenship is reinforced and legitimised across these four elements, providing a strong and powerful sense of emotional and political belonging. Their personal sense of self and the rights and responsibilities of the citizen are reinforced daily, enhancing support for the 'one nation' vision aspired to by the government. The next section will analyse in detail the four themes of the Malaysian national vision through the student teachers' experiences of citizenship and citizenship education, drawing on data from focus group and in-depth interviews, and observation with the eighteen Malay student teachers in this study.

4.2 Belonging

Following Yuval-Davis' (2006) and Antonsich's (2010) framework of belonging, identity and national identity in this study have been viewed as both personal and intimate feelings of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and as an official, public-oriented 'formal structure' of membership that places boundaries on the political community people belong to.

In general, identity has been viewed as a historical narrative that allows people to explain who they are and where they are from (Hall, 1990). However, in this research, identity involves narratives where student teachers tell themselves and others about who they are, and their belonging to particular groupings and collectivities through cultural, ethnic and religious affiliations.

In general, the student teachers' identity was based on socio, cultural and historical perspectives that reinforced their ethno-religious identity as Malay and Muslim. Three elements of Malayness are evident in the student teachers' responses: Malay culture, Islam and loyalty to the King. They nevertheless placed a different priority on either being Malay Muslims or Muslim Malays. Student teachers who wanted to be known as Malay Muslims used the ethno-nationalist ideology that is Malay culture, language and kingship to support their sense of self. Malay culture, covering all aspects of Malay social life, from styles of dress and housing to rules of etiquette, social interaction and religious identity, was seen as complementary to their ethnic identity. Malay Muslims' identity also represented the majority indigenous population in multi-ethnic Malaysia. They spoke on indigeneity as a marker of cultural authenticity and national legitimacy that linked 'race' or ethnicity to the soil. This indigeneity was perceived as superior to that of the indigenous tribes of Eastern Malaysia as they were characterised as the first 'civilised' people to inhabit Malaysia.

Lili, a Malay female student teacher, expressed her Malay Muslim views:

I would perceive myself as Malay. We are the majority and we owned this country. We should preserve the Malay culture: Malay language, loyalty to the King and Islam represents our rights as the majority. (Lili, Malay, female)

For Lili, being Malay included being a Muslim. None of the Malays were non-Muslim as it is against the law. Another important thing mentioned by Lili that makes her Malay identity more prominent is the notion of 'royalty'. By royalty she meant ties with kingship. Historically, Malay people have devoted their lives to the King. This has been said throughout most of the history of the Malay kingdom (Milner, 1981). To note Milner's words on Malay-King relationship, 'Malays considered and described themselves as living not in states or under a divinely revealed law but rather under a particular Raja (king), ' (Milner, 1988, p.31). The Malay word often translated as 'state' or 'government' or *kerajaan* literally means 'the condition of having a Raja'. The Raja, not the Malay race or an Islamic *umma* (community) was the primary object of loyalty that was central to every aspect of Malay life.

Pre-colonial Malay society emphasised that kingship was a prominent pillar of Malayness, and when Islam came to the Malay Archipelago, it came as another pillar and provided kingship with some of its core values. According to (Shamsul, 2001), the pillars of Malayness are identification with the homeland and ethnicity, but the emphasis is specifically on language, monarchy, religion and customs and way of life (*language, kingship, religion and culture*).

Another student teacher agreed with Lili that being Malay automatically included being a Muslim:

I perceived Malay as my primary identity. In Malaysia, Malay means Muslim, no worries about that. (Wani, Malay, female)

For some student teachers, their religious identity was paramount. For them, being a Muslim was the most important aspect of their life and should come before ethnic

identity. It appeared that religion shaped their lifestyle as a code of conduct, which enabled its followers to judge the parameters within which they should operate. In detail, they spoke about Islamic ways of life and on their everyday practice to be pious Muslims. This included consumption of *halal* food, praying five times a day, fasting and adhering to a Muslim dress code.

For Halimah, being a Muslim was important as it represented a global faith identity that united Muslims around the world. Muslim identity involved, therefore, belonging to a wider Islamic world compared to ethnic identity that is narrower in meaning.

I would see myself as a Muslim and I want others to know that I am a Muslim. Muslim represents a faith identity and I see myself as part of the global Muslim society. (Halimah, Malay, female)

Hadi spoke about the relationship between religious identity and the building of an Islamic state (*umma*) that can cross geographical borders:

Being a Muslim is something big; it can be an ideology, a nation and a way of life. We can unite as Muslims not just locally but globally. (Hadi, Malay, male)

Hadi's response indicated the importance of faith identity to the formation of an Islamic state or *umma*. Some scholars have argued that the *umma* is the worldwide community of Muslim believers as a nation. *Umma* can be trans-border and can unite Muslims all over the world as one: one identity and one *umma*. Some of the students claimed that religious identity also represented ways of being Muslim in contrast to Western ways of life and traditional Malay ways of life. By Western ways of life, students claimed that individual freedom and liberal ideas were incompatible with the religious ways of life of being a pious Muslim who follows God's commands and prohibitions. Hadi claimed that young Muslims in Malaysia lacked purer, Islamic ways of life, due to modernisation of lifestyles and attitudes. He added that young Muslims chose to be free individuals, to determine their own ways of life against the Islamic teaching, such as free mixing or mingling among girls and boys, un-Islamic attire and pre-marital sex.

Ways of being Muslim also went against ways of being traditional Malay, it was said, because of Hindu influences and pre-Islamic elements or animistic beliefs among the Malays. The coming of Islam to the Malay world did not entirely wipe out the pre-Islamic elements in the local culture. Some beliefs and rituals of the traditional Malays are incompatible with the strict tenets of Islam, such as beliefs about spirits, ghosts or the animistic beliefs in many other types of supernatural powers that inhibit or hinder everything that surrounds man against Muslims' belief in one god. This was stressed by Hadi, a male Muslim student teacher, when he claimed that Malays' ways of life had been influenced not only by Islam but also by pre-Islamic animistic beliefs. Despite these concerns, to be Muslim and Malay was an important facet of the sense of belonging exhibited by the Malay student teachers and this was firmly linked to the national vision concept that prioritised and privileged the Malays.

The other theme of belonging in this study is national identity. Although national identity can be viewed as a political state project that separates the world population into an 'us' and 'them', it also creates a boundary dividing the self from the other. It can be viewed as an emotional attachment to promote an 'us' feeling for one political community. In most multi-ethnic societies national identity has been defined as a symbol of commonality, unity and integration in a multi-ethnic society (Gill, 2014). In general, the student teachers believed that national identity represented those who were Malaysians and who spoke the Malay language:

Malaysian peoples are living in multi-ethnic societies, have opportunity to embrace their own culture and language but use the Malay language to communicate and interact with one another. (Wani, Malay, female)

Specifically, the Malay student teachers emphasised that their language had become the national language which they believed had successfully integrated multi-ethnic Malaysia. Nini commented during the in-depth interview,

The Malay language has successfully integrated multi-ethnic Malaysian, we use it in school, in public, in our everyday activities, people from all over

Malaysia, regardless of their cultural background, use the Malay language to communicate with each other. (Nini, Malay, female)

Some of the student teachers argued that sometimes language is a cultural dimension that can transcend ethnic and religious differences, and establish the bonds across ethnic lines that will provide a means for a sense of national identity.

Along with the role of the Malay language as a tool of integration, education in Malaysia has always been perceived as a vehicle to promote and maintain national unity (Brown, 2007; Jamil & Raman, 2012). British colonisers left Malaysia with a divided education system where different ethnicities were educated separately. Following their policy of divide and rule, the British did not intend to establish a rapport between the different 'races' in Malaya through a standardised education system (see Chapter 1). Hence, various vernacular schools were established to cater only for a particular ethnic group, and were run by missionaries, rubber and coffee plantation owners and local residents' associations. The British felt that it was enough for each ethnic group to be educated in their own language and learn to accept their subordinate role in life. Educational aims during British rule were for the British to govern, the Malays to cultivate the fields, the Chinese were to run the mining industry and businesses, while the Indians would be confined to plantations and estates. This contributed much to preserving the status quo of the different races in Malaya and identifying them with their various economic activities (Lim, 1985). However, since then, the state has claimed to have strived to develop a national education system capable of uniting the divided ethnic groups. The Razak Report (1956), the contents of which went on to become the basis for the establishment of the Education Ordinance, 1957, had been the state's first major step to developing national unity (Loo, 2007; Singh & Mukherjee, 1993). This was further strengthened by the Rahman Talib Report (Watson, 1980) that was the basis for the Education Act, 1961. This Act proposed that the Malay language was to be used as a national language; a common syllabus with a Malaysian outlook and a common

examination would be used for all students and there would be common teacher training for all teachers as a tool to develop national identity as part of the process of nation-building.

The term 'Malays' for the core privileged group is used because they are perceived to be the early inhabitants of Malaya, they form the majority population and are the rightful 'owners' of Malaysia. The preferential policies and nation-building from above reinforced the elements of Malayness, especially Malay culture, the Malay language and Islam as privileged identities that demand recognition, tolerance and respect from others. This ethno-religious identity became legalised and guaranteed: a Malay is constitutionally defined as a person who professes the Muslim religion, speaks Malay and conforms to Malay customs (Andaya & Andaya, 2001; Syed, 1981). This element of ethno-religious identity is privileged and it reinforced the student teachers' sense of belonging as a core privileged group in Malaysia. The respondents used terms such as 'majority, owners and first peoples, citizen with special rights' to reinforce their legitimacy and supremacy.

This ideology of Malay political supremacy is similar to what Shamsul (1997) mentioned when he explained the notion of Malay identity:

'Bahasa, agama, dan raja' (language, religion/Islam and the king), are necessarily ideological constructs that emerged over the last century or so, especially, after the arrival of the British and the subsequent creation of a plural society during the British rule. In spite of Malay political dominance in post-colonial Malaysia, what constitutes Malayness remains ideological in nature and was successfully built into the constitution as 'special rights'. (p.243)

The privileges of Islam that include Islamic ways of life reinforce these students' belongingness to Malaysia on a personal and political level. With these ethno-religious privileges, student teachers talked about expecting recognition and respect in their everyday life when interacting with 'non-Malays'. The student teachers perceived their ethno-religious identity not just in terms of the social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities, but also with regard to the

ways these are valued and judged. Ethno-religious identity was perceived as a significant means of maintaining a boundary that separated them from others.

The student teachers argued that the Islamic ways of life required tolerance and respect from others. For example, the need for a clean space and quiet surroundings during prayer time made them uncomfortable when sharing a flat or room with non-Muslim student teachers because they were afraid that non-Muslim student teachers would not understand this need. Throughout the interviews and observations, student teachers cited religion as placing limits on the kinds of relationships that were possible with non-Muslim student teachers. Some of the Malay student teachers were quite rigid and some of them were more flexible. Some of them had no issues sharing a flat or food with others, whilst others did. Some had flexible attitudes in dealing with their everyday religious activities, and others did not. This distinction seemed to occur when talking to those Malays who were based in the predominantly Malay Western part of Malaysia than those based in Eastern Malaysia, which a much more has mixed population. Malays from the East tended to take a more tolerant view of other faiths, ethnicities, etc. and had become accustomed to working within a more flexible notion of being Malay.

For example, Hadi, Halimah, Ika and Nini placed rigid boundaries on their everyday interactions with non-Muslims. Hadi, who lived in university accommodation, had non-Muslim flatmates. He expressed his discomfort when they sometimes wore shoes in the flat, something that was inappropriate for him as he used the space for prayers. He commented that some of his flatmates wore inappropriate dress in front of him when he performed prayers. He commented,

they wear shorts and no shirts in front of me which makes me uncomfortable and sometimes they turn on the television very loudly and I can't concentrate in my prayer but I am afraid if (I) talked to them, ask them to turn off the television, they will feel uncomfortable.

Sometimes they offered me some foods which I am not sure whether it (is) *halal* or not. It is easier to have Muslim flatmates. (Hadi, Malay, male)

Halimah, Ika and Nini spoke about ways of being Muslim girls that placed rigid boundaries on their everyday interactions with non-Muslims. For them, female Muslim girls are supposed to wear a headscarf that covers the entire body; they should have limited interaction with boys in addition to praying five times a day and fasting during the month of *Ramadhan*. Nini, Halimah and Ika positioned Islam as a 'rigid boundary' when interacting with the non-Muslims. From my observations and interactions with these three girls, I found that they wore loose attire with a long headscarf and they interacted less with the boys in the classroom unless they were told to do so by the lecturer. For these three girls, modern dress and a headscarf that exposed certain parts of the body, or a tight dress, were not permissible in Islam. In addition, for them, the notion of a 'traditional' Malay and Muslim girl encompassed one who was courteous, talked gently, looked dainty and walked and sat properly.

These three girls were also concerned about sharing kitchen utensils with non-Muslim friends or flatmates. They were worried that they would not be cleaned in accordance with Islamic ways. For an example, they could not use a pot or knife that had already been used to cook or cut pork. They refused to take a non-Muslim as their flatmate as it would cause them discomfort in their daily activities. They also claimed that having non-Muslim girls as flatmates could create discomfort as they would have to wear the headscarf all the time in front of them.

Halimah commented,

I rent a flat with Malay Muslim girls; there was one day where a non-Muslim friend of my flatmates came to have a study group with my flatmate. I felt uncomfortable that I had to wear my headscarf all day. The non-Muslim girl came to sleep over at our shared flat. (Halimah, Malay, female)

Some of the female student teachers adhered to the concept of *aurat/awra*, or covering their body fully, following a traditional approach to dress for Muslim

women, but this was not followed by all. Explaining more about the concept of women's bodies and piety, according to Islam, covering the whole part of a woman's body except the face and palms is a must when in front of non-related men (Muslim or non-Muslim) and non-Muslim women as well. There are several requirements and prohibitions in Islamic teachings concerning clothing. Fundamentally, the *aurat/awra* must be covered, but the method or style of coverage varies greatly from country to country and person to person. Islam requires that Muslims be careful about their appearance, decency of dress, maintenance of dignity and consumption of what Allah has created for the purpose of clothing and adornment. The standard components of Islamic clothing requirements for women are a head covering and loose-fitting and non-transparent clothing that covers the whole body, with the exception of the hands and face (El Guindi, 1999). Most of the Malay girls told me that there were limitations in their interactions with boys in their everyday social interactions. During the observation in the classroom, most of the female Muslim student teachers sat with a group of girls, in comparison to non-Muslims who sat with both genders in their group.

While the three more traditional female student teachers were very rigid and inflexible in their everyday interactions with non-Muslims and male Muslims, the others, typically from Eastern Malaysia, were more flexible in their attire. They sometimes wore jeans, shirts and a fashionable headscarf. These 'moderate' girls placed permeable boundaries on their everyday religious activities and interactions with the non-Muslims. They had no issues with female flatmates from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. For example, Fatihah, Aini and Wani had non-Muslim female flatmates and they had no problem sharing food with them as long as it was *halal* food. They sometimes took their headscarves off in front of their non-Muslim female flatmates. They understood the Islamic teachings on covering the head and body in front of non-Muslim women, but they had a moderate interpretation of Islamic teachings. For them, interaction with the same gender

should be more flexible and they wanted their non-Muslim female friends to feel comfortable and welcome.

At the state level, Islamic privileged rights are also guaranteed by the constitution. Alisya, a female Malay Muslim, stressed the position of Islam in the constitution as the state religion and that the state requires respect from the entire body of citizens, including the non-Muslims. They claimed that the non-Muslims should respect the Islamic religion as it is professed by the majority Malays and is in the constitution. Malaysia recognises Islam as the official religion of the federation. It guarantees the implementation of Islamic law and the establishment of various Islamic institutions, such as Islamic religious councils. It also protects Islam by restricting the propagation of other religions among Muslims.

Using Yuval-Davis' (2006) politics of belonging, national identity in Malaysia is conceptualised in terms of maintaining borders between Malay and non-Malays and reinforces Malay primacy. Within nation-building, or authority-defined national identity, Malaysian national identity is based on the Malay language, Malay culture and Islam. These elements are represented in most Malaysian policies and are guaranteed in the Malaysian Constitution.

The student teachers spoke about the majority, first people, dominance and origins to justify their ethno-religious identity as Malaysian national identity.

The national identity of Malaysia should represent us, the majority; Malay language, royalty and Islam are our rights. We have to reflect on our history, the Malay nationalists who fought for our independence. This is a Malay country and that is why we should have the Malay element in our national identity. (Lili, Malay, female)

I think the construction of national identity should favour the Malays. We are the majority people, this nation was built by our people. We should have the right to maintain our language, culture and religion and one way of

doing that is through the idea of Malay national identity. (Hadi, Malay, male)

In summary, these Malay student teachers conceptualised belonging in terms of collectivist identities and national identity representations. Using Yuval-Davis' (2006) dimension of belonging, the student teachers articulated ethno-religious identity as social and emotional attachment, and exclusive-inclusive, socio-spatial attachment. Ethno-religious identity as social emotional attachment, or what Antonsich (2010) suggested as a feeling of being at home, deals with the student teachers' three elements of Malayness; Malay language, kingship and Islam. National identity was perceived as a symbol of multi-ethnic Malaysia. National identity represents commonality, plurality, integration and unity in a Malaysian context but the words of these student teachers highlighted that national identity also reinforced the legitimacy and privilege of the Malay population over others. Within exclusive and inclusive socio-spatial dimensions, both ethno-religious and national identity were seen as boundaries between themselves and others and as a key means of reinforcing their superior position in their negotiation with 'non-Malays'.

4.3 Rights

The second theme of the Malaysian nation framework is rights and responsibilities. Along with privileged identity come privileged rights. The following section will analyse how the core privileged group experienced these rights and responsibilities as citizens.

The core privileged student teachers have two types of rights: civil and privileged rights. Their civil rights represent rights that are equal to all citizens. These rights are aimed at protecting freedoms. Generally, 'citizen' refers to a member of a particular political community to which a person belongs. Citizens are people who belong to the state and who subject themselves to the domination of the state for the

formation of their general welfare and for the protection of their rights, both individually and collectively (Heater, 1999). Being a citizen of a particular state entitles a person to rights. These student teachers believed that they had been given basic rights as Malaysian citizens. They expressed their satisfaction at being a Malaysian citizen that brought with it civil (legal) rights guaranteed by the federal constitution. Articles 5 to 10 of the federal constitution underline fundamental liberties as legal rights for all Malaysian citizens. Basically, they have rights and freedoms as beings. The constitutional, fundamental liberties include the right to life and personal liberty, prohibition of slavery, protection against retrospective criminal laws and repeated trials, human equality, freedom of movement, assembly and association, the right to assemble peacefully and to form associations, freedom of speech and expression (Harding, 2012).

Following the nature of Malaysian citizenship and democracy that are akin to republican (duty before rights) and communitarian (community before individual) traditions, the student teachers acknowledged that these rights were not absolute but instead limited. They had freedom of speech, but this freedom was restricted as they were not allowed to have certain rights that transgressed norms (like gay or transgender rights) or to question the role of the king, and so on. Some of them believed that the restriction of certain rights was important to prevent chaos in a multi-ethnic society. They had learnt about historical disturbances, such as Malaysia's 13 May 1969 racial riots, from the older generation and in history classes at school. They believed that living in harmony in a multi-ethnic society was not easy and that state control of certain rights was important.

Privileged Rights

Citizenship can be inclusive and exclusive, and one of the obvious ways to determine this is to witness that citizenship operates as a privileged status for certain groups more than others. Malaysia's preferential policies have promoted the

indigenous groups in general, and the Malay group in particular, as citizens with 'special rights' as distinct from other non-indigenous groups in Malaysia. These 'special rights' are guaranteed in Articles 153 and 161a (Constitution, 2006) of the constitution and include privileged access to public-sector jobs, business licences, government contracts, educational scholarships and admission to public universities through a 'race'-based quota system (see Chapter 1).

The core privileged student teachers expressed their satisfaction with and gratitude for these special rights. Most of them felt their cultural and social rights had been protected and cherished. They felt more secure as they not only maintain their cultural hegemony but have also been given extra protection through the constitution and government policies. The ethnic preferential policies implemented consistently reflected the Malay student teachers' responses on privileged rights. They felt that they were more special, more different and more powerful compared to others.

For example, the student teachers used the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy to represent who they were and why they should be different. This outcome was the result of the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO)-dominant coalition government party's (Mauzy, 2006) (see Chapter 1) success in defining the nation, its ethno-nationalist ideology of *Ketuanan Melayu* or 'Malaya as the land of the Malays' (Balasubramaniam, 2007). Malays have been recognised as the first 'civilised' community who had already formed a kingdom and a *Malay world* in the Malay Archipelago long before the colonial occupation. They had their own legal and administrative institutions and formed a civilised society in the Malay land (Malay Kingdom) (Neo, 2006). They believed that Malays were the inherent and legal owners of Malaya.

I think Malays should gain the special rights because they are the origins of the Malay land. 'Our people' built Malay civilisation. (Alisya, female, Malay)

In a broader stance, the claim that 'Malays own the country' is common to most Malays in Malaysia. The former and longest-serving prime minister, Tun Mahathir, affirmed the status of Malays as the original people and legitimate 'owners' of Malaysia.

The Malays are the original or indigenous people of Malaya and the only people who can claim Malaya as their one and only country. The *Orang Melayu* or the Malays have always been the definitive people of the Malay Peninsula. The aborigines were never accorded any such recognition nor did they claim such recognition. Above all, at no time did they outnumber Malays. (Mohammad, 1970 as cited in Suryadinata, 2014, p.30)

Tun Mahathir's comments indicate two important things: those aborigines are indeed a native people, the people who were in Malaya first, but they are very small in number and built their own community in the jungle and had no interaction with 'the outside world'; also, they are not recognised by the Malays, who are the majority population in Malaya. They have also never claimed any recognition. Yet, the national vision political project does accord them some degree of acknowledgement as an indigenous people but without all of the attendant privileges of the Malays.

Since the early days of independence, the first prime minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, clearly affirmed the Malays as the 'owners' of the Malay land:

With regard to the proposal that independence should be handed over to the 'Malayans', who are these 'Malayans'? This country was received from the Malays and to the Malays it ought to be returned (Inaugural speech as President of UMNO, 26 August 1951, cited in Cheah, 2002, p. 1)

This claim raised the question of whether or not the aboriginal peoples believed in this claim regarding their ownership of the land. These claims came from people in power and to understand whether this really represented the aboriginal people's beliefs, we should look at the aborigines' discourse, and how they negotiated with the ideas of being the first in the land but last in the plan. I will discuss the

aboriginal student teachers' narratives with regard to their peripheral status in Malaysia in the next chapter.

Halimah also agreed that Malays are the majority, the politically dominant majority, with special rights. Dalia expressed her agreement on Malays as the original people of Malaysia and she also spoke about the position of others who have to adjust and get used to Malay special rights in order to fit in with the majority.

I agreed with the pro Malay policy, Malays are the majority here. Others, I think they 'get used' and 'have to get used' to the Malay special rights.
(Dalia, female, Malay)

Some student teachers believed that Malay 'special rights' were also seen as a 'repayment' for being an economically disadvantaged group during colonialism. As explained in Chapter 2, there is no single dominant group in multi-ethnic Malaysia by number or population, but political and social status have made the Malays the dominant group and granted them privileged rights. Colonial rule made the Malays the dominant group politically and socially, but not the dominant economic group. They gave economic opportunities to the non-Malays, who included Europeans and Chinese immigrants.

Some of the student teachers believed that after fifty-seven years of independence, the Malays are still not able to compete with the economically more advanced minorities in Malaysia, in particular the Chinese. Dalia commented:

I think we the Malays still lack economic power; we have to rely on the government to support to own a property; for example, we still need the government house loan or 'special ownership' for Malays. Most of the Malays cannot afford to buy a house using their own money, unlike the Chinese. (Dalia, Malay, female)

Dalia's comment implies that Malays are still 'oppressed' and that, as a 'minority' in economic terms, the state should grant special rights to the Malays. The Malays

want longevity in protection from the government through special rights in education, land rights and businesses. Student teachers, directly and indirectly, expressed support for the 'majority' status and the need for special rights. Malay student teachers held the same opinion when they talked about Malay special rights. Being a member of the privileged group, I made the core privileged groups more comfortable when they expressed their privileged positions. I know my position as an 'insider' in the core privileged group made them comfortable in terms of seeing my conformity as far as their privileged rights were concerned. Nevertheless, as a researcher, I tried to be neutral and asked for their views and recorded their voices rather than mine. I had to be very careful dealing with such opinions and I had to make sure that their views were genuinely from their experiences and opinions, by maintaining a degree of neutrality.

One of the areas mentioned by the student teachers in relation to special rights was educational rights, in particular in relation to funding and quota-based university entrance. All core privileged group student teachers are fully sponsored by the Ministry of Education for their studies at Sultan Idris Education University (SIEU). This support covers their tuition fees, in addition to a monthly allowance. This is not to say that non-Malays enrolled at SIEU cannot be funded, but compared to the core privileged student teachers, for whom public funds are easily obtainable, only the top achievers in the unprivileged groups are likely to be publically funded. Core privileged student teachers represent the highest population in most public universities in Malaysia.

A social economic survey carried out by (Mukherjee, 2010) and associates in collaboration with the Malaysian Qualifications Agency provided quantitative data for student populations and student funding in higher education in Malaysia.

Table 4.1: Public university admissions by ethnic group, 2002–2009

Ethnic group	Bumiputera		Chinese		Indian		Total
	No. of students	%	No. of students	%	No. of students	%	
2002	22,557	68.9	8,665	26.4	1,530	4.7	32,752
2003	23,182	62.6	11,921	32.2	1,931	5.2	37,034
2004	24,837	63.8	11,778	30.3	2,277	5.9	38,892
2005	24,941	62.4	12,802	32	2,233	5.6	39,976
2006	24,957	62.4	12,616	31.5	2,443	6.11	40,016
2007	24,924	62.1	12,745	31.8	2,447	6.1	40,116
2008	24,989	62.2	12,445	31	2,750	6.8	40,184
2009	27,829	68.8	10,166	25.2	2,421	6.0	40,416

Source: Socio economic Survey 2010 as cited in Mukherjee, 2010)

Table 4.1 above shows that between 2002 and 2009, the indigenous group (core privileged group) represented the highest percentage of the population in public universities compared to that of the Chinese and the Indians. In 2009, 69 per cent of the total population were from the core privileged group compared to only 25.2 per cent Chinese and 6.0 per cent Indian.

Table 4.2: Student Financing Source by Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Scholarship	Loan	Personal	Total
Bumiputera	15.4	64.3	20.3	100
Chinese	8.2	44.0	47.8	100
Indian	6.8	54.5	38.6	100

Source: Socio economic Survey 2010 as cited in Mukherjee, 2010)

Table 4.2 shows student financing by ethnic group. Of the total respondents to the study, 15.4 per cent of the *bumiputera* (privileged and peripheral privileged groups) were in receipt of a scholarship, of which almost 98 per cent indicated that their scholarship was a publicly funded award provided by either the Public Service Department or Indigenous People's Trust Council, commonly abbreviated as MARA. In contrast, 8.2 per cent of Chinese and 6.8 per cent of Indian students received scholarships.

A series of affirmative action policies adopted in the last five decades of independence, such as the Malaysia National Economy Policy (NEP), National Education Policy and National Cultural Policy, mapped the direction and characteristics of the education system today. The NEP, by imposing the ethnic quota system for student admissions in public higher education institutes, created its own inequities in the higher education system. Non-Malay students who were otherwise eligible for higher education were not given places. Unprivileged students who were not given placements in the public higher education institutions had to look for alternatives, which included going overseas for their education, such as to the UK, Australia and New Zealand. However, students who could not afford overseas qualifications looked for local alternatives (Mukherjee, 2010). It could be said that the preferential policies have been successful in terms of the advancement of the indigenous (*bumiputera*) group. During their in-depth interviews, some of the core privileged group student teachers expressed their opinions on the preferential policies which favour the *bumiputera*, with special educational rights.

Some student teachers commented, in relation to educational privileges, that as privileged groups they were in a 'comfort zone' where they did not have to study hard and get the best results in their main examination. Students in this group need only to get an average number of credits in their examination to be accepted at public university. This privileged group were not as competitive as the others, especially the Chinese and Indian student teachers, because they were confident they would get university offers and scholarships as a result of this policy.

Chinese and Indians student teachers have to achieve best results to be accepted to university. We are very lucky, due to the quota-based system that offers us scholarship and enrolment to public university. We, the Malays, feel relieved that we do not need to compete with these student teachers. (Dalia, Malay, female)

To summarise on rights, the core privileged group of Malays, as citizens with special rights, were entitled to easier access to education, public service and

economic opportunities. They felt secure, safe and protected within the national vision. Their special rights reinforced their sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. It is clear that their privileged rights had been recognised by the state, and in the everyday experiences of the core privileged student teacher groups. They demanded recognition of their difference, that of being a citizen with special rights above others (those who were peripheral to privilege or in unprivileged groups). It can be seen from my analysis that the core privileged groups (Malay student teachers) believed that they were, and indeed still are, the historically economically disadvantaged group. Following this rationale, the Malaysian national vision recognised them by according them the status of citizens with special rights. They were therefore an economically disadvantaged group whilst at the same time a group that is advantaged politically, culturally, educationally, linguistically and religiously.

Western liberal and universal concepts of citizenship that require minorities to give up their cultures to become full participants in the civic community of the nation state have been challenged by proponents of multicultural or differentiated citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995; Young, 1989). The proponents of multicultural citizenship suggest that the modern state should accommodate the aspirations of diverse cultural, ethnic and national groups. Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship framework that aimed at the recognition of the difference of the oppressed group has been applied differently in Malaysia. Malaysia proposed its own ethnically differentiated citizenship that promotes recognition for the dominant Malay group. For the Malays, the recognition of difference was in terms of their status as a majority group and aimed at strengthening their privileges. Recognition demanded that the subordinate group should accept and respect their cultural and social rights. The findings also showed a relationship between ethno-religious identity and the way of being a Malay and Muslim with their special rights; therefore, the justifications given by the student teachers sometimes overlapped. For both themes, rights and belonging, the student teachers expressed their position as

the majority, legitimate owners and original people that legitimately required recognition and respect.

4.4 Responsibilities

Two characteristics of Malaysian citizenship are: ethnically differentiated citizenship that favours one ethnic group over another, and the Asian form of citizenship that proposes state control over responsibilities and duties before the rights of citizens. Following the communitarian and republican ways of citizenship, the Malaysian national vision framework (Sani, 2008) promotes duty before rights and a focus on patriotism and the importance of citizens expressing the values of love and service to one's political community. State control over individuals, which limit certain individual rights, aims to promote civic virtues concerned with patriotism, loyalty and respect for the political community (Mahathir & Ishihara, 1995).

The theme of responsibilities dealt with the core privileged group of student teachers' experiences. In-depth analysis from the interview questions on 'good citizens and bad citizens' revealed two sub-themes under responsibility experiences: civic responsibilities and cultural responsibilities. For civic responsibilities, I used the three types of responsibilities discussed by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) in their contemporary discourse of citizenship that met the needs of the analysis – civic knowledge, civic values and civic skills. Civic knowledge is focussed on understanding Malaysian history, government and institutions, democracy and rights. Civic knowledge also includes an understanding of and loyalty to national symbols and icons, such as the flag (Veterans of Foreign Wars, as cited in Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Civic values are concerned with self-sacrifice, patriotism, loyalty and civic skills, which enable citizens to engage in productive dialogue around public problems, building consensus and working cooperatively. The student teachers' civic knowledge was considered to be good, as they had learnt about Malaysian history, government and institutions, and Malaysian multi-ethnic society

in history and social studies subjects at school. At university level, they had generally learnt about nationhood, Malaysian culture and society, and in particular, had enrolled on citizenship programmes and learnt in detail about citizenship and citizenship education courses. These Malay student teachers had a good knowledge of the Malaysian Constitution and they also had experience of being involved in service-learning fieldwork as part of citizenship and citizenship education programmes.

The citizenship placement project or service-learning programme, as part of their citizenship education course, encouraged the promotion of civic skills or civic engagement among the student teachers. The project provided them with experience in preparing and planning their own service-learning (community work) projects and they had the opportunity to work together with the community and people in power. They learnt the process of service-learning that includes investigation, planning and preparation, action, reflection and demonstration of results (Eyler & Giles, 1999). The first stage is investigation, where students investigate the community problems that they might potentially address. The second stage is for student teachers to plan and prepare the learning and service activities, and address the administrative issues required for a successful project. At this point, student teachers prepare the proposal paperwork and submit this to people in charge (for example, they discuss their proposal plan with an officer at the Aborigine office department). For the third process of service-learning, student teachers engage in meaningful service experience that will help them develop important knowledge, skills and attitudes and benefit the community. The fourth process involves reflection. Using the student teachers' reflective journals, I analysed their reflections on how they perceived the importance of the service-learning process and action in relation to their civic responsibilities. I found that apart from learning about planning a project in the context of their service-learning, the student teachers also learnt about others' voices (the voices and experience of the aborigine group). They also developed the feeling of being responsible people

through helping others in need in the community. They learnt how to deal with and build up a network of people in power, and during the service-learning engagement the student teachers came to understand the service-learning experience and think about its meaning and connection to them, their society and what they had learnt through the citizenship education course.

Through my observation, I found that during the action phase, the student teachers worked together as a group and worked with other people who were not Malay or Muslims. They placed their Malay Muslim identities aside and worked for a much broader humanity. They placed their boundaries aside as they cooked and ate together, played with the aborigines' children and shared their stories together. The food that they cooked was provided by the aborigine people and since they (the aborigines) were aware of the Muslim diet, they provide *halal* meat. The student teachers thanked the aborigine families for their understanding of the Muslim diet (field note observations). The student teachers presented their project in a mini-seminar when they returned from the placement, which was the final stage in the service-learning process, that is, demonstration. The student teachers shared their stories from the placement in the classroom with their friends and lecturers as part of the mini-seminar. From one of the findings of their presentation, I discovered that they talked about the importance of tolerance and respect for diversity. They learnt about other people's cultures and ways of life (field note observations).

They agreed that each citizen should have multi-layered responsibilities within the family, school, university, community and nation. At the family level, they spoke of their responsibility to obey their parents and respect their family members. Aini expressed the following views on the family.

I should get the basic needs, and love and care from my family and in return I think I have to repay my parents by helping them when I am employed. I am responsible for helping my brother and sister when they need me. (Aini, Malay, female)

The student teachers also expressed their personal responsibility as citizens to obey the rules at university level. They stated that they followed the dress code for teachers and some of them paid motoring parking permits and paid their utility bills for their accommodation.

In relation to civic values, some of the student teachers spoke of being a moral person, being good to family members, peers, people in the same neighbourhood and of having respect for others, as part of being a responsible citizen. As Muslims, the student teachers added that a good citizen is a religious person who also obeys the Quran. A religious person will follow the rules in personal affiliations as well as human relationships. Being good in the neighbourhood and helping people in need are examples of Islamic teaching and being a good Muslim means being a good and moral citizen. The strong overlaps across the different elements of these student teachers' citizenship experiences (diagrams 4.1 and 4.2) continually reinforced coherence and harmony across identity, belonging, rights and responsibilities and the 'one nation' vision. The authority-defined and everyday-defined realities chimed and echoed with each other. Dalia expressed the importance of duties in the neighbourhood,

As part of the neighbourhood, I think I should have the right to live in peace and harmony and keep a good relationship among the people of the neighbourhood, helping each other and being aware of the neighbourhood security. (Dalia, Malay, female)

Another civic value proposed by the student teachers was respect for diversity in a multi-ethnic society. It involved respect for the diversity of religion, ethnicities and cultures. The core privileged groups claimed that they acknowledged the existence of multi-ethnic groups. Student teachers claimed that the important thing in relation to respect for diversity was to have an understanding of the concept of multi-ethnic Malaysia.

People of various ethnicities, with various cultures and religions, live together and interact with each other with the common language which is the Malay language. (Dalia, Malay, female)

It's like a one Malaysia concept, all ethnics [and] not just Malays, Chinese and Indians but also the indigenous Sabah and Sarawak. We live side by side together and use one common language which is Malay language. (Lili, Malay, female)

Multi-ethnic Malaysia is multi-ethnic people living in one society, sharing common public facilities and living in tolerance. (Dina, Malay, female)

We have to accept other cultures and religions as part of a multi-ethnic society. They have rights to preserve their culture and religion. The society is tied with a common language, the Malay language. (Wani, Malay, female)

The student teachers themselves claimed to be multi-ethnic Malaysians who appreciate the uniqueness of different cultures and are grateful that Malaysia can share the colourful cultures of her people. The findings showed that the student teachers were pleased with each other's uniqueness, for example, the hardworking Chinese and the politeness of the Eastern Malaysian indigenous groups. Some of them expressed their gratitude for living in a harmonious, multi-ethnic society. They seemed to believe that the envisioned one nation had already been achieved. However, the core privileged group student teachers also had a peripheral acceptance of pluralism in Malaysia. Pluralism should be in line with ethnic preferential citizenship. It is exhibited through the permeable and rigid boundaries in their inter-ethnic relations. Suzie, a female student teacher, claimed:

We've been tolerant to their differences by accepting them as part of multi-ethnic Malaysia. We respect them and they have to respect our religion and culture. (Suzie, Malay, female)

Suzie's claim suggested that the tolerance they accorded others might be very minimal and that the minorities, in return, had to respect the differences in the core privileged group. In conclusion, it is clear that the core privileged group student teachers' notion of respect in diversity was minimal, and less likely to reflect mutual reciprocity, as their privileged position had already created an asymmetry which informed their views of the community of the nation.

The last civic value mentioned by the student teachers was patriotism. Throughout the development of citizenship education in Malaysia, history education played a vital role in instilling patriotism in students (Bajunid, 2008). In the new Integrated Secondary School Curriculum, implemented in 1988, history became a core subject that had to be studied for five years, from years 1 to 5 (ages 13–17) (Ahmad, 2004). Key citizenship concepts in the curriculum involved political and historical literacy and simultaneously included ideas of a citizen's national and international rights, duties, obligations, entitlements and privileges. The patriotic component emphasised the development of a citizen who is proud to be a Malaysian, is loyal to the country, has a spirit of belongingness and who is disciplined, industrious and economically and culturally productive (Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, & Fairbrother, 2013).

Ziana conceptualised citizenship education as a subject that taught about patriotism and loyalty to the nation.

It taught us about nation and nationhood, we have to know the history of our country, always be proud to be Malaysian and loyal to our Kings.
(Ziana, Malay, female)

Obedying the law was seen as a citizen's personal responsibility. During the 'good citizens, bad citizens' activity, student teachers were asked about a hypothetical case of what they thought it meant to be a good citizen in Malaysia. In general, most of the core privileged group student teachers positioned themselves as personally responsible and participatory citizens. The core privileged student teachers in this study had also experienced engagement in the community. Some core privileged student teachers had been involved in voluntary groups in the community and had helped others. Some were involved in blood donation campaigns at the university. Aida suggested that citizenship education was about participation in the community: it involved the relationship between the state and citizens and also the relationship with the community.

It teaches us about rights, inter-ethnic relations and the important thing which is to engage with the society. I would conclude that citizenship is about rights and duties and community engagement. (Aida, Malay, female)

In summary, the student teachers conceptualised responsibilities within a Malaysian national vision that is broadly based on communitarian ways of citizenship. Communitarian ways of citizenship prioritise community values over individual ones. It is a Malaysian community based on religious values, multi-ethnic Malaysian values and Asian values in contrast to one based on Western individual values. By communitarian citizenship, I mean that the responsibility of citizens is to carry out their duties and follow the restriction of rights that aim to promote a stable, multi-ethnic Malaysia. Using Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) good citizen framework, the student teachers believed that a good citizen was a personally responsible person that contributed to his or her community. A participatory citizen was one who actively participated in the civic affairs and social life of the community at local, state and national levels. They nevertheless were not ready to be justice-oriented citizens, that is, effective democratic citizens who analysed and understood the interplay of social, economic and political forces, and engaged in matters of injustice and valued the importance of pursuing social justice. The student teachers felt that they were still citizens in the making and had no power to find a voice.

4.5 Re-imagined communities

The existing Malaysian nation framework aims to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysia with an ethnically differentiated model of citizenship that favours the Malay ethnic group over others. In general, the student teachers agreed with the existing Malaysian citizenship vision. Some of them followed their ethno-religious identities to promote ethnic citizenship or Islamic citizenship, but neither preference undermined their privileges as both elements were stipulated in the Malaysian nation-building project as key foundations of citizenship. The work of Shamsul's (1996) 'nation of intent' is really helpful when discussing the imagined nation in

Malaysia. Through authority-defined social reality, the national identity question is perceived by the government as a non-issue because its basis and content have been spelt out in a number of policy documents. In general, four themes that emerged in this analysis were in line with Shamsul's (1996), 'authority-defined' 'nation of intent', based on a political ideology which perpetuates ethnic preferential citizenship rights. This was expressed by some of the core privileged group student teachers. Their preference for ethnic citizenship aimed at reinforcing their primacy as the legal owners of Malaysia:

As the majority and the earliest people in Malaysia, we should protect our self-interest first. I think it's a norm of majority group of any country should have the privileges more than the minority people. The Malays are the early people and also the majority; we should get the privileges. The Chinese and the Indians have already dominated the economy and are more advanced in education as well. This is the reason why they wanted to fight for more. We should be more vigilant. (Suzie, Malay, female)

I wanted the Malaysian nation to belong to the Malay ethnic citizenship. As I said earlier, the Malays owned this country. They (Chinese and Indians) were originally immigrants; we have already given them citizenship. They would never be satisfied and would fight for more rights. (Fatimah, Malay, female)

Those student teachers who perceived themselves to be Muslim before their Malay identity preferred an Islamic citizenship state. By Islamic state they meant the application of Islamic laws and administration before civil laws. They added that an Islamic state should promote ways of being a Muslim in every aspect of life. Hadi made it clear in his Muslim Malay identity preferences that Islam applies not just to cultural activity but should be a complete way of being. As the dominant group in Malaysia are Muslims, Hadi suggested that the Malaysian government should impose Islamic laws and Islamic administration at federal state level. The current application of Islamic laws, for example, extends only as far as marriage and family laws, whereas the main laws are civil laws (Musalib & Kua, 1993). Nation-building in Islam is about brotherhood with the same faith identity that transcends nation state building.

Shafiq, a Malay male student teacher, envisioned the Malaysian nation as an Islamic nation whilst at the same time maintaining the privileges of the *bumiputera*, which include Muslims and non-Muslims:

I wish Malaysian could be an Islamic nation but we have to be very vigilant about other religions in Malaysia. We still compromise with other religions but make Islam the primary religion. At the same time we still have to preserve the *bumiputera* privileges but [give] extra special privileges to the Malays. (Shafiq, Malay, male)

Shafiq's response came from the idea that Islam, as the 'state' religion, was on its own not sufficient to prevent Muslim teenagers from indulging in acts that violated religious teachings. Being a Muslim meant that one should follow and be committed to Islamic rules such as praying five times a day, fasting during the month of *Ramadhan* and wearing proper attire. She claimed that in the era of modernisation and globalisation, young Muslims in Malaysia ignored some of the Islamic teachings such as Muslim dress codes, especially for women. She added that some young women in Malaysia refused to wear the *hijab* (headscarf).

Halimah, a female Malay Muslim student teacher, gave the same response and would prefer to see Malaysia as an Islamic state rather than Islam as a state religion:

I would like Malaysia to be an Islamic state; the majority of Malaysians are Muslims and the country is ruled by the majority of Muslims. We should spread the light of Islam. Being an Islamic nation doesn't mean that we disregard the people of other religions. The Islamic Shariah law only applies to Muslims whilst the non-Muslims follow the civil law (Halimah, Malay, female)

The community of the nation as a civic entity with attendant privileges for Muslim Malays was strongly supported by these student teachers, but was not enough for some. Instead, they perceived a need for a transformation of the state into one which identified holistically as Islamic, shaped by Islam in a way that went beyond the scope of Islam as a national religion. This disharmony within an otherwise frequently harmonic group identity, belonging, and rights and responsibilities

highlights possible dissatisfaction and disagreement in constructing the imagined community of the nation.

4.6 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at four key areas of citizenship and the citizenship education experiences of multi-ethnic student teachers: belonging, rights, responsibilities and re-imagined communities. I used Yuval-Davis' framework of belonging and Shamsul's (1996) authority and everyday-defined national identity to analyse the belonging theme. I found that identity and national identity can both be discussed as emotional attachment and exclusive-inclusive, socio-spatial attachment. I found that these Malay student teachers conceptualised their identity more as an ethno-religious identity. It is interesting to note that faith identity was important and had become paramount in Malaysia. The fact that the majority of Malaysia's population are Malays, and all Malays are Muslims, highlights the significance of faith identity in Malaysia. Being Malay is intertwined with being a Muslim. The coming of Islam to Malaysia changed things from Malay ways of being to Islamic ways of being. Another important aspect of the influence of Islam was that the early nationalist ideology in Malaysia was influenced by Iran's Islamic revivalism, encouraging the creation of an *umma* (Islamic state) based on Islamic ways of life (Mutalib and Kua, 1993). Within political and religious dimensions, some of the student teachers expressed a preference for a Malay Muslim identity and some preferred Muslim Malay, perhaps reflecting a subtle positioning in relation to faith and state, with either a dominance of one over the other or, instead, a mutually reinforcing characteristic of being a Malay with privileges and as members of the national faith.

The identity of Malay Muslims was strongly related to elements of Malayness – the Malay language, Malay culture and kingship affiliations – as their collective group identity. Muslim Malays' identity was based on Muslim ways of life that included

worship of one god, daily Muslim affiliation and ways of being a pious Muslim. The creation of national identity reinforced the feeling of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. Within the 'belonging' dimension, national identity was seen as nation-building, based on commonality and plurality. Within the 'politics of belonging' dimension, ethno-religious and national identity, aimed to reinforce the Malays as the legitimate rulers, as the founders of the country who should, while in power, be flexible or maintain boundaries in their interactions with others. They demanded respect, recognition and tolerance for their ethno-religious identity.

On the rights theme, I found that the student teachers enjoyed both legal and privileged rights. They gained their fundamental rights and special rights as Malays and Muslims. It is important to note that the privileged rights of Malays did not position them above the others, as in the rigid caste system in India, but privileged rights meant they were citizens with special rights that created substantive differences. Their claim for privileged rights as the sole owners of the Malay land was influenced by historical stories of the country's past and Malay-dominant government policies and ideology. The implementation of 'ethnic preferential policies' during the colonial era and their subsequent reinforcement by the Malay government influenced the student teachers' perspectives of these special rights. They claimed privileged rights as something they owned and were guaranteed by the constitution. They also viewed the rights and privileged rights they gained as 'positive equality' whereby they not only owned an equality of rights but also 'opportunities and respect' (Parekh, 1999).

In relation to the responsibilities theme, I found that student teachers talked about civic and cultural responsibilities to the Malaysian political community. The student teachers showed that they were aware of their civic responsibilities as citizens and as a collective group. They had good civic knowledge, values and skills. Nevertheless, their civic responsibilities were intertwined with the Malaysian national vision or the Malaysian way of citizenship that is akin to communitarian

traditions. They believed that the Malaysian way of citizenship upheld duty before rights through its restriction of rights, and Asian democratic values (see Chapter 1). Another interesting element of responsible citizens in Malaysia was the idea of a good and moral person and a religious person. This was supported by the Muslim Malays' identity, as ways of being a Muslim were also seen as ways of being a good citizen. The student teachers' civic responsibilities also concerned civic engagement. The findings showed that service-learning had played an important role in encouraging civic skills and responsibilities among students. Service-learning had taught the student teachers not just about the learning process but also about the impact of how they placed their cultural identity aside and worked together as Malaysians who can work together to help others. The student teachers also learnt about the multi-ethnic cultures of others and ways of promoting respect, tolerance and acknowledgement of each other.

Ethno-religious identities influenced student teachers with regard to the imagined Malaysian nation in the future. In general, they did not argue with the Malaysian national vision, because it represented the Malays' priorities and accorded them those privileges which they believed recompensed them for colonial disadvantage but they also differed when some felt it was necessary to move a step further and create an ethnic state or Islamic state. This nation of intent still holds the three elements of Malayness. The question is, would Malaysia really be representing a multi-ethnic state if this vision were implemented?

In relation to rights and responsibilities, the student teachers seemed to have achieved not only equal rights but also equal respect through the recognition of their cultural rights and differences. Nevertheless, it could be said that the Malays were not the most powerful group, as they remained an economically disadvantaged group in need of support and protection. For this core privileged group of student teachers, they felt that they were still in a vulnerable position. The student teachers expressed their views on others' social achievements and economic

advancement and perceived them as threats and risks to be avoided. For this reason, the student teachers reinforced their status of supremacy in relation to the others. They used religious sensitivity and protection of the constitution as a means of demanding recognition from others. Among the issues raised from the analysis were whether a Malaysian national vision was compatible with multiculturalism and nation-building within ethnic preferential policies, and whether Malaysian ways of citizenship can achieve equality and justice.

Citizenship in a multi-ethnic society deals with cultural pluralism that involves the struggles of minority groups for recognition of their differences. Thus, understanding rights, responsibilities and experiences in a sense of belonging from the less privileged or unprivileged groups is crucial to gaining an understanding of justice and equality through the eyes of the non-privileged groups, and, to cite what Kabeer suggested, 'to understand the notion of inclusive citizenship, it would be more meaningful when it is viewed from the standpoint of the excluded' (Kabeer, 2005). The following chapter will discuss the peripheral and unprivileged groups' experiences of belonging, rights and responsibilities and identity experiences within a Malaysian national vision framework.

Chapter Five

Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Malaysia: Voices from the Subaltern Group

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I discussed the citizenship experiences of the core privileged group of student teachers, using the Malaysian national vision and Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework of belonging and the politics of belonging. This chapter applies the same framework to a discussion of the citizenship experiences of peripheral and unprivileged groups of student teachers (i.e. the subaltern group). The chapter consists of four sections representing the four main ideas of the framework: belonging, rights, responsibility and identity, and their implications for the one nation vision project. It ends with a consideration of the re-imagined communities, envisaged through the eyes of this subaltern group. To note Yuval-Davis' framework again, her theory defines belonging as a dynamic process concerning emotional and ontological attachments (2006, p. 197), while the politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities. Within belonging, she differentiates analytically between three aspects: social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, and ethical and political values. I also note some ideas from Antosich's (2010) belonging framework, where he differentiates his theorising from hers in defining two, rather than three, dimensions of belonging:

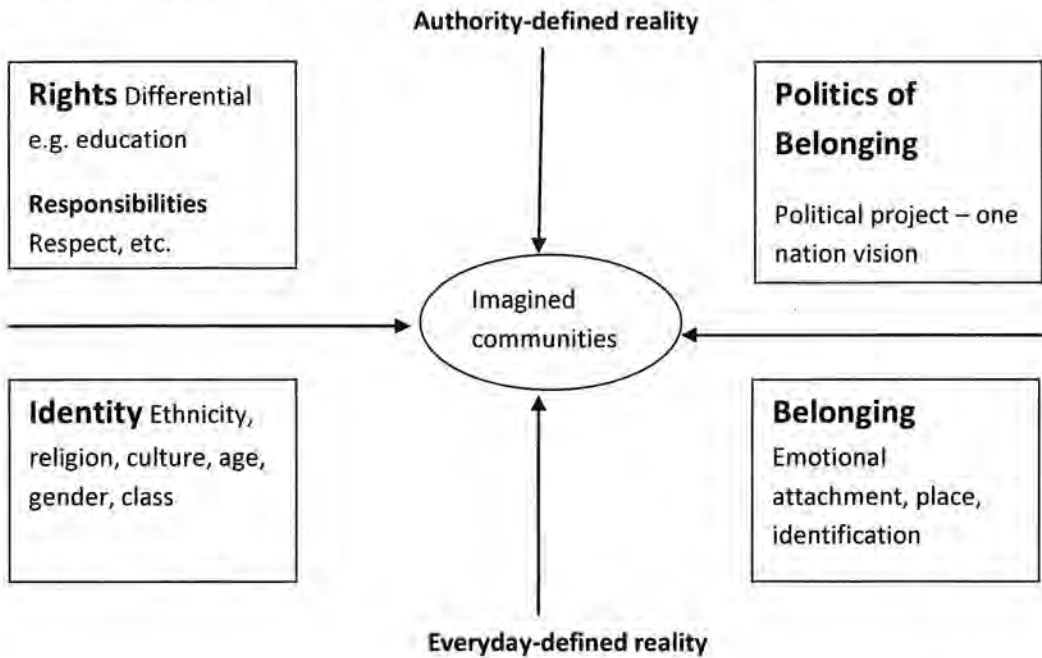
belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion (politics of belonging) (p. 645).

Following Yuval-Davis' (2006) and Antosich's (2010) notions of belonging, I have organised my analysis and discussion around two dimensions: (i) belonging as a

personal, intimate feeling of being 'home', feeling secure, emotional attachment and (ii) belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion. Student teachers articulated their experiences of identity and a personal sense of belonging as well as the influence of the politics of belonging in contrast with the previous, majority privileged group (the Malays). Their sense of their rights and responsibilities and their positioning within the political project of the national vision will be analysed. As mentioned in my literature and methodology chapter (chapter 3), the two groups are citizens with peripheral special rights and those without special rights.

Most studies on the rights' experiences of minorities groups in Malaysia have focused on their challenges, dissatisfaction and silent contestation, and these groups have generally received little attention in terms of their political, social and cultural rights (Ghee, 1977; Mason & Jawan, 2003; Nicholas, 2005; Pietsch & Clark, 2014). These were the groups who were discriminated against with the application of ethnic preferential policies within the Malaysian national vision. Some of them faced economic inequalities and minimal social recognition. In detail, they received fewer benefits in terms of financial distribution, less respect and less recognition of their cultural identity and activity. Therefore, the next section will analyse belonging, the politics of belonging, rights and responsibilities and identity experiences and examine how these experiences influence these groups' sense of the imagined community of the nation.

Diagram 5.1: Simplification of Imagined Communities Framework



I have analysed the experiences of the core privileged group which are in line with, and conform to, the Malaysian national vision framework, as most of the everyday experiences of this group are recognised and reinforced 'from above' and 'from below'. On the one hand, the authority-defined reality in Malaysia provides a very strict framework of citizenship for those who are discriminated against. On the other hand, the everyday-defined reality of identity and belonging as emotional attachment suggests tensions and challenges faced by these groups that were not seen in the Malay group in Chapter 4. Therefore, I begin my analysis with how these groups reflect on authority-defined realities, the politics of belonging and their rights and responsibilities experiences, and then reflect on the everyday-defined realities of identity and belonging as emotional attachment experiences which conflicted with, or were in line with, the authority-defined reality.

5.2 Imagined Communities

Within the Malaysian national vision framework, which is *Malay bumiputera*-dominated, the identity question was regarded by the government as a non-issue because its basis and content have been spelt out in a number of policy documents within the framework of the Malaysian Constitution. It is the Malay *bumiputera*(indigenous)-defined identity that has privileged many aspects of Malay culture as the 'core' of Malaysian 'national' identity, whilst recognising, if peripherally, the cultural symbols of other ethnic groups (Shamsul, 1996, p. 15). Therefore, I discuss how subaltern student teachers articulated their belongingness and citizenship experiences through engagement with identity and attachment to place (belongingness) reflected through their everyday lived experiences. Their concerns or support for the national vision, and the rights and responsibilities associated with it, reflect the authority-defined reality but also allowed some of their worries and concerns over citizenship to be expressed. For these student teachers, citizenship experiences sometimes conflicted with the Malaysian national vision framework. Different identity and citizenship experiences impacted on the different ways in which they conceptualised the different components of the framework (see Diagram 5.1) and so had implications for their sense of the imagined community of the nation. For example, they experience unequal social and economic rights. These inequities of treatment at times worry them and present them with difficult questions: are they different, and also valued less? How could an equitable society help and support poorer and more rural citizens to gain basic access to rights such as education?

The intervention in the form of a service-learning project was a means of encouraging the building of relationships across different groups, ethnicities, socio-economic groups and age ranges. It was suggested by some students that this was a means not only of participating in the wider community but also a way of encouraging students to perceive differences in a positive way.

Civic citizenship – reimagining the community of the nation

The Malaysian national vision that promotes the cultural and political superiority of the Malays has sometimes disadvantaged other ethnic groups and reinforced their unequal treatment. Therefore, some of the subordinate groups asked for a new version of the Malaysian national vision that was more equal and socially just.

Alex Tan preferred a civic citizenship nation in which all citizens are treated equally. He stressed that since all citizens share the same duties, they should all be granted the same rights.

We are the citizens of Malaysia. We should be given the same rights as we hold the same responsibilities as citizens. We should have the same opportunity in education, cultural and language recognition. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

Caleb spoke on equality of rights and that they should be collective and not owned by certain groups.

We are all Malaysians and want to be united as one Malaysia where no one shall be treated unfairly. The rights of citizens are not owned by certain ethnic groups or religions. They should be collective rights. (Caleb, indigenous, male)

Some student teachers had experienced cultural misrecognition and unequal rights in everyday interactions with the dominant group. They believed that to promote 'belongingness' to the Malaysian nation, they needed to propose a more equal and just society.

Ethnically differentiated citizenship

Some peripheral privileged student teachers stated their preference for Malaysia to have a more plural version of citizenship, meaning extending greater recognition to the cultures of minority groups. For example, Emil, a peripheral indigenous student teacher, explained that the current practice of 'ethnically differentiated citizenship' or a Malaysian version of a plural citizenship should be retained because it still

accommodates others, albeit peripherally. Nevertheless, Emil proposed a need for more tolerance, recognition and respect in everyday inter-ethnic relations, especially between the dominant and subordinate groups. Tom spoke of a 'Malaysian version of plural citizenship' as a way to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysia, consisting of a compromise and a balance between the majority and minority groups, whilst simultaneously pursuing commonality as one Malaysia, using the same language (the Malay language) based on a common identity.

[A] plural citizenship nation proposes Malay ethnic citizenship but still accommodates others. It is important that we have a national identity; we are already a multi-ethnic society with various cultures and religions. To build a nation, we have to choose which language and culture should unite us as a nation. The best solution is we use the majority culture and language. (Tom, indigenous, male)

Sundari, an unprivileged student teacher, chose ethnic citizenship as per the current practice in Malaysia as she considered it better to accept current citizenship practice and fit into the majority preference in order to maintain good relations with the core privileged groups. Sundari spoke about their minority status leaving them no choice but to accept the ethnic preferential citizenship proposed by the Malay-dominated government.

I think we should maintain what we have been practising so far which is to indicate the ethnic citizenship. If we want to change it to something else let's think again, the resentment does not just come from the minority but the majority as well. We don't want the 13 May radical riots to happen again. (Sundari, Indian, female)

Participative citizenship

In addition to state ethnic preferential citizenship, Malaysia has also been classified as a semi-democratic state because the government has constrained (but not imposed an outright ban on) various fundamental liberties and societal organisations, in addition to preventing the transfer of federal-level power through

elections (despite these being held regularly). Compared with the Western model of human liberties, this so-called pseudo democracy in Malaysia has sought to control citizens' liberties through the restrictions upheld in the Federal Constitution.

In relation to their right to a voice, student teachers spoke about their rights as participatory citizens. At this point, they highlighted how being identified as young people sometimes disempowered them as they were seen as not yet ready to participate and voice their opinions out loud to older members of society. It is clear from the everyday experiences recounted by these student teachers that adults see them as immature and unemployed and therefore lacking validity. Throughout their placement project, some student teachers met with those in power who looked down on them as persons who had to obey adults and not speak out. These adults presumed that the young people's ideas and suggestions on the placement project were not valuable due to the fact they were still young and unemployed (focus group interviews). This was the negative part of the service-learning project. Despite making it possible to break down some barriers of ethnicity, the age of the students led some of the 'adults' to question the legitimacy of the young people's views. Most of the student teachers saw this as indicative of their wider experiences, where, as young people, they were perceived as 'second-class citizens' as they were not yet adults and did not carry any employment responsibilities such as paying taxes, voting and other duties where their age prevented their participation. Suzie, a female indigenous student teacher, claimed that young people had no voice in society because adults thought that they were not ready to take responsibility in an adult world. Some of the student teachers had personal experiences which excluded them from being engaged in the community because of their age.

Through 'good citizen and bad citizen' focus group activity, student teachers were asked about what kind of citizens they saw themselves as and why (see Appendix J). Peripheral privileged group (PPG) and unprivileged group (UPG) student teachers expressed that they were 'not yet' 'justice-oriented citizens'. For them 'to be

heard' would require them to be an adult and employed in Malaysian society. This is the 'power' that the adult world has over young people. None of the students were confident or ready to speak up as they were not given an opportunity to voice their opinions. A study on social citizenship: rights, participation and responsibilities of young people, by Ahmad et al. (2012) emphasised the importance of society encouraging a sense of citizenship by involving young people to help them realise their role in a democratic society.

I argue here that these student teachers, as young people, felt that they were partially neglected citizens due to the wider societal perception that they were not ready. Some had the desire to be justice-oriented citizens, able to give their opinions critically, but found that the space provided for this, such as through social networks, newspapers, Twitter and so on, was controlled by the government. They had to construct their opinions to fit with the Malaysian way of citizenship.

Historically, youth in Malaysia have had a tradition of active participation in all aspects of public life, including politics. Following student involvement in socialist movements and public demonstrations during the late 1960s and mid-1970s, youth participation was curtailed with the introduction of the Universities and University Colleges Act of 1971, which remains in effect today. The Act banned students from holding political office in organisations outside the university, such as trade unions and political parties (Lee, 2004).

In 1975, the Act was amended to further limit student involvement in politics. Students were prohibited from becoming members of, or expressing any form of support for, political parties or trade unions. Section 15 of the Act prohibits a student or a student organisation, body or group from associating with outside organisations, except as provided for under the Constitution or approved by the vice-chancellor of the respective university (Constitution, 2006). The curtailment of youth activities resulting from this Act has had significant implications for the

development of youth capacity in labour, educational, social and political participation (Hak-Su, 2002).

Youth organisations provide spaces for young people to give voice to their ideas. The majority of youth organisations in Malaysia fall under the umbrella of the Malaysian Youth Council (MYC), which is a not-for-profit voluntary organisation. The MYC consists of 35 national and state youth-affiliated organisations, including student, socio-economic, religious and uniformed organisations and state youth councils. Strengthening youth participation in Malaysia requires the youth to play an active role in civil society. Groups such as the MYC have called for the formation of a civil society network in order to improve governance and to enhance youth participation within it. Hak-Su (2002), speaking about the MYC, explained that some of the examples which strengthened youth representation in civil society could benefit Malaysia. Views and opinions, as well as problems and grievances, could be conveyed through official and appropriate channels, and youth could be trained in leadership skills by civil society organisations. Nevertheless, the expression of all voices and opinions has to adhere to appropriate procedures in society, which is in line with the Malaysian nature of a semi-democratic system. This means that although the MYC has suggested several ways of improving young people's participation, they have to be sensitive to Malaysian ethnically differentiated citizenship. For example, they cannot voice issues relating to Malay special rights, unequal education rights and so on. Emil commented in relation to the limitations placed on youth organisation and agreed with street demonstration:

Freedom of voice should not be restricted. State sometimes overlooked citizen rights, for that we have to raise it up. In terms of mechanism to 'voice up', I would prefer 'street protest' as the procedural mechanism has never worked. A street demonstration is usually considered more successful as more people participate. (Emil, indigenous, female)

Another student teacher argued that their voice acts as a tool to improve government administration.

We have to voice without restriction because the government will never know all the problems faced by the citizens. For me, it is also a way to improve our government system. (Sandy, indigenous, female)

On the other hand, Mee Da spoke on the negative impact of street demonstrations in Malaysia.

I do not think the government should restrict the freedom of speech as it's part of our rights....but to 'voice up', we have to follow the procedures, non-violent street protest is fine, but normally street protest can be a violent demonstration. It has caused damage to public facilities. (Mee Da, aborigine, female)

Nevertheless, student teachers' participation in service-learning has changed their perception on the spaces for expression and the ways in which their voices can be heard. During the process of service-learning, the student teachers interacted and communicated with people in power, and presented their placement project proposals to them. It could be said that during the service-learning process at SIEU and on placement, the student teachers learnt not just about being responsible citizens but also how to interact and find space for their voices to be heard.

In summary, it could be said that tension has been created for 'minority' groups in Malaysia within the authority-defined citizenship framework. These 'minorities' include citizens who do not hold special rights and those who are not yet labelled as citizens due to their age. This has led to the re-imagined communities proposal that incorporates more inclusive forms of citizenship. The challenges of such a political project for the nation have impacted on citizens' rights and responsibilities. In the next section, I analyse the rights and responsibilities experiences of student teachers within the authority-defined citizenship framework.

5.3 Rights

In relation to rights, these subaltern student teachers spoke in general about two areas: their understanding and experiences of rights. They spoke about constitutional rights as the basic social and civil rights accorded to them. Although there are a series of fundamental rights enshrined in the Malaysian constitution, the peripheral and unprivileged student teachers referred only to those rights of which they had, up to that point, had experience – freedom of movement, equal protection under the law, freedom of religion and freedom of speech. They had been taught about these rights through the formal curriculum in school. They expressed their satisfaction with the basic rights accorded to them. Some student teachers spoke about the opportunity to access education:

I think as a Malaysian, we were granted with basic rights. We were given rights to access education from primary level to secondary school. (Tom, indigenous, male)

Some student teachers spoke about their educational preferences at primary and secondary levels.

I have an opportunity to enrol at a Chinese type of primary school to preserve my own culture and language. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

The student teachers spoke in detail about social rights – rights for education, health and basic amenities such as an electricity supply, water supply and clean drinking water, proper accommodation and free primary education. Nevertheless, they reported differing experiences of receiving these basic amenities in rural and urban areas. Some of the student teachers who lived in suburban areas enjoyed basic amenities, in addition to access to schools, health care and other public facilities. Among those living in poorer rural areas, however, there was great concern about the lack of infrastructure and support for them to gain access to the basic amenities.

Some peripheral privileged student teachers spoke about access to education. Although all citizens were given rights to education, they felt that the practicalities had not been addressed properly. Many indigenous children living in the interior did not have adequate access to education. There were tremendous obstacles posed by the distances between their villages and schools. Poverty-stricken families could not afford the expenses associated with sending their children to school, including the cost of transportation. An aboriginal student teacher, Mee Da, spoke on underrepresented aboriginal people's opportunity for education in Malaysia. For Mee Da, aboriginal people were the most marginalised and disadvantaged Malaysians. Most of the aboriginal people's lives were spent in rural areas. Mee Da also spoke about the education of aboriginal children and the high dropout rate from school at an early age due to poverty.

Most aboriginal people live in rural areas and they are poor, they cannot afford to send their children to school. Some children may come late to school and then never show up. (Mee Da, aborigine, female)

Nicholas (2005) reported on studies carried out by the Department of Aborigines People Development, with independent consultants revealing that the dropout rate among aboriginal schoolchildren at all levels was disproportionately high compared to the national average. It was found that for every hundred aboriginal children entering Primary 1, only around six were expected to reach Form 5, eleven years later. This represented a 94 per cent dropout rate. This kind of data supports the concerns raised by Mee Da. The potential factors given as leading to a high dropout rate between primary and secondary school were either laziness, apathy or a preference for work (Nicholas, 2005). These reasons seem to be in contrast to MeeDa's explanation that one of the reasons for the high dropout rate is poverty.

Some student teachers commented on their economic rights as citizens. For example, an Eastern Malaysian student teacher spoke about unequal economic development between Eastern and Western Malaysia. Lack of basic amenities and

unequal educational opportunities were the two most frequently cited points by the peripheral privileged student teachers. Eddy commented on the different levels of economic development between Western and Eastern Malaysia. Most areas of Eastern Malaysia are still under development. Malaysian national statistics reveal that communities living in the rural areas of Sarawak are among the worst off compared to the rest of the country, and often face considerable hardships, including securing land rights and other basic rights to development. As the federal government is situated in West Malaysia, there were tensions in Eastern Malaysia (Borneo states). Decisions made by the federal government in terms of federal allocations meant that widening socio-economic gaps were not moving in favour of these states (Jomo & Hui, 2002).

Eddy, Caleb and Tom talked about their observations on this limited economic development as something which illustrated the marked differences between East and West Malaysia. Peripheral privileged student teachers from East Malaysia highlighted that there was limited access to socio-economic facilities and this had led to further deterioration in the standard of living for vulnerable groups. Socio-economic issues included access to education, health care services and poverty eradication programmes. Eddy, a peripheral privileged student teacher from East Malaysia, lived in a rural area and commented on the lack of basic amenities in most of the rural areas in East Malaysia. Eddy lived in the *Kapit* area, that is geographically near the main Rajang River and is an area regularly hit by flash floods during torrential rains that cause widespread damage and loss. Most of the residents of the *Kapit* area use the river route in their activities of daily life, as this route is more convenient in terms of distance to travel to the town or city. There has been no further action taken by either the State or Federal Governments to improve this situation.

looking from my everyday observation, I have noticed that that Eastern Malaysia states (have been) given less attention (by the Federal government), compared to (those in) West Malaysia. I think the Federal (government)

should give the same development in terms of public facilities and education in East(ern) Malaysia. We (are) also part of Malaysia (so) why should we be treated differently? (Eddy, indigenous, male)

For another peripheral group, aboriginal student teachers, Mee Da commented on the unequal socio-economic development between aboriginal societies and the mainstream society. Poverty is widespread among the aborigines. Quoting the 10th Economic Malaysia Plan, the report added that nearly half of the 30,000 *Orang Asli* households (or 150,000 people) were living below the poverty line. (Unit, 2010)

I came (from an) aborigine group and lived in (an) aborigine village. Most of (the) aborigine people build their own houses. (They are) not proper houses. Although there are housing provision schemes through the Department of Aborigines People Development (*Orang Asli*) for aborigine peoples, only small numbers are allocated annually and fewer aborigines receive a proper house each year. (Mee Da, aborigine, female)

In relation to educational rights, most peripheral and unprivileged student teachers expressed satisfaction with their educational rights. They had opportunities, in a basic sense, to access primary, secondary and tertiary education. Some of them spoke about the opportunities they had to choose the type of primary education that promoted their culture and language. Some indigenous Eastern Malaysian student teachers went to Chinese primary schools and some of them chose national primary schools. The two Chinese and Indian student teachers, Alex Tan and Sundari, preferred their own vernacular (Chinese and Tamil) types of school in order to promote the perpetuation of their culture. Both student teachers expressed satisfaction with their educational rights as both had had the opportunity to choose Chinese and Tamil types of primary school. The vernacular system at primary level demonstrated in practice the policy of accommodating different aspirations, ethnic groups and language preferences. At secondary level, although Malay is the first language in school, the student teachers still had the opportunity to learn Tamil and Mandarin as elective subjects. At tertiary education level, the student teachers claimed they had the opportunity to join cultural and religious clubs supported by the student affairs unit in the university.

Yet for some, such as the indigenous Eastern Malaysian student teachers, choice of school was determined by accessibility. The lack of a sound infrastructure meant that schools were often located far from students' homes and there were limited roads and means of transport by which to reach them. If they were able to reach a school, they went to a national primary school. Some of the peripheral privileged indigenous students chose a Chinese type of school because of their perceptions of greater achievements in mathematics and science subjects in such schools, and some parents want their children to acquire the Chinese language as it has become a crucial international language, particularly in business, following an improvement in relations between China and Malaysia. Although the PPG (indigenous group) had some advantages of privilege in relation to education rights, these focused mainly on their treatment at the level of higher education institutions, such as enrolment to public university through scholarships, yet the very real levels of poverty, lack of resources and infrastructure meant they also experienced substantial disadvantage at times.

Some of us are very poor people; we cannot afford to send our children to school, even primary school. Some of us live in rural areas where there is no transportation provided and no school nearby. (Eddy, indigenous, male)

At secondary level, these subaltern student teachers were also satisfied with the opportunity given for them to select their own secondary education. For the two unprivileged student teachers, apart from having an opportunity to master the national language, they retained the opportunity to preserve their native languages such as Mandarin and Tamil, which are offered in the school curriculum.

In relation to educational funding at the level of higher education, this group of student teachers expressed their overall satisfaction with their education. All of these student teachers had either been offered a scholarship or had been able to take out a low-interest education loan. The Malaysian government has taken steps to introduce education-financing loans under the National Higher Education Fund

(NHEF) in order to ease the financial burden on students and their families. The fund was set up under the NHEF Corporation Act 1997 (566 Act), which was enforced on 1st July 1997. The education loan offered under this fund has only a 4% interest rate, compared to much higher rates for loans offered by financial institutions that have become the main source of financing in tertiary education in Malaysia (Mukherjee, 2010). Previously, students entering local universities depended mainly on limited financial resources from the government and private agencies. Those achieving excellent results in their pre-university public examinations were able to get scholarships from either the government or private companies. The fund was established with the purpose of offering subsidised loans to help students meet the costs of enrolling in local higher education institutions. Most of the peripheral and unprivileged student teachers were given loans that covered their tuition fees and a living allowance. Student teachers commented on the loan itself as an opportunity to enrol in tertiary education in Malaysia. However, this compares less favourably with the situation for the Malays who were able to access places in university more easily than the subaltern group, and who were also able to access funding more easily.

Most of the population in public university are Malays and they have been offered a public scholarship, full scholarship, we have only been offered a small-scale scholarship offered by the state (Borneo) with less amounts of educational loans (National Higher Education Fund). (Sandy, indigenous, female)

For the aborigines we received a scholarship for aborigines' children but the amount is less than the public scholarship. (Mee Da, aborigines)

Throughout the interviews, I found that the student teachers at times expressed concern about Malay special rights. For some Eastern Malaysian student teachers, being members of peripheral groups meant they felt they had a lower status and were citizens with fewer privileges compared to the core privileged group. For instance, there were fewer opportunities to obtain a scholarship, less cultural

recognition and less respect and tolerance. Sometimes, student teachers expressed their dissatisfaction and muted opposition to the majority group's privileged rights.

Sometimes, Malay special rights are too much, Malays student become dependent on government support. They become less effective in school and work. They become inactive because they don't have to compete to achieve something. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

I am Thai- Malaysian people, I am Buddhist, and sometimes I want to perform my prayer. They (the Malays) do not allow me to show my prayer tools in front of them. They show disrespect to my cultural activity. (Warith, Thai-Malaysian people, male).

The two unprivileged student teachers felt the most disappointment with regard to educational rights. An example cited was their limited opportunity for admission to higher education due to the quota-based system that gives more opportunities to the privileged group. Alex Tan expressed dissatisfaction with ethnic preferential policies that only benefit the privileged students, helping them to achieve more academically than unprivileged groups. Alex Tan and Sundari spoke about competition to be 'the best', to ensure fairness in awarding places in public universities in contrast to the quota-based system that gives priority to the Malays (see Chapter 2). This is illustrated by the comments below in the individual interviews with two UPG student teachers:

we have to work hard, to be the top achiever as we don't have any special rights in education opportunity. We have to compete with the core privileged and peripheral privileged group. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

The experiences of student teachers with regard to their rights illustrate some agreement and disagreement with the national vision framework. There has been minimal agreement focused on the basic rights given. Social rights on education and socio-economic rights were among the concerns of subaltern student teachers, which led them to feel disappointment and dissatisfaction. Student teachers in this

research embraced the key elements of rights as established by the national vision framework but there were strong concerns raised by this subaltern group with regard to inequity in the rights element of being a citizen in Malaysia. The strong separation between privileged and less privileged or unprivileged student teachers, within a rights agenda, meant that there was disharmony in this aspect of being and becoming a Malaysian citizen. In the next section, I analyse the student teachers' experiences of responsibility that reflect on the Malaysian national vision framework.

5.4 Responsibilities

As with the core privileged group, these student teachers talked about their civic responsibilities to the Malaysian political community. Student teachers had good civic knowledge, values and skills. They reflected in particular on their everyday experiences as students, adhering to the university rules and regulations, paying their utility bills, motor insurance and taxes. One of the main issues raised was young people and street demonstrations. Most of the student teachers gave similar responses, viewing street demonstrations as the behaviour of irresponsible citizens. These student teachers believed that each citizen is given the right to voice their views as long as he/she is aware of the boundaries and does so within the confines of the law. They are able to speak out through social networks and media but have to follow procedures laid out by the government.

Some of the student teachers also cited patriotism as part of being a good citizen. This included feeling proud of being a Malaysian, being loyal to the king and country, and showing respect for Malaysian national history, and the national leader and its government. This is illustrated in the following comment.

A good citizen is, you know the history (of) our country, always be proud to be (a) Malaysian and (be) loyal to our kings, and respect our national leaders. (Caleb, Indigenous, male)

The history of education has played a vital role in instilling patriotism in students throughout the development of citizenship in education in Malaysia. The patriotic component stresses the development of a citizen who is proud to be a Malaysian, who is loyal to the country, has a spirit of belongingness and who is disciplined, industrious and economically and culturally productive (Malaysian Education Curriculum, 2002). In work carried out by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) on the contemporary discourse of citizenship, the authors associated patriotism with the civic republican discourse of citizenship that places an emphasis on the values of love and service to one's political community (local, state and national). Civic republican discussions highlight the need for better civic literacy and the importance of a central body of civic knowledge for good citizenship. Civic republicans wish to promote a civic identity among young people, characterised by a commitment to the political community, respect for its symbols and active participation in achieving its common good. Student teachers also highlighted respect for the constitution and national ideology as part of being a good citizen. Within the Malaysian citizenship framework, the Constitution of Malaysia is not just about rights but also boundaries and restrictions that need to be respected (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

The student teachers also spoke about the concept of duty before rights, or collectivism before individuality, as being part of good citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. Malaysian citizenship follows the nature of Asian values, a form of semi-democracy that believes in state control over individuality as a way of maintaining a harmonious society. Some commented on the important restrictions on certain rights and freedoms as opposed to liberal perspectives on citizenship. Being part of multi-ethnic Malaysia is not about individual needs but more about how to manage stable and integrated multi-ethnic citizens.

This was illustrated by Emy, as follows:

we have freedom to do what we want to do, freedom of speech, freedom of action...so basically in this country we have the freedom to act. But under the law..., so we must know how to make use of it. We must not go overboard...we have to obey the law, we have to consider sensitive issues before acting. (Emy, indigenous, female)

In many Asian countries, the concepts of 'guided democracy' and 'paternalistic democracy' are important elements of communitarian citizenship (Lee et al., 2013). Some PPG and UPG students spoke about respecting the five pillars of national ideology, as part of being a responsible citizen.

we have to respect our *Rukun Negara* (national ideology), belief in god, loyalty to king and country, upholding the constitution, rule of law and decorum and morality that needs to be upheld. It is the duty of a citizen to respect and appreciate the letter, the spirit and the historical background of the Constitution. (Warith, Thais, male)

Student teachers also highlighted the moral responsibilities associated with being good citizens in Malaysia. They talked about being good to their families, parents and teachers, helping in the neighbourhood and being religious. A religious person is a good citizen. This illustrates a similarity with the core privileged student teachers group; respect for family values and national values were seen as key elements to being a responsible person.

As a family member, I get all my needs, and love and care from my family and in return I think I have to repay my parents by helping them when I am employed. I am also obligated to helping my brother and sister when needed. (Emil, indigenous, female)

As a member of the neighbourhood, I think I should have a right to live in peace and harmony and keep a good relationship among the people of the neighbourhood, helping each other and being aware of neighbourhood security. (Emy, indigenous, female)

Service-learning – possible transformations in citizenship thinking

The student teachers also shared their accounts of everyday social responsibility in terms of community participation and voluntary work. They reflected on their experiences of planning and organising a community project. Student teachers in the subaltern group learnt that participation in a community project exposed them to social diversity, helped them to appreciate multi-ethnic differences and enabled them to acquire diversity in their values, including a tolerance of differences. They also understood that community participation was part of being a good citizen. The service-learning community placement project, as part of citizenship and the citizenship education course at the university, had given student teachers the opportunity to act as 'participatory citizens' as suggested by Westheimer and Kahne (2004). During the course they learnt to organise a community project for those in need; they learnt about government agencies as they had to deal with formal procedures before engaging with the project.

[The] Service-learning course has given me opportunity to learn how to do a community project, how to get engaged with the community. (Emy, indigenous, female, student teacher reflection journal)

It is not easy to deal with the people in power, we have tried to propose certain institution, some of them don't even want to listen to our proposal, and some of them said we were not mature enough to do the community work, but we never gave up. We learnt a lot of things. (Caleb, indigenous, male, student teacher reflection journal)

I learnt to work with other ethnicities in my group, we put our identity and cultural backgrounds aside, and we had an opportunity to learn about others in our community. It's a matter of responsibility to help others. (Eddy, indigenous, male, student teacher reflection journal)

The student teachers learnt about the unheard voices of the people they engaged with. For example, they learnt about aborigines and older people during their community work projects. They acknowledged other 'minorities' who have less of a

voice and need help to be told about their rights, for example, the right to be safe and healthy. They also shared their previous experiences of community work at school and university levels. In general, the community work that they were involved in exposed them to character-building experiences such as leadership and working as part of a team. Nevertheless, prior community work that they had been engaged with had fewer elements of citizenship education (for example, responsibilities, respecting diversity, tolerance and democratic values). They explained that the outcomes of some of this prior community work were associated more with social and leadership skills. Service-learning in a citizenship education programme has further outcomes for civic skills and civic responsibilities. It was through the service-learning course in citizenship education programmes that the student teachers were exposed directly to civic skills and responsibilities. Through the service-learning course, the student teachers learnt about tolerance towards and respect for the diversity and ways of life of multi-ethnic Malaysian groups. The service-learning course in this study helped to bridge the gap between the dominant and subaltern groups, in order to find a degree of harmony to achieve a one nation. Student teachers in this context can work as one Malaysian group and place their differences aside in order to be responsible citizens.

5.5 Belonging

Following Yuval-Davis' (2004) and Shamsul's (1996) frameworks, I have analysed the upper section of the four quadrant model (refer back to Diagram 5.1) that reflects the authority-defined reality in Malaysian citizenship in relation to the politics of belonging and the rights and responsibilities which this group experience. I will now analyse identity and belonging through everyday-defined realities to see how these elements reinforce and support the politics of belonging to build an imagined community of the nation.

Identity and belonging

I will first analyse identity narratives and belonging as personal, intimate feelings that promote a sense of belongingness to the cultural group as well as to imagined communities. For some peripheral and unprivileged student teachers, their ethnic identification preferences aim to represent their socio-cultural identities as part of multi-ethnic Malaysia. Student teachers' identity narratives suggested they felt an emotional attachment to their cultural sameness (language, ritual activities and tribal events) just as the privileged group did, but their sense of self and attachment to place was also strongly reinforced by the authority-defined elements of the framework. Ethnicity and identity were particularly important for this unprivileged group as part of their everyday-defined reality, but although they supported authority-defined reality, it was not necessarily seen as holistically reinforcing their sense of citizenship.

For peripheral privileged student teachers who were members of the Eastern Malaysian indigenous group, they wanted to be known by their tribe, language and cultural group identity. As explained in Chapter 1, the Eastern Malaysian indigenous group (native people in Eastern Malaysia) associated their identity with geographical, socio-cultural and linguistic positioning. These people may have adopted a particular community name to distinguish themselves from others, yet they were still conscious of kinship with other communities. Kinship, language, customs, physical characteristics, behaviour and so on played a part in determining the degree of relationship that one community shared with another.

Some Eastern Malaysian student teachers preferred to be associated with the specific cultures of their tribe or ways of being in a tribal group; Eddy spoke about the Iban indigenous group as his ethnic identification:

we are not just indigenous but more specifically, we are the *Iban* indigenous group. ... who were known as head-hunters. We have our own language and culture. (Eddy, male, PPG)

Caleb spoke of the positive identities of his cultural group:

I perceived myself as [one of the] *Bidayuh* indigenous group from Borneo. People should know that the indigenous *Bidayuh* is soft spoken and polite people. (Caleb, PPG)

For other Eastern Malaysian student teachers, ethnic identity was seen as an important part of being Malaysian. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the two Borneo states joined Peninsular Malaya and formed Malaysia in 1963; six years later, Malaya achieved her independence. Due to their different historical backgrounds, the Eastern peoples have been considered by the Malays as a new group of Malaysians. They belong to a more heterogeneous cultural group compared to the Western Malaysian cultural group. Nevertheless, since the Eastern Malaysian region has been given less attention by the Federal States situated in West Malaysia, not all Western Malaysians know about the multi-ethnic indigenous societies in Eastern Malaysia (Andaya & Andaya, 2001).

The unprivileged student teachers perceived their identity as culturally represented by a hybrid identity of, for example, Chinese Malay, Indian Malay, etc. The Chinese student teachers, for example, wanted others to acknowledge the existence of 'Malaysian-Chinese' – people of Chinese descent that no longer live on Chinese soil but are still considered to be ethnically Chinese. The hyphenated identities of 'Malaysian-Chinese' or 'Malaysian-Indian' represent two aspects of identity: one part derived from their ethnicity and the other part derived from being a member of the Malaysian nation. They wanted to be known as 'Malaysian-Chinese' or 'Malaysian-Indians', to differentiate them from Chinese from China, or Indians from India, but yet still hold on to the culture and language of their ancestral lands as an important part of their ethnicity. Such a hybrid identity can be dynamic and flexible or more fixed depending on the individual, but certainly involves negotiation on a sense of self and belonging. In some cases, this involved adherence to a Malaysian identity whilst also retaining aspects of being Chinese (Lee, 2009).

Alex Tan and Sundari stressed that they were Malaysian and should no longer be seen as descendants of immigrants. Their loyalty is to Malaysia and not their ancestral homeland. They want others to accept them as Malaysian citizens. Nevertheless, it has been argued that Malaysian-Chinese still generally maintain their distinctive 'core' Chinese accents, diets, mannerisms and lifestyles, in addition to speaking their respective Chinese dialects (Lam & Yeoh, 2004). Alex Tan illustrates:

I am Malaysian-Chinese, Chinese because this is my ethnic identification; I want people to know that I am Chinese because of my culture and heritage; I speak Mandarin; I embrace Buddhism and Confucianism as my way of life.

I am Malaysian because this is my new homeland and to differ my identity from Chinese from China. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

Most of the peripheral and unprivileged student teachers had similar understandings of their cultural identities as members of a particular grouping within a multi-ethnic Malaysia. They wanted to be known as part Malaysian with differences of culture, language and identities. I related these identity narratives as ethnic belonging, which implies emotional attachment associated with feelings of cultural belongingness. Nevertheless, ethnic identity as self-identification or identification by others is always a dynamic process and not a reified fixity. Identity narratives can shift and change and can be contested and multiple.

However, ethnic identity can be a political project that promotes the maintenance of boundaries between 'them' and 'us'. The peripheral and unprivileged student teachers sometimes perceived their identity as lacking in status – they belonged to a minority group with fewer privileges and had to negotiate their ethnic identity in their everyday relationships with the core privileged group. They had to accept that their language and religion were less acknowledged and recognised. They believed they were seen as the minority who were obliged to respect the core privileged group identity. Sometimes, they felt that ways of being Chinese, Indian or

aboriginal were not fully understood and thus they believed that they received less recognition and respect from the majority.

For example, some student teachers explained that they experienced cultural intolerance in their everyday inter-ethnic interactions with members of the core privileged group. They spoke of superficial respect and tolerance among inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia. Tom, a student teacher in Eastern Malaysia, expressed his dissatisfaction with the core privileged group's treatment of others. He shared his inter-ethnic experiences with members of the core privileged group, who he felt disrespected other cultures.

'they' the Malays always undervalue other cultures; They 'the Malays' placed their status of dominant and privileged group gave them exclusive power. They see us as an additional group and they told us what we should do or should not do. They told us not to have a cultural event in student accommodation; they told us to respect them as Malays and Muslims, what about us, do we have voice here? (Tom, Eastern Malaysian indigenous, male)

Tom's experiences indicated that, for him, the Malays maintained boundaries between themselves and others. They (Malays) demanded respect and recognition in their everyday interaction with the PPG. Tom also expressed his dissatisfaction with what he felt was disrespect by the core privileged group towards cultural events.

Some of the student teachers spoke of 'ethnic stereotyping' in their everyday interactions with the core privileged group. Mee Da commented on how people looked down on her aboriginal identity in her everyday interactions.

people look down on us, the aborigines. They laugh at us. They say aborigines (peoples) are dirty, poor, (belong to) a different class of society, at the pit, at the bottom... The say we (are) uncivilised people, they have to tell us what to do, how to be civilised. (Mee Da, aborigine, female)

Mee Da's narrative suggests that non-Malay groups are sometimes denied respect as human beings. Honneth's (1992) form of recognition, the second basic form of recognition, is achieved through the acknowledgement of one's formal capacity for autonomous moral action. He proposed forms of disrespect where one can experience disrespect when individuals' or collective lifestyles face designations as 'insult' or 'degradation' (Honneth, 1992). It could be said that Mee Da experienced forms of disrespect when her ways of being an aborigine were insulted. Sandy shared her religion disrespect narrative where one of the Eastern Malaysian indigenous cultural events was not fully recognised.

although we have been given the freedom of religion, (but) there are certain cultural events that were not well understood by the majority. I am referring to the *Gawai Festival*; it is a big ritual event for us as important as Eid for the Malay Muslims but the semester calendar has never put it as an important date; it is only a day off and those of us who lives far from home face a difficult time to go back home and celebrate the event with our family. (Sandy, Eastern indigenous, female)

The second area of belonging that emerged in this analysis was national identity. In the contextual analysis chapter, I mentioned that national identity in Malaysia was making the core privileged group identity a common identity while giving minimal recognition to the cultural symbols of other ethnic groups. The Malay language, Islam and Malay culture were the key elements to representing Malaysian national identity.

Although it was clear that national identity is a 'political' project that implied belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion, I nevertheless suggest that national identity could also promote place belongingness to imagined communities. I argued in Chapter 1 that the Malaysian government has tried to develop a nation which is harmonious, integrated and 'democratic' and one which shares a sense of a unified national identity and values. This aim has been a concern of the government from

the time it achieved independence until today, and this is reflected in the need to develop a united Malaysian nation. Nevertheless, to unite a multi-ethnic society is not an easy task. There have been hurdles and challenges along the way. The lack of an understanding of diversity and multi-ethnic Malaysian history may have contributed to misunderstandings among the multi-ethnic Malaysian.

The premise of inclusion and citizenship belongs to a single polity, nation and culture; however, living in a multicultural nation state raises questions about the nature of this belonging (Bond, 2006). It has been argued that the claim to national belonging of those characterised by 'difference' (not least with respect to national and ethnic origins) may be problematic because of beliefs held by the majority and their judgements of the validity of such claims. In general, these student teachers conformed to Malay notions of there being a coherent national identity in Malaysia. Student teachers' acceptance was in line with the government's nation-building project that aimed to integrate multi-ethnic societies through one common identity. For Tom, national identity represents a nation where one belongs:

national identity is very important to represent a nation. We are a multi-ethnic society that means we have different cultures, languages and religions. There is no other way to unite us except we have a common identity. I would (be) very happy to say that I am (a) Malaysian who speaks the Malay language. (Tom, Eastern indigenous, male)

Some student teachers took a more flexible stance when responding to Malay elements as a national identity. They responded to opportunities to preserve their own culture and identity as a 'delicate balance' between Malaysia's collective national identity and their ethnic community identity. Malaysia's collective national identity is drawn from the 'constitutional bargains agreement' (Cheah, 2002) that recognises historical immigrants' legitimate interests (rights in economy), rights to citizenship and residence as well as their freedom to preserve, practise and propagate their religion, culture and language. In the above 'exchange', Malays have retained the major symbols of 'their' nation, that is, their king, their special

position, their language (Malay as the official language) and their religion (Islam as a state religion) (Ibrahim, 2004). The subaltern student teachers' everyday experiences of national identity reflected their understandings of the Malaysian constitutional bargains. The Federal Constitution had proposed terms and compromises among the various racial components of Malaysian society that embodied inter-communal consensus on the character of the national polity and the respective rights, privileges and obligations of the various ethnic communities. In return for granting citizenship to the ethnic Chinese and Indian immigrant communities, the Malays received special economic privileges flowing from their status as *bumiputera* or indigenous 'sons of the soil' as well as special language rights, and Islam was designated as the religion of the federation in Article 3 of the Federal Constitution. Some student teachers spoke about the opportunity given to them to preserve their own culture whilst at the same time claiming a place within the nation. Mee Da, a peripheral privileged student teacher, illustrated this point:

national identity represents who we are as Malaysians and we still can preserve our cultural identity, the state still endorses the rights of all Malaysians to express and share their cultural heritage, their language and religion. National identity is about our belonging to a Malaysian nation.
(Mee Da, aborigine, female)

For some student teachers, national identity has been perceived as a tool of integration in line with the need for a national identity, as set out in the government's national policies, to develop a united Malaysian nation. They spoke in particular about the Malay language as an opportunity to unite multi-ethnic Malaysians. For them, it is difficult to achieve unity on religious or ethnic grounds, but language can transcend ethnic and religious differences and create bonds across ethnic lines that will provide the means for a sense of national identity (Gill, 2014). Peripheral and unprivileged student teachers were very fluent in the national Malay language and they believed it united them.

Warith illustrated this point:

Malay language has not just been used to communicate with CPG Malays but also with PPG and UPG. For Malaysians, the Malay language, which is the national and official language, is a primary outward sign of a group identity. The Malay language acts as an integrating device between the people of Western and Eastern Malaysia. (Warith, Thais, male)

Alex Tan also commented:

I think the Malay language has achieved integration; some of the multi-ethnic people in Malaysia, especially in the village where I can see Chinese, Indian and Malay old folks, communicate in the Malay language. We use the Malay language to communicate with the Malays and also with each other. (Alex Tan, Malaysian-Chinese, male)

In summary, within the belonging dimension, the student teachers articulated national identity as a sense of national belonging to the Malaysian nation. They felt proud to be Malaysians. They believed that the use of the national language in their everyday inter-ethnic communication contributed to the integration of multi-ethnic Malaysians. The use of the Malay language as a unifying language could also narrow the ethnic gap between the privileged group and the subaltern group due to the fact that every pupil, from different ethnic backgrounds, uses Malay as a formal and informal communication tool. In a broader sense, this is an important aspect of national integration, a central part of state policy as the country faces a complex social pattern with a population which is multi-ethnic in nature and separated by the different ethnic groups with their own cultures, languages, identities and values. 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 (Jamil & Raman, 2012).

Multi-ethnic belonging: Respect, recognition and tolerance

In this analysis, the notion of belonging also includes student teachers' identity negotiation in their everyday inter-ethnic relations. For Taylor (1997) and Carens (2000), the question of belonging in diverse societies needs to address differences to accommodate diverse cultural, ethnic and national groups. They proposed a distinctive model of citizenship that sought to recognise multiple forms of belonging to the political community and overlapping identities and citizenships by addressing the minorities' differences and acknowledging them. They proposed adding the protection of minority groups' cultural rights from discrimination and the safeguarding of minority groups' cultural identities (Carens, and Taylor as cited in Baumeister, 2003, p. 398).

Some student teachers accepted and adapted to the national identity in their everyday relations with the core privileged group. They highlighted their recognition of Malay culture and the legitimate ownership of Malaysia by the Malays. Eddy spoke of the historical rights of the Malays as the 'owners' of the country who deserved their privileged rights. Eddy referred to the Malays as the historical owners of Malaysia. By historical owners he meant those who fought for Malaya's independence, those who came first to Peninsular Malaysia and established a civilised community during the flourishing of the Malay Archipelago kingdom.

honestly speaking, I don't feel distressed with the core privileged group's special privileges. They deserve it, this is their country and they fought for independence. I think they still accommodate others' cultures and rights. I can still enjoy my cultural rights. (Eddy, Indigenous, male)

Eddy's comments indicate his recognition of the Malays as the dominant group and as the original people of Malaysia, and he also expressed his satisfaction with the Malaysian way of citizenship that still accommodates other cultures and ethnicities.

Some student teachers responded positively to the core privileged group's ethno-religious identity. They articulated their recognition through respect of the Malay Muslim ways of life and stated they have to respect this particular difference. The student teachers showed their respect for the Muslim ways of life. They were aware of the special nature of the Muslim diet, Muslim girls' dress code and Muslim prayers. Most peripheral and unprivileged student teachers had mixed with Malay Muslims since their school years. It was clear that the non-Malay Muslim student teachers conformed to the core privileged group's special rights by showing their respect for the Malay Muslim ways of life. They accepted the fact that the majority of Malaysians were Muslims and they had very specific ways of life. It could be said that the peripheral and unprivileged group accepted their subordinate position and willingly recognised and respected the dominant group. They took the stance that, being part of multi-ethnic Malaysia, they should respect the constitution and build good relationships with the dominant group. They accepted the constitutionally defined position of the dominant group and their privileges.

However, using Yuval-Davis' (2006) politics of belonging dimension, the national vision led by the government can be seen as a political project that has attempted to unify but which has also created boundaries between 'them and us'. Some student teachers said that their everyday experiences of identity conflicted with their understandings of the national vision. Some student teachers believed that the national vision was about 'fitting in' in order to be accepted by the majority political and social communities. In terms of national language, they believed that they enrolled into the national school system and learnt the national language as this gave them the opportunity to be accepted by public universities. A pass in the Malay language is necessary to be awarded the national higher certificate and in order to enrol in a public university. Fluency in the Malay language is also a prerequisite for public service employment opportunities. Speaking Malay was therefore seen as a way of bringing people together through a common language,

but was also used to enforce compliance, as the Malay language has become an essential language for any career progression.

Some student teachers commented on the 'national dress code', the *baju Melayu* or traditional costume of the Malay community which is also the country's national costume and is to be worn for all official functions (Koh & Ho, 2009). Some of the peripheral and unprivileged student teachers believed that wearing Malay dress (*baju kurung* or *baju Melayu*) in school or during national events at times reflected how some of them felt that they had to 'fit in' in order to be accepted by the dominant group.

Here (at Sultan Idris Education University), we have to follow certain dress code, for example during official events, we sometimes are encouraged to wear *baju kurung* (Malay attire). We sometimes felt wearing this made the Malay feel comfortable with us. They felt we respect them as the dominant group. Sometimes we think we follow the dress code to fit in with the dominant group. (Tom, indigenous, male)

Some non-Malay Muslim student teachers spoke of how the politics of national identity in Malaysia promotes Malay ways of life for the Malay and also for the non-Malay. As an example, *Malay* traditional dress (national dress) should be worn at official events. Therefore, non-Malays sometimes feel that they have less opportunity to embrace or demonstrate their own culture, such as their traditional dress or any of their cultural events. They felt their own cultures were not given an opportunity for recognition. The student teachers believed that having a national identity synonymous with Malay identity was a necessary part of the integration and unity sought by the government. Nevertheless, there were times when their everyday experiences in relation to national identity conflicted with their own cultural identities and these hindered their sense of belonging in terms of fitting in. The Malaysian preferential policies had reinforced the core privileged group's ethnic identity and ways of being Malay and Muslim, which led to a sense of a highly promoted idea of Malay supremacy. At the core of this mindset, of the Malay

supremacy proponents, was the belief that Malaya belonged to the Malay people, it was a Malay polity and had remained principally so despite colonialism and its subsequent independence. Therefore, it was argued that this provided ideological justification to argue that non-Malays, with their non-native ancestral origins, should not expect equal treatment in terms of political entitlement and status. Comprehensive implementation of the ethnic-based preferential policies and national policies were translated progressively into institutional entrenchment of Malay political primacy, justified on the basis of indigeneity (Ting, 2009).

In summary, it could be said that subaltern narratives of cultural and ethnic identity have promoted place belonging to their cultural group, and within the politics of belonging (national vision project), they have had minimal rights accorded to them to preserve their own cultural identity. National policies (politics of belonging) may have proposed an identity of Malayness, but they have also permitted others to practise their own ways of being. Chinese ethnic groups in Malaysia, for example, are allowed to practise their own culture and ways of being Chinese. Indian ethnic groups in Malaysia are allowed to send their children to a Tamil type of school. Malaysian television and radio channels allow *Tamil, Mandarin, Kadazan and Iban* (Borneo) stations on air every day. Daily newspapers in different languages are also allowed. In relation to national identity, since independence, the efforts of the government to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysia have been considered to be successful. The Malay language has been used as a national language at every level – urban and rural, formally and informally, officially and unofficially.

Identity discourse of the subaltern group created tension when they interacted with the dominant group in their everyday inter-ethnic relations. They have to negotiate, to fit in with the dominant group. They sometimes felt uncomfortable, less recognised and less respected.

5.6 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at four key areas of citizenship through the experiences and perceptions of multi-ethnic student teachers: identity, belonging, rights and responsibilities, and their consequences in terms of re-imagined communities. In relation to belonging, I found that student teachers conceptualised their ethnic identity as a cultural representation of who they were. Student teachers felt the emotional attachment to the nation within their collective groups through cultural and language sameness. Narratives within the politics of belonging dimension showed how student teachers positioned their identity in terms of the 'other' that had less recognition in terms of cultural and special rights compared to the core privileged group. Malaysian ethnic preferential citizenship has created two blocs of identities: majority and minority identities, or dominant and subaltern. In particular, the students believed that Malaysia's ethnic preferential citizenship has led to a politically constructed identity that is divided between privileged and unprivileged groups and which reinforces differences rather than unity.

The national identity within the belonging dimension showed the importance of national identity in multi-ethnic Malaysia as an integration mechanism and support for the plurality of multi-ethnic Malaysia. For example, having a national language can evoke a sense of commonality, of 'Malaysian-ness' (one Malaysia) and generate emotional attachment to being part of a multi-ethnic community. However, the differences in rights and privileges could at times lead to a boundary between the majority and minority group, between them and us.

In relation to social rights, the Eastern Malaysian indigenous group, consisting of natives of Eastern Malaysia with fewer privileges compared to those of the Malay core privileged group, expressed their dissatisfaction. For the PPG, as part of the indigenous group officially consisting of all *bumiputera* (indigenous) are eligible for the privileged rights, in reality, *non-Malay bumiputera* (indigenous), especially the

non-Muslim indigenous groups in Sabah and Sarawak (East Malaysia) and other smaller indigenous groups, have not really benefited substantially from their status. In fact, the preferential policies are so clearly identified with the Malay Muslim community that many non-Malay, non-Muslim indigenous communities have long claimed, with some merit, that they are being treated as a 'third-class' indigenous group with limited access to the economic benefits of the NEP (Mason & Jawan, 2003). The students showed some concern that their own groups were disadvantaged by their geographical position but also by the lack of infrastructure and economic support to enable change and also access to facilities.

In terms of economic rights, the Eastern Malaysian PPG student teachers referred to unequal economic development between regions (East and West Malaysia). They shared their everyday observations and experiences, explaining that many still lived without basic amenities such as roads, jetties, clinics, treated drinking water and electricity, and that Eastern indigenous people live, in most cases, in the state's poorest areas.

The aborigines in the PPG spoke of their underrepresented status. Evidence, based on the government's own figures, suggests that the implementation of affirmative action policies has revealed the aborigines to be the most marginalised group. Despite being the first people in the land, the *Orang Asli* are the last people in the plan (Mason & Jawan, 2003). Rejected as the owners of the land, aboriginal people are the most vulnerable, invisible and marginalised. In terms of poverty, despite levels of poverty at a national level falling over time, to 6.5 per cent in 2004, more than three-quarters (76.5 per cent) of the *Orang Asli* continue to live below the poverty line. For the *Orang Asli*, other social indicators such as health, education and access to basic facilities also reveal how they continue to lag far behind the Malaysian mainstream (Nicholas, 2005). According to Nicholas (2005, p. 318), the definition of poor in the study of aboriginal people in Malaysia includes five

elements: insufficient reserves of cash and food, physical debility and illness, isolation, vulnerability in the face of the unexpected and a lack of influence.

Unequal economic distribution and educational attainment were also mentioned by the UPG student teachers, as, without any privileges, there is a disparity in educational opportunity. Those in the UPG have never benefited from the preferential policies, especially with regard to the NEP. Sundari suggested/claimed that the Indian ethnic group suffers most. Those from an Indian ethnic background own less than two per cent of the nation's wealth despite comprising about eight per cent of the country's population of 22 million. People from this group also make up less than five per cent of successful university applicants (Kuppusamy, 2005).

In conclusion, the student teachers' identity citizenship experiences of social attachment and a feeling of belonging suggest that these student teachers feel they have achieved minimal recognition in relation to their cultural identity and fundamental membership rights. The student teachers' everyday identity and membership experiences showed inclusive and exclusive forms of belonging where they experienced 'superficial recognition'. They talked about cultural disrespect, unequal economic distribution, their voices going unheard and even humiliation through negative identification.

Empirical studies on multiculturalism confirm that in order to belong, people should feel that they can express their own identity (Sporton and Valentine as cited in Antonsich, 2010), and be recognised as an integral part of the community in which they live. Ameli and Merali (as cited in Antonsich, 2010) stated that to feel belonging, one should be valued and listened to. To some extent the experiences of identity and belonging within the national vision framework have at times left the subaltern group feeling less valued and having less belongingness to the nation.

Chapter Six

Reimagining Malaysian Citizenship and Identities: Realities and Challenges

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to recap on key citizenship theories and frameworks and then discuss the findings in light of such theories and the issues raised by them. In the previous two chapters, I have explored student teachers' experiences of citizenship and identity and how these experiences impacted upon their sense of belonging. The findings suggested that their conceptualisations of citizenship and identities were multidimensional, contested, dynamic and contextual. This chapter now explores the significance of these varied narratives. This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I recall the key themes in citizenship that have informed this study. In the second section, I discuss the key themes of the citizenship and identity framework, and how this framework allows us to highlight the dynamic interactions of each quadrant with the others in order to understand the complex ways that student teachers have lived the concept of citizenship, and how service-learning became a means of challenging some of the preconceptions and assumptions of citizenship. Next, in the third section I discuss the second phase of the reimagined communities' framework or reimagining the Malaysian nation, whereby both the authority-defined and everyday-defined social realities may, to some degree, become reconciled with each other through service-learning in citizenship education.

It is important to remind ourselves about the nature of multi-ethnic Malaysia, as most of the citizenship discourse about multicultural societies reflects on the very ideas of multiculturalism, democracy, ideology and the need for the society to form its own nation. The legacies of colonialism and national liberation struggles have

also exercised a powerful influence on how issues of ethno-cultural diversity are understood. It has been argued that British colonial rule altered the shape of ethnic and pre-colonial plural societies in Malaysia. Malaysian social anthropologist Ibrahim contended 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). The British, through their policy of encouraging migration, especially from China and India, changed the initial plural societies (Malay society living with the traders who assimilated their culture into Malay society) to a new kind of multiculturalism which was imposed and hierarchical. The British brought many Chinese and Indian workers into Malaysia to meet the demand for labour arising from the opening of tin mines and rubber plantations. It was only Chinese and Indian immigrants who would accept such work for minimal pay; the Malay peasants were comfortable working in their villages. Aside from their differences in religion, language and culture, the three major ethnic groups under the British also differed in their geographic location and occupational and economic activities.

During British colonisation (1824–1957) and the post-colonisation period, due to the policy of 'divide and rule' practised by the coloniser, the ethnic groups were geographically divided based on their occupational structure (Crouch, 2001; Pong, 1993). Thus, the policy of 'divide and rule' practised by the British led to differences in the economic activities and population distribution of the three major ethnic groups. Thus, one of the historical conditions established by colonialism in Malaysia was a situation that prevented the unity of labour or class across ethnic lines (Ibrahim, 2004). Moreover, the 'divide and rule' policy had also led to increased societal segmentation according to ethnicity and culture, ethnic inequality and separate educational systems (Agadjanian & Liew, 2005). Indeed, this policy had also 'led to the phenomenon of the association of ethnicity with schools and ultimately perpetuated and reinforced cultural pluralism in Malaysia even after independence (Ishak, 1999). An absence of interaction between these different ethnic

groups during the period of 'colonial pluralism' resulted in the groups lacking knowledge of each other. This situation also led each ethnic group to identify itself more strongly with its motherland than with Malaysia as a nation.

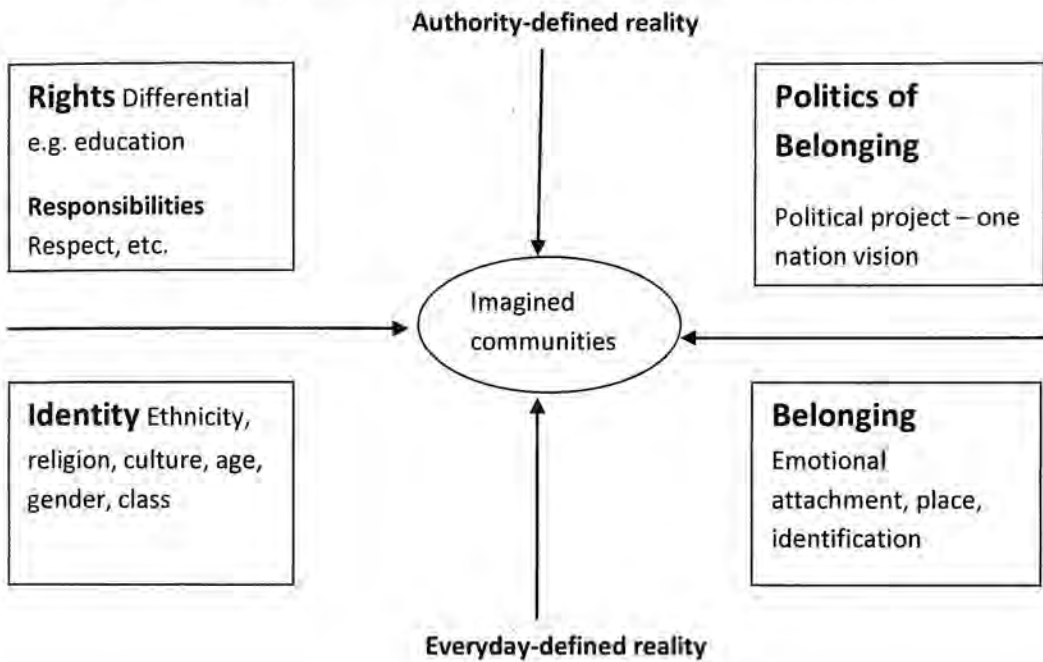
It is clear that the issue of Malaysian citizenship is rooted in the country's colonial history, with rule exerted through social divisions and the fact that this form of rule was perpetuated, albeit in a modified form, in postcolonial times. Divisions around ethnicity are probably harder to break down because they are more visible, visceral and are experienced in everyday life. Whilst Malaysia has been successful, to some extent, in accommodating these differences, it needs to manage and ameliorate the sources of these tensions from 'above' and 'below' if it is to continue to address citizenship challenges in the context of globalisation and other social and economic changes in the future.

6.2 Revisiting Citizenship

To understand how citizenship and citizenship education are conceptualised in multi-ethnic Malaysia on both an individual and group basis, it is important to explore how Malaysians experience and reflect on citizenship and citizenship education. This is set within a formal citizenship model in the Malaysian way, which is formed within the Malaysian national vision, as it is suggested (by the Malaysian government) that this model will help integrate and build a unified Malaysian nation.

In the findings from the previous two chapters, I discussed the student teachers' experiences of citizenship within the context of this national vision and identified the emergence of four main aspects of citizenship. These reflect key narratives that present a dynamic and fluid engagement with citizenship among different groups of young people as they generate their own vision of the 'imagined community' of the nation.

Diagram 6.1: Simplification of Imagined Communities Framework



I have analysed the experiences of the core privileged group. Diagram 6.1 provides a reminder of the four key narratives that have played a part in the negotiation of citizenship in modern-day Malaysia: Identity (e.g. ethnicity, culture, age, etc.) and belonging (as, for example, emotional attachment) as strong elements of everyday-defined reality; and the politics of belonging (national vision of the nation) and the linked narratives around rights and responsibilities that are differentiated for the various ethnic groups. The diverse student teachers in this study experienced and engaged with the different narratives within this framework in their own distinct ways. As a result, it became possible to suggest a more complex and at times contentious experience of citizenship to the different groups within this student cohort.

The student teachers' narratives suggested that a fundamental identity discourse was crucial as the student teachers' identities impacted upon how they experienced the other three themes. Therefore, I began my analysis by looking at the student teachers' identity and belonging narratives, followed by the other two themes.

This framework and the research in this project have been informed by literature from Yuval-Davis (2006), Shamsul (1996) and Atosich (2010) in particular, and I have discussed the important key citizenship theories available to help understand the Malaysian way of citizenship. Traditional approaches to citizenship – civic republican, liberal and communitarian – have influenced and shaped the language of citizenship. Nevertheless, there are many powerful challenges to these dominant notions of citizenship and civic life. I have discussed citizenship theories in the Western tradition and underlined their strengths and limitations concerning what should constitute citizenship and good citizenship. From classical to modern citizenship, there are many different aspects of 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 often provides the background to contemporary discussions on citizenship.

In addition, there is the influence of culture and the debate on the importance of nationalism and nation states and the connection between these two debates. Last but not least, there is the multicultural discourse on universal human rights that shapes an understanding of contemporary and Western modes of citizenship. These are all very different ideas that have emerged 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. Arguably, the nature of citizenship has been called into question by the process of globalisation and massive immigration in Western society. The conceptualisation of liberal citizenship, based on individual freedom and equality, and setting a bundle of individual rights against the state, failed to accommodate the cultural pluralism raised in the late twentieth century (Faulks, 2000). In the past hundred years, social, political and economic movements have inspired new forms and ideals of citizenship and are reinvigorating old forms. Radical citizenship discourses that include marginalised groups such as feminists and ethnic minorities have developed or regained strength

as a result of the unfulfilled promises of the civic republican and liberal discourses, shaping new forms of civic agency, identity and membership (Jones & Gaventa, 2002). Scholars such as Young (1989) and Carens and Taylor (2000) 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. I have argued for the importance of different discourses of citizenship to help understand the different languages of citizenship at different times and contexts and, in particular, how different discourses of citizenship in the Western perspective may be problematic in the Asian and Malaysian contexts.

However, some key elements of Western citizenship have influenced Malaysian citizenship. The notions of a reciprocal relationship between duty and rights from the republican tradition, community over individuals from the communitarian tradition and the equality of basic rights from the liberal tradition have all influenced, in different ways, the Malaysian way of citizenship. Following a multicultural or cultural model of citizenship, Malaysia has adopted her own version of an ethnically differentiated model of citizenship whereby the rights of ethnic groups are recognised alongside individual rights (Parekh, 1991). Nevertheless, due to the historical and political nature of postcolonial Malaysia's multi-ethnic society and anti-Western liberal democratic society, this Western discourse of citizenship may not fit easily with the Malaysian idea of citizenship.

Two main characteristics of a Western notion of citizenship that may not fit easily in an Asian context are the nature of liberal, cultural and multicultural citizenship and the ideas of liberal democracy. I have argued that 'Asian' democracy is a response to, and rejection of, Western liberal democratic models, raising the spectre of the 'Asian values' debate. Proponents of the Asian values hypothesis suggest that Western liberal-democratic political systems are grounded in ideas of individualism and competition, whereas Asian societies are grounded in ideas of 'communitarians'

with a greater emphasis on harmony, deference and paternalism (Kymlicka and He, 2005).

Taking account of the nature of its semi-democracy and postcolonial multi-ethnic society, Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship 'promotes' Malayness citizenship (in terms of the Malay elements of the Malay language, Islam and kingship-King) while minimally recognising others (Balasubramaniam, 2007). As this study began to delve more deeply into the experiences of different kinds of Malaysian citizens, 'top-down' models of citizenship were inadequate to describe and explain the lived experiences of citizenship for the student teachers involved. A new framework emerged which made use of key ideas from Yuval-Davis (2006) and Shamsul (1996) on two social realities to help generate a richer understanding of Malaysian citizenship. This led to the creation of Diagram 6.1, with its four quadrants reflecting different aspects of the citizenship experience while the central point was the 'imagined community' of the nation conceptualised by the student teachers as a result of their engagement with the different elements within the frame. This pinpointed the fluidity and uniqueness of each individual but still allowed the research to capture the possible distinctions across the different groups represented by this student teacher cohort.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I argued that the student teachers' citizenship experiences provided insights into the question of identity and belonging. For the subaltern group, the student teachers' narratives suggested that their cultural and ethnic identity came before their political identity. In relation to belonging, the student teachers' identity narratives suggested that cultural and ethnic identity promoted distinctive emotional attachments. In particular, the student teachers' identity narratives suggested that cultural, kinship and tribe sameness, through their everyday activities and interactions, promoted belongingness to these collective identities.

I argued that the student teachers' identity narratives could be both collective narratives of self and other, and experiences of being part of belonging to place. The student teachers' social locations, including ethnicity, cultural and tribal, regional and religious backgrounds were among their collective narratives of self and other. Their experiences of being citizens in multi-ethnic Malaysia included ways of belonging as a Malay, Indian, Chinese or Muslim and being dominant or subaltern. However, for the subaltern group, it was the everyday-defined reality of identity and belongingness which was at the heart of who they were. As multi-ethnic Malaysians, they felt a strong sense of belonging to their cultural group and the creation of the Malaysian nation promoted a Malaysian national identity that reinforced the need for negotiation between their cultural identity and the Malaysian national identity. The student teachers negotiated their cultural identity in their everyday inter-ethnic relations and therefore their experiences of citizenship in this study were viewed from the frame of belonging and identity. However, the dominant group of student teachers presented a slightly different picture as they made use of the everyday-defined reality as essential to their sense of citizenship, but this was reinforced again and again by authority-defined notions of the national state vision and the status and value accorded to members of this group through the rights and responsibilities assigned to them as privileged members of the state.

6.3 Two Social Realities and Citizenship

I have applied Shamsul's (1996) 'two social realities' framework of identity discourse to the case of Malaysia. First, the 'authority-defined' reality of identity formation as directed by those within the dominant power structure; and secondly, the 'everyday-defined' social reality as lived by people in the course of their everyday lives. There were times in this study when the student teachers' authority-defined national identity conflicted with their everyday-defined identity experiences. I suggested that the study of identity in Malaysia would be enriched by adopting this 'two social realities' approach and by giving both types of 'reality' as

equal a level of attention as possible. The great advantage of adopting this approach is that it provides the ability to capture both the macro picture of political aspiration and the detailed internal micro dynamics of the individual and community in a more balanced manner.

Most studies on identity in Malaysia have focused either on the debate and discourse within the authority-defined context or instead have concentrated on what was happening within the everyday-defined realm. Jehom (1999), in his ethnic identity study in the Sarawak (Eastern Malaysia) region, argued that authority-defined identity may not 'necessarily correspond with the everyday-defined identity' (Jehom, 1999). Jehom's study indicated that for the indigenous group, the everyday-defined identity is sustainable because of the 'self-awareness of members of the diverse ethnic groups and the sense of otherness' they developed towards others (Jehom, 1999). Nevertheless, in their everyday experiences of identity, the authority-defined social realities are at times not fully accepted and are dependent on the situational. This authority defined identity has only been accepted as an ethnic marker when it is assumed to be appropriate depending on situations (Jehom, 1999). Yok Fee (2009), in her study of Malaysian-Chinese identity, explored Malaysian-Chinese identity narratives from the everyday-defined social reality in order to gain an in-depth view of cultural and ethnic identities. She claimed that most identity discourse was based more on the macro level, focusing on social structure rather than the social actor.

Shamsul (1996), although he proposed the two social realities approach to identity in Malaysia, focused mainly on the identity debate within the authority-defined context. He claimed that there were reasons that could be offered to justify this choice that the social category 'Malay' (or, for that matter, Chinese, Indian or Eastern indigenous) has always been used as something given and taken for granted. Secondly, in analytical terms, it has also been used as a tool for analysis, rather automatically, either paired or in clusters with other social categories, such as

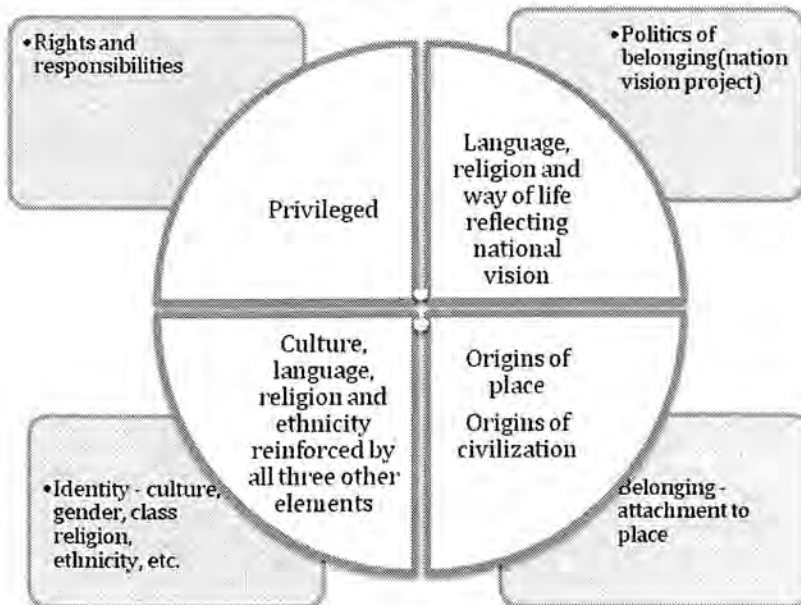
'Malay-non-Malay', 'Malay-Chinese' or 'Malay-Indian'. This in turn has resulted in 'essentialising' the Malays (and simultaneously the Chinese, Indian and others, too), giving these groups a set of ideal-typical attributes for the sake of analysis, thus encouraging the obviously simplistic perception that Malay as a social group is a homogenous one (Shamsul, 1996). Nevertheless, I argued that the study of identity in Malaysia should take account of both social realities so as to allow the social actors to speak openly about their experience in contrast to the authority-defined one, which tends to be based on observation and interpretation from above.

6.4 Realities, belonging and the politics of belonging for dominant and subordinate student teachers

I argued that through the detail and in-depth analysis of the student teachers' everyday experiences of citizenship and identities in Malaysia, framed by the two social realities approach, it was possible to begin uncovering the complexities of the citizenship experience for individuals and groups, potentially leading to a greater understanding of the ways in which the authority-defined and everyday-defined realities might challenge or reinforce each other. The framework of citizenship that I have discussed in my previous chapters demonstrates that the authority-defined and everyday-defined realities have created different outcomes for both groups' experiences of identity and rights and responsibilities. To further illuminate the macro and micro realities of citizenship, I have applied both Yuval-Davis' dimension of belonging that concerns attachment on emotional and ontological levels (2011, p. 10; 2006, p. 197), and the politics of belonging that encompass specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities. The student teachers' identity experiences were constructed along multiple axes of difference, such as ethnicity, culture, region, age and class. On the one hand, these social locations were stable and they promoted a sense of belonging but, on the other hand, they came with power relations and differentials between the majority and minority groups, creating a context requiring negotiation and challenges. It is important to note that Yuval-Davis' claim about belonging 'is always that it is 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). The new framework generated links to the idea of citizenship as being a fluid and dynamic process of being and becoming, an experience of the citizen in dialogue with the four key quadrants in different ways. Following Yuval-Davis' belonging framework, I suggested that the student teachers' identity and citizenship experiences should also be discussed using an intersectional approach (Yuval-Davis, 2007). For example, the dominant-group student teachers were positioned as standing at the intersection of the majority group, a citizen with special rights, a Muslim and Malay. The subordinate peripheral and unprivileged groups of student teachers were, on the other hand, standing at the intersection as citizens with peripheral and no special rights, respectively. The following diagram separates the different components of the citizenship experiences to help clarify the different aspects but it should be understood that all four elements may create intersections for that individual and/or group that shape the nature of their experiences.

Diagram 6.2: Dominant/Majority Group Identity and Citizenship Experiences



This diagram reflects the reinforcement of all four elements for the core privileged

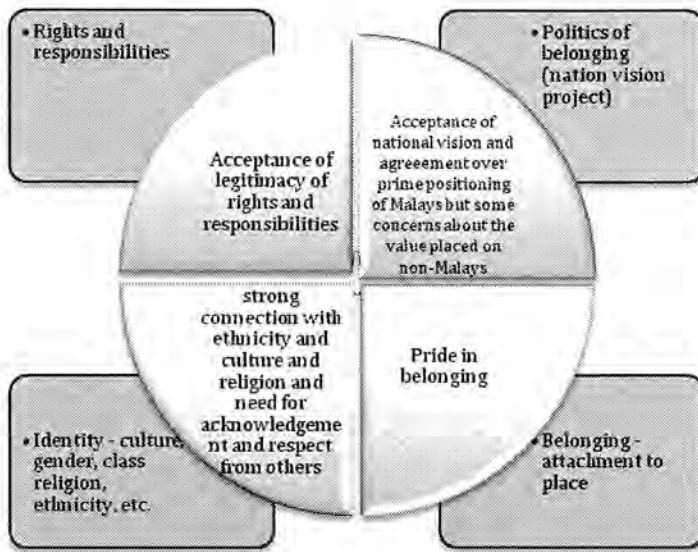
group and, consequently, the strength of this group's positioning within both national narratives and in terms of the identity and belonging narratives. This harmony between the components of formal citizenship and the more informal feelings of identity and belonging emphasises the idea that Malayness lies at the heart of citizenship. The intersections between the four components tend to reinforce rather than challenge each other.

In contrast, the peripheral and unprivileged groups, as the minority groupings, showed that their identity and belonging intersected with each quadrant as minorities, as citizens with peripheral and no special rights, non-Malay and non-Muslim. Such an intersectional approach is evidently necessary for this study which explores the experiences of belonging of multi-ethnic and multicultural student teachers in Malaysia that can only be understood by taking account of their varying social locations, including ethnicity, status, age and culture. Yuval-Davis (2011) 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).

To note Kathy Davis (2008) on intersectionality in contemporary feminist scholarship,

intersectionality refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis, 2008).

Diagram 6.3: Subaltern/minorities group identity and citizenship experiences



The diagram representing the subaltern group’s experience of citizenship within authority-defined and everyday-defined social realities suggests that the student teachers’ subjective experiences are inevitably shaped, although not determined, by their social positioning (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In this study, the student teachers’ different cultural backgrounds, ethnicities, religions and ages were intersecting in their everyday experiences of identity and citizenship and were impacting, to a greater or lesser extent, upon their sense of self as individuals as well as their sense of belonging in relation to community and nation. These diagrams give a sense of the different ways in which these groups experience citizenship.

The third component of my framework, discussed in the literature chapter, was Antonsich’s (2010) belonging as a personal, intimate feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place (place belongingness). Although I agree with Yuval-Davis’ (2006) three facets of belonging, I also agree with Antonsich (2010) that she gave little attention to belonging as a form of emotional attachment.

Antonsich differentiates his theorising from that of Yuval-Davis' in defining two, rather than three, dimensions of belonging:

belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion (politics of belonging) (Antonsich, 2010)

In relation to intersections of belonging, I agree with Antonsich's claim that place belongingness often intersects with the politics of belonging because belonging is something that is both social and individual. I argued that the student teachers' identity and citizenship narratives suggested place of belongingness (emotional attachment). They were intersecting with the politics of belonging. For example, the majority group's social location as Malay, Muslim and the privileged group promoted place belongingness on the one hand, as well as reinforcing the politics of belonging by reinforcing the separation of 'them' from 'us'. It could then be argued that such perspective of 'them' and 'us' could potentially promote disunity with those from the subaltern group who questioned the value placed on them in comparison with the majority.

Informed by Yuval-Davis' (2006) framework of belonging and the politics of belonging, Antonsich's (2010) detailing of place belongingness within the belonging dimension and Shamsul's (1996) two social realities identity framework, this study offers a multidimensional framework for understanding identities and citizenship discourses in multi-ethnic Malaysia.

During the analysis, I have categorised student teachers into three groups based on their legal citizenship status in Malaysia: a core privileged group (citizens with special rights), peripheral privileged group (citizens with peripheral special rights) and unprivileged group (citizens with no additional rights). This led to discussions on how the student teachers' everyday identity, belonging and citizenship experiences combined with their respective legal statuses. Looking across these

groups' findings, it is clear that the student teachers' experiences of citizenship and identity in multi-ethnic Malaysian could conform to and/or challenge aspects of the Malaysian national vision framework. The positioning of these key elements helped to situate the significant aspects of citizenship in relation to a sense of a more complex, fluid, reconstructed and re-imagined community that is the nation of Malaysia. Here I would like to revisit these aspects of citizenship looking across the groups involved in this study, and discuss the implications for ways of thinking about citizenship and nation.

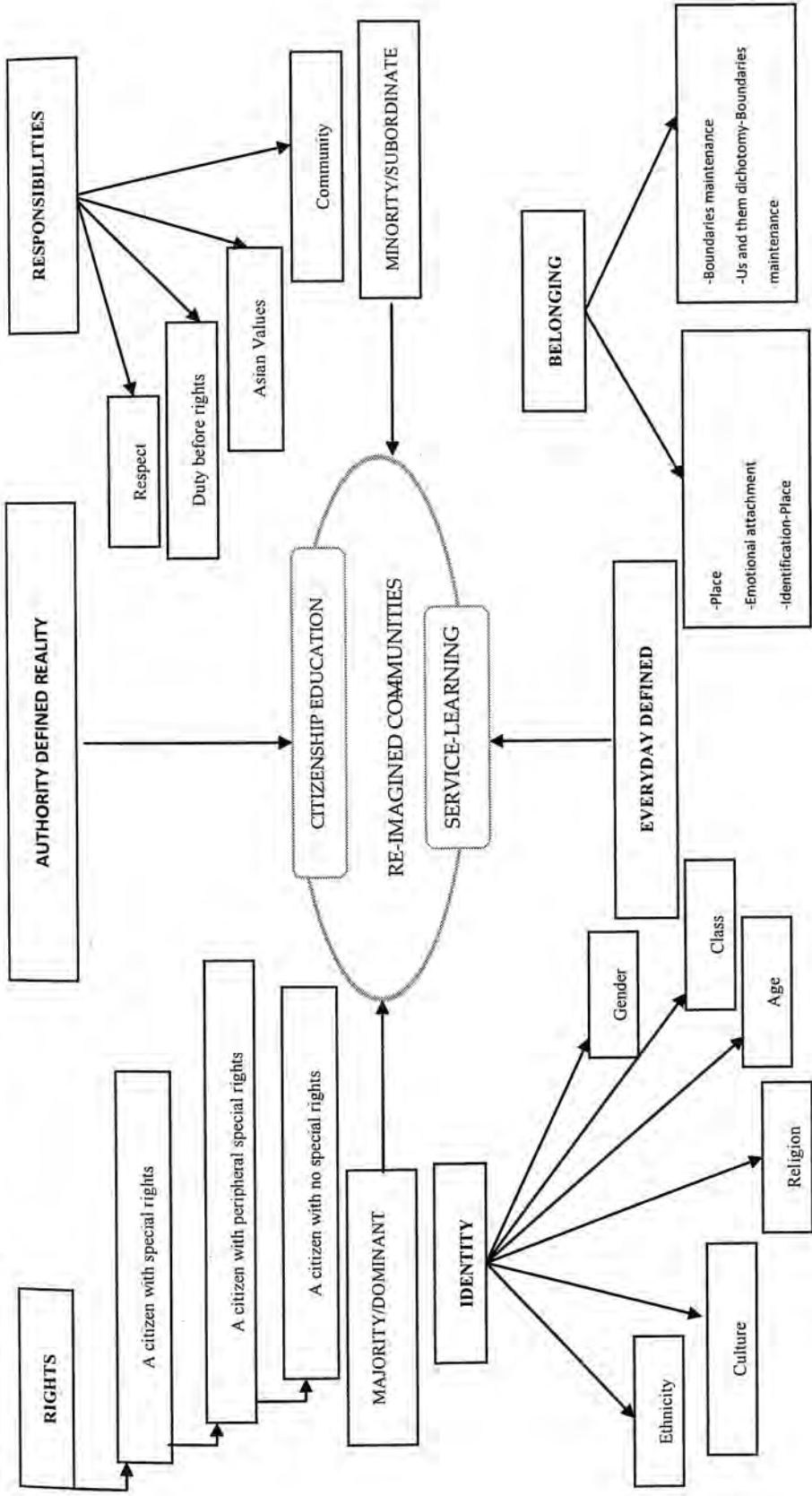
Let me start my discussion with the key elements of the Malaysian national vision reflected in the student teachers' citizenship identity experiences. The discussion includes student teachers' citizenship and identity experiences that conform to, or conflict with, the Malaysian national vision. I have used Yuval-Davis' notion of belonging to discuss student teachers' experiences that conform to the Malaysian national vision (the politics of belonging) and to discuss their experiences that conflicted with the Malaysian national vision. I then discuss the social locations and intersectional belonging that have shaped the student teachers' identity and citizenship experiences. For the purpose of the discussion chapter, I have categorised the student teachers into dominant and subordinate groups. Dominant represents the core privileged group and subordinate represents the peripheral and unprivileged groups.

6.5 Identity and Belonging

Following my diagrams of citizenship and identity frameworks, developed through the findings, my analysis followed the same aim of building a Malaysian nation. According to Anderson (2006), nations are 'imagined communities', 'because the members of even the smallest 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' (p. 49). It might be argued that the politics of belonging in my diagram

reflects a political imagining of the nation but this forms only one part of the complex notion of the imagined community or communities envisaged by the peoples inhabiting a country. Consequently, for the majority group of student teachers the harmonisation of elements and intersections led to an imagined community in line with the political vision but, for the minority, their positioning within society meant that a different understanding of that imagined community was realised in some of their everyday experiences. While the latter group welcomed the unifying nature of the national vision, some of their experiences led them to question their perceived worth and value within that vision, thus perpetuating a 'them' and 'us' mentality. In this study, I have explored the experiences of both groups as they undertook service-learning to investigate the ways in which such experiences might challenge these positions by reducing the differences between the majority and minority groups.

Diagram 6.4: Re-imagined communities framework



Within this second phase, I suggested that this might be seen as re-imagined communities or reimagining the Malaysian nation, whereby I suggested that both the authority-defined and everyday-defined social realities might, to some degree, become reconciled with each other through service-learning in citizenship education. I have discussed before that there are certain identity elements of the national vision project that have breached the boundaries, and reshaped the politics of belonging into permeable boundaries. I suggest that apart from the cultural elements such as language that are capable of surmounting boundaries, certain learning experiences have also contributed to the formation of more permeable boundaries.

Antonsich's (2010) and Yuval-Davis' (2006) notion of belonging as emotional attachment is when an individual has an attachment to a place or space in which he or she can feel 'at home', secure, warm, respected and recognised. Factors that influence how one feels emotional attachment to a 'place' can be historical, relational, cultural and linguistic or economic (stable material conditions) (Antonsich, 2010). Here, it can be seen that both the identity and belonging quadrants may interact strongly. Both the dominant and subordinate student teachers' identity narratives suggested that cultural identity generated a sense of belongingness to their cultural group and for some students this was where their primary allegiance lay. Both groups perceived ethnic identity as a personal, intimate feeling of attachment that had historical, cultural and social ethnic groupings that affected their everyday inter-ethnic relationship experiences and that reinforced their social attachment to that particular ethnic group. For the majority, being both Malay and a Muslim was part of their cultural identity. For minority students, commonality (language, cultural activities and events) reinforced a sense of belongingness to a specific group but within a divergent broader group of non-Malays.

In discussing belonging, the narratives of both majority and minority student teachers suggested that 'cultural identity' promoted ways of being a part of a multi-ethnic society. Both groups had opportunities to maintain their culture. All Malaysians may celebrate each other's festivals and cultural events. In relation to language, although Malay is the national language that has been implemented across national schools in Malaysia, the government still provides vernacular schools at primary level that aim to help the Malaysian-Chinese and Malaysian-Indian children to maintain their own languages. These vernacular schools play a role in ensuring cultural heritage is preserved through the generations. The use of Chinese and Tamil languages in these schools doesn't just act as a medium of instruction. They also provide a link to the community's cultural heritage (Yusof, 2006).

For example, an eastern Malaysian student teacher's cultural representation was based on a heterogeneous culture in Eastern Malaysia. Within the Malaysian national vision, both groups have opportunities to preserve and practise their cultural identity. Language, as one of the social locations, can then become a requisite for multi-ethnic belonging to reimagine the Malaysian national vision. Language becomes a permeable boundary between the dominant and subordinate groups. For the subordinate group it is interesting to note that the Malay language, as a national language, is not only used as a formal language but is also used as a language of everyday communication. The older generations use Malay as a language of communication among themselves and find this to be convenient as most of their everyday activities involve dealing with shop owners, bus drivers or taxi drivers who communicate in the Malay language. The younger generations have the option of using either Malay or English as their everyday language of communication. Although the Malay language is the national language and is taught as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools (Maier & David as cited in Run & Chin, 2006), Chinese, Tamil and English languages are still widely used and most Malaysians are bi- or tri-lingual and can comfortably switch between

more than one language in a sentence (Gannon, 2004). This language shift is the socio cultural process of individuals changing from the habitual use of one language to another, indicating familiarity with the various languages used (Run & Chin, 2006).

Both groups also perceived ethnic and cultural identity as acknowledgement and recognition, as part of being a citizen in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The student teachers' narratives suggested that they believed there needed to be a compromise or accommodation. However, while the majority wanted to be acknowledged as the original people of Malaysia and the minority wanted to be acknowledged as valued members of a multi-ethnic Malaysian society, the focus seemed to be on acknowledging the position of the Malay majority, as not all the minority groups felt that they were equally valued as citizens. For the majority, who wanted recognition as Malays and Muslims, that included ways of being a Muslim, there was explicit acceptance and dominance given in the national vision and in other daily aspects of citizenship. The minority wanted recognition as non-Muslims who practised their own cultural activities but did not feel that the majority always afforded them the equality and respect they would like.

In relation to national identity, both groups perceived national identity as a complex matter of integration. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Jamil & Raman (2012) note the effort of the newly independent multi-ethnic society to develop a nation that is harmonious, integrated and 'democratic' and that shares a common identity and values as a Malaysian nation. This aim has been a concern of the government from independence until the present day, and is reflected in the need to develop a united Malaysian nation project. A series of national policies, in particular, aim to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysia as one nation. One of the strategies involved in creating a national identity was through a national language (Malay) and this was to be formally integrated into national education.

In general, the student teachers believed that national identity represented those who were Malaysians and their own acknowledgement of Malay elements, especially the Malay language as the language of the country. Specifically, the student teachers believed that the support for a common language had worked well to integrate multi-ethnic Malaysia. They believed that the Malay language was being used formally and informally by multi-ethnic Malaysians.

In relation to identity and belonging, I argued that the student teachers experienced manifold 'social locations' in their everyday identity and citizenship experiences. The student teachers' identity narratives suggested that they belonged to cultural, ethnic and religious collective identities. Nevertheless, there were differences in what constituted their social locations. For the dominant student teachers, they belonged to specific ethnic, cultural and religious social locations, whilst the minority group belonged to ethnic and cultural social locations that were distinctly different. It is interesting to note that for the dominant group, religious identity was seen as one of the strongest indicators of their social position. Religious identity in this study was not merely cultural, as understood in studies of identity, but was an identity and ideology. Malaysians had made Islam part of their national identity as the official religion of the country. Therefore, religion as identity was not just a collectivist identity for some particular groups but also represented Malaysian national identity. Nevertheless, within this religious social location, the majority group student teachers cited either Muslim Malay or Malay Muslim as their social position. The Muslim Malay social position seemed to place greater emphasis on their being Muslims than Malays. For some dominant group student teachers, ways of being Malay sometimes conflicted with ways of being Muslim. Birth, marriage and death were the cultural activities that generated conflicted elements between Malay customs and Islam. As mentioned in my literature review chapter, Malay culture combines influences of both Hindu and Islamic cultures. Most of the elements in the Hindu culture diminished when Islam came to the Malay kingdom. Islam was later accepted as the main religion in Malaya's national vision but some

of the previous cultural practices remained. For the subordinate group, ethnicities and culture were, on the one hand, crucial to representing who they were to others and, on the other hand, to signify that historically they were immigrants or newcomers to the Malaysian nation. However, this did signal that they were different and did not reflect the essentialist notion of being Malaysian, but instead that they belonged to a broader, later and non-essentialist form of being Malaysian.

6.6 Rights, Responsibilities and Belonging

Membership of the Malaysian political community establishes citizens with rights and responsibilities. Both groups of student teachers spoke about constitutional rights as basic rights given to them. They spoke about social rights such as education, health care and basic amenities including an electricity supply, water supply and clean drinking water, proper accommodation and free primary education. The student teachers expressed their satisfaction with the educational rights they had. They had an opportunity to access primary, secondary and tertiary education. Following Malaysian accommodative policy, student teachers had the opportunity to choose their own type of primary education, i.e. Malaysian-Chinese or Malaysian-Indian ethnic groups could attend a different primary school. In relation to educational funding at the level of higher education, the student teachers expressed their satisfaction on the whole with their education funding. All of the student teachers had either been offered a scholarship or had taken out a low-interest education loan. However, it was noted that Malays were given preferential treatment for entry to higher education and tended to be given scholarship funding, meaning that the poorer students from non-Malay backgrounds potentially found themselves at a financial disadvantage when it came to accessing higher education.

In relation to privileged rights, this illustrated that there needed to be an agreement in the everyday interactions between the majority (Malays) and minority (non-Malays) groups. The dominant group have to respect and recognise the subordinate

group's differences and the subordinate group have to find a space to embrace their cultural identity in order for it to be recognised and respected. For both groups to belong to the Malaysian nation, the minority have to accept the national vision from above, which privileges the Malays, their language and religion and gives them priority in areas such as education. For the majority student teachers, they felt that they accepted the minority as Malaysian citizens who had rights and who should be accommodated in order for them to preserve their own culture. For the minority, they acknowledged their social status as a minority who should be grateful to be accepted as part of Malaysia and they recognised the special rights of the majority.

Malaysia's preferential policies have promoted indigenous groups in general, and the Malay group in particular, as citizens with 'special rights' and distinct from other non-indigenous groups in Malaysia. These 'special rights' are guaranteed in Articles 153 and 161a of the Constitution and include privileged access to public-sector jobs, business licences, government contracts, educational scholarships and admission to public universities through a race-based quota system. Although it looks like others are neglected by the policies, in reality there are negotiations and compromises for them. For the majority group, they expressed their satisfaction and gratitude for these special rights. Most of them felt their cultural and social rights had been protected and cherished. They felt more secure as they could not only maintain their cultural hegemony but also had extra protection through the constitution and government policies. For the majority, their special rights reinforced their sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. It was understood that these special rights were recognised by the minority. For the minority, they respected the majority group as the original people of Malaysia and its 'legitimate owners'. For the majority, they acknowledged the minority as part of multi-ethnic Malaysia. However, some in the minority group, although they accepted the majority group's position of primacy, did suggest that there was insufficient support for some aspects of social rights, for example, the poorer members of society, especially in the eastern part of Malaysia, which is an area lacking

infrastructure and resources. There was also concern that while the minority accepted the majority's dominant position, and respected their differences, the majority did not always accept and respect those in the minority. This was especially the case when looking at two distinct groups within the majority cohort – the Western Malays and the Eastern Malays. The Western Malays lived in a strongly Muslim Malay part of the country and seemed to regard themselves as living separately from the minority, not wishing to interact in any way. On the other hand, the Eastern Muslim Malays lived in more diverse communities and consequently interacted more with the minority, whilst simultaneously remaining true to their Muslim Malay identity. This compromise promotes a multi-ethnic belonging with a delicate balance between the groups.

For Taylor (1997) and Carens (2000), the question of belonging in diverse societies needs to accommodate diverse cultural, ethnic and national groups. In relation to the Malaysian multi-ethnic political community, they defined national identities and citizenship status within ethnic preferential citizenship that divided majority and minority, and occupied national belonging within the majority culture and identities while accommodating others. For some of the student teachers, this form of status was acceptable. They highlighted the minimal recognition of their culture and acknowledged the Malays as the original people in Malaya (Peninsular Malaysia). The Eastern Malaysian indigenous groups were perceived as newcomers to Malaya, since the history and civilisation of Malaya started at the Malay Peninsula. They had to accept that they were the later people of Malaya. Although the Eastern indigenous groups had their own civilisation, it was less recognised when Western and Eastern Malaysia joined to form one Malaysian nation. The different treatments of the Eastern Malaysian indigenous groups and the majority group, which had a higher status than others, had the potential to create tensions. Despite recognising that as a minority, their voices were, they felt, less likely to be heard, they seemed to accept their status as a minority group.

In relation to responsibilities, both groups of student teachers spoke about being good citizens in Malaysia. They commented on the importance of citizens' duty to obey the law. They also spoke about citizens' general responsibilities, paying taxes, voting and respecting the fundamental liberties of each citizen. In particular, they reflected on their everyday experiences as students obeying the university rules and regulations, paying their utility bills, motor insurance and taxes. For civic responsibilities, I referred to three types of responsibility discussed in the contemporary citizenship discourse by Abowitz and Harnish (2006) that met the needs of the analysis: civic knowledge, civic values and civic skills. Civic knowledge emphasised an understanding of Malaysian history, government and institutions, democracy and rights. Civic knowledge also included an understanding of and loyalty to national symbols and icons, such as the flag (Veterans of Foreign Wars, cited in Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Civic values concerned self-sacrifice, patriotism and loyalty and civic skills enabled citizens to engage in productive dialogues around public problems, building consensus and working cooperatively (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006).

The student teachers' civic knowledge was considered to be good, as they had learnt about Malaysian history, government and institutions and Malaysian multi-ethnic society in history and social studies subjects in school. At university level, in general, they had learnt about nationhood, Malaysian culture and society and, in particular, had enrolled on citizenship programmes and learnt in detail about citizenship and citizenship education. They had a good knowledge of the Malaysian Constitution and they also had experience of being involved in community service fieldwork as part of citizenship and a citizenship education programme. They agreed that each citizen should have multi-layered responsibilities to their family, school, university, community and nation. At the family level, they spoke about their responsibility to obey their parents and respect their family members.

In relation to civic values, some student teachers spoke about being a moral person, being good to family members, peers and people in the same neighbourhood, and respecting others as part of being a responsible citizen. The majority group added that a good citizen was a religious person whilst the minority group added that having noble values or being honourable comprised part of being a good citizen.

In the re-imagined communities framework, I suggested that citizenship education could be used to break down barriers. Analysis of the findings has shown that through the student teachers' participation in service-learning, diverse groups worked together and learnt about others' voices and points of view. They tended to help others, such as the elderly or members of the aboriginal population, to find their voices as citizens. They learnt about others' cultural beliefs and began to respect and recognise others. They put aside their social positions as dominant or subordinate groups and worked together as part of a multi-ethnic nation.

In line with the Malaysian national vision framework from above, both the dominant and subordinate student teachers believed they were part of multi-ethnic Malaysia; they appreciated the uniqueness of different cultures and were grateful that Malaysia was able to share the colourful cultures of her peoples. Nevertheless, their knowledge sometimes conflicted with their life experiences. The subordinate group experienced limited cultural recognition in their everyday interactions with the majority and they experienced unequal opportunities with regard to certain social rights.

In general, the student teachers' understanding of citizenship was in line with the Malaysian national vision from above. Certain characteristics of the 'Malaysian way of citizenship' may promote a sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. Upholding the ideas of Asian values, communitarian models of citizenship fit in easily with the Malaysian nature of a multi-ethnic society. To note Malaysian anthropologist, Shamsul (2008) conceptualisation of Malaysia:

Malaysia has been perceived as a state of 'stable tension,' which means that we have been living in a society dominated by many contradictions but we have managed to solve most of them through a continuous process of consensus-seeking negotiations, sometimes the process itself became a solution. (p. 10)

Nevertheless, dealing with a multi-ethnic society requires the delicate balancing of two aspects: the maintenance of difference on the one hand, and the pursuit of a harmonious society with core values on the other. To be able to belong to and feel at home in a 'place' is not just a personal matter but also a social one. If one feels rejected or not welcomed by the people who live in that 'place', the sense of belonging would inevitably be disrupted. The discussion of one's personal moral feeling of belonging always has to come to terms with discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion at play in that very place (Antonsich, 2010). As argued by Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman (2005, p. 528), the 'sociology of emotions' should come to terms with the 'sociology of power'. Belonging is about boundaries but it is also about hierarchies which exist both within and across boundaries. My use of Antonsich's (2010) belonging as practices of socio-spatial inclusion or exclusion, or what Yuval-Davis proposed as a politics of belonging, is associated with official, public-oriented 'formal structures' of membership, citizenship and identities. Ethnic preferential citizenship implemented in multi-ethnic Malaysia has created an 'authority' identity that impacts on notions of belonging. It could be argued that the series of affirmative action policies have given way to the legitimisation of all forms of economic and cultural accumulation in the name of the indigenous groups generally, and the Malay in particular. It has created new forms of identities that were privileged, peripheral and non-privileged identities.

6.7 Intersectional Approach within Belonging and the Politics of Belonging

As mentioned in my argument on Yuval-Davis' (2006) and Antonsich's (2010) intersectional approach of social locations, intersectional positionality could be discussed both within the dimension of belonging and the politics of belonging within the two social realities. Referring to diagrams 6.2 and 6.3 in this chapter, the intersectional positionality of the dominant (majority) and subaltern (minority) groups reflects distinctive ways of belonging. For the majority group, their social location as majority Malays intersects with that of being Muslims as citizens with special rights and the privileged group have reinforced their social power and created boundaries between themselves and the minority. These intersections of the dominant group's social location make them privileged compared to others. Furthermore, within the Malaysian national vision framework, these Malay elements represented the national identity. They maintain the nationalist ideology that Malaysia was owned by the Malays, and that the Malays were the first 'civilised' group in Malaya. This claim derived from the historical perspectives about how their ancestors had already formed a civilised society in the Malay land (Malay kingdom). They believe that the Malays are the inherent and legitimate owners of Malaya. The view that Malays own the country is common among most Malays in Malaysia. Embong (2001), similarly explained that the Malays perceived themselves to be the legal owners of Malaya and that Malaya had existed as a 'complete' cultural, social and sovereign entity and nation only since the time of their presence. The former, and longest serving, Prime Minister Mahathir also affirmed the status of Malays as the original inhabitants of Malaysia.

The Malays are the original or indigenous people of Malaya and the only people who can claim Malaya as their one and only country. The *Orang Melayu* or Malays have always been the definitive people of the Malay Peninsula. The aborigines were never accorded any such recognition nor did they claim such recognition. Above all, at no time did they outnumber Malays. (Mahathir Mohamad, 1981, p. 8)

Since the early days of independence, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first chief minister of the Federation of Malaya, clearly asserted the status of the Malays as owners of the Malay land.

With regard to the proposal that independence should be handed over to the 'Malayans', who are these 'Malayans?' This country was received from the Malays and to the Malays is ought to be returned (Tunku Abdul Rahman in his inaugural speech as President of UMNO on 26 August 1951 as cited in Cheah, 2002, p. 1)

They were special because they were protected and guaranteed special rights. In their everyday interactions with the minority, they formed boundaries that created an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. In relation to everyday inter-ethnic relations, they demanded recognition, respect and tolerance. They demanded that others should respect the ways of being a Malay and Muslim. Some of them constructed rigid boundaries in their everyday inter-ethnic relations; they limited interaction with non-Muslims, were sensitive about food preparation carried out by non-Muslims and so on. To sum up, the majority group claimed themselves to be citizens with special rights that entitled them to education, public service and economic opportunities. They felt secure, safe and protected within the national vision. Their special rights reinforced their sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. It is clear that their privileged rights are recognised by the state and this is also seen in the everyday experiences of the core privileged group of student teachers. They demand recognition of their difference, that of being citizens with special rights above others (i.e. the peripheral and unprivileged groups). In relation to the showing of respect for diversity or the differences of minorities, they placed minimal emphasis on the acceptance, recognition and tolerance of minority groups.

In contrast with the dominant group, the identities of the subordinate group intersected with their sense of un-belonging; in particular, their status as non-Malays, non-Muslims or as members of peripheral indigenous or unprivileged groups. These student teachers' social location rendered them less advantaged and less acknowledged compared to the majority. For them, being a member of a

peripheral and unprivileged group meant they had fewer privileges compared to the core privileged group. For instance, there were fewer opportunities for obtaining a scholarship, fewer opportunities for enrolment in a public university and less recognition of their culture.

They experienced intolerance, cultural disrespect and disrespect in their everyday citizenship experiences with the majority. They spoke in general about superficial respect and tolerance as part of inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia. Noting again this group's dissatisfaction with the majority group's treatment of others, Tom commented:

the Malays always undervalue other cultures, they 'the Malays' place their status as the dominant and privileged group to give them exclusive power. They see us as additional groups and they tell us what we should or should not do.

Obviously, the non-Malay student teachers regarded their status as a minority as one of the challenges they faced in their enjoyment of opportunities as Malaysians. The subaltern group's social location as a minority or subordinate group intersects with their legal status as citizens with peripheral special rights and citizens with no special rights. This status leads to fewer opportunities in relation to certain social rights. The non-Malay student teachers felt they experienced unfair treatment as they had to fight to be enrolled at public universities and that the *bumiputera* (indigenous) quota-based system posed a risk to their ability to receive a higher education and subsequently presented a challenge to their future career potential. Instead of seeing this as a means of lessening inequity for the *bumiputera* (indigenous), it was seen as a sign of privileging this group over others.

Special issues on indigenous (*bumiputera*) affirmative action policy in the Journal of Malaysian Studies in 2004 addressed, in particular, the National Economy Policy (NEP) issues from every angle. It has been argued that the statistical reporting of incidences of poverty in multi-ethnic Malaysia tended to mislead and exaggerate

the economic disadvantaging of only the dominant group. Cases of rural poverty in Eastern Malaysia had been neglected. The sense of discrimination and marginalisation was not limited to the rural areas. It was also prevalent in urban areas. Employment, educational opportunities and scholarships were the issues of contention within the peripheral privileged groups. It has been argued that the majority of the poor in Eastern Malaysia are largely unaffected by the poverty eradication measures contained within the NEP (Jomo & Sundaram, 2004)).

In relation to educational rights, although there are opportunities for the peripheral group (PPG) and underprivileged (UPG) student teachers to further their studies at public universities, due to the ethnic quota system they have to compete to be top achievers in the national examinations in order to be eligible to enrol into public universities. In particular, the mandated ethnic quota admission policy for raising CPG enrolment denied many better-qualified Chinese and Indian students admission to local public higher institutions of learning (Lim, 1985).

Both groups have also experienced cultural disrespect in their everyday inter-ethnic relations. Some of the student teachers explained that stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination continue to exist within their everyday inter-ethnic relations. Students from both the PPG and UPG groups felt disrespected and experienced intolerance of their ways of life. They expressed how they received superficial tolerance, respect and recognition in their inter-ethnic relations.

The responsibilities theme shows how PPG and UPG student teachers experience the legal, moral and social responsibilities of being a good citizen. Their responses showed that they conformed to imagined communities from above that were in line with, or conformed broadly to, the Malaysian national vision framework. They conformed to the national ideology, duty before rights, which is in line with the republican citizenship and communitarian paradigms. They pointed to 'collective values' or 'shared values' based on the Asian values discourse and sought to

strengthen the strong hierarchical foundations of society. These are 'duty before rights' and 'society above self'. They were also keen to keep the family as the basic unit of society, and racial and religious harmony (Quah, 1990). Malaysians typically believe that the community should take priority over individuals. In his Asian Values model, also known as the Mahathir model, Mahathir urged the need to limit personal freedom for the sake of political stability and economic prosperity.

For Asians, the community or the majority comes first. The individual and the 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).

National belonging and national identification in Malaysia was clearly a nationalist project that favoured the majority and it has created a different sense of future place belongingness for multi-ethnic Malaysians. Some of the student teachers in this study preferred 'Malaysian Malaysia' (civic citizenship) in the name of justice and equality and some of them preferred ethnic or plural citizenship as it fits in with mainstream society and avoids confrontation. Some Eastern Malaysian student teachers also showed their inclination towards *bumiputera* (indigenous) citizenship which focuses on the similarities between the core privileged and peripheral privileged groups.²

Some subordinate student teachers experienced minimal cultural recognition in terms of their cultural affiliations being either neglected or treated differently. Some

²As mentioned in my literature chapter, the contextual analysis chapter, *bumiputera* or 'sons of soil' referred to the Malays as indigenous people in West Malaysia and indigenous groups in Sabah and Sarawak state (Borneo). By constitutional provision, both groups are sons of soil in Malaysia but in practice or within the authority-defined perspective only represent Malayness (Malay elements) as national identity. Through the affirmative action policies in Malaysia, although both groups have entitlements as *Bumiputera*, there are slight differences in their opportunities as *Bumiputera*.

subordinate student teachers spoke about stereotyping and humiliation through negative identities conferred by the dominant group in their everyday interactions. In conclusion, the student teachers' identity narratives and membership experiences within social attachment and the moral feeling of belonging suggested that they achieved minimal recognition in relation to their cultural identity and fundamental membership rights. The student teachers' everyday identity and membership experiences showed inclusive and exclusive forms of belonging where they faced 'superficial recognition'. They experienced cultural disrespect, unequal economic distribution and felt that their voices at times went unheard.

I argue that manifold social locations in this study were not just intersections of ethnicity and cultural background but also age and social locations. The student teachers in this study were young people who were perceived as citizens in the making. Their social location, as young people who were immature and not yet full participants in decision making, intersected with a feeling of un-belonging to the adult world. The student teachers (in the both dominant and subaltern groups) in this study had experience of being neglected, accorded limited recognition and of their voices going unheard due to their perceived immaturity and limited responsibilities (in terms of not paying taxes, having no right to vote and being unemployed). Their experiences of citizenship leaned more towards what they should do and what their responsibilities to the nation are, and were less to do with their rights. They, therefore, suggested that to build a Malaysian nation, it is necessary to take into account the voices of all relevant groups, such as women, the disabled and youth, because they are all citizens who have rights in addition to responsibilities.

Empirical studies on multiculturalism have argued that in order to belong, people should feel that they can express their own identity (Valentine, 2008) and be recognised as an integral part of the community where they live, as well as being valued and listened to (Ameli & Merali, 2004; Buonfino & Thomson, 2007). The Malaysian national vision attempts to recognise this but a lived experiences of the student teachers in this research suggested differently. The minority student

teachers experienced unequal treatment and both superficial recognition and tolerance. The student teachers, as young people, felt a sense of un-belonging to the Malaysian nation because they were perceived as citizens in the making. This means that the Malaysian 'way of citizenship' may not be sufficient to celebrate a multi-ethnic Malaysian society that can fully support a sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation.

In summary, I discussed both groups' everyday experiences of identity and citizenship. Everyday citizenship experiences for the dominant group are in line with the Malaysian national vision that promotes a sense of belongingness of being a Malaysian. Nevertheless, the analysis highlighted the potential for disagreement and silent contestation among the subordinate multi-ethnic Malaysians to disrupt the nation-building project in Malaysia. Compared to other national or international studies on citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia that focused on one dimension, looking either at citizenship experiences of belonging perspectives or politics of belonging perspectives, this study has attempted to examine both dimensions.

6.8 Re-imagined Communities

Two main challenges in studying citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia needed to be addressed: firstly, Malaysia as a postcolonial, deeply diverse society and, secondly, Malaysia as a semi-democratic nation state. These challenges created multidimensional, political and cultural divisions in discussing citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The notion of citizenship and citizenship education in multi-ethnic Malaysia entails a discussion between the majority and minority inter-ethnic relations on the one hand and the relationship between citizens and the state under the semi-democratic system on the other. Cultural divisions in terms of majority-minority inter-relations include Malay/non-Malay and Muslim/non-Muslim whilst political divisions include the relationships between *bumiputera* and *non-bumiputera* and Eastern and Western Malaysia. These divisions promote tensions and contested

meanings of citizenship, and were discussed through the findings. The Malaysian national vision framework from above conflicted with the lived experiences of citizenship for the minority. For the majority, Malaysian ways of citizenship reinforced their legitimacy and supremacy but in terms of the minority, at times reinforced their sense of un-belonging to the Malaysian nation, raising concerns for the notion of a unified national identity.

In conclusion, the preferential citizenship rights have influenced citizenship understandings and experiences among the multi-ethnic student teachers. For the majority, historical perspectives were used to strengthen their special rights and identity. Nevertheless, this group still felt deprived in terms of economic distribution. In this regard, support from the government continues to protect this group. For the minority, although in general they were grateful for being accepted as Malaysians, there was silent dissatisfaction and resentment as they felt their rights had been neglected, which, in the long run, would impact upon the vision of one Malaysian nation. Government policies have made tremendous efforts to balance the economic and cultural disparities by accommodating and finding compromises with the minority groups in the name of unity and integration. Nevertheless, in the long run, the preferential citizenship policies have been seen as leading to inequalities and the unfair treatment of minority groups. This may, in turn, challenge the notion of equality or equity in a multi-ethnic society.

Nevertheless, I have clearly illustrated through my second phase of the re-imagined communities framework how citizenship education can be one potential way of breaking down the boundaries and promoting a sense of belongingness to the Malaysian nation. Educators and policy makers should give attention to the importance of citizenship education in Malaysia, not just as a way of transmitting facts about democracy, rights and responsibilities, but also as a means of breaking down boundaries between different groups. Citizenship education might also

consider ways to promote greater mutual respect, recognition and tolerance in diverse societies.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate student teachers' experiences of identity, citizenship and belonging in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The study examined the components of citizenship experiences – identity and belonging and rights and responsibilities – within the Malaysian national vision framework. In this conclusion 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. However, in light of the complexity and interwoven nature of the findings, the research questions are addressed and revisited at different places in this chapter. 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.

7.2 Key findings

The research aims were to investigate student teachers' everyday experiences of identity and citizenship in multi-ethnic Malaysia. These aims led to four research questions which were addressed through an investigation of student teachers undertaking a service-learning course. The first research question deals with the current policy of service-learning in Malaysia and was answered in the contextual analysis chapter, whereas this conclusion focuses on answering the three remaining research questions that relate to the citizenship, identity and belonging experiences

of the multi-ethnic student teachers. This work was informed primarily by Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship, Yuval-Davis' (2006) belonging framework and Shamsul's (1996) two social realities analysis tools. These conceptual influences guided and were then developed during the processes of data generation and data analysis. This led to the development of a new framework (Chapter 6, diagram 6.3) based on the understanding that citizenship is a continuous process which is dynamic and fluid and affected by authority-defined reality and everyday lived reality. Twenty-seven student teachers participated in this study and their accounts of their citizenship experiences, as well as their responses to service-learning, helped me to develop an understanding of citizenship within multi-ethnic Malaysia from the perspective of young people from diverse backgrounds who were training to be teachers.

7.3 Answering the research questions

1. What policies are currently shaping citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia within student-teacher courses, specifically in-service-learning?

In Malaysia context, service learning or citizenship education project has been use as teaching tools in citizenship education in schools. Certain citizenship education projects were suggested at primary and secondary level (see Chapter 1). In the new citizenship education (CCE 2005), the Citizenship Project (service-learning) was introduced to promote participative and responsible citizens. Service-learning forms one of the most important elements of the curriculum. At both levels, students have to participate in service-learning projects for at least 10 hours in 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.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Sultan Idris Education University (SIEU), is a premier educational university in Malaysia that aims to produce teachers. In order to fulfil the need for qualified citizenship education teachers, a Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE) course was introduced in 2010 as a minor programme for the Bachelor of Moral Education at SIEU. 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 in schools, and graduates with a high level of understanding of what constitutes good and effective citizens. The CCE course was implemented to create an 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 had directly experienced citizenship education. These particular student teachers were 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 enrolled on the service-learning course have to engage in a service-learning placement project. They plan, engage and reflect on the service-learning process.

2. How do student teachers(from diverse ethnic backgrounds and ethnicities) view their identities in multi-ethnic Malaysia?

In this current study, I found that the Malaysian national vision framework held a powerful aspirational pull for the student teachers in terms of how they articulated their identity and citizenship. However, it was evident during the everyday-defined reality experiences that those from less privileged or unprivileged backgrounds did not always feel valued and supported. The identity debate has embraced a pervasive theme of identity, understood as a changeable and changing process,

which, rather than preserving fixed cultural, geographical and historical attributes, is a mutable, shifting medley in progression. The student teachers' identity narratives suggested that identity involves not only individual and collective narratives of self and other, but also experiences of being part of the social fabric and the ways in which social bonds and ties are manifested in practice, experiences and emotions (Anthias, 2008). Following the key framework of the analysis chapter, I divided student teachers' perceptions of identity within Yuval-Davis' dimension of belonging and the politics of belonging. Yet this did not capture the complexity of the different elements of citizenship in Malaysia and the research analysis itself led to a more dynamic framework (Chapter 6: 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). This allowed me to separate out the different dimensions of citizenship for these young people. The student teachers' identity narratives suggested that their identities were multidimensional and intersected with different social locations. The student teachers' different social locations can be construed both as social categorisations of identification and social divisions that are linked to discourses and practices of power, and the struggles around them.

Identity as Emotional Attachment (everyday-defined reality)

Within the belonging dimension, both the dominant and subordinate student teachers perceived cultural and religious identity as part of their identity markers. The dominant group of student teachers believed they belonged to Malayness social locations such as privileged ethnicity, religion and cultural collectivist identities. Three elements of Malayness were evident in the student teachers' responses: the supremacy of Malay culture, Islam and loyalty to the King. It could be said that this group of student teachers articulated ethno-religious identity as their core identity. Within this group, student teachers sometimes placed an emphasis on either being Malay Muslims or Muslim Malays. Student teachers who wanted to be known as Malay Muslims used ethno-nationalist ideology focused on Malay culture, language and kingship. Malay culture covers all aspects of Malay social life, from styles of

dress and housing to rules of etiquette and social interaction, and religious identity is complementary to their ethnic identity. Malay Muslims' identity also represented the majority indigenous population in multi-ethnic Malaysia. They spoke of their kind of indigeneity as a marker of cultural authenticity and national legitimacy which linked 'race' or ethnicity to the soil. For other student teachers from the majority group, their religious identity was paramount. For them, being a Muslim was the most important identity and had to come before ethnic identity. It appeared that religion shaped their lifestyle, in that it generated a code of conduct which enabled its followers to judge the parameters within which they should operate. They spoke in detail about Islamic ways of life and the everyday practice of being pious Muslims. This included the consumption of *halal* food, praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan and adhering to Malaysian Muslims' dress code. Some students claimed that religious identity also represented ways of being Muslim in contrast to Western ways of life and traditional Malay ways of life. By Western ways of life, students claimed it referred to individual freedom and liberal ideas incompatible with Muslims' religious ways of life of being pious and following God's commands and prohibitions.

The subordinate student teachers perceived their socio-cultural identities within the belonging dimension as acknowledgement and recognition as part of multi-ethnic Malaysia. These student teachers' identity narratives suggested they felt an emotional attachment to their cultural sameness (language, ritual activities and tribal events). The unprivileged student teachers perceived their identity through the cultural representations of being Chinese and Indian in Malaysia. The so-called 'hyphenated identities' of 'Malaysian-Chinese' and 'Malaysian-Indian' represent two characters of identity: one half representing the ethnic group and the other half representing the Malay nation. They wanted to be known as 'Malaysian-Chinese' or 'Malaysian-Indians' to differentiate them from Chinese from China or Indians from India, yet still showing that they held the culture and language from their ancestral

lands. However, it is noticeable that they placed the unifying notion of being Malaysian first, perhaps signalling their investment in belonging to the nation.

Identity as Politics of Belonging (authority-defined reality)

The student teachers' identity narratives also suggested that their authority-defined experiences represented practices of the politics of belonging that reinforced boundaries. Identity narratives within the authority-defined reality (Shamsul, 1996) reflected the Malaysian national vision framework and its associated rights and responsibilities, suggesting that citizenship comprised specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities. The Malay identity was selected as the Malaysian national identity, and those with this identity were granted privileges accordingly. Therefore, identity within the politics of belonging involves not only the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by hegemonic political powers, but also their contestation and challenge by other agents (Yuval-Davis, 2006). The dominant group, the Malays, were the privileged group: citizens with special rights, and Muslims. These intersecting positionalities separated them from others as a privileged group. They were quite vocal in demanding respect and recognition in their everyday interactions with the minority groups. The Malaysian national vision framework from above supported this social positioning of the Malay group. The establishment of Malayness as the Malaysian national identity reinforced the boundary between them and the subordinate group.

The subordinate group of student teachers perceived their positioning within their citizenship narratives as an accepted part of the agreement giving them citizenship rights. However, these minority groups had fewer privileges and had to negotiate their ethnic identity in everyday relationships with the core privileged group. They had to accept that their language and religion were less recognised. They had been seen as part of a minority who were obliged to respect the core privileged group

identity. Ways of being Chinese, Indian or aboriginal were not fully understood by the majority and they therefore felt that it was difficult to gain respect from the dominant group. In other words, it was found that the Malays were not keen to know more about the subordinate group in terms of their history, language, culture, taboos and what constituted sensitive elements to them, let alone the challenges they faced. The Malays' indifference towards the subordinate group may be one of the reasons the latter group did not gain respect from the former.

Prior to beginning my studies, with reference to my knowledge and experience, my assumptions about citizenship in Malaysia were basically built around the idea of an imagined community from above and the importance of citizens being loyal to the government. As Malay, I was part of the majority group in society and so held a privileged position. I believed in the importance of citizenship as belonging to the Malaysian nation. As part of the dominant group, I conform to the authority-defined social reality, whereby I can embrace my identity and achieve my citizenship rights. I began this research with minimal knowledge and experience of the subordinate group's rights. I believed that others (i.e. the subordinate group) should readily accept the national vision project (authority-defined social reality). Nevertheless, throughout this study and after becoming involved with both the dominant and subordinate groups of student teachers, I discovered that the fact that citizens are granted different 'status' within an authority-defined social reality reflects how the student teachers experience citizenship, identity and belonging and how this may ultimately lead them to either follow or oppose the Malaysian national vision citizenship framework. Citizenship is not just about rights and responsibilities or the politics of belonging but about belonging as an emotional connection and identity which captures the core aspects of everyday lived reality. Some student teachers, such as the subaltern group, experienced citizenship as less privileged or unprivileged members of society and, so, although they wished to belong to the broader vision of the nation, did not always feel that their positioning (ethnically, culturally, etc.) was given the required level of recognition and support.

The rights and obligations of the authority-defined reality focused on meeting the criteria of inclusion as citizens, and yet there was differential inclusion and exclusion of citizens along the lines of gender, ethnicity, class, age and so on. The student teachers' experiences of citizenship and citizenship education related to membership of a Malaysian political community discourse that established citizens with rights and responsibilities. Both groups spoke about constitutional rights as the basic rights given to them. They spoke about the social rights accorded to them, for example, education, health and basic amenities such as electric supply, water supply and clean drinking water, proper accommodation and free primary education. The student teachers expressed satisfaction with their educational rights, with the opportunity to access primary, secondary and tertiary education. In relation to privileged rights, these had come about through negotiation between dominant and subordinate groups that promoted a sense of belonging to the Malaysian nation. For both groups to belong to the Malaysian nation, one had to accept the national vision from above. The majority group student teachers accepted the minority as Malaysian citizens who had rights and should be accommodated to preserve their own culture. The minority acknowledged their social status as a minority who should be grateful for their acceptance as part of Malaysia and who should recognise the special rights of the majority.

However, the everyday experiences of 'dominant group special rights' had reinforced Malay supremacy through the protection of cultural rights, ways of being Malays and the acknowledgement and recognition of Muslims. The minority respected the majority as being part of the origins and 'legitimate owners' of Malaysia. The dominant group's special rights were recognised by the minority in their everyday inter-ethnic relations. The subordinate groups, in contrast, had to accept that they belonged to a subordinate group with less privileged rights, fewer opportunities to get scholarships, less cultural recognition and less respect and tolerance. The student teachers expressed their dissatisfaction and muted contestation towards the dominant group's privileged rights.

3. What do the student teachers believe makes a 'good citizen' in the Malaysian context?

In relation to rights and responsibilities, the student teachers expressed their understandings of citizenship in terms of the 'Malaysian way', as set out in the national vision document. They emphasised a more communitarian rather than liberal or civic-republican citizenship paradigm. They drew clear distinctions between what it meant to be a 'good' and a 'bad' citizen'. They also underlined how everyday understandings of citizenship can have both inclusive and exclusive aspects. Citizenship is generally understood as an adult experience. Being a young adult was seen as a transitional stage between 'childhood' and 'adulthood', where young people either learnt about becoming adults or where they had certain 'rites of passage'. As mentioned in Chapter 3, social policies placed young people as 'not yet citizens', meaning they inhabited a space where they were not yet full citizens and where their voices were not heard. Many studies of young people and citizenship in both Western societies and in Malaysia have concluded that young people are largely disinterested in politics, disengaged from formal political activities and unlikely to participate in many future democratic processes (Ahmad et al., 2012; Hak-Su, 2002; Hart, 2009; Smith, Lister, Middleton, & Cox, 2005).

The study of young people and citizenship in Malaysia positioned young people as citizens in need. Various bodies and councils were given the responsibility to see to the needs of these young people. It was clear from the student teachers' personal experiences that they felt that adults saw them as immature and unemployed, and that their title of 'students' meant they should focus on study and should not be involved in citizenship issues. Some studies of young people and citizenship have indicated employment as a major stepping stone into the adult world. Traditionally, having a good income allowed young people to gain their independence by leaving the family home and setting up their own home (Jones & Wallace, 1992). Things have changed in many Western societies since the early 1990s but the move into work continues to serve as an important transition into adulthood. However, in the

UK, in Scotland in particular, there has been a move towards encouraging political involvement from a younger age (16 years old), and allowing voting rights at that point. In Malaysia, formal participation as citizens is laid out in the Election Act of 1958, which states that Malaysian citizens aged 21 years and above who are residents in a constituency during the voter registration process are eligible to register to vote (Hak-Su, 2002).

Youth participation in Malaysia can also be seen through several youth development programmes implemented by the government, (NGOs) and the private sector during the period of the Seventh Malaysia Plan from 1996 to 2001. The series of national youth policies under the Ministry of Youth serves as a framework for the planning and implementation of youth programmes in the country. The National Youth Development Policy (1987), for example, aimed to enhance the spirit of volunteerism and patriotism through voluntary social work. One of the policy's seven strategies includes the engagement of youth in societal and voluntary activities that lead to a healthy, active and dynamic lifestyle that would nurture youth into responsible leaders of a high calibre (Hak-Su, 2002).

Within the Malaysian national vision framework, the student teachers' understandings of rights and duties sometimes conflicted with their 'lived experiences'. Following Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) good citizenship framework, the student teachers in this study perceived themselves as personally responsible citizens who acted dutifully as good citizens participating in their community. They saw themselves as good participatory citizens, actively involved in the civic affairs and social life of the community at local, state, and national levels but positioned themselves as 'not ready' to be justice-oriented citizens – democratic citizens who need opportunities to analyse and understand the interplay of social, economic and political forces. The nature of Malaysian citizenship, that proposes a semi-democratic state emphasising state control over individual rights, perhaps explains how the student teachers, as young people, interpreted their voice as

unheard. A Malaysian youth study, by Ming, Azhar, Hazri (2012), suggested that although young people in Malaysia are politically sensitive and have knowledge of various institutions, they have the opportunity to participate in government and non-governmental institutions. However, youth perceive themselves as less empowered to act. Of the youth polled, 39% say they can make a difference in solving problems within their communities. This sense of empowerment among youth showed a marginal increase in 2012 compared to 2008, when only 36% reported that they could make some difference in the community. In terms of their perceived influence on the government, only 41% of youth today said they could influence how the government works (Ming, Azhar, Hazri, 2012).

4. How Does the Service-Learning Process Affect Student Teachers' Understanding of Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Malaysia?

Experiencing the voices of others

The student teachers shared their experiences of being personally responsible citizens in their own communities, and in that respect they joined various youth clubs and experienced being participatory citizens. Nevertheless, experiencing, planning and organising a placement community project in their citizenship course had helped them to explore more about community participation, as part of citizenship and democracy, through moving into other communities and other sectors. The service-learning project in the citizenship and citizenship education course exposed the student teachers to others' lived experiences, not just as participants but also as organisers. They had a say in their own project. They positioned themselves as a 'minority' where they sometimes faced difficulties dealing with people in power throughout the service-learning placement project. The student teachers, sharing their experiences, presented their service-learning placement project to the people in power (for example, in the aborigine village placement project, the student teachers had to ask permission from the Department of Aborigines People Development, where they also had to present their proposal

for the service-learning placement project). The student teachers commented that they at times felt uncomfortable during meetings with the people in power because they could not express their own views on the service-learning project. They had to follow all the plans proposed by the people in power. Their views on certain activities in the placement project were rejected and they had to follow what they had been instructed to do. Some student teachers' placement proposals were rejected by the people that they dealt with. Some of them had been labelled as insufficiently mature to plan and solve the community needs. For the student teachers, although they believed that they were capable of making valuable contributions to society and had many innovative ideas about the community, their opinions and views were rarely taken seriously by the older people. They experienced having their voices unheard, as young people.

Throughout the service-learning placement, the student teachers also learnt about other unheard minority voices. They realised that there are others who are also less recognised, less respected and less acknowledged as citizens in multi-ethnic Malaysia. The communities in which the service-learning placement took place (aboriginal 'community' and elderly people's 'community') were other examples of two 'minority voices'. The student teachers learnt about how these two 'minorities' experienced unheard voices in relation to their rights. The student teachers at the aborigine placement project, for example, shared their stories of aboriginal people. Access to education, public health and public facilities were mentioned as some of the rights that had been neglected. The aboriginal people find they have no space or opportunity to voice their rights within the authority-defined citizenship. Stereotyping and labelling of the aboriginal peoples in Malaysia had been viewed as barriers, and they felt ashamed to voice their rights. The student teachers suggested that through the service-learning course and placement, they had acquired opportunities to learn about others, their voice and rights. During the reflection presentation (at the end of the course), they expressed their satisfaction with the service-learning placement project, not just in terms of enhancing their civic

knowledge, values and skill, or in encouraging civic participation, but in more ways than that. The project enabled them to learn about diversity, respect and, above all, to recognise minorities as Malaysian citizens. They learnt about their status as young people who had less of a voice, who really wanted to engage in and contribute to the community but had less power and opportunity to do so, and were perceived as 'not yet' citizens. They also learnt about socio-economic inequality and injustice through other 'minority' unheard voices.

7.4 Reimagined community or reimagined communities?

I have discussed the authority-defined national identity within the Malaysian national vision framework and how it need not necessarily correspond with everyday-defined identity. I have argued that it is important to examine the subjective aspects of identity formation among ethnic groups, since it is through their interactions that identities are constructed, reconstructed and reinforced or challenged. It is clear from the findings that the citizenship experiences of the multi-ethnic student teachers were interrelated with identity and belonging dimensions. Within the Malaysian national vision framework, the student teachers' citizenship experiences revealed that some of them had identified with, but did not feel they belonged to, society in the sense of being accepted or treated as a full member of the Malaysian political community. For Malaysia, nation-building has been the single most crucial national agenda item since its inception as a sovereign state in 1957. Almost all key national policies devised since then have had a direct bearing on the questions of nation-building. Nevertheless, in as much as it was hoped that these policies would redress the related problems of national integration, new challenges cropped up and became even more problematic (Jamil & Razak, 2010). In 1991, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad unveiled the so-called Vision 2020, which meant simply that the government wanted Malaysia to be an industrialised country in its own mould by the year 2020 (Ishak, 1999). Vision 2020 can be seen as an attempt to bring together the diverse ethnic groups and their varying perceptions of

a nation-of-intent into one united 'Malaysian nation' (Ishak, 2002). Mahathir believes that this ambition can be achieved provided the country can sustain economic growth of at least 7 per cent a year from the time the Vision was unveiled until 2020. Nevertheless, he envisages that Malaysia should not be a duplicate of any other developed country, but instead be 'a developed country in our own mould' (Mohammad, 1991).

Malaysia should not be developed only in the economic sense. It must be a nation that is fully developed along all the dimensions: economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally. We must be fully developed in terms of national unity and social cohesion, in terms of our economy, in terms of social justice, political stability and system of government, quality of life, social and spiritual values, national pride and confidence (p.1).

As far as the notion of the Malaysian nation or *Bangsa Malaysia* is concerned, neither Mahathir nor the government has yet put forward a comprehensive account of what the concept should mean, nor how it is to be achieved. Mahathir has argued that managing nation-building towards achieving the vision of a Malaysian nation will entail honouring our respective obligations and responsibilities under the constitution, whether these relate to politics, citizenship, socio-economic opportunities, language, religion or the respective powers of the centre and the state. There are two key points that Mahathir attempts to highlight here. The first is people's obligations with regard to the 1957 consensus, or the independence compromise that he argued must be fulfilled sincerely and fully. The second is redressing socio-economic imbalances among the various ethnic groups, the success of which is heavily dependent on the extent to which economic growth and prosperity can be created and sustained in the country. Obviously, the creation of the Malaysian nation in Vision 2020 is not new but rather is something that many Malaysians are familiar with, since it has been the basic framework of national integration since independence (Mohammad, 1991).

Although certain aspects concerning the creation of a Malaysian nation in Vision 2020 were not spelled out in detail by Mahathir, the implication of the words 'accepting the Constitution' references those aspects which over time have constituted contentious subjects as far as ethnic relations and the politics of nation-building were concerned. In other words, the Malay hegemony that was enshrined in the constitution would remain unchanged despite the establishment of the Malaysian nation. The symbols of Malay hegemony enshrined in the constitution are reflected in the provisions of Malay as the national language (article 152), Malay special rights (article 153), the Monarch as the Head of State (article 32) and Islam as the official religion (article 3) (Constitution, 2006). In fact, these are the three pillars of Malayness (Malay language, Islam and King) that form the basis of the current Malaysian national vision for national identity.

I agree with Mustafa Ishak (2002), who, in his research, argues that Mahathir was offering 'ethnic Malay nationalism' and 'cultural pluralism' at the same time as the basis of the construction of the Malaysian nation. Therefore, it could be suggested that the concept is still rather ambiguous, despite Mahathir's insistence that both Malayness and cultural pluralism should co-exist. In relation to rights and responsibilities, national policies may have shown efforts to balance the economic and cultural disparities by accommodating and compromising in the name of unity and integration. Nevertheless, the continuous persistence of 'preferential citizenship' that favours the dominant group may lead to inequalities among and the unfair treatment of subordinate groups, and this may challenge the notion of social justice and equality.

The student teachers' identity narratives and membership experiences within social attachment and a moral feeling of belonging suggested subordinate student teachers believed they achieved minimal recognition in relation to their cultural identity and fundamental membership rights. The student teachers' everyday identity and membership experiences showed the contrasting nature of inclusive and exclusive

forms of belonging, whereby they faced 'superficial recognition'. They experienced cultural disrespect, unequal economic distribution, unheard voices and even humiliation through negative identifications.

This study suggested that Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship creates an uneasy tension due to the lack of status recognition of the subordinate groups in Malaysia. As mentioned, the limitation of Malaysian citizenship is that differentiated citizenship is understood differently in Malaysia, where recognition is primarily for the Malay dominant group. Other indigenous and non-indigenous group are peripherally recognised.

Further understanding of recognition, of cultural status, is made by Nancy Fraser's (1995) works on principles of justice, or what she claimed as social ordering, where she proposed three distinct and mutually irreducible principles; recognition, redistribution and representation. Recognition corresponds to what she calls the 'status order' of society. This principle is encountered by eliminating status inequalities which stand in the way of parity of participation. The second principle of 'redistribution' corresponds to what she calls the 'economic structure' of society. This principle is met if citizens have the resources that they need in order to enjoy parity with their peers. The third principle of 'representation' corresponds to what Fraser calls the political constitution of society'. This principle is met if political decision rules and political boundaries facilitate parity of participation. Bringing the three principles together, we can say that, for Fraser, justice is achieved if citizens possess the status, resources and voice necessary for them to be able to enjoy parity of participation. I am not aiming to examine comprehensively Fraser's work on principles of justice rather merely to use it as a new insight for looking at the complexities of the Malaysian ethnic citizenship discourse and suggesting an alternative way of looking at its complexity.

Fraser's (1995) second kind of injustice is cultural or symbolic, for example, rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication (p. 70-71). The peripheral and non-privileged group analysis chapter discussed comprehensively the subordinate groups' identity and cultural experiences within Malaysia's national vision that promotes Malayness, which showed an obvious lack of cultural recognition of these groups. To reflect again, as mentioned in my discussion chapter, subordinate groups sometimes experienced cultural disrespect, labelling or stereotyping of their cultural identity in their interaction with the dominant Malays.

The idea of making the Malay identity as the national identity reinforces Malay hegemony, and the Malays as the legitimate owners of Malaysia. The authority defined social reality that proposed a Malayness identity inevitably marginalizes, and attempts to assimilate, the minority ethnic groups' cultures (Smith, 1989). The construction of a national culture founded on Malay culture would necessarily mean the construction of a public space where Malay culture is omnipresent, with the non-Malay cultures relegated to the periphery (Koon, 1996a). Ethnically differentiated citizenship in Malaysia proposed a cultural pluralism through an accommodation policy, in which privileges were given to the dominant group while others were peripherally recognised. Drawing on Nancy Fraser's (1995) insights of status recognition, the minority groups' everyday experiences of identity reflect on a minimally recognised status, which creates less respect and sometimes complete denial and recognition (labelling and stereotyping). To note Honneth (as cited in Fraser, 1995, p. 71-72), such behaviour is harmful because it weakens these people in their positive understanding of self. In line with the findings on aboriginal student teachers' experiences, being labelled as uncivilised, stupid and dirty made them less confident, feel shy and easily embarrassed about themselves. To counter this, Honneth (as cited in Thompson, 2009) suggests the need for self-realisation that can be achieved through love, respect and esteem by others, for them to acquire the

self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem in their everyday experiences with the dominant group.

Fraser further argues the importance of parity of participation; she argues that, if the three modes of social ordering that distribute status, resources and voice appropriately, then all individuals can achieve parity of participation. By this she means they can take part in a range of social institutions on a par with their peers. Fraser's proposal of a 'status model' gives an insight into the status of group members as full partners in social interaction rather a group-specific identity, which is important in cultural recognition (p.25). Recognition as a matter of status is the matter of space of reciprocal recognition and status equality when social actors, as peers, are capable of participating on a par with one another in social life (Fraser, 2001). In contrast, institutionalized forms of cultural value establish some actors as second-rate, excluded, or simply invisible, hence as less than full partners in social interaction. This leads to Fraser's (1995, 2001) understanding of misrecognition and status subordination. Nevertheless within Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship, certain elements of cultural misrecognition may exist that purposely done to suit the government agenda in favouring the Malayness. It have influenced everyday citizenship and identity experiences between the dominant and subordinate group interactions. For example, in this study, labelling and categorising of aborigines and non-Malay indigenous group as uncivilised illustrates this problem, and the need for recognition to overcome group subordination.

Therefore, Malaysian ethnically differentiated citizenship has created tensions among the peripheral and non-privileged groups in relation to citizenship rights and identity. As argued by Nah (2003), within the Malaysian way of citizenship, the political, social, legal and economic position and power of the Malays 'has been determined through articulations of indigeneity, which continue to be reinforced and legitimized' (p. 295). The contested perspective of indigeneity is therefore

central to the discussion of citizenship. The question relates to who receives the special privileges. In policy it is granted to the indigenous people in Malaysia (*bumiputera*) but it is clear that the Malay-Muslim *bumiputera* are not the only indigenous group, which should also include other Eastern Malaysia people (from Borneo) as well as other non-Malay Muslim indigenous groups, in western Malaysia (Malaysian-Thais, Aborigine people). However, the current Malaysian citizenship status is not applicable to other non-Malay Muslim indigenous groups. Nah further argued that the place of *Orang Asli* in the constitution holds more 'solid claims' to indigeneity but, in practice, they have not received the same level of political power, representation and economic resources as the 'Malay' group. Evidence also suggests that Malaysian ethnically differentiated citizenship poses a challenge in addressing inequality. Malaysian affirmative action policies, for example the National Economy Policy, are supposed to address the socio-economic inequality of multi-ethnic Malaysians but in reality it seems that the dominant Malays have benefited most from this policy (Guan, 2005; Lim, 1985). In the Special Issue (volume 21, 2003), of the Journal of Malaysian Studies, its authors have discussed the Malay preferential policy (*bumiputera policy*) comprehensively from different aspects and from the perspective of different ethnic groups. The papers in this volume are organised according to sub-themes: the first part relates to the historical and constitutional background of *bumiputera* policy; the Bumiputera Policy and Social Engineering; and Bumiputera, Malays and Islam. These three themes in particular address the discourse of *bumiputera* policies from the aspects of the background to the policy and the emphasis of the *bumiputera* policy as the key Malay policy. The second sub-themes emphasise the non-Malay *bumiputera* perspectives of the *bumiputera* policy that include; Regionalism and the Bumiputera issues; Bumiputeras at the Periphery, that focuses on Eastern Malaysian non-Malay *bumiputera* experiences; and struggles for recognition within the *bumiputera* policy. These articles in particular analyse the reactions of the non-Muslim *bumiputera* in Sarawak and Sabah who feel themselves to be discriminated against in the implementation of the policy. These papers point out how this non-Malay

bumiputera group had great expectations that, as *bumiputera*, the policy would help to improve their socio-economic conditions. Nevertheless they became disappointed with their indigenous status when implementation of the policy distinctly favoured the Muslim-*bumiputera* (Mason & Jawan, 2003; Ongkili, 2003). It also discussed other subordinate groups' (aborigines, Thai-Malaysians and the Portuguese community) views of the *bumiputera* policy. The last sub-themes of the volume look at the non-indigenous *bumiputera* groups' (Malaysian-Chinese and Malaysian-Indian) perspectives and views of the policy. For example it discussed the experiences or marginalisation of Malaysian-Indian communities in economic distribution within the policy. Overall, the discussion relating to the peripheral and non-privileged groups' experiences highlight unequal socio-economic distribution and how these groups perceive themselves as second-class citizens. The issues surrounding identity and the status of the aborigine people, as the native people in policy, have been neglected and they continue to face formidable challenges in realising their rights as a distinct indigenous people, despite being ascribed a measure of constitutional and statutory protection and recognition (Subramaniam, 2015). It is evident from the findings analysis that the subordinate group in Malaysia have somehow to 'fit in' to mainstream society (within Malaysian national vision communities). One example of the 'domination' of otherness is the history of the *Orang Asli* (aborigine) people who were forced to 'become Malay' to meet the definition of 'Malay' in the constitution. The introduction of the *dakwah* (Islamic missionary activity), or the process of Islamising the *Orang Asli* aimed to facilitate the *Orang Asli* 'becoming' Malays as defined under article 160 (2) of the Malaysian Constitution, as a person who (1) was domiciled in Malaysia on 31 August 1957; (2) professes the religion of Islam; or (3) habitually speaks Malay and observes Malay customs. As explained by Subramaniam (2015), the Islamisation programme engages the implementation of a 'positive discrimination' policy towards the *Orang Asli* who convert to Islam, with material benefits given both individually and via development projects. Nevertheless this issue was perceived as disrespectful to the

native people's beliefs which revolve around the existence of spirits in objects in the forest and nature. To note Collins' argument about 'the policy of *Orang Asli*':

... "integration with the Malay mainstream society" is obviously one of assimilation or domination (when one community takes control of the other), paternalism (which occurs when one society governs the other in what it views as being the other's best interest) and integration (which occurs when single institutions are "developed and ethnic origin ceases to be recognised") all occur within the general framework of assimilation (which involves an internalisation of the values of the dominant or majority group) (p. 324)

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs (JHEQA) is a state institution that is involved in the everyday lives of the *Orang Asli*, ranging from education and economic livelihood, to sites for settlement, scholarships, licences, funding opportunities, and health services (Nah, 2003). Nevertheless, evidence suggests that most of the *Orang Asli* have an ambivalent relationship with JHEQA (Nah, 2003; Nicholas, 2005; Subramaniam, 2015). For example, Nah (2003) argued that the relations between the *Orang Asli* and the JHEQA are 'complex and ambivalent, desired and discomfoting' (p.525). JHEQA has been seen as an institution that dominates the *Orang Asli* people rather than addressing their rights. The reason behind this statement is the state JHEQA is arguably accountable for making the *Orang Asli* the most controlled and regulated community in the country.

As argued by Nicholas (2005), JHEQA is dominated by a *non-Orang Asli* administration that has powers over a range of functions, for example, it can appoint village heads and act as decision-maker for the community in the everyday lives of the *Orang Asli*, including issues related to education, economic livelihood and health services. The *Orang Asli* have to refer to the JHEQA before any definite decision is made. This is only one example of the unheard voice and place of a subordinate group within Malaysia's differentiated citizenship. It is not just the *Orang Asli* that are in this position, but also the other indigenous group, the Borneo *bumiputera*. However, the worst example is the place and voice of the non-indigenous citizens- the Malaysian-Chinese and Indian sub groups.

In summary, Malaysia's ethnically differentiated citizenship has created uneasy tensions, silent contestation and 'minimal recognition' of the non-Malay groups. I quote two statements (below) from Nah's (2003) study on the *Orang Asli* in Malaysia that I think represents clearly the non-Malay's (in this case the *Orang Asli*) place within Malaysian citizenship. They are from the member of The Peninsular Malaysia *Orang Asli* Association, *Persatuan Orang Asli Semenanjung Malaysia*, (POASM), a civil society group of *Orang Asli* in Malaysia. The statements represent how the *Orang Asli* feel about being marginalised, underrepresented and being denied rights to self-determination and self-administration:

Why are there so few *Orang Asli* in the JHEOA? They give the excuse 'the *Orang Asli* are not qualified, the *Orang Asli* are not interested'. But to POASM, we think that they just don't want to give opportunities to the *Orang Asli*. The British didn't let the Malays lead, and it's the same now for us. The Malays want to colonise the *Orang Asli*. Maybe there is a hidden agenda that we don't know (POASM leader as cited in Nah, 2003, p. 525).

... the government system teaches us to be shy, ... we feel that we are very small, very limited ... They try to help us, but it is complicated. They approach us like we cannot survive on our own. When they help, they don't concentrate on giving us knowledge [which is more empowering]. They just give us money, food, health ... It is as if they say 'we support you, you have to respect us' (Aborigine/*Orang Asli* young man, p.526).

7.5 Contributions and Implications of the Research

Contribution to theoretical knowledge

This research has contributed to the theoretical knowledge of the field in several ways; the research has contributed to the discourse on identity, citizenship and belonging in three different ways. Firstly, in terms of the literature on citizenship discourse in Malaysia, it has provided a more detailed insight into how citizenship and identity in Malaysia can be discussed from both the authority-defined and

everyday-defined realities. The study has shown how citizenship was conceptualised, what citizenship means or should mean and the values attributed to good citizenship. Within this research, the language of citizenship in everyday experiences conflicted with authority-defined citizenship, setting up dissonance and dissatisfaction. These challenges and negotiations are insights that can support and explain some of the outcomes of previous research where they have reported a lack of readiness and/or rejection of the idea of an inclusive, multi-ethnic society (Baumeister, 2003). More importantly, this research has provided examples that have pointed out specific areas that need to be addressed in terms of possible inequities and the prejudices which can inhibit the building of a cohesive society.

Secondly, this research has contributed to a wider literature on citizenship discourses practised in Asian countries. Western discourses of citizenship have influenced approaches to citizenship in many Asian countries. I discussed the Western discourse of citizenship in Chapter 1 and how certain approaches influenced Malaysian ways of citizenship. I have also discussed how contextual elements including historical (post-colonial) and multicultural influences in Malaysia have affected its own model of citizenship, the aim of which is to build a cohesive Malaysian nation. In a more detailed analysis, this study has shown that a Western rights approach influenced the Malaysian provision of citizens' rights in the constitution, and an approach to duty influences discussions about Asian democracy, or Asian values that focus on duty before rights. Scholars have built up an impressive body of literature attempting to theorise these new models of nationhood, citizenship and rights. Thus, 'critical discourse' (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) of citizenship includes 'differentiated citizenship' (Young, 1990), 'the politics of recognition' (Taylor, 1994) and 'multicultural citizenship' (Kymlicka, 1989) that aim to challenge the dominant citizenship discourse in Western cultures.

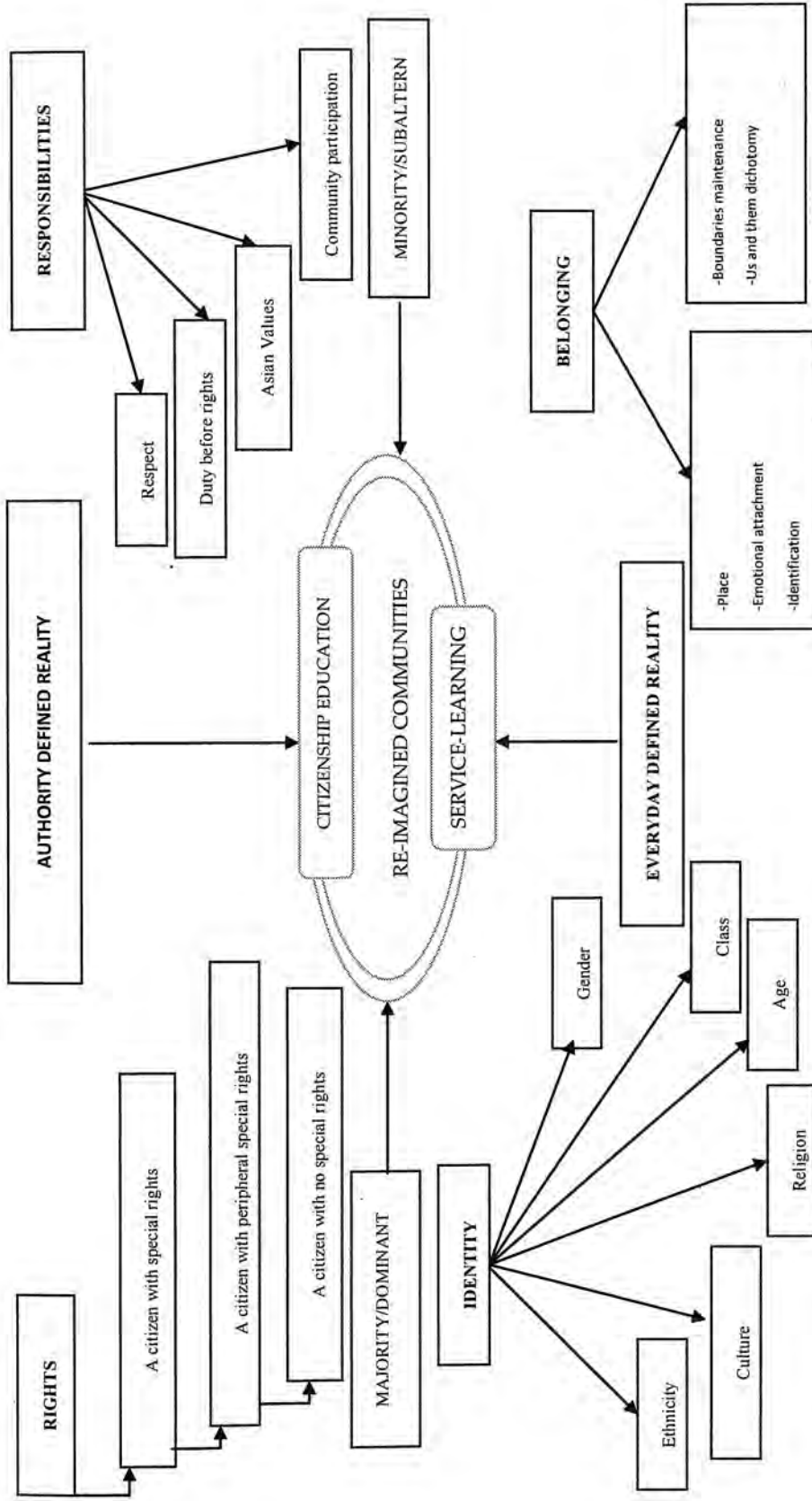
These 'critical citizenship discourses' have also been reflected in Malaysian ways of citizenship. Following Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship model of

citizenship, Malaysia has adopted its own version of an ethnically differentiated model of citizenship that has aimed for the recognition of a post-colonial culturally and politically dominant group that was economically disadvantaged. The findings of this study, in particular the section on core privileged group identity narratives within the politics of belonging dimension, have shown how the Western critical discourse of citizenship may have influenced the Malaysian differentiated model. Nevertheless, Malaysia has promoted its own 'ethnically differentiated citizenship' that favours the majority/dominant Malays whilst peripherally acknowledging the subordinate groups in Malaysia. Young's (1989) differentiated citizenship focused on the need for subordinate group recognition, but in Malaysia this recognition was given to the dominant Malay group. Malaysia has used preferential policies (affirmative action policies) in managing multi-ethnic societies. Haque (2003) commented that the state has been managing ethnic tensions in Malaysia by 'expanding the interests of Malays as a dominant ethnic group rather than mediating the interests of all ethnic communities' (p. 24). Haque (2003) further argue that the practice of 'affirmative action' in other countries that refers to a corrective measure for reducing discrimination and ensuring proportional representation of the underprivileged (especially minority) ethnic groups has taken the form of 'preferential policies' or 'special rights' in Malaysia. In the case of Malaysia, because the state was already under the political control of the dominant ethnic group after independence, during the years that followed it played an instrumental role in expanding the interests or privileges of Malays as the dominant group in terms of their greater special rights or preferences (Haque, 2003). This dominant group argued that although politically powerful, they had been disadvantaged as a result of colonialism and so recognition of this group was an attempt at rectifying a previous injustice and disadvantage brought about by colonial strategies.

The ideas of patriotism, duty before rights and community over individuals from the communitarian tradition, the equality of basic rights from the liberal tradition and ideas of differentiated citizenship, as in critical citizenship discourse, have

nevertheless influenced 'Malaysian ways of citizenship' on the ideas of rights, responsibilities, identity and recognition of difference. This study has also contributed to citizenship debates by addressing the limitations of Western and Malaysian approaches to identity and citizenship and has therefore suggested that citizenship and citizenship education in multi-ethnic Malaysia could be viewed within a new framework (Chapter 6, diagram 6.3) in order to understand more fully the ways in which diverse groups experience citizenship within Malaysia and some of the concerns of vulnerable minorities.

Diagram 7.1: Recap of Re-imagined communities framework



This study suggested that a Malaysian version of Shamsul's (1996) 'two social realities' identity approach captured the Malaysian national vision framework from both above and below. Authority-defined social reality is authoritatively defined by people who are part of the dominant power structure, and everyday-defined social reality is experienced by the people in the course of their everyday lives. The study of citizenship in Malaysia should take account of both social realities so as to allow the voices of the social actors to speak openly about their experiences, in contrast to the authority-defined reality.

At the authority-defined level, which is Malay indigenous dominated, the identity question was perceived by the government as a non-issue because its basis and content had been spelt out in a number of policy documents within the framework of the Malaysian Constitution. It is a Malay-defined identity that has privileged many aspects of Malay culture as the 'core' of the Malaysian 'national' identity while recognising, if only peripherally, the cultural symbols of other ethnic groups. However, the authority-defined national identity does not easily correspond with the everyday-defined or everyday identity experiences of the subaltern group student teachers in this study. Therefore, it is suggested that the study of identity in Malaysia would be enriched tremendously by the adoption of this 'two social realities' approach and by giving both types of 'reality' as balanced an attention as possible.

Thirdly this study has also contributed in utilising the in-depth findings of citizenship, identity and belonging experiences to address the two social realities identity discourse proposed by Shamsul (1996) within the framework of 'belonging'. To further illuminate the macro and micro realities of citizenship, I have applied both Yuval-Davis' (2006) dimension of belonging that is concerned with emotional and ontological attachments (2006, p. 197) and the politics of belonging, comprising specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities. The politics of belonging, in conjunction with rights and responsibilities emerging

from this, formed the top quadrants, representing the authority-defined reality, while identity (in terms of ethnicity, gender, religion, culture, etc.) and belonging as emotional attachment formed the key aspects of everyday-defined reality. The student teachers' identity was constructed at various intersections of difference, such as ethnic, cultural, region, age and class. On the one hand, these social locations were stable and promoted a sense of belonging, but on the other hand they also came with power relations between the majority and minority that created tension, negotiation and challenge.

I argued that through the detail and in-depth analysis of the student teachers' everyday experiences of citizenship and identities in Malaysia there were elements of belonging within the two social realities approach. Both social realities – authority defined and everyday defined – have elements of belonging and the politics of belonging. The student teachers' citizenship and identity narratives suggested that the Malaysian national vision framework could promote emotional attachment and belonging and also reinforce boundaries that separate dominant from subordinate groups (the politics of belonging).

In general, by using citizenship and belonging frameworks to understand student teachers' everyday citizenship experiences, this research started to address the limitations of approaches to citizenship in Malaysia in the literature. Most studies of citizenship in Malaysia look at citizenship from either authority-defined or everyday-defined identity and citizenship. Therefore, the discourses were discussed separately, looking at citizenship experiences from both above and below. Most studies of the nation-building project in Malaysia or studies on national policies aimed to investigate citizenship as the aspirational imagined community as established from above. Studies by Mahmood (2014) looked at an understanding of civic and citizenship education at the macro level and how it has been translated, implemented and enacted at the micro level. Ishak (1999), in his study, investigated the process of nation-building in Malaysia in the context of the vision of

constructing *Bangsa Malaysia* or 'a united Malaysian nation' enshrined in Mahathir's Vision 2020 project. In terms of everyday-defined identity and citizenship, a study by Pietsch and Clark (2014) focused on the experience of political, social and cultural rights for Malaysia's ethnic minorities. These studies have opened up my insight into citizenship and citizenship experiences in multi-ethnic Malaysia. Mahmood's (2014) study established 'conceptualisation and interpretation of citizenship education in the school curriculum' (including how good citizens were defined and understood within the citizenship education curriculum). Ishak's (1999) study reflected on the imagined communities in Malaysia at the authority-defined level. Clark (2014) established the notion of economic injustice and the inequality of ethnic minorities' citizenship rights in Malaysia. In contrast, this study contributed to giving perspectives of the imagined community from both above and below and consequently was able to explore a complex engagement across the different aspects.

Implications for Pedagogy and Policy

This study has also contributed to the pedagogy and policy of service-learning and citizenship education in Malaysia. In relation to citizenship in practice, this study suggested service-learning as a mechanism for encouraging interactions across boundaries and a deeper understanding of others. This study has also contributed to the approach to understanding the language of citizenship from voices from the bottom, from social actors who have experienced citizenship differently and sometimes inequitably. The student teachers' involvement in service-learning enables them to not only develop themselves on a personal level, but also to contribute to their communities as citizens. Service-learning as a form of learning provides students with the opportunity to engage in structured activities that are intentionally designed to enhance student learning and civic responsibility, whilst also addressing community needs (Jacoby, 1996). The student teachers shared their reflections during the service-learning project presentation, demonstrating their

engagement in service-learning and significant increases in the belief that they were able to make a difference. Service-learning also breaks the boundaries among multi-ethnic student teachers, whereby they discover they have opportunities to get along with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) address the relationship between service-learning and citizenship development. They argue that service-learning, more than other pedagogies or extra-curricular activities, has the potential to significantly increase civic responsibility. Although age and maturity is a challenge to young student teachers in dealing with people in power, nevertheless, throughout the service-learning process the student teachers developed civic skills and the ability to express opinions, deal with people in power, speak in public, organise groups and to think and reflect on the process of service-learning. During the investigation and planning process, service-learning engages student teachers in generating ideas, involves them in decision making and therefore provides opportunities for student teachers to have a voice in planning, implementing and evaluating the service-learning project.

There were several lessons that the student teachers learnt from the service-learning class as well as the placement project. Student teachers changed their perceptions of the discourse of citizenship. Their understandings of citizenship expanded from 'minimal citizenship' to different perspectives of citizenship. Citizenship is about knowledge, to be participative and engage in the community. Engaging in the community benefited student teachers in terms of both personal development and social responsibility. For the purpose of my study, civic responsibility is defined as active participation of an individual in the public life of a community, with a focus on the common good (Gottlieb & Robinson, 2003). The process of service-learning that the students went through; investigation, preparation, action and reflection through the service-learning course, provided them with the opportunity to engage in structured activities that are intentionally designed to enhance student learning and civic responsibility, while addressing community needs. Student teachers had to follow all the procedure in the service-learning placement proposal. These place

an emphasis on developing skills like communication and problem solving skills. Service-learning had a positive impact on the civic responsibility of the student teachers. They helped others of different ages and acknowledged them as citizens of multi-ethnic Malaysia. Beyond that, engaging in the community meant that they met people that they never met before from different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds, which offered them an opportunity to learn about other cultures, build a relationship with others, and most importantly, begin to respect others. Student teachers learnt about respect and tolerance and slowly changed their prior perceptions about other culture and ethnicities.

Broader studies on service-learning within teacher education suggest that service-learning program have been used increasingly as a indicator of developing skills and providing real-life experiences for pre-service teachers (Anderson; Bates as cited in Coffey & Lavery, 2015). This includes service-learning to promote active citizenship (James & Iverson, 2009). James and Iverson (2009), suggest that students move from mainly thinking about citizenship as a personally responsible effort, emphasizing individual responsibility and demonstrating good character, to the inclusion of action and knowledge as essential components. In relation to service-learning as a means to promote multicultural education and diversity, another study suggested that students engaged in service-learning were acquiring greater awareness and acceptance of diversity (Boyle-Baise, 1998). As suggested by Coffey and Lavery (2015), service-learning program in higher education, especially within teacher education, generally aspire to provide pre-service teachers with hands-on experiences or real life experiences in the community. These experiences often enhance personal self-esteem in pre-service teachers, promote personal development and enhance a sense of social responsibility and personal competence (Anderson, 1998). In the context of higher education, service-learning as a pedagogy has been widely used in relation to professional development. Service-learning has been used, for instance, as as an instructional strategy for the preparation of teachers

(Bates, 2009). Bates further explained that service-learning can cut across a variety of disciplines in the university and college setting. Service-learning, as a tool for teaching and learning, is not simply focused on one subject area, it can be utilized within geography, business, and nursing studies projects to enhance the undergraduate and graduate student, and faculty member experience (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Govekar & Rishi, 2007). In relation to service-learning in teacher education programs, it is argued that service-learning benefits all parties: the student teachers for their personal growth, engaging with the communities and learning about diversity, but they also have the opportunity to make an impact on a classroom of their own students through this type of learning. Service-learning in the Malaysian context, as an instructional strategy, has not been widely used. Service-learning has been used implicitly through co-curricular activities like a school club or university club/association, such as uniformed units (Scouts, Girl Guides, Red Cross/Crescent, St. Johns Ambulance). Service-learning at university level is generally seen as a tool for learning that complements traditional teaching methods. Nevertheless, on a personal and professional level this work has challenged particular ideas about how student teachers engage with citizenship. This study suggested that service-learning as a learning tool is not just about engaging students in the community, or developing the content or subject, teaching civic knowledge, but student teachers also learnt that they gained more awareness of diversity, tolerance and respectful attitudes in inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia. This somehow may reduce labelling, stereotyping and prejudice among the multi-ethnic student teachers themselves and within the community that they engaged with. For example, student teachers learned about aborigine peoples' ways of life, culture and beliefs.

Therefore, this study suggests further insights about how service-learning can promote new perspectives about inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia and Malay-non Malay interactions. Gordon Allport's contact theory provides an insight into service-learning, citizenship, identity and belonging discourse in multi-ethnic Malaysia.

Gordon Allport (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) developed the contact hypothesis which states that prejudice is reduced in direct relationship to the amount and type of contact that occurs between differing groups or cultures. Allport's contact hypothesis (1954) suggested that given the right conditions, people can change their prejudicial attitudes. He proposes four factors for prejudice to be reduced: the participants in the contact situation must have equal status, they must pursue common goals, there must be cooperation between the two involved in the contact, and the final condition concerns the support from authorities, the law or custom. With explicit social approval, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authority support establishes norms of acceptance (Allport, 1954 as cited in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005).

Certain aspects of Allport's analysis may be applicable in this study context. For example, in his equal status hypothesis, he argues that equal status can be obtained during the contact situation itself, even if the larger society does not see the groups as having equal status. Equal status can be obtained by providing equal opportunities for participants in activities, decision-making or resource allocation (Pettigrew, 1998). A study by Cohen (1982) showed equal status was achieved through contact between students of different races in a summer school programmes when the low-status student carried out a task and taught that task to someone else of a higher status. Through the service-learning in the placement project in the aboriginal villages, in the cookery demonstration, student teachers were taught by the aborigine people how to use forest resources to cook a meal. Allport's second factor, for common goals, may also be appropriate in rethinking contact theory via service-learning in the study context. He described how groups came into contact with each other such as in a business setting, and did things together with a common goal (business) or such as athletic teams in striving to win; inter-racial teams need each other to achieve their goal (Chu & Griffey, 1985).

In this particular study, multi-ethnic students had to complete the service-learning course and service-learning placement project as a prerequisite of the service-

learning course in Civics and Citizenship Education, which can be perceived as one common goal. They had to place their cultural background aside and work together, both in the classroom and at the service-learning sites. Therefore, to reduce prejudice, stereotyping and disrespect towards others, support from authority and institutional support is important. This is in line with Allport's (1954) fourth contact hypothesis that relates to authority and institutional support. Allport explained that through laws that aim to eradicate discrimination, prejudice tends to lessen and the imbalance cycle starts to reverse itself. He felt the fourth factor was important to create a structure where the other factors could prevail (Dallinger, 2015). 'Authorities' in this sense are found at different levels ranging from teachers, administrators, institutions, course coordinators, or, at a higher level, state policy. At school level, the Curriculum Development Centre for Citizenship Education under the Ministry of Education in Malaysia is the authority that can promote a programme through the citizenship project or Moral Education Folio (MEF) that reduces labeling and stereotyping. Early education programmes in Malaysia (pre-school) have to build a space for multi-ethnic Malaysian children to respect others. At university level, the curriculum or course coordinators could be the authorities that are in favour of actually developing programmes to reduce prejudice (Aronson et al., as cited in Dallinger, 2015). Teacher education institutions and educational universities should take the opportunity to propose a stand-alone service-learning course as a university subject, as a prerequisite for becoming a teacher. Within this service-learning university course student teachers from various faculties/schools (science, social sciences and arts) would have the opportunity to engage with the service-learning course and service-learning placement projects. The university could suggest several types of service-learning placement projects from various fields (science, social sciences and arts). There is a great need for institutions of higher education to address the issues of cultural diversity, cultural openness and racial attitudes in students, but the question of how to do so in an effective and meaningful way remains (Herzog, 2012).

In sum Allport contact theory proved as the most influential formulation by indicating the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice and much work has confirmed the importance of contact in reducing prejudice (Everett & Onu, 2013; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). Contact, then, has important positive effects on improved intergroup relations. Nevertheless it does have its critics. As argued by Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux (cited in Everett & Onu, 2013), although contact theory has been important in showing how to promote a more tolerant society, the existing literature didn't showed on how intergroup contact can affect societal change: changes in outgroup attitudes in intergroup relation do not necessarily attend changes in the ideological beliefs that sustain group inequality (Everett & Onu, 2013). Jackman & Crane (1986), found that although intimate contact promoted emotional acceptance of Blacks by Whites but it hardly change their attitudes towards policy in opposing inequality in housing, jobs and education. Positive contact between group didn't changing dominant group attitudes defending their privileges and to accept the kinds of inequalities that prevent the optimal conditions for contact from being implemented. To reflect on the findings of this study, within Malaysia differentiated citizenship that promotes the legitimacy of the dominant Malays have an impact on how they interact with subordinate group. They showed less compromise when it comes to defend their privileges rights in education, cultural activities and religion. Everett & Onu (2013), suggested for future research to find a way that to investigate under what conditions contact could lead to more positive intergroup relations without weakening legitimate protest aimed at reducing inequality. One suggestion by Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto (2009), that by emphasizing on commonalities between groups while also addressing unjust group inequalities during the contact situation could reduce prejudice without losing sight of group inequality. Therefore it could be suggested that the contact theory works most effectively when inequalities amongst different ethnic and social groups are also reduced. Where these inequalities continue to be ignored and persist, the effectiveness of the contact theory may well be more limiting.

7.6 Limitations and Future Research

This study has contributed to examining the complexities of everyday experiences of citizenship, identity and belonging using a non-actual ethnography design. It is data extensive, carried out in a short amount of time. In identifying the contributions made by this research work, I am not oblivious to its limits. Firstly, this study looked at multi-ethnic student teachers' experiences of citizenship. One of its limits is that it did not involve multi-ethnic student teachers from different courses at Sultan Idris Education University (SIEU), which could have led to grasping a much broader implementation of service-learning through different courses. It is interesting to note what the student teachers gained from service-learning in a broader multi-ethnic context; particularly young people's experiences of service-learning.

A second limitation relates to the sample in this study. As the focus was on multi-ethnic Malaysia, it would be worth exploring various backgrounds of multi-ethnic Malaysians as a whole. The findings dealt with different ethnicities that held different 'special rights' or unprivileged status, therefore, in order to gain more in-depth stories, the study might have explored multi-ethnic Malaysians from different backgrounds (i.e. age, educational background and socio-economic status). In addition, the sample for subordinate groups, especially Malaysian-Chinese and Indian representation, is very small. Furthermore, there are also small populations of 'others' like the Portuguese, Dutch, Baba and Nyonya, Arab and Filipino groups, who obviously went through different experiences of citizenship, identity and belonging.

Thirdly, is relation to the non-actual ethnography design used to carry out this study, although I managed to gather a lot of data using ethnography tools within a short amount of time, nevertheless, exploring the deeper understanding of socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems of multi-

ethnic Malaysian narratives would require to be done through using an actual ethnography design. In addition, some of the tools of ethnographic design used in this study were not fully utilized as in traditional ethnography.

The participant observation in this study was limited to two settings, classroom and placement project setting. Following the real or actual ethnographic design, expanding participant observation times at the setting, especially the placement project setting enables ethnographers to “immerse” themselves, thereby generating a rich understanding of social action and its subtleties in different contexts (Reeves et al., 2008). The use of actual ethnographic design in the future, including building a long term rapport, especially if the researched peoples are from different cultures (outsider positions) will bridge the gap between researcher and researched and more socio-cultural meaning should be gained. I would say my third limitation in relation to short-term ethnographic design (focussed ethnography) is the time constraint within which I had to carry out and complete this research work. I spent three months and two weeks in the data collection period. I sometimes felt exhausted in dealing with an overwhelming amount of data. Long-term data collection not only enables researchers to immerse themselves in the socio-cultural setting, but they could also manage a comprehensive yet comfortable approach, which is physically and emotionally less demanding. Due to then extensive data collected within short amount on time, I had to shortcut certain rules of ethnography. Therefore, considering all the rationale mentioned, I hope to use an actual ethnographic design in a future research of multi-ethnic experiences of identity and citizenship to enable exploration of deeper experiences from a wider variety of different perspectives.

Lastly, this study focused on student teachers enrolled on a citizenship course. Therefore, on the one hand, it explored citizenship experiences among higher education students who were also young people, who felt they had limited opportunities to be heard, and this aspect could be fruitfully investigated in the

future. Nevertheless, due to the limited time and scope, it was not possible to follow up on this aspect as much as I would have liked. It would be worth exploring the experiences of young people and citizenship at different stages, how they (young people) experience and perceive their identity as citizens or citizens-to-be and how this identity might benefit from the kind of service-learning used in this university which managed to break down some barriers and boundaries.

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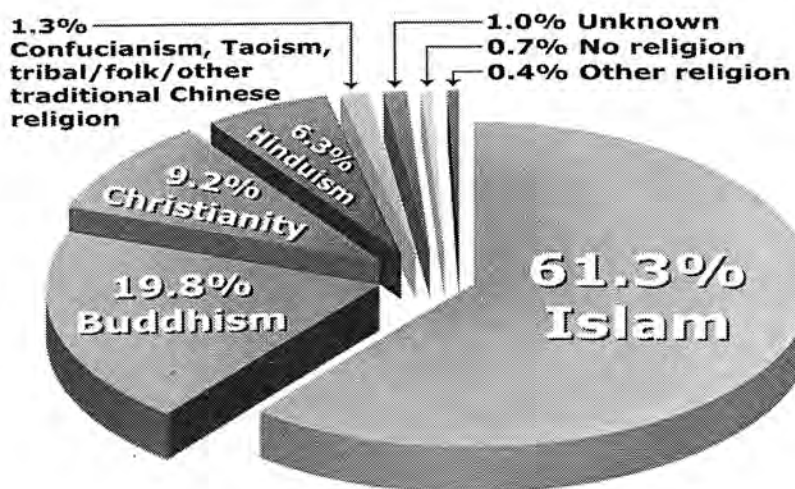
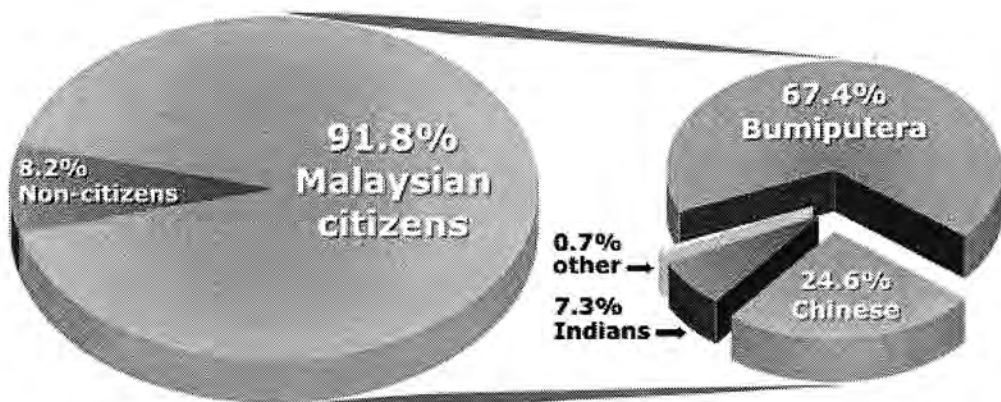
APPENDIX A

MALAYSIA MAP COMPRISED OF WEST AND EAST MALAYSIA



APPENDIX B

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALAYSIAN POPULATION BY ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUP



APPENDIX C

EAST MALAYSIA (SABAH AND SARAWAK STATES) POPULATION BY ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUP

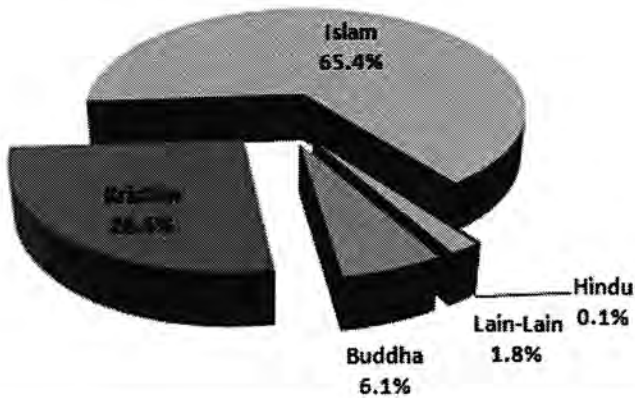
Sabah Population by ethnic group

Sabah population ethnicity	
Kadazandusun	568,575
Bajau	450,279
Murut	102,393
Other natives	659,865
Chinese	295,674
Malay	184,197
Indian	7,453
Others	48,527
Not citizens	889,779
Total	3,206,742

*Source: Population Census 2010
Department of Statistics*

Sabah population by religious group

Taburan Peratus Penduduk Mengikut Agama, Sabah (2010)



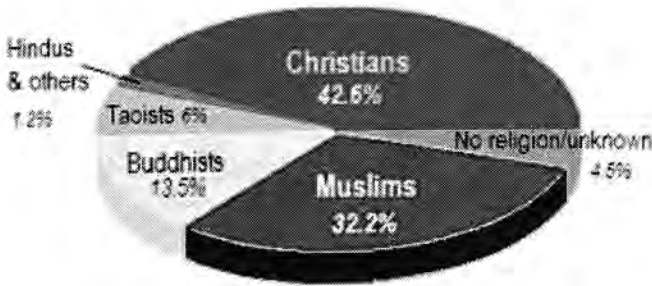
Sarawak Population by ethnic group

Taburan Penduduk Sarawak (2010)

Kaum	Bilangan	Peratus
Iban	713,421	28.9%
Cina	577,646	23.4%
Melayu	568,113	23.0%
Bidayuh	198,473	8.0%
Melanau	123,410	5.0%
Bumiputera Lain	156,436	6.3%
Lain-Lain	16,549	0.7%
Warga Asing	117,092	4.7%
Jumlah:	2,471,140	100.0%

Sarawak population by religious group

Sarawak
Religious composition



Source:
2010 population census

APPENDIX D

THE LETTER OF COMMENCE DATA APPROVAL



Education, Community and Society
School of Education
University of Edinburgh
St John's Land
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh
EH8 8AQ
15th February, 2012

On behalf of doctoral student Noor BanuMahadir

We wish to confirm that the above student has successfully passed her first year board in her doctoral study at the University of Edinburgh and has completed an ethics paper with regard to her research. She now has permission to commence collecting data.

Yours sincerely

Dr Lorna Hamilton Dr Jim Crowther

Senior Lecturer Senior Lecturer

APPENDIX E
CONSENT FORM

This form has to be read out by interviewees before the interviews begin. Two copies of the form will be signed by the researcher and the participant and both will keep a copy. Please read the following statements of the research procedures as well as the terms and conditions carefully about in which your responses and contribution to the study will be used. If you agreed to participate in the study, please indicate your consent.

Name of Participant:

Organisation:

- a. This study will use semi-structures and in-depth interview. All the interviews will be recorded and will be transcribed by researcher.
- b. All the information and the typed transcription of the interviews will be kept confidential and secure.
- c. You will not be identified by your name though the information gathered in this study might be published.
- d. You can withdraw from this study or asking to stop the recording at any time.
- e. You are free not to respond to the interview questions during the interviewing process.

I have read and agreed to the terms and conditions above.

Therefore, I.....have been given information about the study and consent to take part as an interviewee in the study of Noor BanuMahadir on the research of: **Citizenship and citizenship education in multi-ethnic Malaysia: An investigation of student teachers' understandings, values and beliefs.**

Participant's signature Date.....

I certify that I have explained the research procedures as well as the terms and conditions to the participant and consider that she / he understands what I have explained and freely accepts to take part in the study.

Researcher's signature:.....

Date.....

Name of researcher: Noor BanuMahadir

Institution: University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK (PhD student)
Funded by: Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia
Mobile number: 014-2378722 Email: nor_banu74@yahoo.com

APPENDIX F
TIMELINE OF RESEARCH PROCESS (DATA COLLECTION PERIOD)

Week/Month	Research Questions	Methods	Role of researcher	Activities
Week 1- 2 Feb/Mac 2012		<p><u>Observation</u></p> <p>First observation to the social settings which is the classroom, meet the potential participants , build a rapport with the key informants (student teachers)</p>	<p>non-participant observation</p> <p>taking field notes</p> <p>writing and reflecting in research diary</p>	<p>Sit together in the classroom and have a informal conversation with the potential participants. Familiarise with the setting where the service-learning course will be held.</p>
Week 3-4 Mac 2012		<p><u>Informal Interviews</u></p> <p>Carry out informal interviews to get the ideas on student teachers background which includes their culture, language, religion and community they lives.</p>	<p><u>Interviewer</u></p> <p>Communication and interaction</p>	<p>Informal interviews, the questions asked would be their personal background, education background, parents occupations.</p>
Week 5 April 2012	RQ 3	<p><u>Focus Group Interviews</u></p> <p>Carry out focus group interviews to get the students to interact in the task given. The task might use paper cutting, hypothetical situation in related to citizenship, identity and democracy</p> <p>20 participants will be divided into two groups. Two separate slots on each focus group interviews will be done to make sure the researcher can focus on the discussion.</p>	<p><u>Moderator</u></p> <p>to probe and encourage the participants to respond to each other</p> <p>Taking Field notes</p> <p>Communication and interaction with the 'group'</p>	<p>Mix activities will be carrying out.</p> <p>Activity 1: 30 minutes</p> <p>Hypothetical situation will be given. The students teacher s will discuss among each other. The themes will be related to identity, equality and participation with regard to citizenship.</p> <p>Activity 2: 30 minutes</p>

				The researcher will ask the student teachers to stand up and choose their position between three model of good citizens (Westheimer and Kahne model, 2004) and ask their justification/response
Week 6-8 April 2012	RQ 1 RQ 2	<u>In-depth interviews</u> Observation Carry out semi- structured In-depth interviews. Observing the mapping of the service-learning project	<u>Interviewer</u> non-participant. Taking field notes communication and interaction the 'group'	The themes to be covered will be Citizenship (duty and rights, equality) Citizenship education in school Participation and service-learning experience Their feeling on national language, national religion, special privileges and national identity
Week 11 May 2012	RQ 4	Data gathering from the service-learning project. Involved in student teachers service-learning program. Not merely see how the project has gone but see how the process of interaction and involvement with the community has	Participant observation Interaction with the 'group'	The researcher will take a role as the participant observer. The nature of the PO to be participate with the student teachers fieldwork and observed how the service-learning

		progressed		as a process might affect student s teachers understandings of citizenship and citizenship education.
Week 11 May 2012	RQ 4	Student teacher reflection journal		<p>The researcher analyse student teachers reflection journal of service-learning placement project.</p> <p>The analysis includes:</p> <p>How they understands the community where the placement took place.</p> <p>What they learnt about other rights, diversity, tolerance and respect</p>
Week12-14 May 2012	RQ 1, RQ 2, RQ 3, RQ 4	In-depth Interviews Second in-depth individual interviews (20)	Interviewer Interaction with the 'group'	<p>The themes covered will be the themes or conflict emerging from the first in-depth interviews.</p> <p>The nature of these interviews is not focused on the pre and post type approach but instead engages with student teachers at key moments in their own learning journey. Richer and more in-depth stories may appear</p>

				after the first in-depth interviews and after specific experiences.
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APPENDIX G
DATA COLLECTIONS CALENDAR

Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Week 1 (20/2/2012- 24/2/2012)	20/2/2012	21/2/2012	22/2/2012	23/2/2012 1 st Class Observation Field Notes	24/2/2012
Week 27/2/2012- 2/3/2012	27/2/2012	28/2/2012	29/2/2012	1/3/2012 2 nd Class Observation Field Notes	2/3/2012
Week 3 5/3/2012- 9/3/2012	5/3/2012	6/3/2012	7/3/2012	8/3/2012 3 rd Class Observation Field Notes	9/3/2012
Week 4 12/3/2012- 16/3/2012	12/3/2012	13/3/2012	14/3/2012 Group A Informal Interviews	15/3/2012 4 th Class Observation Field Notes	16/3/2012
Week 5 19/3/2012- 23/3/2012	19/3/2012	20/3/2012	21/3/2012 Group A 1 st Focus Group Interviews	22/3/2012 5 th Class Observation Field Notes	23/3/2012 Group C Informal Interviews
Week 6 26/3/2013- 30/3/2012	26/3/2012	27/3/2012 1 st Group C Focus Group Interviews	28/3/2012 Group A 2 nd Focus Group Interviews 10am	29/3/2012 Sixth Class Observation Field Notes	30/3/2012 Group C 2 nd Focus Group
			Group B Informal Interviews 4.30pm		
Week 7 2/4/2012- 6/4/2012	2/4/2012	3/4/2012	4/4/2012 Group B 1 st Focus Group Interview	5/4/2012 Students/Participants starts mapping their Service-learning project	6/4/2012
Week 8 9/4/2012- 13/4/2013	9/4/2012	10/4/2012	11/4/2012 Group B 2 nd Focus Group Interview	12/4/2012 Group A meeting on the service-learning project	13/4/2012
Week 9 16/4/2012- 20/4/2012	16/4/2012	17/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents	18/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 1 respondent	19/4/2012 Group B meeting on the service-learning project	20/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents
Week 10 23/4/2012- 27/4/2012	23/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents	24/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents	25/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 5 respondents	26/4/2012	27/4/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 3 respondents
Week 11 30/4/2012- 4/5/2012	30/4/2012	1/5/2012	2/5/2012	3/5/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 1 respondent	4/5/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews

				Group B Service-learning Field Work at Care Home	6 respondents
Week 12 7/5/2012- 11/5/2012	7/5/2012	8/5/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents	9/5/2012	10/5/2012 1 st In-depth Interviews 2 respondents	11/5/2012 and 12/5/2012- Group A Service- learning Field Work at Aborigine Village Student Report
Week 13 14/5/2012- 18/5/2012	14/5/2012	15/5/2012	16/5/2012 Group B 2 nd Focus Group Interviews – replacing the 2 nd In depth Interviews	17/5/2012	18/5/2012
				seminar, students presentation and researcher presentation	
Week 14 21/5/2012- 25/5/2012)	21/5/2012	22/5/2012	23/5/2012 Group A 2 nd Focus Group Interviews- replacing the 2 nd In depth Interviews	24/5/2012	25/5/2012
28/5/2012	Interview with one of the pioneer of Civic and Citizenship	-	-	-	-
30/12/2012	Went back to Edinburgh	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX H

STUDENT TEACHERS POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP, GENDER AND RELIGION

Ethnic	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Indigenous Sabah State	Indigenous Sarawak State	Aborigines	Siamese
Group A	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Group B	7	1	0	0	2	0	0
Group C	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Gender	Group A	Group B	Group C
Male	2	1	3
Female	9	9	4
Total	11	10	7

Religion	Group A	Group B	Group C
Islam	11	7	1
Hindu	0	0	1
Buddhist	0	1	2
Christian	0	2	2
Atheist	0	0	1

APPENDIX I
PROFILE OF THE THREE GROUPS OF MULTI-ETHNIC STUDENT TEACHERS
GROUP A (CORE PRIVILEGED GROUP)

Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnic	Father Occupation	Mother Occupation
Dina	22	Female	Malay	Semi-professional village contractor	Housewife
Dalia	22	Female	Malay	Pensioner :System Analyst	Housewife
Aida	22	Female	Malay	Village worker	Housewife
Suzie	22	Female	Malay	Village worker	Housewife
Ziana	22	Female	Malay	Factory worker	Housewife
Lili	22	Female	Malay	Teacher	Housewife
Nini	22	Female	Malay	Villager worker	Housewife
Halimah	22	Female	Malay	Teacher	Housewife
Hadi	22	Male	Malay	Passed away	Housewife
Shafiq	22	Male	Malay	Factory worker	Teacher
Ika	22	Female	Malay	FELDA settlers and owned small grocery store	Housewife

PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS
GROUP B (MIXTURE OF CPG AND PPG STUDENT TEACHERS)

Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnic	Father Occupation	Mother Occupation
Alisya	22	Female	Malay	Labourer	Housewife
Eddy	22	Male	Eastern Indigenous/Iban	Farmer	Housewife
Emy	22	Female	Eastern Indigenous/Iban	Farmer	Housewife
Emil	22	Female	Eastern Indigenous/Dusun	Lorry driver	Housewife
Wani	22	Female	Malay	Daily Newspaper distributor	Housewife
Aini	22	Female	Malay	Fireman	Housewife
Adini	23	Female	Malay	Factory worker	Housewife
Fifi	22	Female	Malay	Village worker	Housewife
Caleb	22	Male	Eastern indigenous/Bidayuh	Rubber Tapper	Housewife
Fatihah	22	Female	Malay	Technician	Government officer

PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS
GROUP C (MIXTURE OF CPG, PPG AND UPG STUDENT TEACHERS)

Participant	Age	Gender	Ethnic	Father Occupation	Mother Occupation
Alex Tan	23	Male	Chinese	Small businessman	Housewife
Tom	23	Male	Indigenous group Sabah/Dusun	Farmer	Farmer
Sandy	23	Female	Indigenous group Sarawak/ Iban	Farmer	Housewife
Hamimi	23	Female	Malay	Rubber tapper	Housewife
Mee Da	23	Female	Aborigines	Rubber tapper	Rubber tapper
Sundari	23	Female	Indian	Plantation worker	Housewife
Warith	23	Female	Siamese	Rubber tapper	Housewife

APPENDIX J
SAMPLE

FOCUS GROUP ACTIVITY (GOOD CITIZENS BAD CITIZENS ACTIVITY)

GROUP A:

VENUE: 24 hours Reading Room, Sultan Idris Education Library (SIEU)

Time: 4.30 pm

Date: 3/4/2012, Tuesday

The objective of this activity was to answer the third research question:

What do student teachers believe makes a 'good citizen' in the Malaysian context? Research Question 3 (RQ 3)

Instructions:

1. Participants been divided in a small group.
2. Participants were requested to get up and move to the three sides represents the kind of citizens they have chosen and give the rationale of their choice

What kind of citizen you identified yourself.

Citizen A - I am a citizen who will comply with the laws as to pay taxes, vote, donate blood.

Citizen B - I like to participate in community service activities or groups of volunteers to help if there are problems in the community.

Citizen C - In the event of a problem occur in the community where I live, such as floods, poverty, illiteracy, I will discuss/debate in public about the cause of the problem, the responsible party and find a way to address these problems.

Student teachers positioning type of citizens using Westheimer and Kahne (2004) good citizens framework

Participants	A Type of Citizen: <i>The Personally Responsible Citizen</i>	B Type of Citizen: <i>The Participatory Citizen</i>	C Type of Citizen: <i>The Justice Oriented Citizen</i>
Dina	Yes: It's a must for every human beings to help others. It's a good deeds	I have and experience helping the flood victims found that it's quite satisfying that we can help others and we could improve our knowledge in geography of the place that been hit by the flash flood	Not yet

Dalia	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I was one of the Youth Friend Club and have an experienced on volunteering work. My idol in my father where he influenced me and encouraged me to be involve in the community. My father works as a representative in district council. I had always followed him when he has a meeting with the state legislative members. It's good because I expanded my networking with the people in power	Yes, I have been organise a proposal for a volunteer work in my community. Our neighbourhood facing one issue on the illegal motor racing and it endangered local community. I've proposed a volunteer group to encourage the youngster to join a legal motor club.
Aida	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	But I not so interested in involving in the volunteer group. I see myself as a non-social type of person. I think as long as I am a responsible person that enough.	Not yet and maybe will not
Suzie	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I used to join the volunteer work when I joined the national service and under the Moral Education Club in Sultan Idris Education University. It been always a good feeling when we joined and organised this kind of volunteer work.	Not yet
Ziana	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I've been involved in the youth volunteer work in my community as well as when I joined the national service	Not yet
Lili	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I was a member of youth cadet uniform club, we have always have volunteer activity and it was good to help others	Not yet
Nini	Yes; I always be responsible	Yes, when I joined the	Not yet

	and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Moral Education Club, normally e went to old folk homes or care home for the elderly	
Halimah	Yes, I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, during my school years, helping others	Not yet
Hadi	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I am one of the member of community association in my village. Basically the function of community association is to maintain the unity of the residents and involve in various activity the make the community alive.	Not yet
Shafiq	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, normally when there is an event or occasions in my community, I will always helping to do the volunteer work . The community where I lived always organised a group of volunteer for youth in any events or issues form an example Joho state been hit by the the biggest flood ever. We s the youth in the neighbourhood community held a volunteer group.	Not yet
Ika	Yes; I always be responsible and obeying the law and sometimes helps others	Yes, I've been joining a volunteer work in school years, but then it's more for the purpose of religious missions for an example helping the poor Muslims.	Not yet
Conclusion	All of the participants were personally responsible person.	All of the participants have experienced and involved in the voluntary work either in the school or university. Nevertheless 10 of them only be a members that followed the organiser	GAST2 participant had experienced proposed a plan on one issue in her community-how to overcome the illegal motor racing among the youngsters and she managed a volunteer

		and never had experience organised it on their own. Only one participant GAST2 had experienced organised a voluntary group. She have the opportunity to proposed a voluntary work plan with the legislative state members as her father had a networking with the people in power.	group to give a talk to the youngsters and requested for a legal track for legal motor racing
Question to be discussed		How the B and C type of citizens were different as it's showed that the aims of the volunteer work involved meant to character building?	

APPENDIX K

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Section 2: Citizenship

To answer research question 2 (RQ 1)

How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic background and ethnicities) experience citizenship and citizenship education? Research Question 2(RQ 2)

1. Among the rights of a citizen in Malaysia are: the right to get education, the right to work, the right to vote, freedom of expression and the right to form associations. Do you know this right? Are you satisfied with these rights?
2. Are you proud to be the citizens of Malaysia? Why?
3. If you have a chance to get citizenship elsewhere, would you release your citizenship?

There are two types of citizenship before Malaya's independence, namely:

- i. Malayan Union Citizenship - citizenship based on jus soli (citizenship of equal level).
 - ii. Federal Citizenship, 1948. Conditional citizenship
 - iii. In Malaysia context today, which citizenship is more appropriate? Why?
4. In the early years of independence there were two groups of Malayan citizens who wish to maintain the identity of each group respective.
 - i. Malay nationalist groups who thought Malaya as their exclusive homeland. They oppose the principle of jus soli in giving the flexibility to grant citizenship
 - ii. Immigrant minority groups who claim citizenship but refuse to accept the recognition of Malay special rights. They claim Malaya has become a multiracial nation, every ethnic has equal rights.
 - iii. According to your opinion does this group still exist in Malaysia today. Why?
 5. Malaya gained independence through an agreement between the Malay and non-Malays on the basis of the social contract as a foundation in drafting the Federal Constitution of Malaya. This social contract is agreed by the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the Malay Indian Congress (MIC) and the Malay Chinese Association (MCA), which give citizenship rights to minority groups and favour the majority group
 - i. What do you understand of this social contract
 - ii. Is the social contract in accordance with the characteristics of a democratic nation?
 - iii. Do you agree with the concept of social contract?

Section 3: Identity

To answer research question 1 (RQ 1)

How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic background and ethnicities) view their identity in multi-ethnic Malaysia?

1. How do you see your identity in Malaysia? Refer to the graph
2. Should there be a national identity in a multi-ethnic country?
3. Does the use of national language (Bahasa Malaysia/ Malay Language) could create integration in Malaysia?
4. According to the Federal Constitution of Malaya there are the traditional elements of a social contract that is held by the Federation of Malaya government to stabilize the country's political system. The traditional element is the national language, religion of the federation, the special privileges of Malays and natives of Sabah and Sarawak and the monarchy. Do you still agree with the elements of this tradition? Why?

5. According to the Federal Constitution has allocated 152 Malay as the national language, but in the early years of independence the use of the Malay language has become one of the issues between the majority and minority groups
 - i. The majority (Malay nationalist) opposed to the claims of minority groups to use their mother tongue in education on the ground that national origin Malaya belongs to Malay and the minority groups should assimilate the culture of the majority
 - ii. For minority groups, they want to maintain their native language and culture through education. What do you think? Do you agree with (i) or (ii)?
6. Article 152 of the Federal Constitution provides Malay as the national language but it is still not the absolute position as the English language can be used in the parliament. Malay language is still limited and the institutions of government. Do you think the use of Malay language should be used more widely in the country's rightful are various ethnic groups in Malaysia
7. Malaysia Government chose Malay as the national language is Malay as a lingua franca in the archipelago for centuries. According to you of views in this globalized world is still significant use of the Malay language? Give reasons for your view.
8. Most of the signs on the roads and cities are using the Malay language. As a multi-ethnic, indicate whether you agree with the statements below.
 - i. The road signs should use variety of languages that reflect Malaysia as a multiethnic country.
 - ii. The road signs should use the Malay language as it is the national language

Section 4: Malaysian Citizenship

To answer research question 2 (RQ 2)

How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic background and ethnicities) experience citizenship and citizenship education? Research Question 2(RQ 2)

1. In the provision of Article 5 to 11 of the Federal Constitution states on fundamental freedoms in Malaysia such as :

Fundamental Freedoms	Examples
Freedom	
Prohibition of forced labor	
Protection of law of crimes	
Guarantee of equal rights	
Freedom of religion	
Freedom of speech and to form unions	

2. Are you satisfied with these rights?
3. Do you think these rights should be restricted?
4. Hypothetical case: Fundamental rights.

A student's father (from a minority race), would like to send him to national-type secondary school as A has been getting primary education in s national-type school. A's father gives the his reason as to maintain their original culture and race, but student A did not really agree with his/her decision because in the view of the child, this would complicate the chances for him/her to be proficient in the Malay language, and thus decrease his /her opportunity to enter institutions of higher learning.

5. Hypothetical case: Rights of education

Student A (non-native) had excellent results, 8As in the examination Malaysia Certificate of Education (SPM), while student B (native) had moderate results, 4As and 4Bs. Both were seeking to further their studies in institutions of higher learning.

Based on the above case:

- i. Does the selection of Student B to public institution of higher learning has shown justice?
- ii. If you are in the shoes of Student A, what would you feel?
- iii. If you are in the shoes of Student B, what would you feel?
- iv. Do you feel like you are a second-class citizen based on the following factors:
 - Different ethnics
 - Different Social Class
 - Different religion
 - Different language
- v. How do you want to see the future of the Malays?
 - All ethnics, cultures and religions are given equal rights as the citizens of Malaysia
 - Maintain the Malay privileges
 - Malay privileges should be equal with the natives of Sabah and Sarawak
 - Make Malaysia as an Islamic country

Section 5: Service-learning/Community Service Experience

To answer research question 4 (RQ 4)

How does the service-learning process affect student teachers understanding of citizenship and citizenship education in Malaysia? Research Question 4(RQ 4)

- i. Have you had any experience in service-learning/ community service? Can you tell more about it?
- ii. Is there a difference between the previous community service program with community service learning courses for civic education and citizenship minor course? Please explain.
- iii. What do you expect from the community service program that you enrol in this course?

Section 6: Citizenship and Citizenship Education

To answer research question 2(RQ 2) and research question 3 (RQ 3)

How do student teachers (from diverse ethnic background and ethnicities) experience citizenship and citizenship education? Research Question 2(RQ 2)

What do student teachers believe makes a 'good citizen' in the Malaysian context? Research Question 3 (RQ 3)

- i. What is your understanding of citizenship education?
- ii. What is your understanding of being a good citizen?
- iii. What is your understanding of being a bad citizen?
- iv. Can you tell your experience in a formal study of citizenship education in schools?
- v. In your opinion is the subject of Civics and Citizenship Education should be taught in schools to produce good citizens.
- vi. Do you think that citizenship education is very important nowadays?

Section 7: Integration and solidarity

The get the background of integration through education in Malaysia from the understanding of student teachers'

1. The establishment of integrated schools in the 80's had been seen as a way of ruling the country to unite the various ethnic groups in Malaysia. Do you agree with the concept of integrated schools?
2. In your opinion if Malaysia is moving towards creation of Bangsa Malaysia/ Malaysian Nation, does it still require the existence of national-type schools? Why?

APPENDIX M
**SAMPLE OF OBSERVATION FIELD NOTES DURING THE SERVICE-
 LEARNING COURSE AND PLACEMENT PROJECT**

Classroom Observation

Task	Observation notes	Comments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-ethnic student teachers interaction in classroom • Service-learning syllabus • Service-learning placement project preparation. • What are student teachers expected to learn? • How they interact with each others in the classroom? 		
Activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How they understand service-learning? • How they prepare the service-learning proposal? • How they interact with each other in the classroom? • How they learn their rights and other rights in the classroom? • How are they involved in the learning activity 		

Service-learning Placement project Observation Filed notes

Task	Observation notes	Comments
Two days event at service-learning placement project		
Activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> How they understand others need? <input type="checkbox"/> How they understand others rights? <input type="checkbox"/> How they interact with each other during the events? <input type="checkbox"/> How they learn their rights and other rights during the events? <input type="checkbox"/> How are they involved in the service-learning activity 		

APPENDIX N

PICTURES OF STUDENT TEACHERS SERVICE-LEARNING PLACEMENT PROJECT AT OLD FOLK COMMUNITY CENTRE



PICTURES OF STUDENT TEACHERS SERVICE-LEARNING PLACEMENT
PROJECT AT ABORIGINES VILLAGE



