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**THE NATIONAL INTEGRATION TRAJECTORY TOWARDS NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT: THE INCULCATION DYNAMICS OF ENGLISH
LANGUAGE NATIONHOOD VALUES EDUCATION IN SELECTED
MALAYSIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS**



A thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
in fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia

2017

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NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE INCULCATION DYNAMICS OF
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

2017



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
Universiti Utara Malaysia

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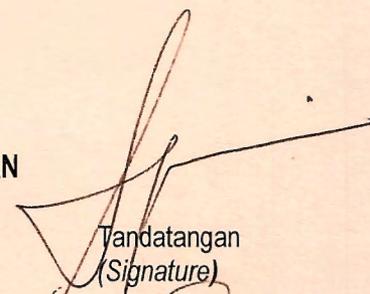
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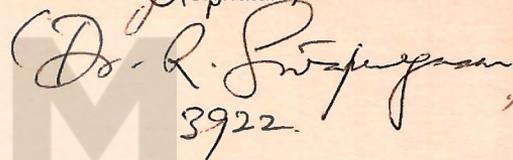
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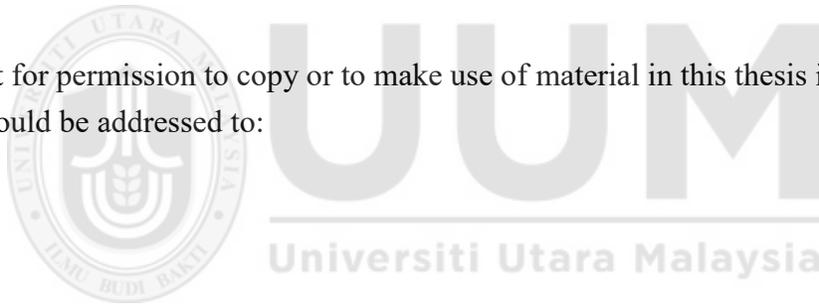


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ABSTRAK

Masyarakat Malaysia yang disifatkan semakin berpecah belah mengikut golongan etnik pada masa kini mencerminkan suasana 'tegang-stabil' yang berterusan dalam struktur sosial negara sehingga boleh mengakibatkan pembahagian dalam sistem pendidikan. Ini dikatakan telah mengakibatkan suatu keadaan kurang memahami di antara satu sama lain, khususnya di kalangan remaja di negara ini. Isu utama adalah kurangnya pengetahuan di kalangan remaja mengenai pembelajaran berakal yang bersifat positif, terhadap perasaan yang mendalam kepada etos kesepaduan nasionalistik berdasarkan ideologi kebangsaan, yakni, Rukun Negara. Oleh itu, objektif asas kajian ini adalah, pertama, untuk menyiasat sejauh manakah kurikulum pendidikan Bahasa Inggeris sekolah awam dapat menyemai nilai-nilai kenegaraan dalam pelajar, dan kedua, bagaimana ianya dapat membantu dalam usaha pembinaan 'jambatan sosial' di kalangan remaja sekolah Malaysia itu. Justeru itu, kajian ini menggunakan kedua-dua pendekatan kajian kualitatif dan kuantitatif. Seterusnya, bagi menyiasat pernyataan masalah kajian ini di atas, metodologi kajian merangkumi bacaan dan analisis pelbagai bahan dan sumber primer dan sekunder seperti artikel jurnal, buku, bab buku, dan kenyataan rasmi kerajaan, termasuk sumber-sumber dari internet. Beberapa sesi temubual telah dijalankan dengan responden yang terdiri dari pelajar, guru, ahli akademik, dan beberapa individu awam yang dikenal pasti. Soal-selidik berstruktur digunakan di dalam kajian ini untuk mendapatkan maklumat di kalangan pelajar tingkatan dua peringkat menengah rendah, dan tingkatan empat di peringkat menengah atas, di beberapa sekolah menengah kerajaan. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa pelajar tingkatan dua lebih berpandangan positif daripada pelajar tingkatan empat, terhadap penerimaan nilai kenegaraan; pelajar-pelajar di kedua-dua peringkat persekolahan itu berpendapat pembelajaran nilai kenegaraan menerusi subjek Bahasa Inggeris boleh memberi kesan positif di dalam memajukan nilai kenegaraan. Pelajar menyarankan lebih banyak usaha perlu dilaksanakan oleh pihak pendidik ke arah integrasi nasional. Responden kajian berpendapat bahawa pembelajaran Bahasa Inggeris boleh menjadi landasan konstruktif bagi pembelajaran nilai kenegaraan ke arah integrasi nasional. Hampir semua responden menegaskan bahawa guru merupakan salah satu pembina negara yang utama, dan ia dilihat sebagai salah satu agen penting negara bagi memupuk 'pendidikan' berasaskan nilai kenegaraan di kalangan remaja sekolah dan seterusnya, generasi muda-mudi di Malaysia.

Kata Kunci: Integrasi Nasional, Struktur Sosial Negara, Etos Kesepaduan Nasionalistik, Rukun Negara, 'Pendidikan' Berasaskan Nilai Kenegaraan.

ABSTRACT

The ethnically ‘compartmentalised’ Malaysian society characterised increasingly today by a state of constant ‘stable tension’ in the nation’s social fabric, can be attributed to the ‘divided’ education system. This is said to have resulted today in a lack of mutual understanding, particularly amongst the nation’s growing youth. The cardinal issue here is a knowledge deficiency amongst school-youth of positive cognitive learning towards developing a deep sense of a nationalistic ethos based on the national ideology, the Rukun Negara. As such, the primary objectives of this study are to firstly, look into the extent the English Language public school education curriculum can instill nationhood values in students, and secondly, how it can contribute towards the building of strong ‘social bridges’ amongst Malaysian school-youth. Thus, accordingly, this study uses both the qualitative and quantitative research approaches. Further, to investigate the problem statement of this study, the research methodology encompassed the study and analysis of materials from primary and secondary sources, such as journal articles, books, book chapters, official government statements, including internet-based materials. Interviews were conducted, with the respondents who consisted of groups of students, teachers, academics, and certain identified public individuals. A structured questionnaire survey was used to obtain information from the form two lower secondary and form four upper secondary students in public secondary schools. The findings of this study indicated that the form two students were more positively inclined towards the acceptance of nationhood values, than form four students; both student groups felt that the ‘education’ of English Language nationhood values can further enhance the said values in students. Further, they suggested that all education authorities need to do more to achieve the goal of national integration. The respondents opined emphatically that the learning of English can be a constructive platform for the nurturing of nationhood values in students. Nearly all the respondents strongly emphasised that the teacher is one of the nation’s key nation-builders, and is a crucial agent in ‘educating’ school-youth with nationhood values-based 'education', and further, the young Malaysian generation.

Key words: National Integration, Social Fabric, Nationalistic Ethos, Rukun Negara, Nationhood Values-based ‘Education’.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am prayerfully thankful to God Almighty for having been my light in guiding me, in all manner of challenges as they were, to complete this thesis successfully.

My heart -felt thanks to Professor Dr. Mansor Mohd. Nor of University Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), Professor Dato' Dr. Abdul Rahman b. Abdul Aziz, the head of the Institut Pemikiran Tun Dr. Mahathir (IPDM), and my ever helpful, constructive and abundantly supportive and motivating supervisor, Dr. R. Sivaperegasam. I am most indebted to all the above for having given me the academic support and thus, the confidence and direction, in helping me bring this study to a meaningful and successful completion. As they have always reminded me with regards the 'larger horizons' of this study, of which I am constantly learning to be ever vigilant and cognizant of, that the ramifications arising from my study, point to a fulfilling, but still an on-going national task for all Malaysian citizens.

I would also like to extend my humble thanks to the Vice Chancellor of Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), Professor Dato' Wira Dr. Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, the Dean of the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government (GSGSG), Professor Dr. Mohd. Kamarulnizam Abdullah, the Deputy Dean of GSGSG, Associate Professor Dr. Mazlan Ismail, who, right at the beginning of my study, had supportively pointed out to me that research is a joyful and enriching venture; the Dean of the School of International Studies, Associate Professor Dr. Ahmad Bashawir Haji Abdul Ghani; Deputy Dean, School of Education and Modern Languages, Associate Professor Dr. Mohd. Zailani Mohd. Yusoff; Associate Professor Dr. Arsay Thambi and Dr. K. Sarojeni Devi of the School of Education; and, all the administrative staff of the above Universiti Utara Malaysia; Professor Dr. R. Prem Kumar, formerly the Vice Chancellor of the AIMST University, Semeling, Kedah Darul Aman; Professor Dr. Balakrishnan Muniandy, the late Professor Cheah Boon Kheng, Professor Dr. Ray Karthigesu, Professor Dr. Surash Ramanathan, Associate Professor Dr. Sundramoorthy Pathmanathan, Dato' Dr. Anbalakan Kailasam and Dr. Citartan Marimuthu of the Universiti Sains Malaysia; Mrs. Joshua Arathai, lecturer at the Wawasan Open University, Penang; Dr. Mak Kem Seng, senior lecturer at the Universiti Teknologi MARA, Merbok, Kedah Darul Aman; my academic courses class colleagues, with particular thanks to Hirwan Jasbir bin Jaafar; all lecturers of my research study reviewing panels; the kind and helpful university administrative staff; all academics and 'educators' for all their assistance in my little academic journey in UUM, towards the enhancement of knowledge of all citizen-nation-builders.

For all the encouraging support given by my family, with the research work involving my being out of the home for considerable periods of time, my humble thank you.

The education department officials of the Kedah Darul Aman, Perak Darul Ridzuan, Pulau Pinang, Terengganu Darul Iman, and the Selangor Darul Ehsan states, the district education departments, the school heads, language administrators, the classroom teachers, and last but not the least, the students involved in this study- to all the above, I will cherish the experiences and the ‘learnings’ I acquired to a great measure personally when working with them, and thus my humble thanks.

My humble thanks to Mrs. Satish Kumithini Sundrappan, a senior language teacher in a, Selangor state school in Kuala Lumpur, who assisted this researcher immensely in arranging for students and teachers to participate in the questionnaire exercise. My thanks also to Miss Theresa Sheila Angelin Mariasamy and Mr. Manimaran Palaniappen, senior language teachers in a public secondary school in Kulim, Kedah Darul Aman.

My particular thanks also to Puan Zarina Abu Bakar of the Perdana Leadership Foundation who helped arrange an interview for this research student with Dr. Mahathir Mohammad; to the Minister in the Prime Minister’s Office heading the department for national unity and integration, Tan Sri Joseph Kurup, his staff; the university academics, and the Malaysian social activists-personalities.

My humble thanks to the many ‘nation-builders’ at heart in our nation, who have assisted me in little and sometimes, ‘big’ ways, in the various tasks involved in this research study.

My humble prayers are that all the sometimes ‘passionate’ contributions by all the above in helping to enliven Malaysian national unity, can be by little but sure measures be translated into ‘lived’ nationhood values ‘education’ in our youth, and thence blossom into an open and undifferentiated sense of a common Malaysian consciousness.

God bless our nation and all humanity.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my dear parents, and for Indra, Thina, Thaali. And for all ‘rich-hearted’ Malaysian nation-builders, endeavouring in every right, ‘small’ and ‘big’ way, towards growing together as one nation and thenceforward, attain ‘richness’ by our shared efforts and common perseverance, in God.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The Malaysian plural society, from a historical perspective, can be said to have had its beginnings in the Malacca sultanate era in the fifteenth century and earlier. Immigrant communities from India and China particularly, together with the arrival of the Javanese, Bugis and others from the Indonesian islands in the nineteenth century, and this continuing even until today, had clearly contributed to the creation of a cosmopolitan society, not only in Malacca, but also on the eastern Malayan seaboard of Terengganu and Kelantan. This phenomenon has clearly and irrevocably changed the political, cultural and demographic structure of the Malayan and Malaysian polity as it is of today (Kahn, 2006. pp. 36, 39, 40; Milner, 2011.pp.10-11; Judith Nagata, in Maznah Mohamad and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, Eds.2011).

Following from this early widespread influx of a diverse mix of peoples from different parts of the world, according to Khoo Kay Khim [in Lim, Gomez, Azly Rahman, (Eds). 2009], a –sense of separate development and separate identity of the various (individual) communities arose from a complex plethora of factors”. As Khoo further purports, that it was not simply –the result of the machinations of the British administration which tended to act according to practical economic considerations.” The decisive factors demonstrably, included occupational specialization of the existing and migrant ethnic communities.

Added to this above factor, was the physical separation of one community from the other. With time, other internal factors, such as the communal propensity to retain and practise one’s ‘individual’ civilizational cultures and ethnic differences –..through ethnic schools, clubs, associations and religious institutions, as well as the emergence of ‘ethnic nationalisms’ in the early 20th century...”, have all tended to reinforce the already latent ethnic differences and cleavages, projecting to the

world stage that Malaysia is a 'plural', multi-culturally segmented society, and yet one progressing in seemingly well-constructed measures, towards a one Malaysian entity (adapted, *ibid*, p.9).

However, as research studies based on the social contact theories (Allport,1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Lieberman, 2003) show, that increased interaction can produce familiarity among the social actors, which in time can lead to acceptance (Valenty and Sylva, in Ezhar Tamam, 2006, p.58).

In the context of Malaysia, with a particular reference to this study, an opinion survey by the *Merdeka Centre (2006)* showed that *Malaysians aged 20 years and above were generally quite happy with one another's ethnic situations and relations. The downside in this relationship however, was that the survey also found that ethno-centric views, mistrust and misunderstandings, remained quite prevalent.*

As Ezhar Tamam ([www.uab.edu/Communications studies/12_04](http://www.uab.edu/Communications_studies/12_04)) has pointedly observed, that, "... *Although all ethnic groups were equally robust in their endorsement of a national identity, there was a strong opinion that ethnic identities and cultures had to be observed*".

The above writer nevertheless, found that his sample of young university students, of Malay and Chinese backgrounds, did engage in inter-ethnic contact quite extensively. Further, in terms of inter-ethnic attitudes, it was found that the Malay and Chinese Malaysian students were clearly accommodating in their ethnic relations.

Despite the **limitations in the above study** as acknowledged by the above writer- for instance, it was not established in the study **how inter-ethnic contact influences or shapes inter-ethnic attitudes**, the above writer concludes that the study demonstrated the generalizability of the contact hypothesis in the fostering of positive inter-ethnic attitudes.

In accordance thus, with the focus of this present study undertaken by this researcher, Ezhar Tamam above had noted, as an outcome of his study that the need for further research involving the *cognitive domain towards the laying of the foundational premises in a multi-ethnic society, for healthy inter-ethnic contact and thereby*

positive inter-ethnic attitudes in the young, is a social and national challenge, and an essential area for further research efforts.

1.2. Background to study

The question of Malaysian national unity has always been shrouded in some complexity, as in other multi-ethnic societies. The meaning attached to the concept of unity is often multifarious, tending to highlight the contradictions present in the society. This is often seen in the context of communal, ethnic and group solidarities, as regarded as being in contradiction and even in opposition to a single and imagined form of national identity.

However, this above common national aspiration may be still a distant goal. As *Tun Razak, the second Prime Minister of our nation, had succinctly observed, that,*

Malaysia needs a multi-racial Government. The National Front wants the Chinese to participate in governing their country. It does not matter whether the Chinese vote for MCA, Gerakan, PPP or SUPP candidates...If the Chinese want to participate in the Government they will have to vote for Chinese candidates in the National Front [Straits Times (Malaysia), 5 August 1974].

The socio-political ambience and quality of life that has thus developed over the years to the present times, can put groups of national citizens in situations where they can still find themselves seen as the Other, even when they venture to go out of their relatively protected group enclosures or communities, into the larger national society. Even so, the national government and social institutions commonly permitted the peoples- the indigenous majority and the smaller, Other ethnic groups to meet in the market and work places (adapted from Furnivall, J.S. 1948) regularly, to participate together in the common functions of the production of the nation's requisite goods and services.

The sense of oneness in common societal functions that can well be expected to exist in Malaysian society, in reality may not be so. The ethnic societal separations prior to even British colonialism and the generally regarded divide and rule British colonial policy, and further, the general continuation and retention of the British colonial administrative structures into the post-colonial independence era in Malaya and later Malaysia, and with the attendant and resultant social problems, led to the urgent formulation and launch of the New Economic Policy in 1970. This policy was

aimed at removing the identification of race with economic functions, and to eliminate poverty in the nation through socio-economic programmes, directed at alleviating income inequalities between ethnically-defined communal groups [Khoo Kay Khim (2008); Edmund Terence Gomez and others (2013)].

With the differences therefore, among the different Malaysian groups seemingly persistent and extrinsically exhibited in the public place- as in cultural, religious and even to a considerable extent, educational practices as manifested in the different language medium schools, this thus configuring a wholistic picture of multifariousness and diversity. This contributes, in the context of the larger national society, in adding ‘colour’ and thereby, bestowing a form of ‘quiet cosmopolitan solidarity’ fostering national resilience.

As such, this state of Malaysian society today, as reflected in the nation’s socio-political scenario, is commonly referred to as cultural pluralism. Multicultural practices that are commonly evident in Malaysia today, being given full constitutional and administrative backing and support, allows the diverse Malaysian communities to ‘live’ their customs, cultures and religions. This, for the past over half a century of the ‘life’ of this nation, has provided the society the sense of security and confidence to stake their lives and futures in this land (Mansur Mohd. Noor, Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz, Mohamad Ainuddin Iskandar Lee, 2007, pp. 18-19).

However, as the above writers have emphatically noted, that the separate community-based cultural and the religious institutionalized practices, need not necessarily engender and lead to societal separateness and exclusivisms. *The powers that be need to be constantly cognizant of the greater and primary goal of building and strengthening the foundations for a social outlook exemplifying a Malaysian consciousness* (ibid).

Looking forward, in this study thus, the foundational basis for the ‘*evolution*’ of a *Malaysian consciousness is informed of the ‘Two Social Reality’* discourse on the formation of a desired state of national identity. This latter approach is well expounded by Shamsul (1996). This scholar particularly looks at Malaysia’s struggle in the last four decades, in its on-going efforts to come to grips with the contestations

that constantly come into play, with attempts to construct a cohesive national identity, and thereby, a palpable, commonly-felt Malaysian consciousness.

Shamsul (ibid) attempts to define this above reality as such, as made up of the 1) *Authority-defined national identity*, and 2) *the Everyday-defined national identity*. The first, a top-down venture, is essentially the social reality that is as seen and defined by the authorities of the dominant and governing power organization. The second is that which is defined on an everyday common basis, and that which is experienced by the people of the state. The above social scientist emphasizes that in the context of the prevalent social realities in our Malaysian society then, and also much so today, that,

...the study of (the construction of a Malaysian) identity would be enriched tremendously by adopting this “two social-reality” approach, giving both types of “reality” as balanced an attention as possible...the great utility of this approach is that one would be in a position to capture the macro picture, and the detailed micro dynamics (relating to the “everyday defined” social reality), in a more balanced manner,... (This) then helps capture the uncertainties, ruptures and tensions which emerge from the debate on identity in Malaysia. ...We are in a better position to highlight the alternatives, their attendant differences, however slight, the distances between them and, most significantly, the dialogue between them, fruitful or futile, eventful or mundane (ibid, pp. 4, 5).

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Therefore, with this balanced perspective of a desired Malaysian national identity, when we then attempt to explore the question of unity of diverse groupings in society, we invariably need to look at **the state of the political entity in which various communities can and do relate, if ever, and live in a symbiotic relationship, generally harmoniously, but at certain times conflictually**. As Halimah Said observes,

*The challenge thus for Malaysia and for Malaysians is to create as many „beautifully” shared (life) realities as we can. These will tide us over our inherent differences. ...We (can then)... focus on our (one) common vision which binds us together as a nation. **We must promote the cross fertilization of our many strengths** (2013, p. 13).*

The common vision which can bind us together thus, in our Malaysian context as it presents itself, as the above writers lucidly emphasize, point to the need for the active cultivation of a balanced social reality, informed of core nation-oriented, nationhood values constituted of humanistic principles. These can well be the **universal values**

of tolerance, trust, acceptance, a sense of sharing and hospitality, adherence to the laws of the nation, and a sense of dutiful service to society and nation (these above social values are congruently related to the Rukun Negara-national ideology values the researcher proposes in this study, providing the national basis for the further cultivation of nationhood values through language education, particularly English language education).

It is noted that positive and promising features of ethnic integration between the various groups of the multicultural and multi-ethnic pre-colonial Malayan society, were clearly present, exhibiting a form of ‘permeable and canopy ethnicity’ (op cit. pp. 105-7). The migrant ethnic groups in the Malayan peninsular which had settled here for trade purposes mainly, ‘integrated’ with the other ethnic groups. The social and cultural integration that transpired resulted in the evolution of the ‘Malaysian’ communities such as the Jawa Peranakan, Baba Nyonya and the Chettiars. The varied ethnic groups such as the Melayu, Jawa, Minangkabau, Banjar, Banjaru, Kadazan, Dusun, Murut, Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, Bugis, and the already residing groups, clearly possessed their own languages, cultural practices and religions.

However, the watershed event of particular significance in Malaysian socio-political development can well be the 1969 inter-ethnic riots. Following this the New Economic Policy (NEP) was implemented in 1970. The studies conducted by Jomo (1999), Shamsul (1997) and Abdul Rahman Embong (1999), as noted by Mansor Mohd. Noor (2001), have shown that the *NEP had contributed to a generally ethnically balanced social stratification system in the nation. This was well illustrated by reactions to the 1997 global economic and political crisis in Malaysia, whereby there was no destabilization of the social fabric defining the nation, as Malay and Chinese business personalities blamed the market forces for the spiraling prices of goods and services, and not the „other competing“ races.* The equidistance and mutually accommodative, ethnic positions taken by the different ethnic communities can be contrasted with the events which ensued in Indonesia during the above economic crisis. The majority community vented their frustrations and sense of loss, as it were, on the small, powerless Chinese community (ibid p.106).

In the post NEP period too, as shown by Gomez (2009), there have been positive inter-ethnic entrepreneurial interactions clearly showing the possibilities involved in

the „emergence of inter-ethnic partnerships that the partners are comfortable enough (with), (thus) transcend(ing) ethnic divides to establish close co-operative ties” (p.173).

Since independence in 1957, the countervailing strengths of numbers among the ethnic communities, with the Malay indigenous community at around 60 per cent, the Chinese at around 27 per cent, the Indians at 8 per cent, the Orang Asli and ‘Others’ making up the rest of the national population, has put the nation in a somewhat socio-political state of „stable tension” (Shamsul, 2006). *Conflict has continuously been taken to be endemic in the diverse and potentially „unstable” social milieu, and as one scholar has sharply observed, the Malaysian nation can well be “...sitting on a time-bomb” (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, interview, 2013). It has become the single, most compelling national imperative, and thereby the responsibility of all succeeding national governments to the present day, to manage this possibly volatile ethnic diversity.* As it is emphasized by a present ruling government minister, that it is by the proper management of the polarities in the Malaysian plural society that,

...the benefits of both extremes are maximized, while the disadvantages are minimized. The realization of an optimal situation or zone of inclusiveness between the two poles, needs to be constantly borne in mind by the powers that be, and purposively monitored. The trajectory of this endeavor is then clearly towards the ultimate goal of an all-inclusive “Malaysian consciousness.”...Achieving this balance, ...(and) to effectively manage polarity, we must first accept the existence of tension and then try to manage it [Idris Jala, Government Transformation Programme (GTP) 2010, pp.67-69].

Nevertheless, Malaysia has had to face some disturbing and tragic stresses and strains primarily caused by the centrifugal pulls of the nation’s ethnic diversities. Some of these events were the following,

- i. the interregnum inter-ethnic conflicts in 1945 after the surrender of the Japanese at the end of World War II, primarily between the Malays and Chinese Malaysians,
- ii. 1964 Singapore racial riots,
- iii. 1969 May 13 riots,
- iv. 1998 Kampung Rawa riots in Penang,
- v. 2001 Kampung Medan riots in Kuala Lumpur, and the

vi. 2012 Sungei Petani, Kedah Darul Aman state ethnic clashes.

Various measures and initiatives have actually been undertaken to manage the ethnic polarities, including the common medium of instruction in the national education system, from the 1960s. The National Language Act was introduced in 1967 providing a clear constitutional position for the Malay language as the official and national language of the nation.

The „*constitutional contract*” arising as a consequence primarily of the more violent 1969 riots, essentially upheld —. „Malay political supremacy” (Cheah, 2002, p. 126). This second contract after the first Social Contract at independence, helped affirm national consensus and the political stability of the Malaysian nation.

Further, the NEP was itself intended to correct the racial socio-economic imbalances among the ethnic communities and the identification of race with economic functions (Andaya and Andaya, 2001, p. 310). Following this, other well-intentioned programmes, despite their demonstrated shortcomings, such as the promulgation of the National Ideology-the Rukun Negara in 1971, the establishment of the Biro Tata Negara Programme in 1974, purportedly aimed at enhancing public service values and administrative competency and prowess among in-service civil servants particularly ¹(Azly Rahman, 2009), the National Service for upper secondary school students (at the form 5 stage) introduced in December 2003, the Bangsa Malaysia 1991 programme, the 1Malaysia campaign launched on 16th September 2010, the student integration programme (RIMUP- Rancangan Integriti Murid Untuk Perpaduan), and so on, are significant bridge-building efforts (ibid, p.271). The 1957

¹*Biro Tata Negara (National Civics Bureau, BTN) is an agency of the Malaysian government in the Prime Minister's Department. BTN's stated objective is to nurture the spirit of patriotism and commitment to excellence among Malaysians, and train leaders and future leaders to support the nation's development efforts.* Dr. Mahathir, explaining what the BTN was tasked for, has pointed out that, "What we tried to teach them (participants) is that they should have new values, new culture...because the culture and the value-system they have is not conducive to success. If they want to serve the government well, they must accept and practice a certain value system". Further, the Minister in the Prime Minister's office, Nazri Aziz noted that a *revamp* of the BTN curriculum was needed, saying, —... I mean there are people who attended the courses who came out very angry. There were many instances of the use of words like *ketuanan Melayu* "...Do they want to say that Malaysia belongs only to the Malays and the government is only a Malay government? Should only the Malays be given (nurtured in) the spirit of patriotism? Other races are not patriotic about their country?, courses run by BTN using public funds must be used properly for all, not just (for) the Malays, (but) for all Malaysians". [The Malaysian Insider, 7-11 December 2009].

Federal Constitution is itself regarded as the nation's document of destiny, as it is a purportedly democratically balanced document, laying out the interests and responsibilities of all national citizens (Shad Shaleem Faruqi, 2008; Abdul Aziz Bahari, 2013).

The foundations thus, of Malaysian nationhood have been clearly laid out in a) the Federal Constitution, b) the Rukun Negara, c) „Bangsa Malaysia“ Vision 2020 challenge d) the National Mission 2006², and e) the 1Malaysia Programme. All the above are based on broad, well-grounded principles and values geared towards greater national productivity levels and economic well-being for all citizens, to promote national harmony and co-existence, good education for the masses, integrity, tolerance leading on to acceptance of one another as Malaysians, on-going economic and social development, and so on [Government Transformation Programme (GTP), Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 2010, p. 69].

As the historian-social science researcher, Cheah Boon Kheng (2002) has observed succinctly,

*...that Vision 2020 provided non-Malays with hope that they would in time be treated as full citizens, and their cultural autonomy (features, characteristics) would be fully recognized. This shift has the potential of effectively reducing tensions between the government and non-Malays, in particular the Chinese community, and hence contributing to social stability. However, to what extent an ideology located on a multiculturalist scale (**accommodative integration and multiculturalism**) can influence national integration remains to be seen. On the one hand, there is a possibility that by expanding the cultural autonomy of minorities, ethnic polarization will widen and end in national disunity. On the other hand, it is argued that „unity in diversity“ based on harmonious apartness is possible (pp.32, 33).
(emphasis by researcher).*

The co-existential harmony and peace that presents itself today can well dissipate, or, with substantive further foundation-laying measures constituted of commonalities

²The **Ninth Malaysia Plan** (2006-2010, p.3) states that, –The National Mission is a framework aimed at obtaining greater impact and performance from the country's development efforts towards achieving Vision 2020. The framework acknowledges that to attain developed nation status, formed in its own mould and confident in its own capabilities, Malaysia must pursue policies and programmes which enhance its capacity to compete globally; which **improve national integration and reduce tendencies towards racial polarisation; and which bring about a better distribution of income and wealth through meaningful participation of all groups in the competitive and productive growth process.**”

extolled by universal norms and practices, education in language, and such socio-transformational programmes advocated by the United Nations Development Programme report (2004), Malaysian national harmony can possibly be gradually deepened and cemented.

The formula for inter-racial co-existence and co-operation that was constructed has been referred to as the ‘Social Contract’, which has been noted by scholars as the signal issue in Malaysian politics. This was achieved following the formation of the Alliance Party in 1955, which comprised of the Malay-based United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Party (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), this being seen as having its roots in the colonial government’s efforts in nation-building. The British, after the Japanese occupation attempted to form, quite forcibly with the Malay states and the states of the Straits Settlements, the Malayan Union in 1946.

But, this effort failed because of strong Malay opposition (ibid).

Thereby, with a direct reference to the focus of this study, that is, with regards to national integration, the Malayan Union plan, despite its liberal stands on citizenship for the non-Malays, which was to bring about a sense of ‘Malayness’ among the Chinese and Indian communities, nevertheless fell out with the Malay elite (Lim, 2009, p. 7). This was primarily attributed to the British attempts to remove the much-cherished Malay symbols, such as the ‘Tanah Melayu’, ‘Bangsa Melayu’, associated to the ‘Malay Kerajaan’ pre-colonial Malay administrative practices, the diminution of the Malay role in the civil service, and the forfeiture of the positions as heads of states of the Malay sultans. All these British-planned developments resulted in political instability and the growth of enmity between the races (Ariffin Omar, 2009).

The above writer has aptly noted that,

...in introducing the Malayan Union the British had sowed the seeds of enmity and distrust between the Malays and non-Malays, ... and thus any attempt at rapprochement between the various ethnic groups was now impossible (p. 7).

These issues can then be seen together in their total impact, and, notwithstanding their (the British’s) earlier actions and deliberations in the Malay states that, —.had

kept the various communities apart in a country which now had a plural society” (ibid).

The national leadership from the independence period and leading on to the present day has nonetheless endeavoured in all certainty, to demonstrate and ‘create’ a one Malaysian identity. A form of a working, ‘cosmopolitan’ outlook, depicting an evolving ‘unity in diversity’ stance, has often been projected and exhorted today, encouraging the Malaysian citizens to celebrate the nation’s diversity and its strengths in a somewhat vox populi of social belonging and common purpose (Hilley 2001, p.20), and an evolving harmoniousness.

It needs to be noted at this juncture, that various political organizations that saw their births, and thenceforth their active participation in the political affairs of the post war Malayan political entity, particularly the Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA), and the All-Malaya Council of Joint Action (AMCJA)- the former being Malay-based and the latter Chinese-based, formed a coalition and together proposed the *Peoples’ Constitutional Proposals in 1947*. In their constitution for the nascent nation of Malaya, they introduced the *social identity of „Melayu“ for all Malaysians* (Khong, 1984, p. 164). This, purportedly was to unite the diverse Malayan population which had experienced the dire developments of firstly, the British economically motivated ‘divide and rule’ policy and programmes in their long colonial rule in Malaya, and secondly, the ethnically directed Japanese military occupation punitively targeting the Chinese community. In this latter period-1942 to 1945, it was too apparent that there was brutal suppression of the Chinese population by the Japanese invaders.

Taking cognizance of the mushrooming tragic developments in the period immediate to the post Japanese era, the nation’s history records the contributions of some national ‘giants’, such as Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, Onn Jaafar, Ahmad Boestaman, Tan Cheng Lock and others. They opposed the British’s and that of the conservative Malay elite’s stands, with their vested positions of authority and personal interests, and strongly felt that —.the time had come *to work towards building a united nation whereby everyone would have a stake in the country...*” (Ariffin Omar, 2009. p. 51)³.

³ As the Federation of Malaya 1948 Agreement bestowed citizenship but not nationality, the non-Malays were in a form of limbo state- they were accorded citizenship rights but not regarded as

1.3. Problem statement

In the following discussion, the socio-political issues presented, **envisage and envision the problem statement of this study**, being primarily the general depiction of the wanting and deficient state of national solidarity in the Malaysian-civil society, after more than half a century of independence and self-government.

In looking at the rampant and ubiquitous social and communal disharmony all over the world today, the resolution of this persistent internecine divisions, although constantly and repeatedly supported by the United Nations Organization (UN), but apparently to not much avail, one approach then, can well be a „**bottoms-up**“ **language-nationhood values** education focus in **school-youth**, which can be strongly supported and provided the **national grist by „top-down“ official policies**, structured and monitored by public-oriented and a committed form of governance.

In the context firstly, of both foreign, ethnic and group divisiveness and conflicts, and the Malaysian, generally *ethnically „compartmentalized“ (Furnivall, 1948) society characterised quite starkly by the official, „divided“ education system, it only goes to point to the urgency for the need for further well-meaning and socially constructive education, and language values education* programmes in particular.

Secondly, the search for a solution to bring the ethnically and socially *‘divided’* Malaysian *‘rakyat’* (the peoples) closer as a one society, as likened to the *different threads in a multi-coloured but composite fabric, can possibly be exacerbated by a deepening lack of humanistic universal values of respect, understanding and acceptance among ethnic groups. It is this lack that could well have contributed to the racial riots* as discussed in section 1.2- Background to the study above.

Fourthly, when investigating this above ethnic-dominated social scenario further, the National Department of Unity and National Integration (DNUI), Malaysia annual

Malayans. Malayan nationality was to be preserved only for the Malays. Clearly this only led to the different ethnic communities moving farther and staying apart from one another. British duplicity with the collusion of the Malay elite, as the latter and the Malay population generally, maintained that —.Persekutuan Tanah Melayu meant that the country was a Malay country exclusive to the Malays, while non-Malays saw it as a federation with a Malayan identity that embraced all the ethnic communities (in Malaya) including the Malays” [Ariffin Omar, in Lim Teck Ghee. (Eds.). 2009, p. 50].

report shows that the index for the state of national tension in Malaysia [*Societal Stress Index (Indeks Ketegangan Masyarakat)*] was 4.8 (cases per one million population) in the first quarter of 2011, and remained about the same at 4.7 at the last quarter of 2011/3. This can be contrasted with the *Global Peace Index (GPI)* figure of 19 for 153 nations, throughout 2011/3 (*The Global Peace Index 2015 report*, p.10, *Institute for Economics and Peace*, places Malaysia at 28, out of 162 countries. The state of peace in Malaysia is rated as being ‘High’, with Iceland, Denmark, Austria, New Zealand, and Switzerland seen as having ‘Very High’ states of peace in their individual polities) (http://www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Peace%20Index%20Report%202015_0.pdf; http://www.jpningov.my/358?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_ez3w&p_p_lifestyle+0&p_p_stat...).

The above department has taken an unequivocal stand that constant monitoring of the above state of unity is a crucial task of the unity department and also of the Malaysian citizenry (Joseph Kurup, Minister for national unity, Prime Minister’s The following table illustrates the state of relative peace and stability in Malaysia today.

Table 1.1.

The Department of National Unity Malaysia- State of Social Solidarity

DNUI STATISTICS MALAYSIA: The state of social solidarity			
Overall scores	2013	2014	2015 (Jan – Mar)
Societal Stress Indexx (SSI)	4.70	3.67	2.70
Global Peace index (GPI/ 162 countries)	29	33	33

(Source: <http://www.jpnin.gov.my/en/indeks-ketegangan-masyarakat>).

[Note: 1. The **Societal Stress Index (SSI)** attempts to monitor conditions that can likely lead to terrorist attacks, riots, demonstrations, protests, quarrels and the related social issues involved. These can be characterised by differences in economic well-

being, social conditions of everyday life, and racial and religious differences and issues.

2. Relatedly, the **Global Peace Index (GPI)** records the number of deaths from internal conflict, the level of **distrust** in *‘other’* citizens, and the level of violent demonstrations that occur in a country. It also further measures the *degree of societal consensus and cohesion which are seen as prerequisite conditions necessary to underpin a stable, functioning democracy* (Institute of Economics and Peace, Sydney 2015 Report, http://www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Peace%20Index%20Report%202015_0.pdf, www.economicsandpeace.org).

Fifthly, one urgent problem area of focus of this study thus, is to draw in and empower the nation’s *youth* to contribute positively, to help build a cohesive national society. The ensuing question of this study is then, *are the youth of today sufficiently aware of the deeper issues („deep structures“; as emphasized by Shamsul, 2012), arising from the realities and state of inter-ethnic relations prevalent in the national society today.* The prevalent state of *‘stable tension’* as noted by the latter political scientist (1998, p.48), and its implications and lessons for the Malaysian society, *needs to be brought into and well-discoursed* in the classroom, enabling an appropriate depth of **political literacy for a cohesive nationalistic ethos, so as to help enhance and deepen the learners’ understanding of what makes this nation.** **English language nationhood education can help contribute towards the above issue.**

There is clearly a **gap** today in research knowledge related to the *socio-political applications of language use [earlier language studies have commonly looked at policy issues, bilingualism, Bahasa Malaysia and English medium of instruction in higher, public and private education, the role and relationship of educational policies in plural societies, implementation of the Malaysian language medium policy in relation to nation-building (Alis Puteh, 2006, pp. 8-13)],* and that of *language values education, that is, one that reflects the need to apply and utilise the language-imbedded resourceful opportunities and challenges therewith, in the presentation to secondary school-youth, of essential, nationhood themes and knowledge ideas.*

The research problem dimensions of this study is further defined when considering the *social reality of divisiveness and ethnic „compartmentalization“ in the general and „everyday“ social structure of Malaysian society* (Chandra Muzaffar, 2010. pp. 18-19; Khoo, 2008. p. 35). As such, *in the Malaysian context, to venture to remove the apparent and existing social boundaries and begin building „social bridges“ among its diverse peoples, before they- the boundaries, harden and become a „fossilised national heritage“; early language nationhood values education can certainly be given a central importance in Malaysian education* [Francis Loh, (Ed.) 2010, pp. 239-253].

Stressing the social significance and the attendant implications of this above issue, former Prime Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, at the 2004 Malaysian Education Summit, pointed out emphatically that,

The current level of racial integration and understanding is of great concern. Schools are becoming more mono-racial, with non-Malay enrolment in national schools growing smaller with time. Even in multi-racial schools and universities, racial cliques are practically the norm. Surely, this kind of racial exclusiveness will sow the seeds of misunderstanding and mistrust later in life.

The king had noted that the **Malaysian people were quite well united today, but however,**

...this (unity) can further be improved if all parties put the nation's interests first, ...politicians ... (play) up religious issues. This causes uneasiness among the people, who may be the followers and have no inkling about the issues being fanned (2011, p. 1).

In his short farewell speech on the 10th of December 2016, at the end of his rule and term as the Malaysian king, the king **highlighted and emphasised the „question“** and issue of **Malaysian national unity- “Perpaduan”**, fourteen times, running through his short speech (2016).

A brief critical discourse analysis indicated that the above word, together with its related expressions, in comparison to the use of other words and terms of national significance in the speech, such as —system Raja-Raja Melayu”, —system Raja Perlembagaan”, —membangunkan negara”, —kemajuan”, —kemerdekaan”, —Tanahair”,

–ekonomi Malaysia” and so on, had a singular weightage of forty percent⁴. This can be said to be **signifying, and establishing the pre-eminence of the nation’s rightful, all-encompassing goal of national unity** in Malaysian society.

As such, this indicates that the departing king was possibly very much concerned that the Malaysian state of unity still appears to require serious efforts for it to be improved and thereby, insure and assure the nation’s peace well-being.

The urgency of this problem of national unity is also reflected in a most incisive observation by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Najib Razak. Without mincing his words, he stressed,

No unity means, no political stability, ...Some people forget the trouble our forefathers went through to make this country a success story (that it is) today. We must defend this success, and not risk destroying it, for the sake of our future generation. We must not take racial harmony and unity for granted (2009).

The Vice Chancellor of the University Utara Malaysia, Professor Dr. Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, in an interview with the research student on 28th July 2013, succinctly and emphatically stressed that with *our divided education system aligned to different language streams, thereby tended to create almost totally different cultural worlds for our young generation, and this being accentuated further by ethnically orientated political-religious-cultural developments in the public domain, is beginning to envelope the nation in an atmosphere as with a “time bomb waiting to explode”*.

Malaysia is ranked by the Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2015, as at the 68th position of 167 countries studied (having come down from 65th in 2014), with regards its state of democratic characteristics. It is thus considered as a „**flawed democracy**“. The nations ranked 1 to 20 are regarded as full democracies⁵. This above international organisation defines a flawed democracy as one with generally weak practices of basic human rights; the constant emergence of unstabling

⁴ The total number of occurrences of some national terms such as those mentioned in the text above, together with the 14 counts of the term on unity’, indicated a total count of 35 instances. Thus, the percentage rating for the term unity’ is 40 per cent.

⁵ Norway is ranked as 1; Switzerland-6, Canada-7, Australia-9, United Kingdom-16, Philippines-54, Singapore-74, Tanzania-91. The United States stands at the 20th position. Indonesia-49, Thailand-98, Bhutan-101,

centrifugal, ethnic-religious developments and strains (The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index 2015- Democracy in an age of anxiety, www. eiu.com).

The above Malaysian ranking can well indicate that the state of national harmony in the nation, is contributive to its above ranking and is appraised as a problematique issue, resulting in and mirroring the peoples' national lifes' as flawed'. Thus, the **task of national integration becomes a paramount one.**

(**Note:** In relation to the above, see also Judith Maxwell (1996), William Easterly (2006) and WVSA (World Values Survey Association references, pages 70-72, and footnote 8 below, on values of trust', equity, ,.. contributing towards social cohesion, social well-being of society, stability of polities).

1.4. Research questions

This study was carried out guided by the research objectives, the background to the study and the problem statement, as discussed above. The following research questions thereby formulated were answered and the research study contexts discoursed.

1. What is the **EXTENT of the Malaysian secondary school students'** regard for English language nationhood values education (English lessons with nationhood content), in its function in contributing to their (the national school students') sense of belonging to the nation, and towards their relationships with others different from them?
2. How do the national secondary school students, English language teachers, language administrators, and identified Malaysian personalities, regard the **extent of the impact** of the English language nationhood thematic lessons in their (English lessons) role in nurturing a sense of a common Malaysian consciousness and national solidarity, in secondary school-youth, as established and dedicated on the principles of the nation's national ideology, the Rukun Negara.

1.5. Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were as follows,

1. To investigate the national secondary school (lower secondary form twos and upper secondary form fours) students' perceptions as to the extent of the impact of the English language lesson nationhood content on,
 - a) their (students') sense of belonging to the nation, and
 - b) their relationships with one another (the others).

2. To investigate and appraise the above student-youth group's, English language teachers', school language administrators' and the identified Malaysian personalities' stand-points, as to **the extent** to which English language nationhood thematic lessons reflect and educate national secondary school students in nationhood principles and values, as **based on the nation's national ideology-the Rukun Negara**, moving towards a common Malaysian consciousness and national solidarity.

1.6. Scope of the study

As based on the objectives and the research questions above essentially, this section will discuss the following elements defining the scope of this study.

This study was conducted primarily in the northern region of West Malaysia. The research data collection tasks are to be carried out in national schools mainly in the three states of Kedah Darul Aman, Pulau Pinang, and Perak Darul Ridzuan. Three secondary schools in each state were selected for this study. These schools are the national, student-recipient schools. These schools are the major, well-established government schools, which receive (absorb) students after the national, public examinations. The student populations in these schools are of both rural and urban backgrounds.

The focus of this study will be directed at the students', teachers' and academic and senior Malaysian personalities' stand-points as to how the lessons teaching-learning nationhood themes in particular, help the learners to attain an enhanced sense of belonging to the nation and interact positively with one another. Further, the study will focus on the respondents' views as regards the extent of the students' mutual social understanding and acceptance of one another as they are perceived to have been cultivated.

The study focused on language constructs, nationhood themes and values in the English language classroom teaching-learning contexts, as based on the language administrators' and language teachers' professional and classroom teaching experiential accounts, and as guided by the language texts. The study focus further, was the secondary school stage of education, involving the form twos, and the form fours levels of education. The language teaching-learning content on nationhood themes and values were appraised by the respondents as to the extent they constituted a constructive pedagogical depth, towards the cultivation of a sense of national integration in the Malaysian young.

The reasons for the selection of the above two school levels- form two and form four, for the sample population were,

1. that the school student groups are not national examination groups, as specifically required by the Ministry of Education (<http://eras.moe.gov.my>),
2. that, if in contrast, this study involved the content evaluation of the class, teaching-learning English language contexts for the whole lower secondary levels as such (the Remove to the Form Three school levels), then the analysis can at most, it is to be noted, be primarily a survey of language materials pitched, as it were, at generally similar linguistic, proficiency development and task levels (in terms of the difficulty of materials, and performance targets to be achieved by learners, as based on the Ministry of Education subject syllabus 2003),
3. that the above observation is based on the curriculum specifications for language education for the lower secondary school level determined by the Curriculum Division, Ministry of Education 2003. The focus at the lower secondary education level is the further consolidation of the basic linguistic and proficiency skills in the English language acquired at the primary level of school education. This thus is meant to strengthen the foundational knowledge in the language, in the students. The primary objective of language education at this level therefore is, a greater emphasis on the direct, basic language learning skills, and minimally on the synthesis, application and appreciation dimensions in language learning [Barrett Taxonomy, (Clymer, 1968); Bloom's Taxonomy, (Pohl, 2000)],

4. that the curriculum syllabi requirements advancing from the lower secondary two to the upper secondary four levels in general, and particularly that for the compulsory English Language (and languages in general), are necessarily progressive. It requires learners to use their foundational and proficiency language knowledge and skills acquired at the lower secondary two (as well as the other lower secondary levels), progressively summatively at the upper secondary level.

5. that, the class language teaching-learning presentations at the lower secondary two level will be evaluated as per the respondents' view-points, for the nature and regularity of occurrence of language constructs, themes and elaborations on Malaysian 'nationhood'. The above analysis, when seen together with the related 'nationhood' subjects at the secondary four level, can go to indicate the extent of the weightage provided as perceived by the respondents, towards the task of nation-building, as discussed and developed in the 'nationhood' topics, within the *language values education* domain in the school compulsory English language subject.

This study was intended to look at the above stage of student education as stated, in addition, for mainly manageability reasons. Also, it was felt that as these students are generally just past their 'middle childhood', and would be at their adolescent stage of growth, being in their formative years of cognitive development, it was noted that they would be better able to understand and relate to such language items as nationhood themes, that may require concrete and formal learning operations, problem-solving and thinking skills [Piaget, 1952; Vygotsky, (1962); Barrett Taxonomy (Clymer, 1968)].

The extent of the impact of the English language materials in particular, on students in developing the sense of belonging and aiding them in the inculcation of nationhood values, can be further investigated at higher education levels henceforth. This is possible if the young generation is still then perceived generally, to be ill-equipped and wanting, in exemplifying and upholding positive nationhood values.

1.7. Significance of the study.

This study, it is envisaged, can possibly provide a more balanced understanding of the lessons of the Malaysian historical-political past and present-day socio-political life realities, and the common and diverse Malaysian living contexts. The struggle for independence and self-government; the ethnic compromises and sacrifices made by the past Malaysian generations and leaders towards the realization of a cohesive and united nation; the social significance of the past inter-communal disagreements and conflicts in the nation, and the futility often experienced in attempts at conflict resolution; the economic and the common educational challenges and responsibilities; and how it is **incumbent on all citizens** to shoulder equally and commonly, the responsibility for these and other related developments and their essential messages. These above topical issues, as presented in discussions on nationhood ‘education’ input in the classroom English language lessons (and language texts in general), and the resulting beneficial socio-educational outcomes that the above- nationhood values ‘education’ in English lessons, can possibly have in deepening the cognitive and affective thinking processes, towards educational maturity, and thus the ‘learning’ of the social significance of nationhood themes for national integration, by the nation’s school-youth, can indeed go a long way in the nation’s on-going trajectory of national development.

Further, this above knowledge in the school English language lessons and discussions, can help the young Malaysian generation to acquire a more **in-depth understanding of the national significance of the past and on-going developmental narrative of Malaysian nationhood**. In the nationhood-values focussed ‘interactive’ events and contexts of English language (languages seen holistically) learning, the classroom English language lessons contributing emphatically to the inculcation of values focused on **nation-building**, can well **help to strengthen the social foundations leading to a Malaysian-national consciousness for a cohesive Malaysian nation** (see nationhood values as discussed in section 2.3.7, Rukun Negara national ideology-Cultivating Malaysian nationhood, pp.84, 94).

It is commonly and universally acknowledged that the home and the school are seen as the crucial foundation building platforms epitomizing the core of humanistic

values, and the ideal pragmatic grounds for the reinforcement of these values in young children. This study thus, illustrates the benign position the school holds in fostering and helping learners in learning and appreciating multi-cultural values. As the KITA (Institut Kajian Etnik)-UKM (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia) Institut of Ethnic Studies report (2014) has noted that, there nevertheless still exist problems and questions with regards Malaysian schools, as to their proper and effective role in fostering the above mentioned values. As such, the new **2013-2015 Education Blueprint** (pp. E-7, E-11) further, has appropriately placed an emphatic focus in improving unity and a sense of patriotism for the nation, in schools, by adopting strong inter-ethnic inclusive practices in school governance and activities. This above educational strategy then highlights the **primacy given by the authorities to the school as an essential nation-building institution.**

Underscoring the foundational role played by the school in enhancing national integration, the editorial of the New Straits Times (2015, November 22, p. 20), points out that the increasing practice of parents today, even in the eastern states of peninsular Malaysia, to send their children to Chinese kindergartens and primary schools, clearly, it asserts, **helps the young to accept diversity naturally, and can help “...create a pluralist culture which arises from sharing, and leads to the awareness of being Malaysian”.** Acknowledging that this phenomenon needs still to be researched, but it nevertheless points out emphatically that “...the practice is trending, (and) one fact is certain- these children will grow up better able to handle the pluralism that Malaysia offers, ...the prejudices that keep communities apart will be transcended”.

Society and **teachers** henceforth further, this study propounds, can *‘grow’* to give the *school a greater measure of importance as being a crucial and major nation-building national institution.*

The outcome of this study can further provide language practitioners- particularly, English language teachers and language administrators (and curriculum planners), and the general society, of the *importance of the need for a clear understanding of the „realities“ of the perceived, seemingly intractable, but nevertheless man-made, socio-economic cleavages in Malaysian society, and how well they can be presented*

in the classroom language learning situations, and in the education curriculum, in their proper perspective.

This study, it is hoped, will go to show that the impact of the English language in particular, that when properly constructed and geared towards moderating the imposed societal differences of language, religion, social-historical backgrounds, class and so on, prevalent in the Malaysian society, to contribute, not primarily in terms of removing vertical, physical and economic-financial divisions and compartments, but in moving towards a common and socially uplifting horizontal living of an objective and improved life of social equity.

The ultimate objective of the Malaysian national philosophy of education, being the *holistic education of the Malaysian citizen*, this study, as focussed on the cultivation of nationhood values and the extent of its acculturation in the school youth, can thus *assist in opening avenues towards enhancing the quality of a socially purposive pedagogical language learning schema*, with definitive-pragmatic efforts via paradigmatic educational reforms, be directed towards the cultivation of these above cardinal values.

1.8. Limitations of the study.

With the broad and major objective of this study in mind, that is, of the question of national integration and social solidarity in the nation, this research will only study the aspects related to the issues involved in relation to the impact that the classroom English language teaching can have on the instilling of nationhood values via the national education system. The language teachers' pedagogical efforts and focus given in classroom teaching, and the inculcation of nationhood values, are relatedly premised in this study. This is to keep the focus of this study primarily on the class English language pedagogical domain, in respect to the teaching-learning context and the extent of its impact, towards language nationhood values education.

Three northern, one central and one east coast state, with three schools in each of the northern states mainly, are to be the study sites. This is to maintain a semblance of direct manageability of the research work of this study.

It is appropriate to be mentioned that the other non-major, Malaysian ethnic groups, as those in East Malaysia, may not be directly involved in this study. However, there can be a number of Orang Asli and East Malaysian students studying in the selected schools, and they may be selected by the involved school authorities, as requested by the researcher, thereby providing a more balanced Malaysian composition of appropriate respondents, for this study.

The school language authorities will be requested and advised to include in the student respondent lists, students of minority groups, such as the Sikhs, Christians, Bahais and so on, so that the study sample, and therefore the research study, will be able to give due regard and meaning to the holistic perspective of Malaysian national integration.

The concentration on West Malaysian schools is, again, due to practical considerations, to enable the researcher to successfully conduct this research within the resources available to him. The researcher is of the view that the schools in the three states selected are themselves national education institutions, which are strictly required to adhere to the common, national education curriculum, and are therefore representative of the other *national* schools in the other parts of the nation. As such, ***the findings of the study can mirror the state of the national education system, and can be said to reflect the existential context of all public school national youth, in relation to the question of the knowledge of nationhood values that can possibly be learned in the public school English language lessons.***

Further, the nation's private education institutions are not involved in this study. This is with the acknowledgement that they function with some autonomy, allowing them to use the national language as the medium of instruction or otherwise, and also provide particular emphases to ethnic-based language requirements.

It is noted that the interviews with the students, class language teachers and language administrators can be constrained and restrictive, being scheduled to be conducted in the schools themselves. In order to overcome the possible respondent constraints in being forthright in their stand-points, *a qualitative interview approach, that is, a series of related and generated topics and themes* as based on the research

questionnaire items, will be attempted to be used. This is to enable the respondents to open up and participate fully in the research study.

The students, teachers and language administrators respondents will be interviewed in as congenial, closed and private environments as possible, so as to remove any sense of restriction, fear and diffidence that may be harboured by the above, in participating in this study.

This study, being essentially directed at school youth and therefore focuses on the beginning and smaller picture of Malaysian national solidarity. The world outside the school, it is well acknowledged, is generally segmented. The language nationhood themes and constructs, even with committed classroom teaching, may be impacted strongly by the generally ethnically polarized, external society. In as much as the English language class nationhood themes may have socialized and educated the students, when as adults, and this can be the crucial point of debate, they, when venturing into the real outside world and the job market, are likely to be constantly influenced by the ethnically polarized social milieu.

This study is thus bounded by its focus on the class English language nationhood values-themes in particular, and their impact, being positive or otherwise, on Malaysian youth in the national secondary schools.

1.9 Organisation of the study

The first chapter discusses the background to the socio-political themes of the study subject, the underlying need and the motivations underpinning this research study. This study is essentially on the subject of looking at the pedagogical applications and implications of the use of the English language in educating the public school secondary school-youth in nationhood values, towards national integration. It will lay out the purposes for which this subject was chosen by the researcher, the problem statement, the research questions determining the course and direction of the study, its significance for national development and well-being of the multi-ethnic

Malaysian society, and the operational definitions of the terms relevantly applied for the objectives of this study.

Chapter two of this study will discuss the social interactional theories providing the theoretical framework for the study objectives. The related literature issues will be reviewed, with the aim of establishing the discursive confines and a concrete and a meaningful basis for this study's purpose. The focus of this chapter will be on issues involved in nation-building around the world, and that that pertains to language, and relevantly, the English language; the Malaysian national ideology, the Rukun Negara and its role in engendering national integration through national secondary school education with the nation's school-youth. The importance and place of educational psychology, combined with that of cognitive development educationists, with reference to their educational contributions, are discussed.

Chapter three presents the methodology and procedures used for data collection and analysis. This study was conducted employing both the quantitative and primarily the qualitative research data analysis approaches. The three primary sample groups-the lower and upper secondary school students; the questionnaire items for students, the interview questions for the English language teachers and school language administrators, and the identified Malaysian personalities, are presented.

Chapter four contains an analysis of the data and presentation of the findings of the study. The quantitative, in-depth interview-qualitative analyses and findings of the data input are presented.

In chapter five the researcher presents a summary and a discussion of the findings, implications for pedagogical practice, and recommendations towards the enhancement of Malaysian national integration, and for future research. Particularly, the qualitative, interpretive 'assessments' and constructivist discussions of the research findings presented, illustrate the issues constituting the 'pathways' in the national trajectory towards Malaysian national integration.

Following the above chapter, the references, appendices and end notes sections are presented.

1.10. Operational definitions of terms

For the purposes of this study, the following concepts and terms will be given the following, generally prevalently held definitions. The core research concepts-terms relevant and appropriate for this research undertaking will be attempted to be given particular definitions, as closely applicable as possible to the contexts and socio-political realities of the Malaysian nation.

i. The concept of „**Nation**“ according to Seton-Watson (1977), is well projected —.when a significant number of people in a community *consider themselves* to form a nation, or *behave* as if they have formed one”. Benedict Anderson (1983) further sees the nation‘ as —. an **imagined political community** – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined 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”.

Margaret Canovan (1996, p. 68) takes the position that a nation exemplifies its character in its common, functional roles directly as a mediator, of —mediation between different aspects of experience and between the members of the nation”. With mediation as the underlying principle contributing to the making‘ of the nation, the following constituents then can be its recognisable features,

- (a formed) state, with its institutional and territorial structure,
- a common culture,
- (the exercise of) will and choice, individual or collective.
(Manifestation and expression of) ethnicity(ies), with (their) shared kinship, ancestral traditions and sacred obligations,
- (the institution of some) artificial construction(s) to meet the functional requirements of modernity,
- (the common acknowledgement of) specific historical contingency”
(ibid).

In the efforts to forge a Bangsa Malaysia‘ or Malaysian nation, as put forward by former Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, and the promotion of the 1Malaysia‘ concept by the present Prime Minister, Datuk Najib Razak, all go to indicate somewhat —...~~that~~ such a Malaysian nation‘ is non-existent. ...(Some)

however, say that Malaysia is already emerging as a “multi-ethnic, multi-cultural” nation, and yet others argue that it is still far from being a civil, just and egalitarian society” (Cheah, 2004, p. 41).

It can be observed that in order to bring about a “cohesive state organisation” so that there can be some form of successful development as per the prevalent modernization trends and goals of the third world today, together with its deconstructionist momentum ensuing the generally debilitating impact of colonialism, nation-building was to be a crucial process of integration of disparate parts of the particular polity. It therefore entailed the conscious integration of those sectors of society along “national” lines, involving efforts at “overcoming” the existing “pre-modern or primordial communities.” This was felt as necessary for the constructed and planned strategies for economic as well as political development and stability (Hippler, 2002).

In this study thus, the researcher holds the view that the nation in the Malaysian context, in that the ubiquitous, pluralistic societal constituents combined with our historical progression as a functioning, “stable” society, characterized by the prevalent and possibly “imagined sense of community” amongst the citizens, can together be said to illustrate that nation-building, towards a one nation and nationhood, is an on-going national task.

ii. **„State-building“**- For successful nation-building to be seen as a phenomenon that is actually taking some form of shape in the confines of a society, and to be seen as such by the citizens of the polity, state-building functions as a key aspect. This term essentially involves therefore, all the necessary practical functions and capabilities that a polity requires for its operational functions and mechanisms directed towards the fulfillment of the peoples’ life and service needs. The constituents of these elements can be a financial apparatus, that is, an effective fiscal system, an “uplifting” education system, an organized police force, a strong judicial and legal system, an equitable administrative system and so on, that are accepted by the national society (Hippler, 2005). These latter infrastructural and institutional structures of the state, over time can provide the social and ideological legitimation,

contributing to the strengthening of state operations. (With these above elements well in place, they then can meld into a form of cohesive nation-building schema).

These above facets of state-building, which can be instrumental towards Malaysian nation-building, are seen to be the pre-requisites and qualities for state-building in the Malaysian context, in this study.

iii. The concept of „**nation-state**“: If a nation cannot be seen as a concrete and settled entity, and is to be regarded as imagined, then the nation-state can also be an imagined community. Navari (1981, p.13; Cheah, op cit.) defines a nation-state as a „...polity of homogeneous people who share the same culture and the same language and who are governed by some of their own number, who serve their interests.. ... (However) there is no people in the world that shares such homogeneity, where there are no regional or cultural differences, where all speak the same language or share the same linguistic usages and where the rulers do not differ in rank or wealth or education from the ruled. Actual nations rather approximate to an ideal type rather than mirror it...”.

The **nation** then, as Hugh Seton-Watson (1977) observes, can be an entity that „...exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one,...a basic operator in a widespread system of social classification,...(a) practical category.” If the concept of the nation therefore, is taken to **embody the larger idea of „nationhood”**, the above definition shows that the **citizenry necessarily can evolve together gradually nevertheless, with the appropriate measures of educational socialisation put in place, to become members of a political organisation, looking at themselves primarily and abundantly subjectively**, rather than solely in terms of objective considerations, such as a common language, common culture, history, territorial attachments, economic life, and political arrangements (Brubaker, 2004).

In the Malaysian context essentially, the formative forces for nationhood, that is, the universally accepted status of being a nation, are in the main, processual (that is, the intrinsic and extrinsic mechanisms for change are in place, and their impact can be incrementally manifested) . The Malaysian nation-state exists with its independent

and democratically formed government made up of its own citizens, working towards serving the interests of the national society. The various ethnic groups have come to a common consensus based on a binding ‘social contract’ of mutual understanding, and with functioning institutions upholding the rule of law as based on a democratically constructed Federal Constitution.

iv. **Nationalism** will be taken to mean in this study, as the “... desire to create or establish a nation or nation-state. It is seen as the social forces that energise the aspirations as well as the discontents of ethnic communities, large and small” (Cheah, op cit., p.42). The Malaysian societal efforts as a composite whole, as based on its citizens’ still-evolving will and commitment towards the desired ‘one’ Malaysian nation-state, will constitute what nationalism stands for in this study.

It is to be noted that the nation’s history and its ‘receptacle’ of myths, when discovered, revitalized through research and presented and shared educationally, particularly with the young, illustrate how the psychological dimension of the phenomenon of nationalism, evoking possibly sound, strong national feelings in the peoples of the nation, can be brought into play.

Nationalism, as in this study, will incorporate the following elements as its defining constituents for a programme of national integration,

- a. the *process of forming and maintaining the requisite social „scaffolding” for the consolidation of the nation,*
- b. the efforts needed to instill a consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with the sentiments and aspirations with regards its security and prosperity,
- c. the *use of language and symbolisms reflective of the history and traditions of the nation,*
(Smith, 1991, adapted)

v. **Nationhood**- This study will look at the above concept- nationhood, as the declarative quality of being an established and universally regarded nation-state, as defined by the United Nations organisation. The Malaysian nation is a member of the United Nations, and with its challenges as a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural polity,

faces certain pressures and strains in its trajectory towards its desired nationhood, as other 'similarly endowed' societies in the world. The nation then, which exemplifies as on a daily, commonly audited 'referendum', that it embodies the common desire of the peoples to live together, and further, that together they are committed to value their shared multicultural or otherwise, bases and heritage as a nation, then the evolving, composite national memories grounds the peoples with that sense of nationhood for their their particular nation. The political, social and economic efforts towards a Malaysian nationhood are constantly given attention.

In this study thus, the issues involved in moving towards the above state of 'national being' via English language nationhood values education in the public school-youth, that is the central focus.

vi. **National Integration-** The broad underpinnings of this concept can be said to relate to the concepts of 'national unity', 'nation-building', 'nationhood', 'Bangsa Malaysia', '1Malaysia', 'unity in diversity', and the qualities of belonging and patriotism to the nation. As opposed to the 'traditional' proposition that a nation equals a particular race and this in turn equals culture and language, as this latter position is viewed today as far removed from empirical realities, the existing ethnic diversities in Malaysia and other plural societies, calls for 'nation-building' policies, as per the authority-defined and the everyday-defined national identity perspectives, which then can be seen as the present-day operating and determinative constituents of the 'national integration process'.

Following from the above discussion, in this study national integration will refer to the nation-building efforts endeavoured to create the socio-political contexts "...within which (a sense of Malaysian) national consciousness may develop" (Voon, 2007, p.211). This needs to be grounded on the need for this above national consciousness to "...appeal to a variety of social and economic interests in order to be accepted by the whole of the body politic" (ibid).

vii. **National identity-** The question, „*what qualities and values portray a Malaysian?*“, will underpin the direction of this study, and this will be studied so as to reflect the implications involved in the cultivation of a sense of national oneness

and comradeship, as directed towards an imagined (Malaysian) community-(nation)'. In the multi-ethnic context of our nation, the forging of a common and shared national identity' (as in v. above), can be a primary task focused on the infusion of a sense of a palpably strong and positive personal meaning to one's citizenship status in the citizens (rakyat) of the nation. This then can well enable them to think of themselves as co-nationals' [ibid, p.8].

This above discussion will stand as the operational definitions of the primary themes for the purposes of this study.



CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

The primary focus of this study being the *extent English language lessons incorporating and teaching nationhood values, can help cultivate a greater sense of national belongingness, that is, national integration*, this chapter is a review of the relevant related literature involved. This includes the conceptual issues that foreground the relevant theories on youth in particular, as to the experiential influences on their value systems (and character traits) (Erikson's Psychological Theory 1964), the cognitive development of 13 to 16 year old school youth [education psychologists Piaget (1952), Vygotsky (1962)] as it relates to established educational taxonomies of academic skills (Barrett's Educational taxonomy); the theories relating to the larger issues of social contact [Intergroup Contact Theory, Allport, 1954], accommodation, behaviour change [Greater Integration Theory, Lieberman, 2003], the enabling processes for positive social cohesion and integration [Shamsul- *state of equilibrium*, *stable tension*, UKM Ethnic Studies Paper Series No. 18, May 2011, Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), Bangi, Malaysia; and the Model of Integrative Process, (Mazrui, 1969)], which thereby can possibly well impact on the youth's sense of national integration.

This chapter will also discuss the related issues on nationalism and nation formation, the social dynamics of ethnic diversities and communal polarities in certain plural societies as they indicate some commonalities of contexts with the Malaysian nation; some perspectives on national development in relation to engendering national integration; the role that the Malaysian national ideology- the Rukun Negara particularly, can play in constructive nationhood values education; and the views of

certain Malaysian personalities- both educationists and social figures, on the primary themes of this study.

2.2. Conceptual framework of study

With a particular focus in this study then, of *enabling language education to help pedagogically implant and possibly, steer (imbed) the learning (,dialogic"; aesthetic and with other appropriate pedagogic means) for the cultivation of nationhood values in young learners and thence to deepen the sense of belonging to the nation,* the following conceptual 'architecture' and diagrammatic representation, has been devised (Figure 1 below)..

Beginning with the nation's youth, particularly those in schools (the foundational basis of a nation's unity), moving them along a national social trajectory well-endowed with civic, public and educational institutions and programmes, the facilitators, 'nation-builders' and the institutional means are taken together as facilitating English language nationhood education towards national integration. The process of imbedding nationhood values by the schools and the nation's educators particularly, with a central focus on the presently little said national ideology-the Rukun Negara, and that of acceptance, a sense of belonging to the nation and so on, can then possibly be an integrated and wholesome one.

The researcher's task in establishing a conceptual definition of the core research theme and construct in this study, that is, nationhood English language values education in school-youth towards social-national integration, together with the other related concepts, expectations and theories such that these above go to support and inform the focus and directions of this research study [Ravitch & Riggan, 2011; thesis references, 'nation'-p.3., 'nationhood'-...desire and will to live together...', p.32., 'national integration'-p.33., Weber, 'national idea'- p. 121-122., footnote 21], led firstly and crucially, to an incisive delineation of the purpose and significance of the Malaysian national ideology, the Rukun Negara (sect. 2.3.7-Rukun Negara values, 'cashv mrelo', p. 90). The social integrationist theories (theoretical framework, pp.44-51), particularly that that portend a trajectory towards a common civic national identity platform, were then identified, which could well support the

functional realisation through language values education of the nationhood values, in society and in the school-youth, as essentially intended in the early 1970s Malaysian social-political scenario.

Looking at earlier studies on similarly related themes as this study, the researcher decided to use a rating scale questionnaire instrument, with in-depth interview questions for the respondents involved, as the measures of the study construct. This was to help establish the perceived extent of the respondents' regard of the impact of the English nationhood values education on their sense of national integration (research questions, p. 18; objectives of study, p.19).

The other factors which are said to determine national integration in nations in general, and particularly in multi-ethnic societies, are not totally discounted. These refer to the various "somethings" (Neuman, 2006, p.183), for example, which can by themselves be constitutive of the trajectory towards national integration in Malaysia. These, in with bearing on this study, are nationhood character education, development (pp. 29, 44, 309), youth and education (pp.37, 45, 246, 309), educational- psychological theories (sect. 2.3.8., p. 91), the institutions of parenthood, leadership, public organisations and so on, which can contribute towards national integration, are thus seen in this study as vastly multifarious in their dimensional scope. As such, the scope of this study, is thus broadly determined as the focus on English language nationhood values education on national integration in secondary school-youth, is seen appropriate, and is discussed in section 1.6, pages 19 and 20. The other various factors are discoursed to some extent in chapters two (p.35) and five (p.261) of this study, with the primary direction of this study constantly borne in mind and given an "expansive impactful perspective", that is, with regards the possibly constructive- "grounding" (basing and centring) significance of language- per English language, nationhood values education on school-youth, towards the trajectory of national integration in this country today.

With the above elements of this study decided, the "conceptual architecture" of the study then necessitated the determination of the units of analysis. It was decided that for the purpose of this study, the primary study construct applies closely to the individual and group units of analysis. As such, public secondary school individual

students and small-groups of students, individual English language teachers and individual Malaysian personalities, were the units of analysis of this study.

With the schools in particular, being the platform for the exemplification of the related social interaction theories and programmes as such (p. 45), the convergence of these above elements towards national integration, with the primary elements as depicted in the following diagram, is the central overlapping domain merging the enabling inclusive social elements.

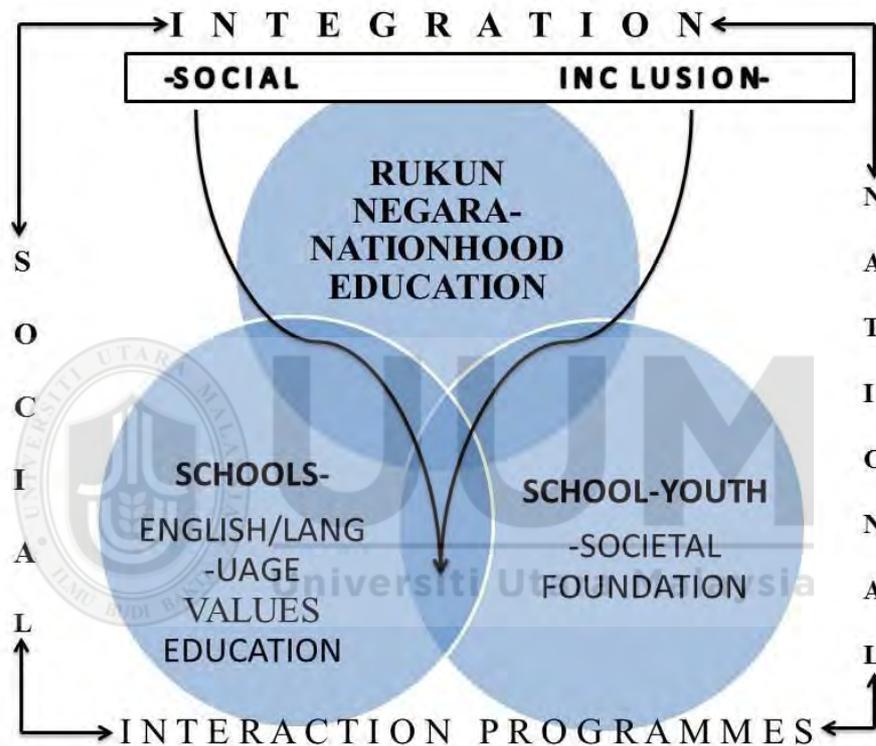


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of study

2.3. Review of related literature

The essential element, it can be emphasised in the construction and making of the nation, is commonly seen as a sense of nationalism. This latter phenomenon can be said to be the extent the peoples of a polity want invariably, to be free from all dominating and colonialistic shackles. It reflects the desire of peoples to have their rights and future to be securely based in a national system, in which they can clearly have a say and vote, in determining the future course of their lives.

Anderson (1991) argues that a nation is indeed a modern construct, as it was seen evolving especially, with socio-political developments through the eighteenth

century onwards. The above writer's marked contribution to the concept of the nation, which has a particular bearing to the Malaysian context, is that the nation is an imagined political community. This is so as most people in his view, have the sense of commitment and communion with their other fellow countrymen. This can be ardently sought, as the modern state and nation promises and symbolizes freedom, very much through the printed media. This social goal is something most peoples caught in the turbulent politics of colonialism, imperialism and wars and conflicts, in their nations' history, have generally never enjoyed.

The freedom that is attained when the nation becomes a sovereign entity is something that people greatly desire, even if there are evident instances of inequality and exploitation around them. The fervour of nationalism pushes them on to imagine and fight for their own nation. This is aided by the knowledge, it is said, that peoples of the polity possess a somewhat contrived and imagined, for all intents and purposes as such, sense of common, horizontal comradeship.

Even in the early stages of the formation of the nation, as in the case of Malaysia, being confronted with external negative and disruptive forces, such as colonialism, the Japanese occupation, the communist insurgency and the internal social challenges of economic development and political stability, the pertinent issue that arose then, and as it is today, is what sort of imaginings as such, do we have to structure and orient the Malaysian nation towards its fullness- be that,

- i) becoming a developed nation and a socially united one, or,
- ii) one that is ethno-culturally formed with many divergent groups centrifugally confined to the comfort zones of their particular ethnies.

In today's globalized world, if information technology is the new print media, being seemingly driven by modern capitalism, it is noted that this information technology is the shaper of minds of the current times, and can even be the determiner of national events. The **youth**, in their information technology-constituted vibrancy and strength, can play a large part in determining the future of a nation. This is well illustrated in this twenty-first century Arab Spring events in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region.

As such, in Malaysia today and in the future, as discussed earlier (see section on Introduction), **the youth constituting a significant section of the nation's demography, it is important therefore, that their desires and „imaginings“ of the future Malaysian nation, be given the utmost attention.**

The aspirations of a Malaysian nation and the Vision 2020 Plan, necessitate the urgent need to assist the school youth today, to become intellectually and spiritually nurtured and committed towards national integration. It is at this phase of their growth to becoming national citizens, that these formative and impressionable years of their lives are properly imbedded with well-constituted nurturing of strong nationhood values (see language values education in Review of Related Literature section).

2.3.1. Perspectives on „imagining“ the nation

Smith (1986), in his seminal book, Ethnic Origins of Nations, in discussing the concept of the nation, contends that there can be two major ideal types in imagining the nation.

One is the ethnic-genealogical, and the other is the civic-territorial types.

2.3.1.1. Ethnic-genealogical perspective

The first perspective above in the construction of the nation is based on the cultural, ethnic and religious aspects and attributes of the peoples of the polity involved. Language, race, customs and beliefs are the primary considerations by which groups of peoples can come together to form and chart the future, and thence construct the social geography of the nation.

The futures of most nations are often chartered linking them to their particular repertoire of historical memory. With myths, legends and cultural practices being the focus, the peoples are directed and pulled together in an organic way to become members of a single nationhood entity.

The fact that the people may be separated and reside at large distances from each other, and may never actually hope to know many of the other nationals in their lifetimes, does not figure strongly in their stand to belong to the nation.

The driving internal forces of the peoples of a polity, clearly not conforming to the realities of the polity that can be fully defined or particularly categorized, can be seen in the light of Hugh Watson's (1977) conclusion, that a "nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they have formed one".

The form of 'nationalistic aspirations' that the people experience as an outcome of their past, alludes to Gellner's (2006) stand-point that, "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, it *invents* nations where they do not exist".

Further, in line with the above observation, Jose Carlo Mariategus (Wong Phui Nam, 1996, p.9) succinctly points out, with his observation indicating a commonality with the above observations with regards the national integration scenario, that, "The nation ... is an abstraction, an allegory, a myth that does not correspond to a reality that can be scientifically defined".

In the above 'ethnic-genealogical' approach to 'nation-making' as it were, the problems however, of the positions of many ethnicities in a plural society, arises. A dominant ethnic group which may have been predominantly involved in the nation-construction process, can tend to determine particular privileges and socio-economic rights for themselves, leaving the other ethnic groups alienated and to feel excluded from mainstream society. This then, as it is often seen from the political history of world nations, since the beginning of the Cold War in the 1950s, that there can be simmering and open tensions, and violent conflicts can result within many multi-ethnic nations. However, culture by itself is not sufficient to create ethnic conflicts (McEvoy, 2011), as culture is basically seen as a system of meanings and practices by which people attempt to make sense of their lives, the world as they know it, and interpret and understand the way others live their lives (Geertz, 1973).

The causal social phenomenon of rejection, exclusion or inclusion of one ethno-cultural group over another, only come about, as they often make up the socio-political narrative in pluralistically divided societies, when groups, by virtue of their size, political wrangling, or economic standing that accord them a political voice and power, are brought into play when particular generations-based cultural images are

evoked by individuals and groups with particular motivations, so as to “...stir up deeply held and clashing feelings” (Ross, 2009.p.5).

The cultural contestations that commonly define segmental cleavages and majority-minority ethnic positions in plural societies, can engender simmering tensions to ‘break loose’, by becoming a significant social domain by which the majority ethnic groups confront the ‘others’- the minorities, which then can result in them developing their separate, cultural, socio-political identities.

The avenues to transcend cultural divisions thus, exist, as Ross (ibid, p. 8) reminds us that,

...because cultural identities are constructed, they can also be reconstructed as opponents develop more complex views of each other and come to realize that despite all that divides them, there are some important things they share and ways that their futures are interdependent.

It is thus a productive social possibility, as Ross notes that, “...more inclusive symbols and rituals can draw former opponents into a new relationship while more exclusive ones harden the lines of differentiation” (ibid, p.2).

Thus, the institutional frameworks of inclusivism employed to consolidate the manifestations of cultural differences, are commonly the integrationist and accommodationist approaches. Even if the possibility of a common public identity that integrationists advocate, may be a difficult and distant eventuality in culturally divided societies, scholars tend to favour the broad applicabilities of the essence of both the above approaches- integrationist and accommodationist, for social cohesion.

As Kinsky (2005) has aptly noted, that,

...Within the nation state, minorities interact with the majority national group, contributing to the internal salience of such ethnic group markers as language. ...the role (played) by socialization (in) educating the members of the nation, (supported) by the institutionalization of the modern nation, by transmitting a standardized version of a national culture and language, that guarantees its survival by making individuals into nationals. ... (Ernest Gellner's) ideas on the emergence of nationalism, (and his stand-point on the above's) regular and evolutionary approach, (with then) the standardization of language, aids the institutional, civic side of nation-building. ...language is the most precious thing a nation possesses and the nation can express itself and its experiences only through language... (Benedict) Anderson's account of the emergence of nations as

*imagined communities deals extensively with the **institutional and social roles of language in its communicative and symbolic functions.***

As such, in the Malaysian context in the light of this research study, cultural-language divisions can be kept in check by the use of public institutional measures towards establishing legal authority and control over sections of the national society with, the subtle assistance afforded by the standardization processes for a common national language; balanced, consociationalist-inclusive power-sharing systems and practices put in place; and an accomodationist-multiculturalistic commitment and upholding, with constitutionally-based institutional supports, for the maintenance and co-existence of group identities and legitimate rights, towards a desired and inevitable common future (McGarry, et al., 2008; Lijphart, 1977; McEvoy, 2011).

2.3.1.2. Civic-territorial perspective

However, the second perspective in nation-formation, which is the civic-territorial nation, can be discussed at this juncture, to see how our Malaysian nationhood deliberations can best be understood.

The imagining of this above form of the nation emphasizes the nurturing of a community of common citizens. These citizens are to have shared rights and civic responsibilities, cushioned and drawn together in a relationship of mutualities, by a common language, some shared, universal beliefs, and a clear and right historical understanding of the origins of the nation. The pressures that arise from within a multi-ethnic nation, among long-standing citizens as such, are generally addressed with an open, essentially humanistic outlook. This allows the nation to accord its people the status as equal citizens, sharing the nation's fruits equitably and shouldering common national responsibilities. Multiculturalism is often adopted in this approach as a pragmatic, national policy.

Further, an accomodationist approach applying a form of territorial pluralism in which federal units and institutions for the diverse groups are formed, allowing them to function on the basis of a totalising-composite nationality constituted of group ethnicities, languages or religions. Significant levels of autonomy are also bestowed upon these units. The groups, in their separate, but generally inter-linked and interdependent federal units, governed by a canopic federalistic system, will often

exercise their powers to safeguard their interests and vote out legislation that they consider can threaten their positions as rightful citizens of the polity.

Joanne McEvoy (2011) illustrates the cases of Northern Ireland and Macedonia today, in their efforts at forming cohesive states with their culturally diverse peoples. In Northern Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) signed in 1998 by the contending parties, was intended to establish peace in this British dominion. A 'parity of esteem' for both the nationalist government and the unionist Irish communities, with more inclusive cum pluralistic forms of governance was the ultimate goal of the above agreement.

Macedonia, a bi-national state striving to cement, without allowing any room for political ambiguity as ethnic-related questions of cultural contestations had been the defining issues of the state for a lengthy period of time, resulting in uncertainty and loss, a coterminous link between the nation and state was devised. This was in the form of the accommodationist Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) which provides for each community in Macedonia to use its own symbols, thereby enabling them to "...express, foster and develop their identity and community attributes,...(and) a minority parliamentary veto on decisions relating to culture and the use of symbols" (ibid. p.13).

This above position having become the essence of the compromise agreement, there still tended to be contestations on particular and singular issues, as opposed to a sense of acceptance of 'all-encompassing' national issues, such as the use of the state or the communal flags in official occasions. The Macedonian majority community has sought to function by doing all it could to create a wholesome society and nation, with the state symbols used within and internationally, to reflect what the nation is and stands for. On the other hand, the Albanian community has continued to seek state recognition on an equal footing with the majority Macedonians, for their language, flag and other symbols.

However, in such circumstances, with the compromises carefully worked out directed primarily towards establishing order, national cohesion and the satisfaction of communal interests in the above two states, the lessons drawn from them for other culturally divided states such as Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and others, are that

the management of cultural diversity in situations of competing ‘nationalisms’ can often revolve around the areas of communal identities, languages, cultural symbols, insignias and so on.

2.3.2. Theoretical framework

On the domain of the youth, Erikson’s Psychological Theory (1964) states that youth from the age of around 12 to 18 years of age are often influenced by new experiences in their social environments directly and usually strongly. New social conflicts, demands, expectations and so on do impact on their thinking patterns, behaviour traits and life styles. With their changing expectations, the youth can be drawn to try their best in establishing a new sense of ego-identity, according to Erikson. They can thus become clannish, looking for acceptance with ‘in-groups’, intolerant, aggressive and adopt unhealthy values and notions in their exclusion of others in the outside world. These new changes in their lives can affect their social outlook which can determine the nature of their individual value systems, their personal character, and importantly, their relationships with one another.

This above theoretical principle ties in with the education psychologist Piaget’s stand that children, in their cognitive development, begin early in their ‘middle childhood’ and progressively as they grow older, to learn and acquire values and norms of behaviour, through their interaction with the environment, their family contexts and practices, their peers and social networks (Piaget, 1952; this latter social phenomenon is particularly evident today with the rapid and rampant growth in communications technologies, and the easy vulnerability of youth worldwide, to possibly absorb negative, and positive influences ensuing from the many forms of these above technologies).

It is thus essential that society and government give particular attention to youth at this crucial stage of their emotional, social and cognitive development. As the youth in this age group are at the vanguard for the future progress and prosperity of the nation, and therefore, in relation to the purposes of this study, the youth can be guided and ‘moulded’ through systemic language education and value-inculcation programmes. This is necessary to help bring this youth ‘social actors-cum-nation-builders’ positively into the mainstream of the nation’s development programmes, embodying constructive competencies and good, foundational nationhood values.

In the Greater Integration Theory (Lieberman, 2003), in multi-ethnic and diverse societies with different, not necessarily distinct, primordial differences, the peripheral and minority groups can be brought closer to the core, majority groups, for consensual existence in a single polity. This can be done, according to Lieberman (ibid), through well-thought-of accommodation practices. The functioning domains in national governance in society- education, culture, trade, market economies and so on, which are external dimensions to the social groups, can play a constructive role in drawing these disparate and varied groups closer and bridge and link them into a composite and integrated whole, and thus a nation.

In the views of Shamsul (2011), who takes a positive stand of the state of inter-ethnic relations in Malaysia, social cohesion is not a distant possibility in our nation. The accommodation principle that Lieberman (op cit) has propounded, can be said to be well reflected in what Shamsul (op cit) has referred to as a state of equilibrium that already exists in Malaysian society. In a diverse social context, this state of equilibrium or balance in the society has necessarily to be cultivated on the basis of a logical, rational and commonsensical form of mutual contact and deliberation, with these principles being reflected and strengthened from the top, in the forms of governance, exemplifying a balance and moderateness towards the divergent group interests. Shamsul (ibid) emphasizes that in Malaysia the accommodation forces that have been working sublimally and quietly, at the bottom levels, after the 1969 racial riots, have led to a form of social cohesion. The above scholar is of the view that the peace and stability that have generally prevailed have their roots in the genuine desire of Malaysians at large, for the long sought-after national unity. Thus, the constant forces and values promoting moderation in the plural, fragmented and diversified Malaysia, towards coexistence and everyday collaboration, contend continuously with the prevalent, social sets of opposites or contradictions, bringing them to a form of realignment and arriving at a point of convergence, including (the practice of) agreeing to disagree” (Shamsul, as in NST 16.12. 2011, p.26).

Shamsul Amri’s observations, especially of the evolving Malaysian social milieu post 1969 riots, are illustrated by a study by Hutnik (1991, in Snauwaert, et al. 2003). The focus of this study was to gauge the attitudes of minority, acculturating groups

and individuals when they are confronted with the issues of cultural maintenance and contacts with the majority groups. The researchers concluded on the basis of their findings in their study, that the two immigrant, minority groups of Moroccan and Turkish origins in Belgium were,

- i) not much inclined to identify with Belgians and to adopt parts of the Belgian culture, and
- ii) that they were more inclined to establish good and regular relationships with the Belgians.

As Hutnik (in Snauwaert, *ibid*, p.237) says, that “self-categorization...persists long after the individual has made the necessary cultural adaptations for effective living”. Therefore, as their study indicated, the researchers conclude further that,

- iii) integration for contact and healthy relationships, is given importance.

Nevertheless, identification with the native, majority group and adoption of parts of the latter’s culture, is rejected.

One further essential conclusion of the above study, which has a bearing on the focus of this present research study, involves the perceptual and psychological dimensions involved in the quest for national integration. The above writers emphasize that,

- iv) an adoption-integration orientation and an acculturative-ethnic identity orientation require a greater degree of psychological preparedness on the part of the other, minority groups.⁶

⁶ The adoption integration orientation can be seen as that state of one’s thinking which allows one to adopt the culture of the host community, regarding it as something valuable for oneself. The acculturative ethnic identity orientation involves the relinquishing of one’s cultural heritage elements, and assimilating and maintaining relations with the indigenous group. The acculturative individual tends to be inclined to maintain his identification with both the majority and (his own) minority group(s).

The **implications** for this research study is clearly therefore, that the abilities of the existing **institutional resources** and that of **other channels**, be geared further to educate and orientate the other communities and the youth specifically, of all ethnic groups, towards the learning of the adoption of particular nationhood values. The inculcation process of language nationhood values education can be well spearheaded by **schools**, and can involve the imbibing by learners of the above towards the cultivation of the sense of oneness and national integration.

Further, in the *Intergroup Contact Theory*, Allport (1954) held that positive effects (these can pertain to psychological orientations) of intergroup contact occur in situations where four key conditions prevail-i) equal group status within the situation involved, ii) common goals, iii) inter-group co-operation, and iv) the support of authorities, law and custom. Relatedly, on the same theme, Pettigrew (1998) reports that research involving the **principles of intergroup contact theory** show positive contact effects even in situations lacking the key conditions, going to show that positive attitudes in individuals do make the difference, resulting in enhanced intergroup relations. Pettigrew (ibid) further noted that even with limiting factors on positive contact possibilities, research typically finds positive results. This, according to the above writer is due to the premise that facilitating conditions alone can be sufficient, rather than those held as essential conditions for optimal contact. As long as there are underlying, supportive and mediating processes towards positive intergroup contact, then positive results can be forthcoming. This was exemplified by research conducted in generally held ‘hardened’ race-sensitive problem areas in the United States, like schooling and housing in the 1990s, which had shown, that in the desegregated housing projects, that particularly white house-owners favoured interracial housing. Positive racial attitudes and views of the ‘other’, developed among both whites and the blacks. The writer notes that with intergroup contact occurring, affective ties are further generated. This can be in the form of emotions, anxiety, empathy and positive attitudes for outgroups (for example, even those with Aids, convicted murderers, the homeless, and so on); and any initial negative reactions which are followed by continued contact, these latter can help to reduce anxieties among groups.

It is important to note at this point in looking at this above theory, and this having a relevance to this researcher’s study, that behaviour modification is a strong likelihood with constant and optimal contact among groups. As Pettigrew (ibid) comments, drawing from various research works and other writers that,

...Behaviour change is often the precursor of attitude change. New situations require conforming to new expectations. If these expectations include acceptance of outgroup members, this behaviour has the potential to produce attitude change. We can resolve our dissonance between old prejudices and new behaviour by revising our attitudes (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). This behavioural process also benefits from repeated contact, preferably in various settings (Jackman & Crane, 1986). Repetition makes

inter-group encounters comfortable and “right”. Repetition itself leads to liking. Appropriate rewards for the new behaviour enhances the positive effects further (ibid, p.71).

Various issues come to the fore from the above commentary. Primarily, in greater intergroup contact supported by cognitive, competency-enhancing language education towards further nationhood themes and values, Malaysian youth can stand to internalize positive behavioural attitudes in relation to the nation, and the different Malaysians’.

We can thus see that to bring about a foundationally strong and resilient form of social cohesion in our nation, the nation-building targets’ and agents involved, that is, the youth particularly, need to acquire nationhood values and be guided to constantly keep moving beyond any sense of otherness’, towards inclusivity, of all segments of Malaysian society.

A further theoretical model of particular relevance to this study, is Ali Mazrui’s Model of Integrative Process [as in Kuper, L. & Smith, M.G. (Eds.), 1969]. This model indicates the degree of attention that can be given to the efforts that can lead to different levels of social integration, and thereby, national solidarity among disparate groups. The writer uses a continuum concept to demonstrate that the stages of social integration in society, often advance’, as it were, from the first stage, the state of bare coexistence’ at one end of the continuum, to a state of coalescence’ and possibly acceptance’ at the other.

The second developmental stage of integration is the relationship of contact. Even if this contact is positive in nature or negative, as in the form of group tensions and conflicts, the writer stresses that the contact by itself points to a need by different groups for interaction and to understand’ the others. In the third stage, a relationship of compromise develops. The sense of interdependence that then ensues, promotes a climate of peaceful reconciliation of individual and group misunderstandings and conflicting interests, which allow the varied groups to discover their common areas of general compromise and compatibility.

The final stage of integration, according to the writer, is that of **coalescence** of one another’s identities. This, the writer feels, helps in removing the marked distinctions

as perceived to exist between total identities. At this stage therefore, there is a form of readiness towards an „**acceptance**“ of the „**other**“ in the national society. The **group diversities** and their cultural identities, according to the writer, will be essentially maintained‘.

Mazrui’s integration process continuum above can be illustrated as follows.

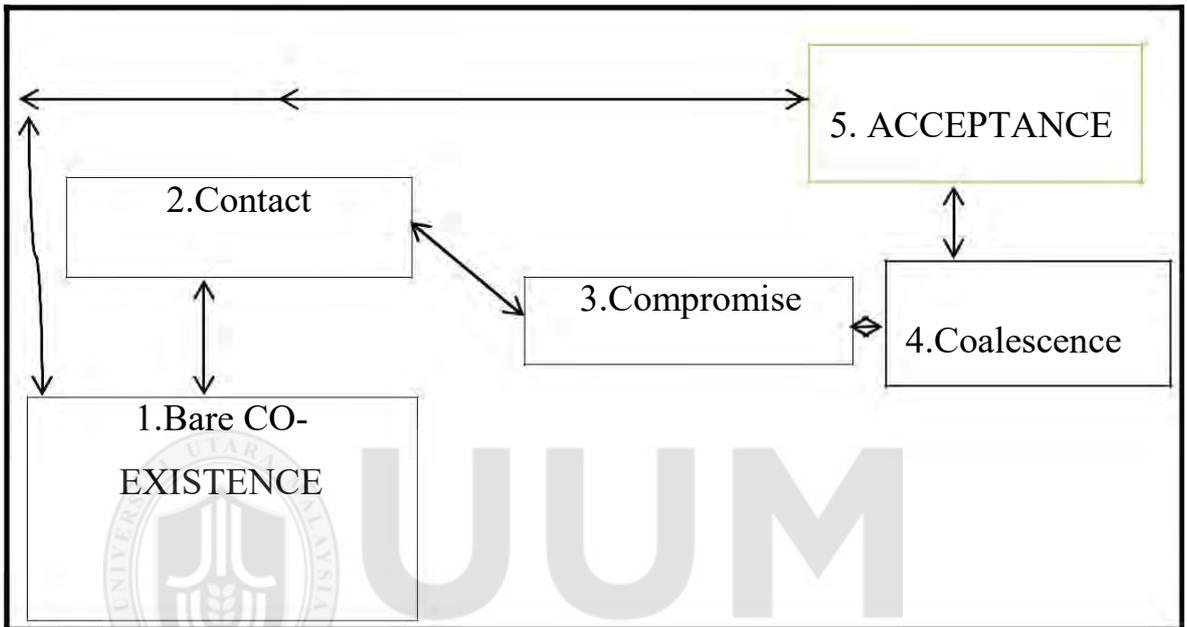


Figure 2.1. Integration process- stages and social transformations

Communal relationships in most plural societies are thought to be moving in the direction of social integration, from an early stage of distinct group existences. The further and final‘ stage of integration- appreciation and acceptance, can however, be partial or complete. *Recurrences and lapses* can necessitate going back to the earlier stages to thenceforth, restructure and reinvigorate the constituents involved in the particular stages (as indicated by the arrows in the figure above).

Thus, in relation to the objectives of this study, the primary issue to note is- to first take stock of the state of our nation’s present state of social integration. The requisites to nurture national integration, with English **language education as an approach in particular** for example, in the processual‘ stages above, which the model implicitly allows for, through the „*social building tools*“ of *compromise and coalescence*, need then to be addressed. The above model thus lays out the

„pathway“⁴ the **processual trajectory** that can indicate the **benchmarks for attainment** in the efforts the Malaysian leaders can take, with the possibilities of revisiting earlier efforts, for further refinement and progress towards social integration.

The various theories and the national integration model discussed above, provide the researcher with a varied repertoire of social integration issues and elements which have a bearing on this study. The researcher will focus on particular and relevant elements in these theories, particularly the Erikson Psychological theory, the Intergroup Contact theory and the Ali Mazrui's Integrative Process Model, and relate the common elements in them and that from the standpoints discussed above, and apply them in this study, with regards the inculcation of nationhood values in language education.

2.3.3. The Malaysian context

Malaysia has not always imagined itself as an exclusive ethnic Malay-genealogical nation. It has also not always imagined itself as an all-inclusive civic-territorial one. Our nation's political-social history has led the nation to be at times in the former model, and then at other times, to be veered on to the latter type of nation constitution (Francis Loh, 2012, Aliran Vol.33, No.6, 7).

The political bargain that ensued at the time of Malaysian independence in 1957, or as sometimes referred to as the 'signal' social contract, although recognizing the constitutional provision of special rights for the Malays, the recognition of the Malayan state Sultans as heads of states, Malay as the national language, Islam as the religion of the Federation, with the constitutional guarantees for the legitimate rights of non-bumiputras- the indigenous peoples of the land, in respect of their languages, religions, retention of cultures, and economic rights the nation was seen as adopting the civic-territorial model (ibid, pp. 8-9).

This above socio-political scenario changed quite comprehensively after the racial riots of May 1969. The nation made a strong and sharp turn towards the ethnic-genealogical nation model.

The population of the Malaysian nation, even prior to attainment of national independence, was well acknowledged to be firmly constituted of the three major ethnic communities ubiquitously present in the Malaysian landscape, This was so with regards to the prevalent nature of its intergroup power relationships. The realization of the state of our inter-ethnic relationships became more apparent in the 1960s as such, with the economic development programmes seen to be benefitting the society generally and particular groups, that Furnivall's (1948 p. 304) observation more than half a century ago, that even when ethnic groups exist side by side, they may consciously want to maintain their separateness, appears to hold true. As Vasil (1984, pp.1-2) had succinctly noted, that with economic development impacting on a nation's population differently, it tends to heighten sensitivities and (breed) a general atmosphere of unreasonableness and distrust, making it immensely more difficult to attain solutions to outstanding problems on the basis of a reasonable give and take (approach) ”.

This above observation, having been made on the then justifiable grounds, a lot of water has since flowed under our bridges. The positive note being, to echo the position Shamsul Amri has positively taken, that today we are united in our diversity”, in moments of unity” (interview with researcher, 8. May, 2015).

The New Economic Policy (NEP) having been introduced in 1971intended to bring a semblance of social order to the particularly economic, as well as the attendant social discordances of the post independence period, was primarily then to allow for direct state intervention. Its primary and sacrosanct goal was national unity by way of its two-pronged objectives of alleviating the dire poverty levels among the Malays, which stood at about seventy percent (Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975), and to uplift the socio-economic well-being of the other bumiputras, and of all the communities.

However, with a crucial bearing on the *primary theme of this researcher's study-the cultivation of the sense of oneness as Malaysians*, the NEP, notwithstanding its positive outcomes, Jomo (1986, p.302), observes that the most acute inter-ethnic conflict resulted from (the) NEP's affirmative action, (which occurred) among the so-called middle-class (or petty bourgeoisie), mainly over educational, employment, business and promotional opportunities and facilities” (Yeoh, 2013, p.

12). The Malay and Chinese bourgeois classes then, as now in all probability, shared common economic and political interests, enjoying a form of social camaraderie which helped inject an element of accommodation and collaboration in their relationships. This helped to prevent inter-ethnic rivalry among members of these high social class-ethnic groups. This above accommodation was largely conspicuously absent among the common middle-class ethnic groups. The urgent demands of everyday living- education, jobs, employment and so forth, resulted in more acute inter-ethnic-class rivalry and tensions in the larger pool of the middle-class population. This has tended to clearly have wider ramifications in the total Malaysian society, as it is acknowledged today (ibid).

In fact, scholars have pointed out that the Malaysian governments' efforts in the 1970s onwards, to restructure the employment patterns in the nation, which was felt to be a source of ethnic conflict, and thereupon, concentrating on creating high-income-earning Malay managers, executives and professionals as well as a middle class of sub-professionals and technicians, was in itself a process which has led to a intensification of racial contentions today, that is, ~~the~~ dialectics of (the) post NEP development (period)" (ibid; Rabushka, 1974).

Clearly contextualizing this overarching Malaysian multi-racialism and its attendant contestations, the incisive Malaysian social scientist, Khoo Boo Teik (2005, pp. 27, 41), noting the nature of the intended developmental NEP political and administrative machinations, with their noble goals nevertheless, explains that,

...Under the NEP, the public sector's concerns were developmentalist, but the direction of those concerns was increasingly ethnicized...In Malaysia as in other multi-ethnic societies, „ethnic narratives“ of power, wealth and poverty thrive on inequalities, chiefly by insistently imagining the fortune of one ethnic community to be the deprivation of another. Correlations of ethnicity to such socio-economic indicators as income, employment, household poverty and ownership of wealth, (were) used to underscore ethnic disparities, although socio-economic inequalities cannot fundamentally be explained by ethnicity alone...Such a nexus of ethnicity, class and the state has been central to Malaysia's attempts to create stable configurations of a political economy in order to manage the destabilizing intersections of ethnic differentiation with class divisions.

[related comments in Gomez., Saravanamuttu., (Eds.), 2013, pp.3,17; Maznah Mohamad, Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, (Eds.), 2011, pp. 15, 23, 42-6]⁷.

The nation's ethnicized approach thus, to the resolution of primarily economic goals and problems, it can be said, has possibly inadvertently demarcated further the cleavages in the nation's social life.

The nation, in the NEP period, also saw the active implementation of the *National Language Act 1967*. The education system, apart from the dual- Chinese and Tamil vernacular language school system, was transformed, replacing the English language school and the associated 'lingua franca' of English as a primary medium of instruction, with Bahasa Melayu as the primary medium of instruction in the national school system.

The May 13th 1969 racial riots in Malaysia, saw the birth of serious moves by the government towards evolving a 'common culture' that will be 'national' in nature. This, then it was believed, will help construct in time, a sense of a Malaysian nationality and consciousness. This was more so as it was believed that the Bahasa Melayu common medium of instruction for young Malaysians in schools, and the above language playing a major role as the nation's national language, given the multi-lingual and multi-cultural nature of the Malaysian society, will provide the impetus to form the aspired contours and realization of a Malaysian culture. As Asmah Hj. Omar notes,

The content of a culture can be expressed by its language. ... The fact that the national culture is Malay culture has already been enshrined in the Document of the Date of Independence of Malaya (Perisytiharan tarikh Kemerdekaan Malaya) signed on 20th February 1956, by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra (who was to become the first Prime Minister of Malaya) and

⁷Edmund Terence Gomez and Johan Saravanamuttu in their book, 'The New Economic Policy in Malaysia-Affirmative Action, Ethnic Inequalities and Social Justice', discuss the impact of the NEP on Malaysian social cohesion, genuine entrepreneurial capacity, and intra-Bumiputera inequities. Crucial issues with regards the shortcomings in the affirmative action policies for the provision of high quality education to those in need, and the wastages in expending key national resources, are further appraised.

Maznah Mohamad and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied in 'Melayu-The Politics, Poetics and Paradoxes of Malayness', with Judith Nagata and others, consider the political and social ramifications of the NEP on social advancement, nation-building, the indigeneity of the Malay community, citizenship, the Federal Constitution and the question of special rights.

his colleagues. ...The „independent nation“ that is referred to in the document ...is none other than the Malay nation prior to colonization by the Western powers. Just as the Malay language was dethroned from its status as the language of the ruling class by the colonialists, so was the Malay culture in the face of the onslaught of Western influence (1982, p.41; Deutsch, Karl W., 1975, p.88).

As such, in the new nations in South East Asia for example, to remove the shackles of colonialism and to evolve a new national identity, centralized language planning became a modus operandi for the new governments, to not only project the nation's aspired form of nationalism, but to also institute measures to enhance communication and strengthen understanding among the diverse people.

Bahasa Malaysia thus came to be seen as a ready means to cultivate homogenization in communication and possibly a palpable extent of assimilation in the Malaysian society. The strengths and direction for Bahasa Malaysia was envisioned as an instrument which, being tied to the national culture- the foundational basis of which being deemed to be the Malay culture and its concomitant Malay language, will help grow not only the above discussed homogenization, but further, a form of Malaysian uniformation and indigenization. The centrifugal elements attempting differentiation and cleavages can well be repelled through the process of the national language education. The resulting broad outlook can then represent the 'Malaysian identity', as it were (Asmah Hj. Omar, *ibid.* pp. 42, 3).

Today, however, the earlier strong 'nationalistic' moves towards implementing the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, as the national medium of instruction in the education system, have seen some reversals and intense debates. In this regard thus, as Alis Puteh (2010), from the findings of his study, laments that the Malaysian language medium policy has not succeeded well enough in developing unity among students, and that the process of integration is nevertheless occurring, but rather slowly and is just tottering along (see Shamsul, interview account, section 4.7, p.328; Dr. Mahathir pleasantly did not respond directly when the researcher brought up the issue of the unifying role of Bahasa Malaysia in Malaysia, at the interview held on 18 December, 2014; see following page for Dr Mahathir's further views as regards the role of the national language). The later⁸ Education Act 1996 and the Private

⁸ The earlier **Razak Report, 1956** advocated emphatically *common content syllabuses and a common education curriculum for all students "right to tertiary education, and the cultivation of a Malayan*

Higher Education Institution Act 1996 allowed the use of English for technical studies in public institutions, and private colleges and universities, and with Bahasa Malaysia as a required subject of study for all students, in their course curriculum. This, it was said, was necessary for the nation to respond positively to the growing phenomenon and impact of globalization (ibid pp.1- 4).

These developments then led to some loosening of the hold of the position of the national language-Bahasa Malaysia, in the psyche of the general society and the present generation of young Malaysians, as often noted by some writers and scholars (Shamsul, in interview with researcher).

The 21st century Malaysian socio-political scenario, with the 1Malaysia campaign for national integration and social solidarity, being the constant mainstream political reference, may tend to show that we are finally firmly moving towards the democratically-oriented civic-territorial model. However, with the outcome of the 2013 General Election, indicating fractious divisions in Malaysian society, and with various reports and scholars pointing to the growing separateness among the different ethnic national groups, the debate appears to be inconclusive as to how we should configure and lay out a common Malaysianness for adoption by every common Malaysian. We need therefore, to construct our national trajectory towards a developed nation, as aspired by the Vision 2020 programme, with the nation grounded firmly as an economically and politically stable and socially cohesive society, moving forward towards a commonly desired nationhood [Khoo K. K., in Lee & Suryadinata (Eds.), 2012, p.9; Cheah, 2009, pp. 40, 139; Balan Moses, the Sun, 27.12.2019, p. 14].

As in many multi-cultural societies, the generally pervasive divergent social outlooks and the heterogenous divides can be reflective of a state of cultural diversity well entrenched in such societies. Malaysia is no exception of the above. By law, that is, the indigenous Malay and native communities, and the other immigrant communities, have their legal positions and rights well instituted [with reference to the Federal Constitution, Articles 89- Malay Reservations; 153- Reservations of

outlook and a sense of a national consciousness amongst students in the then prevalent divided national and vernacular education system. The above became the national education blueprint and was recognized as the Education Ordinance of 1957. Henceforth, the 1961 Education Act was introduced.

quotas; 160- Interpretations- –Aborigine”, –Malay”, –Merdeka Day”,... (as on 25th April 2006)].

However, in learning from the many turbulent developments around the world today [the ‘_Arab Spring’, the violent socio-religious divisions in the MENA (Middle East and North African) region, racial strife in both developed and developing nations, 2001-2015), pursuing further with particularistic, group rights perse does not engender participatory democracy. The individual wants to be ‘_ounted’ too today. Individual achievements and rights, regardless of group considerations, need to be recognized and protected, thereby preventing discriminative practices. The tendencies towards ‘_nsular authoritarian cultural practices”, in multiculturally pluralistic societies, as seen in the granting of communal group rights, can result in the reinforcing of some forms of arbitrarily determined communal identities. Groups of individuals can tend thus, to become markedly separated and compartmentalized (Gulalp, 2006, p. 134).

In line with the beginnings today of broad-based educational pedagogies (on the 2013-2025 National Education Blueprint, see sections 5.3.2- Ethnicity-Race versus Malaysian-‘_Rakyat’ Paradigms in Nation-Building; 5.4- Recommendations), Malaysian education needs to gradually shift its paradigm platforms, *that despite the accepted continuation of the current „divisive” education system, that beyond its confines, the greater focus today can be, firstly, the nurturing of broad-based thinking-subjective humanism-oriented skills, and secondly, a concerted infusion of nationhood values in conjunction with the embedding of a deeper understanding of the commonalities of multi-cultural peoples and their rights.*

Education in ‘_cultural silos’ is clearly limited in achieving the objectives of multicultural education in diversely populated societies such as Malaysia. Education today cannot be viewed from the perspectives of ‘_human capital revolution’ and ‘_national development’ per se. Educational goals, in terms of student-centred pedagogies, need to be translated into actual classroom teaching-learning student experiences. In our multicultural context of life, education can primarily establish its constructive trajectory towards enabling the Malaysian student to becoming a ‘_cultural being’ first, and most importantly, a ‘_multicultural being’ as well. The learning then, of the ‘_real’ multicultural-universal commonalities and the nationhood

values implicit in this perspective, can well assist the young Malaysian citizen and his progeny henceforth, to function holistically and positively- in body, mind and spirit, in the Malaysian nation.

This new educational paradigm that can be well garnered can be directed to the attainment of learning outcomes for our students, constituted of a much needed collective understanding of our multi-ethnic society. The HOTS approaches need necessarily to allow our students to challenge prevalent educational notions so as to clearly and intellectually address difference, the universalistic as opposed to particularistic themes of/on life, and cultural-religious issues as effected by historical factors and globalization today [Azly Rahman, in Lim & others (Eds.), 2009, pp. 438-445].

The issues thus, that can have a further bearing on nation-building and national integration are discussed henceforth as constitutive elements functioning to determine the extent of the inculcation of nationhood values in secondary school children in Malaysia. These are,

- 1) the concept of national development that can be conducive to societal well-being and national integration,
- 2) language education and nation-building,
- 3) Malaysian youth seen as the foundational promise of a cohesive and harmonious Malaysian society,
- 4) the national efforts undertaken by the government directed at bringing the nation's diverse peoples together as one,
- 5) the examples of other multi-ethnic societies which strive to unite their diverse peoples to enable and establish functional, social integration, and,
- 6) the views and stand-points of Malaysians selected randomly, on nation-building and social cohesion.

2.3.4. Perspectives on development

In common parlance, the term development refers to a process that takes an organism or object through various stages enabling it to reach its natural, full-fledged and complete form. A goal of a development programme is set and the agents, the institutions or the people involved in operationalizing that programme, contribute

towards the transformation of that goal into, not totally the authority-determined, desired appropriate form, but into its ever progressing, value-added, developing and perfecting form. This, thus implies and necessitates a favourable change- from a state that was simple as it were, to one which can be described as complex, or, from something deemed by the general society as inferior, to that regarded as superior- from being in a poor situation to a becoming-better state of prosperity and progress.

The above illustrations can point to a direction that one is doing well because there is progress and advancement,

...in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law and (driving an individual or organization) toward a desirable goal, ...for two-thirds of the people on earth, this positive meaning of the word „development“...is a reminder of what they are not...(Sachs, 2003. p. 10).

This can be said to show the need for the search of what was lacking as it was promoted by economists and world leaders taking their cues from the socio-economic propositions put forward for a better world.

In the mid-twentieth century, as it is very much today, the world was becoming clearly dichotomized as a divide between the rich, developed nations, and the poor, underdeveloped nations. It was thus taken to mean that much underdevelopment existed in the Asia-Pacific nations, and that this underdevelopment stood in the way, as it were, of something better. There was concern by world bodies to accelerate development or growth, which was defined primarily as the increase in the per capita production of material goods. As much as this focus had a bearing on a lot more than short-sighted economic growth, the emphasis on this issue of economic development nevertheless, reflected the drive and momentum of the period following the Second World War in the 1940s and the Korean War in the 1950s.

In the context of Malaysia and other newly independent nations in the post war period in the 1950s, and even in the large communist blocs of Russia and China, the broad perspectives with regards life values began seeing a change, as the battle between capitalism and communism raged on, mainly for the minds and hearts of people.

Communism, advocating a centralized, socialistic form of government, began to see its demise with reformist calls in the global stage for people-oriented governance, with forms of governments determined by the general populace. These developments are still taking place in the present day, as witnessed by the demands for changes in the ‘nations’ of the Middle East and Northern African (MENA) region.

In Malaysia, 1990 saw the end/collapse of communism. Thenceforth, the 5-year Malaya Development Plans and particularly, the First Malaysia Plan, 1956-1960 to the Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986-1990, material economic development was given the priority that rightly was warranted, as the national government at that stage of national development, needed to improve income-earning capacities and ensure the economic well-being of the Malaysian peoples. However, as Khoo Kay Kim (in Voon Phin Keong, ed. 2007.p.149) has aptly observed, that,

...material progress did nothing to lessen the ethnic gap. The national leaders are often torn between the necessity to provide the needed support to ensure the economic progress sought by the investors, local and foreign, and the need to pay greater attention to the making of a more cohesive nation that will, at the same time, place integrity high among the list of ideals which they want to pursue.... It would not be inappropriate to reiterate that, between 1947 and 1952, there were times when success in curbing ethnic polarization (if not actual conflict) was achieved by chance rather than by deliberate planning. At the same time it cannot be denied that certain leaders made significant contributions, although this has not been vividly remembered mainly because what transpired in each instance was known only to a few. Over the years, historians have been too much influenced by other disciplines and there is, as a result, a tendency to look at the wood and ignore the trees, forgetting that without the trees, there can be no wood.

Thus, in Malaysia, development has taken immense proportions governed by possibly ‘inappropriate’ notions, as it is sometimes said, that we have the ‘first world infrastructure, but (sadly) a third world mentality’. Development as an expansive concept needs to be seen, generally, as more than economic and physical accretions and attainments. It needs to go further towards the satisfaction of the socio-cultural needs and aspirations of the citizens of a polity.

It cannot be denied that in educating the nation’s citizenry, the arts, language and ethics education need ‘rightly’ form the foundation stones, in that the youth particularly, can be imbued with the values of moral uprightness, self-worth,

integrity, and built upon and shaped by the above, be enabled to exemplify character forms extolling an intellectual and scientific curiosity for knowledge.

In line with Malaysia's national vision of becoming a fully **developed nation by 2020** together with its **Government Transformation Plans (GTP)** which are primarily geared to ensure that the nation meets the criteria of a developed and industrialised nation status, it is thus crucial that the potential of the Malaysian citizenry is developed in a holistic and integrated manner. This provides the nation's education system the **cardinal challenge and opportunity** to play its role as the *‘true’* harbinger of change and *‘progress’*, whereby the *focus of education can be the internalization of a cultural ethos in the young particularly, with the values of the Rukun Negara- the national principles and ideology of the life of the nation*. This can then be concretised with simultaneously introducing critical language and scientific thinking skills (as with the introduction of Higher Order Thinking Skills-HOTS, in national schools, (2013-2025 Malaysian Education Blueprint), which importantly, can enable this future citizenry to cope with the on-going rapid developments in science and technology for the betterment of the Malaysian society (Dr. Faridah Shah, the Sun, 20.12.2012, p. 12).

The future, and new development demands of the nation, as well as that which is clearly reflected today in the context of the globalising world, interdependently linking the real, economic, material and the socio-ethnic dimensions, require a new development paradigm. As Dr. Lim Teck Ghee notes (Herald, 12.2.2012. p.10), this development paradigm needs to be clearly based on the principles of *‘de-concentration’* of wealth in individuals and groups, and be oriented towards the *‘equitable’* distribution of this national wealth. This then can contribute towards positive inter-group relations and enhanced social harmony, diminishing the likelihood of group and ethnic-based backlashes. The writer points out that we can well emulate and incorporate certain *‘best practices’* of countries such as Norway, which have similar natural resources as Malaysia. In further refining our policies and programmes, we can reinvent ourselves on the goals of sustainable exploitation of resources, economic development management and social upliftment, as the former nation has attempted, and avoid, for example, the further depletion, and most

importantly, the obfuscation of the commonly prevalent short-term perspective for the exploitation of mineral and forest resources globally (ibid).

As noted succinctly by the Human Development Report 1996 of the United Nations Development Program, that “...human development is the end--economic growth a means” (BEG_i_144.qxd 6/10/04 1.46 PM p.8-Beyond Economic Growth).

The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) 2013-Malaysian Well-being Report 2013 notes that, “The performance of the **MWI (Malaysian Well-being Index)** from 2000 to 2012 showed that the country’s development policies and strategies were able to increase the level of well-being of the *rakyat*. During 2000 to 2012, the index increased by 25.4 points or grew by 1.9 per cent per annum. *The economic well-being sub-composite index improved by 33.3 points as compared to the social well-being sub-composite index which increased by 21.0 points. The economic well-being sub-composite index recorded a growth rate of 2.4 per cent annually, compared to 1.6 per cent for the social well-being sub-composite index*”.

Further, a particularly significant approach that needs to be given attention in development plans with a particular focus on the education system, is that of managing the existing socio-cultural polarities effectively (with reference to Milne, 1967, p.14). The education programmes can be harnessed to provide the young in schools, formative instruction in nationhood values through concerted and on-going efforts- *because of the prevailing, diversified, and segregating language education streams*, and thereby inculcating positive, all-embracing, inter-ethnic attitudes and values at the very foundations, in this future adult national citizenry. This foundationally well-integrated citizenry, will enable the nation to ‘progress’ beyond 2020 within a ‘mature economy’ constituted of economic growth rates in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which can, as based on world economic trends today, taper off to about 3 to 3.5 per cent per annum. This needs necessarily to be juxtaposed with the expected 6.3 per cent growth rate for the nation in the 2006-2020 time periods (Zainal Aznam, in ISIS, 2011. p. 627; Government Transformation Programme, 2010.p.13; emphasis by researcher).

It is important therefore to bear in mind that producing economic growth in terms of modern-day economic measures (the GDP and related measures), is not a sure means for producing a democracy, primarily directed for the well-being of its peoples (Nusbaum, M.C. 2010, p. 11).

Thus, in Malaysia, the emphasis on a balance between the ‘capital economy’ and the ‘people economy’ was given its rightful place by the prime minister in his launch of the 2015 national budget. As Dr. Jun E-Tan (2015, p. 13), has most succinctly noted,

...The social and solidarity economy (SSE) is of particular interest as a subset of the „people economy“, as it includes a broad array of organisations and enterprises which produce goods and services with explicit social and environment objectives on top of their economic goals. ...the true potential of the sector (SSE) is actualised by using economic activities as a vehicle to achieve far more important ends, such as strengthening social capital and the community spirit amongst the people, and enabling them to live meaningful and dignified lives. ... we should focus on empowerment (which is) the process of enabling people to increase control over their lives. ...(When focusing excessively on entrepreneurship), we risk missing the forest for the trees- as the economy is a means to improve human well-being, and is not an end in itself. We should (also) focus on community-building..... A socially-oriented economy should foster the right environment for trust and solidarity to bloom, resulting in strong social networks among the people. ... (Focusing) on values and principles rather than key performance indicators, (the emphasis of development then moves on to) the quality of growth rather than quantity, necessitating a shift in how we regard success. ...what values and principles are important to us as a nation? ...It is during (trying) times that the resilience of the society is tested, and it is during these times when having an empowered populace with strong community networks based on shared values and principles, will matter the most.

Thus, the strength of socio-economic policies formulated so as to bring about national development and well-being, are often determined by the *public institutions* which are necessarily the ‘accruments’ and branches of *socially cohesive societies*. In this regard, William Easterly (2006, p.4), in his study, ‘Social Cohesion, Institutions, and Growth’, concludes that, “...measures of ‘social cohesion’, such as income inequality and ethnic fractionalization, endogeneously determine (characterise) *institutional quality*, which in turn casually (steadily and gradualistically) determines growth”.

Emphasizing that social cohesion refers to the *processes of building shared values so as to nurture the existing diverse communities to attain a sense that they are together* “...engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community” [Judith Maxwell (1996), in Easterly, W., p.4], it is pertinent to note, that in congruence with the theme of national integration of this study, the above writer further defines ‘social cohesion’ in an instrumental sense,⁹ that it needs to be seen as per,

... the nature and extent of (the) social and economic divisions within society, ... whether by income, ethnicity, political party, caste, language, or other demographic variables- (which) represent vectors around which politically salient societal cleavages can...develop. As such, socially cohesive societies are NOT necessarily demographically homogeneous, but rather ones that have fewer potential and/or actual leverage points for individuals, groups, or events to expose and exacerbate social fault lines, and (therefore, are positively directed) ones, (that is, societies) that find ways to harness the potential residing in their societal diversity (in terms of the diversity of ideas, opinions, skills, et cetera) (ibid. Easterly, p. 5). (emphasis by researcher).

Essentially thus, it can be pointed out that with regard to the macro, ‘larger picture perspective’ of national development in the Malaysian context (as discussed on page 39 above), the *processes engendering social cohesion* can well be rooted, as a grounding ‘pathway’, in the inculcation of humanistic values in the primary, secondary and further, in the university education curricula, towards *shaping* healthy democratic institutions and citizen participation in national affairs. The infusion of

⁹ The above writer strongly contends that *in the developing world it is essentially weak social cohesion rather than the moral fibre of the national leaders, although this latter factor is recognized as an imperative quality, that helps determine the stature of a peoples’ economy. “Trust”, according to the World Values Survey (ibid. Easterly, p.7), which is a crucial constructive value imbedding „social cohesion”, is often seen to be high in the developed, rich countries- being around 50%, and low in developing countries. Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries have higher rates- 15 to 35 percent, as compared to Latin American (LA) countries- with Peru having as low as 5 percent. The above Survey notes that the trust levels for the African countries, is in between the CEE and LA countries. The Asian countries fall in between the developed world and the CEE countries. Further, social equality and inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient index, and as seen by a large middle income group attaining to 60% share of the national income, is suggestive, the writer observes, in helping to ameliorate existing social „differences” in diverse societies. Socially cohesive societies are generally geared to ensuring that the rich and poor alike share equitably in the national wealth, thereby helping to „soften” the social cleavages in the „diverse” populations.*

[World Values Survey Association- WWSA is a non-profit organization based in Stockholm, Sweden. It was founded to assist social scientists and policy-makers, to help uplift the social, economic and political lives of societies in the nations of the world. Five world surveys from 1981 to 2007 have been carried out, providing valuable information of the crucial components of social change- the values, beliefs and motivations of ordinary citizens. www.worldvaluessurvey.org].

the spirit of the humanities, can well help cultivate one's abilities for, —. searching critical thought, daring imagination, empathetic understanding of human experiences of many different kinds, and understanding of the complexity of the world we live in” [op cit. Nusbaum, M.C. p.7; Mansor Mohd. Noor, interview with researcher in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), 30 April, 2015] in the overall education curricula, and can temper science and technical education which are generally regarded as being solely pursuant of economic-material growth.

The above transformation then can become the educational trajectory for national development, without its work-force being the product of an education environment driven solely by material-economic growth and profit, and with little or no place for the soul of man. It is essential thus to note, that balanced development, led forward by an education system holistically attuned to science and economics, as well as the humanities, promoting value-based learning, can help bring about both increased gross national product per capita —. Through the education of a technical elite who make the state attractive to foreign investors” (ibid. M.C.Nusbaum, p. 20; the United States, Indian, Chinese development models are appraised by the above writer), and greater economic distribution, justice and the sense of societal oneness as the social glue enabling the nation to progress forward.

2.3.5. Efforts towards national integration

A historical marker, as it were, which brought the social dimension of inter-ethnic relations to the fore, were political developments and education issues in the post-second world war Malaya in the 1940s and 1950s. The British Malayan Union plan in 1946, after the Japanese surrender in 1945, although primarily aimed at a single federal administration of the Malay states and the Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca, which was to be headed by a British governor, and with the possible result that Malaya would then become a total British colonial, economic outpost, with the diminution of power of the Malay sultans, was vehemently opposed by the Malay community. The Malayan Union had proposed to grant equal citizenship rights to all people living in Malaya, and was purportedly aimed at the creation of a common citizenry and *eventually a single Malayan nationality* that would project a common national identity as Malaysians. This would have cut across the multi-faceted ethnic distinctions prevalent in the country, even as early as in the time of the pre-

independence Malayan generation. Clearly then, the above British plan may well have laid the foundations of a united nation established on a much firmer footing towards national development and prosperity, as contrasted to how it is generally perceived differently today, after fifty-six years of independence and national sovereignty, by various scholars, and the general Malaysian public writing in the public and alternative media (Khoo Kay Khim as in Ng, Eugene, 2007 p.9; Nik Nazmi Nik Ahmad, 2010, p. 74).

As history records, the above plan failed in January 1948, as a result of mass Malay opposition, as the Malay community felt they would be marginalized in the land that they felt they were the rightful owners. Also, they began to look upon the growing non-Malay communities with distrust and enmity, as the British, with the collaboration of the Malay sultans, had been favoured and promised citizenship rights. The political developments at this period, and the birth of the replacement Federation of Malaya Agreement plan in 1948, unified the states in one political organization under British authority. For the purposes of this study, suffice it to say here, that starting with British Malayan Union plan in 1946 with its constituent elements, and the following ‘substitutive’ political organisations, saw the further sharpening of ethnic distrust and cleavages between the large, indigenous Malay and non-Malay communities (adapted, Ariffin Omar, in Lim, et al. eds. 2009, p. 49).

It can be noted that, seen from the historical era of the nation, and even before we obtained independence in 1957, a Malay-based organization, the Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA), and the Chinese-based All Malaya Council for Joint Action (AMCJA), these ethnic groups being dominant in the socio-political affairs in the country in that period of time, came together in 1947 and proposed to the British government the ‘Peoples’ Constitutional Proposals’. The principles towards social cohesion in Malayan society saw their birth then with one form of identity for all citizens regardless of race or sex, as long as they (the immigrants) renounced their citizenship rights in their countries of origins. This was felt essential so as to encourage these groups (as the indigenous Malay community), to be able to imbed in themselves the same sense of loyalty to Malaya and the respective Sultans, to give their allegiance to them as heads of their states of residence. Second, that there

should be equal rights for all with „*Melayu*“ citizenship accorded, and thus a *common nationality*.

The above two organisations had attempted to obtain grass-roots support for their proposals and despite the outpouring of support by large sections of the general society then, the British government did not accept their proposals, which could have germinated the firm grounding of democratic principles and the evolution of nationhood values in the Malaysian nation thenceforth (Khong, 1984, p.166-171).

The opposition by the Malay community to the above plan was clearly linked to the primacy of the Malay language and Malay special privileges which they felt would be removed with its implementation. Henceforth, after various political developments in Malaya like the formation of UMNO in 1946, and with the rise in Malay nationalism, the British government formed a committee to look into the problems of Malay education. This saw the formation of the Barnes Committee, and its 1951 Report gave the Malay and the English languages due recognition as it was felt appropriate for Malayan nationhood and educational advancement at that period of time, and it recommended that the vernacular language Chinese and Tamil schools be replaced by a single bilingual primary school system. Clearly, in the same spirit as the earlier developments, the aim that the Barnes Report (1951) projected was *the building of a common Malayan nationality, based on the Malay and English languages* (emphasis by researcher). This plan too failed as the various ethnic groups refused to accept it, motivated by particular ethnic-language based reasons mainly.

It can be noted that the above education plan could have had direct, and possibly positive constructive long-term socio-economic implications for the nature and the course of the modern and secular national development programmes undertaken by the Malaysian nation, as seen in certain educational developments in some other developing nations.

The Malayan independence leaders and educationists however, continued their attempts to forge an education system that can be worthy of the status of a national education system. The establishment of a national school system was indeed deemed important because of the centrifugal and divisive influences in the existing, segregated, multi-vernacular education system. The renowned Malay educationist,

Aminuddin Baki, observed this issue most perceptively pointing out that, –The fault of the existing educational structure with its multi-vernacular system has been and is that it encourages segregation. *The boys and girls of the different races tend to be antagonistic to one another...*” [1984 (1953):1, in Tan and Santhiram. 2010. p. 70; emphasis by researcher].

The Malayan and henceforth, the Malaysian education system have been generally moving in divergent directions. In the 1950s, attempts to seriously find a resolution to this issue¹⁰ saw eventually the formation of the Razak Committee in 1955. Again, the large, national picture equation was the primary purpose of this Committee. The primary orientations of the then Malayan and Malaysian education philosophy resonates with that of the *Paideia Proposal* put forth by the renowned educationist and philosopher, Mortimer Adler (1982). The latter attempted to integrate the cogent ideas of earlier educationists, John Dewey and George Counts in the 1930s, towards some universal objectives of education. These, which even today can be said to hold true for our nation and many other nations as well, can be stated as follows,

- the development of citizenship,
- personal growth or self-improvement, and
- occupational preparation

Providing further substance and relevance to the needed educational goals of sovereign nations, particularly in the context of the present world, educationists de Marrais and Le Compte (1995), have expanded on the above pragmatic directions of education with,

- i) the political goal of assimilation and inculcating the sense of belonging to the polity, and equally importantly,

¹⁰ For the purposes of this study, the Razak Education Report 1956 will be of focal importance. There were other education plans prior to the Razak Report, like the CACE (Central Advisory Committee on Education) Special Committee Report of September 1951, the Barnes Education Report 1951, Fenn-Wu Education Committee Report released in July 1951, the Education Ordinance of 1952, and the White Paper of October 1954, all of which essentially attempted to focus on the various ways of incorporating the appropriate constituents of the diverse social milieu of the Malayan society then, and were aware that compromises were difficult to be achieved, into the shaping of a national education system. Disagreements from various ethnic-based groups particularly, abounded, and these plans were not accepted.

ii) the foundational, social purposes of development focused on the social and moral responsibilities to the society and nation.

In the Malaysian context importantly, the Malaysian Education Philosophy (1988) does attempt to encompass the above educational principles and goals, geared towards credentialing and integrating its 'recipients', with its four-pronged dimensions, namely the intellectual-cognitive, emotional, physical and spiritual dimensions, for student growth [principles and values of the Malaysian Education Philosophy - IREJ'- Intelek' (Intellect), Rohani' (Aesthetics and Spirituality), Emosi' (Emotions), Jasmani' (Physical/development). (www.ibe.unesco.org/International/ICE/natrap/Malaysia.pdf; see p. 209].

Looking at the implementation strategies and programmes pertaining to the above education philosophy, the apparent dichotomy of the national school and the ethnic-language based vernacular education systems, and further the fragmented education system with the public and private education domains (although the entire education system in the nation is legally governed by the national common education curriculum, with Bahasa Malaysia as the compulsory subject to be studied by all students), there tend to be certain practices reinforcing the 'multifarious' ethnic climate and thus the unimaginative, jaded tri-ethnic particularities, and the multi-ethnic social structure. As Brown (2005) observes, that in the 'realpolitik' multi-ethnic social milieu of the Malaysian polity, the emphasis of the national curriculum tends to be the propagation and reinforcement of the existing pluralistic nature manifested in the existential 'character' of the ethnically divided and the peoples' co-existence context, in the nation's young.

The education philosophy however, undeniably proclaims the role of the national education system as the ideological vehicle par excellence, owing to the depth and breadth of its reach in the Malaysian society, as such therefore, an Althusserian¹¹

¹¹ Louis Pierre Althusser, a French Algerian 20th century philosopher, believed that individuals in a society are not fully capable of original, self-conscious beliefs, thoughts and actions on their own, as held to be so in capitalist societies. Althusser strongly held that a human being's values, desires, and preferences are essentially **inculcated** in him/her by ideological practices. This latter domain is primarily made up of **varied institutions** which Althusser has termed as, "**Ideological State Apparatuses**" (ISA). These include the family, the media, religious organisations, government, and most importantly, the **education system**. The individual is subject to the rules and ideological,

way for the purposes of promoting national unity and producing a national identity” (ibid; Shamsul, 2001). The reinforcing of ethnic boundaries in the discourse of promoting among Malaysians a form of a ‘necessary’ multiculturalism, through the constant teaching in schools, beginning with children as early as when they are ten, of values such as tolerance, peace, harmony, ‘multiracial society’, ‘unity in diversity’, ‘moderation’, ‘respect for one another and the Other’, ‘celebrate differences’, ‘give and take’, and so on, tends to gradually, socially situate and develop hermetic ethnic groups, and ensure(s) students are separated physically and discursively (through the language used and cultural practices)” (Shamsul 2001, p. 361, in Hopkins & Lee 2012, p. 20). **This sadly can be seen as encouraging and reinforcing racialization among the young.**

The Prime Minister has himself noted that the 1Malaysia campaign in essence is one that attempts to “preserve and enhance [Malaysian] unity in diversity” (Najib Razak 2011). The apparent practice thus, in political discourse in the media and in public campaigns, on the earlier Bangsa Malaysia rhetoric, the 1Malaysia programme and other unity expressions, have tended, it is noted, to reinforce authority-defined *identities* which “reify the already salient boundaries between recognizable ethnic groups” (Shamsul, 1996, p. 477, in Hopkins, op cit). We need to henceforth, ponder over what Ooi Kee Beng (2006), in his study of Malaysian unity efforts, has argued, that assimilation or integration were not intended, but nevertheless these efforts were directed at bringing about national unity regardless of race, in Malaysian society (ibid).

At this juncture, it is appropriate to ponder over what one of the nation’s foremost educators, the late Professor Dr. Awang Had Salleh, aptly noted that despite the fact that Malaya at independence had inherited a plural society in the Furnivall (1948) mould, the early national leaders were fully cognizant of the role of a national

material rituals of the various institutions governing his/her life, determining his/her conditions of existence. *A person’s identity is acquired through habits of action premised on the overarching ideological structure, and as such one sees oneself-his/her identity, mirrored in the prevalent ideologies. A person’s ideas, Althusser held, are thus derived from, and defined by both the supportive and exploitative type of material-ideological apparatuses, expanding or limiting one’s life.*

education system in cultivating a ‘Malayan attitude’ (‘Malaysian’ today). This was to be actualized,

...through a long-term plan of placing pupils of various ethnicity, experience learning „togetherness“ under the same roof. (Further)...language education (was) increasingly recognized in our education system for the role it plays in our nation-building efforts (<http://www.melta.org.my/ET/2003/>).

Thus, the need for and the ‘sense of being assimilated’¹², as this is often said to have been generally felt as a matter of fact, as in the days of the older Malaysian generations (Caryn Lim, in Hopkins and Lee, 2012, p.21), can be studied and juxtaposed with the use today, whether intentionally or not, of ideologically oriented apparatuses such as the education programmes, Vision 2020, Bangsa Malaysia, 1Malaysia and so on, as discussed above, which can often result in the citizens assuming positions that ‘being Malaysian’ entails first to be officially based in a recognized Malaysian sub-ethnic identity. This is followed closely with a gradual induction of a form of a multiculturalism narrative, with a simultaneous offering and reminder that one’s ‘officialized’ ethnic category is still ‘part and parcel’ of being Malaysian. In the efforts therefore, to nurture a well-founded sense of a Malaysian oneness, that is, an in-bred, evolved sense and measure of being assimilated, for the prevailing notion that to be Malaysian one needs to be first ‘officially’ a Malay, Chinese, Indian, Iban, Kadazan and so on, this being presently, a strong existential social phenomenon, it is imperative that this above issue is seriously addressed (ibid).

Despite this above predicated social phenomenon as such, the process of actualizing a common educational experience, particularly with a common educational curriculum, as emphasized by the late Professor Awang Had Salleh, the anthropological perspective of education does provide possibilities for the nurturing of a more cohesive society. This above perspective can be said to be a process of socialization whereby

¹²The Vice Chancellor of the Universiti Utara Malaysia, Datuk Professor Mohamad Mustafa Ishak in the interview with the researcher, strongly felt that there should be a one common education system in the nation. All Malaysian children should undergo a common, national education process in a national school system. Politics have to be completely divorced from the education domain. Further, he felt that we can all be Malaysians, by understanding our national history well, and by cultivating broad, universal values and attitudes through the education system. The Malaysian society, he felt, should today be committed and enabled to allow some measure of assimilation to take place, based on core Malay and certain universal values, and yet not be less Chinese, Indian, Iban, Kadazan, Dayak and so on (interview conducted on 28th July 2013).

...young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the external environment within which exists the total community of human beings of which they are a part (Thomas, & Waherhaftig, In Murray Wax, et al, Eds. 1971).

Thus, the national-tasked institutions and schools, can generally focus on a continuum of ‘absorption’- from an ideal context of a ‘perfectly pluralistic’ or ‘mosaic’ society, to ‘complete assimilation’ of diverse population groups into the national core (Arpi Hamalian, 1979).

The above writer found from his research study involving minority Armenian communities in multi-ethnic societies, that in even *separate ethnic schools* for Armenian children, as long as the schools were established and functioned along structurally similar lines to the larger society they were based in, and essentially, that “there were equally well-developed programmes in the culture of the ethnic community and the culture of the core nation...” (ibid p.12), the integration levels achieved were indeed high, than when the cultural programmes were non-existent. The efforts to move ‘forward’ on the integration continuum towards ‘complete assimilation’, the above writer concluded, were possible as long as instruction in languages- sub-ethnic and core group, and cultural education together with a balanced representation in the teaching body, were well instituted. ***For well-grounded results, the above researcher reminds us that we need to work towards „institutional completeness“ of the established diverse multicultural institutions, to acceptable levels in terms of equity and equality of opportunity for all peoples.***

The Malaysian education system does attempt to provide the institutional preparedness towards the attainment of the goals of a multiculturalist quality in larger Malaysian society, in that teachers are trained with a supposedly stated focus of enabling them to acquire sufficient knowledge of the socio-cultural context of the nation. Thus, in the Malaysian teacher-training institutes, future teachers are exposed to both ‘cultural-specific’ and ‘cultural-general’ socialization strategies. In order to fulfill the requirements and needs of the existing vernacular school system, teacher-trainees undergo Chinese and Tamil teaching-learning pedagogies; also, the Malaysian governments, from the time of independence, have wisely seen the need to enable the above to be exposed to the ‘cultural-general’ domain, such that teachers will come to know something of the religious customs, cultures and traditions of the

various people in the country” (Ministry of Education 1991, p.73; Malaysian Education Blueprint 2013-2025).

As such, core subjects such as Islamic Religious Knowledge (for Muslim students), Moral Education (for mainly non-Muslim students), Malaysian Society, Islamic Civilization, History for both Science and non-Science class students, have been incorporated in the Malaysian common curriculum education system. The intercultural role of teachers as the nation’s highly-placed nation-builders was to ensure that students learnt of the values and beliefs of all the diverse groups in the Malaysian nation. National integration was the focused goal of the above curriculum measures, and it was hoped that these above subjects will help break down prejudices and ignorance among the communal groups, both in the teaching fraternity and among the students (Molly Lee, 2002, p. 84).

Looking further at the role of schools in helping to build national integration in multi-ethnic societies, Singapore provides a significant and germane example (Rosnani Hashim, Tan, 2009). The language constructs, metaphors, moral values and themes in its school English language texts illustrate the importance given to the impact of language to help construct and shape the identity of its peoples and thereby, the state.

Taking education as an overarching institutional agency for nation-building, the central and vital question as to the shaping of a vibrant national citizenry was looked into in a study by Koh (2010), with a focus on national identity and how young children can be ‘educated’ to play a constructive part in it. The above researcher looked at the role of the school, building on the historical national narratives existing in the society, in national identity formation.

The children’s conception of belongingness to a place, that is, the politics in question in the above doctoral study- Singapore and the United States, for their respective children, was a sense of ‘being peopled’, in that, this was an outcome of the experiences gained through their personal, social and interpersonal relations.

The roles schools can well play in citizenship education towards enabling the citizens to ‘become peopled’ in the above states, the above writer notes, are driven by the

goal for effective nation-building. This is rightly so the writer observes, as schools constitute the most constructive and vital platforms for national identity formation, possessing immeasurable potentialities for the grooming of "...thoughtful, active and patriotic citizens" (ibid, p.238).

The above writer further found that, in the American context, that children had quite readily internalized what they learned in schools, expressing their allegiance to the "American Creed", which essentially constituted the values of freedom, equality and democracy¹³. In Singapore similarly, the writer noted, the children too internalized the school top-down nationhood input and developed an emotional bond to the nation, but it was "...a more pragmatic relationship towards the nation,...it was one that is based primarily on the material and practical" (ibid p. 248). However, the writer asserts, with the changing social ethos in these macro modernistic times, that to conceptualise the often 'imagined' and nature of the inevitable future trajectory for resilient and robust nationhood values, will thus entail greater efforts for an engaged understanding of today's youth's ideas about their configurations- the 'hows and whys' of national identity (ibid p.239) (see section 5.2.3-Summary of findings, p.269; Rukun Negara- pp.83-119; citizenship education-pp.76, 113-114, 248, 276, 283, 288, 298, 304, 309).

As it is acknowledged, that the school educational, social values language constructs do contribute to social harmony, the future nevertheless holds severe strains and stresses to continue with the above in the education system, as with demands to the contrary- to promote statehood values primarily. These are formulated in the language texts as metaphors of "survival", such as those that relate to 'war', 'danger', 'problems', 'the race to succeed', 'disciplined citizenry'; those that discuss sports- such as 'teamwork', 'Singapore as a world player', 'ranking' and so on; and those that discuss the market place- such as, 'competition', 'human capital', 'choice', 'consumer responsiveness', 'accountability', and so on.

¹³ The term "the American Creed" was popularized by Gunnar Myrdal in 1944 in *The American Dilemma*. Scholars have defined the concepts of 'Creed' in various ways, but they almost universally agree on the central ideas that Myrdal identified- "the essential dignity of the individual human being, of the fundamental equality of all men, and of certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and a fair opportunity."

Of particular importance is the perspective upheld by national leaders of the use and role of language, particularly the national language and English, to bring about certain changes in attitudes and social behaviours in the people they represent and interact with. This is often actualized through the agencies of socialization and cultural transmission- the schools, mass media, universities, arts, religious doctrines, symbols, music and literature, the courts of law, images and so on.

It follows, as such, that one challenge for the nation, in relation to the imbedding of a stronger nationalistic-humanistic tone into the education curriculum, it is felt, can well be, to *further give „life“* to the stated English language syllabi, which essentially, already incorporate and emphasize Asian values, cooperative living and social harmony (Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew 2008, p.8).

2.3.6. Nation-building and nationhood values education

In deliberating on the theme of equity and national ethos, Shad Saleem Faruqi (2012, pp. 62-63; the above is Emeritus Professor of Law, UiTM) asserts that a *middle path of moderation via balancing of the special position of the Malays with the legitimate interests of all other communities, is clearly promulgated in the Malaysian Constitution*. The above writer observes that,

*Unfortunately, we seem to have regressed...we need to restore the spirit of **moderation** that animated the early years...On the economic front, we must continue to use the economy to unite the people. **We must freely acknowledge that the country's phenomenal success is owed to the spirit of accommodation and enterprise of all ethnic groups**...Those who seek to abandon our tested and tried political and economic policies for their own utopias, need to be engaged and educated.*

Therefore, in terms of national governance, we need to discourse and deliberate with urgency, about not only the quantity of the forms and programmes that are *‘led’* and implemented by established institutions, but very much, the focus rightly to be given, to the infusion and dissemination of the all-embracing, *‘being- educated’* ethos and spirit in institutional culture for unity and *‘progress’*. The basic tenets set forth in our National Education Philosophy (1988), projecting the *‘being educated’* ethos in Malaysian education, clearly promote character-building and the holistic development of the individual. The implicit values promoted thus, in the Malaysian

Education Philosophy, for this ‘ethos’ and good character to evolve in our school charges, are those undeniably enunciated in the Rukun Negara (discussed further in section 2.3.7., p. 84); and the following common-nationhood values necessitated for our Malaysian pluralistic context- **acceptance, respect, integrity, rule of law, and humanistic, meaningful, sincere interaction and simple healthy communication**, which can form the grist for the gradual formation towards this above ‘ethos’ and a coherent national character.

Nussbaum (ibid, pp. 9-11), has succinctly emphasized,

...that this economic interest, too, requires us to draw on the humanities and arts, in order to promote a climate of responsible and watchful stewardship and a culture of creative innovation. Thus we are not forced to choose between a form of education that promotes profit and a form of education that promotes good citizenship. A flourishing economy requires the same skills that support citizenship, and thus the proponents of what I shall call “education for profit,” or... “education for economic growth,” have adopted an impoverished conception of what is required to meet their own goal....Most of us would not choose to live in a prosperous nation that had ceased to be democratic. Moreover, although it is clear that a strong business culture requires some people who are imaginative and critical, it is not clear that it requires all people in a nation to gain these skills. Democratic participation makes wider demands....No system of education is doing a good job if its benefits reach only wealthy elites. ...quality education is an urgent issue in all modern democracies....Every modern democracy is also a society in which people differ greatly along many parameters, including religion, ethnicity, wealth and class, physical impairment, gender, and sexuality, and in which all voters are making choices that have a major impact on the lives of people who differ from themselves. One way of assessing any educational scheme is to ask how well it prepares young people for life in a form of social and political organization that has these features. Without support from suitably educated citizens, no democracy can remain (meaningfully effective). (emphases by researcher).

It follows therefore and thus pertinent at this juncture to look at how a national economy that is openly pursuant of economic growth and profit, can still incorporate, in its larger scheme of national ‘progress’, common values which relate to the different cultures in the nation. In this context, as emphatically argued by Clammer (1996, p.12),

...From whichever angle one approaches development questions, the issue of values remain central. Indeed, ultimately “development” is precisely about values, the quality of human life, the enhancement of human potential,

relationship to the natural environment and defining and pursuing the proper ends of human existence. ...all (developing countries) have certainly faced the problem of defining the nature of the kind of development that they want and of its relationship to the values that they want to improve or enhance. This is a continuous and historical process and ...a constantly evolving one. ...While the question of values is central in any part of the world, ...in Southeast Asia, a region which has not only received, modified and reproduced models of culture and beliefs, but which has also created its own and will continue to do so in the future out of the interaction of globalism and its own local conditions,

...it is thus essentially the prevailing and evolving socio-cultural totalizing values of society that ultimately determine the ‘character’ of the development aspired for the nation. In the context of the multicultural social milieu of the Malaysian nation, it is certainly true that a socially cosmopolitan-oriented approach be constantly adhered to in not only physical development schemes, but primarily, also to enable that approach to be an inclusive, national integration programme.

Towards this end, the search for a national Malaysian culture although not presently showing an acceptable formulation to all Malaysian groups, (attempts made at the National Culture Congress, 1971), the existing diverse cultures are given their due place in Malaysian polity [Federal Constitution, Articles 8, 10: 1 (c), 11].

Malaysia, as with other nations in the modernising third world today, needs to constantly take cognizance of the generally ubiquitous influences of its colonial heritage and traditions, in relation to societal organization and national governance. The new state then continues its existence, and tends to be legitimated and ‘pushed forward’ according to,

... exogenous world standards, and a modern civil society is something to be constructed as a project in the future. (Societies) as they now stand (with their constant threats to national stability and rabid social turbulence), tend to be seen as inadequate- inefficient, archaic, corrupt and „undeveloped“. The needed new citizen-members will not arise from the normal, (as based on prevalent „other-civilisational values and standards“) operation of (these societies): they must be built by purposive political and educational action. ...these countries are confronted with strong social pressures for the preservation of some elements of tradition. ... A more directive and future-oriented programme of moral socialization, managed by state and educational authority, seems called for. In such societies, we imagine, perceptions of the need for special and authoritative instruction in the emergent religious and moral values, will be common (Cummings & others. Eds. 1988, pp. 15-16).

Accordingly thus, as Cummings and others (ibid, p.170) note, nations that thrive economically, often express confidence in the strength and impact of their national value system. The above researchers report the findings of Judith Torney-Purta and Carole Hahn (as cited in Cummings and others, ibid), that Western European nations' economic revitalisation provided an immense impetus to the revival of values education in their education systems.

As such, with the progress of time, the above phenomenon can become a two-way process, each energizing and subsisting on the other.

A model nation Japan, and others such as South Korea, China and Taiwan which paralleled her, adopted a synergistic approach to national development and the formation of its national identity. Japan applied western science, but retained its eastern morality. The schools were given the task to inculcate in its young, loyalty and patriotism to the nation. This was done together with the education and implementation of an indigenous moral code (ibid).

In this above relevant and germane perspective as such, Kuzio (2001, p. 147), appropriately asserts that a cohesive society cannot be constructed without the palpable presence of a shared body of common values, which necessarily needs to be encoded in a nation's constitution.

In a similar stand-point, Kolsto (2006) notes plainly and logically that,

In order to survive in the long run, modern states normally must have a population that possesses some sense of unity. Its citizens must adhere to some common values and common allegiance toward the state institutions and symbols. This does not mean that all inhabitants must necessarily share the same culture, but they should at least regard themselves as members of the same nation.

The operative and functional values thus, acceptable to the citizens of a plural and culturally diverse society, for them to survive together as one cohesive polity, overwhelming, by means of educational means- language and otherwise, the extremes in social integrational directions advocating domination of particular cultural forms, need be the modus operandi of a nation's governance policy.

The well-grounded principles of communitarianism, in the context of the Malaysian social fabric, can well be,

- i). co-operative enquiry- encouraging joint efforts and ventures towards common goals,
- ii). citizen participation- allowing all opportunities possible for common involvement,
- iii). mutual responsibility, which requires all members of a bounded polity ‘...to take responsibility for enabling each other to pursue common values’.

Unlike the relativists in most societies, who believe that the sense of individualism is so strong in society today because people’s values are vastly different, and thus, it is futile to work towards societal value consensus, communitarians hold that every polity does maintain and exemplify a set of common values’. These values are commonly held to be those that have “stood the test of time” (Tam, 1998, p.14, as cited in Kolsto, and Tyldum, Ethnicity Studies 2006/1, p. 126-7). It can then be rightly noted that **a cohesiveness of a polity is essentially a function of its constituents’ recognition and compatibility of the role of the values in one another’s everyday lives.** This then can be the working platform that the Malaysian nation’s values education programme can gradually be geared to attain.

However, even if there is an absence of common values in a multi-ethnic polity to be united’ as such, Lijphart (in Kolsto and Tyldum. *ibid.* p. 129) emphasized, as in his consociational model for plural societies, it is possible to introduce some form of democratic institutions and practices enabling the various political elites to demonstrate pragmatic co-operation. This can well help overcome communal antagonisms among the larger sections of the plural society (Lijphart, 1977).

Looking further at this apparently formidable issue of „**nationhood common values**“, Kolsto and Guri (*ibid*), drawing on the studies of other scholars, remind us firmly that a vastly pluralistic state such as India, “In order to survive as a state, India must continue to be pluralistic and value fragmented and allow for a number of different kinds and shapes of allegiance” (Eldrid. 2000 p.123, in Kolsto, and Tyldum, *ibid.* p. 129).

To strongly underpin the strength in different value systems and yet a common nationalistic identity being embraced by citizens, a multiculturalist school proponent, Kymlicka (1995) illustrates the case of the Anglophones and Francophones in his native Canada. Kymlicka observes that French Quebecois want a separate state not solely because of their adherence to a different value system. They were more influenced by post World War II developments then, and thus acquired new ideas and a sense of French nationalism for state separatism. The above scholar stresses that the **French Canadians do not uphold different political values than of the other Canadians as such, and do not want an independent Quebec to be governed by different political principles than that of the larger Canadian state.**

As with the vast multi-ethnic North American population, where many communities adhere to value codes that are different from that of the majority and dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) population, and yet these communities are said to demonstrate strong patriotic sentiments to the American nation, the issue of *a sense of a shared identity* becomes the cement to hold the different communities together (op cit).

It however can be stressed that the culmination to a state of adopting a shared identity would necessarily involve a subtle, ‘educated’ progression on the basis of some forms of shared values, as discussed earlier- respect, trust, a sense of sharing, caring and love for others, and so on, which are particularly essential for the *quality of multiculturalism which is nascently and incipiently imbedded in our Malaysian social life (Rukun Negara 1971)*.

The urgent task then, for our nation and other ‘new’, multi-ethnic states, is to construct our nation-building efforts so that our total national orientations subsuming the present-day social realities, are clearly given their due place. The nationhood values that reflect ‘tuly’ our ‘total national social landscape’, given the Malay-Islam base as based on the nation’s Constitution, can then be nurtured (**refined**) and implemented with firm convictions. The measures to ‘educate’, share with, and embrace all sections of Malaysian society within the domains and principles extolled by this above nationhood values-common national identity projections, can

necessarily then be our constant refrain¹⁴. This can be defined by an integrationist approach which necessarily combines possibly submerged, centrifugal value orientations, but overwhelmingly, with active centripetal political-educational nationhood values orientations.

2.3.7. The Rukun Negara national ideology- Cultivating Malaysian nationhood.

With all the Malaysian ethnic cultures in the Malaysian polity allowed sufficient space to be upheld (practised) by the ethnic Malaysian groups, within the bounds of the Federal Constitution, the promulgated national-cultural values as a standard and identity for Malaysian citizens, can thus be said to be the Rukun Negara which was officially proclaimed as the national ideology in 1971. The principles and common values embedded in the latter ideology reflect the aspirations of the Malaysian people as a whole. With their expressed acceptance or a quiet acknowledgement of the latter ideology, the people apparently are moving on, that is, continuing with their lives (this is indicated by the fact that there has been no serious and major incident reflecting social strife since the May 13, 1969 episode).

¹⁴ The vision of the *nation's founding father, Tengku Abdul Rahman, and the early national leaders- Tun Razak Hussein and Tun Dr. Ismail bin Haji Abdul Rahman Yassin, was for a Malaysian all-encompassing commonality of purpose and life, and thence ...to nurture the evolution of a truly Malaysian identity and way of life*" (Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980), for all its peoples, as firmly exemplified by the tenets of the Rukun Negara national ideology (1971). *This search for this commonality of national purpose is however on-going as seen from the perspective of the nation's sometimes sharp and challenging national occurrences, and thus, its functioning in the context of our daily deliberations within the real and overarching ambit of the nation's prevalent modus operandi of consensual unity in diversity.* Notwithstanding the goals of the new national education blueprint 2013-2025, which nobly professes the attainment of holistic education, lifelong learning, technical-vocational- entrepreneurial skills training(TVET), globalized on-line learning and so on, the cultivation of nationhood values befitting our real, total national social landscape, needs to take cognizance of the noble intentions and far-sightedness of the Federal Constitution and the 1957 Education Ordinance, which invariably and undeviatingly upheld the preservation of the various ethnic cultures, in the form of the continuance of the vernacular, Tamil and Chinese primary and secondary school streams. The Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975, in the early years of the nation's development and evolution, gave unequivocal and explicit attention to the *inculcation of a sense of national identity through education, towards the realization of Malaysian social-political cohesion.* *The lessons for national integration via language nationhood values education can be drawn from this clear statement in the Second Malaysia Plan,*

"This search for national identity involves the whole range of economic, social and political activities: the formulation of educational policies designed to encourage common values and loyalties among all communities and in all regions".

As such, the socio-cultural values as emphasised in the Rukun Negara can be promoted actively with depth, as the national narrative.‘ The Malaysian young can be educated and nurtured to imbibe the democratic, spiritual and social values embedded in the Rukun Negara. It should become a commonly upheld and purposively understood philosophy; and with its universalistic values being broad-based, we ought therefore to move forward non-compulsively and concertedly towards forging a one Malaysian identity, propagating endearing values, and thereby inculcating a sense of pride in being Malaysians. These values in this above philosophy, can be introduced ideationally and constructed educationally in our young, being firmly based on the following social platforms,

- i) democratic participation,
- ii) economic security, national integrity, and affirmative action (Merdeka Centre for Opinion Research, 2010).

The Rukun Negara, having been formulated by the then nation’s highest governing authority itself- the National Consultative Council in 1970, attempted to clearly recognize the fact that **“... a nation of diverse races, religions and cultures... can be a source of strength” for the national polity**. This august document also clearly postulated in its *preamble* that,

We are dedicated to ensuring the existence and growth of a liberal society in which its members are free to practise and profess their own religions, customs and cultures consistent with the requirements of national unity. The Malaysian nation is indeed unique in having rich and diverse cultural traditions and practices. We aspire to a society in which this diversity can be an asset and a source of strength.

The tragic May 1969 incident was seen in all seriousness as a catalyst for nation-building and nation-formation, in that the nation’s asset of multiculturalism was to become the platform for the cultural development of the nation. The *Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980*, pertinently noted that, *“A national identity is born out of a common set of social norms and values evolved over a period of time. Thus, plurality of race, ... present a great challenge to the moulding of national identity”*.

It calls for,

i) *a full identification and commitment to the national goals and ideals;*

ii) *viewing emergent problems of whatever nature in terms of a challenge to Malaysia's capability as a nation and a people;*

iii) *accepting the country's socio-cultural diversity as a source of pride in regard to the nation's uniqueness;*

iv) *treating internal problems and conflicts as a natural process of consensus-seeking in the pursuit of the most satisfying compromises and alternatives. A common national identity lies in the willingness of the people to accept the above as guidelines for action. Many of the sociocultural characteristics nurtured over the years already exist to form the basis of this common Malaysian identity. These include a high degree of tolerance and accommodation as already manifested over the years of the nation's existence;...hospitality; a love for peace and socially satisfying relationships; a quest for even greater tolerance and understanding;...an abundance of goodwill and common sense as well as a spirit of humility (which) have enabled the country to face and overcome the trials and tribulations of a young and multiracial nation (Malaysia, 1976, p. 21).*

As based therefore, on the all-embracing and well-grounded principles of these above national documents, it is highly possible educationally, to help instill in our young particularly, through the language pathways and other resources and approaches, that the Malaysian spirit, that is, a Malaysian cultural consciousness,¹⁵ need not be a singular grand narrative, but one that is a composite of different elements, being as it essentially is, at the ground level,

¹⁵ It is paramount today to ponder about **HOW we can, in all urgency, construct an outlook towards a form of a Malaysian (cultural) consciousness.** The 1971 National Cultural Congress, organized by the then Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, somewhat lacked in exemplifying a spirit of accommodation for the already well-rooted and growing multi-racial, Malaysian social milieu. The then Prime Minister, **Tun Abdul Razak** had nevertheless, laid out an over-arching guiding principle to the above congress, emphasizing, that *"Malaysia's multi-racial society cannot be forgotten in deciding the country's national culture, ... to the fine rich base of our indigenous cultural heritage we must add beneficial, invigorating elements from other cultures that have come into the country."* (in Lim and others, (Eds.). 2009, p.234). Malaysian social science scholars, Lim and Gomez (ibid. p. 247), strongly postulate that **interculturalism, constituting well-founded intercultural education, cultural exchanges and the knowledge of others**, can go beyond the mere multiculturalism tenets of cultural awareness and tolerance, thereby conducting the fostering of cohesive national unity. A readily present target group for the above to take place, being academically educatable and open to appropriate cognitive and intellectual learning, are the Malaysian young generation in schools.

...inclusive, plural and diverse, and one that is (and can be) true and fair to our (,common“) past. We should be comfortable with celebrating our differences, while at the same time acknowledging (that) we are equal Malaysian citizens alike (Tricia Yeoh, the Sun.7.9.2012, p.13; emphases by researcher).

Malaysian culture and values, separately and together, can then become the standard and guideline, reflected in an appropriate national institutional framework, moving and supporting the national trajectory towards the forging of the much sought-after, diversely composed Malaysian identity.

Clearly then, the spirit of the Rukun Negara as the nation’s principles of national life and ideology, upholds the national diverse traditions, ensuring a common ground for all Malaysians and thereby, allowing for the evolution of the sense of the above national identity.

Saifuddin Abdullah (2014, p.11), a council member of the National Unity Consultative Council and Chief Executive Officer of the Global Moderation Foundation, observes starkly,

The Rukun Negara is not thoroughly deliberated... For example, the preamble is being left out whereas the spirit of the Rukun Negara is in the preamble¹⁶. ... we need to teach the younger generation the history, ... the preamble of our country’s constitution. The meaning (that) lies beneath it and not just the weekly pledge during the school assemblies or what is stated behind students’ exercise books (see also section 2.3.10- Language Values Education, and pp. 109.,78, 82, 267, 302-304).

As Comber (1983, p. 81), had observed, that its (Rukun Negara) formulation and presentation, particularly in the schools, was *directed to steer “...a middle path through the tangled skein of Sino-Malay relations” (prevalent intensely in the aftermath of the 1969 May incident)*. A clear hint was given in it to Malay ultra and racial extremists, that they are not going to have things entirely their own way, and that parliamentary democracy was to continue, and a totalitarian form of

¹⁶ The pre-eminent and cardinal significance of the Rukun Negara is the socio-political educational message that all Malaysians come to see themselves as Malaysians. As such, all citizens are tasked with the duty of contributing positively towards national consolidation. Together with constructive socio-political-economic programmes towards a progressive nationhood, the nation’s goals further encompasses the spirit and *teleos* of the nation-state (the history and constitution), the need to become the ~~habits~~ habits of the peoples’ hearts and minds”, and this needs to be reflected and actualised particularly by all educators and in educational institutions (Mah-Kamariyah & Philip Koh, 2005).

government was not envisaged. The Chinese were reassured that there would be no threat to their culture [ensuring a liberal approach to her (Malaysia's) rich and diverse cultural traditions], and the **direction in which education would be focused and developed** was indicated (a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology').

In this regard, the challenge presenting itself for Malaysian leaders and educators is that, there being no pre-existing common framework and moral consensus for the task of values education to be well propagated for all Malaysian children, how best can this task then be carried out (presented)?

As S. West (1993, in Halstead, & Taylor, 1996, p. 169), pointedly observes, that in pluralistic and diverse societies, with religion generally regarded as a persuasive modus operandi for certain desired nationalistic objectives, there can be no one publicly recognized religion,

...which can be unproblematically invoked for all children: it is like trying to put a cork back in a bottle which for a significant number of people is now devoid of its content. It is not a lack of concern to instill a sense of values and meaning that is at question, it is finding the appropriate forms to do it ...It is, in fact, the school's whole approach in the overt and hidden curriculum which conveys (and can convey) the real message of values and the ,how" of what is taught and done, which is as important as the ,what" .

Religion then, even if it may not be seen generally as being close to the hearts of today's young, is still a key focus of influence among the older generation. In order then to establish a common basis for a modus operandi for values education and thus to use this base to enable the formation of nationhood values, through language text materials, undeniably then, the commitment of the teacher-agent who then needs to be fully cognizant of his role as an educator for citizenship, comes to the fore (Edwards & Fogelman, 1993, in Halstead & Monica, *ibid* p. 171). These above agents-texts and teachers, working together towards the inculcation of common and nationhood values, can well function in the given pluralistic context, bringing together cross-curricular and cultural issues, to focus on common key curriculum issues¹⁷, as the attainment of excellence towards Vision 2020.

¹⁷ A study was conducted in the Latin American states demonstrating the role school texts and teachers played in the construction of the sense of nationhood impacting on the extent of the societies'

However, it is crucial that language curriculum content and educators as well, are cognizant of the educational principle that,

...young people's understanding of themselves cannot take place in a vacuum, but must be set within the context of knowledge of their family, community, national and wider world in which they live. It is through an understanding of the social, political and environmental aspects of the world, that they come to develop and understand their own personal qualities, attitudes and values (Buck & Inman, 1993:11).

The above writers' stand thus show that the young need to be exposed to appropriate knowledge input, and as with the focus of this study, language curriculum content that can be well imbued with and amenable to the construction of nationhood values, in them. The nature of the impact of the 'external' language, and the teachers' lesson presentations can help shape and determine the values and attitudes which the young generation can come to adopt in their lives. The writers further stress that,

It is through this form of understanding that young people are empowered to act in an informed and purposeful manner. This form of understanding also requires a particular teaching style- one which is participatory and experiential (ibid).

On the basis of these above writers' conclusions, appropriately derived on the basis of an educational-psychological perspective, it must be borne in mind that **language curriculum content which is „balanced“ and celebrative of Malaysian cultural values and the existing, national social milieu, when well-engendered, can help produce empowered Malaysians imbued with positive nationhood values.**

In view of the national mission as reflected in the nation's national ideology- the Rukun Negara, the National Education Philosophy (1988) and further, the Education Act 1996, which propounds the cardinal education principle of the provision of quality education for the fullest development of the individual potential, *enabling one „to be educated“, so that a person is,....prepared for life by being intellectually,*

social cohesion. Together with changing domestic national factors, in such developing societies as Mexico, Peru, and Argentina, bringing changes in school curriculum development and thus in the content of school texts, the **teachers' socio-political orientations and outlooks further shaped a cultural and class-based understanding of nationhood.** *This was a change from a political and elitist emphasis on national history and identity. The teachers' educational and professional socialization, in the context of their nation's historical evolution and socio-economic-political contexts, placed them at the forefront in clarifying their nations' needs towards historical agency and national inclusion (Matthias vom Hau, 2009).*

socially, spiritually and emotionally enriched through the process, (and the) education purpose is for a lifetime” (Rusli Rashikin, op cit., pp.107-9), in full coalescence with the above (as small puddles would coalesce to form streams and thence, rivers), the following Rukun Negara nationhood values are cogently put forward here, for their inclusion in the national language education curriculum. These are,

- i. *Compassionate Appreciation of one’s (the citizen) nation’s history,*
- ii. *Virtue, moral uprightness, rectitude and integrity, for freedom,*
- iii. *Responsibility, public service and duty,*
- iv. *Supremacy of the Constitution for national development, security and social justice,*
- v. *Respect for national laws, the law enforcement agencies- the parliament, police, the armed forces, courts and so on,*
- vi. *mutuality of shared interests and realizing a common stake in the nation,*
- vii. *a sense of Hospitality and Moderation,*
- viii. *becoming a national citizen constituted of wholesome and humanistic qualities,*
- ix. *Cultivating a Rational and Equitable „Life Outlook”.
[A partial acronym for the above can be, CASHVMRELO]*

The national challenge can therefore be said to be- to bring life-building, existential meaning to young Malaysians by presenting‘ these above values, and closely and constantly linking them to the Rukun Negara, through meaningful pedagogical applications in the English language focusedly and its literature component, while being readily cognizant of the realities of the globalizing world, so that there is an evolutionizing‘ and progressive realization of these above intrinsic values in the above national ideology, in real terms in society and particularly, in the Malaysian youth.

2.3.8. Education psychologists Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky and Barrett taxonomy on holistic learning: Pedagogical implications for values formation and cognitive development in children.

The research study undertaken by this researcher involved young adult and secondary school students. As such, the seminal research work conducted by Piaget(1952) and Vygotsky (1962) on the cognitive learning styles and the implications for teaching certain concepts and materials through languages, on the path of cognitive development, which is the primary concern of all universal education, clearly provide pathways for the cultivation of nationhood themes and values for our Malaysian children. The researcher is of the view that a serious consideration of the pedagogical suggestions by the above two renowned education psychologists, can provide insights for our purposes of advancing cognitive development and the inculcation of meaningful nationhood values in our students.

Piaget (1952) has pointed out that the universal trajectory of cognitive development and learning can begin with children understanding the concept of object permanence, which basically is the knowledge acquired by children that an object exists even if it is not within the field of one's vision. Further, goal-directed behaviour is entrenched in this stage of growth, which is referred to as the sensorimotor stage which Piaget regards as commencing from birth to the age of about two.

In the following pre-operational stage of growth-from the age of two to seven, children are considered to be egocentric, and engage in collective monologues. This latter development refers to children developing the ability to talk, but not to interact with other children, as they are governed by egocentric tendencies.

With teaching and learning well-structured and 'conducted' for optimal learning in the above periods of a child's growth, the following stage of concrete operations, from the of age seven to eleven, is then of significant concern for educators. As at this stage Piaget emphasizes that reasoning processes and some sense of order, and skills such as the wheretofores of classification, compensation and seriation in the contexts of their surrounding environments, take shape and can be developed further in children.

Piaget went on to further hypothesize that thenceforth, from the age of eleven to adulthood and further, the **cognitive development skills for abstract logical thought, begin to manifest in a child. In this stage, which he referred to as the formal operations stage, children can be assisted to develop problem-solving skills, using the environment as such, with its vast array of resources and strategies.** Children in this stage can be helped to move away from egocentrism, in an organized and constructivist approach, towards social interaction. The children are then cognitively better prepared to develop schemes of thought which essentially are mental representations of people, objects, and principles. Here, the pedagogical programmes are instructively instrumental and effective in nurturing the appropriate schemes and constructs of ideas, principles and values in the children (Piaget, 1952).

The above primary process of cognitive and essentially social development in learners can, according to Piaget (ibid) are taken through the mental processes of assimilation and accommodation. With the child exposed to new knowledge, ideas and new friends and individuals, a sense of disequilibrium can begin to set in, in one's assimilated and accumulated knowledge. When eventually equilibrium and stability of thought occur through *pedagogical interventions* and the child's personal interactions with the environment particularly, and the ensuing mental "struggles" as it were, then accommodation takes place. Here, a clear pedagogical implication is that the education, and particularly, the *language curriculum* [as based on Piaget's view that language is one primary tool that can help determine the form of one's thinking (ibid)], *can be instrumental and function in its performative role to develop appropriate nationhood values in our children.*

Vygotsky (1962), around the time Piaget was propounding his research work to the world, put forward his **Sociocultural Theory of Development.** The primary orientation of this theory was that children learn through social interactions and their cultures. Although different from Piaget's emphasis on the environment as the enabling platform for learning, its focus on culture and that "...human activities take place in cultural settings and cannot be understood apart from these settings" (Woolfolk, 2004, p.45), and therefore human cognition is necessarily shaped by our cultures. Vygotsky's advocacy for teaching of "dialogues" and co-constructed processes (the teacher provides learners with hints and clues for problem-solving,

which Vygotsky refers to as –scaffolding”), which involve learners interacting with one another during classroom common and ‘shared’ activities, are therefore congruent essentially, with Piaget’s recognition also of the pedagogies of social interaction, problem-solving, exploration of varied solutions, and adaptation and accommodation to learning contexts.

Both the educational psychologists above further saw the importance of discovery learning. Although Piaget advocated little teacher involvement in the above pedagogical approach, Vygotsky promoted guided discovery learning. In the latter’s theory, the teacher takes on the role as an active agent in his students’ learning, by allowing peer group interactions, posing challenging questions towards discovery learning, enabling self-directed speech and communication or ‘private speech’, and providing a clear and particular focus on learners’ cultures and language as tools, to develop mature thinking and cognitive development in the learners.

In summary, the following tenets can constitute the combined essence of the pedagogical principles of Piaget and Vygotsky in the trajectory for cultivating positive values and enhancing cognitive abilities in learners,

- students need to be *engaged* in study and class work in order for them to be able to change their world-views, that learners come to the classroom with established world-views, ‘coloured’ and formed by years of prior experience and learning,
- that students learn well from each other (peer group interactions) and teacher-involvement and guidance,
- that students learn better by doing,
- that the *cultural orientations and language* are effective tools for new learning,
- that classroom language methodologies can further intensely include varied and currently popular reading genres, like short stories, literature texts, poems, fairy tales, newspaper reports, and so on, which can be enabling tools for effective interpersonal communication, and thereby, meaningful inter group relationships and understanding, that educational pedagogies today’s modern technological and globalization context, allow for learning needs that encourage engaging learners in the learning processes and enable them to have a voice towards the construction and generation of new ideas.

With a clear bearing on the above issues discussed, a research study by Mak (2011) on the significance of enabling student-learners to question reading texts, that is, interactive text processing skills, for greater and meaningful comprehension, the above researcher concludes by emphasising the important role teachers are entrusted with in ***“activating thinking skills” so as to evoke a “...positive and conducive environment in the reading (and learning) process”*** (ibid, p.183). Teachers need to incorporate questioning-thinking skills explicitly in their instructional-pedagogical plans, such as, main ideas identification, literal and inferential meanings determination, types of examples given and discussed, positive and common applicational ideas for society, concluding points, and so on.

As a consequence then, as education constructivists have proposed, educators can then help facilitate the development of greater depth and meaning in learning- the higher order thinking skills (HOTS), by assisting and enabling learners to question and connect with the learning and reading materials, importantly, that of the English (and other languages as well) language, this latter language being the focus of this study.

These teaching approaches above are nevertheless advocated by education personnel and educational institutions in our nation. Various and integrated methodologies are often given a place in official education documents, for instance, the national education curriculum documents (Ministry of Education, 2003), and various school texts. But the ***consequences of the shortcomings of the current and „pradised“ approaches are all too well-known, particularly the generally low language communicative skills of the large majority of our students at the various education levels, and the lack of a humanistic and holistic regard and appreciation of the purposes of education.*** As Dzul kifli Abdul Razak (2012, p.16), commenting on the state of our present orientations towards education, laments that,

...We go by grades mostly, less by aptitude...So, marks take precedence,...when the aim of „education“ is a paper chase for employment and not for self-fulfilment, such as winning at the Olympics.

...We have long known about the concept of multiple intelligences that we are all endowed with. It will be a disaster if we continue to obsess with only one measure- the mathematico-linguistic type-and disregard the rest, including the kinesthetic one....

The Malaysian education programmes, as discussed earlier, have not successfully and fully helped, to mould and 'educate' the 'Malaysian person', tapping on and activating the innate intelligences in him. In this regard, one often thinks of the teacher, the 'sculptor' of children's minds, as it were, and education leaders. These agents without doubt, occupy a central and crucial position in our children's education. Jose Mario Dolor De Vega (2012, p.24), a concerned Malaysian educationist, reminiscing on Malaysian education, observes pointedly that,

...Extrinsically, we are encouraging them (students) to memorise and get high marks, even perfect scores. Yet, intrinsically, we are also demanding they must possess critical thinking, creativity and persuasive discourse (communicative skills as discussed earlier). This is a contradiction...Teachers are obligated to inspire and guide their pupils to think, to wonder unceasingly, to dare to ask questions, to speak their minds courageously, and to be confident. ...the ultimate duty of the teacher is to teach his students not what to think, but how to think. The teacher must teach them to craft their own paradigms to discover and consequently construct their own truths, to nurture and create their own structures and foundations, to posit and to simultaneously answer their own queries and questions.

The teacher thus mediates for healthy thinking among his charges and advances them towards the primary goals of the Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy.

The following figure below shows the co-relationship that can be constructed between Piaget's and Vygotsky's researched stand-points on cognitive development in growing children particularly, and how these 'intellect-thought processual' constructs can be seen together with Barrett's educational development taxonomy. That is, how the knowledge gradations in acquiring language skills- literal comprehension, reorganization, inferential comprehension and so on (see figure below), and the cognitive development stages- sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete operations and so on, purposively seen together, can augment and expand the student's learning capacities.

Pre-adolescent students at secondary school education, can be well exposed to 'constructive' volumes of learning inputs on nationhood themes and values, as this

can well involve dialoguing, problem-solving, evaluation, appreciation and other related skills and activities. The above educationist also emphasizes that higher-order knowledge and language skills can be appropriately targeted at students who have moved up the knowledge-language skills gradations scale, as shown in the given figure below.

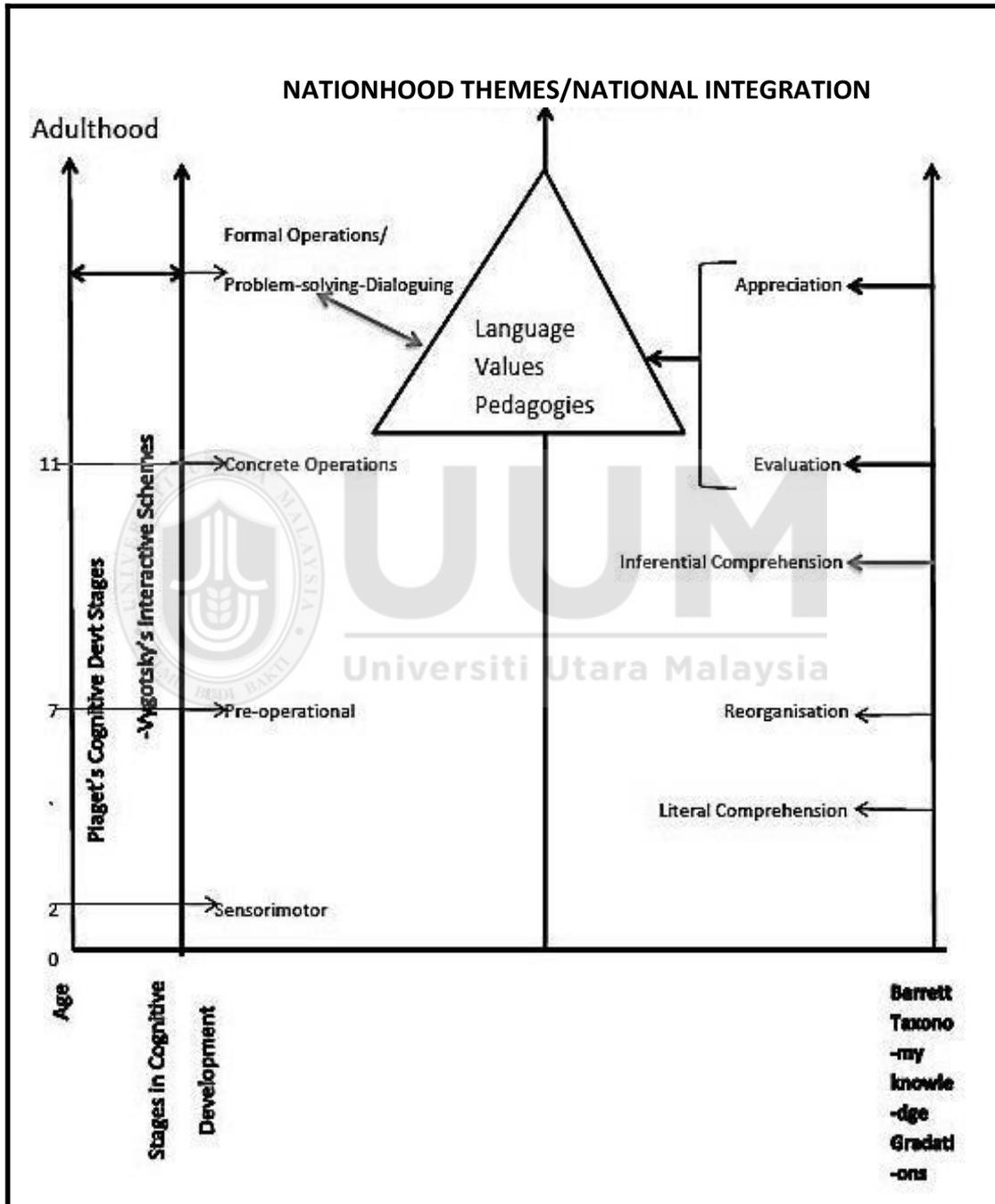


Figure 2.2 The relationship between education psychology (Piaget, Vygotsky) and cognitive-knowledge education (Barrett's Taxonomy) principles, on cognitive development towards learning of nationhood values-themes for national integration.

It is the view thus, of the researcher that the above education pedagogies and insights, appropriately given life in our classrooms, concertedly inculcating English language nationhood themes in learners, can well help shape (engender) and evolve good and nationhood-enriched (true) Malaysians.

2.3.9. Malaysian youth- The foundational promise for social integration in Malaysian society

If language is said to be the custodian of one's culture (Shamsul, 2011), and by extension, for a commonality of a national outlook, even if it does not fully reflect a single national culture, the nation's youth then, can well be moulded in nationalistic values through the nation's primary language curriculum- Bahasa Malaysia and English, whereby these values can transcend that of individual cultures and religions, and become torch-bearers and the vanguard of the nation's future.

The youth make up a large proportion of the nation's population today. As discussed earlier, they stand at 30 per cent in the age group of 10 to 24 years or younger for the past 20 years. It has however been estimated that the proportion of Malaysian youth would be getting smaller, and constitute a quarter of the nation's population of 28.3 million in 2020. On the national basis, our population is relatively young, with the average age at around 25 today (Department of Statistics Malaysia 2012).

It is pertinent to take note at this juncture that UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation) has projected that Malaysia will have more young males than females who are illiterate. The Millennium Development Goals Progress Report 2010 also highlighted that the social phenomenon of male school dropout rate has been higher than that for females, after primary school completion. It is also important that the following factor of youth unemployment rate- for the 15-24 years age group, is increasing, being 10.3 per cent for males, while for females it was 11.8 per cent. Also a point to be noted is that the unemployment rate among tertiary institute graduates, who are primarily regarded as young adults with enormous hopes and aspirations, is also on the increasing trend, from 65,500 in 2010 to 71,600 in the first quarter of 2011 (Professor Dr. Mary Huang Soo Lee & Ms Lim Shiang Cheng, Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2012).

If the youth are not to drift apart, and be nurtured to look forward to the future, the young generation today and that of the future, can be educationally ‘shaped’ to function as the (become the) bulwark of a common Malaysian identity. The educational approaches particularly, not forgetting the part to be played by parents, teachers, the media, and elders as role models, need to look at ways by which positive, nationhood value(s) transmission can occur, through engaging curricular activities (the ‘life’ values imparted implicitly based on the national ideology-the Rukun Negara, as discussed earlier).

A clear paradigm shift in the education system, particularly in relation to language (and history, civics, religious) education, needs to be seriously and mindfully promoted, with a focus on cultivating the ‘Malaysian citizen’. This, no doubt is an evolutionary process, but nevertheless, with the existing ‘minimal’, generally ad hoc forms of national integration programmes in force- the Vision School, the RIMUP (Rancangan Integrasi Murid Untuk Perpaduan) programme in 1985, the National Service programme for form five school-leavers in 2003, and others as discussed earlier (see page 10), these above can be enhanced and given a new RIMUP meaning, with a renewed and holistic focus on national solidarity in the national education curriculum, with exemplary leadership provided by educators and national leaders today and in the future.

It is indeed needful and timely that the Malaysian Education and Deputy Prime Minister, in launching the World Interfaith Week in a national school, emphasized the urgent need today for young Malaysians to learn and internalize the principles and values of respect for religions, to ensure harmony among diverse religions and communities. The minister elaborated, saying,

Malaysia already practises peace and harmony among religions, allowing it to develop as a country. It is my opinion that we should begin the respect for religions in schools, appreciate our diversity and practise not just tolerance, but acceptance (The Malay Mail, 22.2.2012, p. 6).

In order to enable our youth to imbibe the above and other nationhood values, the curriculum content for the relevant school subjects, can, as put forward by the above minister, necessarily incorporate the following principles,

- non-interference in the where-to-fores‘ of the followers and practices of other religions and races,
- understand, acknowledge and respect the differences and sensitivities of other citizens and people,
- practise sympathy and empathy, and be kind and treat people the way one would like to be treated oneself,
- be co-operative in and as a society by generating and acting ethically, for the benefit of all, and
- unite in the diversity of the nation, to love and foster the spirit of loyalty and a high spirit of patriotism.

(Dr. Kamar Oniah Kamaruzaman, 2011).

The values underlying these above principles, being infused within the Rukun Negara, can be presented in class lessons, particularly in the lessons for the compulsory languages. The language pedagogies can be engaging and participatory. Ensuring in a pro-active manner, that students‘ creativity and self-knowledge are not withheld and submerged, –learning and teaching must include creative competencies and flexible attitudes through the practice of comprehensive and critical reading and thinking, emotional education, the stimulus of free expression, and contrasted transference into reality and dialogic participation within diversity, together with respect to local identity, toward a search for universal peace, democratic co-existence, and continuous improvement” (Beatriz Fainholc, 2005, in Campbell, p.36, in Hazita Azman & others. Eds., 2011).

The *pedagogical applications* that ensue from the above, collectively then, are to open up the school system that can enable pedagogies with the cyber-culture-oriented‘ youth of today, to be remodelled from a top-down instructional approach (teacher-centred), to **more engaging dialogical forms**, which will thus allow for the further use of **collaborative pedagogies**.

The youth in schools coming from diverse backgrounds, as the Malaysian minister of education effusively noted, that, –In schools, we see students of different races and religions sitting side by side. We can achieve unity in the country” [Muhyiddin

Yassin, as quoted by Dzul kifli Abdul Razak (2012, p. 28), and reflecting on the core aspiration of the nation's education philosophy as well as that of the 1956 Razak Report, does say well of the practices of the apparently functioning education system].

However, being cognizant of the 'larger picture', where we have an in-built, segregated national and vernacular school system, functioning from even before independence in Malaya and Malaysia as such, efforts at 'alliance building' early, at the youth stage, needs to be given further attention. Children, as psychologists and educationists emphasize, have the propensity and willingness to ignore superficial differences in one another, and can make friends quickly with people from all walks of life. They often get into a healthy, if not 'flowering' social momentum of interactions and 'acceptance', until they are 'taught' and learn about prejudices and discrimination, later in life.

In investigating these above themes, Fazilah Idris (2008), conducted a study on personality attributes and values of early youth (16 to 17 years old) (ibid p.12), employing the **Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB)** (ibid. p. 26).¹⁸ As Fazilah has noted, that the author of this above theory- Ajzen (1991), had focused on *behaviours, being not all volitional, that can be developed to desired states of cognitive readiness and attitudes, with appropriate educational resources and opportunities, and certainly thus, towards inter-ethnic tolerance among these early youth*. The study drew certain pertinent conclusions which have a clear bearing on this researcher's study, in that it found that a high level of cognitive readiness and positive attitudes in the early youth population, can help in enhancing inter-ethnic tolerance and ethnic harmony. The study also emphasized, that efforts at integration of the different ethnic youth groups in the Malaysian national schools, and in residential places, can result in enhancing better inter-ethnic understanding and acceptance of one another.

¹⁸The TPB holds that particular factors such as one's attitudes for a given behaviour, the subjective norms involved and the perceived ability to perform it, all determine the intentions concerning that behaviour. The prevalence of supportive, favourable attitudes, governing subjective norms, together with a strong perceived control of one's thoughts and responses to particular situations, the greater then the likelihood of positive and successful behaviours. This theoretical model, signifying the relationship between one's beliefs, attitudes and the resources and opportunities that can contribute towards the nature and form of the former and which can help structure behaviours especially in early life, provides a pragmatic and logical framework illustrating the contribution of one's cognitive readiness and attitudes in determining one's sense of inter-ethnic tolerant behaviour.

Further, certain insights that can be drawn from this study are that, concerted efforts need be taken in not only providing knowledge to our youth about our different Malaysian cultures, religions and ways of life as such, but also to particularly educate and guide them to respect what others hold important in their lives, as one does in one's personal life.

A similar study attempted to throw further light on the social psychology and the dynamics of the state of inter-ethnic relations among the different ethnies in Malaysia, with a focus on group identifications, the sense of in-group indispensability and how these impacted on attitudes towards inclusive nationhood. In investigating the common motivations of the need for distinctiveness as communal groups and that for a sense of oneness as a national society, Verkuyten, Maykel (University Utrecht, Netherlands) and Aqeel Khan (University of Malaya) (2012), used two socio-psychology models- the Common In-group Identity Model (CIIM) which purports that a shared, larger national category by all ethnic groups will be associated with less inter-group bias; and the In-group Projection Model, centring on the dimension of the Relative In-group Indispensability (RII) perspective, which claims that for a sub-ethnic group, a shared, nationally proclaimed common category can possibly result in greater inter-group bias.

This above study is thus seen as significant as in the quest for an inclusive Malaysian nationhood, in that a generally strong and well-grounded- culturally, ideologically and even religious identification with one's ethnic group, as well as with a common identification with the national category, as in the case of the One Malaysia concept, these above social realities then, can still impact positively upon the above (One Malaysia outlook), and thereby help define a generally well-contoured endorsement of an inclusive national representation" (ibid p.2).

The above writers however, point out that in line with the social identity and the social dominance theories, group-national identifications and inter-group attitudes can be susceptible to and become shaped by the socio-political context. This latter factor needs to be constantly borne in mind in the efforts undertaken towards national integration and their outcomes as such.

The above writers, from their study came to the following conclusions, that

- i) dual identifications- that is, an in-group identification as well as a national category one, in all three major ethnic groups, were related to a strong endorsement of an inclusive nation,
- ii) this above positive endorsement by all three groups, was further related to and dependent upon, positive out-group (relating to other ethnic groups) evaluations, together with positive in-group evaluations.

The above findings can be said to significantly indicate that with efforts taken for the *cognitive construction* of positive thoughts towards inclusivity as a one nation, this then can help shape positive attitudes in the co-existing out-groups, but without reducing the in-group sense of belongingness and identification. Generally, in the above study for all three ethnic groups, with a greater showing by the Malay and Indian groups, positive identifications were indicated for both national and ethnic identifications. This then tends to indicate that there was a sense of understanding by all the three main ethnies, that Malaysia, although a diverse nation, can be a one national entity-national society. This further indicates that there exists a sense of acceptance of one another as Malaysians. The above writers emphasize that the pattern of findings was in line with the national integration vision of the One Malaysia concept (ibid pp.136-138).

Beginning with the school youth therefore, both at their primary and early secondary education stages, through social educational processes, enlivened by engaging pedagogies, positive thoughts for inclusivity as a one nation- One Malaysia, and acceptance of one another can be engendered. More so, Malaysia being a multiethnic and multi-religious society, as the above study emphasizes, the language (primarily school compulsory-study ones) education pedagogies can be used as tools and tailored towards experiential and aesthetic directions, towards national integration. Language curriculum facilitators need to infuse *reflective and investigative pedagogic pathways* for learners in the learning content, rather than solely planned meanings and packaged values. With the *above pedagogies* „worked out“, that is, applied on the differently designed content, learners can be guided to imbibe an appreciation of the multicultural situations, expand their

perceptions of cultures and religions, and allow them to make links and associations between their own personal-family histories with that of the communities around them (Loh, (Ed.) 2010.p.2; Pillai, in Loh 2010, pp. 242-243). As Loh elaborates,

If the 21st century developments and competencies are not to leave the youth population by the wayside, in a truly holistic sense of the terminologies of „progress“ and growth, the socio-cultural dimension of this ubiquitous phenomenon of economic development, must not be allowed to be totally lost in our „simplistic“ human (materialist) calculations (ibid).

In relation to this above issue, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) in 1996, stated categorically, that,

The truth is that, all-out economic growth can no longer be viewed as the ideal way of reconciling material progress with equity, respect for the human condition and respect for the natural assets that we have a duty to hand (on), in good condition to future generations.

The report reminds us of a highly pertinent issue for today, that we *cannot forsake our duty to continue to manage to live harmoniously in the communities to which we naturally belong- the nation, the region, the city, the village, the neighbourhood*. It further emphasizes, appropriately in relation to the theme of this study, *that it is of the utmost importance for the nurturing of minds and hearts in a nation towards a universal commonality*. For this to be achieved therefore, the above UNESCO report puts education above all other endeavours, with its four pillars- *learning to live together, learning to be, learning to know, and learning to do*.

The question for our nation then is that, to what extent are we cognizant of the significance of, and appreciative of the *everyday dynamics* of these educational pillars. The first two pillars or competencies particularly- *learning to live together, and learning to be*, appear to be generally overlooked in Malaysia, and the focus has been very much on how to put our hands and *„souls“* on new ideas to promote new economic growth. It needs to be noted that for a nation to be well grounded in both economic growth and social stability, all four pillars need to be seen as mutually and interdependently vital. It is thus certainly inevitable and appropriate for the national leadership to take heed of the above United Nations Organization report's proposition that the *survival of humanity*, and by application, newly industrializing nations like ours, depends on how the tensions of modern-day development can be well managed through education, *implanting noble, universal values in the young*

particularly, which go beyond material terms and their (mundane) demands (Dzulkifli Abdul Razak, 2012; emphases by researcher).

The lack thereof, of the „right“ education in these noble values can probably also be contributive to the generally „indifferent and casual attitudes“ as such of young Malaysians who seem to have “...lost a sense of belonging to this country and are looking to greener pastures abroad. I have come across teenagers as young as fourteen who are thinking of leaving the country” (Pereira, 2012). A cardinal factor and basis for this above social phenomenon are the frustrations caused by the perceptions one has of one another. A study on young Malaysians has revealed that children have started to develop certain personality stereotypes and prejudices about the ‘_other’, different ethnic groups. These notions, the researchers of this study have concluded, are learned behaviours, probably taught by the children’s parents and families (David, & Tien, 2010, p.199).

And further, another local study involving the nation’s youth, concluded that the presence of **polarization among the younger generation, in particular, university students, and the occurrence of low levels of tolerance and interaction among the latter group, is the result of cognitively acquired-perceived negative inputs, both through formal education and by the external social world.** This will thus inevitably structure and form in the students, negative behaviours (Azimi, 2005; Tien, & Sim, 2010, p. 213). One example of the prevalent formal education system that can be said to have much contributed to this situation involves ‘_inaccurate’ history teaching in Malaysian schools, as discussed earlier (Cheah, 2003; Santhiram, 1999). This trend truly can have long-term damaging effects on the young minds of children and adolescent youth, contributing to misconceptions with regards to the on-going nation-building efforts, and thereby lead to social stresses and deepen the cleavages in inter-ethnic relations.

In order to enable education to actualize its core role as envisioned by the Razak Education Report (1956), even in the early years of the nation’s independence, that is, national unity, and as a counterforce to the deleterious effects of the trends discussed in the above paragraph, can be possibly to take up the suggestion by the Youth Development Laboratory in the Malaysian Ministry of Youth and Sports, for the implementation of a *standardized school system* to promote unity within our

unique confines of diversity. The likelihood of a *single school system* in the near future, although only a distant possibility in our nation, as the existing education system is clearly well ‘protected’ by the ‘safeguards’ provided for ethnic-based education in the Federal Constitution, **its (that of the single school system) spirit and ethos need not be denied to our young. However, as Nik Nazmi (2010, p.74) has boldly advocated, that a new school system to attract the existing multifarious Malaysian schools to come together, can be one that can be referred to as the Unified Stream school system.** In this system, the best features of the national stream, which the writer observes, has “lost all credibility with many Malaysian parents, including Malay ones”, are committedly put together- not to be superimposed on, with that of the vernacular school system. The national language, English, and a mother tongue language which all students will be required to learn, together with a general religious education, science, civil and cultural education focused on what and who we are as a nation, becoming important parts of this above curriculum scheme, all of which can gradually help nurture a *multi-lingual and multi-cultural ethos*, particularly and essentially so, in our young (ibid. pp. 74-75; Dzulkifli Razak, 2012).

The Prime Minister, being at the apex of power in the nation, has often emphasized the importance of education in Malaysian society, and particularly, the nurturing of soft skills in **human capital development**. As the Prime Minister stated categorically,

...And what is Human Capital? It is the whole human being himself- it's not only the brain he has in his head, it is also the heart; it must be a person who is good-hearted, clever; a person who has knowledge. But with a person who has knowledge but does not have a heart, there is no guarantee that he will use knowledge for the good, he might use his knowledge for something bad. In Islam, that is not permitted since Islam says you must embrace 'good knowledge'; knowledge that can serve the purpose of making you a better (human) (Foreword, Pelan Induk Pembangunan Pendidikan, 2006-2010, p.20).

Indicating the very importance of **holistic human capital development for the future well-being of the nation**, the Prime Minister further stressed and elaborated on this subject, pointing out that the education system needs to be constantly cognizant of its role in producing a core Malaysian human capital force with high ethical values, and that the nation being a plural society, the education system would

need to enhance its capabilities to mould a national citizenry that is united and tolerant (ibid).

Education thus, can be seen as the national platform that necessarily attempts to cultivate a quality of refinement in its recipients, thereby instilling the sense of peace in their individual selves. Conscionably then, it is most instructive in the Malaysian plural society context, that particular attention is given to the four pillars of education as presented by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). It appears inevitable as it is for most nations, and is clearly evident in the Malaysian nation, that the first two pillars- *‘learning to know’* and *‘learning to do’*, are the primary focus in all our development programmes. What then of the other two pillars? These are, namely, **‘learning to live together’**, and **‘learning to be’**, which when properly combined with the first two, and their total interactive outcomes are translated in substantive form on the ground, will help ensure *“...a truly educated society capable of harmonious and peaceful living”* (Dzul kifli Razak, 2007; emphases by researcher).

It is thus in this latter highly placed educational goal that **we need to actively revisit the guiding principles and philosophy in the Rukun Negara**. These documents attempt to establish what being a Malaysian citizen entails. Our education programmes need therefore, to committedly incorporate these above principles to help evolve the **future Malaysian citizen who is necessarily ‘pluralistic and multicultural’ in his or her outlook and in one’s daily ways of life**.

2.3.10. Language values education

The vast domain of language education itself, with its immense *‘offerings’* for national investment, is seen as an effective tool, and with its teaching-learning opportunities conducted focusedly thereby, through a constructive process, to help promote national integration by building and fostering healthy (and humanistic) communication among disparate and diverse peoples (Wan Hashim, 1983)¹⁹.

5. Wan Hashim (ibid, p.7) has noted four factors that can contribute towards national integration. These are, i) assimilation of minorities into the earlier existing dominant group, by separating them from their cultural bindings, and enabling them to be treated as equals, ii) threats from abroad. In order that a nation is able to ward off foreign invasions, the people are mobilized to come together- to

Language education thus, viewed as a constructive process, can be enabled to function in society under a clear platform, as Kincheloe (2007, p. 23) postulates,

...that language (and language education) is not a neutral and objective conduit for description of the „real world“. Rather, from a critical perspective, linguistic descriptions are not simply about the world, but serve to construct it. ...criticalists begin to study the way language in the form of discourses serve as a form of regulation and domination (emphasis by researcher).

And to illustrate further the above position that language can function effectively for the desired objectives, Birgit Brock-Utne and Gunnar Garbo (2009) remind us of the captivating narrative and lesson in the story *„Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland‘* by Lewis Carroll (1871), (author’s real name is Charles Lutwidge Dodgson), written more than a century ago, in which the *„character‘*, Humpty Dumpty says,

When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean- neither more nor less“. Alice reposes a thought, “The question is, whether you can make words mean so many different things“. To this Humpty Dumpty responds pointedly, “the question is, which is to be master- that’s all” (emphasis by researcher).

The emphatic lesson from this old but yet still relevant and meaningful narrative account, particularly for parents and educationists, is that, that the power of language can be well directed by its user. When it is seen together with the *„larger picture‘* in mind, language in the right hands, it can be used to convey and impress upon learners the intended messages and teach the *„right‘* meanings for the relevant contexts involved, and thereby, *educate* the young with non-distorted facts for the national good.

close ranks, and be united as a nation. Communism and imperialism were seen as formidable threats by many nations, motivating their leaders to rally the peoples to be united. The leaders, who fought for their nations to achieve independence, become the symbols of their national liberation and dignity, as nations and as free peoples. These leaders are then, in many nations, continued to be looked upon as national symbols of unity with the nations striving towards economic development and prosperity, iii) the most effective approach is seen to be the implementation of a common language programme. It facilitates communication among the varied groups, as well functions as a focal point for a national identity and a national culture. This is seen as a force that can bring about national stability, and thereby national integration. A fellow-feeling and –a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it, to feel that they are kith and kin”, is strongly developed when this approach is followed (Wan Hashim refers to Ambedkar’s *„Thoughts on the Linguistic State‘*, p.111, as in Geertz, Ed. 1963, in *„Old Societies and New States*), and iv) to create an ideology which sets out the principles and the national goals of the nation. This is further extended in some situations to assist in the implementation of policies and to *„protect‘* the leaders from retaliatory action by opposing forces.

The linguistic functionality and usefulness of a language, particularly of English today and other widely-used languages, to 'educate' their users and 'determine' their understanding of the world around them and thence, their considered behaviours, is exemplified by the theoretical underpinnings of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (SWH). The linguist Sapir came to believe that language was not merely a reflection of culture and habitual action. Language and its concomitant and collateral thought forms can often be mutually deterministic of one another. Benjamin Whorf (in Carroll, 1956), giving this above notion greater thought and precision, emphasized that the grammatical nature and mechanisms of a language tended to influence the user's thought patterns. He argued his stand thus,

...the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds –and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it this way- an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language...all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated.

The origins of Whorf's stand-point as to the influence of worldly realities on one's thinking and thoughts, goes back to the work of the American anthropologist, Franz Boas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Boas studied various American native languages which were different from the Semitic and Indo-European languages which most scholars then were familiar with, and came to the conclusion that the culture and lifeways of a people were expressed and reflected in the language that they spoke.

Developing on Boas' argument above, Edward Sapir and Mandelbaum (1949), noted that languages possessed an inherent quality of being systematic and are formally complete systems. He emphasized that the coherence found in language and its broad systematic nature, allowed it to relate widely with one's thoughts and behaviours.

Essentially then, the SWH has strongly promoted the notion- one that can be said to be still subject to further deliberations and possible 'developments', as in George Orwell's '1984' striking example of linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity- the 'Newspeak' language form, that with the limitations of languages of different

cultures and admittedly of the English language, when they are found to be not adequate to express what one means (note: this, as seen from the generally lofty statements and intentions often put forward in various contexts- for example, with regards to, peace, well-being, eradication of poverty, environmental care and so on, but their translations into and actualisations in terms of real, grounded attainments, are being generally seen to be unsatisfactory), language education nevertheless, provides for *benign opportunities* for structural social building and enrichment by language authorities, to enable language to intensely cognitively, build nationhood thoughts and shape well-meaning human personalities in learners, encompassing the value essences of all cultural communities of a polity.

In a similar vein of thought and perspective advancing the functionality of language, Fairclough (1989) in his book entitled, *Language and Power* argues that, **language facilitates the process of the „manufacture“ of consent through the dissemination of ideologies and themes of thought**, by means of its multifarious forms and resources, which thereby become the main means of the manufacture of the intended consent. The writer stresses that language applications and discourse are not only determined by the social structure in which it functions, but also at the same time, by means of the linguistic abilities acquired and discoursed via language and communication channels- like the media, reading texts, the dramatic arts and so on, which in turn can impact on the larger social structure itself, and open vast opportunities for social change and continuity. This facility of language can be put to good use to help engender the enhancement of interactive relationships and mutual understanding among the different citizens of the society (Awang Had Salleh, www.melta.org.my/ET/2003/2003-9...; Halimah Mohd.Said, 2013, p.13).²⁰

²⁰ Marshall McLuhan's (1967) seminal work on the medium as the message (the latter word used as intended as expressed by the above writer), in the sixties of the twentieth century, bears significant bearing on the impact of media, packaged in particular mediums and forms, on the recipients it is directed at. The above has come to be popularly quoted as, *„the medium is the message“*. Drawing from his incisive views, it can be said that language values education towards the inculcation of nationhood values, together with their modern-day textual packaging mediums, separately and together with the content materials, can be a constructive means to cultivate a well-grounded sense of belonging to the nation, in the nation's school youth. McLuhan illustrates his stand-point with the example of a simple electric light bulb. Despite the latter not having any content as in the way that a newspaper and a television has articles and programmes respectively, but nevertheless, it is clearly a medium that has a social effect. It lights up darkness and thereby creates spaces. The internet today, as an extension of McLuhan's ideas, appears to have enormous social effects, as seen in the Arab Spring phenomenon.

In this regard, the significant and formative role that can be played by our national schools, is illustrated by Aminuddin Baki, the ‘_Father of modern Malaysian education’, an accolade bestowed on him by another renowned Malaysian educationist, Hamdan Sheikh Tahir, in the following terms,

...national schools can, (by providing the constant language and communication channels) be a place of social and cooperative living of the future generations of Malaysians and a place where they will be trained and educated to be worthy and loyal Malaysian citizens. It aims at establishing a system of education which can serve as a real meeting place of the children of the different races. It aims at training its multi-racial pupils in the art of „living, working and thinking together“; thus giving them the opportunity to know and understand each other right from childhood (Ministry of Education, 2006. p.76; emphasis by researcher).

Towards the attainment of the goals of *national solidarity* through a national education curriculum and schema in multicultural societies, the Canadian government provides a germane and apt example as to the primary themes of this study. A doctoral research study conducted by Alison (2012) examined the extent to which a structured scheme of citizenship education- from the levels of civic knowledge, volunteerism and service, engagement in issues of public concern, and that falling within the parameters of ‘_political’ education, in the nation’s national schools as per the national curricula, was implemented. Clearly acknowledging that *citizenship education has vast potential to capitalize on the opportunities and experiences of students from different backgrounds*, the writer asserts that,

...It can prepare an informed, thoughtful and committed citizenry with the knowledge and dispositions to effectively participate in shaping a society that is increasingly multicultural and immersed in globalized relations. ...the degree to which the school system prepares students to live and function in pluralistic democratic societies and interact with fellow citizens who have different racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds, (impacts on the students’ ability to absorb and practise the innate values „learned“ thereby). (ibid p.315).

Cardinally, and having a clear bearing on this researcher’s study, Alison (ibid) highlights the following points for our common reflection. These are,

Today’s technological advancements afford vast possibilities for the language media forms- the texts per se, and their content materials, when creatively exploited, to *help „massage“ the sensorium of learners and „manufacture“ positive outlooks* to the nation and life.

- i. citizenship education plays a crucial role in preparing students in becoming an active citizenry in the public sphere, contributing to the everyday functioning and solidarity of the polity (ibid, p. 294).
- ii. that the **TEACHERS** assigned for civics-citizenship education do generally have well-constructed notions of what good citizenship means and what good citizens should do. Their citizenship pedagogy generally followed a well-structured schemata beginning with civic knowledge and advancing to justice-based citizenship education.
- iii. the content of education was based on common and discursive civic-citizenship education, stressing the following aspects-
 - a. structure and function of the Canadian government,
 - b. the citizen's rights and responsibilities,
 - c. inquiry, analytical, problem-solving skills, and "democracy and diversity values" such as the rule of law and respect for one another.
- iv. that when a mere civic knowledge-based citizenship education is adopted, the writer notes, an assimilationist approach to citizenship becomes the focus, and "...cultural diversity then is reduced to a collection of idiosyncracies to be tolerated, and that tend to fade over time" (ibid, p.294). But, when good attention is directed to issues of social multiculturalities, with a focus on democratic, justice-oriented multicultural citizenship education there manifests "generally", a positive recognition (and acceptance) of the prevalent social and cultural diversity.

As such, it can be noted that the Malaysian government today, having come to realize that it is its core duty to confront the 'tensions' arising from the ethnic, religious and social diversities in the Malaysian society, has launched socio-economic programmes with vast outlays of public finance, as seen in the many national development plans and programmes. It can be pointed out that in order to strengthen these programmes, in the last three years the introduction of the *1-Malaysia concept*, aimed at national reconciliation and unity, by the present Prime Minister himself, has been given the utmost attention.

With regards the **1-Malaysia concept**, as the Prime Minister has emphasized, the operational approach in monitoring and measuring the state of the nation's unity, needs to be constantly cognizant of the following principles,

- 1) the attitudes prevalent in society towards those of different racial backgrounds,
- 2) the attitude of tolerance towards the apparent differences in others; and
- 3) the acceptance and celebration of these differences in oneself and others (Manja Ismail & others, Eds., 2010).

Serious efforts thus, can be taken to „teach about“ the commonalities in the form of universal values and practices found in Malaysian society, if not to the general society itself, then, to the youth in schools, intensively. The wide reach of the national language and the English language curriculum(s) in the Malaysian education system (see Appendix H, p.371), as they are constitutionally compulsory subjects for students; and provide the ready and appropriate platforms to operationalise the principles of 1Malaysia enunciated by the Malaysian Prime Minister.

In the context of operationalizing the above issues discussed, Janet Pillai (in Francis Loh, 2010), points out that bridges can be built between the Malaysian races to wean them from a primordial attachment to one's supposed ethnic roots. Learning of languages of the others, and engaged art activities for students and adult society can, the above writer notes, help one to understand, appreciate and respect and accept the others as human beings. People can grow to accept each other's cultural, religious practices and boundaries. The fear of forced assimilation can gradually be eliminated thus, through involvement in the above cultural activities, and the promotion of trans-ethnic commonalities as such, effected for inter-dependence and peaceful coexistence.

Towards the attainment of the above then- the manufacture, as it were, of the desired and intended consent in students, education and the school institutions can focus on the long-term vision and development of *intellectual character*. Apart, and removed from the skills and knowledge forms supposedly acquired in one's

education, it is essentially the patterns, outlooks and rationales applicable in work and for life, that stay with the student throughout his life.

In a study on teachers' cognition with regards the instruction English language reading for nationhood, sustainable development and responsible citizenry in Kenya, it was found that the teachers acquired their 'cognitions' through benchmarking with education officials and well-performing senior language teachers. The emphasis was to teach reading and other language skills 'effectively' so as to enable learners to score high grades. The instruction of reading, to instill human values and to cultivate a sense of nationhood, was thereby deemphasized. This is despite the following core national values- obedience, honesty, integrity, respect, democracy, equality, peace, security, equity, love, patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy, good governance, non-discrimination and the protection of the marginalized, and sustainable development, having been highlighted by the teacher respondents.

With particular reference to the central theme of this study, that is, the functionality of English language nationhood thematic lessons in contributing to national integration in Malaysia, the following studies go to indicate how English, and other generally regarded equally major nation-building subjects, are seen as constructive tools in advancing national integration in their respective societies.

Yusuf, (2012), in a study on the **Nigerian plural society** and its education system, found that the **English language was the primary instrument of national integration** as ~~it~~ saves the day as the nation's lingua franca,...it serves the purpose of **nationism** [functioning as the Language of Wider Communication (LWC), being used for administrative, procedural functions, political governance and for enabling the efficiency and effectiveness of the government's operational and governmental-public tasks]; and **nationalism**" (p.904), that is, evoking the sense of patriotism and sense of common belongingness and socio-cultural integration, to the nation in the people (Alis Puteh, 2006, p.15). In the face of the **crisis of multilingualism** in the society, the English language was seen to play the role of being the **neutral instrument of mediation for national integration**. Thus, the writer posits from his

research that the English language, with its *‘nationism’* and *‘nationalism’* characteristic value traits, was able to *‘overcome’* and diminish regional linguistic influences and sentiments, educationally projecting its- the English language’s, ingrained values of civility, healthy dialogue, understanding and acceptance, towards cultivating a national consciousness of oneness (p. 903).

In a study to examine the issues of conformity to common social norms, and the value perceptions of Malaysian secondary school students, that is, what values students attach to their behaviours, life actions and notions, Barone (2004, pp.179-196) found a high degree of conformity to common social norms and values. The students exhibited a high degree of regard for the values and norms of respect, justice and fairness in their relationships with their teachers. As the teachers were the authority figures in the students’ lives, the above values can be explored and developed further in English language nationhood education, to forge the nationhood value of a sense of national integration.

The *English language, as with the national language- Bahasa Malaysia, being the two compulsory and primary languages of study in the Malaysian school curriculum* (as in the prevalent socio-political context of Malaysia today), the **History subject** too serves as a ready platform of education for the inculcation of nationhood values, towards social integration. Seman, et al. (2011), in a study on the learning of History by a multicultural mix of secondary school students in Malaysia, asserts that a **multicultural approach, exemplifying the values of respect, understanding, acceptance and so on, taken to be the primary nationhood values**, to the teaching and learning of History, can contribute in promoting national integration in the nation, and in the long run, help achieve the *‘One Malaysia’* vision. The possibilities thus, for the use of the English language for the inculcation of nationhood values in our students, are thus also very much latently positive.

The researcher of this study conducted an analysis (2013; Appendix I, Table I.1., p.374), of the Malaysian English language and Bahasa Malaysia secondary forms two and four texts to ascertain the regularity of nationhood themes in the lesson plans and teaching content presented. The findings of this investigation revealed that there were many local, national topical themes in the above school texts. The focus however, appeared very much, *‘on a page-to-page’* development of materials on the

national topics, as it was for other topics, a bent on information input, linguistic skills practice and pedagogical-activity of language units oriented towards mastery of the earlier presented language items. The language-learning, and thus language education focus on aesthetic use of language (Bahagian Perkembangan Kurikulum, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, syllabi, 2003) was minimal and generally not emphasized. This focused study showed that with the Malaysian-oriented topics as provided in the texts, there was a sixty-five per cent further possibility for pedagogical applications for nationhood thematic teaching-learning lesson activities.

Further, in a research study by Sungwon (2003), on the use of English language textbooks and the teaching and learning of English in Korean public schools, the researcher concludes that social values education in the English texts and lessons are strongly emphasized. These social values, the writer notes, are clearly directed at maintaining social harmony in the national polity. The research findings indicate that *learning English in schools has underlined the importance of upholding Korean nationalistic values, such as respect, patriotism, service, loyalty, acceptance, hard work, ethics* and so on (ibid, p.79). The writer elaborates,

*It is believed therefore **that learning English enhances the national identity and culture** (of the Korean nation). (Even with a wide range of education reforms) that encourage Koreans to think and act globally, learning English in Korea actually represents a thoroughly national concern: Korea's economic, political, social and cultural compatibility in the world (p. 194). Further, with the emphasis of the „cultural syllabus“ in the English language subject, the researcher notes that it demonstrates (and cultivates), ... a new sense of Korean national identity and nationalism adapted for the 21st century (p.195).*

As the writer asserts, that this above national English language education programme being an on-going effort, the intensification of English language learning among students then, can not only open the Korean nation to the economic benefits of globalization as it were, but also lead to a **strengthening of nationalistic values and that of the sense of national integration among the school students, and thenceforth in the national society.**

With particular reference to the central theme of this study, that is, the functionality of English language nationhood thematic lessons in contributing to national

integration in Malaysia, the following studies go to indicate how English, and other generally regarded equally major nation-building subjects, are seen as constructive tools in advancing national integration in their respective societies.

It is thus observed that the above human and nationhood values discussed are universally congruent with the Malaysian Rukun Negara nationhood values. In discoursing these nationhood values to the school-youth, the researchers of a particular study on the crucial role and function of teachers as nation-builder notes that teachers,

...Being thinking human beings and not robots, teachers do not just implement the curriculum as designed. They are guided by what they think and know; and why they should do certain things and not others. However, teachers' cognitions are influenced by a number of contextual factors...school administration, external examinations, Quality Assurance and Standards Officers..." (Beatrice N. Manyasi and Paul Onsare Onchera, 2013).

In a similar vein of thought, for the cultivation and moulding of national values, James Campbell [2015, p. 11, on Ritchhart (2004), *Intellectual Character: What it is, Why it Matters, and How to Get It*], poses the all-important question of how intellectual character can be inculcated in learners. It is, he concurs with Ritchhart, that through more common, informal enculturation education, rather than the *'to be taught'* educational pedagogies, that intellectual character which is essentially exemplified by *'dispositions'*, is gradually acquired.

These dispositions then determine who we really are. This is so as one's character, nature and what a person *'truly'* stands for, are all thence reflected through one's dispositions. As Ritchhart (ibid) lucidly illustrates,

Dispositions are about more than a desire or inclination to act. They consist of a general inclination consisting of values, beliefs and underlying temperaments; an awareness of occasions for appropriate action; motivation to carry out (a certain) action; and the requisite abilities and skills needed to perform (it)....Dispositions are developed and grow within a meaningful sociocultural context in which we internalize external triggers-such as prompts, scaffoldings, rewards, incentives and encouragements-over time.

Schools as discussed above, with teachers and parents therefore, stand as primary agencies to explore all possibilities, particularly in today's demanding times, to

ascertain that a learner's 'educated' dispositions are constantly nurtured with positive values. In the context of national resilience and progress, the above need also to ensure that these dispositions are imbued with strong nationhood traits and values, which are 'encouraged' through creating the relevant classroom learning contexts, and not solely 'taught down to', to students. Importantly, the learning scenarios, rich with English language nationhood values, nevertheless, can target the formation of a core nationalistic outlook and values in our youth, to fight off and withstand all external negative 'triggers'.

Language-nationhood values-focused, English educational programmes that are presented to our students, given time and allowed their 'run on the ground', can possibly bear the intended positive outcomes of a united nation and a common nationhood. A Malaysian form of multiculturalism, in its tested, adaptive and vibrant conception and format, can then become the functional and living basis of an evolving and cohesive Malaysian nation (emphases by researcher).

2.3.11. Nations and nation-building

In the following section the researcher will attempt to discuss the socio-political context of nations with multi-ethnic (multi-tribal based) and multi-lingual societies, and their efforts at forging national cohesion among their diverse peoples.

In the modern day dynamics of statehood today, with industrialization as its defining engine of survival, at both the individual and collective levels, the ensuing institutionalization of the nation necessarily imposes the standardization of a form of national culture and language. This then directs the transformation of the individual into a national citizen. In multi-ethnic polities which invariably are constantly challenged with one ethnic group being fostered by the state, and other minority ethnic groups contesting for state recognition and even survival, 'language education' and the promotion of the imbedded nationhood values discoursed from it, help aid through common everyday communication, the institutional and civic dimension of programmes towards nation-building. With the focussed cultivation of the language-endowed national myths and symbolisms, the many language

communities are gradually cemented into one larger national community (Kinsky, 2005).

Thus, it needs to be remembered that language perforce invites the national union of diverse peoples, without making that union a compulsion. This then engenders, with language nationhood values education-cultivation as discussed above, that sense of moral consciousness demonstrated by a mass —..assemblage of men with warm hearts and healthy minds: and as long as this moral consciousness can prove its strength by the sacrifices demanded from the individual for the benefit of the community, it is justifiable and has the right to exist. ...the nation (thus) is a great solid unit (realized through namely) the agreement and clearly expressed desire to continue a life in common. The existence of a nation is a daily plebiscite, just as that of the individual is a continual affirmation of life” (Ernest Renan, ‘What is a nation?’ in Leoussi, Athena S. and Steven Grosby eds. 2004 pp. 34, 37, 8).²¹

In the following discussion the researcher will attempt to present the social conditions of various nations as they relate to the issue of national solidarity, the continuance of national life, and as Weber asserts (see footnote below), that a nation, with its community of intellectuals and politicians, grows to evoke its own ‘national idea’, community sentiments and thereby ‘produces its own state, all of which can be seen as being largely manifesting in the Malaysian socio-political context.

Switzerland has a multi-ethnic population. The nation has accorded equal status to both its major French and German languages. There also exist in the nation, as in other cosmopolitan nations, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, a whole range of different ethnic groups. With various administrative policies, the governments have maintained some measure of national unity in their societies.

²¹ Max Weber (1915) deliberates on the concept of ‘national idea’, illustrating the saliency of the role of ‘intellectuals’- in the context of this research study, they can be well taken to be educationists and language education teachers; the promotion of a set of cultural values; the presence of peoples or a community; and the prevalence of a community sentiment for the ‘national idea’, in the nation. As he observes, “The significance of the ‘national idea’ is usually anchored in the superiority, or at least the irreplaceability, of the cultural values that are to be preserved and developed only through the cultivation of the peculiarity of the group... that the intellectuals, as we have in a preliminary fashion called them, are to a specific degree predestined to propagate the ‘national idea’, just as those who wield power in the polity provoke the idea of the state,...a nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own”.

The Swiss system allows for the recognition of different language regions of the nation. With the Law on the Promotion of Culture in 2009, cultural development of the diverse people is addressed and generally well implemented. Although Switzerland is acknowledged as neither a homogenous, cultural polity nor one having a clear national identity, a common way of everyday life that is broadly promoted, revolves around national efforts to keep the cultural diversity of the nation alive, merged to a common functional approach. Measures are constantly taken to promote the consolidation and solidarity between the different linguistic regions and cultures in the nation. Cultural projects, it is reported, are particularly deemed useful to open up dialogues among the diverse peoples to promote and consolidate mutual understanding and respect for one another (Can-Seng Ooi, 2010).

Helbling (2008, p.152) has appropriately pointed out, with regards the issue of cultural differences of peoples in a society, and the need nevertheless, to strive for some form of homogeneity, that Switzerland with its four linguistic groups, and thereby its prevailing cultural heterogeneity in its social life, has successfully mobilized itself to construct a national identity. He emphasizes that the framing processes in the administrative schemes and policies, underpinned by certain perceptions held by the different groups, determine the rejection or acceptance of these groups. In Switzerland the acceptance of the early Italian immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s, is reflective of the role of perception and attitudes exhibited by the local Swiss community, particularly that the Italian culture was seen as the most compatible with the Swiss culture. This has well resulted in the Italian immigrants becoming the best-integrated foreign group in Switzerland. This can be contrasted with the position taken towards the more recent immigrants into Switzerland, that is, those from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey, who are seen as being too different from the local society. Again this is reflective of a marked indication of the social process of perceptions and attitudes, and the ensuing socialization influences, structuring the framing processes and forms determining national citizenship (ibid).

The administrative approach and requirements enforced in Switzerland, involve the different municipalities enforcing different citizenship naturalization procedures. The rationale being that, within the context of the larger nation-state, the individual has to first be qualified as seen by the local citizens and actors, to be awarded citizenship

(which accords national recognition), and show that one can —.foremost...please the people who live in the same village or town because you have to deal with them in everyday life.” (ibid, p. 173). These approaches in the various Swiss municipalities, although tending to be different and restrictive, have set particular standards and benchmarks for the citizenship applicants, thereby helping to evoke a clear and deep-set sense of responsibility and belonging to the nation.

In the multi-ethnic nation of **Canada**, national laws provide for the support of cultural differences and equality. The Francophone culture has been allowed to thrive by the Quebec Act 1774 which is still retained as part of the nation’s national life. Historically then, with influence of the English, compromises were made and Canada continued its existence and progress as a developed nation moving onwards on the path of bilingualism. This then led to an acceptance of diversity which gradually contributed to both multiculturalism and tolerance of indigenous native cultures and customs.

However, as in most multicultural nations, in Canada the existence of its indigenous aboriginal community and the “visible minorities”, that is, ethnic groups originating from various parts of the world, who have made Canada their home, does impact on the inter-ethnic relations of the nation. As census data suggests, the visible minorities are on average more highly educated than citizens of the Canadian-born white population. However, these minorities suffer from high unemployment rates (Kalunta, Anita., Crumpton, (Eds.), 2012, p.13). The socio-economic differences manifested among its heterogenous population today as such, are said to be the product of a long history of a “conscious” process of discrimination and social exclusion (ibid).

It can be noted that with immigration reform to help absorb a varied work force required for the expanding and growing social and economic employment sectors from the 1960s onwards, the Canadian government attempted to recognize and protect the diversity of the changing population and the rights and interests of all groups involved. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1981, and with its royal assent in 1988, became an essential feature of the Canadian Constitution. What it stood for and the functions it served are of importance in this study, in that,

- i. official multiculturalism affirmed its support for the cultural development of ethno-cultural groups,
- ii. it stood as a platform for the many minorities to assist them to overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society,
- iii. it promoted creative interchanges among all ethno-cultural groups, and
- iv. it helped new Canadians learn one of Canada's two official languages (ibid, p. 14)

This then evolving and imagined society or community in Canada of different peoples and their cultures took further strides with certain political and economic events which led the federal government to take particular measures to rebuild attachment to the nation so as to maintain national unity. Of particular significance in relation to nation-building was the 1995 Quebec Referendum which raised concerns about unity and the nationalistic attachments of the Quebeckers to the Canadian state.

The question that seriously arose with the national leadership then, was whether Quebec sovereignty was going to materialize as a separate and a very real possibility, and what was to be the future of the two nation state. Extending from this above scenario then was the issue that the 1995 Referendum fundamentally contested the Canadian ideal of being the first post-modern state that accommodates various ethnic and cultural groups within a sense of unity" (Ozguc, 2011, pp.39-40). The above writer contends that the nation's foreign policy, together with other public institutions, were applied to play a positive performative role in discursively constructing a national legitimizing identity, through national myths, narratives and Canadian values and attributes, that were tasked to help idealize what it was to being Canadian. The above internal constituent elements-myths, values and so on (as stated above), also weighed importantly on external Canadian foreign policy and the state's internationalism, thereby playing a crucial role in the process of moulding a collective national memory towards Canadian nation-building (ibid). This was in line with the nation's statist internationalism (Canadian state foreign policy promotion of good international citizenship)- of accommodation of peoples of various backgrounds and cultures.

The open community policies of the Canadian government have contributed to the nation drawing into it large numbers of immigrants. Multiculturalism itself appears to be the cultural norm in various parts of the nation, with diversity functioning as the force uniting the people (Wikipedia, Culture of Canada).

The above Canadian ‘scenario’ clearly holds strong lessons for our multicultural Malaysian nation, in that a totalizing ambience of acceptance, mutuality and positive accommodationist values and ‘gestures’ in official and institutional measures, and in everyday relationships, can further be ventured, towards a commonality of purpose and an assured sense of national ‘oneness’ and integration.

The nation of **Singapore**, quite alike the Malaysian nation demographically and culturally, has vigorously pursued a bilingual language policy, both in its education system, and in its economic and political domains. The efforts to bring the various ethnic-group language nationalists and educationists in line with a nationalistic, ‘small-state context’, was championed strongly by the nation’s first prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew. **The English language and mother-tongue language learning education system that was enforced by the Singapore government, led not only to great economic gains, but also an acceptance of the social realities inherent in the nation,** and gradually imprinted in the social psyche that social stability driven by economic prosperity is a sine qua non for national survival. Therefore, an acceptance of one another as equal citizens of the island nation, was emphasized in the nation’s education system. The mother tongue Chinese language of the vastly Chinese population, primarily Mandarin, was continued to be officially encouraged. This was felt a crucial factor in the healthy development of a confident Chinese populace, as was encouraged by the learning of the mother-tongues of the other ethnic groups in the nation, as the mother-tongue languages were regarded as being able to plant strong values and ideals in individuals for successful living.

The well-structured Singapore language programme, it is observed, has contributed to the transforming of the nation from a polyglot former British colony, into a ‘united nation’. As Lee Kuan Yew, the founding first Prime Minister points out, that a nation’s, —.Language policy must *evolve as society progresses* in order to remain relevant and to ensure that it remains true to *the first principle, which is that language policy is a vital instrument for achieving national interest objectives and*

meeting the needs of governance” (Lee Kuan Yee, 2012. p. 231). This above position then implies that in Singapore language programmes are constantly regulated and improved to ensure that intrinsic nationhood values to enhance the sense of belonging to the nation are put in place (ibid).

However, together with these measures by the Singapore leadership to *‘engineer’* an integrated society with common values deriving from organized education and language programmes, the issues of whether an Asian nation can move ahead with its trajectory of Westernisation and *‘modern’* capitalistic development, and yet not totally adhere and become *‘enslaved’* to the Western value systems of individual rights, competitive group rights, the individual before nation and community, and thus possibly resulting in division and separation, come into focus. ***What then can hold a society together as a nation, even as the centre seems to be „removed” and obscured from its constituent parts?*** The crucial role of committed leadership at the centre for pragmatic and effective government, was essential in the geo-political contexts of the newly independent states then, and also for the present time.

As Brian Hill (2004) posits, the government has capitalized on a social approach referred to as ***„Reverse Orientalism”, whereby diligent efforts were designed to ensure that Asian values are first given their due recognition.*** Concurrently, an appropriate moral, multi-religious education oriented syllabus and curriculum, and also a civics and common values school education —.was enacted to create, protect, and assert Singaporean nationhood. This reverse orientalism, (recasting) Asian values as positive qualities, (that is), linking values such as collective and social duty (to) filial piety, thrift and sacrifice. The government has endeavoured further, to reconcile these apparently Asian values with the (germination and spread) of Western values of individualism and economic prosperity” (Keown & others, 2005). As Hill has succinctly observed of these above governmental, *‘top-down’* measures, that —.the project has much in common with the *‘reinvention of tradition’*, which has historically accompanied nation-building” (ibid, p. 188), as in Turkey, and other European, African, Latin American, African and particularly in the east Asian nations of today.

The Indian nation is a nation that provides meaningful lessons as regards unity in a vast *‘sea’* of multiplicity. There are 1,652 mother-tongue languages which have been

classified under 105 major languages. It is noted that 90 of the 105 languages are spoken by less than 5 per cent of the population, and 15 of them are written, read and spoken by 95 per cent of the population in India. Is India then the Tower of Babel, another polyglot like Malaysia or the Singapore nations as discussed above? The Indian nation has been often said to be the largest functioning democracy, united and able to accommodate the various divergent strains existent in the national polity. The pluralistic cohesion of the people, with social tensions occurring in some states periodically, is largely brought about by the plurality in languages and the practice of language translations being inseparable in common living generally, in India. Ananthamurthy (2006), an Indian literary personality, has observed that it is those Indian citizens who know more than one language, thereby allowing for constant social hybridity (evolving inter-communal relationships and understanding, marriages and everyday interactions) and language transfers, who have kept India together. Even with the official language policy in force, which is the use of Hindi for official purposes, the vernaculars and state languages are used freely and interchangeably with other languages, *thereby enabling an atmosphere of social-cultural inclusion and “quiet synthesis” to take root in the Indian nation* (emphases by researcher).

For this *processual* progression of a *“quiet synthesis”* to move on in the Indian nation, the study by Nandy (2002) on the maintenance of ethnic and religious harmony in the multi-ethnic port of Cochin in southern India provides some lessons. Co-existence and *everyday* harmony is socially energized by and large in all the Cochinese peoples, by the importance given to a functional identity. The inter-linkages, the Cochinese being clearly a multi-ethnic array of groups, as in the larger Indian polity, form and manifest, together with a sense of mutual respect that helps bind them together, which arises from the realization that for their mutual well-being, interdependence and support are cardinal principles to be cherished, upheld and practised. Nandy (ibid) stresses that the need for constant civic engagement between peoples who commonly harbour communal and religious enmity and distrust, can go a long way in ameliorating a state of divisive politics of ethnicity and racial conflict. This tends to snub off the actions and inclinations of self-serving political leaders which often result in divisions in society.

The experience of Tanzania in East Africa is one good example of the efforts at the harmonization of inter-group relations towards development and social solidarity. The United Nations reports that of the newly independent nations of Africa in the last century, Tanzania has remained peaceful, *without ethnic and tribal conflicts*, —.possibly due to President's Nyerere's demands for national unity and good relations (among) the (nation's) 120 tribes” (UN Country Profile, Johannesburg Summit, 2002). Having attained independence in the early 1960s, and merging with Zanzibar in 1964 to form the present-day Tanzania, the ‘Father’ of this nation and its first president, Julius Nyerere strongly emphasized self-reliance and promoted socialist schemes such as the cooperative farm villages. Like most newly industrializing societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Tanzania is committed to the advancement of its human social capital, as much as its economic development goals, which are a part of its vision for a resilient nation that can meet and withstand the challenges of growing global competition.

Like the Malaysian nation, Tanzania launched its New National Development Vision 2025 programme. It was seen as an important pillar in building social cohesion —.to ensure economic development in an environment of peace, security and patriotism” (Nyerere.1987, in Wangwe, S.2005). It is essential, as in the Tanzanian experience that national leaders and implementers of development programmes are of the same mind and vision for the holistic development of the nation. Under the able leadership of Julius Nyerere, Tanzania adopted the ‘Ujamaa’ policy. This policy emphasized family and community-based development as its primary focus. The value of self-reliance through the family, introduced in the general society and infused into the education system and the media, was directed at the transformation of economic and social attitudes of the people. *...Although economic take-off did not happen under African socialism (in Tanzania, Ghana and other countries), social cohesion did happen under African socialism” (Report on Lessons from African Development)*. By committedly addressing the cultural tensions between indigenous and alien populations, and making vast investments in human development in the 1970s, the government made great strides in social cohesion and economic development up to the 1980s. The world economic slowdown then dampened further economic growth.

However, the country's world-renowned President Nyerere, was instrumental with his brand of people-based leadership, to allow for various measures that established social stability, and "to make the people of Tanzania continue to believe and hope (in) building a just and equal society" (Nyerere, 1987, *ibid*).

The above nations discussed are only a few examples of nations with similar social and political characteristics as found in the Malaysian nation. There probably are more examples to draw lessons from, and which possibly can contribute towards the good of even other nations apart from Malaysia, in relation to this cardinal issue of language education-social investments, geared towards nation-building and societal integration.

The younger Malaysian generation is in all likelihood, our most amenable and absorptive recipients to allow and enable educators to "mould" their thoughts, value systems and character along national aspirations, as based on the Rukun Negara. It may be a little late for the older generation today to be amenable to the value of education directed towards unity in the nation. Johan Jaaffar (2012, p.15) observes with regards to the "One Malaysia" concept that, "...Like most Malaysians, I subscribe to his (the Malaysian Prime Minister's) "One Malaysia" concept...A bit too late for such a concept in a multi-racial country like ours, but better late than never".

In conclusion, we may, it can be noted, have generally "lost" this latter section of our society- the older generation, in terms of having developed their readiness to portray a healthy sense of "composite" belonging to the nation and national pride. All that can be done for these citizens as such, is that, their needs be addressed as best as possible by the powers that be. This may go a long way in helping to "manage" unwanted demands and the demonstration of stands and view-points that may tend to unyieldingly strengthen the already nascent centrifugal forces in the nation.

The following chapter will discuss the research operational measures to attempt to further understand the state of national integration with the nation's school-youth as the focus of this study.

END NOTES

Notes to pages 60-121.

1. Jun E-Tan, Dr. (2015, February 10). People economy for inclusive economy (ISIS- Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia). New Straits Times, pp.12-13.

Dr. Jun-E Tan works as a senior socio-economic analyst at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia (ISIS). This government-affiliated organization functions with the objective of studying various societal issues and their impact on national society, and how best the national government can bring about positive developments through enhanced governance.

ISIS was established on 8 April 1983 as an autonomous, not-for-profit research organization. ISIS Malaysia has a diverse research focus which includes economics, foreign policy, security studies, **nation-building**, social policy, technology, innovation and environmental studies. It also undertakes research collaboration with national and international organizations in important areas such as **national development and international affairs**.

As Malaysia's premier think-tank, ISIS has been at the forefront of some of the most significant **nation-building initiatives in the nation's history**. It was a contributor to the **Vision 2020 concept** and was consultant to the **Knowledge-Based Economy Master Plan** initiative (www.isis.org.my).

2. Kolsto, P. & Tyldum, G. (2006). Common values and social cohesion in ethnically divided societies. *Ethnicity Studies* 2006/1; Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in plural societies: A comparative exploration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

THE PRE-EMINENCE OF IDENTITY AS MAKING FOR A ONE POLITY

(Adapted from *Common Values and Social Cohesion in Ethnically Divided Societies* Pål Kolstø University of Oslo, Norway; Guri Tyldum, Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies, Norway).

This paper raises the question, “What keeps human collectivities from disintegrating in ethnically divided societies?” By providing a review of the main western sociological theories that investigate the role ascribed to values in multiethnic societies in particular, the authors provide an overview of value-based nation-building in Russia. Data from the empirical investigation of *value cohesion and common identity in Russia's six regions tests President Putin's nation-building program and attitudes towards a common state and common nationhood*. The study tends to confirm the existence of a **common pool of “Rossiskie values.”**

The Dutch political scientist Arend Lijphart contended that even in the absence of common values it was quite possible to introduce democratic institutions and practices into plural societies, albeit perhaps not of the same liberal kind as in homogeneous Western societies.

The basic idea of Lijphart's consociational model of democracy for plural societies was that pragmatic cooperation between the political elites of the various cultural segments might overcome communal antagonisms (Lijphart, 1977).

3. Brass, Paul R. (1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism- Theory and Comparison*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications; Mageli E. (2000) . *India—multikulturelt samfunn uten fellesverdier? (India—a Multicultural Society without Common Values?)*. In Førland T. E. (Ed.), *Bidrag til verdienes historie (Contributions to the history of values)*. Oslo: Pax.

Paul R. Brass, an expert on **Indian ethno-politics**, has launched a more fundamental criticism of the plural society theory that also affects Lijphart's revised version. Brass contends that this theory treats ethnic and other cultural communities as unitary and given groups, in a way that prevents the observer from discerning important differences within each group. —Theories of the plural society, for example, cannot begin to explain why most Muslims in south India with similar Islamic values and institutions to those of Muslims in the north have more peaceful relations with Hindus on the whole than Muslims in the north...—(Brass, 1991, p. 277).

Another expert on India, the Norwegian researcher Eldrid Mageli, takes Brass' criticism one step further by maintaining that India, like many other culturally heterogeneous states, seems to hang together precisely because no-one tries to enforce any kind of common values on the population. **“In order to survive as a state, India must continue to be pluralistic and value fragmented groupings and allow for a number of different kinds and shapes of allegiance“** (Mageli 2000: 123). *As soon as a political party with a homogenizing program comes to power and tries to impose on all groups the same set of values (in the Indian context this would most certainly mean some variety of political Hinduism), the country may well relapse into chaos or civil war*, she believes.

4. Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Multiculturalism in many respects represents the very opposite of the school of communitarianism presented above. Multiculturalists relish cultural differences and do not see value disparity as a threat to social peace and stability. A leading proponent of the multiculturalist school, the Canadian scholar Will Kymlicka, maintains that far from being a one-to-one relationship between value systems and identities, there may in fact be a reverse relationship between value systems and ethnic/national identities in a population: When the former converge the latter will often drift apart. **Under modern conditions ethnic and national groups living in the same state will tend to acquire increasingly similar values, while at the same time they increasingly develop distinct identities. “Shared values are not sufficient for social unity.**

The fact that two national groups share the same values or principles of justice does not necessarily give them any strong reason to join (or remain) together, rather than remaining (or splitting into) two separate countries“, Kymlicka asserted (Kymlicka 1995: 188). To underpin his view, Kymlicka points to the **relationship between Anglophones and Francophones in his native Canada**. Until the 20th century, the Francophone communities were rurally based and strongly attached to traditionalist Catholic values.

This contrasted sharply with the much more liberal, urban, and secular ethos that dominated among the Anglophones. As a result of **rapid social transformation** after World War II, however, the Francophone communities were caught up in the whirlwind of **urbanization and modernization**. Concomitantly, its members increasingly acquired a worldview and value orientation that approached the Anglophone standard. But, and this is Kymlicka's main point, the post-war decades were also the period when the ideas of Francophone nationalism and Quebec separatism began to gain ground. Francophone nationalism, then, is not a function of Francophone cultural difference.

5. As a counter example, Kymlicka points to the situation in the United States. The American population is multiethnic, and many of the ethnic communities in that country do indeed adhere to value codes that differ from that of the dominant Wasp (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) population. Even so, there are strong patriotic sentiments among virtually all cultural groups and no separatist movements.

What accounts for this difference between the two North American states? Kymlicka dismisses all attempts to distinguish between different kinds of values, some of which may be more important for national unity than others. For instance, it would be quite wrong to claim that Quebec separatists want to secede because French Canadians adhere to different political values from English Canadians. Nationalists may well crave a separate state and at the same time want this new state to be based on the very same political values and principles as the one they secede from.

And in actual fact, Francophone separatists do not normally want independent Quebec to be governed by different political principles from those of contemporary Canada, Kymlicka points out. The reason why some groups demand a separate political entity, then, Kymlicka finds at the level of IDENTITY, AS DISTINCT FROM VALUES AND CULTURE: AMERICANS SEEM TO HAVE A SHARED IDENTITY AS AMERICANS THAT CANADIANS (AND MEMBERS OF SOME OTHER MULTICULTURAL STATES SUCH AS BELGIUM) ARE LACKING.

In addition Kymlicka points to the relationship between Sweden and Norway. There is a remarkable convergence of values among the peoples of these two neighbouring states, but this fact in itself does not give them any impetus to reunite and become citizens of the same state.

On the American mainland at least, Puerto Rico may be an exception to the rule.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This study, being primarily a qualitative research study, the following chapter will discuss the research methodology employed for data the collection and analysis procedures. The quantitative data analysis approach was also employed to some extent so as to establish a modicum of corroboration for the qualitative domain of this study. Essentially, this chapter will describe the road map that will lay out the directions to be taken in order to attain the objectives of this study. The instrumentation appropriate for this study, the data collection and data analysis procedures have been discussed. On the basis of the relevant theoretical framework for this study as discussed earlier, the study research methodology illustrated how the research approach, tools, data analysis and discussions can be seen in their totality so as to illustrate the significance of the research outcomes, and thereby contribute to the body of knowledge in the area of study involved.

3.2. Research design

As discussed earlier, this study is primarily a qualitative research study. A partial quantitative analysis of data was also employed in this study so as to provide a balanced and comprehensive overview of the study outcomes, thereby attempting to contribute to, —.The knowledge that (can) develop through a post-positivist (quantitative research approach) lens (as) based on careful observation and measurement [this involving statistical analysis- the SPSS (statistical procedures for the social sciences), Version19], of the objective reality that exists –out there” in the world. ...(This is undertaken) to advance the relationship between (the) variables...”, illustrating the perspective towards —.challenging traditional notions of the absolute truth of knowledge and recognizing that we cannot be –positive” about our claims of knowledge when studying the behaviour and actions of humans” (Cresswell, 2003,

pp.6, 7). Further, in today's definitively globalised world, "... knowledge cannot be divorced from ontology (being) and personal experience" (Ryan, p.16). Thus, an extended qualitative data collection and analysis approach was further utilized.

This study was thus primarily aligned to the explanatory, as well as the descriptive and exploratory research orientations. The basis for this, as discussed earlier, was to *inductively and abductively draw the pertinent and subtle meanings from a mixture of diverse research materials- questionnaire data input, secondary theoretical and textual materials, in-depth interviews and general observations on current national and global developments*, related to the focus of this study. This being, the constructive impact on school youth of English language nationhood values education on nation-building, and how this can, in the respondents' views, contribute towards national integration.

The researcher referred to some aspects on national integration in related theories to this study. However, as based on the research objectives and the research questions, the latter being projected at the 'what', 'how', 'extent' and 'nature' of relationships, and the meanings the issues studied can have to the respondents, the research design thus was very much oriented towards the prevalent Malaysian socio-political context. That is, the commonly impacting socio-economic-political realities and experiences of school-youth particularly, which 'surround' the focus of this study. This was taken to relate to the related historical, and the present evolving social topography of the nation. The research design therefore, was 'grounded' as in the context that presented itself, reflected by the respondents' stand-points as to the 'extent' generally, of the impact of language values education on national integration.

The research design employed particularly, used the first, second and the third-order levels of interpretation of data obtained, which were deemed to be appropriate for this qualitative type research study. The first-order interpretation involved the meanings of the study themes and of the study concepts implicit in this study, for the respondents themselves. The second-order interpretation involved the researcher attempting to establish the underlying meanings and coherence in the data obtained, as based on the prevalent Malaysian socio-political contexts. In the third-order interpretation level for this study, the researcher attempted to link the earlier levels of

interpretations, and generalize the significance of the study to existing general theory, which projected and portended (foreshadowed) the conditionalities for national solidarity (Neuman, 2006, p.160).

The research questions formulated for the research study, were focused on language nationhood values education when taught the English language particularly, to the existing, broad and holistically national student population in Malaysian secondary schools. This study therefore, does not hold and intend to present an ethnic-race oriented perspective to the data input derived. The common and apparently *‘trendy’* research approach in breaking up social science data input and their complementary analyses into race oriented compartments, can, this study holds, possibly further in-grain compartmentalised, racial thinking and profiling. This latter, prevalent social phenomenon in Malaysia and in a number of other *‘nations’* in the world today, rather disquieting and seeming to continue to persist, is essentially an issue that this study purports to investigate and hopefully, help resolve. Its corollary race-bound, narrow research data analysis practices are thus not followed in this study. As such, the wholistic perspective of the *‘composite Malaysian student’* and **future adult national citizen**, when seen juxtaposed with the generally all-embracing and impartial content of the English language curriculum (1988 Malaysian Education Philosophy), is upheld in this study and the data analyses, to the greatest extent possible.

The units of analysis for this study that provided the most cogent possibilities and constructive pathways in the trajectory towards national integration, were therefore the students, teacher-educators, and identified national personalities (see section 5.3., Discussion, p.277).

With the above account describing what and how the researcher wanted to operationalise this research study, a review of related literature on the topic of study was carried out. This was commenced upon earlier on with the related theoretical applications, and the general and particular topical readings. The information and knowledge elicited on the subject of study was utilized to review the emphases appropriate for a workable implementation of this study, to provide appropriacy in the methods of data collection intended to be used and thereby strengthen the

research design, and possibly to fill a gap in knowledge, by studying aspects of the area of study not researched earlier.

The researcher used the questionnaire instrumentation approach, incorporating the Likert scale instrumentation format and open-ended questions, in-depth interview sessions, discussions with Malaysian personalities, and referenced secondary materials from books, journals, news media articles, and studied research methods conducting studies of this nature, in this study.

As such, the Likert rating scale questionnaire and the other data retrieval categories, as discussed above, will be so structured to attempt to measure a full attitudinal spectrum, taking into account the need to appraise and ‘weigh up’ as it were, the respondents’ feelings and thoughts, with regards the imbedding of nationhood values in English language lessons, and the perceived extent of the attainment of a sense of Malaysian national integration. This was done with the first part of the student questionnaire instrument presenting a set of Likert scale-ascending order- choice type of questions. The respondent demographics thus, for the three sections of the questionnaire instrument (pp.145-147) were the secondary school-youth.

The manner and process of conducting (operationalization process) the qualitative dimension of this research, as this study is primarily one such research and as it is often the case in such studies, it generally subsumes (precedes) the conceptualization definitions stage. The researcher therefore, will employ the existing conceptual definitions as regards ‘national integration’, as propounded by the relevant official institutions, and focus thereby, on *the nuances and avenues presented by the forthcoming data*. The data that is forthcoming will be studied (‘operationalized’) to form the extended concepts and working ideas relevant to this study. Thenceforth, the conduct of this study (towards the above operationalization process) will necessarily involve an abductive process involving the analysis and evaluation of the specific observations, the in-depth interview input and research report inputs that will then constitute the working ideas for the ‘final’ construction of the relevant (and ‘real’) concepts and constructs related to this study. As Earl Babbie (2011, p. 128) observes, that,

...the qualitative researcher (particularly) has a greater flexibility. ...Things you notice during in-depth interviews, for example, may suggest a different set of questions than you initially planned, allowing you to pursue unanticipated avenues. Then later, as you review and organize your notes for analysis, you may again see unanticipated patterns and redirect your analysis.[as discussed in chapter five, section 5.3, p. 277].

This then goes to emphasize that a researcher studying **social life** as such, whether using quantitative or qualitative research methods, should always be open to reviewing the concepts and definitions selected to be used in his or her research early in the study. This is because the **ultimate purpose in social research is to clarify the nature of social life.**

Therefore, in the process of conducting the questionnaire instrumentation exercise, the data from the in-depth interviews and findings from research reports (secondary data input), will be used to inductively understand the relevant research study constructs forthcoming from the above, all of which appropriately tailored to the purposes of this study, will constitute the operational design definition of the study.

The appraisal of the nature of the possibly evolving national integration in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Malaysia, as in other plural societies, and what it can constitute, will be refined in relation to the data that is forthcoming. The study respondents' views and other related data input with regards to the impact of language (English) nationhood values education, on an all-embracing inclusive form of Malaysian national integration, will primarily be developed from the data that presents itself (chapter five, section 5.3, p.277).

The analysis of the findings of the study will henceforth involve the triangulation procedure, in order to ascertain their consistency and reliability. This latter procedure was seen as a valuable research strategy which then will test for the outcomes of the research questions, having employed varied research 'pathways' to establish well-corroborated and supported results for this study (Babbie, 2011 pp. 93-94; Neuman, pp. 157-160).

3.3. Population and sample

A student sample from three northern states- Kedah, Pulau Pinang and Perak, involving sixty students from each of the three schools from each state (**Note:** One additional school in the Kedah state was included. As the cardinal purpose of this study was to investigate the *'pathway'* of the trajectory of English language nationhood values and their impact on the broadest and composite representation as possible, of the Malaysian school-youth and their sense of national integration, it was seen to be appropriate that an overarching, non-ethnic gender, student analysis of outcomes of the study be conducted. As the state education department involved had assigned to the researcher one student-recipient all-male school, therefore, for a balanced gender composition of the total student sample, another all-female student-recipient school was requested to be included in this study. The combined and integrated role of both sexes, as adult Malaysian citizens in the future, in nation-building and forging the sense of a *common* Malaysian consciousness, beyond all ethnic considerations, was considered of great importance and national value, in this study), was involved in this study.

In line with the principle of the retention of ethnic, gender and particularly, the different performance levels characteristics of the student sample, a form of quasi random, purposive sampling procedure was used in selecting this above larger school student sample cohorts (Neuman, 2006. pp.220-222). For this larger student sample groups from each school form levels- forms two and forms four, constituting the target population of this study, the school senior language teacher-administrators from each school were requested their assistance in selecting fifteen students for each of the *'High Performance'*, and the *'Average-Weak Performance'* student school sample sub-groups, targeted at a total of thirty students from each school for each of the lower secondary form two level, and likewise for the upper secondary form four level (**Note:** The student source lists for the selection of the two performance ability sample sub-groups- *'Average-Weak'* and *'High'* academic performance sub-groups, were the existing school-graded semester student performance and internal examinations lists).

The school internal examinations student performance lists of the national secondary schools identified for this study, from which the purposively determined sample size

was drawn, was the population parameter of this study. As the *Malaysian education system is characterised by a centralised common curriculum and examination structure*, the above school student lists typified and reflected the required academic performance characteristic elements- of the average-weak and high performance capabilities of students, for this study. Thus, the *possible whole range of student academic ability groups was represented* in the above student sample determination process.

The quasi random selection procedure of student sample determination (sample selection followed a simple pattern of criteria provided by the researcher), in this study thus, was implicit in the above process with teachers involved in finalising the student sample groups from their last school term, student academic performance lists. This nevertheless constituted an accurate sampling frame allowing for the representativeness of the determined study student sample, and henceforth for the results from this sample to be generalised to the larger population.

As there was a clear purpose in this study to study how secondary school-youth particularly, encompassing the cognitively advanced groups of students, and otherwise also, academically weaker students, regard the English language nationhood values and perceive their impact on them towards cultivating a sense of national integration, thus the need arose for a form of **purposive sampling** to include the high and average-weak performance students in this study (ibid).

(**Note:** The total student sample respondents after the questionnaire exercise was completed were as follows:- form twos-305; form fours-319. The total student sample from the three states- Kedah, Pulau Pinang, Perak, involved in this study was 624 students. For the purposes of establishing the reliability and validity of the research instruments for the pilot study, these instruments were administered to students and teachers in the states of Selangor and Terengganu. As the primary concentration of this study was in the northern region, it was deemed there can be some representation in the study from some other parts of the peninsular as well. From the state of Selangor there were 17 students- 9 form two and 8 form four students; and 5 students- 2 form two and 3 form four students from Terengganu, involved in this study. Two teachers from the Selangor state responded to the

interview questions provided. Analysis outcomes are provided in Appendix F, p. 363; Table F.1, p.364).

Table 3.1.
Student Respondent Sample Size Involved in the Study

School Form Levels/States	Student sample size		
	Form 2	Form 4	Total students
Kedah	117	120	237 students
Pulau Pinang	91	100	191 students
Perak	97	99	196 students
Total students	305	319	624 students

For the in-depth interviews with the student respondents, with the co-operation of the school authorities, a student sample of 12 students (6 form twos and 6 form fours) of both the ‘_High’ and ‘_Average-Weak’ academic performers, with a balanced gender representation, from one school in each of the 3 states involved in this study, totaling 36 students in all from the three states, were selected for further, explorative in-depth interviews.

As this study necessarily involved the major racial groups of the nation- Malays, Chinese, Indians and Others, and as the student sample group characterised as two sub-groups, constituted the ‘_Average-Weak’ and the ‘_High’ performance sub-groups, it was deemed appropriate that 3 students for each of the above two academic performance sub-groups, with one student each drawn from each of the three national racial groups, from both genders, be represented for the above two sub-groups student sample.

Further, as this small student sample cohort was to be involved in the in-depth interviews with the researcher as the only interviewer, it was felt that the above sample size will be within the manageability and control of the researcher- without the interviewee group becoming ‘_too large’ such that the interview data input may

then be seen to be superficial and without much depth. Thus, the above in-depth interview sample size was considered appropriate, so as to purposively manage the in-depth interview sessions with the students involved, with sufficient intensity, so as to extract the optimal and topically appropriate data input from them (as shown in Table 3.2., p.141 below).

On a group basis of six students per sub-group (Malay, Chinese, Indian, Others) selection (where circumstances allowed, on a one-to-one basis), the in-depth interviews were conducted (particularly with a focus on section II of the student questionnaire, p.146).

Table 3.2.

Student Sample From One Secondary School in Each State From The Form 2 And Form 4 Level Groups, For The In-Depth Interview Exercise, on English Language Values Education Themes Towards National Integration

Language Education	English Language						Total students
	High Academic Performance			Average-Weak Academic Performance			
Academic levels/ Student background/ groups	Malay (Male)	Chinese (Female)	Indian (Male)	Malay (Female)	Chinese (Male)	Indian (Female)	
Form 2	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Form 4	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
						Total	12

[**Note:** One school/1 state- 12 students (6 male and 6 female- constituting of 'High' and 'Average-weak' performance students),²² 3 schools (1 school from each state) - 3x12 students= 36 students. (This above selection of the student sample was for the in-depth interviews)].

²²Of the 6 students representing the 3 primary Malaysian ethnic groups for each of the performance groups- 'High' and 'Average-Weak' performance groups, in the one identified school in each of the three states, the researcher requested the school authorities to select a balanced representation of male and female students (3 males and 3 females) for each of the form two and four levels. It was also requested of the schools to ensure that any one ethnic group was not predominantly represented by one particular gender. A simple, alternating gender representation approach, as shown in the above table was to be followed by the school authorities for the determination of this small group, in-depth interview sample. The school authorities were requested to ensure that not all the sample students for the each of the 'High' and 'Average-Weak' performance groups were of one gender only.

Three English language school teachers (some schools came forward to provide more language teachers of both the English and Bahasa Malaysia subjects, as the researcher was informed, that these extra teachers felt that they can contribute their thoughts on the role of language education for nation-building), inclusive of one senior school language administrator per school [the school senior language teacher (referred to as the Guru Kanan Bahasa)], were administered the student questionnaire section III- ‘Scale of Determination’ (p.147). A set of in-depth interview questions for the English language teachers and school language administrators are given as in section IV, page 147 below.

The teachers were given a brief and clear account of the objectives of this study in the English language, with brief student-text based examples. This was done so as to ensure that the researcher and the teacher-respondents were clear as to the intent and direction of this study. The above respondents were administered the questionnaire section III above and interviewed individually (see table below).

Table 3.3

School English Language Teachers Involved in The Questionnaire And Interview Exercise

States/Language Subject	English Language	Teachers
Kedah	3 teachers(mainly), (1 GKB; form 2- 1 ELT; form 4- 1 ELT)/sch.X4 schools	12(+6)
Pulau Pinang	(As above)-3 schools	9(+5)
Perak	(As above)-3 schools	9(+5)
	Total	46

Key: GKB- Guru Kanan Bahasa; ELT- English Language Teacher.

(Note: Some schools arranged for more than the requested number of teachers for the interview sessions. The total number of teachers eventually involved in this study was 46).

As the study progressed, some school administrators arranged for further particularly, senior and award-achieving (‘guru cemerlang’) language teachers to participate in the above exercise, as they believed the above could contribute positively to the outcomes of the study. The final number of teachers involved in this study was forty six.

3.4. Instrumentation

The student questionnaire consisted of question items which can be characterised as follows,

- a. the focus on English language lesson *nationhood themes* in secondary schools. These relate to Malaysian national subjects, the Rukun Negara, the nation's independence struggle, national past and present leaders, national festivals, the peoples of the nation, their cultures, religions, the national development programmes, and so on,
- b. the manner and clarity of lesson presentation of the above language nationhood items,
- c. the linkages and emphasis given in the English lessons, with the teaching of the above language themes to national integration of the nation,
- d. the importance and meaningfulness the school-youth attribute to the English lesson nationhood items presented,
- e. the impact the above lesson items have on the school-youth in helping them remove from their minds negative views of 'other' Malaysians.

The student questionnaire items attempted to measure the extent, in terms of the weightage, impact and importance given by the respondents, by means of a Likert scale indicating the student individual ratings as regards the extent of the inclusion and pedagogical emphases provided in the English language lessons, as shown in the questionnaire instrument items presented below (student questionnaire I, p.145).

In the in-depth interviews with the students (small student groups; section II student questionnaire, p.145), teachers and Malaysian personalities respondents, as based on the themes and objectives of this study, the interview **protocol** was clearly directed at extracting the greatest 'depth' in the responses to questions. A form of **qualitative interviewing** format was employed. The following characteristics define the above.

- i. open-ended and minimally structured questions were used,
- ii. the research themes as based on the objectives of the study closely guided the questioning schema,

- iii. the open-ended, informal conversational, together with the generally standardised interview structure, allowed for questioning probes and discussions directed by the interview schedule.

As Babbie (2011, p.462) emphasises,

... Don't try to halt your respondents' line of discussion, but learn to take what he or she has just said and branch that comment back to your purposes.

- iv. close attention given to ensuring responses of respondents were not biased by the interview question formulations and wordings, and response interjections.

Further, the interview protocol for the respondents consisted of the following procedural ingredients,

- i. the school language administrators were requested to provide interview session rooms which were generally quiet and exposed to the least levels of distractions, so as to minimise any feelings of discomfort or restriction by the respondents,
- ii. the interview sessions were conducted in small-group (six students) formats,
- iii. the researcher explained as succinctly as it was possible the purpose of the research study, and without being elaborative beyond the basic, common examples for the questions needed to be given for the students (the researcher was informed by all school language teachers that the students were average and weak in their English proficiency skills),
- iv. the respondents were encouraged to be open in their responses as the researcher gave the respondents the assurance that confidentiality as regards information of the students will be safeguarded,
- v. the format and progression of the question items was explained, that is, the respondents could respond individually, debate and discuss the responses of their fellow respondents,

- vi. the respondents were informed that the interview sessions for the five main open-ended questions and the lesson rating-evaluation exercise, was to be conducted in thirty to forty minutes,
- vii. the respondents were all given the opportunity to voice any questions or misgivings to the researcher, before the interview was begun.

(Turner, 2010, p.757; Table 3.4, p.158).

The ratings scheme and checklist for the responses for the above open-ended in-depth interview sessions with students are given in, Table 3.4.- Rating scheme appraisal markers for determination of dependent variable, page 158; and Appendix D, Table D.1.-Student questionnaire, ratings scheme, page 361.

I. Questionnaire items for the Malaysian national secondary school forms two and four students

Questions	Very Little	Little Average	Average	Quite A Lot	Very Much
1. Do you think the language items (in your language lessons) include topics on national subjects/topics?					
2. Are the items clearly presented?					
3. Do you think there are language items in the lessons which discuss <i>about</i> national unity?					
4. Are the language items important and meaningful to you?					
5. Are the language items helpful for you to get rid of negative thoughts about others <i>'different'</i> from you?					

II. Open-ended questions/in-depth interview questions with the forms 2 and 4 student groups.

1. Do you think there should be more language items on Malaysian/national themes/subjects? In what ways can they be beneficial to you and other Malaysians?
2. What further national topics you think can be included in the language texts? Give some examples.
3. How do the language items on nationhood topics/themes and values, make you feel? Explain your thoughts and feelings.
4. Do these language items help you to get to know better, and accept all others in your school, community and all /other citizens of the Malaysian nation? If so, in what ways?
5. Do you think, even when faced with your own personal problems and when experiencing some difficult times in your life, what you learnt from the text language items, can help you to relate to and accept others as fellow Malaysians? Please do state and elaborate on your thoughts and feelings.

(Note: 1.The interview themes for all respondent groups- students, English language teachers and Malaysian personalities, were similarly constituted of the focus on the impact of English language nationhood values education and related social issues, on secondary school-youth. The individual questions were varied appropriately for the particular target groups involved).

2. The selected groups of twelve students (six students from the forms two and six from the forms four), for the in-depth interviews, from one major school in each of the three states involved (student-recipient school with mainly well-balanced gender student population, as designated by the state education department) in the study, were briefed informing them to provide their further views on the questions in this section, in the above stated interviews).

III. „Scale of Determination“ of English language lesson presentations with nationhood values

As an indicator of the students‘ perceptive assessment of the class English language lesson presentations with regards the extent of the pedagogical emphases of nationhood themes and values provided, and how they (students) regard the above in

terms of their (lessons) impact on their sense of national integration, a ‘Scale of Determination’ rating progression, constituting of a range of assessment indicators from,

-(1)WEAK,-(2)AVERAGE,-(3)HEALTHY,-(4)POSITIVE,

was used.

(**Note:** The researcher explained the procedures involved for the above questionnaire exercise to the student respondents. This was attempted by explaining the questions with common elaborations and in Bahasa Malaysia, where necessary. This was primarily to attempt to elicit the students’ core and sincere thoughts and ideas on the issues above).

IV. In-depth interviews with English language teachers and language administrators.

The senior English language teachers and language administrators in the schools involved were interviewed on related themes as the above question items for the school students.

The questions put forward to this above group were the following,

- i. Do you think language can be a useful means to develop learners’ skills and abilities for the better understanding of knowledge for personal development?/ Is language an effective and useful means for the personal development of learners?
- ii. Can language knowledge capabilities help learners acquire a better understanding of issues related to the Malaysian society- the people, the cultures, the natural resources and environment, national development, national unity and so on?
- iii. Can you say that the English lessons discuss the Rukun Negara, that is, the national ideology? Can you say that the values presented and taught as based on the above, help in creating better communal understanding, help reduce the ignorance of one another’s cultures

and religions, and help in one's appreciation of one another's aspirations and hopes as Malaysians?

- iv. Can teachers play a further constructive role, using language nationhood thematic items, in fostering the sense of a common national identity, and thereby help enhance positive relationships and national integration among school students, and the larger _Gen Y'?

[Note: The loci and focus of the above questions are geared directly at the English language teachers' regard for their class functions as language teachers, and their efforts at enhancing the understanding of the significance of nationhood values in secondary school students, towards national integration. The themes governing the above are the same as that for the Malaysian personality respondents (questions as given in section V, p.149 below), as stated in section 3.4, p. 143].

V. Questions for in-depth interviews with Malaysian personalities (common themes for teachers and language administrators)

The interviews with the identified Malaysian personalities and academics were based on the following themes as based on the focus themes of this study. The above respondents were encouraged to express their views on any further related issues to the subject of this research study.

1. Are language education programmes and their concomitant values dimension, with particular reference to the English language, an effective means for personal, holistic advancement for Malaysian school-youth, in the context of today's globalizing world?
2. In your view, do the English language education teaching lessons (and texts), reflect the principles and nationhood values projected in the Rukun Negara, and the National Education Philosophy?
3. Do you think that English language lessons projecting nationhood values can help Malaysian youth to develop positive inter-communal understanding and relationships, help remove ignorance of one another's cultures and religions, and deepen one's *appreciation* of one another's aspirations and hopes as Malaysian citizens?

4. To what extent do you think that the national education leadership, and the English language teachers using nationhood thematic teaching items in their lessons, can help in nurturing a deeper sense of belonging to the nation, a common national identity, and thereby, help enhance national integration and solidarity among our student-youth, and the Malaysian society at large?
5. General thoughts as related to the present-day generally strident ‘voices’ on global socio-political-economic issues, and their impact on youth and national integration; ...the increasing social relevance of the ‘Gen Y’.

3.5. Pilot study

The researcher endeavoured to carry out a pilot study using the questionnaire and the in-depth interview approach, so as to establish the validity of the questionnaire items. A group of 6 students from each of the forms two and four student population in a premier school in the Kedah Darul Aman state, which is multiracial in its student population and is a student-recipient school, receiving students from both urban and rural feeder schools, were administered the questionnaire. This student group was also subject to the direct, open-ended questionnaire items on the above-stated themes of this study.

The research study instruments for data collection were as follows,

- i. Student questionnaire items.

This comprised of,

- ii. section I (p.145) of five short, Likert-scale type questions, and a section II (p.146) of five open-ended, explanatory and descriptive response questions,

For this section II above, the respondents were encouraged to provide extended responses.

- iii. section III (p.147), with a ‘Scale of Determination’, was aimed at obtaining the student respondents’ perceptive understanding as to the extent the English lessons impacted on their sense of nationhood and belonging to the nation, and,

- iv. List of 5 in-depth interview questions (section IV, p.148) were used for the English language teachers, language administrators, and certain identified

academics and Malaysian personalities (section V, p. 149), as defined by their work roles and public involvement in issues pertaining to Malaysian nation-building.

The research study instruments mentioned above and the question items (as in chapter four), were reviewed by certain identified research methodology university academics, language educationists and other English educated senior citizens, for their reliability and validity status. The items were further discussed with the above panel, and the researcher, together with the above, further revised the said items.

The instrument items were henceforth improved for their validity on the basis of the analysis of the responses of the pilot study respondents. It was also decided, that three school English teachers and one school language administrator, be interviewed during the pilot study stage. The improved and finalised questionnaire items were then used in the full study.

The researcher endeavoured to carry out a pilot study using the questionnaire and the in-depth interview approach so as to establish the validity of the questionnaire items.

The researcher reviewed studies using questionnaires in related studies to the present study of the researcher. These studies were particularly those themed on inter-ethnic relations projected at particular and also larger social objectives, such as community relations, healthy labour productivity, social inclusiveness and so on (Fazilah Idris, 2008; Nijboer, 2011; Deenen, 2014).

In the assessment of the measurement items, the following criteria and measurement principles,

- i) language forms used,
- ii) the themes and constructs focussed upon, and
- iii) the line of questioning employed,

relatedly to the theme of this present study, were given particular attention.

A panel of ten persons, comprising of long employment service (service terms exceeding ten years) education academics, language teachers and a senior English educated common citizen, were asked to evaluate the study questionnaire

instruments. The researcher presented to the above review panel the objectives and the purport of the research questionnaire items. They were also asked to make their assessments as based on the criteria and measurement principles as discussed above.

Seven of the above education-evaluators indicated that the questions were appropriate. One educator felt some improvements and changes can be made, particularly the focus given to each question item. Two of them felt the length of the sentence-question structures can be tailored and improved, as it was noted, students today generally possess an average and generally weak capability in English proficiency.

A group of 12 students at the two secondary, form two and form four levels from a premier school in the Kedah Darul Aman state, were involved in the pilot study. In addition, one secondary school each in the Terengganu and Selangor states, were also involved (see Note, p.138). The questionnaires on the above stated themes of this study were henceforth administered to the above (Selangor and Terengganu student data, Appendix F, p.362) through the postal services. Constant communications were maintained over the telephone and e-mails with the state and school authorities by the researcher.

The instrument items were further evaluated on the basis of the responses obtained in the pilot study, by the above evaluators, for their reliability and validity, with attention given to their content validity in the main, to establish their relative validity.

Henceforth, the instruments were improved on the basis of the analysis of the above responses of the pilot study respondents, thereby further streamlining them in line with the research study objectives. Research methodology expertise academics were mainly solicited for their assistance for the above task in appraising the appropriacy and cogency of the instruments of the study as based on the responses obtained. The improved and finalised questionnaire items were then used in this study.

3.6. Data collection-interview procedures

The researcher intended to conduct these questionnaire-surveys and in-depth interviews in all the three states stated above, in about four months, allowing about five weeks in each state for the data collection exercise.

The student groups were brought together in meeting rooms, and a brief and general explanation, with brief common examples, was given to them on the questionnaire items (this was in view of the stand-points of the English language school teachers involved in this study and also that which is generally acknowledged, that the students' English proficiency skills were rather average and weak).

The students were given 20 to 40 minutes to complete the sections I and II (pp.145,6), that is, the 5-point Likert scale structured questionnaire items consisting of 5 questions in section I, and 5 open-ended questions in section II. The latter set of 5 questions as in section II of the above questionnaire, were discussed broadly in the in-depth interviews with the small, in-depth interview student cohorts.²³

That is, the students were provided the leeway, in a conversational and dialogic approach, to express, discuss and debate their view-points extensively. The objective here was essentially to elicit students' view-points, ideas, and thoughts on the central issues as reflected in the objectives of this study. The input provided by the student respondents, were recorded, transcribed and analysed thenceforth.

By employing the,

- i) in-depth, open-ended discursive type interviews with the student samples and school language teachers (and language administrative authorities, whose views were reported as stand-points and discourses on language values education towards national integration), and

²³In the selection and finalization of the student in-depth interview lists from schools, consideration was given for the inclusion of other bumiputera, and Orang Asli student representatives. This was done in consultation with the school language head teachers. These students, when included, then resulted in the increase in the total number of students for the in-depth interviews.

ii) the structured questionnaire involving the larger student sample from the three states, involving sixty students from each of the three schools from each state (inclusive of one additional school in the Kedah state),

about one hundred and eighty to two hundred and forty students from each state, the data input was thus determined. A total student sample of about six hundred and twenty-four students from the three states were eventually involved, as discussed above, in this study. Together with the

iii) interview outcomes with some notable Malaysian individuals.

This thus allowed for a *triangulation analysis* of the data outcomes.

From each school student performance list, apart from the (first) six students per form level (forms 2 and 4) from each school, selected according to the criteria of academic performance abilities, ethnicity and gender, with attention given to as balanced a selection as possible as by the above criteria, for the primary questionnaire and in-depth interview data collection procedure, the second (and larger student group) survey procedure will constitute a student sample constituted of the total larger student sample targeted at thirty students per form per school, selected from the remaining students in the school student performance lists.

3.7. Techniques of data analysis

3.7.1. General statistical quantitative data analysis

The researcher attempted to conduct a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and triangulation exercise of the data outcomes, involving the three dimensions in this study, namely,

- a) the student respondent questionnaire survey input,
- b) the student in-depth interview input, and
- c) the questionnaire and in-depth interview data,

from school language administrators, English language teachers; and the input from interviews with some identified Malaysian personalities.

Further, the principles of the abductive research strategy was employed by the researcher, to attempt to understand the varied and multiple social realities that may be constructed and envisioned by the respondents themselves, as the social actors in this study. The respondents' view-points were elicited in an exploratory manner, in the one-to-one and small group interviews particularly, to understand the form and character of the attitudinal and social constructions they attach to their perceptions of the desired Malaysian nation (see sections 4.6.1-4.6.4, pp. 205-213).

The student respondent questionnaire input was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS Version 19), particularly to determine as to whether the English lessons had significant outcomes on the students' sense of national integration (as discussed in chapter four).

The essential character of this study is necessarily a qualitative one. As discussed earlier, the strategy of data analysis was the inductive data analysis approach of the inputs of the various study respondents. The deductive approach was employed for the analysis of the data responses from the Likert scale-based questionnaire and this was analyzed using the quantitative analysis approach.

Comparisons between the groups of the students from the different school locations were made. The common response markers were thereby ascertained.

Research question one, as regards the students' views of the impact of the English lesson presentations on their sense of belonging to the nation and their relationships with others different from them, and what they consider to be the *extent* of development in their relationships, was related to the above analyses.

Primarily, the quantitative-deductive data analysis approach using the statistical data analysis mode; and the qualitative approach using the inductive analysis mode, particularly where some patterns and trends were indicated, were both used for the student data input of sections one and two (open-ended questions), of the student questionnaire instrument. This study involved a mixed method research design. The quantitative data analysis was intended to help strengthen and support the following

qualitative data analysis, as the former positive significant results tended to indicate (section 4.2, p. 167; Table 4.5, p.171).

The ratings (see below) of each student respondent for the five Likert-scale section I questions of the student questionnaire constituted the *independent variable* in this study, that is, the nature and nationhood themes content of the English lessons. The students' perceptions of their lessons as per the nationhood themes content (see section 3.4- Instrumentation, p.143), were indicated by the scoring scheme used as follows:

-Questionnaire ratings scheme: Very Little' - 1; Little' - 2; Average'- 3; Quite a Lot'- 4; Very Much'- 5.

The students' scores were averaged by taking the total scores in the questionnaire exercise, and dividing them by five (total number of questions being five).The above five rating categories were converted to a three-level coded category set as of the independent variable-that is, the nationhood themes content in English lessons, (Coakes, & others, 2009, p.77; as based on Bahagian Pembangunan Kurikulum categorisations, Ministry of Education, Appendix I- in Note: Language Focus-I,II,III, p, 368), as shown below, representing the levels indicating the student respondents' appraisal and comprehension capability thereof, of the extent of the teachers' use and discussion of nationhood themes content in the class English lessons [this above three-level categorisation procedure was henceforth applicable for the analysis of variance (ANOVA), and post-hoc test comparisons]. This was recorded as follows:

The 3-level student independent variable categorisations,

from average scores 1 to 2.9 ↔ 1 ↔ „**Very Little**“,

from average scores 3 to 3.9 ↔ 2 ↔ „**Average**“,

from average scores 4 to 5 ↔ 3 ↔ „**Very Much**“.

For the *dependent variable*, that is, the students' sense' of national integration, as indicated by the student responses for the open-ended questions of section II of the

student questionnaire for the qualitative data responses (see section 3.4, Instrumentation, p.143), this was determined with a ten-point rating score.

The extent of the students' sense of national integration was considered to fall into two response categories mainly-

- i) the knowledge domain- with basic factual responses given; mere acknowledgements of the issues as in the questions asked; negative minimal comments, showing the respondents' possible inclinations; and focus on acquiring content knowledge as for itself; and,
- ii) the affective-appreciation domain, constituted of positive responses which were discursive; with elaborations on the question-subject and themes [this categorization relates to the Barrett taxonomy levels of cognitive comprehension-knowledge gradations—Piaget's (Vygotsky's) stages in cognitive development; see chapter 2, sections 2.1, 2.2 pp.36-38; Figure 3, p. 98; Appendix G- Barrett taxonomy, p. 364].

The scoring ratings categorisations procedure employed was as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| i. Knowledge level- minimal responses | 1-4 score points, |
| ii. Brief discussion- lacking clarity | 5-7 score points, |
| iii. Affective-appreciative- positive, discursive clarity | 8-10 score points. |

The scores for each student respondent were totalled for the five questions in the student questionnaire section II (p.146) as mentioned above. These scores (dependent variable) then, represented the students' direct perceptions of their English lesson nationhood content presentations. The table below shows the ratings scheme used (Table 3.4, p. 158., Appendix D, p.359, for further examples of student responses).

Table 3.4

Rating Scheme: Appraisal Markers for Determination of Dependent Variable Scores

1	Negative short responses-One/two words-Showing disagreement
2	Short responses-Lacking clarity-Tending towards disapproval
3	Brief attempts-Negative view-points-Some knowledge points
4	Short elaboration-Attempts to express some views-lacking clarity
5	Some extended elaboration-divided stand
6	Elaboration- Knowledge-Affective stand-points
7	Affective stand-point- Positive- key words on national integration-Rukun Negara
8	Affective stand-point-Further positive key language- Brief discursive comments
9	Affective-Appreciative ideas-National Integration-Some debate-Arguments
10	Appreciation-Concerns for Malaysian nationhood-Clear discursive comments-Pros and cons- Support for national integration

Key: RS-Rating scores (see Appendix D, Table D.1., p.343)

The independent variable scores as based on section I of the student questionnaire as discussed earlier, were then correlated using the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the SPSS, (Version 19) statistical analysis procedures, with the dependent variable scores. This was to determine the impact of the English lesson nationhood themes content, on the students' sense of national integration. Henceforth, the resulting scores were denoted as *__DVTOT'* (Dependant Variable Total Scores), in further discussions (*__Dependent Variable Total'* scores; see chapter 4, section 4.2, p. 166; Table 4.5 p.170).

3.7.2. Qualitative data analysis procedure

The analysis of the responses obtained via direct interviews with the researcher, of the students particularly, the English language teachers, the school language administrators, and identified Malaysian personalities, for the open-ended and in-depth questions of section two of the student questionnaire, were used to answer **research question two** above. This was analysed for the nature and quality of responses in relation to how helpful the language items were (the **extent** of their impact), towards the formation and cultivation in the students, of the sense of national integration. This was ascertained as based on their perceptions and

assessments with regards their- the students', understanding and internalization of nationhood values towards national integration, ensuing from their class English lesson presentations.

Respondents were therefore given as much time as they desired to respond to questions. They were encouraged to relate to personal experiences, refute, agree and expand upon and elaborate on the views of the other group respondents (Rubin and Babbie, 2011, p.461).

The researcher adhered closely to the **tenets of the social constructivist-interpretive perspective** in the in-depth interviews, so as to seek to understand to as large an extent as possible, the context and settings governing the 'lives' of the respondents. This was followed by **interpretations** of their responses shaped generally by the prevalent 'subjective' socio-political realities in the larger Malaysian society. The process of the generation of meanings of and from the qualitative data input thus, was largely inductive (Cresswell, 2014, <https://www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id.>).

The researcher attempted to **identify and code the persistent themes and stand-points** of the 'divergent' interview respondents, for example, 'diversity', 'Malaysian youth', 'multicultural society', 'stability', 'acceptance', 'differences', 'conflicts', 'nationhood values', and so on. **The views of the respondents were then analysed for their related patterns and commonalities of thought. These were then interpreted and summarised as findings with an intent to provide some „propositional generalisations“,** as based on the the research study theoretical framework.

The theories as discussed earlier, which primarily focused on the themes of individual social contact, relationships, accommodation, cognitive-psychological preparedness, in this primarily qualitative study, were seen in a qualified perspective. Although they were the starting points of this study providing a „*a priori*“ theoretical framework, the nature of the subject of this study being somewhat 'volatile' and capricious, and Malaysian national integration being seen by social-political science scholars (as discussed in chapter two above) as a „*work in progress*“- *a trajectory*

taking shape, the data from this study can be seen fit to generate propositions in a discursive-dialectical manner, and thence to „formulate“ a form of a „deep all-Malaysian-nationhood-values social framework“ sense and modus operandi for national integration (ibid).

This above approach in the interviews exercise thus saw a wide range of view-points forthcoming from the respondents, some diametrically opposed to one another. This provided the researcher with rich insights on the primary themes of this study, particularly the respondents' stances relating to the present role and the need for enabling the English language enmeshed with the socially overarching holistic schema of Malaysian nationhood values, their historical underpinnings and their continued nurturance, to processually shape and forge a coherent sense of national integration in the Malaysian school-youth (see section 5.2- Summary of findings, p.261).

The researcher further used the Scale of Determination sub-instrument (section 3.4, student questionnaire, III. p.147) with rankings ranging from, Weak (1), -Average (2), -Healthy (3), to -Positive (4), as indicators of the students' individual perception and evaluation of the class lesson language items which were based on national topics and nationhood values. As these latter language, class pedagogic focus areas were in essence directed to incorporate the understanding of the concepts of the sense of belonging to the nation and the extent of their (the students') appreciation of the importance of nationhood values [e; National Ideology-the Rukun Negara (1971), and National Education Philosophy (1988)], the above instrument was also seen to indicate the students' appraisal of the emphasis and weightage given to the national topics- the class language items, in building a sense of belonging to the Malaysian nation in students. As such, a qualitative data response approach was employed to further elicit an understanding of the implications and significance of the students' response choices (sections 4.3, p.172; 4.4., p.182). The overall responses of the respondents from the schools in the different states were compared using the quantitative data analysis approach (see section 4.5, p.195; p.262, point 4; Table 5.1, p.306; section 4.2., p.166), with tabulations and salient representations of the respondents' stand-points and perceptions. The students' and school teachers' questionnaire responses were analysed using the quantitative analysis approach, for

the purpose of tabulation comparisons between these groups, of their views and perceptions, ideas, and language-focused suggestions towards building nationhood values, for future courses of action and development.

The primary data in this study was made up of the responses of the,

- a) secondary school students, English language teachers and school language administrators, and
- b) identified Malaysian personalities,

to the questionnaire and in-depth question items.

Both these above stated data input sources, were then correlated with the respondents' stand-points on the extent of their perception of the sense of belonging to the nation (of the school-youth), as impacted by their English language lesson nationhood content.

Further, the general (partial) Pearson Correlation procedure was used to indicate the extent of the strength and direction of the relationship that the classroom English language nationhood items could possibly have had on the development of nationhood values, and its possible effects on the inculcation of a sense of belonging in the school youth, to the nation. Preliminary analyses were performed with regards the fulfilment of assumptions of normality of the data obtained (Table 4.6, p.173).

3.8. Validity and reliability of research instruments

In this study, as discussed above, the pilot test questionnaire items were evaluated for their content validity with the expertise of a senior research methodology lecturer at the Education School, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Sintok and a senior social science lecturer at the University Technology MARA, Merbok, Kedah Darul Aman. Assessments were made, and complying with the feedback for revision and improvements by the above expertise personnel, the research instruments were duly revised.

The research instruments were also administered to a small group of students and teachers in the central and eastern peninsular regions of peninsular Malaysia to further establish their reliability and validity (section 3.3, p. 137; section 3.6, p. 152).

The reliability of the research instruments- both the student questionnaire and the interview questions for the English language teachers-language administrators-Malaysian personalities, was monitored and ascertained through the use of mainly a consistent approach and technique, in their construction, and thence their administration to the identified respondents. As this study is primarily a qualitative one, the first group of respondents- students and teachers, were given clear explanations, instructions and simple explanations of the questionnaire items, as for a literal and lexical semantic understanding. The student-respondents were briefly given a back-to-back literal, Bahasa Malaysia translation of the above items. The focus in the above exercise was directed to give the respondents a clear understanding of the stated measurement constructs.

In order thus, to obtain consistent observations, the researcher used in-depth interviews, participation and direct meetings for the data input, with the respondents. The questionnaire inputs, after the data collection exercise was conducted, were again evaluated representatively by the above methodology expertise, for their reliability and validity.

It was determined by the above, that there was stability of reliability and thus dependability in the research instruments for their use. This was especially so in the context and circumstances of this study, in that the researcher needed to detail out clearly to the respondents, of the procedures used- as discussed above, for the research instrument administration; the period of time involved; the issue of the different research locations identified for this study; and that of the different state respondent groups involved in this study (Neuman, 2006, p. 196).

The researcher, bearing in mind the ultimate focus and direction of this study being a qualitative study encompassing to as large an extent as possible the on-the-ground palpable realities-orientations in this study, has attempted to adhere to the core principle of validity, that is, to construct and administer the research instruments

such that they can provide truthful accounts of the Malaysian social world in relation to the realities associated with the research subject, that is, national integration as seemingly evidenced on the ground. This focus was emphasised to the research respondents as clearly as it was possible. To a considerable extent, this was supported by the various epistemological empirical data present today in the Malaysian socio-political climate and ambience, with their impacting diverse multitudinous vibes making their presence felt, as such.

Further, in order to establish a relationship of **trust** between the researcher and the older respondents particularly (teachers, Malaysian personalities), towards strengthening the validity and reliability of the in-depth interview questions, informal preliminary meetings, telephone and text message communications were conducted.

In the purposive sampling of school staff respondents, in order to avoid any possibility of a researcher bias, a broad selection of random multiple voices (teacher respondents), identified with the assistance of the school language administrators, and being within the confines of the nature and scope of this study, was ascertained. From the above then, teachers with long service experience backgrounds, involvement with both good and weak student groups, and those possessing the recognised professional qualifications, were identified and involved in the earlier pilot study, and henceforth, in the full study. This above multiple voices sampling group can then be considered as a representative sample of the larger English language teacher population in the country.

The varied responses from the multiple voices as such, and henceforth with the improved interview questions (finalised versions), can then establish a reasonably strong measure of validity for the above questions.

The eventual Malaysian personalities respondent group was essentially selected from a broad group of Malaysian educationists, social activists, national politicians, and a foreign, long-service public university academician. This was to enable different perspectives and thoughts on the interview questions were forthcoming.

In this regard then, the „**truthfulness**“ of the outcomes of the interview questions, in terms of their credibility, was attempted to be ascertained. This was done by judging‘ the nature of the broad, similar and dissimilar responses in terms of their substantive and congeneric quality, seen together with the social realities‘ as portrayed (reflected) in the interview questions.

Rubin and Babbie (2011, p. 200) elucidate this above, particularly qualitative research practice, emphasizing that,

*A technically more legitimate type of validity, one that includes elements of face validity, ...which only appears to measure what the researcher intended,...is **content validity**. (This) is established on the basis of judgments about whether the measure covers the universe of facets that make up the concept. ...it is (also) important to conduct an empirical assessment of the adequacy of those judgments. ...we need empirical evidence to ascertain whether the measure indeed measures what it intends to measure.*

As such, the researcher’s direct, face-to-face in-depth interviews with the respondents (as also with the large, student cohorts the researcher was directly involved; with the research supervisor reviewing the data input), the directness and details, and judgments of the resulting observations, with the appropriate empirical assessments made, taken together, can be noted as establishing a more cogent validity of the questionnaire instrument than that of a totally statistical measurement procedure (Rubin & Babbie, 2011, p.210).

As research methodologists have emphasised, in qualitatively-oriented research studies, the measurement concepts and their meanings are determined by the researchers. *These meanings need to reflect the utility of the measurement concepts such that they portray the social reality that surrounds society as such* (ibid, p.209; Neuman, 2006, p.196).

As Fine (1999) has argued, the generally felt‘ socio-political phenomena in the Malaysian society today, can lead to interpretations and conclusions that are thereby inter-subjectively good enough”, plausible” and not exclusive”. That is, the data and their analyses are not totally the only possible claims” and outcomes of a select few, but as social phenomena understandable and impacted upon by many in the Malaysian society (ibid, pp.196-7).

On the question of the reliability of the questionnaire items, the Cronbach Alpha co-efficient ratings of the questionnaire items at the conclusion of the data collection exercise, was a modest average of 0.665. The Cronbach Alpha ranged from 0.579 to 0.631 for the individual questionnaire items (see chapter 4). It is generally taken to be that a reliability level of above 0.6 is acceptable (note: as stated above, the alpha cronbach score in this study was close to 0.7; Bakan, 1966). It was therefore concluded that the questionnaire instrument of this study was reliable and could thus be used in this study²⁴.

In this above chapter, the methodological schema and procedures, particularly that which relate to the conduct of a study weighted towards the qualitative domain mainly, such, as is this study, were discussed.



²⁴ Some scholars have argued that it is unwise to have some value of alpha to aim for. Researchers could be otherwise encouraged to repeat questions which will increase the alpha co-efficient. Ronan Michael Conroy of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland, points out that the alpha cut-off points are arbitrary, emphasising that they are not what Cronbach or Nunally recommended.

[https://www.researchgate.net/post/What_should_be_the_Cronbach_Alpha_rule; Nunally, J.C. (1978). *Psychometric theory*, 2nd Ed. New York: Mcgraw Hill]. Composite reliability, which is a measure of the overall reliability of a collection of heterogeneous but similar items, can be the focus, as it takes into account, as for the social sciences, the different, outer impacting factors. Modest alpha co-efficients can well reflect the fact that the measurement items were chosen to represent the conceptual breadth within each construct, rather than the maximisation of internal consistency (Hair, J.F. Jr, et.al, 2010).

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

In the following discussion, the researcher will attempt initially to present the statistical findings of this study based on the SPSS (Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences, Version 19) data analysis approach. A qualitative analysis discussion will then be presented of the data input related to this study, particularly that of the various in-depth interviews with the students, teachers, language administrators, academics and notable Malaysian personalities.

The ensuing discussion in this chapter will also attempt to relate the quantitative and qualitative modes of analyses used in this study.

4.2. Statistical data analysis

One-way ANOVA between groups (3 levels of the independent variable as per the English language subject lesson presentations, are identified in this study) is used in this study, to ascertain the impact of the English language nationhood values lesson presentations (English language lessons on nationhood themes and national topics), as to the extent the above contribute towards enhancing the students' sense of national integration-social solidarity [the dependent variable, as represented by DVTOT' (Dependent Variable Total Scores)] in the table below, and as stated in the research questions in chapter one).

The reliability statistics and central tendency tests for skewness and kurtosis, independent and dependent variable scores, were conducted. The descriptive statistics results show that the scores of the variables involved in this study are generally normally distributed. This then allows for the further statistical analyses to be conducted (Tables 4.1., 4.2 below).

Table 4.1.
Descriptive Statistics

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std.Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis		
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
ELPN1	624	1	5	3.309	0.66001	-0.123	0.098	-0.039	0.195
ELP3GPS	624	1	3	1.9311	0.65837	0.074	0.098	-0.695	0.195
DVTOT	624	4	47	35.766	8.29665	-1.419	0.098	2.144	0.195
Valid(listwise)	624								

Table 4.2.
Descriptives, DVTOT (Dependent Variable Total Scores)

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
VL	158	31.705	9.35376	0.7441	30.2707	33.2103	6	46
AV	351	36.345	7.52582	0.4017	35.5547	37.1348	5	47
VM	115	39.04	6.63368	0.6186	38.305	40.7559	4	47
TOTAL	624	35.6	8.29665	0.3321	35.1138	36.4183	4	47

Key: V L - Very Little
 AV - Average
 V M - Very Much; DVTOT (Dependent Variable)- Impact of English lesson nationhood themes presentations on sense of national integration.

As the Levene's test for homogeneity of variances is indicated to be significant at $p = .000$ ($p < .05$), it thus cannot be said with confidence that the population variances for each level grouping of the independent variable can be approximately equal (Tables 4.3, 4.4. below) This then allows for the probable null hypothesis, in accordance with the above statistical analysis procedures, to be rejected (Coakes, & others, 2009, pp. 77, 82).

Table 4.3

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
14254	2	621	0

The ANOVA statistical analysis however, is significant [F (2; 621) = 34.671, $p < .05$, at $p = 0$], and $\eta^2 = 0.10$ (eta value, $\eta^2 = \frac{SS_{\text{Between}}}{SS_{\text{Total}}}$). According to Cohen (1988, as in Veloo and Raman, 2013, p.82), that this latter eta value shows that there was only a small effect of the sample size on the outcomes of this study. When the eta value is converted to the F value, this being the ANOVA size effect [as based on Cohen's (ibid) formula, being $f = \sqrt{\eta^2 / (1 - \eta^2)} = 0.21648668$], it is again noted that the sample size effect on the study outcomes is small.

Further, as discussed above, the ANOVA analysis with a significant F-ratio score, strengthens the position that the population means for the different levels as of the independent variable, are indeed unequal. This then indicates that the English lesson nationhood thematic presentations have possibly had a real differential impact on the student population (Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.4.

Anova, DVTOT

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4307.55	2	2153.77	34.671	0
Within Groups	38576.3	621	62.12		
Total	42883.8	623			

Key: DVTOT (Dependent Variable Total Scores)- Impact of English lesson presentations on sense of national integration

In order to ascertain where the significant differences lie, as for this study, the probable null hypothesis is rejected, and a post-hoc analysis allowing for an entire set of comparisons of population means is used.

The use of the Tukey HSD (Honestly Significant Difference test) and the Tamhane Post Hoc tests analyses, this latter Tamhane test being conducted as equal variances were not assumed in this study (Coakes, & others, 2009, pp.81-82), show that there are significant mean score differences between the different level groupings of the independent variable. The highest mean difference is shown to be between the Very Much' (ELPGRP 3) and the Very Little' (ELPGRP 1) student level groupings, of 7.78993^{*}.

Further, this above results can also go to show that the significant results recorded for the Very Much', as per the Very Little' and Average' (mean score difference between the Very Much' and Average' level grouping was significant at 3.18571^{*}), level student groupings, that with further English lesson nationhood values instructional opportunities, the Average and Weak Academic Performers' as represented by the Average' and Very Little' level student groupings, may well attain higher scores in terms of the learning and internalizing' of the English lesson nationhood values. This then, in the total analysis, promises well for the teaching of nationhood values in English lessons in secondary schools directed at our national youth, so that they can be educated' and guided to attain an enhanced sense of national integration-social solidarity²⁵ (Table 4.5 below).

²⁵Multifarious and extraneous factors may tend to influence and diminish a critical issue such as national solidarity-harmony, as evidenced from both the centrifugal and centripetal socio-political developments in many nations all over the world today. The researcher is of the view that the deleterious, as well as the positive evolutionary effects of the above developments alluded to, such as the learning and teaching of the national language and the introduction of the national ideology- the Rukun Negara, can be constructively and foundationally addressed with well-grounded English language (together with that of other curriculum subjects) nationhood values education, targeted at the society's youth.

In order to determine the strength and direction of the relationship between the English lessons nationhood values presentations and the students' learning and internalizing of a sense of national integration-social harmony, the general Pearson

Table 4.5.
Multiple Comparisons- Dependent Variable (DVTOT)

	(I)	(J)	Mean		Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
			Difference (I-J)	Std. Error		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Tukey HSD	Very Little	Average	-4.60422 *	.75508	.000	-6.3782	-2.8303
		Very Much	-7.78993 *	.96609	.000	-	-5.5202
	Average	Very Little	4.60422 *	.75508	.000	2.8303	6.3782
	Very Much	Very Little	7.78993 *	.96609	.000	5.5202	10.0596
Tamhane	Very Little	Average	-4.60422 *	.84564	.000	-6.6369	-2.5716
		Very Much	-7.78993 *	.96768	.000	-	-5.4650
	Average	Very Little	4.60422 *	.84564	.000	2.5716	6.6369
	Very Much	Very Little	7.78993 *	.96768	.000	5.4650	10.1149
	Very Little	Average	-4.60422 *	.84564	.000	-6.6369	-2.5716
	Very Much	Average	3.18571 *	.73758	.000	-4.9605	-1.4109
	Very Little	Very Much	7.78993 *	.96768	.000	5.4650	10.1149
	Very Much	Average	3.18571 *	.73758	.000	1.4109	4.9605

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

correlation analysis was conducted. Analyses were earlier carried out for normality of distribution of data derived in the study (Table 4.6, p.172 below). Figure 4 below (p.172), indicating the frequency of the student responses, illustrates a normal distribution of the data obtained.

It was also found that there was a reasonable positive relationship between the two variables ($r = .323^{**}$, $n = 624$, $p < .01$). It is thus noted that further pedagogic measures and learning opportunities with nationhood themes pedagogically focused upon actively, and emphasised convictedly in the English lessons, can possibly well lead to a higher sense of national integration and social harmony in Malaysian youth (Table 4.7., p.173).

In order to ascertain the reliability and thus the validity of the research study instruments, the pilot test instruments prior to the conduct of the above test, were subject to scrutiny and review. This was done, as discussed in chapter 3 above, by a research methodology and associated group of academic expertise.

Table 4.6.
Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
3 groups	.288	624	.000	.794	624	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

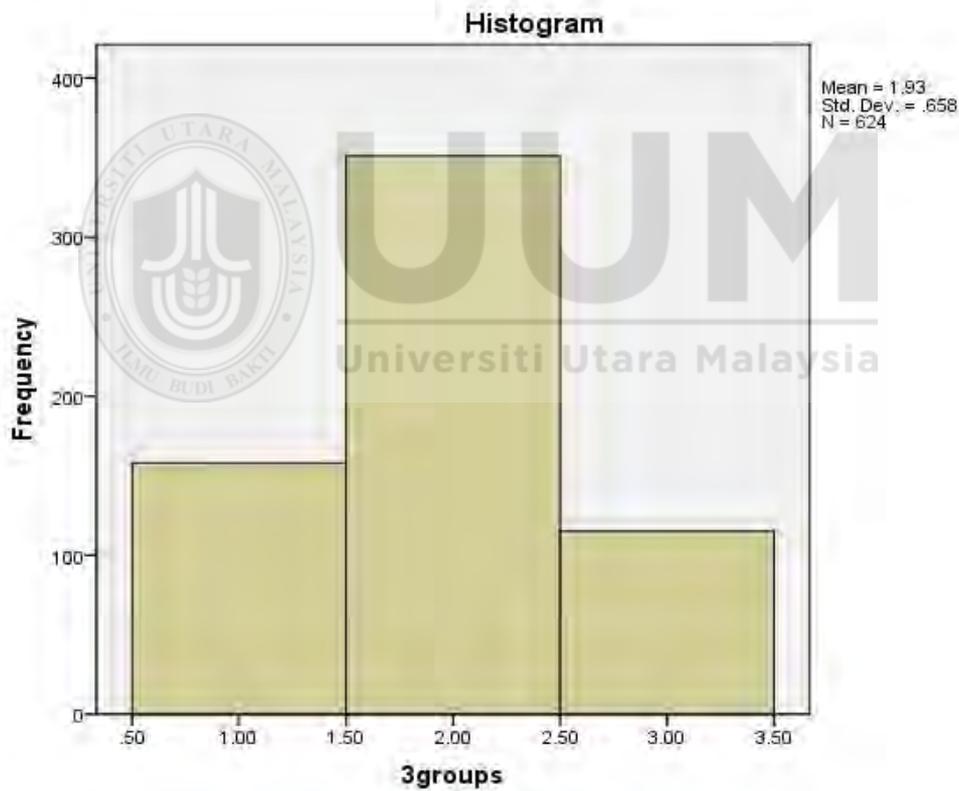


Figure 4.1 Histogram showing distribution of frequency of data input-responses of three-level student groups- *Very little*, *Average*, *Very Much*.

Table 4.7.
Correlations

DVTOT	DVTOT	ELPN1
Pearson Correlation	1	.323**
Sig. (1-tailed)		0
N	624	624
ELPN1		
Pearson Correlation	.323**	1
Sig. (1-tailed)	0	
N	624	624

The Cronbach Alpha coefficient recorded ranged from 0.579 to 0.631. This was taken to be acceptable as the overall reading was 0.665. The research instruments were then determined to be usable, as the Cronbach Alpha coefficient reading was above the acceptable level taken as 0.6 and above [Lance, Butts, & Michels. (2006). pp. 202-220; Table 4.8 below].

Table 4.8.
Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardised Items	Nof Items
0.655	0.655	5

4.3. Responses of forms 2 and 4 large student cohorts on the impact of English lesson presentations on the inculcation of nationhood values in the states of Kedah, Pulau Pinang and Perak (student questionnaire-II, p.146, open-ended questions).

As discussed earlier, the researcher had requested the ten school heads and language authorities to select thirty gender, race and 'academically balanced' students, for the student questionnaire instrument exercise. The students were administered the student questionnaire directly by the researcher, with language translations and brief explanations given. The briefing and clarifications on the questionnaire, as discussed earlier (see section 3.4, p. 143), were carried out after consultations with the school language panel heads [Guru Kanan Mata pelajaran (GKM)] of all three major schools, one in each of the three states involved in this study. Some common

examples of the language nationhood values lesson items were provided. This was to ensure that the weak, as well as the other student sample groups would be able to comprehend the intent of the questions.

The following analysis of the responses to the five section two (II) open-ended questions (section 3.4, p.143) provides a perspectival regard of the larger student population- the school-youth, of the impact of the English lessons nationhood values on their sense of belonging and integration in the nation.

4.3.1. Responses of the younger, form two students.

The general pattern of responses of the above group of respondents for both questions one and two of the above section two (II, p.146) student questionnaire, which revolved around the issue of the need for further examples of nationhood topics, and what examples can help the students to learn and feel more united as Malaysians, was as follows,

- i. that more nationhood themes and issues can be presented in the language lessons, such as, ‘1Malaysia’, Malaysian history, Malaysian festivals, national leaders, artistes, athletes and so on.

Further topical examples can include Malaysian history, the West and East Malaysian societies and their lifestyles, Malaysian leaders and their contributions to the nation, and local historical events and accounts. For example, ‘Melaka’, the Malaysian states, independence, the 1969 May 13 and 2013 Sabah, Lahad Datu incidents, and so on.

This can help students to understand the nation’s history well and learn to respect others,

- ii. that the nationhood topics taught and discussed in the English language (also in other language) lessons can help students to deepen their knowledge of the diverse Malaysian peoples, their cultures, their contributions and achievements of all peoples for the nation,
- iii. that with the above knowledge well taught and learnt, that they can feel “proud” being Malaysians, as then they can be confident to communicate with others about their country, having gained —.. a lot

- of knowledge about my country Malaysia. It's (It) also making (makes) me (to) think that I'm a Malaysian",
- iv. that more "clear" English lesson input on Malaysian themes and peoples ...can help us to want to change and adopt "better" lifestyles - "...terasa ingin mengubah gaya hidup yang lebih baik",
 - v. nationhood topics help in making us accept others because they guide and remind us of the dangers of non-acceptance,
 - vi. nationhood topics do help in creating a constant reminder that Malaysians must live in peace and harmony together- "...saya ingin juga hidup dalam keadaan aman dan damai bersama",
 - vii. the discussions in the English lessons need to help the students further to understand better the importance of national unity,
 - viii. the teachers and the government must practise fairness towards all "citizens". Teachers can do more.

For questions three and four taken together, and which attempted to obtain students' stand-points on the affective domains, as to the extent they felt the impact of the nationhood-values lessons had on their relationships with all "Others", the students' responses indicated the following general stand-points,

- i. that they felt happy and proud to be Malaysian,
- ii. that they are able to know other Malaysians of different races better,... "I feel like a family with other races"; "For me there is not (no) such thing as Malay, Chinese, Indian. We are one Malaysia. We are also ready (ready) to live together in a peaceful condition (in peace)",
- iii. that the language lessons give students the skills to communicate better with others as they (the students) understand their cultures more from the lessons,
- iv. that the English lessons help to bring the different students together,... "This helps to build a nice relationship between citizens of the Malaysian nation",
- v. that lesson presentations can also discuss about all cultures, religions and provide some historical knowledge of all Malaysian

- communities. This can help the students to “understand and accept others just the way they are and not be judgmental”,
- vi. the lesson presentations on nationhood themes can be more informative and focused. At present, the lesson contents are “shallow”.

There were clearly definitive and direct responses to question five. This question was aimed at looking at students’ views and stand-points as to the extent the lesson presentations and the nationhood values learnt can prevail in their lives, thereby helping the students to put aside their personal problems and motivations. The salient points and responses expressed can be presented as follows,

- i. that they (lesson nationhood presentations) are not often helpful and the students continue to be affected by their personal experiences and problems,
- ii. that their relationships are not much improved as their social experiences predominate and continue to cause “tensions” amongst them (the student schoolmates),
- iii. that the nationhood themes help the students to forge some good relationships with one another, and these in turn help the students to some extent, to do better in their studies,
- iv. the language lesson themes do help the students to share and solve their problems together. This helps the students to deal with their problems with more certainty and clarity. The students felt their relationships are thenceforth strengthened to some extent.
- v. the English lesson nationhood themes, when presented with total “fairness” and “justice” for all Malaysians, can help to serve as a guide for action, and can “educate” the students to remove their negative thoughts about others, from their minds. The language nationhood values can help show the students how they can relate well with all groups of students,
- vi. that presenting more English nationhood themes can help students, as the “future assets” of the country”, gain “deeper” knowledge of and love for Malaysia more.

4.3.2. Responses of the older, form four students

For both questions one and two, the salient responses, both negative and positive were as follows,

- i) that nationhood themes in English lessons as well as in other subjects, can and also need not solely be the basis and the ‘casus belli’ for students to attain a healthy sense of belonging and acceptance of ‘others’ in the nation,
- ii) that language nationhood themes and lesson discourses are essential today —.because unity among Malaysians now is poor,...then we can love, appreciate the nation more because this is our homeland for many years..., they help prevent racism... so that we Malaysians can unite and live in harmony; unity and commitment are important when living in an independent country”,
- iii) that more nationhood themes are not necessary, as —.there are Malaysian-related topics in our syllabus,...these items can’t influence me a lot. National integration values should be practised in daily life [e.g.(in everyday) conversation(s), (in) teaching (activities)]”, but not just taught in text books and class lessons,
- iv) that, —.of course it is important to learn about our country but the blatant fact is that if the country were to move forward, we have to gain knowledge of the outer world”. That there can be more English language lessons on other nations as well, —...about their problems so that we won’t repeat the mistakes they have done. In this way, we can move forward, period”,
- v) that more lesson topics should be on —.races from (of) other countries...It is important that we learn to unite not only as Malaysians, but (as) humans (human beings) as a whole....I am happy to be a Malaysian, but I would be rather interested to learn about others as well. ...Why should we be judgemental of others? ...we should learn to respect (others). Unity is important as we all know. Maybe it’s time to focus on ourselves, rather than others”.

For the questions three and four centring on the affective domain (as for the younger, form two students, p.175), the respondents’ stand-points were as follows,

- i) that more knowledge of the different cultures, religions and lifestyles of others in Malaysia helps students to respect one another. There is then "...less likelihood of people hurting one another's feelings",
- ii) that the nationhood topics should not be "...pushed too hard" in the lessons. "I feel the occasional need to rebel against what I am asked to do. These themes and values should be discussed but not 'overused', ...love should not be forced...real love should come solely from the heart,..It (love) comes from the way the country is being managed, the importance of meritocracy and a fair government" (Chinese male student),
- iii) that the nationhood themes motivate the students to feel proud to be Malaysian, *especially when lesson topics are on national heroes, the local communities and their lifestyles,*
- iv) that there needs to be more English lesson activities on nationhood themes, so that they can be meaningfully impactful on students to help them evoke a sense of oneness with one another as Malaysians, ... "the lessons help me to feel less racist, ...we can have better understanding of others",
- v) that the language items are intended to do their best in promoting unity in the nation, and **there can be more themes relating to all Malaysian communities. There should not be a concentration on only one religion and community, as this makes some students to feel "alienated",**
- vi) that more lesson approaches, teaching methods can be used in class English lessons-activities, which can help students to not only obtain information on people of different races, but also enable the students to understand the 'Others' as human beings, "...we must walk in each other's shoes".

The responses for question five obtained from the older form four group of respondents, were, as for the above group, mixed and at times diametrically opposed, with one set of responses leaning to the positive perspective, that is, the English lesson themes do predominate over their personal, negative experiences, with the

opposing perspective of unhelpful and no responses. These latter responses imply, as alluded by the respondents, that national integration, being a significant national subject, is more a subject for which other school subjects and sources, can provide the requisite knowledge and the nationhood values learning input. These latter sources and resources often named by the respondents are their parents, good teachers, the history subject, and their common experiences.

The students' salient responses, balanced stand-points, some tending to be critical and negative, and some indicating a positive outlook, of the English nationhood lessons, are discussed as follows,

- i) that the youth and society should not regard and ~~mix~~-complicate personal matters with national issues, and give them both the same weightage and importance. When clearly delineated and focused upon for their national significance by language teachers, the lesson nationhood presentations can then be essentially constructive for students to learn, understand and practise the nationhood values,
- ii) that nationhood themes are helpful and do ~~not~~..make us feel comfortable with (our) surroundings. (They help us to) relate to (with) other people from different races”,
- iii) that the lesson nationhood themes provide knowledge and messages that can help students become better Malaysians and ~~not~~..positive thinkers”,
- iv) that the lesson nationhood materials do help instill some humanistic, moral values in students. These items do not then just remain as knowledge-study materials.
- v) the knowledge learnt from the lesson nationhood themes can be applied to the (students') everyday lives and used ~~not~~..to find solutions to (for) problems (faced) with an open mind,...being optimistic in our daily life(s), we *should* see things and difficulties in a rose-tinted glass and always (be) ready to forgive others. Integrity and unity is (are) the important key(s) for the sake (good) of Malaysians”.

- vi) that the nationhood lessons are not helpful, as learning nationhood values through experiencing problems directly help students better in understanding and solving interpersonal problems in life,
- vii) the nationhood lesson presentations are not effective in changing certain set forms of thinking, that there should be fairness for all. –The government should increase their concern to (for) other races and not only to (for) the main race in our country. They should be more concern(ed) and (provide) care and give all the facilities to all the races equally”.

For both the younger, form twos and the older, form fours student groups, the above average, „high“ academic performers generally were more positive, expressive and critical in their written responses. This was ascertained, with the assistance of the school class English teachers, and also, as the form twos and fours 15 ‘High’ academic performance sub-groups each, were grouped together in their respective form groups, for the questionnaire administration exercise. Thus, this made it possible to verify, from their questionnaire responses, that the above positive responses were mainly from this ‘High’ performance sub-groups of students.

This goes to indicate that *students with higher English language skills as well as those who cognitively are more academically advanced („the better students“)* can tend to be more positively receptive to English language nationhood values education (section 2.3.8, Piaget, Vygotsky, p. 91).

As for this above open-ended, section two (II, p.146) student questionnaire responses, the table below (Table 4.9, p. 183) shows that the younger forms two respondents of this larger cohort of students from all three states involved in this research study appear to be generally balanced in their stand-points. The above scores of 5 score points, as ascertained from their responses to the questionnaire items, for both the ‘students’ concurrence with the content’, and the ‘mixed and negative responses’ categories, show that the above student cohort is not very much positively impacted by the English lesson nationhood themes. However, the above data analysis shows that there can be further efforts to utilize education resources, with English language teaching well-factored in line with the direction of this study,

to be appropriately enhanced to enable these above young students to attain positive, nationhood values.

However, the large score of 14 score points for the mixed and negative responses category shows that the student respondents as a whole-both forms twos and fours, feel that they are not much impacted by the lessons to enable them to attain a greater sense of belonging to the nation and solidarity with one another. The divergence between the positive response score of only 6, with the mixed and negative response score of 14, shows that this group of student respondents as a whole, tend to feel that the English lessons do not much help to shape their thoughts and values constructively, in relation to the broad domain of Malaysian national integration.

Further, the score of just 1 point by the older form four student group, as contrasted with 5 score points by the younger form two student group for the positive response category; and further, for the mixed and negative response category- the score of 5 by the younger student group, as compared to 9 score points by the higher form four student group, indicate that,

- i) possibly the younger form two students are more amenable to learning English language nationhood values,
- ii) the English lesson teaching strategies and pedagogies are possibly more suitable for the younger student cohort, to enable them to learn, synthesize and appreciate the nationhood themes,
- iii) the above [point ii)] aspects are possibly lacking for the higher form four students,
- iv) the higher form student cohort can possibly be groomed further towards positive learning of nationhood themes and values (Table 4.9, p.183 below).

Table 4.9.

Summary of Questionnaire (Section II) Responses of Student Respondents (Both Forms 2 and 4) from Kedah, Pulau Pinang, and Perak on the Impact of English Lesson Presentations towards the Inculcation of Nationhood Values

Questionnaire Items		Responses	Forms Two	Forms Four	Total Scores	
Section II	\checkmark				α	
Q 1	P	\checkmark	α	1	1	
	SIO	α	α	-(nil)	2	
Q 2	P	\checkmark	\checkmark	2	-	
	SIO	α	α	-	2	
Q 3	P	\checkmark	α	1	1	
	SIO	α	α	-	2	
Q 4	P	\checkmark	α	1	1	
	SIO	α	α	-	2	
Q 5	P	\checkmark	α	1	1	
	SIO	α	α	-	2	
Total Scores		\checkmark	5	1	6	-
		α	5	9	-	14

Key: QI- Questionnaire Items, Section II; α -Mixed and negative responses (and SIO)

P- Positive response;

SIO- Some Impact Only,

\checkmark - Students' concurrence with question content(inclusive of P),

4.4. In-depth interview responses of 6 „High“ and „Low“ performance students (3 for each of the above categories), for each of forms 2 and 4 in one school in each of the states of Kedah, Pulau Pinang and Perak- Impact of English language lesson presentations on the inculcation of nationhood values (student questionnaire, section II, p.146).

The questions used in the in-depth interviews with the small-group students in this data collection exercise, are essentially based on the same themes as focused on for

English language nationhood values inculcation in secondary school students, incorporated in section two (II) student questionnaire instrumentation (see section 3.4 Instrumentation, p.143). The in-depth interviews allowed for greater depth and for more open and ‘free’ discussion on the question themes.

4.4.1. In-depth interview responses- Six form two students, Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Ibrahim, Kedah

The above students were generally positive that more topics on Malaysian issues can be constructive in further ingraining nationhood values in them. Their suggestions of topics that can be presented in the English lesson presentations were those that can reflect an equitable and commonality ethos of life for all Malaysians. The students were quite articulate about ‘fairness’ in the public domain. Further, they felt topics of the ‘nationalism’ genre, such as ‘Merdeka’, national leaders and ‘...what they have done/are doing for the people...’, the struggles and conflicts Malaysians have endured, the IT (Information Technology) generation, reducing and removing the sense of racism in the nation and so on, when well-presented in class, can help deepen their sense of a Malaysian consciousness.

The above position of these students indicated to the researcher that there was a strong, almost idealistic concern these young students could be keeping buried inside them, that knowledge, understanding and how we can better accept each other as Malaysians, and the acknowledgement of Malaysian historical realities, can, as one language teacher put it, help forge strong bonds amongst the nation’s young.

These above students, on the impact of the English nationhood lessons on them, were positive that the latter gave them greater knowledge and thus understanding about Malaysians. One student commented that she (Malaysian Chinese) wanted to be a better Malaysian as she goes on learning nationhood values and their applications in life, from English lesson presentations and from other avenues.

In response to the question on acceptance, one student (female Malaysian Chinese) quite simply stated that generally students do not accept one another as ‘common’ Malaysians. However, she elaborated that the nation’s history informs and guides her to respect and accept all Malaysians as they are. This was further expanded and

refined by another student (female, Malay Malaysian), that it was the mother tongue language differences, without a sufficiently strong overarching school-based culture of using Bahasa Malaysia and English actively, that manifest in student segregations.

One point of observation made by the researcher was that, the student group as a whole was not much inclined to giving importance to Malaysian history. However, these students agreed that nation's history can be discussed in the form of English lesson texts. These can be in narrative-story form, and not in the traditional facts, dates and chronology order formats.

The students above felt that relating and accepting one another as common human beings and thus, as Malaysians, should be undertaken as a primary task by all Malaysians. One student (female Malay Malaysian), lucidly affirmed that all Malaysians today must uphold the social norm- that one needs to respect others. This above student provided a gentle reminder that only with respect given, can one expect others to return that respect to oneself, as earned respect. This practice then will help students with time, to accept others as Malaysians.

The above students generally felt that national matters should be kept separate from individual issues and motivations. When personal matters or difficulties, they emphasized, affect a person, one should place the national issues as the primary priority. In education and in their English lessons, the primary focus the students upheld should always be national themes and topics, that is, nationhood-national integration subjects.

A few of this above group of students, relating to their English lesson experiences, reflected in short, sometimes disconnected expressions, but nevertheless, specific issues as related to their intentions and thoughts, that English lessons should not be overly conducted on ~~examination~~ needs". They tended to allude to want more fun and more lesson issues which impact their everyday and family lives.

With this above observation if duly given its due place in English lessons, the lesson directions can be focusedly expanded to include larger and nationhood topics, such as the Rukun Negara, Vision 2020, 1Malaysian nation, rule of law, respect for the

king and the elders, the cyber world, inter-ethnic oneness, one's contributions to the nation and others, and so on.

4.4.2. In-depth interviews responses- Six form two students, Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Bukit Jambul, Pulau Pinang

The above students generally felt there can be more nationhood topics presentations in the English lessons. This is necessary they felt, so that the Malaysian young can develop positive attitudes directed particularly at mutual respect and regard for one another (the researcher had briefly explained to students the questionnaire items in both the English and Malay languages, as to the possible response options they may provide, affirmative or otherwise to the questions).

These above respondents felt that there can be more lesson topics discussed on Malaysian themes and issues. The students tended to show that they gave importance and exhibited appreciation for common efforts of Malaysians in national matters, for example, the independence struggle, contributions and sacrifices of leaders and national athletes.

The above students said, generally they felt a sense of patriotism for the nation through the lesson nationhood themes. The language items are quite formative, they felt, in helping in invoking positive thoughts about a common future and well-being. However, one student quite bluntly stressed that, "It makes me feel nothing and I do not care about it".

On the question of acceptance, these above students agreed that the nationhood items can help and do help incrementally, in their understanding of one another's cultures better. In this way, it can be emphasized, that these students did show a positive forbearance and outlook that their acceptance of one another as Malaysians, can be enhanced.

A particular view-point of a majority of the above students in this above group, was that the government and media should play a positive, non-racial role in presenting social information to the Malaysian public. One comment that was of particular significance was that, the language nationhood items do help in one learning more

about other Malaysians. Further, this above student clearly stated, that a person can have personal problems, but the congenial and positive situation that can arise from the above context of mutual understanding, need not make one a racist. In line with the above view-point, as noted by another vocal student, that we should not be choosy in deciding who should be one's friends because, "...all of us are Malaysians".

4.4.3. In-depth interview responses- Six form two students, Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Aminuddin Baki, Perak

On more nationhood lesson presentations, the above students felt there was indeed a need for more interesting and meaningful topics. They need to be on varied Malaysian themes- cultures, national leaders, different Malaysian religious groups, Malaysian patriotism stories, and so on.

The students did not provide further examples of nationhood topics.

The above students were not clearly responsive for the above third question. The medium of expression of their views, although both English and Malay were allowed, could have been a problem for these young, lower secondary students. When attempting to use the English language, they tended to be incoherent in conveying their thoughts. Some of these students said that the language —the words", in their lessons were "...complicated...", and we can't understand the meanings".

The conclusion that can be drawn from the student stand-point is that, the intended impact on, particularly young students, of the teaching and learning of language nationhood values, which may then be largely lost. The students need to be taught intently and actively, the basic English language proficiency skills, so that their language competencies can be improved. Following this then, the national themes can be better directed in the class English lessons, for good student understanding and internalization of the lesson values.

This above group of students all felt strongly that the language items concerned, all help clarify and elucidate issues that can guide them towards a more "...full

acceptance” of others different from them. As one young student (Malaysian male Indian) pointedly noted, that, “...*For me, there’s no such thing as Indian, Chinese, Malay. We’re all Malaysians*”.

This above stand-point can be said to have been arrived at in the course of the in-depth interviews, enabling the respondents to contemplate- to delve more intently into their ‘hearts and minds’, in an ontologically-oriented reflection of what and where one is, in Malaysian society.

On the subject of going beyond one’s personal problems and being Malaysian first, there was no clear response from this above group of young Malaysians. The students generally however, tended to respond in writing at the levels of their own proficiency capabilities, that *the English nationhood themes “... can change my negative feelings about others”*. (This position of one student is noted. The other students generally, also felt that the English lesson items when taught well, do hold a drawing and, can positively draw them to grow to like and accept others around them).

4.4.4. In-depth interview responses- Six form four students, Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Bukit Jambul, Pulau Pinang

The students concurred that that there should be more apolitical nationhood topic presentations. They felt that it is important to have more current Malaysian topics, including cultural ones.

These students came to an understanding that further topics towards national integration should focus more on,

- a) traditional Malaysian cultures,
- b) Malaysian celebrations/festivals,
- c) Malaysian and world historical issues, to enable students to become knowledgeable ‘global’ human beings with a balanced understanding of all mankind and the world around them.

On being presented the nationhood topics and values, they felt that they felt proud, patriotic and thankful to the early leaders. One student said it was a worrying issue that most students neglect and are indifferent to the values taught.

These groups of students were generally inclined to agree that the English lesson nationhood presentations do help them to accept others different from them. One student particularly, was quite vocal saying that to be well integrated as one Malaysian nation, society must learn to see every citizen as a Malaysian, and that “...we should not today, be seen by our skin colour and mother tongue”.

On whether the above language items assist them to accept one another when facing personal problems and so on, these students felt that they do to some extent. They generally felt that anyone facing such situations needs to resolve one’s problems in a balanced way. The language lessons and teachings may be of help in opening up the discussion of the issues involved. They- the lesson teachings, can form as a platform for good communication with one another in class. The students elaborated that with the above allowed to take place in class, healthy relations among students can be cemented. The language items, when incorporating socially constructive moral values, teach broad, universal principles, and thus help young students to accept all Malaysians while also giving them the confidence in relating to one another.

4.4.5. In-depth interview responses- Six form four students, Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Tanjung Rambutan, Perak

As the earlier larger cohort of forms four students did not have any Chinese student representation owing to certain administrative reasons, as the researcher was so informed. It was decided to revisit this group of students. It was requested that six or more students, particularly of Chinese background, be identified by the school authorities for closed-door, in-depth interviews.

The 16-year olds who were selected tended to be quite sharp in their comments. Of the six identified students, a few were quite vocal in their comments. They were nevertheless, generally positive about about the English lesson nationhood presentations.

The following are their view-points on the above research study subject.

–Jangan benci satu sama lain”,

–Jangan tanam satu fikiran buruk terhadap kaum lain. Unity is important”,

“*If us (we) want to make a world a better place, then we must look at ourselves and make a change*”,

–Untuk memajukan negara Malaysia, kita perlu berkerjasama, tidak pilih kasih dan selalu menyokong negara sendiri”,

–Selain itu, kerajaan perlu selalu think for rakyat Malaysia”,

One student in response to whether the lesson presentation themes help students to know one another better and accept each other, provided the following articulate response,

–No. It is because some of them cannot understand what other races have did (done), and they thought (think) everything done by other races is wrong”,

On the question of students‘ reactions and feelings to the nationhood language items presented, one student made the following comment,

–I feel the language items on nationhood topics is (are) vital for the development of our country. A good relationship between different races can maintain the development of our country. ...But, some of the language items and laws are unfair to certain races”.

–Yes. Language can help us to communicate very well with friends of other races. Even though we have different traditions and languages (but) we are getting to know one another better. *Just like my friends asking help from me, without thinking about skin colour problem, I will help them. We are living in Malaysia...No unity, no peace*”.

One student provided a general response as follows,

–We should **trust** each other. It is because unity can be achieved by believing each other. Development of Malaysia needs help from many races”,

–Unfair problems should be handled effectively and rapidly. Our country should be clean from deceit and unfair things”.

On further probing the above students, they generally were of the view that the language items on the subject in question- the impact of English nationhood lesson presentations, if presented and discoursed by the language teachers professionally and with empathy, the students can not only become more excited in learning the themes well, but also it could well help them to get to know better and accept Malaysia as their nation.

4.4.6. In-depth interview responses- Six form four students, Sekolah Menengah Ibrahim, Kedah

The above students assented that English lesson nationhood materials help to arouse in them different feelings than that of the other topics. They felt that the lessons help to arouse in them a kind of a bonding spirit of wanting to sacrifice for the good of society. They suggested that there can be more lesson topics on the Malaysian races, cultures, our backgrounds and so on. A focus on the Malaysian society they felt, can help in further enriching our understanding of one another. This can then be used as a platform in time, to further deepen inter-communal ties in Malaysian society.

On the question of how the nationhood lesson presentations make them feel, the group above was divided in their stands. Some felt the moral values in the lessons are good for them, and that the leaders' efforts for the good of the nation need to be emulated by the young. Some however, felt the lesson presentations can sometimes be unfavourable to some communities and groups. They are not sufficiently organized with further relevant activities for the lesson themes. This is important they felt, to "attract and involve" all students.

With regards to acceptance of others, the students were not all in agreement that the lessons help them to do so. They felt the lesson focus on national themes are generally superficial. The English lesson presentations were often directed for examination needs.

On the issue as to whether the lesson presentations are helpful and persuasive in putting good relations first in their daily lifes, these students were divided in their stands. As one student explained, "... But without a mixed background in class and in the larger society, it might affect me negatively. But it is still very important to be

Malaysian and accept all...”. A positive comment pertaining to this issue was that, information received and the knowledge learnt in the lessons can be used by students now and in the future, to become better Malaysians.

One student held the view that the lessons are not “influential” enough for them to act unselfishly. As he (male Malay Malaysian) stressed, “...we tend to follow our feelings, “Once words are thrown out, they cannot be taken back...We tend to know about others. We need to act accordingly”.

4.4.7. Summary of stand-points

From the table below showing the summary data input of the students’ stand-points, (inclusive of one additional group of Form Four students),²⁶ it can be observed that the younger forms two, 14-year olds as compared to the older 16-year olds, are a little more persuaded by the English nationhood lesson presentations and their (the English lesson nationhood themes presentations) impact on them, to help them develop a sense of wanting to belong to the nation. In addition, they appear more drawn to the teachings and lesson-messages on nationhood themes, to feel a healthy and strong bond of national oneness- a sense of a “Malaysian consciousness and solidarity”, than the older form four students.

The students sometimes expressed diametrically opposed convictions and notions, on firstly, the nature, content, manner of presentation, and the lesson teachers’ effectiveness, and this, as seen in the light of the students’ expressed experiences in their schools and as in the larger society, which they have emphatically characterized as both sometimes “pleasant”, and at other times quite “inhibitive”. This then, can be said to explain the acknowledged “minimal” impact on them of the lesson nationhood themes. The 18 total score points by the students for the positive category of concurrence with the “intended” purposes of the lesson nationhood themes, as compared to the 22 score points for the “Some Impact Only” rating category,

²⁶The researcher has included the concerns and views of this additional older group of students, as their views in the in-depth interviews exhibited a marked exposition of pertinent stand-points on the issues of English language education towards national integration. Further, these students tended to be generally outspoken and articulate on the essential themes of this study, as to the impact of language nationhood themes on cultivating a sense of national integration in Malaysian youth.

The above analysis of the positions taken by the above students is with regards their It can thus be said, as the researcher has observed, as based on the responses noted in various, positively-oriented responses- both from students, subject teachers and language administrators, seen together with a senior government minister's beliefs that healthy religious and cultural knowledge, understanding, respect and acceptance of the nation's diverse peoples, can constitute and epitomize the —.pillar of national unity...” (NST 25.2.2014, p.18). This can be built and strengthened together by all Malaysians.

4.5. The „Scale of Determination“ of the large student groups“ perceptive assessment of the impact of English lesson nationhood themes

The data analysis in this section is primarily focused on the larger student sample groups' (targeted number of sixty students per school, see section 3.3, p.137) assessment and rating of how well the lesson language nationhood themes are presented and conveyed to them, such that they develop an understanding that inter-communal harmony and a sense of belonging to the nation are primary contributive factors for national well-being, leading on to national integration.

The researcher, in administering the questionnaire instruments directly to all student respondents, has, in consultation with the school language administrators, briefed the respondents on particular textual-lesson curriculum examples on Malaysian nationhood themes. The students were asked then to give an overall assessment as to the extent the above language themes impacted on them in relation to their enhanced or otherwise, sense of communal harmony, belonging to the nation and national integration.

For each rating category for example (Table 4.11, p.198), the _Weak' rating category in the _Scale of Determination', the form two students' in the schools in the Kedah state, recorded 4 frequency counts. This total frequency counts of 4 is then divided by the 4 schools involved in the state in the study, and the average score (AS) is then determined as 1 score point. Likewise, for the _Healthy' category, for the 3 schools involved in the Perak state, the frequency count is 28. This figure is then divided by the number of schools involved-3, and the average score (AS) of 9.33 score points was derived.

The final Total Scores/Frequency Counts in the last column in the tables below were calculated as totals of the individual state/school frequency score counts, and the comparative average scores are derived by adding up the individual state AS (score) counts. For example, the Total Scores count for the Average category for all states was determined by adding the individual state AS (score) counts- 7.5 + 10.0 + 7.33, to give the Total Score (TS) count of 24.83 score counts (the same calculation procedures are followed with respect to Table 4.12, p.201).

The percentage scores given in the pie charts below were generated by totalling the total score points for each of the rating category for all the states and schools, for example, for the Positive rating category, the Total Scores counts of 30 + 18 + 15 + 13 totalling 76, and this was divided by the overall Total Scores for all the four rating categories-279 counts, and then multiplied by 100. This then generated a percentage score of 27 (totalling to the nearest round figure) percentage points.

The pie chart representation (Figure 5, p.199) was used as an extension of the statistical tabulation, and for a vivid illustration of the strengths of regard the school-youth presently, have of their school English lessons of the impact on them of Malaysian nationhood values education (the same calculation procedures followed for Figure 6, p.202) .

4.5.1. Form two student responses

Looking at the total average scores for the above forms two students in all the schools for all three states taken together, we can see that for the Weak rating the score was the lowest- 1.66 score points.

The Average total score was a sizeable 24.83 score points.

The above figure was even superseded by students score for the Healthy rating option, which was the largest score of 34.5 score points

The combined total scores for the Healthy and Positive scales of determination (ratings) was 57.25 score points. This score as compared to the score for the Weak option of 1.66 score points, clearly shows the above lower secondary students'

generally demonstrated a clear positive regard for the nationhood English language lesson themes.

Further, the Perak schools provided the highest average score of 11.67 score points, for the highest level ‘Positive’ rating category. This score can be said to show that the above students are positively inclined to the impact on them of the lesson English language nationhood themes and constructs.

The Penang schools, despite their more physically urbanized contexts, recorded the lowest average score of 3.33 score points for this ‘Positive’ rating category.

However, these above Penang schools, it can be observed, have not indicated a complete disregard for the value and efficacy of the English language lesson nationhood themes presentations. This is so, as these above students provided the highest average score for the ‘Healthy’ rating category, of 13.67 score points (Table 4.11, p.198 below).



Table 4.11

„Sale of Determination” Indicating Perceptive Assessment of Form Two Students, of the Impact of English Language Nationhood Values Lesson Presentations

ASSESSMENT RATINGS	WEAK				AS	AVERAGE				AS	HEALTHY				AS	POSITIVE				AS	
	S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		
SCHOOLS/ STATES																					
KEDAH	1	2	1	-	1	8	10	8	4	7.50	12	7	16	11	11.50	7	6	5	13	7.75	
PENANG	-	-	1	X	0.33	9	8	13	X	10	12	16	13	X	13.67	5	3	2	X	3.33	
PERAK	-	1	-	X	0.33	9	9	4	X	7.33	4	11	13	X	9.33	18	9	8	X	11.67	
TOTAL SCORES (TS)/(FREQUENCY COUNTS-279)	1	3	2	-	1.66	26	27	25	4	24.83	28	34	42	11	34.5	30	18	15	13	22.75	

Key: S - School
AS - Average Scores
TS - Total scores
- - Nil
X- No fourth school involved

(Pie chart below illustrating the above data)

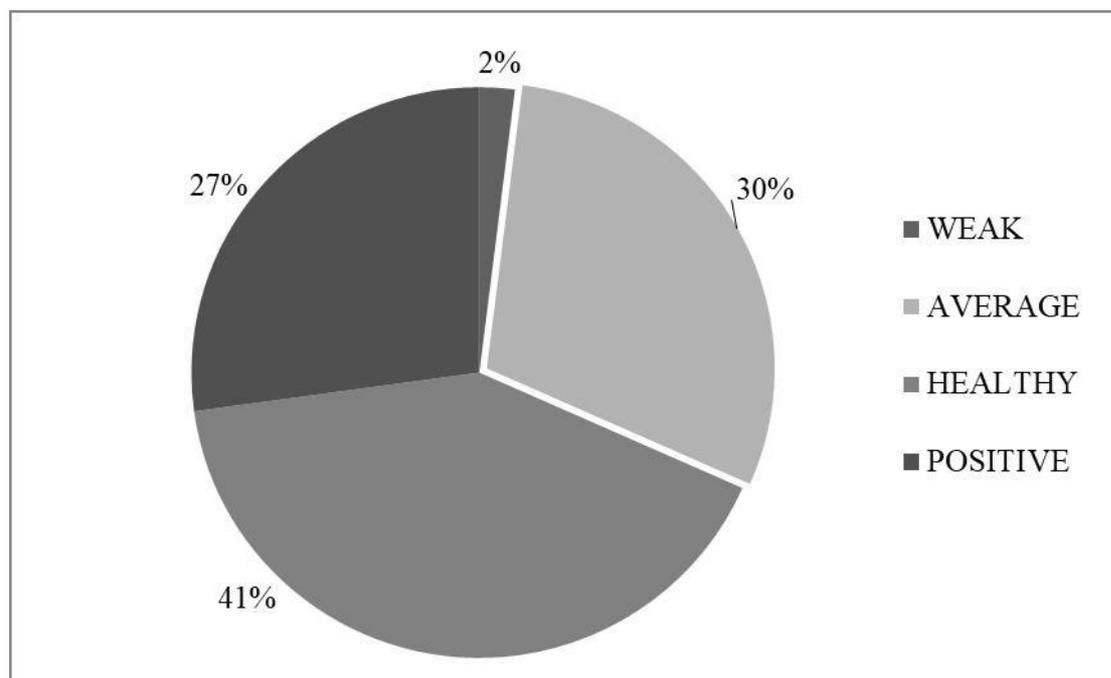


Figure 4.2 Perceptive assessment- 'Scale of Determination' by form 2 students for nationhood values English lessons.

4.5.2. Form four student responses

The data below for the Forms Four students shows that the combined score for all schools in all the three states involved in this study, for the 'Weak' Scale of Determination rating, showed the lowest score of 6.83 score points.

The composite, average score for the 'Average' rating indicated the highest score of 31.5 score points.

The total average score for both the 'Healthy' and 'Positive' ratings was a 45.0 score point. This indicated a 38.17 score point increase as compared to the 'Weak' rating category score. This translates into a 558.86 percentage increase in the students' regard for the higher, combined average 'Healthy' and 'Positive' levels ratings.

Although the scores for the 'Positive' rating category for the three states were relatively smaller as compared to those for the 'Average' and 'Healthy' ratings,

the scores were nevertheless substantively higher than those for the ‘_Weak’ rating. This showed an almost 300 percentage point increase as per the ‘_Weak’ rating category. The Perak schools still indicated the highest score of 7.67 for this ‘_Positive’ rating category (Table 4.12, p.201 below).



Table 4.12.

„Sale of Determination“ Perceptive Assessment of Form Four Students, of the Impact of English Language Nationhood Values Lesson Presentations

ASSESSMENT RATINGS	WEAK				AS	AVERAGE				AS	HEALTHY				AS	POSITIVE				AS	
	S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		S1	S2	S3	S4		
SCHOOLS/STATES																					
KEDAH	2	1	5	2	2.5	7	13	7	7	8.5	8	11	16	14	12.25	7	3	2	7	4.75	
PENANG	3	-	3	X	2.0	7	8	21	X	12.0	12	10	6	X	9.33	6	10	2	X	6.0	
PERAK	1	6	-	X	2.33	13	14	6	X	11.0	7	3	5	X	5.0	5	5	13	X	7.67	
TOTAL SCORES (TS)/(FREQUENCY COUNTS-277)	6	7	8	2	6.83	27	35	34	7	31.5	27	24	27	14	26.58	18	18	17	7	18.42	
Key:	S - School				TS - Total scores				X - No fourth school involved												
	AS - Average Scores				-				-												

(Pie chart below illustrating the above data)

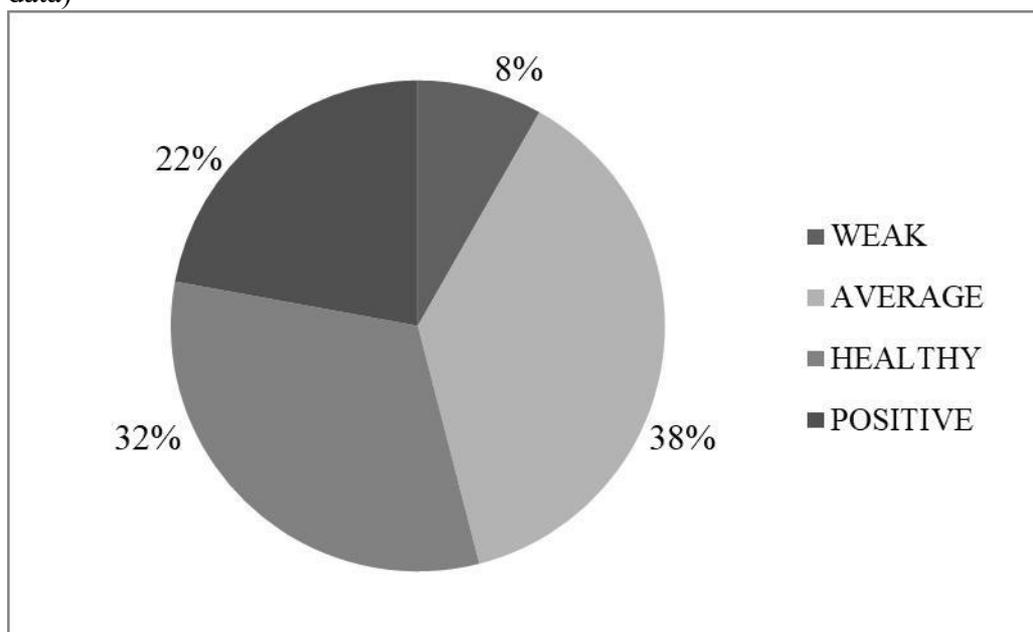


Figure 4.3 Perceptive Assessment – ‘Scale of Determination’ by form four students for nationhood values English lessons.

The first notable conclusion from the above combined scores for the student respondents in all three states, is that the upper secondary, forms four students were less inclined to be as favourable as the younger forms two students, in relation to their assessment of the impact on them of the English language lesson nationhood presentations. This is indicated by their (form fours) higher scores for the ‘Weak’ rating of 6.83 points as per the lower forms two student rating of 1.66 score points, and their (form fours) lower scores as per the form twos students for the ‘Healthy’ rating- 26.58 points as compared to 34.5 points (form twos) and, for the ‘Positive’ rating- 18.42 points as compared to 22.85 points (form twos).

Further, the forms four students recorded lower scores for both the ‘Healthy’ assessment rating- 26.58 score points, and for the ‘Positive’ rating- 18.42 score points. This is in contrast to the higher scores by the younger forms two students for the ‘Healthy’ rating- 34.5 score points, and for the ‘Positive’ rating- 22.85 score points. The forms four students however, recorded a higher score of 31.5 score points as compared to the score for the forms two students of 24.83 score points, for the ‘Average’ rating category.

As seen by the **marked increase in the scores by the younger forms two students for all the three higher assessment ratings of „Average“- 24.83 points, „Healthy“- 34.5 points, and „Positive“- 22.85 points**, as per their low score of only 1.66 points for the *_Weak‘* rating, it can well be posited that *this group of young, forms two students may tend to be generally more positive than the forms four students, in that they view the English lessons nationhood constructs and themes as contributive in the inculcation and the imbedding in them of a sense of national belonging and communal integration.*

[However, this above finding is contrasted with their (form twos) generally subdued and balanced responses for the open-ended questionnaire items, and in their in-depth interviews. See section 4.4, p. 183].

The forms four students also recorded generally progressively higher scores for the *_Average‘*, *_Healthy‘* and *_Positive‘* as per the *_Weak‘* rating categories.

It can be pointed out here as discussed earlier (see section 4.4, p.183), that **there was no marked difference in both the forms two and forms four student group responses arising from the in-depth interview responses, as regards the impact of the English lessons nationhood values presentations towards developing in them an enhanced sense of national integration. Both groups viewed the impact as mainly average.**

4.6. In-depth interview responses of teachers and language administrators: Impact of English language nationhood values lessons on students

The class English teachers and school language administrators were both regarded together as representing the *„language education group“* in this study. The language administrators involved in this study, are all former classroom teachers, and at the time of this study, were at times helping their teacher colleagues in the lesson presentations.

In the interviews, the views, critique and propositions expressed were all closely based on the objectives of this study, that is, the impact of English

language nationhood values lessons towards ‘educating and shaping’ the school youth as a well bound social foundation for Malaysian national integration. As such, in order to establish and appraise the implications of the above with respect to this above ‘senior’ respondent group, with their vast and varied experiential backgrounds, their views and stand-points were categorized under the following themes,

1. Pedagogies of English language nationhood instruction,
2. Imbedding nationhood values, with reference to literature knowledge, national themes, Rukun Negara, the National Education Philosophy,
3. Language examination needs and current social issues discourses,
4. Constructive role of language teachers and school language administrators,
5. General.

4.6.1. Pedagogies of English language nationhood values instruction

A few of the teachers for the 14-year olds, noted that for the meaningful conveyance and learning of nationhood values to students, teachers need to include more discussions, class debates, singing and dramatisation activities, group reviews of visual language materials, and so on. The focus, they emphasized, should be to involve all students in the English lessons.

One teacher made the following comments which evidently had a clear bearing for particular **educational implications** in the context of this study, that is,

- a) the pedagogical suitability of using varied teaching-learning approaches in the English lessons for cultivating ‘thinking minds’, rather than the solely direct, teacher-talk and delivery method use. Interspersed in class lessons, there can be short sketches, skits, dramas, singing sessions, role-plays, debates, dialogues, occasional lesson walk arounds, and so on,
- b) the focus on ‘examination needs’ arising, it was observed by the respondents generally- from the parents’, students’ and the

education authorities generally, resulted in an examination orientation culture,

- c) the question of secondary school students' attaining good values education through complementary co-curriculum activities, has become a national concern, and
- d) the need to „*alucate*“the mind and develop a deeper consciousness for the social environment, in learners.

The above teacher elaborated on the above issues reflecting the implications of this study essentially, saying, –Students are very exam-oriented today. **These students appear not to be much bothered about „nilai murni“.** They are not interested in activities such as school and community organized „gotong royong“ programmes. Students and parents are both very exam-oriented.... They need to be guided to look at the **larger Malaysian social picture. Teachers too are important. But they must play their roles honestly,...correctly”.**

As another senior language teacher pointedly observed, that teachers need to use English language topics and themes for class lessons which are not —.lame and dull”. The lessons must be “...hands-on and authentic”.

Traditional-and-basic-values focus should always be borne in mind in lesson presentations.

This above teacher further elaborated that the common curriculum emphases for values inculcation can still be observed, especially with the adherence to the Huraian Sukatan Pelajaran‘ (syllabi specifications) and the school texts. These provide the topics and methodologies for lesson implementations.

Elaborating on this above point, the above teacher emphasized that the guidelines provided, offer a broad scope for teachers to discourse upon common Malaysian values as based on the Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy. What is of more importance today, this teacher felt, was for **English and other teachers to have “courage and realize that language learning can do more”, together with for instance, history lessons.** This is

so, as language lessons should not be merely information-filling education events, but enable more constructive and primary information on national themes, complemented with a lot of –fun-learning” lesson activities.

It is noted that a number of teachers, both of the lower and upper secondary levels, feel *that the school-based assessment programme introduced in our education system in 2013, holds much promise*. With the direct, teacher-student relationship, every individual student is constantly monitored and guided by the school and his/her subject teachers, to ensure the student receives the **quality education** that he/she rightly deserves. The implementation of the above programme can be given the needed professional attention towards further improvement.

On the above subject, one teacher felt he was confident that the above programme, with well-monitored implementation can **gradually help learners to “internalize all nationhood values automatically”**. Another stressed the point that English lesson presentations should include students in **knowledge-application activities**. These can be both class as well as outdoor activities. She (the above teacher), was confident that the **impact on our young learners can be socially constructive and thus well-grounding**.

Further, the above teacher felt that the *practice-based assessments should be, “... a prerequisite for university entrance. Graduates eventually, should be knowledgeable and able to serve well in their respective fields, and also possess good virtues”*.

The question of developing student capacities on varied universal and significant topics for classroom discussion was discussed by one school language administrator. This educationist expressed the point saying, –The topics in the English curriculum as of now appear to be rather simple. The students don’t seem to know much or nothing at all, about the UN, WHO, Fukushima, serious climate problems in certain parts of the world, and other things (events and developments) happening on the global stage. Their general knowledge is poor. These students, when they continue their studies in

universities, will face problems in their work. Even in the school pre-university classes they are quite unable to answer questions on some broad, general issues in their general paper subject. When such topics are okay (manageable) with these students, they can be better prepared to also positively look at nationhood topics and themes...”. The **balance needed in the pedagogies of these above knowledge areas, can impact immensely on the abilities of learners to individually undertake the tasks of selection, evaluation, appreciation, practice and so on. This can help nurture and enhance their cognitive abilities to develop affective and appreciative values more intensely and thence a healthy grasp of subjects such as the Rukun Negara, humanity, nationhood, social solidarity and so on.**

As such, as discussed earlier in the analysis of the students and the teachers-language administrators’ responses, world history was often emphasized, so as to cultivate the universal man’ of our secondary school students today.

Further, the problem seems to be that, as the above teachers surmised, in teaching today, **there is a greater focus on „teaching” moral values.** The education system in force, has in some manner, become non-cognizant of the age-old adage that moral values-and these can be attuned towards nationhood values education, can be only **„caught”.** The **„whys” and „hows” of the *Rukun Negara principles and values* are thereby, neglected and almost non-existent in classroom delivery,** these teachers stressed.

4.6.2. Imbedding nationhood values- Relating to language literature, Rukun Negara, National Education Philosophy

One language teacher pointed out that the Literature’ component in the English language curriculum can be explored further by language teachers, as they are rich with universal, humanistic values and themes. These can be related to national issues, such as the building of strong inter-communal relationships and bonds.

On the question of helping learners‘ to be able to imbed and internalize nationhood values, English language lessons can include “mini-studies and projects” incorporating universal themes and values from the literature texts, as one teacher suggested. The students can be encouraged to also use their present-day interest domains, such as hand phones, Bluetooth, computer technologies, facebook, and photography and so on. In this regard, the above teacher and others, explained that “...this (the present) young student generation cannot be neglected. ...We can’t live in denial. ...We can’t live in our own professional‘ comfort zones. We need to ensure that the *Rukun Negara values and those propounded by the National Education Philosophy, that is, holistic development, and as related to the principles projected in the latter, namely as denoted by the acronym „IREJ”[„Intelek” (Intelect), „Rohani” (Aesthetics and Spirituality), „Emosi” (Emotions), and „Jasmani” (Physical domain) (sometimes referred to as JERI-Jasmani, Emosi, Rohani, Intelek)] development, are never sidelined”.*

As regards the above issues, some teachers were articulate in their observations that the *IREJ framework and the national education propositions, in school lessons of whatever the curriculum subject, are not actually put to work in the classroom.* They appear, according to these teachers, only to exist in paper. The attention given to the skills advocated in the National Education Philosophy and the national curriculum, namely, critical and creative thinking skills, is (very much) lacking. This is so, they opined, was all because our society and the education system are very consumerist-materialism and “A scores‘ examination oriented.

A number of teachers also highlighted the apparent dichotomies in the role of the English language as it functions in daily life. Some of them were of the view that the English language, like Bahasa Malaysia, does contribute well as a good means of communication among the students. However, as *for the students, to understand and „empathise” with the national issues, this is not presently much observable. One teacher stressed the point, “... national topics presented do not provide the grounds for good understanding. The*

students just listen. They appear not to be touched by such topics... The lesson teachers need to play a more active and committed role”.

Further, as another English language teacher observed, that it is commendable that the government is attempting to develop an atmosphere in schools for a **national identity to evolve**. The implementation of this endeavor however, has seen certain shortcomings. He elaborated, –There is too much emphasis on Malay-Islamic identity things (markers). The students and others are not too happy with this. (We) need to take into careful consideration the ‘realities’ of the nation (see Clammer, 1996; Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980; Comber, 1983; Fairclough, 1981, in chapter two above). We have many- more than 70 ethnic communities in Malaysia. There is a clear need, in this cyber world today, for the *acceptance of a single, national character, that there can be representation for all groups in all national events. We need to combine some elements of the cultures of all groups, particularly that of the major ethnic groups- Malay, Chinese, Indian, Iban, Kadazandusun, in the Malaysian national identity. There needs to be clearly a „fair blend“: This will help construct a sense of a common Malaysian consciousness and a national identity”.*

In this regard, the above teacher noted the significance of the role of the lesson teachers. He stressed saying, –Teachers need to guide learners to debate (issues) with facts, and not with emotions. They can guide students to learn and understand the significance of the different Malaysian cultures, religions and practices. Teachers should be moderate, and should not be biased, and help the students to understand, respect and accept all others as they are. Teachers should be the students’ icon (model) and symbol of Malaysian unity. Today there is only one religious group (prayer) practices (activities) (sanctioned) in national schools. The ministry should provide some opportunities for all group religious activities...”.

One ‘guru cemerlang’ teacher raised the following issues as pointers, emphasizing that these are some characteristics of Malaysian education today.

-Most teachers, especially the young ones, are too focused on examinations and achieving As examination results for their students.

- In the early days, education could direct and focus students' attention very much on national, social subjects- Merdeka, independence, unity, harmony, service to the country, working hard for the nation, and so on. However, today this focus issue does not seem to hold sway, and students generally do not have anything emotionally strong and captivating for them other than the year-end examinations, for them to attend school.

As this above student educator tends to believe, that secondary school education appears to be uninteresting, lacking the excitement to learn for knowledge for its own sake as it were, and that it can be stressful. This can then lead to a diminution of interest, indifference and a sense of apathy in education.

These above issues are indeed crucial pointers for parents, educationists and the public authorities to monitor and constantly address with conviction, so that the nation's youth force can be well-nurtured towards national-public service.

-Teachers in the early days used to emphasize good understanding and relationships among all students and encourage students to practice this in society. But, we are still emphasizing this even today. The question then arises, "For how long still do we need to emphasize unity in our school curriculum and language lessons?"

-As regards the national ideology, the Rukun Negara, students are encouraged to learn the above by memorizing the principles, —.But, are students seriously taught to understand (internalize) their meanings, and further, to respect other religions, cultures...?"

4.6.3. Language examination needs and current social issues discourse

Some teachers felt that not enough nationhood language items are presented in class as the official curriculum texts provide only minimal examples on this domain. The nationhood language items are tailored to comply with both the

curriculum-text and examination requirements as stated. The English language cum literature presentations, which can employ diverse approaches, can be knowledge-examination based, as well as student-centred, enjoyable experiences.

Language teachers generally were of the view that social topics such as that on the different peoples and cultures, religious festivals and so on, as based on the national curriculum needs, can be presented in class employing open‘ discursive approaches and class activities, with good facilitating‘ teacher involvement in the lessons. This is lacking now, they felt.

The language teachers opined generally, that the students, with their open and receptive minds, can be presented with Malaysian realities‘ and examples, both historical and current. This is already evident in the literature materials. The teachers, guided by the language curriculum, should not feel that they are in class to isi masa” (to just fill up the time). They can be urgently impressed upon, to open up‘ their language lessons, and allow students to discuss and debate language topics (the rules‘ of the language lessons need to be presented before the class lessons). This can go a long way in bringing students together and developing consensual principles and values.

Focusing on the issue as to whether teachers can be instrumental in using nationhood language lesson themes to develop the sense of oneness and acceptance, some language teachers with five years and more of teaching service, felt the language materials and good teaching can help in accomplishing the above goals. However, they generally felt, that language lessons should not just focus on conventional, much-discussed topics such as Mdaka‘, Merdeka‘, economic development‘, P. Ramli‘, being a good citizen‘, and so on. As one teacher sharply noted, ...students today become uninterested and restricted very quickly. This is because such topics can be regarded by today’s youth as out of their time. When teachers use current issues, social themes and discuss the world of the present-day teenagers, then students become involved and committed in (to) their lessons. Some past, important national issues must also be included in lessons..., and the materials

need to be appropriate for different language competency levels of students”. The above teachers were generally positive that by this above approach, young learners can be groomed in internalizing healthy nationhood values, and thus contribute towards national integration.

On the question of topics on national unity, one teacher as with a few other teachers, observed that in the lesson presentations and as an outcome of the above, the Rukun Negara topic for example, appears not to be fully practised (practicalised) in the students’ daily lives”. The students’ homes and the media can stand as strong negative influences on students and society today. These teachers noted that the English language lessons provide a ready resource to countervail the above influences, and can therefore inculcate Malaysian nationhood values in our young.

4.6.4. Further constructive role of language teachers

Regarding the role of teachers and their effectiveness in respect to nation-building, with the youth seen as a foundational base and a national pillar, some teachers categorically pointed out that as much as old topics, such as Mdaka, Merdeka and so on, are important to educate young learners today...”, to appreciate the role and contributions of early Malaysians towards the nation’s development, nevertheless, in today’s times, it appears the ministry of education needs to revamp the language curriculum. The teachers should be given the academic space and freedom- within particular guidelines clearly provided, to present to learners modern, current, a world without borders types of learning themes. These will be very much to the liking of present-day, cyber-world-youth students. The teachers can be guided by higher educational institutional expertise to assuredly incorporate nationhood values into these above lesson topics.

One English language teacher expounded the issue of students facing social problems. He emphasized that the authorities, through effective counseling institutions- not only those that look good on paper”, can take further, urgent steps to empower teachers to deal with these issues in rational and comprehensive ways. Therefore, as the above teacher explained, the head-

teachers, parents, class teachers non-governmental groups-organisations, the police-legal bodies and public institutions, can all come together to organise and implement socially and educationally advancing programmes, such as those which can instill strong local and world historical knowledge and roots, global developments, environmental sustainability and so on, for the balanced and rounded education of Malaysian school-youth. It must be acknowledged, this teacher stressed, that this school-youth will soon be the nation's adult citizens. Today, he elaborated, there are also an equally large number of female students as compared to male students, facing complex social problems.

Further, the above teacher noted, that the school language texts, which teachers can use to draw ideas for their lesson presentations, are about ten to fifteen years old. "...students (are therefore), deprived of appropriate, current knowledge...". One senior teacher noted that teachers are not instructed and guided on nation-building issues well enough. This is sad because today we do have urgent inter-communal concerns in the nation. "...What are we really as teachers? We are supposed to be educators. Nation-building is a serious thing today in our country. If we, especially the young teachers, don't know our role in nation-building, then how are we going to do it?... Maybe we have an idea. But if we don't have the expertise, problems can arise. The education authorities and schools might have to take bold steps for the general good. Too many things appear to divide Malaysians today. The only thing that should divide us, are the places of worship, nothing else. If leaders, parents, teachers, and others, practise what our Malaysian traits/(values seek to) project, then this can be most exemplary. It can help socialize the young to absorb and adopt those big (laudable) nationhood traits...".

The following table (Table 4.13, p.215) illustrates the positions taken by the 46 class teachers and language administrators interviewed, with regards the Scale of Determination, as to the impact of the class presentations of the English nationhood presentations on the young students.

The data with regards this important agency of lesson practitioners-the teachers and language administrators, indicate the following salient points.

The above respondents do not feel the lesson presentations can be deemed weak.

Almost all of the respondents- 40 of them felt that the lesson presentations in terms of nationhood values inculcation in young students, can be rated as Average only. This indicates that the language materials presented in class are seen to have some positive nationhood elements in them. What can further be surmised from the above is that, the lesson materials presently used can provide opportunities for further thought to be given to enhance their usefulness in inculcating nationhood values in learners.

The respondents' scores for the higher level categories- Healthy and Positive ratings, are clearly low. This goes to indicate, it can be noted that,

- i) the English lesson presentations are seen to be more information (examination-requirements) based, and minimally, humanistic-universal values based. This is quite openly acknowledged by the teachers' constant references to this issue in the in-depth interviews held with them by the researcher,
- ii) the class English language teachers may not be fully aware of the hows and the where-to-fores of nationhood values teaching-learning methodologies. This again was alluded to by many of the class English language teachers and school language administrators, in the in-depth interviews. What this illustrates is the need for greater efforts to upgrade language and other subject teachers' skills in this above crucial, nation-based domain, and,
- iii) the possibility that can well exist, as information from the in-depth interviews showed, that some teachers need to be further trained and educated mainly in the principles and ethos of the national ideology- the Rukun Negara, and the National Education Philosophy.

Table 4.13 below, on the salient interview outcomes from teachers and school language administrators, shows that among the total teacher population

eventually involved in this study, 40 are inclined to accept that English lesson presentations have an avergely positive impact on all nationhood themes, in helping to shape nationhood values in secondary school students (**Note:** Language administrators in the schools involved in this study arranged for a few additional English language teachers to be involved in the interview exercise).

Table 4.13.

Teachers" and School Language Administrators" Assessment on the „Sale of Determination" of English Lesson Presentations with Nationhood Values and Themes

Assessment	Weak	Average	Healthy	Positive
Total Scores	-	40	4	2

(Pie chart below illustrating the above data)

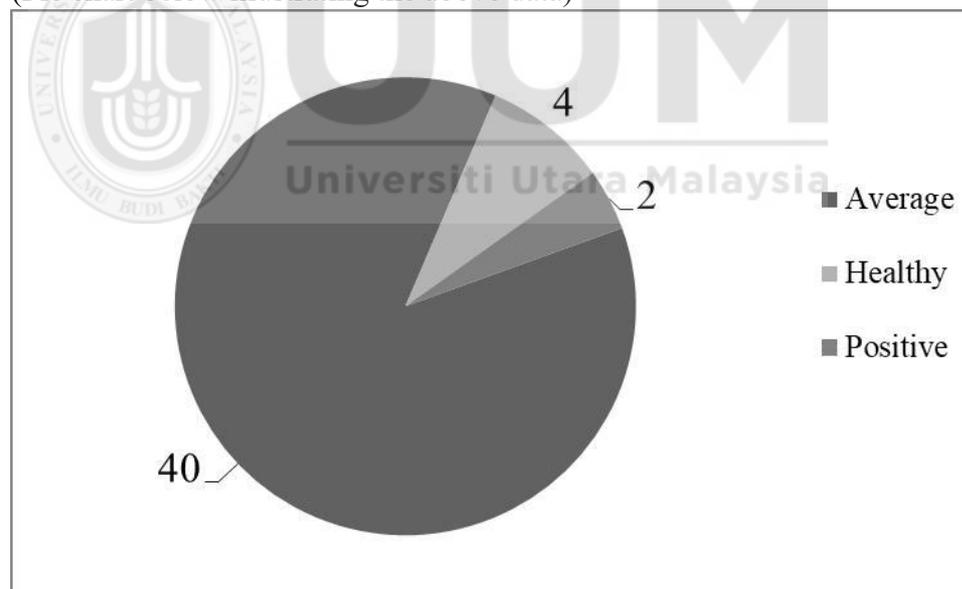


Figure 4.4 Ratings by teachers and language administrators on the 'Scale of Determination' for English nationhood values lessons.

Further, on all the themes specified above, as shown in the table below (Table 4.14., p.217), the positive responses (√) were much lower- 50 score points, as contrasted with the 'Some Impact Only' (SIO) rating category. The score for

this above SIO rating by the teachers (inclusive of language administrators), was 118 score points. This is a more than two times higher score- a one hundred and thirty-six per cent increase, to that of the positive score recorded by the teachers. This can be said to indicate that the teacher respondents in this study are of the stand that English lesson presentations are not sufficiently effective in helping to cultivate nationhood values in students. However, even with the large score for the SIO rating category, and with still a substantive score rating for the positive stand-point (slightly less than half than as for the SIO stand-point), this, it can be said goes to indicate that the teachers do feel that not all is lost. The existing extent of impact of the lesson presentations can well be optimized to enhance in students, the understanding and appreciation (impact) of nationhood values taught and discoursed in the school English lessons



Table 4.14.

Salient Interview Outcomes with School English Language Teachers and Language Administrators- English Towards National Integration

NO	SCHOOL / QUESTIONNAIRE THEMES (IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS)	RESPONSES	KEDAH				PENANG			PERAK			TS
			S1	S2	S3	S4	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	
1	Pedagogies of English language instruction	√	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	14
		SI0	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	28
2	Imbedding nationhood values	√	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	14
		SI0	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	4	28
3	Language examination needs and current social issues discourses	√	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
		SI0	4	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	31
4	Teachers' role – Formation of sense of common integration/ constructive role of language	√	1	1	2	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	12
		SI0	4	3	2	3	4	2	3	3	3	4	30
	√		6	5	7	5	3	5	4	6	4	5	50
	SI0		14	11	9	11	13	11	12	10	12	15	118
Total scores			20	16	20	168							

Key : S1,2,... - Schools.

√ - Positive view /Language values education viewed as important and constructive for national integration.

SI0 - Some Impact Only (minimal impact on nationhood values development and sense of national unity).

/ - View-points, pedagogical applications, comments for English language nationhood instructions provided.

TS - Total Scores.

4.6.5. Summative pointers

The following concluding findings of this study are noted.

1. As the *quantitative statistical analysis findings has indicated that the higher, „Very Much“ the cognitively high academic performance student groups tend to have attained higher scores as compared to the average-weak student group* (section 5.2.1., p.263), *this is not wholly supported by the qualitative data analysis.*
2. Students and teachers particularly, do take the position that school English language nationhood values education is not fully *enabled* to enhance students' sense of national integration.
3. They (the above) however, are strongly committed to the stand that the above **holds much promise** for the task of shaping student values towards a positive outlook of Malaysian social integration.
4. The educational institutional infrastructure, the quality and philosophy upheld by the teaching force generally today, the external demands on education outcomes, does not sufficiently allow for the full expression of students' needs and aspirations as per becoming all-rounded, competitive and confident citizens and international contributors'.

The above summative pointers, particularly from both the quantitative and qualitative data analysis perspectives, can be given further thought, in order that some constructive avenues are opened up for positive national integration among Malaysian school-youth and the general society as well.

4.7. Interviews with Malaysian personalities/educationists

In this section, the researcher will present the salient stand-points and views of Malaysian personalities and other individuals who have resided in the country for reasonable lengths of time. They include, social activists, academics, social scientists, and educationists (see Appendix E, p.361; interview questions, p.149) who, from their constant involvement and participation in the larger Malaysian society - through their life and work commitments, observations of national developments, and their analyses and critique particularly in relation to efforts to realize a united Malaysian nation, have come forward to further delve

into the question of shaping the value systems and the social outlook of our present-day school-youth with nationhood values, through English language values education.

Further, the above interview respondents were strongly of the view that this school- youth, can then possibly form the primary foundational constituent of our national trajectory towards national-social solidarity. It was observed that there was a palpable sense of urgency among all the respondents involved above, in seeking a positive resolution to the larger question of Malaysian national integration.

The salient points recorded below are provided in the third person form, but nevertheless indicating that they represent the 'personal voice' of the respondents themselves. Certain key and significant comments are noted in the first person, enclosed with quotation markings. This is particularly done with the hope that these above statements can motivate the reader and lead him or her to greater reflection and positive discussions, and probably further research, in relation to related themes to that of this study.

A discursive, summative analysis of the view-points of this group of 'senior' respondents of this study is presented under particular headings in chapter five, section 5.2.3, page 256.

An interview with former fourth Malaysian Prime Minister, **Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad**, with a particular consideration, one who had held office for 22 years, the longest serving prime minister among all the prime ministers of Malaysia up to the present time. It is a point worthy of note that during his leadership of the nation various marked developments took place, particularly the generally constant average annual economic growth of about 6.1 per cent, in the nation. This has led to better standards of living for the nation's people generally, and the international recognition that Malaysia, being a Muslim-majority and an ethnically diverse nation, had shown the world that the nation and Islam could well be compatible with a representative moderate government, and modernization (adapted, Wain, 2009, p. 85).

The following are some of the key issues discoursed by the Tun.

1. The English language is an international language of communication. This cannot be denied.
2. That many who make strident calls for Malaysians to give importance to *national schools* and send their children for their education to them, in fact, send their own children to schools overseas. This shows that they know the importance of learning English and for their children to become competitive in the economic market environment and attain success in their careers, by becoming proficient in the English language.
3. In the first place a nation must have a national language. This is necessary to distinguish it from other nations. At the same time the nation recognises the importance of the English language. Both the national language- Bahasa Malaysia, and English must be developed together.
4. The third language social phenomenon is a real issue in Malaysia. That is, the learning of Chinese and Tamil, and this was further extended by political developments and understanding, to the establishment of vernacular language schools. This clearly stands in the way of having just a two-language system of education.
5. There was a proposal some years ago, that we go back to the English language education system where all subjects are taught in English. If this were to have been implemented, it would have killed the national language. We cannot do that.
6. We decided to go ~~halfway~~, in between". Science and Mathematics subjects were to be taught in English for all students, whether the students are from the national and Chinese or Tamil schools. English was encouraged to be studied seriously as a second language by all public school students and also by the other students. The other subjects must all be taught in the national language.

Only then our young generation will have sufficient knowledge and capabilities in using the language of the nation.

7. The best course of educational development for the nation was to have only the national system. The Chinese and Tamil communities resented this, and wanted to retain their own language schools.

8. Vernacular schools are not provided for in the Federal Constitution. What the Constitution permits is the learning of the community languages. “The teaching in Chinese and Tamil in vernacular schools is not provided for in the Constitution”. However, politically the government allowed the teaching of the ethnic languages, just for the (nation’s) political stability. (The children) go to different schools, they don’t meet each other. They don’t understand each other. But later on they have to go to national (secondary) schools. Then, they have to meet. That doesn’t help in the integration of the (young and) people”.

The manner of learning of English in schools today to empower it to evoke nationhood values in children is not enough”. *The focus on helping learners to communicate well alone will not help much in promoting and advancing the nationalistic values of love and service for the country, respect and acceptance of one another and so on.*

9. Students can be asked to read at least three books a year, and be asked to relate and discourse on the knowledge learnt, the points and the messages derived from the books.

10. It (the Rukun Negara) can be a very good base for understanding of the past of this country and the need for integration, alongside the singing of the National Anthem in the school morning assemblies. That we can do. But, I am not sure whether the National Anthem is being sung in the school assemblies or not.

11. On the one hand, the Malays are conscious about the country. The Chinese are not conscious about the country. You see, the retention of the word

‘Chinese’ and ‘Indian’ imply their connections with a foreign country. But, in America or in Australia, you don’t talk of yourself as a Chinese. They don’t recognize that. You talk of yourself as an Australian, American or whatever. But here, we are always talking about Chinese and Indian. We are always talking about Chinese and Indian. The moment you mention ‘Chinese’ and ‘Indian’, you are saying, ‘I am from there’....That is a barrier to integration.

12. The Malays identify themselves as being from here. They are the only ones who identify (themselves) with this country. People who came later, some Indians who are Muslims, they integrate completely with the Malays. They are even regarded as Malays. But, the Chinese remain very Chinese. The non-Muslim Indians also remain very Indian....But, the Chinese have got their own customs, culture...That of course comes in the way of integration.

13. The Chinese educationists do not want their children to mix with the Malay and Indian children.

14. The Chinese may be harbouring a fear that the practice, retention and development of their culture and language may be jeopardized.... But, (why is this so) in Malaysia? In Singapore, education is conducted entirely in English. There were no ‘Dong Jong’ (the Chinese education promotion and advocacy organization), no Chinese educationists there. In fact, they were ‘abolished’ (banned) by the government there.

15. For a shift from the race-oriented paradigm to a ‘rakyat’ paradigm, it requires a strong government. The people need to support the party that forms the government. When support is denied, it becomes weak. It then cannot do certain things which are opposed by a small section of the people.

16. The problem with the ‘Gen. Y’ is that they are growing up separately. They don’t have that kind of experience in a multiracial community. When they leave school they have to join a different environment entirely than the one they were (familiar with) when they were in (their) schools before. This sort of disorients them. They get confused (about) how to handle other races. Whereas

if they had been in the same school, they would know how to behave towards each other (interact with members of other races). So, the necessity is still to have one national school. The majority of (the young) should attend national schools, where the language of teaching is Malay. The other languages can be taught as language (subjects). Science and Mathematics will be in English. The English language must be learnt by everyone.

17. The English language has the potential to promote humanistic and nationhood values, provided the language is not merely taught to facilitate good communication, but also if the teaching and learning is directed to the acquisition of the content knowledge of the English books that students must read. These books must not just be novels and stories, but also those on issues and facts, which can develop students thinking capabilities. Thenceforth, the teachers with good guidance from qualified teacher-educators, can be directed to look at the messages and values that can be distilled from the materials discussed by the writers. This can then be channeled towards a deeper understanding of our own Malaysian social contexts and the Rukun Negara for national integration”.

18. With reference to the question of economic parity among the Malaysian communities, Dr. Mahathir explained that, “...since the races wish to be separated, you cannot make them one, you cannot just become Malaysians with (when people want to retain) a reference to your countries of origin. (This state of matters) cannot be changed. If that cannot be changed, then we need to get rid of the economic separation. (In order to remove the economic separation among the races), you have to do affirmative action, to bring up those who are economically backwards to come to the level, somewhere near, of those who are economically advanced. That was what the New Economic Policy was about. But, as you know, there have been protests”.

The researcher, together with his supervisor, felt that the Malaysian minister for national integration is a crucial public servant and personality to partake in the discussions towards understanding more deeply the dynamics of English language nationhood values inculcation in our youth. As such, **Tan Sri Datuk**

Seri Panglima Joseph Kurup, who hails from the East Malaysian state of Sabah, and is a Catholic, Kadazan-Dusun, was interviewed by the researcher at his office in Putrajaya.

The following are the salient points put forward by the minister.

1. The government today has got a very good programme now, realizing it is very important for us to know English. It is seen as a most essential tool of common communication- in places where people get together, in meetings, in the “busiest international airports”, in the “swankiest hotels”, in “tourist attractions” places, “shopping malls”, restaurants, in corporations and businesses. “English, without a doubt, all over the world, English is being used extensively. “So, it has become much more important today in this globalized world”.

2. It has been well accepted by generally all sectors of the Malaysian society, that English is an essential tool to succeed in business, in government work with other nations and in general society.

3. The national language is the language that forms our national identity. But, the English language is a crucial support for the above, as it is also an important and second compulsory language, in our education system.

4. That the English language “...as a communications tool be prioritized and propagated to the masses, especially to the youth...It is the acquisition of great communication skills that effectively connect people in bridging wide business and cultural chasms, promoting understanding and comprehension amongst all global communities”.

5. With good English skills and the **implicit values** that are imbibed from the language and literature texts, an individual can gradually develop successfully as a holistic person. One then “...would be better able to be on the same page with people from all over the world, and (this can) help them in their acquisition of knowledge, particularly from new emerging technologies”.

6. –Our youth should not be allowed to lag behind in this race for excellence nor should they be sorely handicapped in their quest for economic success due to a lack of proficiency in the English language. They need to be taught to visualize where they can be ten years down the line, with a strong command of both English and the national language”.

7. As based on the circumstances that evoked the need for the Rukun Negara after the 1969 racial tragedy, thenceforth, —. when we were in college, we were asked basically, to know it. It was also an examination topic....But today, it has gone into oblivion. The kids don’t really appreciate it... My department is now aggressively attempting to bring it back” into the knowledge repertoire of students and the schools are asked to teach, discuss and help them understand and uphold the five principles in their daily lifes.

8. The fifth principle of the Rukun Negara ideology-‘Kesopanan dan Kesusilaan’, needs to be particularly emphasized and propagated among our school youth and the general society.

9. Today, it is much more difficult to manage national unity because of the (strong influence of the phenomenon of) social media.

10. Nationhood education is the main priority by governments all over the world. In the United Kingdom and Australia for instance, nationhood education is recommended to be part of the national school curriculum. In Indonesia, nationhood education is embedded in the official philosophical foundation known as the „*Pancasila*”. In the Malaysian context, the importance of nationhood education can be seen in the national philosophy (ideology), known as the ‘Rukun Negara’.

11. I believe that the effectiveness of teaching a nationhood education in English very much depends on teachers’ or educators’ knowledge and skills. This will necessarily involve the abilities,

- a) to *instill national values* among students in schools,
- b) to establish how teachers developed cognition of the teaching for nationhood,
- c) to examine the language teaching approaches used to teach to promote nationhood,
- d) to find out teachers' cognition of planning to instill national values among students in secondary schools,
- e) to establish how teachers use reading to facilitate understanding and respect for students own and other peoples' cultures, to promote nationhood.

12. The seeds of national unity must be sown among the young, and they must be taught and convinced of the benefits of peaceful co-existence. Schools are considered as next in importance to the home for the inculcation of moral values in order to raise disciplined and well-mannered citizens.

13. Unity must be imbued at an early stage, as today's younger generation still have no prejudice against friends of different races, languages and religions. The philosophy of education should call for a different perspective of what a human being is and how to draw out the potentials in each and every one (of the student population).

14. The Unity Department, at the present time, is aggressively attempting to introduce nationhood values into the "Tabika"-kindergarten, education programme in our country. The **inculcation of the values of respect, politeness, good morals and ethical behaviour, give and take, discipline, self-respect and so on, in line with the „Kesusilaan dan Kesopanan“ Rukun Negara principle, are cardinal values for the very young and the growing youth.**

It is important to realize that both Bahasa Malaysia, as the national language of the nation and the English language, both can help Malaysians to enhance and develop the quality of communication with one another. Thus, as peoples of diverse backgrounds, the above two languages are clearly important tools

towards healthy understanding and acceptance of one another. This very much depends on all sectors of our society playing their roles well towards the attainment of this above goal.

The following discussion is an account of the views of the Minister for Youth and Sports, Barisan Nasional government, **Yang Berhormat Khairy Jamaluddin Abu Bakar**. The minister's views have been recorded verbatim below so as to allow for further discussion henceforth.

—Yes, I do believe that an effective teaching programme in English would be an effective way for personal and holistic growth for the Malaysian youth. I would like to reiterate that I believe most Malaysians are in agreement that a strong command of the English language is an essential prerequisite for any school-leaver who wants to understand and absorb the massive corpus of knowledge available in reference books written in English at the tertiary level, or any graduate who wants to compete in the marketplace.

—The English language has become a basic requirement for students and job-seekers in this increasingly globalized world where it is, for now, the undisputed lingua franca. The issue here is not the importance of English. That is self-evident and the education system must commit itself to making our students fluent in English. In fact, I have consistently urged Malays and the Malaysian youth at large, to emulate other communities in Malaysia by becoming bilingual, even trilingual.

—Many communities around the world have already immersed themselves in strong multicultural values; language is a strong tenant of many of them. The necessity to master the English language is the first step to understanding that the realms of linguistics isn't confined to just English but the ability to deconstruct entire societal concerns, language is merely a tool in achieving that.

—I don't think that the language education texts and teaching lessons solely reflect values in the Federal Constitution, Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy. The teaching lessons have a bigger objective which is to

get students to be proficient and fluent in the language. The clincher here is the understanding that the youth are not ignorant of these articles. It is interest that we need to foster. Sure we can insert anecdotes and examples that can foster the love for a country and patriotism, but I believe that strong and prosperous nations are made up of citizens who are skilled, well-educated and confident.

→think that nationhood values can help Malaysian youths to understand each other better, full stop. It does not necessarily have to be conducted in English. I believe that deeper understanding comes from sharing a common language and I believe that every single Malaysian should at least have a certain level of proficiency in the national language which is Bahasa Malaysia. It saddens me that there is still a large segment of the population who live in parallel lines, where they don't meet and they don't intersect. They speak in their own native languages and don't bother to learn the national language because there isn't a need for it. This has to change. If it is more effective to teach English to achieve these results, I would encourage it" (see Appendix C, p.356).

In the interview with the Director-General of the National Unity and Integration Department, Prime Minister's Office, **Mr. Gandesan Letchumanan**, in Putrajaya, the nation's administrative capital, a number of key issues in relation to national integration in the nation were discussed.

1. That paramountly, English, as a world language, is the language of knowledge in the present world, and can thus enable and provide the openings for our youth to become knowledgeable as world citizens, be creative and thus gain wisdom".

2. That the national ideology-the Rukun Negara, is the common social platform on which the 6,000 school Rukun Negara Clubs and the 138 university Rukun Negara Secretariats, have been organized. In this student organisations, the wide and massive knowledge input through English, with materials properly and rightly selected and used, can help enhance better inter-communal relationships among our students. The unity organisations are tasked to carry out activities with the crucial goal of guiding students to realize and actualize"

the significance embedded in the national ideology's principles. It is hoped then, that a strong bonding amongst young Malaysians can be developed.

3. In line with the above, the Unity Department emphasizes as its modus operandi, for its staff and for all its involved parties, the maxim, „*Lihat dan Libat*“ - 'See and Participate'. The aim is today to enable our youth particularly, to be directly involved, both individually and in groups, in civic activities. Simple activities such as cleaning-*gotong royong*', praying together, playing indoor and outdoor games-activities together, helping one another in their common school tasks, volunteering in school functions, aiding the school teachers in their class and extra-curricular duties and so on, can build, with time, the sense of common responsibility, care, giving and sharing and a sense of personal contribution for common benefit.

4. That youth today are the 'Internet-Facebook Generation'. This next generation of adults is different, and therefore need to be handled in ways that are 'engrossing and participative'. In this age of rapid globalization, we can't often 'talk down' to our 'clients'. We need to adjust and adapt our approaches as with the changing times, in conveying our messages and information, especially to the young and the general society. For instance, the Rukun Negara principles, our history, talks on moral-ethical values- stories on the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the contributions of our past and present leaders, our different ethnic groups, the rural and modern life styles, the functions of Science and industry in our everyday lives and so on, can be presented to our youth in the form of music, drama, debates, song and role-plays, Together with these, the pedagogical approaches need to include the presentation of Malaysian values of life to the students.

5. Parents, non-governmental organisations, religious groups, community organisations such as the Rukun Tetangga and other well-meaning Malaysian interest groups, can all come together with the schools, the national unity department, to help nurture-build together, nationhood values. Parents need not just emphasize 'A' scores, but also help their children to gain personal self-satisfaction by constantly encouraging their children with good thinking skills imbued with ethical, aesthetic and moral values,

6. There is a need for Malaysians to contemplate seriously on the large and total picture. This requires all of us to reflect upon what we want for ourselves, and importantly for the country.

The University Utara Malaysia Vice Chancellor, **Professor Mohamed Mustafa Ishak**, was strongly of the view that in multiracial-multicultural Malaysia, a common national education system cultivating common values from very early on, in its charges, is most important. Unfortunately, he observed, our education system and society suffers the “...effects of systemic separation”, as reflected in the divided education system constituted of the national and vernacular streams. The divisions go on up to the tertiary levels in Malaysia. Today, our children appear not to be able to understand and appreciate the feelings and ‘ways’ of others. The following are his further incisive thoughts.

1. Our education system continues to compartmentalize our youth. Today, we are not fully cognizant of the social reality that we ourselves are the cause for the unhealthy compartmentalization of the national society. History tells us that before independence, we held the British colonialists responsible for dividing the nation through their ‘divide and rule’ policies. But today, our divided education system itself may continue to show, possibly unintendedly, damaging consequences on the social fabric that was labouriously and painstakingly woven by our founding fathers, and to a large extent, well nurtured and betrothed to us today by our elders.

2. There are indications that the present education has not helped much to embed good values in our youth and in society at large. There tends to be attitudes exhibited by the younger generation such as, desiring wealth without work, knowledge solely for material well-being but without constructive character values, and so on.

3. A common education system is seriously and urgently required in our nation. The opportunities it can afford our young children and adults to

participate in common exchanges and sharing constitute a process that socializes and helps build in them, nationhood values.

4. Singapore, a multiethnic nation like Malaysia, has one national education system. We can learn further from other successful nations which have implemented well-integrated, comprehensive and cosmopolitan-type education systems.

5. The vice chancellor emphasized that the future of education and the nation, have to be fully divorced from politics. –Education is too important to be left to politicians. (They) try to politicize almost everything”, he observed. There are enough good educationists in the nation to study and promote good education for our children.

6. He further emphasized that the teacher factor is very important. **Teacher education must be revamped and „re-invented“.** The appropriate candidates need to be selected. It must **seriously focus on training its charges in the principles and spirit of the Rukun Negara as the first and primary aspect of the teacher education curriculum.** The teachers can be moulded into good role models, particularly for the primary school generation. As commonly practised, the teaching of the above and the related nationhood values need not be relegated totally to the civics, history, and religious studies subject departments. Universal and common social values- respect for the law, honesty, the good of hard work, integrity, the aversion for corruption, loyalty and so on, need to be further built-in into our education system. The drive and trajectory of our whole education system, both public and private, need to grow the inner self of Malaysian citizens.

The Director of the Institut Pendidikan Doktor Mahathir, Universiti Utara Malaysia, **Professor Datuk Dr.Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz**, was interviewed by the researcher. As an educator he was most lucid on the issues discussed in the interview with regards the research study focus on the role the English language in Malaysian public schools can play in inculcating nationhood

values in the youth, towards national integration. The following are the salient points contributed by the above interviewee,

1. With over hundred ethnic groups living in Malaysia, language is, without doubt, the most crucial unifying instrument.
2. Bahasa Malaysia is constitutionally the national language of allegiance and loyalty to the nation and the nation's king. The English language, as the second official language of the nation, for all intents and purposes, needs to be regarded and taught, as the language that can invoke integral nationhood values of understanding, friendship and acceptance of others; and together with Bahasa Malaysia, that it can imbed the principles and ethos of the Rukun Negara in young Malaysians.
3. The teaching and learning of nationhood values emphasizing the love of the nation, its historical background, its leaders and so on, with a bearing on unity, is often "sidelined" by teachers and the education authorities today. The national interest is not given importance. This needs to be brought back as in earlier times, when teachers taught simple Malaysian English often relating caringly to national subjects.
4. In respect to education policy issues, there should not be an over concentration of any one ethnic group in the recruitment of student-teachers. There should be a balance of 30 percent of each of the three primary racial groups, and a 10 percent allocation of Sabah and Sarawak student-teachers for the English subject. In this context then, young Malaysians can gradually gain the impression that we are all equal Malaysians with the common goals of enjoying good health, security and employment; there should be better qualified and committed English teachers than some groups of teachers in employment today; that English and its role in nation-building is given greater attention by the authorities; there need to be serious efforts to improve English proficiency abilities in Malaysian children, and to empower the teaching and learning of values in the English subject towards national harmony; there is greater use of interesting media, and common every-day use type of English

materials in the English lessons; that concerted efforts are taken by the Ministry of Education to enable the youth to interact actively with one another with the knowledge of simple English.

As Ungku Aziz, royal professor emeritus, has pointed out that about forty percent of the Malaysian population do not relate to and communicate with each other. This is because the non-Malays do not want to use and communicate in Malay, and the Malays do not want to use English. Therefore, a lot of effort is needed to help the youth particularly, to enjoy learning and using languages, and realize the benefits, mainly, of broadening one's circle of friendships and relationships in one's life. A Malaysian sense of family-hood is then nurtured; the teaching of English needs to be enhanced at the secondary school stage, as here, *the nationhood values- focus in English can be given a more effective role as the students are above twelve years of age, and are considered from the Islamic stand-point, to have attained maturity- "baligh". The grasp of nationhood concepts, issues and values is thus well attainable among secondary school students.*

5. The ministry of education needs to employ teachers who can relate well with the present-day Y generation. The above state institution needs to recruit young teachers- Guru Muda programme, who have the social attributes that can bring out the youth's confidence in themselves, and in the cardinal importance of learning for a balanced education. These social attributes need to be the primary focus of education, for without them, the society can have all its roots cut and it will then collapse. Enhancing the students' grasp of nationhood values, can be centred on Malaysia's national ideology.

6. More literary works by Malaysian writers in English and those that are translated into the English language, can be the core literary texts in our secondary schools. The need to ward off and curtail the fast-encroaching, overly modern Western influences on our youth and society in general, is a paramount task for our educators. Well-acclaimed local, literary texts, like that of Llyold Fernando, Shahnnon Ahmad, Yasmin Ahmad and others' works with their generally well-meaning local-based stories, when presented by involved

English teachers, can be most instrumental in the construction of that sense of belonging and Malaysian nationhood. This can have deep effects in cultivating and growing resolute and balanced nationalistic values in our youth. .

A senior Social Science-Islamic Studies scholar, **Dr. R. Sivaperegasam**, teaching in the University Utara Malaysia, in the School of Law, Government and International Relations, raised the crucial point that all parties involved in the education of the Malaysian youth today, need to be cognizant of the positive attributes and character that make a good Malaysian citizen. The following issues were also raised by the senior above academic.

1. Malaysians need to be educated well in schools, and as a social responsibility, the following elements need to be well expounded in the classroom,

- a. the historical underpinnings of the social contract,
- b. the contributions of our founding fathers, and
- c. the constantly evolving, and yet fragile and diverse social fabric of the Malaysian nation.

2. In this above context, all Malaysians therefore, particularly our youth, need to be undergo an education that enables them to become balanced Malaysians, acquire knowledge and have an understanding that the policies, laws and the national programmes undertaken by the functioning government, are necessarily motivated towards consolidating the existing, different stand-points, so as to further enhance the nation's standing as a well-acclaimed, successful, plural society. The management of the centrifugal pulls is however a constant challenge for the national leadership.

3. Language values education provide a ready platform, he observed, to be further energized to play a positive, foundational role in bringing about the consolidation of the prevalent varied stand-points in our plural, national society, at the school youth domain. The ultimate goal in this education endeavour is to nurture and empower every individual Malaysian citizen with that nationalistic outlook, that he (she) can play a truly positive role towards achieving the common good for the nation.

Professor Dr. Ibrahim Bajunid, the Deputy Vice Chancellor of INTI University College Nilai, began his interview with the researcher, highlighting the issue that some Malaysians need always to have their minds clearly and intently focused on the future, both of the nation and of humanity in general.

This avid writer and active contributor on national issues, expressing his thoughts and forebodings that we may become a nation of pessimists, especially with some Malaysians clearly not having thought out their stand-points well, projecting particular notions with possibly certain political agendas in mind which, as seen in the developments of the ‘Arab Spring’ in the Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) region, can have serious socio-economic-political consequences for our nation.

This academic and renowned nation-building proponent stated categorically that there can be no place for people in a multi-ethnic society such as ours, for people bent on creating disharmony. The following are his further thoughts.

The above problem, if allowed to take firm roots- being cognizant of our already multifarious social milieu, can exacerbate divisiveness and non-inclusiveness. The desired social order and national life-sustaining ambience that is a sine quo non for everyday living may be jeopardized.

Therefore, the education curriculum for our impressionable Generation ‘Y’, needs to undertake a total commitment for the dimensions of historical and cultural literacy as primary features of our education system. The youth and the leaders of tomorrow and the society at large then, will acquire clear insights (with regards)... the causes and consequences of the decisions and actions of (all) historical actors”. It is most important to understand the ‘right’ history because this promotes in our learners a sense of inquiry focus, and a culture of authentic search for the ‘truth out there’ ”.

Malaysians need to also have their minds today on the future- the socio-political stability and a well-structured trajectory for the nation, towards national well-being and progress.

The following are some of the other salient points discussed by the above Malaysian personality.

1. That the English should not solely be taught for the acquisition of,
 - i. language skills- grammatical knowledge, sentence construction, essay writing, 'English for Special Purposes', speech-making, writing reports, literature for some minimal knowledge and awareness of the nuances afforded by language on the intricacies and wonder in the historical course of the life of mankind and one's relationships with kith and kin and the natural environment, and the dictates of the national examination needs, and so on, but primarily, what the
 - ii. content portrays and is holistically meant to 'educate' towards.

2. That the teacher in relation to the above, plays a crucial role in actualizing the learners' grasp of 'what language can do more'.

3. It needs to be fully embedded in the hearts of all young Malaysians that the Malay language historically, as tied to the Malay sultanates in early times in Malaya, and by virtue of the Malaysian Federal Constitution, is the national language, and as such is the soul of our national life.

4. That with the above as the basis of our common daily life, it needs to be further impressed on the young and the larger society, that with the efforts of Dr. Mahathir in promoting the use of English in education, English is truly today the language of international knowledge. **It- the English language, can be safely said, has become the language of Islam as well today. English has continued to function as the language of economic development and national progress. The youth, and Malaysians in general, it appears, do not have a clear conception of this growing universal phenomenon, and thus, schools can play a strong positive role in ensuring that this is urgently addressed.** The future of the nation can thus be well assured for all Malaysians.

5. That the sociological dimension and the rationale underlying the learning of the English language with the demands it imposes and the resulting enrichment to one's life in today's globalized world, can be given more attention in language classes. The focus then in the English lessons, as in language education in general, needs to be a definitive and progressive approach in attitude transformation to become aligned with universal educational mainstream thought.

6. That English learning can be openly and positively seen as contributing to the development of the nation's social capital. It certainly helps in bonding, linking and bridging different peoples as a compact and cohesive whole. This is possible with the communicative and interactive characteristics implicitly available in the semantic, linguistic and aesthetic domains of this language.

7. That the Rukun Negara- the national ideology and its principles, need to be taught to students as a holistic concept. The larger picture that is conjoined of the meanings of each of the five primary principles of this national ideology can be discoursed as a learning subject of classroom interaction, with the youth. That is, language activities and discussions can be often conducted with the focus as to why the nation truly needs national integration and social harmony.

We need thus, to develop a culture of full acceptance of one another as Malaysians based on universal spiritual ethics, democratic and lawful principles, and the practices of civilized humanitarian values,

8. That English language-literature teachers and language teachers in general, need very much today to be trained professionally to understand that their role innately involves the essential task of nurturing our youth to understand and actualize the above tenets of our national vision. These social principles and their individual bases need to be discussed with students.

The President of the Tunku Abdul Rahman University College (KTAR) in Kuala Lumpur, **Dr. Tan Chik Heok**, in his e-mail responses to the researcher's questions, provided the following salient thoughts.

1. that the English language as a subject of universal discourse, helps in building more globalized individuals with (broad) world-views”, of our school youth.

2. school English language programmes such as debates, dramas, public speaking competitions and so on, do contribute positively towards moulding creative, competitive and holistic students. However, these activities should not primarily target the urban student population. All Malaysian students should be exposed to such character-forming and thenceforth, nation-building language activities.

3. the English class texts and lessons (in the understanding of the interviewee), involve content that are up-to-date and relevant to the current trend of world education. To a certain extent they reflect the principles and values of Malaysian nationhood, as projected in the Rukun Negara, the National Education Philosophy and the Malaysian Vision 2020. Values like unity, civic consciousness, respecting others and patriotism are weaved effectively into these (English) texts (and lesson presentations), and this undoubtedly helps to mould Malaysian students into well-rounded individuals....Discussion topics that deal with secular and non-racial (themes-Malaysian open-house practices during shared celebrations”, inter-community gotong-royong activities, and so on) do help to promote a sense of unity among the students”.

4. Understanding and awareness of each other’s cultures and life outlooks can be fostered by not only the materials used in the lessons but also through the pedagogical approaches and methodologies used...” in active language-learning sessions. *As in Bahasa Malaysia, English lessons with their communicative curriculum requirements and opportunities, do contribute in enhancing healthy, socially positive interactions among youth of diverse backgrounds.*

5. the inculcation of nationhood values and the fostering of a deeper consciousness of a one Malaysian nationhood is particularly bolstered through

the English language literature dimension. Stories and poems that portray human life-its ups and downs, help to instill in our youth, values that transcend all racial and cultural boundaries and divisions. They do importantly exalt the essence of the simple Malaysian way of life.

The following are the issues highlighted by the Vice-Chancellor, **Professor Adenan Yahaya**, Al-Bhukary International University (AIU), Alor Star, Kedah Darul Aman, in an interview with the research student.

1. that the English language certainly has vast potential in the personal and holistic development of our youth. However, English can be synergized with Bahasa Malaysia and other resources, to comprehensively develop individual potentialities, as well particularly, to assist the young to manage positively the cultural and religious conflicts that often impact on them, and thereby, to transcend their differences, to be and live as Malaysians. Measures towards national integration with language as a vehicle and resource must be planned in combination with English and other languages on the basis probably, that English is certainly a primary repository of knowledge. Today, with the internet, having almost ninety percent of its content in the English language, it is thus a useful tool to help implant nationhood values in our young.

2. that our teachers themselves need to be well-grounded and prescient with regards the pre-eminence of national integration in our nation. They need to be knowledgeable about the essential nationhood values, both as based on our national ideology-the Rukun Negara; and universal, humanistic values, which can all be constitutive for the full development of our children. This is essential thenceforth, for their blossoming into committed and full-blown Malaysian citizens.

3. that our national documents, the Federal Constitution and the Rukun Negara particularly, are implicitly included for their essential principles in our languages, history, moral education and other subjects, to be taught in our schools. But the problem can lie with our teachers. It is often easy to test students through memorization procedures. It is likely, judging from the state

of inter-communal relations as exemplified by our youth today, which can be deemed to be not very promising, that our teachers are possibly not fully cognizant of their roles, and maybe are giving too much emphasis for excellence to academic, paper qualifications. The demands of the education system and particularly, that of our parents for their children to obtain top grades- As, in their examinations, can certainly have strong implications for the teaching and learning of nationhood values, as per the above documents. The vast and expansive possibilities that can be derived from the above documents, which have been written by great minds, can be explored and exploited for the inculcation of nationhood values.

4. that there can be more experiential-type of teaching-learning methods used, both for formal curriculum specifications and for general life enrichment. The students can be exposed to real-life situations, and case contexts of problems and challenges of modern life. This can very much help our youth to become more appreciative of their surroundings and issues. Nationhood values and the sense of belonging to the nation-these and other values of sharing and co-existence, can then be well implanted in our youth's hearts and minds.

5. that nation-building activities and nationhood values, both in the English language, and other languages and through other means, need to be constantly carried out and taught to our young. This needs to be done as with an inclusive approach for the teaching of moral values in all academic subjects. Likewise, today, it is imperative that nationhood values and principles on cultivating a composite form of a Malaysian identity, appreciation of others' and their cultures and religions, a sense of sharing and co-existence and so on, can also be seriously considered on an inclusive educational perspective.

6. that our Malaysian national identity can be a composite, multifaceted form of identity. The primary part can be Malay-based, and the other parts can constitute the other group identities. There can thus be a balanced national identity representative of all Malaysian ethnics.

The challenge of national integration and national development is not an easy matter. In our present times it calls for a multifarious approach in all our national programmes. Public servants particularly can be trained to implement their departmental programmes efficiently, effectively, and importantly, plan for holistic impact and outcomes. English nationhood values education can certainly help. But, other well thought-out national integration programmes need also to be given serious thought, formulated and implemented together with all main national programmes. This can well contribute to the construction of a Malaysian national identity, as discussed above, that the English nationhood values curriculum constituents should necessarily be developed within a broad, inclusive template of various 'real', national issues and elements prevalent in our society today.

The following view-points are those expressed by **Distiguated Professor Shamsul Amri Baharuddin**, the Director of the Ethnic Relations Department-KITA, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

1. In Malaysia, *English, in the last fifty years, has only been taught as a second language. Hence, Malaysian youth (can never acquire) the level of proficiency in English that could contribute to the making up of their personality, let alone (contribute) towards their holistic advancement. Even Malay, which is the medium of instruction of the mainstream national school, is not able to produce that kind of personalities, because only 70% of school-going kids are educated in the national schools.* The rest follow the vernacular schools using Mandarin, Tamil, English, and Arabic.

2. The content of the English language education texts have been vetted by the Ministry of Education, Malaysia. They do reflect the principles and nationhood values. Whether the values have been successfully imbibed by students remains unknown.

3. On the issue of the role and impact English class lessons on developing positive inter-communal understanding and relationships among our Malaysian school youth, the above educationist was of the opinion that research needs to

be further carried out in the above area. At the present time he felt that there are no clear-cut indications that English class lessons have brought about positive change in student relationships, thereby contributing towards enhancing Malaysian national integration.

4. The “School as a conduit of formal education”, with the national education leadership and the English teachers fully cognizant of their roles as education leaders and as agents in forging a sense of national identity and consciousness, “plays an important part in values inculcation process. Informal education, at home, among peer group and through the media, is an equally important source of education. The Malay language perhaps has a bigger chance of giving that impact than that of the English language”.

5. The challenge we are facing in Malaysia today can be said to be that- do we need to create a single homogeneous education system to imbed these nationhood values into our school youth, **“...or can it be done in our existing pluralised system. We cannot create a new system even if people want a new system...The fact (that) we have many language school systems, ..it is not that we want it that way, but historically it is structured that way,...that is the DNA of Malaysia.** That is the context within which we have to locate and embed the outcome that we wish and hope to bring about. Our Malaysian mould is not a homogeneous, a one structure-form kind. It is totally undulating, sectorial, differentiated ...Our bowl is full of sections and sub-sections,...water when poured into it results in various forms. ... So, the values that we need to teach our children, are those that centre around the core social reality of Malaysian diversity...**We are not a society portraying „unity in diversity“,..in Malaysia we have moved forward, we are a society that is „united in diversity“.**In this context then, English can be used to cultivate nationhood values”.

And of course, the biggest driving force is social mobility. ..*We talk conflict (in Malaysia), but we walk cohesion...* „*Kita suka bertikam lidah, tapi kita tidak suka berperang*”.

6. –At the everyday-defined life in Malaysian society, people just want to survive”. This essentially captures the sociological underpinnings and motivations of the diverse Malaysian peoples. ...They want to earn money to be better than them, to educate their children, feed the family...They are willing to make sacrifices. One of the biggest sacrifices Malaysians are making, is their willingness not to push matters to the point that will provoke violence amongst the people. This is actually something that shows that Malaysians are generally are a mature society”. Our behaviour patterns may be characterized as –schizophrenic”. In the country we quarrel a lot. **But, once we go out to the world, as tourists, for business, official government matters,... we are always Malaysian first. I have been to Sri Lanka, some African countries,...They are not generous about their fellow countrymen. We need to give credit to our Malaysians...**

7. An important question that arises in relation to this research study is that- do all schools teach English in a uniform way, thereby enabling a common set of values to be learnt by our children? The emphases for, firstly academic, market-oriented education, and secondly, the cultural developmental, aesthetic focused education, are essentially different. We need to be clear further, about what should constitute the content of English language values education. We have now come to a state where we teach English just for linguistic skills-communication proficiencies. We are not teaching our children language knowledge and values that can further prepare them to face the world. 9. On the issue of the growing population of the „Gen. Y” and their often strident voices on socio-economic and political issues, the professor pointed out that, —.General literacy, namely, (being) able to read and write, is rather high among the youth in Malaysia, but „political literacy” is rather low. So, the youth is totally dependent on what others” have to say about the said (topical matters, problems) issues, rather than (raise matters) from their (own) deep understanding regarding the (concerned) issues....”.

8. –*The survival of the nation is more important than the survival of economy. ...If people are quarrelling so much, what can the economy do then?...Malaysia, in itself, “is already cohesive...For me, there is no perfect*

condition. You can't (have one in Malaysia). Purist approach, cannot. Malaysia does not exist that way".

The researcher discussed this subject of national integration with a world-renowned Malaysian social scientist- an academic, former politician and a social activist, **Professor Dr. Chandra Muzaffar**. He heads the International Movement for a Just World (JUST), an international NGO based in Malaysia, and is the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Malaysia Foundation.

The following are the salient view-points discoursed by the above respondent,

1. That with the national government's decision to mainstream Chinese and Tamil languages into the national school system, it augurs well for the process of integrating the larger Chinese and Indian communities into the national ethos".

2. That, as much as language-English, Bahasa Malaysia and other ethnic languages, values education, are essential tools for national integration with young Malaysians, it is of utmost importance that curriculum planners include text materials that deal with the realities of Malaysian society and life. It is important that children be guided to develop positive attitudes about our ethnic other(s)".

3. *That efforts are taken to establish and form the historical and contextual nexus between the school language education in particular, and other subject curriculum where possible, with the national realities that commonly exist in the society's consciousness. There appears to be a dysfunctional relationship*, he elaborated, between the above two dimensions. This is necessary to be given some thought seriously, especially with the advent and growth of the impact of cyber communication and the social media today.

4. That the **prevalent "me-culture" and a form of self-centred value projection in the school curriculum need to be addressed**. This phenomenon apparently is reflected with the curriculum content to an extent, in one being

unable to illustrate to young learners the the positive dimensions of the content topics together with their “contras” and the “national realities”, such as the “ugly side to corruption in the nation”.

Professor Chandra, in his concluding comments, highlighted a pertinent point that the **national education curriculum will not by itself be able to achieve this cardinal, national goal of national integration. We need all sections of society who have made Malaysia their home and place of work, to be nation bridge-builders. The contributions from all parties can be meaningfully constructive, as it is evidently portrayed in a few plural societies, working towards cohesive social solidarity.**

The researcher interviewed **Professor Dr. Mansor Mohd. Noor**, who is a senior social science lecturer at the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, on the 25th of March, 2015. The above academic has been vastly involved in ethnic and national integration research programmes in Malaysia. The following points are the salient issues given prominence by the above respondent.

1. Language has an in-built power to bond people. Any language can be a unifying tool. The Kelantanese people are a good example. They do not speak the standard Malay language. They speak their particular Kelantnese dialect.

They are thus very “bonded and cohesive”. Their strong pride in their language mirrors what nation-building is all about. They see others as materialistic and alien to their world view of being cultured and their sense of religiosity. The values they- the Kelantanese have acquired is very much language-based. These values are central characteristics seen to be implicit in their Kelantanese Malay dialect, and therefore, all Kelantanese are required to internalize those values that project their Kelantnese identity.

2. In Malaysia, it is sad that language is very much politicised. Being Malaysians we should all be very well aware that Bahasa Malaysia is the national language, and it is the primary means and tool of national integration.

The sense of Malaysianness needs to be first seen as arising from the use of Malay in our everyday life.

3. Malaysians need to “sit down” and discourse together to what is Malaysia-our nation. We are all constantly “redefining” what Malaysia is, by our own perspectives. But yet, we walk past each other without actually realizing that we are already a Malaysian nation. In our daily lives “...we have tremendous sharing, ...celebration of each other” as human beings and Malaysian citizens, “beyond the political discourse”.

4. Language should not be taught and developed only for the “market”, for state-building, for the employability of our youth human resource. There is so much emphasis on development, the market, profits, high earning capacities, that the student becomes weak and poor in the domains of the enrichment in the soul of education and the spirit of human conscience.

What this involves is that the educators of our children need to be “equipped” with a form of palpable and high levels of professionalism. The accountability of the teaching profession must be coalesced with professional and attitudinal trust, so that the teachers can function without fear of punitive mechanisms. This approach, well-nurtured, in time, can “grow” a Malaysian nation with knowledge and a “rich humanistic soul”.

5. It is essential that the vast values repository in language education need to be galvanized for the development of a vibrant citizenry. The youth must be the new base and foundational force of Malaysian nationhood. The Malay and English languages, as the first and second official languages of our nation, can contribute effectively to the above

6. The discursive literacy skills that are essential for our attainment of a mature and developed society, with our youth as our future, do not appear to be explicitly “ordered” in our educational endeavours today. But, these needed efforts and developments are yet possible if we put ourselves to the task.

7. The Rukun Negara values and principles, in our existing educational system and world-view as such, cannot be well absorbed by our students.

8. The function of knowledge is to build character. This has to be always borne in mind. It is meant to build bridges with integrity. Changes for the better may come about in the future.

9. We need a strong leader. ... *Islam is the canopy, the umbrella under which everybody can co-exist harmoniously. Our politicians need to understand this. They should not propagate differences parochially according to our ethnicities.* ...Everybody in Malaysia, in various forms, is part of our civilizational canopy. But we are defining the nation as per an Islamic perspective, which is wrong. We employ and often officially ‘promote’ a bipolar and dichotomous understanding of society. That is problematic....

All Malaysians can be accorded the bumiputera status, but not the recent immigrants who have obtained Malaysian citizenship. Despite the underlying tensions and disaffections of one group for the other, these being often “whipped” up by politicians for their own vested interests, the people have learnt to accept, live with and accommodate one another fairly well over all these years of our ‘nationhood’. The peoples can thus all be the ‘Bangsa’ Malaysian.

The researcher interviewed the articulate **Professor Dr. Teo Kok Seong**, a senior lecturer at the Institute of Ethnic Studies- KITA, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia on the 28th, April, 2015, at his department. The following are his thoughts on the research study subject.

1. The teachers are today very much focused on examination needs and requirements in our present education structure and system. They may not actually give much attention to their role as disseminators and educators of nationhood values towards national integration. **The “bulk of the English lessons, like for Bahasa Malaysia too”, tends to focus on teaching of linguistic knowledge and skills. “...Maybe a small portion of it and this can be on the development of sociolinguistic competencies, like learning about politeness.”** This can be very much because the school heads want the

students to achieve good results. This then, also enhances the position and ranking of the school in the eyes of the government authorities and the common public.

2. The teaching of English literature can be more effective in helping to inculcate nationhood values. This can be done well through discourse of the plots, story themes, the characters and the values they project, and so on.

3. The holistic development of youth can be engineered through language education. But, this very much depends, —.if this is done at all...”, by our schools. This is because the emphasis is very examination-oriented.

4. The issue of the Rukun Negara principles and values being promoted and projected in the English language lessons again depends very much on the class teachers.

5. The teachers are capable as they are taught in their training about citizenship education, to be good role models. But this very much depends on their attitudes. —In reality their attitudes count very much...my view is that their attitudes are not so good. Because of this most of them don't get other jobs. They are not fully dedicated...”

6. The national schools are important for national integration, and to lead the way for others in showing good examples of good social cohesion. But, in a forum related to the problems identified by the Ministry of Education as to why national schools are not popular- a. quality and the working culture in national schools by the teachers is said to be slovenly, b. the schools are becoming too Islamic, c. the dominance of one race among the teachers and administrators, d. the discipline of work is bad, and e. the infrastructure which is not conducive for professional work output.

7. To the above issues there was open denial. Participants challenged the above observations and analysis. The lesson that can be drawn from this above scenario that emerged is that, in order for us to move forward as a nation, this problem needs to be resolved.

8. The authorities- the Malay government needs to open up a little more. As a multi-ethnic nation, the question of ethnic representation, in government, in positions of authorities, the armed forces,... is of utmost importance. The young observe and learn certain values from the above social contexts, and this can be damaging for their personal development as good citizens. –As with the ‘_Dasar Ekonomi Baru’, social engineering was carried out, and today we, the majority race are doing generally well in many sectors of national life. Likewise, the non-majority ethnic groups would like to see positive engineering being undertaken by the national government, to place the above in a balanced socio-economic context in relation to all Malaysians”. This will certainly help in enhancing their, and particularly the young Malaysians’ sense of belonging to the nation, and thus engender a national common identity as Malaysians.

9. ***“We are not moving forward. This is something we have got to really sit down and discuss, if we want to become a developed nation. It is not only a matter of income, jobs...”. The nation’s multi-cultural character has to be well-represented. “In schools we want to see a better balance...”.***

10. The role of the English language values education to aid in enhancing the sense of acceptance and appreciation of others as Malaysian citizens,... –surely and certainly it can help”. This would then —.depend on the combination of two factors-

- a. the readiness of the young people to become good citizens, as articulated by the young Form Two students in your study. I like them, compared to the Form Four students, they are more positive. That’s a very good indication, and
- b. good teaching by the old people. This involves the school teachers and of course the community (the parents) as well. It is no point if teachers inculcate good values, and the students go back home and learn values that go against the spirit of our Rukun Negara”. ... the situation is different and possibly negative.

11. The 1Malaysia concept for a united nation, since its introduction six years ago, is very much a financial assistance, service and provision of aid and goods programme. It is good for the bottom 40 per cent of our people, but the educated, top 60 per cent want to see the social changes that can truly reflect the nation's diversity. *–There is nothing attributive for the nation as a whole, in the sense that something good is yearned for is taking place for the nation. Because of 1Malaysia we are more tolerant and united. This is not happening at all. The 1Malaysia programme introduced by Najib has gone a different path. We want to see something bigger as an outcome thus far of 1Malaysia. But this is not happening. ...”.*

12. The Malaysian ‘Gen Y’ is not a different breed, as many think. –But to me they are still us. They are young. They can sometimes be influenced... It is the duty of the old people to make sure they are on the correct path. ..The ‘Gen Y’ in other countries can be different from that of our country... We have to make sure that their young minds are moulded into a form that is benefitting to our culture, our country, our society.

The researcher had the opportunity of meeting **Datuk Dr. Denison Jayasooria**, the Principal Research Fellow/Felo Utama, Institut Kajian Etnik (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, on the 30th of April 2015. From this most enlightening interview, the researcher has attempted to extract the following salient issues deliberated on by the above Malaysian personality.

1. Proficiency in the English language is very critical in being able to engage in dialogue in the global arena. Especially in this age of globalization, English has become an important tool. This capability also instills a sense of confidence in its users, and helps take them up their career ladders.

2. As we are “living in a post-colonial society”, there is a conditioning that anything ‘white’ and western is good and superior. Then, a form of benchmarking for locals of the independent nation is formed, to want to emulate the west. This is aided by one’s knowledge of the English language. –It can also be a misconception that anything from the west is more advanced,

superior, and more developed. This a social conditioning of our past ...If like in Malaysia, anything from the west is seen as superior, then you want to benchmark things according to what prevails in New Zealand, Australia”, America. Today, the *vast divergence in English proficiency skills among the present generation particularly, then results in marked differences in their social outlooks, because of the degree of exposure and thus knowledge, both positive and negative forms, in the different groups of students. A sense of withdrawal by groups not proficient in English, then can result in societal divisions amongst the people.*

3. Often, it can be observed that those who are successful in their careers in the local scene or in the international context, like the Chairman of the Global Movement of Moderates, Tan Sri Razali, who had worked in the United Nations, is highly proficient in English. This capability is thus a motivating and advancing factor for an individual irrespective of his or her ethnic background.

4. It is important that the students, Malays and others, do not acquire an inferiority complex as such, when they fall behind in English proficiency competency. Then they can become withdrawn. This will lead to them acquiring certain value systems that can be detrimental for their personal advancement and social growth as individuals and as Malaysian citizens, as compared to the other individuals who are bilingual, trilingual or even multilingual in their language competencies. Language functions efficiently as a tool for communication.

5. Bahasa Malaysia can still play a prominent and meaningful role in Malaysian nation-building. The attention given to its inherent role as a Malaysian nation-building tool is a crucial issue. The English and Bahasa Malaysia can be seen in their applications and in their social bonding quality, as languages of ASEAN. Further, English can be an effective language resource to evoke values that, from the stage of a particular nationhood, can generate a sense of belonging to the larger world, as a global lingua franca.

6. *“Language also opens (a person’s) mind to the value systems, presuppositions”..., inferential meanings, nuances,... present in that language. One’s familiarity with English Literature helps one to grasp issues with depth. As in Bahasa Malaysia we have the pantuns, idioms, the phraseology,... the English language is also a culture and way of life.* The English language also tends to have an impact that it is doorway to a superior culture- how you dine, how you converse, the music listened to, the items acquired for use in one’s home, and so on. These practices project certain lifestyle issues. –So, the paradoxes in Malaysian society (today), at the high elite level- they can be Malays Indians, Chinese,... they have become very westernized and elitist in outlook,... where materialism becomes the benchmark, then people are assessed by what you possess, what you wear, how you sit and talk,... *because you are uncertain of yourself,...”*.

7. The above value patterns- the life-styles the English language promotes, then impact on society and the young. Character dispositions, which define how one relates to one’s nation, then can determine how one evolves in identifying with one’s nation of birth. This phenomenon today, as with many fast developing nations, like India and other Asians and African nations, Canada,... and others in the west as well, can go on to diffuse one’s sense of belonging to one’s nation, and bring a larger notion of belonging to Asean, or the global context itself. This brings into question then, today, the citizens“ need for commitment and belonging‘ to any one particular nation entity.

8. The English language brings with it certain *–intellectual presuppositions*”, the philosophy, the ideological orientations, reasoning skills and processes, the importance for reason and individualized thinking.

9. Dr. Denison emphasized that, *–The Federal Constitution, the Rukun Negara and the Vision 2020 documents provide us the foundational agreements of the community and political leaders. Our nation is built on these foundational documents. The Federal Constitution is a balanced and inclusive document in terms of religion (Articles 3 and 11A), citizenship (Article 152), socio-economic development (Article 153), patriotism and loyalty (Article 32).*

...The national understanding is one of acceptance and appreciation of (the) ethnic, cultural, lingual and religious diversity, recognizing that the various communities including the Malays, Chinese and Indians strived together for independence and subsequently, with the formation of Malaysia, we embraced greater diversity of the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak”.

10. –We have to strengthen our appreciation of this common heritage (through the school education system), as a Malaysian people and address all shortcomings and weaknesses (together) in order to build a dynamic nation”.

...The vision is not uniformity but recognition and appreciation of the rich diversity of our national heritage and strength”. This, importantly and urgently entails a committed pedagogical and sociological direction and approach to ***ensure the „right“ values for our nation’s stability and prosperity are sowed in our youth and the general Malaysian society.*** The question foremost in the minds of leaders, parents and teachers primarily should necessarily be- ***“Do we, as a society and nation-state, have a shared Malaysian Consciousness?”***.

The research student interviewed **Tan Sri Lee Lam Thye** on 8.August 2014 in Kuala Lumpur. The above is an official member of National Unity Consultative Council, and is a trustee of 1Malaysia Foundation.

1. We need the means to teach and communicate nationhood values in our students. As English is a global language, it can play a very important role. We must first ensure that our students are able to understand content that is conveyed. Our students today have generally poor capabilities in English. So, we need to build up our students’ foundation and confidence in English. Bahasa Malaysia may be able to play a better role in helping to inculcate nationhood values. But if we can use both Bahasa Malaysia and English in building nationhood values, all the better. The following comments were made further made by the above.

2. That a shift to English as the primary language of knowledge if made soon in Malaysia, it will benefit our education system and our students. English is the global language and we are evolving into a global village’. Here we need to

have strong communication skills and interactional values with one another so that we can learn and grow together. English thus is a powerful tool for interracial harmony, and cementing positive relationships.

3. That diversity in our society is not a disadvantage for our progress as a nation. I do feel certain sections of our society are polarized and certain groups do capitalize and take advantage of this. The situation can get worse of course. We must help our students to accept this diversity as a reality, and that it is not an obstacle for unity, but on the contrary, it is something that allows its elements to enrich our students in the knowledge of who we really are in Malaysia, and this can be used to promote interracial understanding and contribute for the general good in our larger society.

4. That the concept of 1Malaysia is most important for our nation. I fully subscribe to it. The problem today in our nation is that “...some forces of extremism are beginning to rear their ugly heads”. The authorities have to be committed to the above concept, no matter whatever challenges impact the nation. Further, the government must not just let this concept be perceived as mere sloganeering by the larger society. The Prime Minister needs to take all efforts to bring this concept into a reality, a practice in our lives and the youth who can well be educated in this concept, can be our ready target group. They—the youth, are the foundation-layers and the ground-holders for the nation to confidently go on forward. I would like to see this concept being more widely accepted with a deep belief that it is the basis of our multiracial nation. We must be prepared to be referred to as ‘_Malaysians’, not as Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans and so on.

5. ***“We are a blessed nation. ...We must not let our nation go down the hill”.
No nation is perfect. As citizens and as national stakeholders, we need to feel that it is our right and the expectations of others around us that we can do things in our own little ways to serve our nation and help build it to be strong.***

6. We need to teach our children to love themselves first, then, their families, their communities, and then the nation itself. The principles of love for the nation and the sense of belonging need to be seriously developed in our society. The understanding of these concepts can be nurtured in English language education and education as a total force through our schools.

7. This year's theme for our Merdeka anniversary celebration is *“Di sini lahirlah sebuah Cinta”*. This theme is most appropriate. In previous years it has often been on economics, technological and industrial development, becoming a great developed nation, advancing material and monetary gains, and so on. We can show our love starting with small ways. For example we can show simple courtesies to others in the lifts; we can give priority to the elderly, the sick, women, children, to experience the available opportunities in various contexts; avoid littering; and learn from the good behavioural forms and mannerisms of people from the West and East, as long as they can prosper our nation.

The researcher discussed the research study subject with **Tan Sri Raman Navaratnam**, a former Secretary-General of the Ministry of Transport in the Malaysian government, and currently, the corporate adviser to the Sunway Group, Deputy Chairman of the Sunway College in the capital city, director of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), together with other positions in education and business world.

The above national personality is also a council member of the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), set up by the government after the 2013 General Elections in Malaysia, with the primary goal of the generally perceived unhealthy, and probably deteriorating state of national integration and harmony in the nation.

Raman Navaratnam emphasized that in launching the above body, the Prime Minister had given prominence to the need for the government to be constantly aware of the state of national harmony in the nation, indicating the government's strong concern for national integration. –The idea is to have a much more controlled environment- as the NUCC will discuss issues of

ethnicity, constitution, religion and other policies. If it is discussed as polemic outside... this will burn the feelings of inter-racial relations and that is not healthy....” (www.freemalaysiakini2.blogspot.com/2).

The English language, as it is with the national language, is contributive in the enhancement of the quality of national life. English, as the language of international education and communication today in our rapidly globalizing world, helps instill in learners, and all who attempt well to use and apply the values learnt through this language, the ethics and principles of healthy collaboration, the derivation of mutual benefits, persistence and drive in moving forward in one’s life, and service and contribution for the larger good. The above Malaysian personality observed that our school youth, having been instilled in the values of constructive nation-building as based on the —.Rukun Negara national ideology”, in English and via other subjects, can develop principled and positive attitudes for the inevitable occurrences of modern-day competitive life, to advance oneself and the nation.

It is irrefutable in the present world, in which Malaysia is an active and willing participant, that the national education system look further into this dimension of preparing our youth well with values and principles of commitment, service, national cum organizational loyalty, respect for the law, and so on.

A former national social development advocate, **Siva Subramaniam**, a former commissioner of Suhakam, the national human rights institution (NHRI) of Malaysia whose mandate is to promote human rights education, and advise on legislation and policy, pointed out that national integration is a two-way process- a top-down and a bottom-up endeavour. This being so, this Malaysian personality ruminated that all well-meaning Malaysians want our children to grow up as Malaysians. However, an important issue to be addressed and resolved is our **“diversified school system”**. **This latter phenomenon does not enable a constructive process for nationhood values to be bred.**

The teaching and learning of spiritual-humanistic values itself divides our children into Islamic Agama and Moral Education classes. Our Malaysian

children can grow up with the sense that they are different, and also that one's religion is superior to that of others.

This former Suhakam official noted that people at large, have come to see national schools as Islamic ones. One cause for this view-point can be that the schools are made up of teaching and administrative staff who are often mainly Malay and Muslim.

When discussing about the attributes and identity of a Malaysian, and what needs to be done to cultivate it even as the nation is over half a century old, the above made the following observations.

1. That firstly, a social environment be cultivated that enables all children and adults to relate and play together on a common, everyday basis, and not only when representing an institution or the nation in particular events,

2. That Malaysians exhibit a desire and endeavour to learn about each other's cultures and religions,

3. That language education, as in the English language reading texts and references, do need to expose our youth generation to the knowledge and essential significances found in all the different Malaysian cultures, religions, histories and so on,

4. Malaysian children need to be encouraged and taught the principles of how to "... speak up without fear" what they have in their minds, and thereby be "...Assisted to contribute and share their thoughts and ideas for the nation's progress".

It is undeniable that all right-thinking Malaysians concerned for the stability and well-being of the peoples of the nation in the future, want national harmony. ***Language values education is surely one constructive way, as in earlier times when the schools, headmasters and teachers upheld good, common values strictly, helping to bring all groups of the school community together.***

An expatriate law academic, **Dr. Ahmad Masum**, teaching in Universiti Utara Malaysia, when put to him the theme of this research study, deliberated on the issue of developing the primary and *universal nationalistic „nation first“ traits, and socio-citizenship values in the people of a nation.*

This above academic emphasized the following elements and qualities, incorporating both Eastern and Western philosophical stand-points, that a national citizen‘ should possess,

- i. an in-built willingness to abide by good‘ laws as embodied in the national code and constitution of the state, and which reflect the geography and social contexts interests of the nation,
- ii. possessing and exemplifying the positive trait of acceptance and respect for all citizens as constituting a one nation,
- iii. showing at all times a full understanding and appreciation of the national ideology- the Rukun Negara, and exemplifying its principles in one’s own everyday life,
- iv. demonstrating a sincere commitment to uphold others‘ (other Malaysians) rights and aspirations,

projecting oneself and contributing to the vision that one is a Malaysian, and not merely one’s individual ethnic identity. The above academic advanced the view that we need to learn how the Chinese in Thailand and Indonesia, as well as the other small minorities in these above polities, are reasonably strongly integrated into the mainstream of their respective societies. *Malaysia has had about fifty-seven years of independent nationhood, and yet we are still “uncertain” about finding a truly all-encompassing approach to bind the peoples as Malaysians.* The above academic elaborated, that from his observations and the social repercussions from the impact of various developments in the nation, that there should not anymore be any one ethnic group claiming *“superiority”*, over others. He felt that the *ketuanan Melayu*” notion can be removed from peoples‘ knowledge repertoire through good education, beginning from the grassroots- that is, that which is focused primarily at the primary school stage. This will surely be in accordance with

the often proclaimed 1Malaysia programme. The spirit and foundational aspirations of the nation's constitution need to be always upheld by balanced and competent national leaderships. In this regard, ***the historical foundations, the significance and the „spirit“ behind the Federal Constitution, together with that of the nation's national ideology- the Rukun Negara, should all be taught and well-discussed, primarily with students beginning with secondary school education. Any nation, he categorically noted, legally and rightly belongs to all its national citizens.***

4.7.1. Summary of salient stand-points

1. The Malaysian school-youth are the bulwark of the nation's citizenry. They are thus are a force that cannot be taken for granted, and be given the utmost attention.
2. The ***nation's ideology- the Rukun Negara***, needs seriously to be reinstated as the undergirding national philosophy in the lives of all Malaysians.
3. Nationhood values, as based on the Rukun Negara, need to be emphasised seriously ***across all sections of the nation's divided education system and its diverse society.***
4. The spirit and ethos of the laws of the land, as in the 1957 Federal Constitution need to be constantly advanced in the schools and the general society.
5. Teacher education needs to be revamped and ***re-invented***, to enable it to be constantly cognisant of its primary functions, of moulding holistic individuals, advancing the cause of national integration and contributing to the well-being of society.
6. Teachers can be tasked to help embed the historical beginnings of the Malaysian nation. The goal being, to ***establish the nation in the global context, as a thriving and successful polity.***

7. *Politics needs seriously to be kept out of the education domain.* Only politics guided by the Federal Constitution and the laws of the land, should be allowed to steer education programmes towards the society's social advancement.

8. *Bahasa Malaysia* as the national language of the nation can be genuinely committedly geared to play its role as the primary national integration tool. It, together with the English language, as the nation's two compulsory and official school subjects of learning from the early primary levels, can both be given a new impetus to help *deepen the sense of acceptance and national integration, in the nation's youth particularly, and amongst all citizens of the Malaysian diverse society.*

The single most conclusion that can be well drawn from the above accounts of the public individuals interviewed is that, there is no alternative pathway for a nation's efforts towards socio-national development, than to take all appropriate and contingent measures to ensure that the sense of national oneness is sown in the Malaysian nation's young generation and in all citizens. These efforts can essentially be intensely on-going through all educational and other related constructive means, towards a common state of acceptance and mutuality in living relationships, for the common good and national progress.

In the following chapter the research student will attempt to highlight the salient pointers in relation to English language nationhood values education for secondary school-youth, and draw the relevant conclusions which can form the contours possibly indicating the necessary steps defining the trajectory that characterises and lays out the possible courses of action towards Malaysian national integration.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher will attempt to present the primary themes underlying the research problems and the key findings as based on the objectives of this research study.

Further, as the objectives and thematic direction of the research problems of this study aim to study the views of the respondents- the lower and upper secondary school students, the English language teachers and language administrators, academics and Malaysian personalities, of the extent of the English language nationhood values education, in relation to its impact on the students' sense of inter-ethnic understanding and acceptance of one another and the nurturing of the sense of national belonging towards national solidarity, the primary issues of the findings and 'lessons' indicating the possible pathways for the realization of a 'Malaysian consciousness' and the evolution of a core, united Malaysian youth as it were, with a bearing on current issues and developments, are thenceforth discussed. The ensuing discussion, will further attempt a somewhat overview of current and pressing national integration-nationhood issues, as these could clearly have a bearing on the extent of youth exposure and the impact and socialization the present and future generation of youth could, in all likelihood, be subjected to, especially with the rampant dominance of social media, the increase in educational levels and the strident trends in global developments, on our youth's everyday lives.

5.2. Summary of findings

The sections 5.2.1 (p.261) and 5.2.2 (p.263) below provide a discursive analysis and discussion, in answering **research question one** of this study, which is- What is the **extent** of the students' [questionnaire response-categorised level groups (thesis, p.156)] regard for the English language nationhood values education, in contributing to their sense of belonging to the nation, and towards their relationships with others different from them?

The **broad analysis perspective** taken in this primarily qualitative study is seen as appropriate, as *the findings do not purport to claim any conclusive finality* as to the outcomes of the study. As discussed earlier in this study, national integration in this country illustrates an evolving trajectory pathway, inevitably relating itself to “**emerging questions**” and issues, in its on-going process of accruing a measure of incremental form and substance. This research report therefore, presents a “flexible structure”, and can be seen as relating to often *subjectively constituted social formative and constructive, and yet possibly „promising“ elements*, as of this study (as evidenced in the generally cogent in-depth interviews data from a broad and varied respondent base), in the discussion of the impact of English language nationhood values in our school-youth towards national integration (Creswell, 2014, pp.32, 36-38; Babbie, 2011, p.462; see section 3.7.2.-Qualitative data analysis procedure, p.158).

5.2.1 Summary of the quantitative statistical analysis of student respondent data findings

1. The statistical analysis of the data input indicated that the English nationhood values had some marked impact on the students generally, with the highest mean difference scores recorded by the academically high student performers. This is as compared to that recorded for the academically 'average-weak' performers. The middle level academic performers- the average student group, also showed significant mean score results, although with a lower numerical value, as compared with the academically better students (Table 4.5., p.171).

2. Further, with the significant results recorded for the different groups of the students, this goes to indicate that with possibly further English lesson nationhood values instructional opportunities, the lower rung of academic performers may well attain to higher nationhood knowledge and appreciation levels.

3. The statistical analysis of variance test was conducted to compare the mean scores of the three different student questionnaire-response levels - the Very Much, Average and Very Little, as based on the student respondents' different regard for the English nationhood values lesson presentations constituting the independent variable in this study. The significant F-ratio result that resulted from the data input analysis indicated that the mean scores of the student level-groupings are different. In attempting to look further into the data to ascertain for significance in the outcomes, the Post-hoc Tamhane test indicated the highest mean score difference of 7.78993* at the $p < 0.05$ significance level was for the academically better students- the Very Much student level-grouping (Table 4.5., p.171).

The implications of this significant finding is as discussed in points 2 above and 4 below, and in the summarized points in section 4.3.2., page 177, above. Essentially thus, higher language performance skills can engender and beget the learning and internalization of positive nationhood values, towards a stronger sense of national integration.

4. A point that can well be given some further weight is that, as discussed above, the significant mean score differences for the different level-groupings involved in this study- the academically better, the average and the academically weak students, allow an inference that, as with the academically better students, that with further English lesson nationhood values teaching-learning opportunities, the average and weak (Average, Very Little level groupings) academic students may well attain to higher levels of regard and thereby, the learning and internalizing of nationhood values (this is in accordance to the propositions of this study, that a holistic-coalescent perspective of both the gradualistic psycho-cognitive development of an

individual, together with the knowledge-Barrett taxonomy bench-marking gradations for learning and youth development, can be taken to go together; see section 2.3.8, Piaget (1952) and Vygotsky (1962), p.91; Fig 3, p.98).

This, then augurs well, that with increased learning opportunities and varied pedagogical better united, *and help lead the Malaysian society towards „all-encompassing“ harmony, „real“ peace and national development.*

5.2.2 Summary of a further quantitative-qualitative student respondent data analysis

This further analysis using **simple statistical analysis procedures**- frequency counts, averages, percentage scores, and score differences, together with a qualitative perspective of the study findings is attempted in this section in order to further allow a triangulation analysis of the study outcomes, and thereby to establish some clear conclusions.

The qualitative dimensions of **research question one** (section 1.4., p. 18) with regards the issues of the ‘sense of belonging‘ and relationships with others ‘different‘ from one another, and ‘emerging‘ issues, are attempted to be answered in this following section.

The focus of the ensuing analysis and discussion will essentially be an overview, as discussed above, of particular stand-points of the student respondents, which have a strong bearing on the building and growth of their sense of national integration.

1. The perceptive assessments of the student respondents in this study tend to generally be congruent with the stands taken by them forthcoming from the open-ended questionnaire written response exercise (section II, p.146), and the in-depth interviews involving selected, representative student groups. It was quite starkly revealed that the students harboured and expressed quite diametrically opposed views as to the impact on them of the English nationhood lesson presentations. Promisingly, the younger groups were inclined to be more positive. Pettigrew’s (1998; as on pp. 49, 308) stand-points,

reflecting the strength of one of the theoretical propositions of this study, that even without the underpinning conditions present, for example, the sense of equal group status, or intergroup co-operation,... - when lacking for positive inter-group contact and inter-group relationships to develop, as nevertheless seen in this study (see sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, pp. 174-177), the above writer's conclusions are thus seen to be true on a form of 'everyday defined' national identity and consciousness (see Shamsul, 1996; pp.5, 6, 15), given positive weight as the above findings show.

2. Both student groups- the lower and upper secondary student groups, expressed strong individual views that there can be greater commitment by education authorities and teachers, that more can be done in the dissemination and discussions of knowledge in English lessons on the universality and primacy of human values, Rukun Negara values and how the "...development of Malaysia needs help from many races" (upper secondary student). Both groups, nevertheless, noted that more relevant nationhood-themed English lesson activities can be introduced in class, which can be interesting and "attract and involve" all students.

3. Teachers, it was noted, can conduct and enable more discourse on nationhood themes in the English classrooms, so that healthy interaction and understanding, and a sense of acceptance of one another as fellow Malaysians, can come about.

Elaborating on the above, an insightful stand-point expressed by some students however, was that the authorities need to show that they are always "rakyat"-focused. All Malaysians need to be 'given their place and recognition', it was emphasized, for their 'contributions and service to the Malaysian society'.

They strongly advocated that these above axioms and self-evident propositions as such can be further discoursed in the English lessons.

4. The majority stand-points, held generally quite explicitly by these students revolved around the position that they are cognizant of the ramifications and some issues involved in the subject of Malaysian national unity- the importance

of the Rukun Negara, further opportunities to learn about the cultures and lifestyle practices of Others, and an understanding of national development and well-being for the nation. However, they felt the *practices of nationhood principles in everyday Malaysian life, need to be given the utmost attention possible, and addressed unwaveringly. As upheld and articulated by these student respondents, these issues when „inappropriately and inadequately” addressed in terms of their national significance, can tend to be personally quite disorientating, and thus impact negatively on their understanding and appreciation of nationhood values.*

5. The data analysis further indicated that the student respondents' perceptive assessment with regards the impact on them of the English language nationhood values lessons, was clearly in the Average and Healthy rating domains (Scale of Determination ratings of English lessons, section 4.5, p. 195). ***It clearly appears that the younger students do regard the nationhood values imparted to them in a more positive light.*** They recorded the highest total average scores for the Healthy rating category (Table 4.11., p.198).

However, the 16-17 year olds- the upper secondary form 4 students, also do tend to have a generally positive leaning to the above lessons, as they recorded reasonably high total average scores for both the Average and Healthy rating categories (Table 4.12., p.201).

6. The students in the more urbanized states, Penang and Perak, indicated high average scores for the Healthy and Positive assessment ratings. The form two students in the Penang state recorded the highest average score points for the Healthy rating, with the form twos in Perak showing a high score for the Positive rating. The older student group- the form fours, both in the Perak and Penang states, showed higher scores for the Positive rating, as compared to the Kedah form four students who had the lowest scores for this rating category (see Table 4.12, p. 201).

The above ratings as regards students' perceptive assessment of nationhood values in English lessons, show that even with a generally perceived greater

measure of physical development and experiences of modernity and materialism, as in the more urbanized states of Penang and Perak, the ‘simple’ English lesson discourses on national themes and national integration, do tend to be perceived favourably and do have a positive impact on the students involved, tending towards a greater sense of national integration.

7. It can thus be emphasized that the building blocks are possibly latently present for the further enhancement of the sense of national integration and nationhood values in our school-youth, even with the older group of students, who although generally are more uncertain and sceptical of the significance of the English nationhood lesson presentations, are nevertheless, not wholly negatively inclined to the above lessons.

8. Therefore, it can be said that with the appropriate pedagogical applications, in line with the cognitive development propositions made by the education psychologists, Jean Piaget (1952) and Lev Vygotsky (1962), and that of the Barrett knowledge attainment taxonomy (see section 2.3.8., p. 91), that further engaging teaching-learning language schemas, involving problem-solving posers, dialogues, role-playing interactive activities, debates and so on, can well be educationally and socially persuasive for the younger students, and the form fours youth group, to internalize nationhood values further. Thence, they-the composite school-youth group, can possibly function in Malaysian society as a model, united core group of national citizens.

The teachers’ responses for the questionnaire open-ended items were generally balanced and ‘mixed’, with an emphasis on certain ‘challenging’ thoughts as regards the impact of the English nationhood values on students. These mainly centred on the following,

- i. administrative parity in relation to teachers and students,
- ii. a consistent, organised and inclusive approach in classroom teaching and school co-curriculum activities, and
- iii. a positive, clearly structured and concerted ‘nurturing’ of Bahasa Malaysia, English and other languages, with an

unwavering focus on engendering nationhood values in language.

9. This above data analysis further points to the **educational and pedagogical implications** and the importance of improving students' English (and other languages) proficiency skills, and values learning. *The responses of these above students indicate that they believe that good, language skills can contribute to their higher cognitive capacities. The students, especially the higher forms four students, have provided some well-constructed expressions showing „high-level“ and higher-order ideas.*

10. The use of particular lexis by these above students, further goes to indicate that they are cognizant of their social surroundings, and want to contribute their thoughts for the well-being of Malaysian society.

11. These values and expectations of the above students lend support to this research study proposition that innate youth thought „fluidities“ and absorptive capacities, can be well-nurtured and shaped-moulded into positive frames of cognitive outlooks for nationhood commitments. The analysis of this above data input exercise, as such, essentially corroborates with the findings of the main study (see section 4.2., p.167).

5.2.3. Summary of qualitative analysis of findings

In this section and with the following section 5.3, Discussion (p.264), the **second research question** of this study, which purports to look at how secondary school students, teachers and Malaysian personalities regard the impact of English language nationhood values education on the secondary students, is given due attention.

This second research question is as follows- How do the English language teachers, school language administrators, and the identified Malaysian personalities, regard the nature and extent of the impact of the English nationhood thematic lessons, in their (English lessons) role in forging healthy relationships among students towards a common Malaysian consciousness and

national solidarity, as founded on the principles of the Rukun Negara (section 1.4, p.18).

1. Towards the attainment of the goal of becoming the united, core group of Malaysian citizens then, the English language nationhood teaching content can help to serve as a form of „*naturally positioned*” *bonding means of healthy communication, understanding and acceptance* for our students. The English language teacher and school language administrator respondents commonly noted that national themes blended involuntarily and reflexively into English lessons, can impact positively on students (see section 4.6., p.191).

However, the students generally today, do not appear to be “touched” (persuaded to accept and internalize), nationhood themes (for related discussions see section 2.3.10, Language Values Education, p. 101, on studies on the positive outcomes of the role of the English language, and language teachers in nation-building in Nigeria, Kenya, Korea; section 2.3.11., Nations and Nation-Building- Singapore, p.112).

This above observation thus, further emphasizes the role of the class teachers. These teachers need therefore to be creative and imaginative in their lesson presentations, particularly in the English lessons, attempting thereby, as consistently as possible, to disseminate the ***core knowledge of the essentials of nationhood themes***. These, they (as the study respondents mentioned in relation to research question two) are portrayed as,

- i. mutual respect and understanding,
- ii. a sense of goodwill for one another,
- iii. a readiness for sacrifice for society,
- iv. a healthy sense of a common social will, and
- v. *an internalized awareness of, and an active consideration of subjects relating to and impinging on the greater good of all Malaysians.*

2. Although the Rukun Negara principles appear not to be the dominant, central concern in the lives of our present-day school-youth (and even amongst

the adult Malaysians generally), as lamented by some teachers, however, the English language provides a ready resource for schools to help countervail any encroaching and life-impacting negative feelings and influences. Concerted and serious attention on language nationhood themes for on-going instruction in the form of constant student, interactive collaborative activities, can become an essential part of a curriculum renewal-cum-educational reinvention for the nation going forward.

3. The teachers and the school language administrators generally opined that early Malaysian history subjects in English lessons and texts do have a place in today's classrooms. More importantly, it was felt, English teachers need to be given the academic freedom by the education authorities to adapt broad, 'world without borders' types of subject matter in their language lessons particularly. This is because language, and English in particular, can allow for varied and engaging pedagogical approaches in lesson presentations. The resources to draw upon are widely available for the English language today in the internet world. This is regarded by these teachers as crucial for the present 'Y' generation, so as to sustain and shape their interest, thoughts and attitudes, particularly with regards national themes.

4. The question of student and teacher orientations and focus in the education of our young charges was also given considerable attention by the English language teachers and language administrators. They observed insightfully that both parents and students tend to be overly examination and the attainment-of-'excellent'-grades focused. The teachers 'rightly and professionally' avowed that their role does involve guiding their students to the apex of academic achievements. However, they strongly noted that it is **educating** the youth to learn to appreciate the 'where-with-all's' of the larger Malaysian social context, and thereby, help them to grow into "committed" Malaysian citizens.

5. A further salient point drawn from the in-depth interviews with teachers was that, generally they held a high regard for **Literature** ('Komsas-Komponent Sastera'), which has in the last few years been incorporated in the two major languages of Bahasa Malaysia and English. **Universal and humanistic values**

from the literary texts, they held, can be further extended to discussions of the practices of the principles of the Rukunegara and multicultural values directly essential for our nationhood, in the English lesson presentations. These need to revolve around the core knowledge of the essentials of nationhood themes as discussed above.

6. Equal and urgent attention needs to be accorded to the weaker academic students, those with social difficulties and challenges, those who are deemed potential drop-outs and so on, that appropriate language nationhood lesson programmes be developed and taught them. The teachers strongly advocated that the pertinent issues related to this youth group need to be addressed well so that we will not be faced with a large cadre of youth criminals in our nation.

7. Some senior language-administrators noted that the **„pluralising process“ begun by the nation“s founding fathers, need to be continued with our present-day youth, on an on-going and not on an ad-hoc basis.** Nationhood values need to be cognitively and emotionally nurtured and fostered in them. These values can then be cemented at the tertiary levels. This can be carried out with the goal that the adult citizens as such, can then embody and exemplify Malaysian nationhood values in their daily lives.

8. The Malaysian personalities (and academics) invariably were of the view that the divided education system- the national and the national type vernacular streams particularly, is inevitably the cause of an unintended systemic divisiveness on the Malaysian youth. The compartmentalization of the youth thus, has today resulted in the general social climate of each to his/her own ways, and a palpable disinterest and lack of appreciation of the other, different from oneself.

9. The multiracial student populace can well be galvanized in graded sequenced school activities to enable them to express and practise the cardinal values of love and sacrifice for oneself, others and the nation.

10. The Malaysian pluralistic social structure and education system is functioning generally well. It is held by all the Malaysian personalities that it

can be better. Nevertheless, it exists and presents itself as a 'good' model for various multi-ethnic societies. We have not had any serious inter-ethnic disturbances in the last few decades, despite certain ethnic oriented political developments and changes in state governments.

11. In today's times, in preparing for the future, the education system can well look into fostering an enhanced and 'balanced' political literacy curriculum in its generic context, in Malaysian students. The Rukun Negara, the Malaysian national ideology, needs to be given its due and 'right' place in Malaysian nationhood, as a foundational platform to inculcate and concretise its embedded nationhood values in the hearts and minds of Malaysian youth and the larger society.

12. One primary national concern needs be the adequate institutionalization-with procedures put in place for necessary adaptations demanded by social developments, of all necessary measures to recognize and nurture our generally subsumed youth potential, and galvanise programmes for their engagement.

13. Our students need to be introduced and inculcated with the epistemology and ethos of the sense of the self, as constituting an essential part of the Malaysian nationhood. Thence, we need to 'educate' our youth to grasp the significance of the tremendous social layerings and differences that exist in our society,

14. The young school students are in the main, positive about being united as Malaysians. This needs to be seen as a positive indication for the nation to move forward as a socially cohesive and progressive polity

15. The teachers, as publicly-esteemed educators and thus seen as potentially constructive role models, need to be constantly groomed and moulded into good nation-building agents. Thence, with the mentoring of the teachers, universal and common social values for our multi-cultural Malaysia, such as, the respect for law, honesty, hard work, resilience, aversion for corruption, a committed sense of service and sacrifice, can become imbedded into our

education system, to form the trajectory for the growth of the inner self of youth as Malaysian citizens.

16. The primary essentials of teacher education need to be addressed where necessary, in adapting best practices and programmes from other nations, and the necessary training can be provided to the teachers.

17. More urgently, further attention needs be given at providing good remunerations to teachers. This can bring about a greater sense of dignity, love and commitment to the teaching profession.

18. School leaders and language teachers need today to educate themselves, especially with the internet, on-line resources as to what English content can portray, apart from the rudiments of language skills and competency. It provides opportunities for holistic education, *of „what language can do more“; especially with its literature component-* with the use of works by our own home-grown writers- Llyold Fernando, Shahnnon Ahmad, Samad Said, K.Maniam, Yasmin Ahmad, Tash Aw, Tan Twan Eng,

19. In order to get motivated individuals to join the teaching profession in Malaysia, better remuneration should be accorded them. The teachers need to be treated with greater professional dignity and be well looked after.

20. The classroom teaching pedagogies also have to be very much activity-oriented, encouraging team-work and sharing. These allow for nation-building values to become generically imbued in our young students. The best pedagogical approaches in this regard used by schools in France, Australia, Holland, Belgium and certain other nations, can be adapted in the Malaysian education system.

21. The extent the teacher-learner can advance in acquiring truth-knowledge as such, thereby realizing one's optimal potentialities, so as to then help actualize that of one's charges, then lays out the core and all-commanding character and function of the teacher and the teaching profession.

22. We need to know that there is a huge contribution made by knowledge generated within the *social sciences and humanities*. Sadly, these are usually neglected in developing economies like Malaysia, because we are overwhelmed by the pursuit of science and technology to bring about much needed economic development and prosperity. This neglect has to be urgently addressed¹⁸. The school, with good educational leadership and teaching community, can be a very suitable and important agency and conduit in formal education and the nationhood values inculcation process for our emerging youth population in Malaysia. English, and particularly Malay language education, can play a constructive role in healthy, nationhood values inculcation.

23. A major demographic challenge for the national leadership, some personalities emphasized, is that language and general education will not, by themselves be capable of ensuring Malaysian national integration. All stakeholders and citizens need to educate themselves and empathise the simple social realities of Malaysian nation-building and become nation-builders as of their right of citizenry.

24. Some educationists felt that by accepting our social and educational realities as such, the language and humanities curriculum, can therefore be purposively reinvigorated with constant educational discourses on nationhood themes, towards building a Malaysian consciousness. We can further reinvent and intensify our language nationhood values curriculum and lesson presentations so that our youth can individually be motivated to internalise the importance of national unity for the nation's well-being and future. For this effort to bear fruit, national leaders, parents and teachers particularly, need together to help cultivate a character meritocracy in our present-day Y generation, transforming them into inclusive Malaysian citizens.

25. The nation's survival as a political entity is clearly a paramount goal than a total focus on economic growth. The social undercurrents of discontent amongst the multi-cultural peoples must constantly be on top of the agenda of national development.

26. The interviewees, who were mainly senior academics, government servants and notable social activists, were of the common stand that well-grounding constitutional and citizenship education, on the cohering platform of the Rukun Negara and the Federal Constitution particularly, from the early stages of education, can positively lay a 'well-defined' and 'inclusive' trajectory for the 'education' of nationhood values, for the nation to move forward. The education contents do contain the topics that reflect the principles of the Rukun Negara and the broad nationhood values requisite for the nation to attain a healthy level of national consciousness and integration. However, the question remains uncertain whether the values which need to be imparted to attain the above, have been and are being well imbibed by our school-youth today.

27. National governance needs to focus on strengthening our appreciation of the prevalent multi-cultural common heritage through the school education system, as and for the Malaysian people, in order to build a dynamic nation. The vision is not to attain uniformity, but recognition and appreciation of the rich diversity of our national heritage and strength. The question foremost in the minds of leaders, parents and teachers primarily, should necessarily be- **Do we, as a society and nation-state, have a *shared Malaysian Consciousness*?**

28. We need now to rationally and with a long-term perspective, to build our communal cohesion further, starting in the schools, by guiding our students to know better and understand their own cultures and identities. Gradually then, we need to allow a Malaysian ethos and 'identity' to evolve and become superimposed upon the above. This engenders strong, well-bonded communal relations and social cohesion

29. A pertinent issue highlighted by many of the interviewees is that all concerned Malaysians can contribute, building on efforts undertaken by the early leaders and citizens, towards the renewal and enhancement of a civil and mutually supportive social relationship climate for all groups of Malaysians.

30. The English language, together with English literature can expand **one's sense of humanity**. This can be further explored to ingrain strong nationhood values in Malaysian school students.

5.3. Discussion

The broad ramifications of the official and commonly aspired goal of national solidarity and the realization of the sense of a Malaysian consciousness, with an emphatic focus on our youth, growing into adulthood in a climate of enabling and enriching social cohesion, is given some „**expansive**“ attention in the following sub-sections of this research study.

Research question two is further deliberated forthwith, providing the generally positive national integration markers, as based on a further incisive analysis of the vast in-depth interviews input from the study respondents.

5.3.1. Ethnicity-race versus Malaysian-„rakyat“ paradigms in nation-building

In the context of the present-day Malaysia, celebrating its fifty-seventh year of Malayan independence, and fifty-one years of the formation of the Malaysian nation, and assumedly reflecting the measure of that extent of national maturity; But is it so?- this poser often comes up as inevitably the sceptical rejoinder. It has become almost instinctive and natural in our national conversation that we, Malaysians just tolerate our differences.

The Oxford Dictionary defines the verb tolerate as: “allow the existence, occurrence, or practice of something that one dislikes or disagrees with, without interference”. The pertinent question one is provoked to put forward is, should a Malaysian national be constantly informed and, in a somewhat top-down, dogmatic approach, that one is tolerant of and respectful of others, leaving the implications of these rhetorics to circumstance.

Tolerance or toleration would commonly imply the administrative and political management of group differences, with the objective of maintaining the polarities. That is, to keep the different groups apart as such, content in

their separated enclaves, 'confined' into social polarities on an imagined continuum as it were, for the apparent 'peaceful and worldly management' of the social groups, as categorised of distinct, 'collectivized-lumped' entities. This is pursued to an extent, following which then, other usually direct and coercive administrative measures can be employed. The immediate 'benefits' of order and stability notwithstanding, the authority imposed by a majority ruling group, henceforth can be deleterious in the long term for healthy, grounds-up inter-communal, pluralistic relations to develop and evolve.

The language of common understanding and mutualities can go deeper in order to evoke that sense of common supra-ethnic complementarities, which in essence and fundamentally, can be demonstrated by the ubiquitous and tangible presence of supra-ethnic local and national institutions. This is still a clearly glaring deficiency in the Malaysian public services today, as one marked example.

It can be noted that the various groups of the public in all societies, want to see 'its people'- often a collective ethnic group governed generally by particular traditions, cultural norms and religious convictions, represented in a wide spectrum of positions of public authority. Then, the satisfaction with and approval of the central and reigning powers-that-be- the ruling government, for enabling the above to become a common social reality, can be generally assured. This then can generate a social climate of cohesive co-existence, and in all likelihood, acceptance of one another over time, resulting in a binding and lasting stability for future generations of Malaysians.

As Faridah Hameed (2014, p.22) attempts to contextualize this issue of national integration in present-day Malaysia, highlighting the findings of a survey undertaken by a Malaysian media organization, Astro Awani in 2014, that over 78 per cent of those polled were of the perception that racial tolerance was low among Malaysians. Only 7.14 per cent of the respondents felt, it- racial tolerance, was good. Some 14 per cent preferred to take a neutral stand. The survey had targeted all groups- youth, middle-aged and senior Malaysians, both genders and all three racial groups.

Faridah (ibid) goes further to illustrate what the Malaysian unity question foreshadows and signifies for the nation, quoting the findings of Swedish economists for the World Values Survey. ***Quite damningly, giving due regard to Malaysia's total „age“ of nationhood of nearly six decades, the survey comprising 81 countries, „...showed that 20 to 29.9 per cent of Malaysians would not like living next to a person of a different race“. Malaysia has been put in the same grouping of nations with weak racial tolerance, such as Mali, Morocco, Thailand, the Philippines, Turkey and Algeria*** (ibid).

Notwithstanding the generally positive results of the long-term programmes such as the New Economic Policy (NEP) initiated by the late, distinguished statesman, Tun Abdul Razak Hussein, the nation's second Prime Minister, and henceforth other associated affirmative action programmes, which together have helped the Malays as the indigenous peoples of the nation, to advance socio-economically and politically, and not be constrained by the feeling that they are the downtrodden peoples [unexpectedly, the highest rate of income and wealth inequality today, despite the twenty years (1970-1990) of the NEP, and the following NEP-oriented policies since 1990, is still amongst the Malay community (Edmund Terence Gomez, Johan Saravanamuttu, Maznah Mohamed. Malaysia's New Economic Policy: Resolving Horizontal Inequalities, Creating Inequities?, pp. 9-10, 81); the 'Bangsa Malaysia programme' in 1991, which essentially emphasized "...people being able to identify themselves with the country, speak Bahasa Malaysia (the Malay language) and accept the Constitution"; the 2006 National Education Blueprint which primarily targeted the problem of racial polarization, and as well as the 2013-2025 Malaysian Education Blueprint, and so on, have generally resulted in these somewhat centrifugal 'institutional' forces tending to undermine national integration (Merdeka Centre, [www. cpps.org.my/National_unity_factsheet.pdf](http://www.cpps.org.my/National_unity_factsheet.pdf))].

However, on a positive note, contrasting with the results of a 2006 Merdeka Centre opinion poll in which a considerable 22.6 percentage of 1000 respondents surveyed reported having no friends from the different ethnicities, Ezhar Tamam (2006), reports his analysis of findings that indicated that older,

university students have quite substantial inter-ethnic contact. The percentage of students having no friends from other ethnic groups was “very small”. This, according to Ezhar (ibid), indicated that inter-ethnic friendship exists among “different” students.

The above researcher also concluded that the findings of his study were reflective of the students’ maturity, that they “...realize the importance and need of (for healthy) cross-ethnicities” amongst them, than that, that may be plausible today among the general population. Although the quality and frequency of cross-ethnic interaction among these pre-adolescent and adult students was more of the nature of “less infrequent” than “very frequent”, the above researcher further concluded his study emphasizing (“demonstrated”) that inter-ethnic contact does contribute significantly towards a positive attitudinal disposition towards others of different ethnic backgrounds.

Further, the researcher asserts, the above study findings corroborate the claims of the contact theory, that positive attitudinal effects can result when conditions of equal status and a co-operative environment are institutionalized.

The promising eventualities for cohesive inter-ethnic relations and well-grounded harmony heralded by the above study for our nation as such, can be said to indicate the *potentialities for a form of cosmopolitanism in Malaysian social life, to have taken root*. This latter social phenomenon would essentially have enabled the distinct ethnic identities and separate cultural orientations which exist in our Malaysian social entity, to collaboratively and concertedly negotiate for a fulfilling and shared socio-political and economic space, without having to resort to open conflict [Ooi Kee Beng, in Lim and others, (Eds.). (2009). p. 453]. This then could help establish and strengthen a broad pluralistic framework constituted of an equalitarian nationhood-oriented social orientation, governing the lives of all citizens.

In Malaysia today however, the call for a national conversation- the construction of a national narrative, is strident, and as Faridah Hameed (op cit) has appraised, that there is a mushrooming of mono-ethnic realities and activities. These do allow the nation to move forward to an extent nonetheless, particularly in the economic dimension. In connection to the above, as a

committed social activist-cum-legal professional, R. Nadeswaran (the Sun 17. September, 2014), noted in conjunction with the 51st Malaysia Day celebrations that,

“After 51 years, we have plenty to show- the development, the high-rise buildings, the increase in per capita income, home ownership and almost everything materialistic. But as a nation, it is a pity we have regressed”.

As an illustration of this above stand-point as such, as much as it may be regarded as a common and accepted aspect of Malaysian life, and one that has come to be seen as an outcome of our history, our children are today invariably studying and interacting with students of the same race and religion. A vital and imperative challenge that henceforth presents itself, giving regard to our visible daily reality being somewhat enveloped by a ~~r~~acial fog”, is that this latter phenomenon has possibly dangerously begun to impel Malaysians to ~~—~~see our neighbours and fellow Malaysians in schools, universities and (those) at work as strangers” (Faridah Hameed, op cit). Arising from the above then, a primary and predominant issue for the national leadership, educators and social science scholars, is the impact and consequences the above factor may further bring about to the already functioning Malaysian social fabric palpably prevalent in our nation today.

Relatedly, in the nation, as it can be commonly observed, there still appears to be the constant harping on tolerance, congruence, acceptance, harmony, spirit of 1Malaysia, and so on. Such constant rhetorical reminders and facileness, particularly in the national media and through public institutions, were felt unnecessary and inappropriate when Malaysia came into being in 1963. No doubt, social relations in the sixties were simmering to a breaking point as demonstrated by the inter-ethnic clashes in 1969. But, as history reveals, that the primary cause was economic divergences amongst the diverse races in the nation. Certainly, despite the implementation of three 5-year Malaya Plans, which had all focused, and also the ensuing ones henceforth, on national economic growth and communal integration, there were still clear shortcomings in the economic and social betterment of the Malays generally, and sections of the other Malaysian communities then.

Thus, the almost singular bent has been on economic, material upliftment of society. This is possibly the salient socio-economic marker, even until this day, giving little regard to the holistic, well-being development criterion (UN General Assembly Resolution 65/309 Report 2012)²⁷, for ‘progress’ for some individuals, and it (this) has emboldened the latter —.to place wedges between Malaysians based on ethnicity and religion(ous) (considerations)” (op cit. R. Nadeswaran).

The social divisions, as alluded to by the above writer, amounting to a social life unlike that enjoyed by the Malaysian masses in the sixties, are apparently markedly reflected by the substance of the following observation, that, —.We have all kinds of events to ‘promote harmony’, and after each event, many retreat into their cocoons with the same self-seeking thoughts, beliefs and opinions” (ibid).

A sense of a Malaysian consciousness formed by a common sense-rule of constitutional law based, and an all-embracing mindset constituted of an attitude of sacrifice, which are confidently seen as promising benefits for all, as the above writer, as well as other scholars and social activists- Farish Noor²⁸; Wong Chun Wai (‘Stand up against Religious and Racial Bigots...’, The Star

²⁷With reference to the above report, that, —Over the last (few) decades, increasing concerns have been raised about the inadequacy of indicators of economic performance, such as GDP figures, as measures of social and economic well-being. As noted by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, ‘The time is ripe for our measurement system to shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people’s well-being. And measures of well-being should be put in a context of sustainability... emphasizing well-being is important because there appears to be an increasing gap between the information contained in aggregate GDP data and what counts for common people’s well-being’”.

²⁸Dr. Farish Noor discusses the issue of racism in Malaysia today and what it can signify, —... So, the question of racism is always a personal one. How do you deal with it? You can choose to dwell on the worst, or you can choose to focus on the positive. I was in a situation where I could choose to develop profoundly anti-Chinese sentiments for the rest of my life. But I didn’t want that. And I think that’s how we Malaysians will need to move on. Every Malaysian will have a story like this to tell. Because in a sense, the **state of racialised politics in Malaysia means we are all victims. So do we choose to live with a discourse of victimhood, or do we grow up, and grow out of this as a nation and embrace the positive that we can find in each other?** I chose the latter. That is my personal choice, **it is an ethical choice and it is a political choice**” (<http://www.thenutgraph.com/the-hybrid-malay-malaysian-dilemma/>).

2, 17 August 2014, p. 16); Tricia Yeoh (‘Uniting Ourselves’, the Sun, 13 February 2014, p. 14); Rueben Dudley (‘Let’s Speak Words that Build, Not Break’, the Sun, 13 February 2014, p.14); Abdul Aziz, (Ikim Views, ‘Sincerity Vital for National Unity’, The Star, 5 August 2014, p. 21); Hariati Azizan (‘Time to Root for more Tolerance’, Sunday Star 16 February 2014, p. 21); Karina Bahrin (‘Finding the Elusive Malaysian Race’, The Heat 23-29 August 2014, p. 48); Zainah Anwar (‘Let’s Not be Hoodwinked into Hudud’, Sunday Star 4 May 2014, p. 21); Natalie Shobana Ambrose (‘One Team, One Plan’, the Sun 17 July 2014, p. 12); Ibrahim Ahmad Bajunid (‘The Building of a Nation and Ideas of Nationhood: Citizenship Education in Malaysia’, 2008, p.127), all lament are not yet an integral part of our national narrative, but do note that there is promise for their attainment.

Malaysian consciousness already exists in sufficient ‘abundance’ according to some Malaysians, as we have been ‘united’ for so many decades up to now without serious communal problems (the 1969 communal conflicts are acknowledged). ‘Unity in diversity’ for these possibly well-meaning but ‘idealistic romantics’, is just an oxymoron.

The Malaysian nation, it needs to be intuitively cognized, is a nation made up of vast differences- in culture, religion and language primarily. This pre-existing diversity, as some writers would profess, is further strengthened and exacerbated with regards to the intentions towards the cultivation of a totalistic Malaysian consciousness, by the segregated education system- the vernacular primary schools, the national primary schools, the independent and international schools, and the religious schools. As Aikut (2014, p. 19) strongly asserts,

These schools have racially compartmentalized our children, not only in education but also socially. The impact of such racial segregation in education on the young can be deep, wide and long lasting. Isolated from an early age, children from these schools are (can become) intolerant and rarely understand or respect the religions, ways and cultures of the other races. Some of these schools even become active breeding grounds for racism, extremism and xenophobia....I find it sad that our children do not interact with the other races any more. Many will go on living their whole lives without making a single friend from another race.... Social interactions, when they happen, are superficial, guarded and lacking in openness. It is a

complex, uncertain interaction imbibed from an early age with mistrust, fear and distrust of the other races. Most of these inhibitions and social anxieties would have been generated by our segregated schools and negative communal presumptions.... It is pointless to draft bills, pass laws and mete out punishments for racial violations, if we are not ready to resolve this root problem. We have to consider the long-term impact of the lawful segregation of education on our young, innocent children. We cannot segregate them in their prime and expect them to come together as adults... We must catch them young and mould them to be multiracial. ...(The) step forward is (to ensure that) schools in big cities with an equal composition of the races (are) not allowed to enrol more than 50 per cent of any (one) ethnic group.

The concerns of the above writer are clearly laudable as they directly relate to the question of the education of youth, for their preparation and nurturing, so that they can mature cognitively and subliminally as loyal Malaysian citizens.

However, it needs to be borne in mind, taking the structure of our present civil service which has essentially been noted to be skewed along the race paradigm principle (<http://blog.limkitsiang.com/2010/04/07/>; Raman Navaratnam, 2009), that any form of top-down enforcement of particular education policies and programmes, can possibly be faced with strong non-cooperation and result in even further damaging outcomes, such as the flight of our young educational talent to other nations. These issues are already a challenge today in the Malaysian society.

As such, without allowing for too much ad hoc changes, as it were, to the education system, it may be necessary to educate the public honestly and penetratingly as to the historical background to our education system as it stands today, thereby, enabling rakyat-based refinements to be implemented. It should thus involve both a bottom-up and a top-down inclusive approach. Learning thus from other ethno-centric nationalistic practices which have tended to suppress native group rights, such as that of the aboriginal people of Australia, the Native (Red) Indians of the United States, and the Yugoslavian ethnic group conflicts; and also positive lessons from other successful nations in their nation-building efforts, such as Switzerland, Tanzania, Mauritius (as discussed earlier), thus, Malaysia can well bring about the requisite changes today, working from within the system via solidifying the accommodation potentialities of Malaysian diversity.

Shad Saleem Faruqi (2014, p. 25), a renowned Malaysian legal expert, explains this above strategy in the following terms,

***Assimilation** involves strong pressures on minorities to abandon their values, cultures, beliefs, and languages and submerge into the national mainstream. Catalans in Spain, Bretons in France, Scots and Welsh in the United Kingdom and, increasingly, Muslim emigrants in Europe suffered or are suffering from such melting pot pressures. On the other hand, **integration (or inclusion and empowerment)** is based on the recognition of diversity as a defining characteristic of the polity. Malaya in 1957 and, even more so, Malaysia in 1963, were inspired by the inclusive approach, that each constituent group can preserve its language, culture, and customs and yet participate fully in the nation's political and economic processes.*

The on-going ramifications implicit even in this inclusive-national journey approach, it clearly appears, necessitate strong statesmanship in leadership, so that the principles of equity and integrity are given tangible form as per the Federal Constitution, thereby providing the RIGHTFUL SPACE FOR OUR YOUTH particularly, as well as other citizens in all constituent states of the nation, to place and locate themselves rightly and rightfully wholly within the national narrative, as parts of the national, integrated whole.

The researcher is of the view, both as based on the findings of the one-to-one interviews particularly, and the pressing socio-political issues of the day, that the institution of statesmen-leaders is of paramount importance.

Edmund Burke (Norman, 2013), an early Irish statesman and British parliamentarian had succinctly reminded national leaders, and that which holds true even today, especially with the emergence of various populistic and undemocratic forms of governmental-leadership practices within nations and internationally, of the quality required of good leaders for humble and effective service to their constituents, that, “The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing”.

Discoursing this above dictum, Ibrahim Ahmad Bajunid elucidates that with good leaders of substance tending to be humble, inclusive and practical, maintaining strict discipline in not getting involved in gotistical battles”, the

lesser leaders then project themselves onto the private and public domains. The writer observes,

*At stake are the minds, mindsets, spirits and souls of the future generation of Malaysians. With arrogant impunity, so many lesser leaders are taking the vision of nation-building away from great visionary leaders. Left to lesser leaders, we can already draw a compendium of discontinuity on nation-building efforts that we have known for six decades or so. Left to leaders with a touch of greatness, there is still hope for millions of our citizens who want to live in peace, mutual respect and dignity. ...There are evil leaders in the making in our midst. ... Society has the responsibility to provide the young with examples of good role models, who are revered not only by their own communities, but also by people from different societies.... It is time that the media projects a kinder, gentler Malaysia, with credible people (parents) who love their children and care for their neighbours' children; who practice the true teachings of religion; who learn the best of lessons about humanity in schools and the market-place; and cherish the **positive values of sacrifice, humility, magnanimity, respect, truthfulness, piety, justice, peace, equality, freedom and beauty** (2014, p. 14, „Tyranny of the Lesser Leaders’).*

Ibrahim takes a wide sweep with an emphatic tenor of the crucial elements- the leaders, the institutions, parents, schools, youth, values education for nation-building, and illustrating the signal primacy of good leadership for the Malaysian nation today.

In order to circumvent the probable dire consequences of weak and sectarian forms of leadership, as seen from various examples of nations around the world today, the nature of the realities of our multi-ethnic society, can be empathetically and comprehensively revisited and understood.

A fundamental educational issue in point, one that is possibly well in line with our concerns to inculcate our youth with nationhood values, is possibly the somewhat procrastinated holistic student outcomes (HOSO) development programme, rather than the current, commonly seen socio-education phenomenon- the academic versus non-academic attainments. The Malaysian education system has unfortunately been characterized, as ‘unobtrusively’ revealed in the September, 2014 primary school examination leaks, that ‘success’ in academic performance is everything that matters. The underlying, quintessential goal of education being the wholesome education of the individual- learning how to learn and live life fully, the foundation of which necessarily is the training in ‘ethics and spirituality’, is somewhat downgraded

to a lower realm, in preference to this former ‘success’ goal. As Dzulkipli Abdul Razak (2014, p.16) aptly observes, and which is something that needs to be seriously pondered on for healthy nationhood values to bear fruition, that,

*Without strong ethics and spirituality embedded as part of the processes of education, the aspiration to lead, for example, can be susceptible to corruption....**Ethics and spirituality must be the foundation of education in the country, and not merely another aspiration that is lowly prioritized.... This is to allow a solid foundation to move forward in an ethnically-based education system with no more room for leaks in all sectors.***²⁹

Thenceforth, with a solid educational foundation constituted of the above values (see also footnote 5, p.17), the nation can well go forward to structure the further corresponding and harmonising political and economic dimensions, to strengthen the socio-educational ground-laying foundation above. Thus, the examples of nations undergoing myriad forms of socio-political turmoil in the North African, East European, Middle Eastern, Central African and other polities with plural populations, which tend to show that there have been deficiencies in their socio-educational, economic and political delivery programmes up to the present times, can be our ‘examples’, in a reverse perspective as such, providing lessons for the building of a truly inclusive, pluralistic nation towards ‘national fulfillment and progress’.

In our nation, granted that we are seriously committed about going forward in harmony, both through the ‘construction’ (this is at times ‘relegated’ to ‘evolution’ leaving it to one’s imagination of its realization, or otherwise) of a Malaysian identity, and that of ethnically well-balanced institutional and policy infrastructures, the persistent grassroots and attitudinal issues towards one another as ‘races’ today, need to be boldly transformed educationally from

²⁹ As English language nationhood themes are deemed constructive and instrumental in the cultivation of positive nationhood values in youth in this study, the Malaysian Education Blueprint 2013-2025 lends support to this overarching endeavor in that it emphasizes, that among the six student aspirations to be nurtured and attained, one is that of ‘ethics and spirituality’. This goal in itself is definitively the foundational platform for the other five aspirations- leadership, higher order thinking skills (HOTS), knowledge, bilingualism and national identity. The challenge for educators is then to address these goals in a pedagogical schema that can necessarily focus diligently and systematically on the primary task of leading young minds and hearts towards a sense of a common ‘Malaysian consciousness’.

early school levels. If after 57 years of independence and sovereignty, sections of the Chinese community, as Chandra Muzaffar (2011, p. 16) alludes, do not still accept the Malay language as the nation's first language, then, this negative attitude subverts the social equilibrium that has certainly fostered a measure of national integration in the nation. To reverse and correct unhealthy negative trends and attitudes in all sections of society today, evoking positive nationhood values in our youth early in schools, particularly with regards the Malay national language and the Malay peoples, —.who have to a great extent defined the nation's past and present", is to objectively establish the crucial understanding of the concomitants and the dynamics of the nation's social equilibrium and the requisites of nation-building. —.all should do well to sustain and strengthen it (these elements), or the consequences would be catastrophic" (ibid).

Therefore, directing efforts early at our young minds in citizenship education, it is clearly imperative today, to ward off the romanticised appeals of a,

...master-state that transcends all states- a negation of the primacy of the nation-state in the age we live in. ...It may be romantic to coin your own currency or play around with a flag you designed in the kitchen, but in real life, ...we live out our lives dependent on the most basic things,...(and) notwithstanding the romantic appeal that statelessness may hold for some, the fact that an overwhelming majority of people live by the practical logic of nation-state and national identity. ...despite its (the nation-state's) flaws and shortcomings, the post-colonial nation-state happens to be the most practical solution to the challenges of governance, representation and distribution of resources. ...Across the world, ...the logic of the nation-state is the thing that animates politics, gives life to governance and renders life liveable (Farish Noor, 2011, p. 21).

The youth of today cannot be left to themselves to comprehend and internalize the ramifications of the above issues which undoubtedly, are determinants of nationhood as such. In order to remove the likelihood of any catastrophic consequences of romanticized ideals of a master-state and the breakdown of the social equilibrium that exists to an extent in Malaysia, the nation's youth can be actively engaged via nationhood values education, in the practical and transcendent learning dimensions of inclusiveness, and become the nation's instruments in the process of the construction of a cogent Malaysian identity.

The ‘how tos’ as often alluded to in this research study, in building and strengthening the ties of citizens to the nation-state as such, beginning early with the nation’s young, can be said to committedly involve the inculcation of the value of ‘gratitude’. To pre-empt untoward notions of ‘nationhood romanticisations’ and also any sense of obsequiousness, the discourse on gratitude in schools and for the larger society, can well emphasise the universal desire for the maintenance of the sense of community, well-being, goodwill and mutual respect.

With the stark reality of today’s globalized world as discussed earlier, and the incessant calls by youth in many parts of the world for change and ‘reinvention’ in governance, and the opportunities to partake in a form of civic engagement for a ‘better quality of life’, the avenues for a form of ‘Open Government Partnership’ as in the Indonesian republic today, can be well considered for our nation (Tricia Yeoh, the Sun 25 September 2014, p. 14). Our youth and other societal groups, as exemplified by such similar entities in other nations, would want a say and some direct participation in the affairs of their lives. They would thus not want to see a widening gap between the powers-that-be and the civil society (ibid)³⁰.

The well-placed availability of institutionalized avenues for engagement can positively then empower and provide youth the opportunities to confidently apply and practise the nationhood values learnt, and thence become the instruments themselves in the process of the construction of our common identity and the evolutionary maturing of Malaysian civil society, as discussed above.

³⁰ Shad Saleem Faruqi, a professor of law in his book ‘Document of Destiny’ [2008. Petaling Jaya: Star Publications (Malaysia) Bhd.], observed on a positive note then, that, “On the human rights front, a civil society is slowly but surely emerging. A human rights commission has been established and though its Reports are habitually ignored by parliament, it is helping to create a positive dialogue on human rights issues. Gender rights have received a boost in amendments to Article 8(Equality). Many crippling legislative controls on the media are now losing their sting because of the triumphs of technology in areas like the Internet. But other laws conferring nearly unfettered discretion provided to the executive remain in place. ... The Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, SUHAKAM, has called for some liberalization, and new understandings need to be forged to assist the nascent civil society, to participate more meaningfully in the affairs of state”.

5.3.2. *Strengthening the Malaysian social fabric*

The national social fabric has been said to be generally well-fostered thus far, from the independence declaration in 1957, to the Alliance party- a coalition of the three primary races, to the Barisan Nasional party era today. The grand relationship shaped together has been ‘dugging along’ as it were, through a power-sharing, consociationalism and consensus based socio-political relationship (Lijphart, 1987). The constituent groups, being often-times contentiously and diametrically opposed communally and ideologically (particularly in the early years of ‘Malaysian nationhood’), may however today be faced with the possibilities of a form of ‘natural death’³¹ This then, points to the need even more urgently today, for the pluralistic Malaysian social fabric to be further nurtured and strengthened.

³¹This is as based on the last two general election results-the GE12 and GE13, in which it has been observed that there was a shift in the voting patterns of the Malaysian society. Particularly, the ‘second coalition’ party and its ‘new’ ideological stands, were seen to carry a certain political sway with the voters generally. As Khoo Boo Teik (2013), analyses that, —.the broadest outcomes of the NEP implementation (were that it achieved its) two objectives...rural development that was designed to eradicate rural Malay poverty, and the creation of urban Malay capitalist, professional and middle classes to overturn the ethnic division of labour. (This sealed the loyalty of the rural, predominantly (and sometimes exclusively) Malay constituencies that were synonymous with UMNO’s social base and claim to rule. Social change as an outcome of NEP restructuring included large-scale Malay rural-urban migration.(This led to the recomposition of) the ethnic structure of urban society, (and) created the social basis of the electoral revolts of 1999 and 2008, when the urban middle-class Malays were split into pro-and anti-UMNO sections...(The de-Mahathirization measures by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in 2003 when he became prime minister, terminating ‘mega projects’ and some oligarchic reconstitution, removing certain people from Mahathir’s camp, and also the ruling party’s disapproval of the) ethnic concord that Mahathir constructed after 1990...The concord was tied to an official, if inconsistent replacement of the NEP with a National Development Plan that claimed to move beyond ethnic discrimination and quotas in public life...(The) Mahathir concord was encapsulated in *Wawasan 2020* and *Bangsa Malaysia*...(This) had a hegemonic hold over the public (and especially non-Malay) imagination (pp.6-9)...(The developing political climate henceforth, angered) non-Malay communities who increasingly found UMNO to be more illiberal and chauvinistic...(They generally voted against the Barisan Nasional component parties-the MCA and the MIC parties, in the last two general elections as they) could not or would not moderate UMNO’s stances. Despite the persistent (but often changing) significance of ethnicity in Malaysian elections, one theme of GE 13 captured an unpredicted convergence of long-term socio-economic transformation with contemporaneous political change which led to the emergence of populist dissent...(This) dissent has dynamically spread across rigid ethnic, class, spatial, party, and ideological boundaries. ... the UMNO-PAS rivalry went beyond ideological differences or theological disputes, to embrace material disputes (p.27). ...For the foreseeable future, peninsular politics (will still be) Malay politics with reorientation of oppositional foci and narratives from rural to urban areas, from ethno-religious to multi-ethnic populist, from NEP-linked anti-statist to middle-class anti-oligarchic, and from older to younger voters (pp.29-30). ...Successive defeats of the BN’s ‘Chinese-based and ‘Indian-based’ component parties in GE12 and GE13 also owe to structural shifts in urban-non-Malay-middle-class voting patterns that will not allow those parties to recapture their lost support. ...there will not be a pendulum-like swing back to the ‘BN formula’ of ethnic politics and cooperation, not with UMNO leaning even more to a PERKASA position” (p.31).

As the Rukun Negara and the NEP have unequivocally stressed the importance of national unity and the equitable sharing of the nation's wealth, towards the creation of a just and liberal society (Gomez T E and others, 2013 op cit. p.7), this is also a strong underlying and undergirding theme for national development and resilience in the National Education Philosophy (1988). As Zainah Anwar (Sunday Star 6 July 2014, p.8) has noted, discussing the strengths of our nation in its efforts for 'survival' and stability, that while, "...other ethnically divided countries fell apart (in the last few decades, we need to) stop and ponder on the objectives of the Rukun Negara".

It cannot thus be denied that the primacy given to the above and national unity in a national context of a democratic, just, equitable, progressive nation firmly based on the recognition of her "rich and cultural traditions", has clearly to be in its rightful place. It is today certainly the desired national narrative towards a state where all Malaysians "...could (can) get on together and eschew a zero-sum game" (ibid).

The above vocal social activist has emphatically pointed that the voices of moderate Malaysians and Muslims indicate that the latter are "...determined to live together and share the nation..." (ibid), and has concurrently put forward the following non-zero sum game posers for all Malaysian moderates,

...How could it be that under a government that has adopted a Malaysia slogan, this society is (today) more divided than ever before? (ibid). How best to respond to the rising discontent, the rising intolerance, and the complexities of managing competing interests and demands" (Zainah Anwar. 5 October 2014, p.24); It is time we thought through where we are heading and the kind of Malaysia we all want to live in... (op cit. Zainah Anwar, Sunday Star 6 July 2014).

Hence, in the above context as it were, the larger challenge for our nation can well be that the powers-that-be necessarily need to "...go back to the drawing board..." (op cit).

In a very socially and humanistically congruent perspective, the Sultan of Perak, Sultan Nazrin Shah, has without reservations, pointed out that the

management of the nation's economy and distributive justice are crucial elements in inclusive and equitable growth, that,

...more unequal countries are associated with lower social mobility and, arguably, a more sclerotic society. By inhibiting social mobility, widening inequality therefore has a tangible impact on economic dynamism, as it constrains the ability of an economy to optimally allocate its endowment of human capital to functions that it best serves. Hence, ensuring that growth is inclusive and equitable, thus indirectly facilitating greater social and labour mobility is crucial for an economy to even reach its efficiency frontier- let alone surmount it. ...the success of a nation should be defined not by headline numbers, but rather by individual human outcomes and the well-being of all members of society (Khazanah Megatrends Forum 2014 Kuala Lumpur, in Sunday Star 5 October 2014, p. 27).

However, the Sultan acknowledged that Malaysia has done generally well economically on a scale “...that not many countries can boast of”. But, he pointedly observed that, especially in terms of insufficient structural transformations in a broader, inclusive scale, with “inequality still high”, this state of affairs thus places Malaysia in the same boat as Mexico [Dzulkipli Abdul Razak (2014, p. 12)].

As discussed earlier, it is thus paramount that the character of the national education system be revisited and ‘re-invented’ (see chapter two, p.35), allowing it to be the principal tool in effectively transforming the economy and governance, towards achieving the aspired, national hopes and goals.

The researcher thus contends that young Malaysians in schools today, be provided as ‘total’ an education as possible in nationhood values. The basis of such an education needs necessarily to be the constituents of pluralism embodying our national society and the Malaysian life, as contoured by the values embedded in the Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy.

The principle of universalism and primarily pluralistic multiculturalism demands that all citizens of the polity concerned be given a ‘true’ and equitable ‘place under the Malaysian sun’ (Raja Nazrin, <http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2007/4/5/>). The education system can effectively be the harbinger of the nationhood values learning process (as discussed in chapter two, p. 35), in relation to the psychological faculties of

learning for the development of cognitive skills and humanistic, nationhood values).

The above proposition does not deny the attainment of some positive impact of other measures towards national integration. These efforts, one following the other, in a form of ‘short-term succession’ – the „*Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa*” programme in the 1960s and 1970s, the „*Bangsa Malaysia*” venture in the 1990s, the Malaysia unity efforts currently being promoted, the integrity and moderation movements, and so on, indicate possibly of a subtle realization by the powers-that be of the shortcomings in these above programmes which seemed tied to the lack of social inclusiveness in the horizontal economic development approach.

As some renowned social science scholars have emphatically stressed,

In the long term thus, affirmative action reinforces ethnic identity as a basis for continued access to privileges, a reason why the policy has become highly divisive...,the non-targeted communities argue that long-term neglect of their equal access to government generated rents suggests they are actually second-class citizens...(The present non-Malay) generations do not see China or India as their „homeland” and they consider themselves equally indigenous. Their concern is that their national identity is not acknowledged, or recognised because of the nature of public policies. Horizontal inequalities-type policies such as the NEP have failed to create a more inclusive environment, as a horizontal perspective on social structures does not take adequate account of the fluidity of individual identity and group membership, nor does it allow for the spaces where boundaries and identities overlap and transform (Gomez T E and others 2013. op cit. p. 24).

It is imperative today that the observations of these above scholars and writers be given some further and serious attention and consideration.

The lackings as such, as alluded to above, can possibly be linked to the nature of the public policies and programmes, and their manner of implementation. This can be rather inadequately all-embracing of all Malaysian groups and thus be seen as somewhat lob-sided; and the official notions and values surrounding education as a national institution, that can be possibly ineffectively and non-inclusively implemented. This is in relation to the question- **why is education as a national public institution in Malaysia, not “sufficiently” producing a**

clear, commonly and palpably felt sense of acceptance and belongingness to the nation?

As often discoursed with some apparent justifications, that the divided Malaysian education system and particularly the vernacular mother tongue-based schools are the hindrances in a still dim outlook for Malaysian nation-building and national harmony, after more than half-century of national independence and sovereignty (see Danni Rais, in Danial Rahman, The Star Online, 11 February 2016, on the Chinese medium vernacular schools, deemed to be spreading racialism in the nation...) ³².

In marked contrast, Yeo Bee Yin (The Heat, June 28-July 4 2014, p.16), who is a product of the Chinese vernacular system, quite coherently observes that many non-Malay parents as such, would prefer to send their children to the national schools,

*...but the quality of education in these schools (national schools) is getting worse. Their choices have nothing to do with race, and everything to do with quality... It is inherently a policy problem... **If there is a factor to racism, I would say the teachers have a great role to play in moulding students. ...We need open-minded teachers who encourage their students to think, and not blindly agree with (certain misplaced positions possibly), ...schools are not just about knowledge; (a school) is a place for you to develop your character and your (living) skills. ... (I acquired) values of hard work and determination from (the Chinese primary) schools.***

As the above young Malaysian parliamentarian has emphasized, it is paramount for parents, education officials, teachers and students to look intently at and for quality in education. The careful monitoring of all forms of

³² The above writer correctly points out that the continuance of vernacular schools in Malaysia is a right protected by Article 12 of the Federal Constitution. Further, Article 152 provides that while Malay is the national language, all Malaysians are free to teach, learn and use any other language, other than for official purposes. The writer rightly points out, as a historical and socio-political learning point for Malaysian citizens, that the history of Malayan independence was fought for and achieved by all races- the Malays, Chinese and Indians together, —...for the rights and development of all Malaysians...”. A reality in the educational scenario today is the fact that about 80,000 Malay students attend Chinese vernacular schools, reflecting the acceptance of the quality of the above schools and that this preference is an expression of a choice and right going beyond the boundaries of race and language. This, the researcher is of the view shows that concerned and ‘thinking’ adult citizens can further explore to close the gaps projected by emplaced institutional structures between the races.

education available in Malaysia by broad-based and broad-minded academics-cum-education administrators, to ensure that the shaping of the character of our Malaysian youth is in line with the 'pluralistic-multicultural' philosophy and intentions implicitly imbedded in the National Education Philosophy as well as the national Vision 2020 programmes.

This research does not as such advocate a return to, as Wang Gungwu [in Ibrahim, Zawawi, 'Globalization and National Identity: Managing Ethnicity and Cultural Pluralism in Malaysia' *Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS)* p.117, as in Christopher Rodney Yeoh, *The Pluralism Project*, p.5] had observed, to "... (the) amorphous open pluralism (and) the coastal pluralism with port towns (as) conspicuous examples of cultural pluralism in the traditional milieu, ... (illustrating how such pluralism was) an integral part of a local reality".

Further, as Hefner (as in Ibrahim, Zawawi., *ibid.* p.118,) in his study of the state of the pre-colonial Malayan society, observes that from the period of the Malaccan empire itself, which was regarded as a cosmopolitan maritime centre, there "... was a pattern of economic „*pluricentrism*“;... *(with) its cultural diversity and mobility. (The organisation that took shape) was conducive to inter-ethnic collaboration and rich cultural exchange*".

Thus, as Zawawi (*ibid*) emphatically notes, that the ongoing problems which confront the modern Malaysian nation-state in managing its 'competing' ethnicities does not stem from the "initial pluralism" as such, but rather from the subsequent 'colonial elaborations' of the above in the later sovereign states.

Underscoring Zawawi's stand-point above, Robert Hefner (2001:51) analyses the role played by Islamic resurgence in Malaysia, on top of the other existing socio-economic fissures as such, in exacerbating the growing hostility in the 1960s and 1970s, between the Malays and non-Malays, pointing out that,

...the Islamic resurgence and state set-asides (policies) have fortified the Malay versus non-Malay divide. The fact that a major stream in the Islamic resurgence has been coloured by ethnic chauvinism, has inhibited inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations and widened the social distance between (the) communities.

The current wave of concern among Muslim clerics and possibly society in general, with possibly, counter concerns by other religious groups, is that increasing pluralistic practices can erode the Muslims' faith. Setting a trend of an anti-pluralistic stance, in 2006, the then mufti of Perak, Hanussani Zakaria, warned against pluralism and liberalism making a strong stand in Malaysia. He emphasized that pluralistic elements in national governance programmes pose a threat to Islam.

Thus, the on-going, regular multi-cultural practices of 'kongsi-roya'- 'shared celebrations', during the various times of the yearly multicultural festivals, were discouraged by the Muslim clerics.

Even with the efforts by Dr. Mahathir during his tenure as the Prime Minister in the 1980s, in institutionalizing Islam- the establishment of an Islamic banking system, the streamlining of Islamic administration in the nation, the establishment of the Islamic International University, the incorporation of the Islamic Youth Movement- ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia), in the government, and further, the relatively positive economic growth in that period, the question of the development and evolution of a 'common social will' upheld by all Malaysians, has only stumbled along, and this, as generally felt, is not a yet a palpable reality.

With the growing attempts made by religious groups and individuals, possibly against pluralism being the cardinal constituent, the mainstream philosophy and spirit of the nation's national ideology particularly-the Rukun Negara, and the National Education Philosophy, Chandra Muzaffar strongly opposed the anti-pluralism stance of the above groups, saying it is "narrow and exclusivist" in a nation such as Malaysia. The above world-renowned writer and thinker explains,

There is no doubt at all that many Malaysian Muslims under the tutelage of the ulamas subscribe to such interpretations of the religion (Islam). It is reflected in their blind adherence to certain aspects of the „Fiqh“ (Islamic jurisprudence) traditions, which have been discarded in other parts of the Muslim world. If a narrow interpretation of text and tradition, in order to bolster an exclusive notion of religious identity, has tremendous pull among Malaysian Muslims, it is partly

because of the country's delicate ethnic balance which reinforces the siege mentality on all sides (2006).

As such, Amali Ismaila O.O. and Jekayinfa A. (2013, pp.140-146), have strongly recommended, in connection to the challenges of national integration in Nigeria today, that among other measures, a form of **„co-associational democratic reconstructive education“ programme with the ultimate goal of forming a sense of a national consciousness in the young and in society in general, needs to be given urgent attention.**

Taking objective cognizance of the existence of the diverse groups divided along tribal loyalties, different religious faiths and the manifestation of practices of cultural pluralism in the people's daily lives, all making it difficult for nation-building to move forward on an even trajectory, Nigeria has thus often undertaken to use education and its institutions for cultivating the values and norms required for social integration. This was based on the premise and understanding *that there is no social integration without the development of social solidarities.*

As such, the reconstructive-cum-citizenship education programmes attempted, as advocated by the above writers, is focused on the requisite demands, functions and characteristics of the cultural matrix of the nation, so as to create an inclusive national consciousness. It is desired, the writers strongly advocate, that not only a core of pan-Nigerian but also universal social values, are constructed, to create an inclusive platform for the Nigerian youth, to grow upon and co-exist harmoniously (ibid).

Research studies show that in multi-ethnic societies endowed with vast diversities of language and cultural elements, and further, with a clear lagging of a **common ideological-values foundation, a sense of confidence for the institutionalisation of real representation of the interests of the different communities** and thenceforth, the emergence of a political culture based on multiculturalism and a common social will, become all the more socially wanting.

The shortcomings of national education programmes, clearly revealed by the lack of the above, even at the apex and crucial tertiary education levels as in Nigeria (ibid), and in Ethiopia (Dumessa, Melkamu & Ameyu Godesso, 2013), have resulted in weak nation-building and thus poor levels of national integration.

In both the above nations, the writers point out, a comprehensive approach together with nationhood oriented educational measures particularly, seem to be lacking. Underlying all other efforts towards national integration, such as direct educational learning and socialization; as well as the indirect educational measures- the intra and inter-cultural and inter-religious activities, equalitarian and balanced economic development, youth development programmes and the strengthening of both nations' national education philosophies, firmly grounded towards achieving national unity within diversity, as the above writers have found, appear urgently in need of rejuvenation.

In contrast, another vastly multi-ethnic nation,- Tanzania in the African continent, as Illana R. Kessler (2006) reports as based on her study, has enjoyed peacefulness for the last 44 years since the nation's independence. The above researcher emphasises that the building blocks of the nation's peaceful political culture are the citizens' strong sense of national identity and national pride.

The above writer observes,

Diversity presents a challenge to national unity, but is not insurmountable if the political leadership is genuinely committed to de-emphasising sub-national identities in the public sphere. Rhetorics, symbols and civics education can create a strong national identity,....with legal protection and equal treatment of all groups in order to reduce the salience of sub-national loyalties in politics ...

Tanzania's rhetorical emphasis on just and moral policies was not uncommon, but the high degree to which it actually implemented these policies set it apart from other African socialist states. ...Domestic policies such as establishing ujamaa collective villages", a villageization" programme embracing (members of) the different communities in the whole nation, developed a sense of family-hood for the people. The ethnically and religiously inclusive nation-

building project put in motion, helped construct a strong Tanzanian national identity that contributed to the low levels of group conflicts. This, the above writer asserts, helped establish a political culture that informed the nation's common political identity and national pride, in nurturing the "Tanzanian first" citizen (ibid, p. 10).

It is thus imperative that societies, even homogeneous ones today, need to be cognizant of the diverse demands of its peoples, and thereby mould and prepare its young and the larger society, towards an understanding and acceptance of the social commonalities towards affirming the social congruencies constituting a national consciousness.

5.3.3. Pulls of multiculturalism- Towards congruencies for a common national consciousness

In multicultural polities the sense of recognition for smaller ethnic groups is not a strongly and evenly subscribed ascription. The question of redistribution of economic wealth often has its roots in the histories of economic and social injustices supposedly experienced.

Thus, recognition calls for that recognition of one's history, and the acknowledgement that it warrants the right redistribution benefits for the affected communities (Nordberg, C. 2006). This above stand-point well applies to the Malaysian context, as the socio-political contestations often revolve around the question of recognition and economic redistribution.

As well highlighted of the Roma-gypsy minority in Finland, the universalist ideals of equality and justice, include the Roma in the composite picture of the national citizenry, as full and equal members with the same rights, obligations and aspirations as the rest of the Finnish society.

However, as Nordberg points out, the Romains still consider themselves as an underclass. Claims for economic justice are often made by them, as a consequence of their poor integration and access to the larger Finnish culture. Nevertheless, Romas want to belong to the Finland nation. As Yuval Davis

(2004) notes, that belonging and thereby membership in a nation, evokes deep emotions, which help to embed the individual into the larger community. However, for this to become a ‘reality’ in the fullest sense of the term, the cultural belonging commonly present in the minority cultural communities, need to be broadened into the larger community by a process of cultural democratization. Each has its place, and yet is ‘absorbed fully’ into the larger society. “We cannot leave the emotional (the pulls of cultural groups) outside our considerations and our theorizations of social justice and equality” (Yuval-Davis, *ibid*).

This then allows for every sub-ethnic group to attain the sense of a cultural citizenship, and be a part of the whole.

In this regard, as Brubaker has aptly noted, that the nation-state should be understood as an institutional and socio-psychological reality (1990. p. 311, in Nordberg, C. p. 527).

Thus, in relation to the minority groups in Malaysia, nationhood values education can promote the understanding that cultural embeddedness can be a social reality, and that it is an essential source of a group’s ‘system of meaning, values, and ideals’, that it “cannot be abstracted away to private spheres” (Parekh, 2004, p. 201, in Nordberg C., p. 537).

The broad nationhood values implicit in the above stand-points, can be disseminated to our young Malaysians, so that their individual cultural embeddedness can be aided to seamlessly merge into a larger Malaysian national identity, developing from the variant and yet ‘contributive’ social strengths arising from one’s endowed community cultural belonging.

It can often be the case that a society with its diverse citizenry is held together by the open use of welfare-type programmes. However, the cultural belonging to the greater society is constructed through the adoption, by the powers that be, of a form of virtue ethics in their dealings, equitably, with all groups of the society. This necessarily entails the breaking of rigid cultural and communicative boundaries through various constructive educational measures and integration programmes. A cultural democratization can then become

firmly institutionalized, which then can allow for those who are in the periphery of the national society- the minorities, to be empowered to participate in it as ‘recognized and accepted’ individuals.

When cultural forms and ‘peculiarities’ have developed over many generations in ethnic groups, they can manifest certain cultural particularities, and thereby, bring about social differences in relation to one group as ‘opposed’ to the others. This context can be exacerbated through various interventions and policies advocating particular forms of recognition and redistribution strategies. These can invariably lead to possibly disturbing notions of exclusion and stigmatization. What commonly are not welcome by statesman leaders of nations, it can be pointed out, are the ‘cause and effect’ type of negative outcomes such as the emergence of parochial group consciousness and rigid group identities.

As Mohamed Mustafa Ishak (2014) elucidates, that identity and a belief in a shared culture, being often creations of particular political and strategic actions, and the result of historical circumstances, are thus fluid and situational. In Malaysia, the above scholar elaborates, the problem is accentuated in that, although ethnic identities can be constantly subject to change, “... the people are still strongly attached to their collective (group) identities, in contrast to a (visualized) national identity which is yet to be developed” (ibid).

The challenge then for the multicultural Malaysian nation, it can be well affirmed, is to engender nationhood values that can gradually build “...relatively strong, cohesive and common identification bonds between the people and the state” (ibid), for a nation-state to evolve into a communitarian polity.

In line with the learned stand taken by the renowned American sociologist, Rogers Brubaker, that a *nation-state should be seen as an “institutional and socio-psychological reality” (1990. p. 311, op cit.), then communitarianism as a national philosophy, helps us to see the individual and also his collective-ethnic group, as constituent and integral parts of the whole.* This crucial perspective then, enhances the appreciation of the vitality of individual and

group rights, that one is born into and irrevocably tied to an –existing human culture” (Gyekye. 1997:104, as in Mwimnobi, O.S. 2003, footnote 12, p. 43). This latter aspect of one’s social reality, being one part, is essentially then a product of the larger societal communitarianism’ (ibid).

As Nordberg (2006 p.537) explicitly argues, with regards the question of social inclusion, on the basis of his study of the Roma minority community in Finland, that —.in order to be fully included in the larger society, a **cultural democratization** is necessary”. For this to **manifest as an everyday reality**, the above writer advocates,

...the breaking of cultural and communicative boundaries through education and integration,...the Roma do not explicitly call for a transformation of societal institutions in order to reflect the differentiated experiences of the (diverse) population, but rather (ask) for the means of empowering the Roma themselves and for transforming social and ethnic relations between the people as individuals (ibid).

The vast lessons for our nation are implicitly embedded in the above propositions, as they are deemed appropriate to draw the Romanis into the greater Finnish society.

In Malaysia then, a particular form of English nationhood values education, complementing other approaches, can possibly bolster the national goal of acceptance across ethnic divisions’, towards social solidarity and harmony. The nation’s youth- the secondary school-going youth can be the central focus for a processual’ and progressive transformation towards societal communitarian values and nationhood.

The existing national institutions need then to adapt and transform sufficiently in order to partake of the globalizing, mainstream trends, towards inclusiveness and a common, national consciousness. However, the primacy of the nation’s foundational institutions-the Federal Constitution, and the Rukun Negara will need to be constantly guarded, and its pillars pertaining to the special position of the Malay-bumiputra communities, the Malay language as the official national language, the Malay rulers, Islam as the official state religion, and the legitimate rights of the non-indigenous peoples. The transformations in

national society towards the desired inclusiveness of all Malaysians need thus to be operationalized within the ambit of the above pillars of the Federal Constitution.

The above often proclaimed inclusiveness then can be the pathway enabling the accordance of the recognition and the fulfillment of the legitimate and expectant hopes of all groups of Malaysians, towards national oneness. This pathway for the attainment of the latter goal will necessarily be to demonstrate to the national society, that the national leadership and governance are perpetually and manifestly in the service for the well-being of all Malaysians.

Thus, with respect to the **triangulation analysis** of the findings of this study, both of the qualitative and quantitative data analyses, it can thus be concluded that the study respondents appear to hold the following salient positions, taking four positive and two negative stands.

- i. the respondents as a whole essentially held that more nationhood English language (inclusive of other national curriculum subjects galvanized for national integration) content can help inculcate nationhood values towards Malaysian solidarity- positive (+ve),
- ii. the younger (form 2) students are more positively oriented towards the English language teachers' English lesson nationhood presentations, than the form fours; and the cognitively higher academic performers- both the younger and older students, tended towards positive learning of language nationhood values and national integration content- [generally positive (+ve)] ,
- iii. the examination needs in the prevalent education system appears to be the primary focus and motivation of the English language teachers and language administrators. They are not averse, however, to educate school youth further in good citizenship education, that is, they tend to be both negative (-ve) and positive (+ve),
- iv. the overarching, national social-political climate and the portending and signifying issues, the findings indicate, are the primary concerns of the education authorities and Malaysian personalities. English language

nationhood values education are contributive to national integration and solidarity, but this is necessarily predicated on, and realizable together with further committed and urgent heart-felt, all-encompassing deliberations and improvements to the Malaysian educational architecture, for the needs of the Malaysian youth growing into adulthood and as a committed citizenry contributing towards the interests of the nation- [negative (-ve) to an extent, and generally positive (+ve) future orientation].

(**Note:** -ve, +ve refer to negative and positive positions held by respondents respectively).

Thus, convergently then, the methodological *triangulation* data gathering and analyses (Bryman, Alan E. <http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf>), indicate that there are two negative and almost four positive stands taken by the study respondents, with regards the impact of English nationhood values education in helping our youth acquire an enhanced sense of national integration towards Malaysian national solidarity.

The following table 5.1. below (p.306) shows the overall findings, seen together with the respondents' perceptive assessments of the English lesson nationhood content-scale of determination ratings, which are taken as purportedly impacting and contributing towards the school-youth's sense of national integration.

In this tabulated illustration below, the students' ubiquitously exposed and subjected perceptions of the nationhood English lesson themes in relation to the Scale of Determination' measurement device, as in the students questionnaire (section 3.4, Instrumentation, p.135; number 4 in the table below), when taken in a totalistic perspective with the other levels of analyses, then the overall analysis outcomes are found to be rather more weighted in a somewhat promising, positive direction [1]. see section 4.2, p.157; Table 4.2, p.158. All students were involved with regards the quantitative statistical data analysis; 2). Section 4.3, p.164; Table 4.9, p. 172. All student respondents were involved in

the qualitative-quantitative data analysis; 3). Section 4.4, p. 172; Table 4.10, p.182, in-depth, small-group interviews, qualitative-quantitative analysis].

The nine positive counts of this study, as against five negative counts, are indicated in bold font in the following table.

Table 5.1.

Overall Findings- Nationhood Values „Education“ for Students Towards National Integration

Respondents /Analysis Markers	Form Twos	Form Fours	Combined Student Groups	Teachers, Language Administrators	Malaysian Personalities
1. Quantitative Analysis	(Positive)	(Positive)	Positive	-	-
2. Qualitative-Quantitative Analysis Presentation	Balanced, Positive Stand-point	Generally negative	Generally negative	-	-
3. In-depth Interview Analysis	Positive	Generally negative	Mixed response, Generally negative	Some impact only- Negative outlook inclination	Negative, Mainly positive stand-point
4. Perceptive Assessment of Lessons- ‘Scale of Determination’	Mainly <u>Healthy</u> -Positive stand-point	Mainly <u>Average</u> -Generally positive stand-point	-	Mainly <u>Average</u> -Generally positive stand-point	-

5.4 Implications of the study

1. The national education system has often been said to have lost some of its ‘competitiveness’ in relation to other global, established education systems, (although this can and tends to be vigorously debated by certain groups), owing to the changes introduced in the education system, particularly, as a an outcome of the removal of the English language as the medium of instruction in schools. This clearly

then relates to the propositions of the new 2013-2025 Malaysian Education Blueprint.

The need for the **upgrading of the teaching and learning of English in the Malaysian school system, towards global standards, of not only the common proficiency skills, but also the intense and committed learning of the literary and life applications of literacy tools-** referencing skills, inferencing, the use and understanding of connotational language, metaphorical language use, expansions and elaborations, alliterations, dialoguing, and so on, is most urgent today. The dire lack of employability of our public school and university products can possibly be eased with our graduates possessing good English, Bahasa Malaysia as well as other language skills.

2. Following from the above, and importantly for the urgent task of *education for citizenship and nationhood*, the *teacher education curriculum* appears to *require a renewed educational paradigm*. This can be focused upon future teachers acquiring the values and skills of what **humanistic „living together“** entails in everyday life. The principles of universal education as expounded by the UNESCO (United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation, United Nations Organisation) 1996 report thus, needs to be given the grounded life value, across the whole Malaysian educational spectrum, and not only in and for the highly-placed learning institutions.

The Malaysian education curriculum needs to emphasise more explicitly and unambiguously, the character developing elements of **collaborative-sharing in educational experiential learning**, as professed in the new Malaysian Education Blueprint 2013-2025, even from the stages of primary education, which is thus most appropriate and potentially rewarding, for a multi-ethnic nation such as Malaysia.

3. With the nation's **youth** population representing a third of the nation's total population today, it is most crucial for the „*right*“ *definition* for a **consolidated and „progressive“ demographic architecture of the nation**, such that the school-youth's education is well-immersed in the ethos of the nation's national ideology- the Rukun Negara. Then, the supposed „**cultural and ethnic cleavages and differences**“ can be **meaningfully „educated“ and accepted** in our national psyche, so that it becomes ingrained concretely in all citizens' hearts and minds, a **one common and binding Malaysian consciousness**. This can well go to illustrate the applicational and the commonly regarded simple, socially beneficial and pragmatic principles of the social integration theories, such as that of Ali Mazrui's Model of Integrative Process (1969, pp. 50-51, in thesis above), and that of Pettigrew's Inter-group Contact Theory (1998, p. 49 in thesis above). This is imperative for the functioning **national governance to enable** this youth force to be the nation's *_buffer and bulwark_* for national stability, survival and contribute concretely in the nation's trajectory towards holistic national development and progress.
4. It is essential for the *future socio-political stability of Malaysia that our „maturing“ youth need to acquire pluralistic-multicultural and moderate values*, firmly constructed on the principles and values of the nation's national ideology- the **Rukun Negara**. The *nation's founding precepts for an equitable and pluralistic democracy and its practices in societal governance*, closely governed by the tenets of the 1957 *Federal Constitution*, can further be given its due attention.
5. With the long and well-established public education system in the country, for the above issues (numbers 1 to 4 above) to become well manifested in the school students' lives as such, **teacher recruitment and classroom teaching** require the serious attention of the national leadership. The transformation in Malaysian education as strongly advocated by the 2013-2025 Malaysian Education Blueprint, and further, together with the combined educational approach

encompassing the well-researched stand-points of education psychologists Piaget (1952) and Vygotsky (1962) and that of the cognitive and affective learning taxonomy by the educationist Barrett (Clymer,1968), as advocated in this study (section 2.3.8, p. 91; Fig 3, p.98), it is of utmost urgency today, that **teachers and classroom teaching** need to be skilfully guided further to understand what the natural and formative development of the young learner entails, both for *officially certified, examination needs and for the „real world“, „rounded“ social development of the learner.*

As this study has involved the public school secondary students, it cannot be denied that the *early primary (0 to 5 years age range of children) and primary school education (from 6 years of age), are the formative stages for well- grounded citizenship education.* The *stark question* to be asked is, does our national education system sufficiently focus on the *character development* of students. A holistic education trajectory as necessitated for the above, incorporating nationhood values education, appears to be lacking. [Note: This relates relevantly with the statement by the Malaysian minister of education, in London that Malaysia is *ready* now to consider developing an education curriculum for children from 0 to 3 years of age (2017, p. 21); early education emphases in South Korea, from 0 to 5 years of age, on character development and life values, are seen as contributing factors for the nation's rapid development and progress (Vishalache Balakrishnan, 2017, p.20)].

In this nation, *teaching*, as its first and unequivocal task, needs to undertake and enable *Rukun Negara-nationhood education* in the youth student charges, employing the ready *rich* and diverse, healthy learning resources available today, and be geared towards the cultivation of the sense of a Malaysian consciousness.

The **transformational focus** directed at this Malaysian school-youth and their larger bretheren, which at the current time is seemingly not of *one voice*", has

to necessarily be constituted of moderate, common, universal values, which then can conduce and nurture Malaysian citizenship-nationhood education.

5.5. Recommendations of the study

The following recommendations can be given some pointed and possibly, merited attention.

It is pre-eminent today, that the National Unity Department in the Prime Minister's Office, is given the fullest authority and powers, and takes up the national challenge, to assist and direct all public departments, private establishments and non-governmental organisations, to ensure clear inclusive practices are constantly adhered to, towards the fulfillment of the 1Malaysia venture and the nation's Vision 2020 trajectory. The Malaysian youth and the other respondents of this study generally, as based on the researcher's findings, look to the national institutions charged with promoting and ensuring national integration and solidarity in the nation, particularly so in today's socio-political atmosphere, to monitor and streamline the activities of the various public and private organisations in the nation.

The unity department can work more closely, on a regular and felt pedagogical platform, with schools and universities, so as to integrate academic learning with *convivial programmes on „learning to live together“*.

The required trajectory towards national oneness, exemplifying a common social will, should therefore be the ultimate goal of the above national department.

The over-arching goal and direction of the nation's education curriculum needs to be the inclusive and all-embracing instrumental ethos, laying out the trajectory seen and lived in by all Malaysians,

for a cohesive nationhood and a form of national development as advocated in the Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy. There should be a further intensification of the present generally quiet and cursory attention given to the exposition and discourse for the above, in schools and society. The ultimate goal has to be the nurturing of a harmonious Malaysian civil society.

A realization and acknowledgement needs to be engendered for the dawning in leader-administrators that today, the ‘3Rs’ education curriculum focus- Reading, Writing and Arithmetics, requires a strong jolt of a well-architected educational impetus, with the inclusion of a fourth ‘R’. This is, the ‘*Relationship with one another*’ dimension, that is, to ‘educate’ our youth in the knowledge of the differences in one another’s cultures, religions and beliefs, towards a socialised and ‘heart-felt’ appreciation and acceptance of the above. The schools and teacher education institutions should necessarily be the harbingers and torch-bearers of these efforts involved [Institut Kajian Etnik (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2014].

That nationhood values education towards a practical and common understanding of what constitutes the ethos of pluralistic communitarianism as the basis of Malaysian society, should become the common modus operandi theme upheld by all public departmental authorities. This, very much needs to be promoted particularly, at all educational institutions, more so in the early education ones, as a socially and ethically desired civilizational life-stance, and rhetorically presented as something that needs to be seen as essential for the multicultural Malaysian social context. For post-secondary school youth thenceforth, the national ideology- the Rukun Negara grounded in the concept of a meta-nationality emphasizing the importance of a communitarian social order as the determinant of societal stability and upward social mobility, can be discoursed, and the principles thereof, instilled in the above youth group.

Further, it needs to be stressed and rationally put across to the nation's youth, that the above clearly merits a much higher place in life, as opposed to an ethno-centric, communalistic perspective openly professed to benefit sectional and limited group interests.

The cardinal role of parents in imbedding concrete values and ethical and humanistic principles as through their respective religions and cultural background contexts, is crucial. This, strongly needs to be endeavoured with the utmost conviction and effectiveness, in the light of rapid and 'drastic' changes being brought about by globalisation and its concomitants, attempting to impact rather 'rigidly' on young learners' perceptions and regard for 'other' Malaysians different from them.

In our nation, in the context of our cultural and religious diversity, with its essentially imbeddedly existent common nationhood values and their significance for a shared national life and consciousness, as the nation has not 'broken up' all these years as such, can be enunciated as follows,

- i. the respect accorded to parents and elders,
- ii. the primary duty of living in harmony with nature and the environment,
- iii. upholding the integrity of the family as the basic unit of society,
- iv. the primacy accorded to abiding with the national laws for the well-being of all citizens,
- v. ***practising mutual respect and the acceptance*** of one another's cultural ways, religious beliefs and backgrounds,
- vi. the unreserved, all-embracing promotion of ***virtuous leadership that extols moral precepts exemplifying truth, rationality, and ethics in all administrative and socio-economic considerations and deliberations.***

The nation's nation-builders, with ***teachers*** being at the forefront as one group of institutional nation-builders, need to be professionally, deeply and assuredly

imbued with the knowledge that the nation today is faced with deepening negative forces, much opposed to the tenets of the nation's constitution and national ideology, and are clamouring for exclusive group and sectarian interests and recognition.

Therefore, the *teachers* and all Malaysians in general, need to be well educated via the national media avenues, and through written and visual sources, that they- the teachers, parents and the national citizenry, stand as the entrusted and noble countervailing entity against the above, and can function as the most capable, persuasive and constructive agencies, entrusted to ensure balanced national development.

5.6. Concluding outlook- Engendering a common future forward

It is unwaveringly acknowledged by the youth, the teachers and the senior, Malaysian and foreign academic personalities involved in this study, that nothing is complete and fully attained, in our multiracial nation or other even developed nations like the United States, without being of one heart and soul. There can be, they concede, disagreements along the way. *But, we need to cultivate constantly the medium of how to „speak and think as one”, with committed leadership to the cause of national integration.* As responsible Malaysians, desiring to nurture a positively committed, rational generation Y, who can then surely help this nation move forward with confidence and vigour, we then need concertedly to reinvent our life-paradigm platforms, to construct and structure a lived modus operandi of a simple, rakyat based acceptance, not a ketuanan-authority domination ambience imposed on the common society, and thus trust and shared multicultural commonalities for the realization of further progress towards an embracing co-existential living, shouldering common challenges together.

Our primary stumbling block to national integration, as most senior respondents, particularly the emphasis given to it by Tun Dr. Mahathir, is the divided education system, which has been allowed to take root conspicuously and visibly from the early to the later, secondary stages of education.

The national schools are nevertheless, the first choice of sections of society, particularly the Malay, rural and generally, the poor and the lower middle income class of Malaysians.

With professional and inclusive teachers and a vibrant learning environment generated in the national schools, it is hoped that more Malaysian children will be educated in them. The trajectory of education ensuing from the national schools is not only constituted of the implementation of the national, common language and medium of instruction and learning, but the opportunities and life values the national and education institutions will certainly implant and imbue in our children. These can be, as it has always been professed by the various education reports, the Federal Constitution, the national ideology- the Rukun Negara, and the National Education Philosophy, to help the nation evolve towards communal harmony and national solidarity.

Unity is plainly and indisputably, the very key to survival and future. The very real and divisive politics today of race and religion, which have the dangerous and invidious potential to misdirect our youth, from the right values of good citizenship, need to be checked and thwarted by every means possible (Johan Jaafar, 2014, p. 12). The national agenda attesting to the above can well be constructed with inclusive values education, further, in the English language programme, History and also other fields of education, cohesively constituted on the platform of reason and the spirit enshrined in the national documents mentioned above.

Children- our school youth, when discoursed on the opportunities for advancement and fulfillment in life, taking the early life-steps on Malaysian soil, need urgently today, to be enabled by educators to grasp the whole gamut of Malaysian multiculturalism. All learners- the students, teachers and education leaders, need to understand anew the ramifications and the right practices of multiculturalism for national well-being.

Edward Said (<http://www1.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=3266>), ruminating on the importance and power of the concept of gesture, provides

the perspective, that it —. indicates a taking of responsibility, a thoughtfulness and desire to understand” (Campbell, J., 2014, p. 10). The crucial elements embodied in offering or advancing a gesture, in Said’s view are,

- i. taking responsibility,
- ii. acknowledging others and the Other,
- iii. exercising our innate capacity for thoughtfulness, and
- iv. availing to oneself the human readiness to be compassionate.

In the present world of *intense „multiversities”* (as opposed to universal values and universalities), where such above values are so desperately needed, Said reminds us of the urgency today, of once again demonstrating and exemplifying *simple gestures*, particularly for the simple recognition and acknowledgement of the *„Other*”. This then, he upholds, would provide the basis for mutual engagement among different peoples. The *modus operandi* of “... *finding a way of living together, each in our own manner, as equals, despite the past...*” (Mandela, in above, *ibid*), is necessarily achieved with the starting point being *the simple gesture of recognition, and certainly, mutual respect*. From this then, *germinates the „right” values, reinforced through concerted educational „rebuilding bridges” efforts, for national co-existence and acceptance*. This unequivocal task then, necessarily entails a mental paradigm shift and reconstruction that can help form social bridges to renew the prevalent conditioned social fabric of our nation, in the face of future catastrophes that can tend to degrade human dignity and sustainable living (Dzulkifli Abdul Razak, the Sun, 14.1.2015, p. 13).

The *„right values”* required for this above national undertaking then, that appear somewhat elusive and illusionary in the present times in our nation, as perceived from the generally prevalent divisive social climate, can be seen as tending to become divorced from an already existing, but generally thin ethos (sense) of integration. This is exemplified by the resurgence of social fissures and the tendencies towards excluvism, pimordialism and ethnocentrism (Chandra Muzaffar, 2010, pp. 9, 161). It is well acknowledged that —. ethnocentrism in one breeds ethnocentrism in others, and especially when the situation is uncertain and violent, the reason for heightened ethnocentrism is to

create distance between the conjured ethnicities” [Ooi Kee Beng, in Lim and others. (Eds.). 2009, p. 449].

As much as the ensuing obfuscations and the rather brief platitudes for clarifications down-playing the above, are a common phenomenon in our nation today, the *youth and society need very much to be clearly instructed educationally to appreciate the non-debatable constitutional provisions as regards the position of the indigenous communities, the state rulers, Islam, the legitimate rights of the non-indigenous peoples, and so on. Seen together with the above, without accentuating the „ketuanan-others“ social bifurcation, the indigenous communities themselves need to be nurtured to be free of all fears of the loss of their “special position”, as it is safeguarded by the nation’s Constitution.*

Therefore, this study holds that nationhood values education constituted of these above cardinal issues and other related elements discussed in this study, can possibly help our youth to grow within them, a sense of a cosmopolitan Malaysian identity, the nucleus of which needs to be epistemologically to become Malaysian- that, —. *Being Malaysian is to have become Malaysian*” (ibid, p.426).

More urgently today, with some untoward forces of influence both in the local context and from the international arena making their presence felt, the nation, with the adult population at the top, that is, all who hold positions of authority in whatever form, and those at the bottom levels of society, to use the common expression- a commingled top-down and bottom-up perspectival context, this prevalent social climate then needs to be envisioned towards a national oneness. The *middle ground and the middle path* for a multi-cultural nation such as ours, can well be the pragmatic pathway which, the researcher unreservedly feels, needs to be further concretised with a concerted focus on nationhood values of moderation, possibly affably and gregariously derived from language education.

The **cultural differences**, that the Malaysian peoples are endowed with—the multi-cultural, plural Malaysia, although often put in sharp conflictual terms and focus by certain individuals with clearly limited outlooks, can be well appreciated by all Malaysians, particularly the **youth**, as a Malaysian pillar of a shared strength, to be galvanized for an on-going prosperity, through a ‘middle-ground education’ approach. This latter approach has often been advocated throughout mankind’s history, by ‘well-meaning’ religious figures and the world’s ‘wisest’ leaders. It is thus of paramount importance to recognize the pulse and tone of the day, as shown by the findings of this study to a large extent, that promoting the spirit of sensibility and consciously avoiding tendencies and the practice of provoking sensitivities with regards the communal, mutually ‘dosed’ and ‘taboo’ subjects, can be conducive for school-youth to move forward towards national integration.

As it has been discussed all through this study, the above is still an on-going and achievable goal, which can further be fostered through the school English language values education (as well as other school languages and subjects of study), based on the *primary foci of the Rukun Negara, the commonalities being, the belief in God, respect for the law of the land and for one another, forgiveness, tolerance, understanding and compassion, virtue, „acceptance“, and moderation. It is necessary that all Malaysians constantly take stock of „thår human and social selves“ of who and what they stand for in the Malaysian social milieu first and foremost, and attempt to contribute to the well-being of one and all, by advancing the requisite and inclusive social mechanisms, and embracing the tenets which exemplify the „hows‘to attain the above for Malaysian posterity.*

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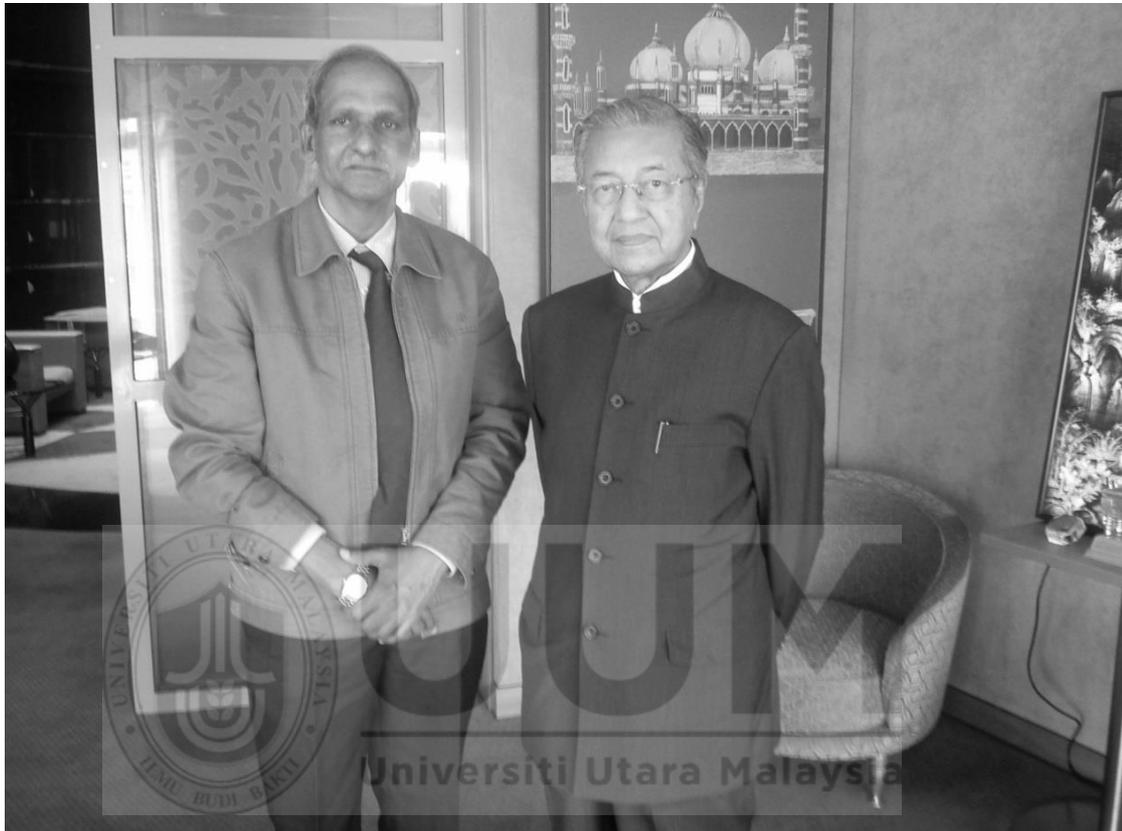
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS WITH MALAYSIAN PERSONALITIES

1. **Research student with Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, former Prime Minister of Malaysia.**



2. Research student with Tan Sri Joseph Kurup, Minister in the Prime Minister's Office for unity and national integration.



**APPENDIX B: LETTERS FROM MINISTRY OF
EDUCATION, STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS AND
PERDANA LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION**

1. Letter from Ministry of Education



BAGIAN PERANCANGAN DAN PENYELIDIKAN DASAR PENDEKIDIKAN
KEMENTERIAN PELAJARAN MALAYSIA
ARAS 1-4, E-8
KOMPLEKS KERAJAAN PARCEL E
PUSAT PENTADBIRAN KERAJAAN PERSEKUTUAN
62000 PUTRAJAYA

Telefon : 03-8846571
Faks : 03-8846579

Ref. Kami : KP(BPPDP)603/5/XLQ.10 (53)
Tarikh : 30 Oktober 2012

SaranBran Nairu A/L M.N. Nairu
No. 37, Taman Mutiara
08000 Sungai Petani
Kedah

Tuan/Puan,

**Keputusan Untuk Menjalankan Kurikulum Di Sekolah Institut Pendidikan Tahap
Pelajaran Menengah dan Bahagian-Bahagian Di Dalam Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia**

Adalah saya dengan hormatnya memberitahu bahawa permohonan tuan/puan untuk
menjalankan kajian bertajuk :

1. The Incultation Of Nationhood Values In The Malaysian Secondary Schools: Bahasa
Malaysia And English " dibenarkan.

2. Keputusan ini adalah berdasarkan kepada cadangan penyelidikan dan instruksi kajian yang
tuan/puan kemukakan ke Bahagian ini. **Keputusan bagi membolehkan samop kajian perlu
diperolehi dari Ketua Bahagian/Pemarah, Pelajaran Menengah bertenangan.**

3. Sila tuan/puan kemukakan ke Bahagian ini sekurang-kurangnya laporan akhir kajian/laporan dalam
format elektronik berformat Pdf di dalam CD bersama rujukannya sebagai berikut.
Tuan/Puan juga diingatkan supaya mendapat kebenaran bertulis dahulu daripada Bahagian
ini sekiranya sebarang atau sebarangnya kegiatan kajian tersebut hendak dibentangkan di mana-
mana forum atau seminar atau ditunjukkan kepada media massa.

Sekian untuk makluman dan tindakan tuan/puan selanjutnya. Terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT KEPADA NEGARA"

Saya yang memulau pejabat


(DR. H. SABANI BIN DARUS)
Kamus Keseluruhan
Seri: Penyelidikan dan Penyelidikan
P.1, Bangunan
Bahagian Perancangan dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan
Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia



2. Letter from Kedah Education Department

	<p>كَبَائِرُ قَلْبِهِمْ يَسْفِكُونَ كَبَائِرُ قَلْبِهِمْ يَسْفِكُونَ JABATAN PELAJARAN NEGERI KEDAH DARUL AMAN KOMPLEKS PENDIDIKAN, JALAN STADIUM 05604 ALOR SETAR KEDAH DARUL AMAN</p>	<p>No. Telefon : 04 740 4000 No. Faks : 04 740 4342 Laman Web : www.kedah.edu.my</p>
---	---	--

Ruj Tuan:
Ruj Kami : JPK03-07/3212 Jld 9(12)
Tarikh : 10 Oktober 2012
24 Zulkaedah 1433

 Encik Suranthiran Naidu M.N Naidu
No. 17 TamanMutiara
08000 Sungai Petani

Tuan/Puan,

Kebenaran Untuk Menjalankan Kajian/Soal Selidik di Jabatan Pelajaran Negeri / Pejabat Pelajaran Daerah dan Sekolah – Sekolah di Negeri Kedah Darulaman

Saya dengan hormatnya diarah merujuk kepada perkara tersebut di atas.

2. Dimaklumkan bahawa permohonan tuan/puan untuk menjalankan kajian/ soal selidik, mengumpul dan mengutip data di Sekolah-sekolah di Negeri Kedah bertajuk “ **The Inculcation of Nationhood Values in the Malaysian National Secondary Schools: A Study of the Bahasa Malaysia and English Language Curriculum in Enhancing National Integration**” telah di **luluskan**. Sekolah-sekolah yang terlibat seperti berikut:-

- 2.1 Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Ibrahim, Sg Petani
- 2.2 Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Sultan Badlishah, Kulim
- 2.3 Kolej Sultan Abdul Hamid, Alor Setar
- 2.4 Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Convent Father Barré, Sg Petani.

3. Kelulusan ini adalah berdasarkan kepada apa yang terkandung di dalam cadangan penyelidikan yang tuan/puan kemukakan ke Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia. Tuan/Puan dikehendaki mengemukakan senaskah laporan akhir kajian setelah selesai kelak dan diingatkan supaya mendapat kebenaran terlebih dahulu daripada Jabatan ini sekiranya sebahagian atau sepenuhnya dapatan kajian tersebut hendak dibentangkan di mana-mana forum, seminar atau diumumkan kepada media.

4. Kebenaran ini adalah tertakluk kepada persetujuan Pengetua/Guru Besar sekolah berkenaan dan adalah sah sehingga 30 September 2013.

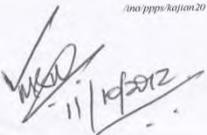
Sekian, terima kasih.

“ BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA “
“ PENDIDIKAN CEMERLANG KEDAH TERBILANG “

Saya yang menurut perintah,


(HAJI ROZAINI BIN AHMAD BCK)
Penolong Pengarah Kanan (Ketua Unit)
Unit Perhubungan dan Pendaftaran
Sektor Pengurusan Sekolah
b.p. Pengarah Pelajaran Negeri Kedah Darul Aman.

/no/ppps/kajian2012



3. Letter from Pulau Pinang Education Department.


JABATAN PELAJARAN PULAU PINANG
JALAN BUKIT GAMBIR
11700 PULAU PINANG
Tel : 04-657 5500, Faks : 04-658 2500
<http://jpapp.edu.my>



"1 MALAYSIA : RAKYAT DIDAHULUKAN PENCAPAIAN DIUTAMAKAN."

Ruj Tuan :
Ruj Kami : JPNPP(PER) 1000-4/2 Jld.3 (75)
Tarikh : 19 Februari 2013

Suranthiran Naidu A/I. M.N. Naidu
No:17 Taman Mutiara
08000 Sungai Petani
Kedah

Pg. ✓

Tuan/Puan,

KELULUSAN UNTUK MENJALANKAN KAJIAN DI SEKOLAH, INSTITUT PERGURUAN, JABATAN PELAJARAN NEGERI DAN BAHAGIAN - BAHAGIAN DI BAWAH KEMENTERIAN PELAJARAN MALAYSIA

Dengan hormatnya saya diarah merujuk perkara tersebut di atas.

2. Surat kelulusan menjalankan kajian daripada Bahagian Perancangan Dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia Bil. KP(BPPDP)603/5/JLD 10 (53) bertarikh 30 Oktober 2012 adalah dirujuk.

3. Dengan ini dimaklumkan bahawa pihak Jabatan Pelajaran Pulau Pinang, tiada halangan untuk Tuan/Puan menjalankan penyelidikan di sekolah-sekolah negeri Pulau Pinang yang bertajuk:

"The Inculcation Of Nationhood Values In The Malaysia Secondary Schools: Bahasa Malaysia And English"

4. Walau bagaimanapun Tuan/Puan adalah tertakluk kepada syarat-syarat seperti berikut:

- 4.1 Mendapat kebenaran dari Penggetua/Guru Besar sekolah berkenaan.
- 4.2 Tidak mengganggu perjalanan, peraturan dan disiplin sekolah.
- 4.3 Segala maklumat yang dikumpul adalah untuk tujuan akademik sahaja.
- 4.4 Menghantar satu salinan laporan kajian ke Jabatan ini setelah selesai kajian.
- 4.5 Sila kemukakan surat ini apabila berurusan dengan pihak sekolah.
- 4.6 Surat ini berkuatkuasa sehingga 31 Disember 2013.

Sekian, terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA"

Saya yang menurut perintah,

(ZURIDA BINTI MUSTAPHA)
Penolong Penkaltat Institusi Pendidikan
Jabatan Pelajaran Pulau Pinang
b.p Ketua Pendaftar Institusi Pendidikan
Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia

✓
5/3/2013

4. Letter from Perak Darul Ridzuan Education Department.

**JABATAN PELAJARAN PERAK**
JALAN TUN ABDUL RAZAK
30640 IPOH,
PERAK DARUL RIDZUAN.



Telefon : 05-501 5000 Faks : 05-527 7273 Portal : www.pelajaranperak.gov.my

"1MALAYSIA : RAKYAT DIDAHULUKAN PENCAPAIAN DIUTAMAKAN"
PENYELIDIKAN. Ruj. Kami : J. Pel. Pk (AM)5114/4 Jld.11 (18)
Tarikh : 17 Februari 2013

SURANTHIRAN NAIDU M. N. NAIDU,
No. 17, Taman Mutiara,
08000 Sungai Petani,
Kedah Darul Aman.

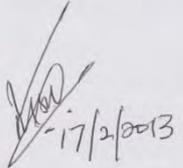
Tuan,

**KELULUSAN UNTUK MENJALANKAN KAJIAN DI SEKOLAH - SEKOLAH
DI NEGERI PERAK DI BAWAH JABATAN PELAJARAN NEGERI PERAK**

Sukacitanya perkara di atas di rujuk dan surat tuan bertarikh 1 Februari 2012 serta Surat dari Bahagian Pengurusan Sekolah Harian, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, Rujukan: KP(BPPDP)603/5/Jld.10 (53), bertarikh 30 Oktober 2012 adalah berkaitan.

2. Sehubungan dengan itu, dimaklumkan bahawa Jabatan Pelajaran Perak **tiada halangan** untuk membenarkan pihak tuan menjalankan kajian "**The Incuication Of Nationhood Values In The Malaysian Secondary Schools : Bahasa Malaysia And English**" seperti dinyatakan dalam surat tuan dengan syarat-syarat berikut :-

- 2.1 Pihak tuan perlu mendapatkan kebenaran terlebih dahulu daripada Pegawai Pelajaran Daerah dan Pengetua atau Guru Besar sekolah berkenaan untuk menggunakan sampel kajian;
- 2.2 Kajian yang dijalankan hendaklah tidak mengganggu proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran yang telah ditetapkan oleh pihak sekolah;
- 2.3 Pihak tuan bertanggungjawab menjaga keselamatan dan kebajikan guru-guru dan murid yang terlibat dalam kajian ini;
- 2.4 Pihak tuan hendaklah bertanggungjawab menanggung semua kos kajian;
- 2.5 Guru-guru/ murid tidak boleh dipaksa terlibat dengan kajian ini;

 -17/2/2013.

"CINTAILAH BAHASA KITA"
(Sila catatkan rujukan pejabat ini apabila berhubung)

2.6 Pihak tuan dipohon agar mengemukakan **satu (1) salinan laporan kajian dalam tempoh 30 hari** ke jabatan ini selepas kajian tersebut dilaksanakan; dan

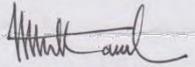
2.7 Tiada sebarang implikasi kewangan terhadap Jabatan Pelajaran Negeri Perak, Pejabat Pelajaran Daerah dan pihak sekolah.

3. Kebenaran permohonan ini adalah untuk tujuan yang dipohon dan melibatkan sekolah dalam daerah yang dinyatakan sahaja.

Sekian untuk makluman dan tindakan tuan selanjutnya, terima kasih.

“BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA”

Saya yang menurut perintah,

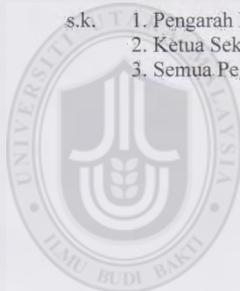


(HAJI MOHD IDRIS BIN HJ. RAMLI, PMP., AMP.)

Timbalan Pengarah Pelajaran Negeri Perak

b.p Pengarah Pelajaran Negeri Perak.

- s.k.
1. Pengarah Pelajaran Negeri Perak
 2. Ketua Sektor Pengurusan Sekolah
 3. Semua Pegawai Pelajaran Daerah



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

nmy/upp/130213

5. Letter to Terengganu Education Department.

24 October 2013.

En. Suranthiran Naidu M.N.Naidu

Institut Pemikiran Dr. Mahathir,
Pusat Pengajian Perundangan, Kerajaan dan
Antarabangsa, Universiti Utara Malaysia,
Kedah Darul

Aman. Kepada,

Pengarah Pendidikan,
Unit Perhubungan,
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri
Terengganu, Kuala Terengganu.
(up En Hamid
Yahya, Pn Normah).

Tuan,

Per: Penyelidikan di Sekolah.

Saya, seperti di atas, memohon kebenaran tuan untuk menjalankan kajian ringkas di sebuah sekolah (satu) di negeri Trengganu, yang kami berharap akan di tetapkan oleh pihak tuan.

2. Tajuk penyelidikan berkenaan adalah seperti berikut,

“ The Inculcation of nationhood Values in the Malaysian Secondary Schools: Bahasa Malaysia and English”.

3. Permohonon ini dirujuk kepada surat kelulusan Kementerian Pelajaran Malasia, KP(BPPDP)603/5/JLD.10(53), bertarikh 30 Oktober 2012, yang telah disampaikan melalui emel kepada KPP Bahagian Akademik, En Azman Osman, dan seterusnya, kepada Unit Perhubungan tuan.

4. Kami perlukan kerjasama tuan untuk memilih sebuah sekolah pusat yang menerima pelajar dari kawasan luar bandar dan bandar, selepas peperiksaan UPSR dan PMR itu. Diminta sampaikan maklumat berkenan Guru Kanan Bahasa sekolah berkenaan, supaya kami dapat uruskan hal bersabit kajian ini, melalui hubungan talipon secara cepat mungkin dan dengan cara teraturnya.

5. Juga, diharapkan sekolah yang di pilih tuan terkandung populasi pelajar berbilang kaum, dengar sebaik yang boleh.

Kami berharap dapat maklumat ini dari pihak tuan secepat mungkin memandangkan permulaan cuti sekolah tidak lama lagi.

Sekian, terima kasih.

“BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA”.

Yang benar,

(Penyelidik, En. Suranthiran Naidu).

sk. 1. Ketua Sektor, Bhg Perancangan dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan, Kem Pendidikan Malaysia.

2.KPP, Bhg. Akademik, JPN Terengganu

[Arrangements to obtain the requisite data from the Selangor state were carried out with the assistance of teachers known to the researcher].



6. Letter from Perdana Leadership Foundation



**APPENDIX C: E-MAIL INTERVIEW WITH YB TUAN
KHAIRY JAMALUDDIN ABU BAKAR, MINISTER OF
YOUTH AND SPORTS, MALAYSIA**

Interview questions and responses

1. Are language education programmes and their concomitant values dimension-with particular reference to the English language, an effective means for personal, holistic advancement for Malaysian youth, in the context of today's globalizing world?

Yes, I do believe that an effective teaching programme in English would be an effective way for personal and holistic growth for the Malaysian youth. I would like to reiterate that I believe most Malaysians are in agreement that a strong command of the English language is an essential prerequisite for any schoolleaver who wants to understand and absorb the massive corpus of knowledge available in reference books written in English at the tertiary level, or any graduate who wants to compete in the marketplace.

The English language has become a basic requirement for students and job-seekers in this increasingly globalized world where it is, for now, the undisputed lingua franca. The issue here is not the importance of English. That is self-evident and the education system must commit itself to making our students fluent in English. In fact, I have consistently urged Malays and the Malaysian youth at large to emulate other communities in Malaysia by becoming bilingual, even trilingual.

Many communities around the world have already immersed themselves in strong multicultural values; language is a strong tenant of many of them. The necessity to master the English language is the first step to understanding that the realms of linguistics isn't confined to just English but the ability to deconstruct entire societal concerns, language is merely a tool in achieving that.

2. In your view, do the English language education texts and teaching lessons, reflect the principles and nationhood values projected in the Federal Constitution, the Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy?

I don't think that the language education texts and teaching lessons solely reflect values in the Federal Constitution, Rukun Negara and the National Education Philosophy. The teaching lessons have a bigger objective which is to get students to be proficient and fluent in the language. The clincher here is the understanding that the youth are not ignorant of these articles. It is interest that we need to foster. Sure we can insert anecdotes and examples that can foster the love for a country and patriotism, but I believe that strong and prosperous nations are made up of citizens who are skilled, well-educated and confident.

3. Do you think that English language lessons on nationhood values can help Malaysian youth to develop positive inter-communal understanding and relationships, help remove any ignorance of one another's cultures and

religions, deepen one's APPRECIATION of one another's aspirations and hopes as Malaysian citizens?

I think that nationhood values can help Malaysian youths to understand each other better, full stop. It does not necessarily have to be conducted in English. I believe that deeper understanding comes from sharing a common language and I believe that every single Malaysian should at least have a certain level of proficiency in the national language which is Bahasa Malaysia. It saddens me that there is still a large segment of the population who live in parallel lines, where they don't meet and they don't interact. They speak in their own native languages and don't bother to learn the national language because there isn't a need for it. This has to change. If it is more effective to teach English to achieve these results, I would encourage it.

4. To what extent do you think that the national education leadership, and the English language teachers using nationhood thematic teaching items in their lessons, can help in fostering a deeper sense of belonging to the nation, a common national identity, and thereby, help enhance national integration and solidarity among our students and the Malaysian society at large?

In so far as any teacher is able to present, educate and inspire their students they will be able to successfully forward values that are congruent to the development of nationhood principles such as patriotism. It must be noted however, that the main goal is the education of these children based on their syllabi. Conducting nationhood themes is not mutually exclusive to the teaching of English alone. It is effective in the inclusion of many subjects and that is the key point here.

Utilizing teachers and a medium of forwarding themes is a great method. This is only strengthened by how committed, passionate and sincere our teachers are. It is not sufficient for there to be a lesson format that teachers read from; instead these principles must be exemplified in their daily routine. It will not be disputed that a vast majority of teachers sacrifice hours upon hours in order to achieve an outcome that is desirable to every student. Fostering a national identity in every student is a daunting task on top of their role as educators. This is especially true given that many students form a unique set of qualities that craft either a path that is easier for nationhood values to be instilled or one that is difficult. Teachers may have to assess, evaluate and care for each student in a unique and non-contradictory manner. Therefore, whilst they are most definitely in the best position to do so, the outcomes of their attempts must be juxtaposed against the hurdles they have to overcome.

5. General thoughts on the „Gen-Y“

There is a wealth of tapped and untapped potential with the Millennials. There is a delicate balance required when engaging with the youth and especially the Gen-Y. It is my strong opinion that enforcing the education syllabi to its fullest and creating more opportunities for recognition of youth talent is key in addressing various areas of concern amongst the Gen-Y.

Many of these communities have a weapon that had yet been unsheathed by generations before them; technology. The access to social media at the click of a button, a wave of a hand or a nod of the head is a clear sign that there is ultimately no real excuse for engaging with untapped potential. The English language has a plethora of platforms at its disposal. The options are endless and the potential, indescribable

APPENDIX D: STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE, OPEN-ENDED QUESTION ITEMS- RATING SCHEME AND SOME RELATED RESPONSES OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS.

Table D.1.

Rating scheme of student responses for determination of dependent variable scores

RS	STUDENT RESPONDENT RESPONSES
1	Short responses: -, „No“, „Yes“, „Maybe“
2	Brief, abrupt responses: -, „Not very possible“, „Quite difficult“, „Not so helpful“
3	Lacking clarity: -, „Teacher not fair“, „Students little chance“, „Lessons be more“, „Nobody guide“
4	Attempts made on knowledge issues: -, „Teacher important“, „A lot exam work“, „Little all students in activity“
5	Divided stand: -, „Not so good“, „More class activities, then maybe“ , „Language item is for study grammar. Maybe later“
6	Brief knowledge and positive stand: -, „Ya. Saling bantu-membantu, bekerjasama, sayang-menyangi“, „About flora, our country, state, Malaysians, food, get independence“, „sense of true unity“ , ‘learn other culture’ , „feel patriotic as a Malaysian“, „Makes me feel proud“, <i>‘Live in peace’</i> ,...
7	Positive and short concurrence: -, „People can be well“, „Good for country“ , „I feel more united“ , „It is beneficial to learn about our country“, „Nation can be more peaceful“, <i>‘More understanding very good, 1Malaysia be success’</i> ,....
8	Positive substantiation: -, „Good for helping others“, „It is very vital to create a better student“ , ‘If one person is bad, the race of other person may be good’ , „Opportunity should be given to those with high <i>elligibility</i> “, „Yes- help to accept and respect <i>others’ culture and religion</i> “, „...The best way to interact is hold more activities which <i>can include of</i> different religions and races“, „By these language items, I can know the cultures of other Malaysians , so I can communicate with other friends of different races and also improve the unity... “, „Education plays important role as they are capable to change opinion“ ,
9	Substantiation and some elaboration: - „Unity is good for all“ , „People can work hard“, „Socializing for me is better to instill unity“ , „Can create a better generation when we are united“ , „Be more open-minded about racial issues“ , „We are living in Malaysia. No unity, no peace“
10	Positive substantiation on study themes: - „Unity can bring stability, economic growth“ , „People will enjoy well-being“, „If people do not accept one another there can be conflict“

[As based on Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education Bahasa Ingeris Syllabus 2003, and Forms 2 and 4 English Language Texts, KBSM 2003, 2011 Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Malaysia. The above rating schema is with reference to section 3.8.1., p. 164 and Table 3.4, p. 158].

Key: RS- Rating Scheme- 1 to 10 score points; **Italics**- Indicating linguistic error; **Expressions in bold and underlined** indicating deeper thought given, demonstrating sense of positivity.

APPENDIX E: MALAYSIAN PERSONALITIES, AUTHORITIES INTERVIEWED

1. Heads of Bahasa Inggeris, Bahasa Malaysia Units, Curriculum Development Division Officials, Ministry of Education Malaysia, Putrajaya (April, 2008)
2. Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, (18.12.2014)
3. Tan Sri Joseph Kurup, Minister for National Unity and Integration, Prime Minister's Office (5.2.2015)
4. Yang Berhormat Khairy Jamalluddin Abu Bakar, Minister for Youth and Sports, Malaysia (email, 29.4.2015)
5. Professor Dr. Mohamed Ishak, Vice Chancellor, Universiti Utara Malaysia (28.7.2013)
6. Professor Dr. Nor Adenan Yahya, Vice Chancellor Al-Bukhary International University (AIU) (21.8.2014)
7. Professor Datuk Dr. Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz, Pengarah, Institut Pemikiran Doktor Mahathir, Universiti Utara Malaysia (21.7.2014)
8. Encik Gandesan Letchumanan, Director General, Department of Unity and National Integration, Prime Minister's Office, Malaysia (7.8.2014)
9. Dr. R. Sivaperagasam Rajanthiran, Senior Lecturer, School of Law, Government and International Relations, Universiti Utara Malaysia (20.12.2013)
10. Professor Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, Director of the Movement for a Just World (JUST) (14.5.2008)
11. Distinguished Professor Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, Director, Ethnic Studies Department (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (8.5.2015)
12. Professor Dr. Ibrahim Bajunid Deputy Vice-Chancellor, INTI University College (16.6.2014)
13. Dr. Tan Chik Heok, President, Tunku Abdul Rahman University Collegem (KTAR), Kuala Lumpur (email, 3.7.2014)
14. Professor Dr. Mansor Mohd Noor, Principal Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (30.4.2015)
15. Professor Dato^o Dr. Teo Kok Seong, Principal Fellow, Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (14.5.2015)
16. Datuk Dr. Denison Jayasooria, Principal Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (2.7.2015)

17. Tan Sri Lee Lam Thye, member of the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), Trustee of 1Malaysia Foundation (8.8.2014)
18. Tan Sri Raman Navaratnam Former Secretary General, Ministry of Transport, Malaysia (email)
19. Mr. Siva Subramaniam, Former Commissioner of SUHAKAM (27.5.2008)
20. Dr. Ahmad Masum, Senior Law Lecturer, Universiti Utara Malaysia (26.7.2012).

APPENDIX F: ANALYSIS OF PILOT STUDY DATA INPUT OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS FROM THE KEDAH DARUL AMAN, TERENGGANU AND SELANGOR STATES

A. The following tables show the student and teacher respondents responses in the pilot study conducted.

As this study purports to investigate and understand the ramifications that can help illuminate further the trajectory towards Malaysian national integration, it was felt that teachers and student respondents at the hub of the nation- Selangor, and from the east coast state of Terengganu, be solicited for their views on the issues involved in this study.

The above respondents' stand-points, it was particularly held, can contribute towards **establishing the validity and reliability of the research instruments and further the direction and purpose of this study**, in that, it can provide input as to whether „other“ secondary school students and English language teachers in their possibly, **socially and psychologically different situations and environments, can be nurtured** to regard the impact of the English language nationhood lessons as contributing towards enhancing the sense of solidarity and promoting the aspirations of the **Rukun Negara**, and this can be viewed, **in all earnestness, as an** essential dimension of education, for our adolescent students.

Further, this data input from other than the three northern states involved in the main study, indicates that (is akin to) the use of the **data triangulation research method**, in that „distanced data assets“ using although „different“ regional texts, guided emphatically by national administrative procedures, but nevertheless, on the common national (language) curriculum, could then go to establish some convergence in the findings and their possible, broader applicabilities (Bryman, A. E. www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience).

B. In this study thus, the generally convergent findings, both in terms of the students' and the teachers' responses, in the primary area of study in the three northern states mainly, and the states of Terengganu and Selangor, illustrate that,

- i. English lesson nationhood values education does, and can have a further positive impact on young learners' sense of national integration, and
- ii. inadequacies exist in relation to the above, particularly with respect to the teacher-teaching, nationhood themes and content domains in language education. However, with improved implementation of the education national curriculum, and together with the national language- Bahasa Malaysia, and other curriculum subjects, a greater sense of social solidarity can be attained among Malaysian school youth and in the larger society (see chapter.4, p.173; chapter 5, sections 5.2.2., 5.2.3, pp. 265, 269 for further discussion).

C. The results in all three states however, tend to be skewed generally to the centre and right, that is, „average“ and „quite a lot“, in terms of the student respondents' regard particularly, of the extent of the English lessons nationhood values education on students' sense of national integration.

Table F.1
Selangor and Terengganu student cohorts: Response counts ratings for English lessons nationhood content

VL+L(NEGATIVE)	AV	QL+VM	AV+QL+VM (POSITIVE)
12 (11 per cent)	32	67 (60 per cent)	99 (89 per cent)
Total Response Counts		111	
Key: VL - „Very Little“ rating, L - „Little“ rating, QL - „Quite a Lot“ rating,		AV - „Average“ rating, VM - „Very Much“ rating.	

For the Questionnaire Section II, open-ended questions (see Chapter 3, section 3.5, p. 141), the Selangor forms two students tended to be generally brief. Their **responses were both positive and negative** as regards their perceptions of the extent of the English lessons nationhood values impact on them. This can well be due to a lack of proficiency in the English language, to elaborate and discuss further what they may have actually intended to say.



APPENDIX G: THE BARRETT TAXONOMY OF THE COGNITIVE AND AFFECTIVE DIMENSIONS FOR READING AND LEARNING

Comprehension

In reading methods courses, textbook manuals, and lists of behavioral objectives, three kinds of questions are usually mentioned: 1) literal, 2) inferential, and 3) assimilative, which includes critical questioning for factual material and creative questions for stories, poems, plays, etc...

The reading manuals are usually very helpful to the teacher in guiding questioning, but the other subject areas rarely have manuals with such explicit help. Teachers often try to use the literal, inferential, and assimilative categories in the content areas, but find there is need for clarification or examples of the categories. The Barrett Taxonomy (Clymer, 1968), designed originally to assist classroom teachers in developing comprehension questions and / or test questions for reading, is especially useful for classroom questioning in other content areas as well. The first two categories, literal comprehension and reorganization, deal with the facts as presented orally or in the books the students have read, and thus result in closed questions that have a single correct response. A possible exception is Synthesizing (2.4) if the combination of facts presented leads to a totally new idea. Under those conditions, the student has creatively added his or her uniqueness to the presented information. However, in classroom learning, synthesis is most often the putting together of facts to reach a generalization or concept or definition. The remaining categories will **always involve the student's own background of experience**. As a result, it is possible to have as many different, but correct, responses as there are students present, since each brings to school a different background of home, family, friends, and learnings. These categories therefore lead to the development of open-ended questions. Although the classroom teacher who focuses on these higher questions has to allow more time for the varied responses, the degree of learning that can be evaluated is at least as great, and often greater, since adequate response to questions at these levels must incorporate the information that could have been gathered by "fact" questions. Therefore, as much or more can be gained for teacher and for students from a lesson with only a few higher level questions and the varied responses, since all the "facts" are checked while the students get practice in using higher cognitive thinking processes.

Quick Reference Outline of The Barrett Taxonomy

1.0 Literal Comprehension

1.1. Recognition

1.2. Recall

2.0. Reorganization; 3.0. Inferential Comprehension

4.0. Evaluation

5.0. Appreciation.

**APPENDIX H: LANGUAGE CURRICULUM, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
MALAYSIA/KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALAYSIA, HURAIAN
SUKATAN PELAJARAN, KURIKULUM BERSEPADU SEKOLAH,
MENENGAH, 2003, CURRICULUM SPECIFICATIONS**

The Ministry of Education Malaysia **common Malay language (Bahasa Melayu) subject syllabus** (2003) states in its introduction that,

the above syllabus aims at building a sense of love in learners for the Malay language, directed at **cultivating a national ethos**, the spirit of love for the nation as a single vision to be infused in class learning is also emphasized.

It clearly further stresses that learners need to learn the Malay language in order to experience, practise good moral values, adopt a positive approach to life, attain a spirit of patriotism, and a love for the Malaysian nation, that is,

Education in values, citizenship and patriotism is to be given particular attention, in line with the nation's goal of evolving a national civil society (Sukatan Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu KBSM, p. 17).

Values and Citizenship

The values contained in the secondary Moral Education syllabus have been incorporated in the language-Bahasa Malaysia, English language and vernacular languages, learning outcomes and include *patriotism and good citizenship*.

In section 3.2, page 8, the syllabus states that in *the process of language learning development, the value of coming to a common stand and to have one 'voice' through shared discussions and deliberations with others, is targeted as a learning outcome*. In section 5.0 the emphasis in **value acquisition** by students is emphasized. Constructivism as a pedagogical approach is stressed in teaching-learning contexts. This then can help learners to expand and delve further on their learned knowledge, in respect of better and deeper understanding of academic and particularly, socio-cultural knowledge, so as to build responsible and civic-minded citizens of the nation (sections 3.0, 4.0, pp. 17, 8).

-Bahasa Melayu Form 2 Syllabus.

In the Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education Form Two Bahasa Melayu syllabus (2003), the **emphasis on the teaching and learning of moral values, and cultivating in students a spirit of patriotism and citizenship, is given primary importance in the preface to the document itself (Dr. Sharifah Maimunah bt. Syed Zin, p.ix)**. The essential references to nation-building on the basis that language can be an effective means towards national integration are, **that the Bahasa Melayu curriculum in general, and that for the above stage of schooling, is to function as a means of national integration in the nation, the spirit of love for the nation to be shared by all citizens through the Malay language in classroom teaching and learning activities, that Bahasa Melayu education is directed towards the evolution of a Malaysian civil society (p.4)**.

-Bahasa Melayu Form 4 Syllabus

In this syllabus as for the above, the emphasis on the teaching and learning of moral values and instilling in learners a positive sense and spirit of patriotism and citizenship, is emphasized,

The following elements in relation to **nation-building** are incorporated in the above syllabus,

that **moral values education and the cultivation of a spirit of patriotism and good citizenship**, is said to be given a definite priority in the education of the young (2003, v, p.iii,),

that the Bahasa Melayu (later changed to Bahasa Malaysia) curriculum for this stage of education, will be taught so as to sow the seeds of love for the nation, towards a common national vision, amongst the learners [ibid, p. iv, v-section on objectives of language syllabus, point vi; ix)],

that the content of the Bahasa Malaysia Form 4 curriculum will particularly focus on the teaching-learning of values for citizenship and patriotism for the nation, in line with the stated national objective of the formation of a **Malaysian civil society**. This necessarily thus entails the realization of the above goals of imbuing a sense and spirit of love and patriotism for the nation, through language education in students, towards national integration (ibid, section f.-Pengisian Kurikulum, p. vii; in Strategi Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran-Penyerapan, ii, p. xi).

Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education, Bahasa Inggeris Syllabus 2003

-Bahasa Inggeris Form 2 Syllabus.

The construction of the contents of this English language curriculum for the stated stage of school education, is acknowledged as based on the National Education Philosophy. The elements in this curriculum that are conceived in line with goals of the **Rukun Negara and nation-building** are,

that learners will be taught English such that they will be able to “...show an awareness and appreciation of moral values and love towards the nation” (Curriculum Development Centre, Ministry of Education Form Two Bahasa Inggeris syllabus 2003, iv, p.1). *The English curriculum, together with that of Bahasa Malaysia, sees language education as a constructive and formative instrument for the young to be nurtured as good Malaysian citizens,*

*that the educational emphases in the English language curriculum at this school level, have incorporated the learning of moral values, the **cultivation of patriotic values and good citizenship**, and the **appreciation of the Malaysian way of life** in learners (ibid, pp. 3,5),*

that an **„important consideration for teaching“** is seen as the principle of integration in the teaching-learning contexts, with the theme and value of **patriotism** for the

nation presented together with other aspects such as health, environment, economic development and so on, is given appropriate attention (ibid, p. 4).

-Bahasa Inggeris Form 4 Syllabus.

The **English language is the nation's second language of importance for all intents and purposes.** It is taught in all national and national-type schools as the second language in line with its status as the second language of the nation, and it is compulsory for all students to study it.

The following elements in this above level curriculum delineate its role in **nation-building,**

that it is one of the aims of this curriculum to enable learners to “show an awareness and appreciation of moral values and **love towards the nation**” (2003, p.1). This goal is an extension of the similar curriculum objectives for the earlier secondary school levels,

that **moral values-education** is deemed important in the education development of the students and this is to be taught together with **themes on patriotism and good citizenship,**

that in the pedagogical approach of integrating varied learning themes and language skills, **language constructs aimed at developing a feeling of patriotism and loyalty are infused in the class lessons,** so as to develop learners’ cognitive and affective skills and their ‘multi intelligences’;

Real-life challenging tasks and an emphasis on **Malaysian values and way of life** (ibid, pp.5, 6) are encouraged at this stage of student education, which show that the above curriculum can be said to suggest that learners be exposed at a higher level, to important **current issues like social integration, cultures of others, environmental and health security** and so on (ibid, p. 8; p. 19, 3.1.d- *language for aesthetic use-understanding other people's cultures, traditions, customs and beliefs*) (emphases by researcher).

**APPENDIX I: SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH
LANGUAGE TEXT MATERIALS ON
NATIONAL/NATIONHOOD THEMES**

Table I.1.

Summary of analysis of English language text materials on national-nationhood themes.

Language	LF I- K-C	LF II			LF III	Teaching-Teacher Task	Note: Figures in parentheses indicates
		Ve-D	Ev.-A	Mc-Nhv			
BM-F 2	24 (70)	24 (70)	23 (70)	19 (60)	1		
BM-F 4	21 (60)	18 (60)	14 (45)	21 (60)	-		
EL-F 2	22 (60)	18 (60)	11 (30)	17 (50)	-		
EL-F 4	33 (90)	24 (75)	22 (60)	21 (60)	-		

cate the number of *possible teaching-learning activities* as based on the language curriculum dimensions for **i. (LF I)- Interpersonal Use, ii. (LF II)- Informational Use, and iii. (LF III)- Aesthetic Use; Teacher-Teaching Task refers to text explication and suggestions for pedagogical, higher-order thinking (HOTS) applications** (Malaysian Education blueprint 2013-2025, Ministry of Education).

Key: LF- Language Focus; BM- Bahasa Malaysia; EL- English Language; F-Form; LF-Language Focus; K-C- Knowledge-Comprehension; VE- Values Education; D-Discussion; Ev- Evaluation; A- Appreciation; MC- Malaysian Context; NHV- Nationhood Values.

APPENDIX J: INTER-COMMUNAL STUDIES QUESTIONNAIRE MODELS

I. Fostering inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia-

The importance of pre-service teacher-training (Improving Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia).

Hanneke Deenen,

June 2014. Masters thesis, Education, Socialization and Youth Policy, Utrecht University, OSCE (Organisation for Social Security and Co-operation in Europe) mission to Skopje.

Related question items

-Were you friends with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending **primary** school?

Yes

No

-Were you friends with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending **secondary** school?

Yes

No

Question	Never	Sometimes	Regularly	Often
How often were you in contact (e.g. being in the same school or neighborhood) with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending primary school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How often were you in contact (e.g. being in the same school or neighborhood) with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending secondary school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How often did you **interact** (e.g. playing together) with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending **primary** school?

How often did you **interact** (e.g. playing together) with children from a different ethnicity than your own in the period you were attending **secondary** school?



Question Strongly disagree Disagree Agree Strongly agree

I had positive feelings towards children from a different ethnicity than my own in the period I was attending **primary** school

I had positive feelings towards children from a different ethnicities than my own in the period I was attending **secondary** school

I like meeting
and getting to
know people
from ethnic
groups other than
my own.

I often spend
time with people
from ethnic
groups other than
my own.

I am involved in
activities with
people from other
ethnic groups.

I enjoy being
around people
from ethnic
groups other than
my own.



II. The Ethnic Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations of Primary and Secondary School Students in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,

Yvette Leonie Nijboer, Masters thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, June 2011, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

(For the following questions please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each given statement. Rating range given from, „strongly agree“, „agree“, „disagree“, to „strongly disagree“).

- I spend time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history traditions and customs.
- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as food, music, or customs.
- I feel good about my cultural ethnic background.
- I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.
- I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.
- I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.
- I try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.
- I think cultural differences should be a reason to educate students separately.
- I believe school should encourage contact between different ethnic groups.
- I think language differences should be a reason to educate students separately.

III. The Importance of Individual Attributes on Inter-ethnic Tolerance among Early Youth in Selangor, Fazilah Idris, Ph D thesis, University Putra Malaysia, 2008.

Questionnaire items (rating scale given to measure extent of effort provided by youth respondents, from „not willing to put efforts to understand“, „not yet willing to put in efforts to understand“, „not sure of putting in efforts to understand“, „efforts put in to understand“, to „much efforts put in to understand“).

- Understand the function of Rukun Tetangga in increasing (promoting) unity among ethnic groups.
- Understand the function of mixed ethnic food courts in promoting unity among ethnic groups
- Understand the function of music/songs of various ethnic groups in strengthening unity among ethnic groups.
- Understand how traditional dresses of other ethnic groups can play a role in promoting unity.
- Understand the importance of respecting other religions in strengthening unity among ethnic groups.

(Rating scale of willingness to accept from, „not willing to accept“, „not yet willing to accept“, „not sure of accepting“, „willing to accept“, to „more than willing to accept“).

- The needs of various ethnic groups should be taken into consideration in carrying out development programmes.
- That youth be (more) exposed to inter-ethnic issues.

- That to work fairly is important in increasing inter-ethnic relations.
 - That school co-curricular activities can improve unity among students from different ethnicities.
 - That each individual should have the readiness to help without any regard to the ethnic origins of others.
- (Rating of frequency of practice, from „never practise“, „seldom practise“, „sometimes practise“, „often practise“, to „very often practise“).
- Allowing family members to be involved in multi-ethnic programmes.
 - Discussing inter-ethnic issues with members of other ethnic groups.
 - Helping people of other ethnic groups to solve their problems.
 - Respecting places of worship of the different ethnic groups.
 - Co-habiting with friends from different ethnic groups.
 - Respecting others in their practices and beliefs of their religions.

