Higher Education and Politics in Malaysia

A Dissertation

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List of Abbreviations

ACCTS : ASEAN Course Credit Transfer System
BLT : Build-Lease-Transfer
BOT : Build-operate-transfer
CMU : Corporatized Malaysian universities
GATE : Global Alliance for Transnational Education
ICT : Information Communication Technology
IIUM : International Islamic University Malaysia
INQAAHE : Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education
IQRP : International Quality Review Process
KPIs : Key Performance Indicators
LAN : The National Accreditation Board
MOE : Ministry of Education
MSC : Multi-Media Super Corridor
NCTE : The National Council of Tertiary Education
NEP : New Economic Policy
ONESQA : The Office of the National Education Standards and Quality Assessment
PHEIs : Private higher education institutions
PIs : Performance Indicators
PTPTN : The National Higher Education Fund
QA : Quality Assurance
RM : Malaysian Ringgit
TARC : Tunku Abdul Rhman College
TQM : Total Quality Management
UiTM : Universiti Teknologi MARA
UKM : Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
UM : University of Malaya
UMK: Universiti Malaysia Kelantan
UMP: Universiti Malaysia Pahang
UMS : Universiti Malaysia Sabah
UniMAP : Universiti Malaysia Perlis
UNIMAS : Universiti Malaysia Sarawak
UNITAR : Universiti Tun Abdul Razak
UPM : Universiti Putra Malaysia
UPNM: Universiti Pertahanan Malaysia
UPSI : Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris
USIM: Islamic Science University of Malaysia.
USM : Universiti Sains Malaysia
UTeM : Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka
UTM : Universiti Teknologi Malaysia
UUM : Universiti Utara Malaysia

Chapter I

Government in Retreat: The Privatization of Higher Education in Malaysia

A) Introduction

Universities remain critically important as engines of equity and as vehicles of social cohesion[1]. When providing high-quality education and allowing equal access, universities are pathways upward for those from every background who see education as the way to satisfy aspirations that in many cases would have been unimaginable to their parents. Aborting such legitimate aspirations may lead to social unrest. What applies to universities in many states is particularly the case in developing countries with heterogeneous state populations like Malaysia. Putting unjustified obstacles in front of qualified students from specific ethnic groups may jeopardize social cohesion and lead to instability in the long run.

During the 1970s, 1980s and the early 1990s, the Malaysian government tried to regulate access to universities through a quota system that was established for the purpose of increasing the percentage of Malay student enrolment in universities. Malay students had a percentage of study places reserved for them and were given more ample access to government grants[2]. The quota system has succeeded in improving the educational status of many Bumiputera[3]. However, it has also created two groups of Malaysian elites. Each group has its own distinctive education and its linguistic preferences. The gap between each group is apparent. On the one hand, there is the group representing those who graduated from Malaysian public universities and who are predominantly rural. This group prefers to use the Malay language in its daily activities and its members prefer to work in the public sector. On the other hand, there is the group representing those who graduated from overseas universities and who are more urban. This second group feels more at ease by speaking English, and Chinese or English and Tamil. The members of the second group prefer to work in the private sector and sometimes have in their hearts bitter feelings towards the Bumiputera due to the perceived discrimination they suffered from. Without

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[1] The European Committee for Social Cohesion, for one, defines social cohesion as "the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding polarization. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means." For detail see: The European Committee for Social Cohesion, *Revised Strategy for Social Cohesion* (Strasbourg: European Committee for Social Cohesion, 2004), p.3.

[2] Hashim, Rosnani, "Education and Nation Building", in: Idid, Syed Arabi (ed.), *Malaysia at 50: Achievements and Aspirations* (Kuala Lumpur: Thomson Learning and International Islamic University Malaysia, 2008), pp.47-48.

[3] Originally Bumiputera was used to refer to the indigenous population of Malaysia before the colonial period. Its literary meaning is "sons of the soil". After independence, it has been used to refer to the Malays in peninsular Malaysia and to the indigenous population in Sabah and Sarawak.

the exertion of sincere efforts to abridge the gaps between these two isolated groups, ethnic relations may deteriorate.

Ethnic relations are a very complicated phenomenon in Malaysia. The link between ethnicity and religion dichotomizes the religious arena into a Muslim and non-Muslim field. The former is a Malay domain, as all Malays are Muslims by birth. The latter group comprises people mainly of Chinese and Indian origin, who are practitioners of a variety of religions, among them Daoism, Hinduism and Christianity. In contemporary Malaysia where ethnicity and religion divide Malays from non-Malays, the Malays are beneficiaries from what critics have termed an affirmative action program. By that is meant a set of government measures aimed at providing access to economic and educational privileges to Malays, while excluding non-Malays from the same privileges[4]. In giving special privileges not to a minority but to the majority population in a state, this program differs from otherwise widely implemented affirmative action programs.

The reason behind adopting such affirmative action policies was the economic disparities between non-Malay, especially the Chinese, and Malays culminating in the ethnic riots of 1969. In response to the riots, the government implemented its New Economic Policy (NEP), which sought to reduce the poverty especially in rural areas and to improve the economic standard of living of the Malays. NEP also offered to Malays privileged access to universities. On the positive side, the new educational and economic policies sought to redress the economic imbalances that existed between the Malays and the two other ethnicities and the laws prohibited any public challenge to the new order. However, on the negative side,

> [t]he new legislation prohibited individuals or political parties from questioning policy provisions: Malay rights, citizenship (particularly that of the non-Malays), the royalty, and Malay as the national language.[5]

The ambivalence of NEP has protracted the formation of a public sphere as the forum for public debate about core issues of state policy. If it is true, as Jürgen Habermas has insisted,[6] that the public sphere is a crucial instrument in sustaining the legitimacy of institutions of governance within a state, the

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[4] Devasahayam, Theresa, Consumed with Modernity and Traditions: Food, Women, and Ethnicity in Changing Urban Malaysia, Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Syracuse University (Syracuse, NY: Graduate School of Syracuse University, March 2001), pp.45-46.

[5] Ganguly, Sumit, "Ethnic Policies and Political Quiescence in Malaysia and Singapore", in: Brown, Michael and Ganguly, Sumit (eds.), *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific* (Massachusetts: The Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1997), pp.256-257.

[6] Habermas, Jürgen, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

Malaysian government may face serious difficulties in the case of rising demands for public debate about its policies. Among other things, NEP regulated the enrolment in local universities on a quota of 55% Bumiputeras and 45% non-Bumiputeras. To ensure compliance by the universities, the Central University Admission Unit was created in the 1970s. However, the quota management has been subject to debate:

> There are raised suspicions that the racial quota is not observed and that the intake of Malays into local universities is higher than officially acknowledged. Efforts were also taken to hasten the conversion of the medium of instruction in universities to the national language of Bahasa Malaysia.[7]

While the Malaysian government implemented NEP to alleviate poverty among the Malay population, its policy had the unintended effect of raising public consciousness about the separation among the three ethnicities making up the state population. Since British colonial rule, these ethnic groups had mainly been defined on the basis of language. Like elsewhere, this policy has boosted controversy and brought the issue of the language of instruction in educational institutions on the agenda of public debate. "National governments affect how minority groups are legally defined and, therefore, how they define themselves vis-à-vis the government. In some cases, opposition to national governments can increase the sense of mutual identity of groups that have disparate languages and cultures"[8]. Government efforts to regulate the standard of public communication through the introduction of a national language can, however, have a variety of effects. According to Fishman,[9] language can be used as a tool of control by the dominant group. At the same time it can also be used as a tool for nation-building[10]. In order to facilitate the process of nation-building, the Malaysian government introduced Bahasa Melayu as the official medium of instruction in national schools and public universities. The price of that option was the denial of state support for schools and public universities using Chinese or Indian as media of instruction. The result has been the limitation of access to public universities in Malaysia, as an analysis of 1995 has demonstrated: "Despite its spectacular growth, Malaysian universities currently enroll only 6% of age cohort, the lowest amongst the ASEAN countries. Limiting

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[7] Ghee, Teck Lim, "Malaysian and Singaporean Higher Education: Common Roots but Differing Directions", in: Yee, Albert (ed.), *East Asian Higher Education: Traditions and Transformations* (Oxford: International Association of Universities and Elsevier Science Ltd., 1995), p.73.

[8] Letendre, Gerald; Naumowicz, Darcy and Johnson, Bonnie, "Conclusion: National Educational Policies and the Formation of a Minority Status", *International Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 33, No. 6, 2000, p. 649.

[9] Fishman, J.A., "Minority Mother Tongues in Education", *Prospects*, Vol.14, pp.51-61. .

[10] *Ibid.*, pp.54-59. See also: Letendre, Gerald; Naumowicz, Darcy and Johnson, Bonnie, "Conclusion: National Educational Policies and the Formation of a Minority Status", *op.cit.* , p.653. Benedict Anderson "Imagined Communities", in: Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony (eds.), *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 89-95.

the access of non-Malay students to 45% of the university enrolment has meant many qualified candidates are turned away yearly. Although no statistics are available on the racial breakdown of rejected students, the large majority is believed to be non-Malays, many of whom are unable to gain entry to local universities"[11].

In addition to language, economic affluence may negatively affect access to universities. Hence, responses to the admission restrictions enforced through NEP were manifold and mainly depended on family income.

> "The more affluent (non-Malays) sent their children to Western Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia for secondary and tertiary education, but many non-Malays from less wealthy families found their progress blocked both by the language requirements and by stringent ethnic quotas. They had little choice but to drop out or seek tertiary qualifications in low-cost countries such as India or Taiwan, although degrees from these countries were often not recognized in Malaysia".[12]

Specifically, people of Chinese origin have found it hard to cope with unequal access to educational institutions resulting from the quota system.

> "Because the Malaysian government does not recognize the Chinese school diploma, the Chinese face more difficulty than usual in gaining entrance to post secondary schools. First, the 'quota' system that favors Malay students limits college enrolment opportunities for Chinese students. In 1980, over 66% of local university students were Malay, and only 27% were Chinese. Second, about four out of five university scholarships are awarded to Malay students. Third, the Malaysian government has refused to recognized academic degrees from Chinese language universities in Singapore and Taiwan".[13]

As a result of this quota system a dichotomy has evolved whereby public institutions of higher education enroll mainly Bumiputera students and private institutions enroll non-Bumiputera students

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[11] Ghee, Teck Lim, Malaysian and Singaporean Higher Education: Common Roots but Differing Directions", in: Yee, Albert (ed.), *East Asian Higher Education: Traditions and Transformations* (Oxford: International Association of Universities and Elsevier Science Ltd., 1995), pp.77-78. Ghee also shows that, at the time, there was a drift of Malaysian students towards universities in foreign countries: "Not surprisingly, Malaysian enrolment in overseas institutions stood at 43,200 at degree level and 2300 at diploma level in 1985. In 1985 the Malaysians spent between US$ 600-980 million annually to pursue tertiary education overseas". Due to the quota system, many non-Bumiputera students are turned away from enrolling at cheap public universities. Therefore, they have no other option but to study at their own expense at universities overseas.

[12] Shari, Ishak, "Economic Growth and Social Development in Malaysia, 1971-98", in: Anderson, Martin and Gunnarsson, Christer (eds.), *Development and Structural Change in Asia-Pacific: Globalising Miracles or End of a Model* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p.155.

[13] Chiu, Fang Ya, "Educational Opportunities for Chinese in Malaysia", *International Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.33, No.6, 2000, p.588.

who are unable to get a place in government-subsidized institutions[14]. For example, in 1995, close to 64 percent of the available positions at the university level were reserved for Malays[15].

The quota system has hit the lower segments of the non-Malay population specifically hard, as these people have hardly been able to send their children to universities in foreign countries. For example, in some Indian communities many students drop out after completing six years of primary and three years of lower secondary education, with many of them ending up working in nearby urban areas as low-wage earners[16].

In some places educational discrimination leads to civil war and secessionist movements. According to some analysts the governments' restrictive educational policies can push minorities in the direction of civil war.

> In Sri Lanka, Tamil enrolment in universities was scaled back in the 1970s to make more slots available for Sinhalese students. This outraged the Tamil community, which saw higher education as one of the keys to social and economic advancement. Many Tamils became increasingly convinced that they would never be treated fairly by the Sinhalese, and they consequently began to see secession as their only alternative.[17]

Poverty links up with quality. Schools attended by students from poor families will find it difficult to provide high-quality education[18]. In the case of Malaysia, "only about 10 percent of the students entering Tamil primary schools complete eleven years of education, and a mere 3 percent go on to university. The poor quality of Tamil-language education has hurt the prospects of Indians entering universities, especially in the technical areas. In 1988, the last year for which the Malaysian Ministry of Education provided race-based statistics, a mere 1 percent of students in technical colleges were of

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[14] Ghee, Teck Lim, *op.cit.*, p.78.

[15] Ganguly, Sumit, *op.cit.,* p.259.

[16] Shamsul, B., "A Question of Identity: A Case Study of Malaysian Islamic Revivalism and the Non-Muslim Response", in: Ayabe, Tsuneo (ed.), *National-State, Identity and Religion in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 1998), p.65.

[17] Brown, Michael, "The Impact of Government Policies on Ethnic Relations", in: Brown, Michael and Ganguly, Sumit (eds.), *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific* (Massachussetts: The Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1997), p.565.

[18] According to some studies belonging to minorities is related to low levels of education. Klopfenstein found that "parents of minority students had unpleasant high school experiences themselves and have no experience with higher education. Therefore, minority students have few resources upon which to draw in terms of parental support and institutional knowledge as they attempt to navigate the educational system: they are unlikely to have academic role models at home and often have poor academic histories and limited expectations about future college attendance. Each of these factors reduces the likelihood that a minority student will pursue an advanced program" See: Klopfenstein, Kristin, "Advanced Placement: Do Minorities Have Equal Opportunity?", *Economics of Education Review*, Vol.23, No.2, April 2004, p.130.

Indian origin. At the secondary level, elite boarding schools were set up exclusively for Malays"[19]. Thus, the quota system of regulating access to universities has brought about a situation in which equal opportunities cannot be provided to students regardless of the use of language and the level of income. In 1996, the Malaysian government partly responded to public debate about unequal access to universities, acknowledged the difficulties caused by the implementation of NEP and opened higher education institutions to the influence of the private sector by easing the foundation and operation of privately owned universities[20]. In doing so, the government partly revoked its affirmative action policy by allowing private investors to cater for students from wealthy segments of the population, mainly of Chinese and Indian origin. In 2003, the government formally abolished the quota system. Yet criticism concerning its negative effects have lingered on and become articulate in riots in November 2007.

With the application of privatization policies to universities in Malaysia, and abolishment of quota system the chances available for non-Malays to enroll in both private and public universities are supposed to improve dramatically. As a result of the abolishment of the quota system, public universities will "have recruitment based on merit"[21]. However, in spite of the abolishment of the quota system, the MOE still implements matriculation programs which are perceived by some Malay and non-Malay as discriminating against the Chinese and Indian students. According to many educationalists the matriculation programs, which are offered mainly for the Bumiputeras, are easier than the exams that the non-Bumiputeras have to sit for in order to be eligible to enter public universities. It is worth investigating whether the privatization of universities will influence ethnic relations or not.

Research into the effects of Malaysian privatization policies is specifically warranted by facts showing that NEP has positive as well as negative consequences. On the one hand, due to the educational and financial benefits of NEP, the participation ratios of Bumiputeras in the profession and business sectors increased dramatically. For example the period 1970-1990 had witnessed the increase in the number of Bumiputera accountants from 7 to 14 percent, engineers from 7 to 35 percent, doctors from 4 percent to 28 percent and architects from 4 to 24 percent. As for the business and financial sector, the Bumiputera participation in the share market had increased from 2 percent to 20 percent, while the non-Bumiputera (mainly Chinese) share had risen from 37 percent to 46 percent in the same period.

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[19] Ganguly, Sumit, *op.cit.*, p.259.

[20] In doing so, the government waived criticism of privatization policies. For example, see: Savas, E., "Privatization", in: Hawkesworth, Mary and Kogan, Maurice (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, Vol.2 (London: Routledge, 1992), p.831.

[21] Muzaffar, Chandra, *Malaysian Politics: The Emerging Scenario under Abdullah Badawi* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, December 2003), p.21.

Such figures show the positive influence of the affirmative action policies on the status of the Bumiputeras[22].

On the other hand, the rigorous efforts of the Malaysian government in implementing NEP succeeded in transforming the civil service, armed forces and police forces into largely ethnic enclaves. The Parliamentary secretary in the Prime Minister's Department reported that 76 percent of the around 800,000 civil servants in Malaysia on 1 January 2001 were ethnic Malays, 7 percent Bumiputera from Sabah and Sarawak, 9 percent Chinese and 5 percent Indians[23]. This means that 83 percent of the workers in governmental offices are from the Bumiputera ethnicity. As for the army 75 percent of military officers and 80 percent of other ranks are Malays[24].

The Malaysian State's intervention via NEP has achieved significant contribution to reducing poverty and income disparities between the Chinese and Bumiputera. The Chinese-Bumiputra disparity ratio has been reduced from 2.29: 1 in 1970 to 1.74:1 in 1990. However, the Chinese-Bumiputra income disparity ratio increased again from 1.74:1 in 1990 to 1.83:1 in 1997[25].

As the intra-ethnic income gaps increased particularly among the Malays and as the Chinese family incomes rose almost twice as fast as those of their Malay counterpart, some analysts believe that there is a possibility that the disparities in income in combination with the privatization of universities policies may influence social cohesion in the Malaysian society. Thus, this study wants to know whether the rise in income and privatization policies influence ethnic relations. As it focuses on the molding of ethnic relations through instruments of public policy, this study must take into account the long-term evolution of ethnicity in Malaysia from the colonial period. This broad perspective is demanded by the fact that the British colonial administration was responsible for creating the diversity of the Malaysian population, developed the administrative criteria for categorizing ethnic affiliations[26] and has thus created a legacy that has continued to affect the making of and public debate about public policy beyond independence.

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[22] Funston, John, "Malaysia Developmental State Challenged", in: Funston, John (ed.), *Government and Politics in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001), p.193.
[23] Mandal, Sumit, "Transethnic Solidarities, Racialization, and Social Equality", in: Gomez, Terence (ed.), *The State of Malaysia, Politics, Business & Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp.55-60.
[24] Shome, Anthony, *Malay Political Leadership* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), p.176.
[25] Shari, Ishak, "Economic Growth and Social Development in Malaysia, 1971-98", in: Anderson, Martin and Gunnarsson, Christer, *Development and Structural Change in Asia-Pacific: Globalising Miracles or End of a Model* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp.110-113.
[26] PuruShotam, Nirmala Srirekam, *Negotiating Language. Constructing Race, Disciplining Difference in Singapore* (New York: Springer, 1998).

Therefore, this study aims at answering the following questions: What was the legacy of colonial educational policies in British Malaya? What have been the initiatives implemented by the Malaysian government in the post-colonial period in order to solve the problems inherited from the colonial period? What are the expected outcomes after implementing the privatization reform initiatives?

In tracing the historical roots of the current higher education system in Malaysia and analyzing the influence of the colonial policies as well as the recent educational reforms of privatization of universities, the study uses the three core concepts of quality of education, equity of access to universities and social cohesion among the ethnic groups in Malaysia. The focus will be on university education and not on the better-researched pre-university education. Beyond its focus on the past, this study also seeks to explain the recent government educational reforms directed to solve the problems created by the colonial legacy and to evaluate its suitability to Malaysian society.

Against the background of the colonial legacy, the study seeks to investigate the impact of the privatization of universities on Malaysian society in terms of quality, equity and social cohesion. It will try to determine whether some potential for of ethnic frictions may arise as a result of the privatization of universities. As Malaysia is a multi-ethnic society comprising Malays, Chinese and Indians, the study will also try to specify the influence of privatization policies on the social and economic mobility[27] of the various ethnic groups.

Even though this study focuses on higher education, it is often mandatory to take into consideration pre-university schooling. This is so first and foremost because of the lasting impact that British colonial administration has had on the schooling system in Malaysia. With the consequence of deepening the difference between the divergent ethnicities in Malaysia, the British colonial administration allowed four different systems of pre-university education to coexist separated from each other. The Malays received primary education in the Malay language in their rural areas. The Chinese established their own private Chinese schools. The Indians received their Tamil education in the Tamil

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[27] Social mobility is understood as any transition of an individual or social object or value from one social position to another. There are two principal types of social mobility, *horizontal* and *vertical*.. By horizontal social mobility or shifting, is meant the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level. Transitions of individuals, as from the Baptist to the Methodist religious group, from one citizenship to another, from one family (as a husband or wife) to another by divorce and remarriage, from one factory to another in the same occupational status, are all instances of social mobility. So too are transitions of social objects, the radio, automobile, fashion, Communism, Darwin's theory, within the same social stratum, as from Iowa to California, or from any one place to another. In all these cases, "shifting" may take place without any noticeable change of the social position of an individual or social object in the vertical direction. By *vertical* social mobility is meant the relations involved in a transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another. According to the direction of the transition, there are two types of vertical social mobility: *ascending* and *descending*, or *social climbing* and *social sinking*. For further details, please see: Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility* (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

plantation schools. In addition to this, the colonial authorities established urban English schools of good quality and which could solely lead to higher education enrolment. These divergent educational systems which were totally different in terms of medium of instruction, curricula, teachers' qualifications and values led to the creation of social, cultural and economic divisions in the Malaysian society. It was the rich Chinese and Indians who could reap the fruits of an urban English education of high quality at the expense of the poor Indians and Malays in the plantation estates and the rural areas. Schools constructed divergent identities. As Shamsul observed,

> [t]hrough schools much of the 'facts' were channeled to the younger population thus shaping their own perception of what social reality is, most of which were constructed by colonial knowledge anyway. More than that, with the existence of Chinese, Malay, Tamil, and English schools, ethnic boundaries become real and ethnic identities become essentialized and ossified through elements such as language and cultural practice.[28]

Accordingly, the impact of British colonial educational policies goes far beyond the making of institutions, touching upon the social cohesion of the Malaysian population.

B) Thesis Statement and Analytical Framework

Given the colonial legacy, this thesis focuses on the external influences that have shaped and transformed higher education in the Malay Peninsula. The thesis will show that higher education institutions were established during the period of British colonial rule following from the interests of the rulers and operating for their overall benefit. Moreover, the thesis will demonstrate that the legacy of external colonial intervention into the provision of higher education was not confined to the past but has shaped politics in Malaysia to the present, specifically in deepening the divisiveness of the ethnic groups making up the Malaysian population.

This thesis seeks to establish the political significance of the organization and provision of higher education in developing countries. Few political scientists have taken education into account as an element of domestic politics, even though they agree that voters take a high regard for social issues such as education in election campaigns[29]. Even fewer students of international relations have looked at education as an issue, because education appears to be the property of the sovereign state and does not

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[28] Shamsul, B., "Text and Collective Memories: The Construction of 'Chinese' and 'Chineseness' from the Perspective of a Malay", *op. cit.*, p.115.

[29] See: Przeworski, Adam, Alvarez, Michael E., Cheibub, José Antonio, Limongi, Fernando, *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World. 1950 – 1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 33, who explicitly say that they do not include "social or economic aspects of society", even though they show awareness of the fact that "most citizens perceive social or economic equity as an essential feature of democracy".

lend itself to decision-making at cross-national or international levels[30]. Higher education has received even less academic attention, often being suspected as serving elites only and thus having little or no analytical significance for political processes. However, the impact that the advancement and dissemination of knowledge for and in society can have on politics has increasingly been recognized, with the consequence that institutions of higher education have become the focus of political decision-making at national as well as international levels, as efforts to advance international cooperation on research, development and the enhancement of student mobility are growing[31]. In turn, institutions of higher education have multiplied, especially in developing countries, forming venues for advanced teaching and research and increasingly being interconnected through their own cross-national relations. As governments are recognizing the growing importance of higher education in response to globalization, political scientists are lagging behind in examining the domestic and international political impact that the organization and provision of higher education can have.

Among the many developing countries whose governments have become committed to allocate growing portions of their budgets to institutions of higher education, Malaysia has taken a pivotal role. Its government's bid to propel Malaysia to a fully industrialized state by 2020, it has launched a process of the expansion of the higher education sector through the foundation of new universities, the increase of the numbers of students and faculty, and the increase of spending on research and development. In the view of the Malaysian government, the making of a knowledge society appears as one, if not the primary condition for development[32]. Major reforms of the institutional set up have accompanied the growth of the higher education sector. Most conspicuously, the government's decision in 1996 to promote the establishment of private universities has ushered in a new era of Malaysian education policy, attempting to lure private investors from within Malaysia and from abroad into the higher education sector. This thesis critically examines the political effects of the privatization of Malaysian universities in its

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[30] Thus, Carlsnaes, Walter, Risse, Thomas, and Simmons, Beth A. (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London, Thousand Oaks, 2002), cover a significantly wider variety of topics than standard general international relations literature, including, among other, international law as well as international finance and trade, but leave out educational issues.

[31] For a case of an international agreement on education policy see the communiqué of the London Meeting of the Ministers Responsible for Higher Education of Countries Joining the Bologna Process, 18 May 2007, §§ 2.19, 2.20, stating that the governments involved in the process will attempt to advance international cooperation on education policy at the global level [http.//www.dfes.gov.uk/londonbologna/uploads/documents].

[32] Abdulai, David, *Can Malaysia Transit into the K-Economy* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn Bhd., 2004), pp.71-96. See also: Mohamed Mustapa, "Globalising Higher Education: Upgrading Quality and Standards", in: Idid, Syed Arabi (ed.), *Malaysia at 50: Achievements and Aspirations* (Kuala Lumpur: Thomson Learning and International Islamic University Malaysia, 2008), pp. 33-40. Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *The Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010*, (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), p.161.

domestic and international dimension against the backdrop of the legacy of British colonial rule and the continuing impact of British colonialism on higher education.

In doing so, the researcher attempts to interconnect the process of admitting private universities with the public discourse about core issues of politics in Malaysia. Since the so-called "Race Riots" of 1969, the most formidable political issue in Malaysia has been the lack of equality of access to resources among the three major ethnic groups making up the Malaysian population, namely Chinese, Indians and Malays. The ethnic diversity of the population is Malaysia's main colonial legacy, as British colonial administration opened the Malay Peninsula for massive and often forced immigration,[33] mainly from China and India, in order to supply labour force for tin mines and cash crop plantations. British colonial administration enforced censuses through which every head of a household became obliged to declare whether the members of the household were of Chinese, Indian or Malay descent, with no other categories being admitted. British colonial administrators thus imposed exclusive ethnic categories and thereby enhanced divisiveness among the population groups in the Malay Peninsula rather than providing for an inclusive collective identity[34]. Among the three thus constructed main ethnic groups,

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[33] Arasaratnam, Sinnappah, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978). Campbell, Persia. C*., Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London: P. S. King, 1923). Chiew, Seon Kong, "From Overseas Chinese to Chinese Singaporeans", in: Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Ethnic Chinese as Southeast Asians* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), pp. 211-227. Chirot, Daniel, Reid, Anthony (eds.), *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997). Clammer, John R., *Straits Chinese Society: Studies in the sociology of the Baba Communities of Malaysia and Singapore* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1980). Hara, Fujio, *Malayan Chinese and China: Conversion in Identity Consciousness, 1945 – 1957* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1997). Irick, Robert L., *Ch'ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade, 1847 – 1878* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1982). Jain, Ravindra K., *South Indians on the Plantation Frontier of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970). Jain, Ravindra K., "South Indian Labour in Malaya, 1840 – 1920", in: Saunders, Kay (ed.), *Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834 – 1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 158-182. Mahajani, Usha, *The Role of Indian Minorities in Burma and Malaya* (Bombay: Vora, 1960) [reprint Westport, CT 1973]. Purcell, Victor, *The Chinese in Malaya*, 2nd edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1976). Ramanathan, Indira, *China and the Ethnic Chinese in Malaysia and Indonesia, 1949 – 1992 (*London: Sangam, 1994). Sandhu, Kernial Singh, *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of their Immigration and Settlement, 1786- 1957* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969). Song, Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975). Suryadinata, Leo, "Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia. Overseas Chinese, Chinese Overseas or Southeast Asians?", in: Suryadinata, Leo (ed.), *Ethnic Chinese as Southeast Asians* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), pp. 1-24. Tan, Chee Beng, *The Baba of Melaka: Culture and Identity of a Chinese Peranakan Community in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn Bhd., 1988). Tinker, Hugh, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974). Turner, G. E., "Indian Immigration", *Malay Historical Journal*, 1, 1954, pp. 80-84.

[34] Brown, David, "The State of Ethnicity and the Ethnicity of the State: Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol.12, no. 1, 1989, pp. 47-62. Clammer, John R., "The Institutionalization of Ethnicity: the Culture of Ethnicity in Singapore", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.5, no.2, 1982, pp.127-139. Clammer, John R., "Ethnicity and the Classification of Social Differences in Plural Societies", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 20, no.3-4, 1985, pp. 141-155. PuruShotam, Nirmala, "Language and Linguistic Policies", in: Sandhu Kernial Singh, Wheatley Paul (eds.), *Management of Success: The Moulding of Modern Singapore* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), pp.

the Chinese have long become recognized as comprising the largest number of economically successful and affluent members,[35] capable of investing in the education of their children. At the same time, the government responded to the 1969 "Race Riots" by introducing policies of affirmative action to the benefit of Malay population groups, peaking in the enforcement of Bahasa Melayu as the national language, based on the Malay dialect of the Sultanate of Johore[36]. Among others, the language policy implied that Bahasa Melayu would be the language of instruction in state-owned, public schools. For the Chinese and Indian population groups, that government-stipulated language policy entailed the consequence that access to public and, that means, tuition-free schools was limited to pupils and students willing to accept Bahasa Melayu as the language of instruction. Tradition-conscious families of Chinese and Indian origin have since then been obliged to send their children to private schools charging tuition. The lack of ascertained general approval of these policies of affirmative action and the often latent distrust of the financial power of people of Chinese descent have prevented the rise of forums for public debate over the constitutional framework for the Malaysian state, for fear that such debate might boost political partisanship based on ethnicity, might furthermore jeopardize social cohesion in the state population and might thus eventually contribute to growing political instability.

A public sphere as a set of forums for political debate was not established in what is Malaysia today, as British colonial administrators placed themselves in control either in the legal form of suzerainty over remaining sultanates, such as Johore,[37] or through direct occupation, such as in Sarawak[38]. Neither form of rule could strengthen the public sphere comprising the entire British dependency of the Straits Settlements, as the colonizers considered neither the „native" resident population nor the immigrants worthy of political participation in affairs concerning the dependency as a whole. Consequently, political activities of the victims of British colonial rule remained confined to

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503-522. PuruShotam, Nirmala Srirekam, *Negotiating Language: Constructing Race, Disciplining Difference in Singapore* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998).

[35] Lee, Kam Hing, "Malaysian Chinese", in: Suryadinata, Leo (ed.), *Ethnic Chinese as Southeast Asians* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), pp. 72-107.

[36] For language policy see Ali, S. Hussin (ed.), *Ethnicity, Class and Development: Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sains Sosial Malaysia, 1984). Asmah Haji Omar, "Patterns of Language Communication in Malaysia", in: Asmah Haji Omar (ed.), *National Language and Communication in Multilingual Societies* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1987), pp. 13-25. Enloe, Cynthia*, Multi-Ethnic Politics: The Case of Malaysia* (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1970).

[37] Cowan, Charles Donald, *Nineteenth Century Malaya: The Origins of British Political Control* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). Parkinson, C. Northcote., *British Intervention in Malaya, 1867 - 1877* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1960).

[38] Crisswell, Colin N., *Rajah Charles Brooke: Monarch of all He Surveyed* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978). Ingleson, John, *Expanding the Empire: James Brooke and the Sarawak Lobby, 1839 – 1868* (Perth: Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Western Australia, 1979).

local levels. Moreover, and in consequence of their disregard for the legitimate interests of population under their control in the Straits Settlements, British colonial administrators limited general education to the primary sector and focused on the transmission of the technical skills deemed required for menial work. Even when, early in the twentieth century, they began to feel the need to establish institutions of higher education in the Straits Settlement, they were designed to be confined to training technical skills in agriculture, engineering and medical care. When political dissent over inequalities grew in the post-war period, mainly in response to the civil war in China, the colonizers responded with measures to enforce their laws and left the complaints unsettled[39].

British colonial administration thus inherited to the early post-colonial governments their lack of concern for the promulgation of a public sphere and the advancement of higher education. British attempts to convert the Straits Settlements into a single new state failed conspicuously at the time when, in 1965, Singapore was ousted from the recently established Malay Federation and became a sovereign state of own. The main reason behind the separation of Singapore from the Malay Federation was the dominance of the Chinese population segment, making up about 76% of the island's population[40]. The so-called "Race Riots" of 1969 merely transformed into violent action the long growing popular uneasiness about discrimination and increasingly unequal access to resources[41]. The government supplemented its policies of affirmative action to the benefit of the Malay population groups by the enforcement of strict control of the public media, political organizations, thereby reducing the

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[39] On political activities among the Chinese population group in Southeast Asia in connection with the transformation of China and the Chinese civil war in the earlier twentieth century see: Yen, Chin Hwang, "Overseas Chinese Nationalism in Singapore and Malaya 1877 – 1912", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.16, no.3, 1982, pp. 397-425. Yong, Ching Fatt, "Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Singapore during the 1930s", Journal of *Southeast Asian Studies*, vol.8, no.2, 1977, pp. 195-209. Nonini, Donald M., "Popular Sources of Chinese Labor Militancy in Colonial Malaya. 1900 – 1941", in: Guerin-Gonzales Camille, Strickwerda Carl (eds.), *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy Since 1830* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993), pp. 215-242.

[40] On Singapore independence see: Bedlington, Stanley. S., *Malaysia and Singapore: The Building of New States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978). Clammer, John R., *Race and State in Independent Singapore, 1965-1990: The Cultural Politics of Pluralism in a Multiethnic Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998). Fletcher, Nancy M., *The Separation of Singapore from Malaysia* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1969). Hanna, Willard. A., *The Separation of Singapore from Malaysia* (New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1965.). Lau, Albert, *A Moment of Anguish. Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1998). Sopiee, Mohammed Noording, *From Malayan Union to Singapore's Separation: Political Unification in the Malaysia Region, 1945-65* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 1974).

[41] For the Race Riots see: Leifer, Michael, "Communal Violence in Singapore", *Asian Survey*, vol. 4, no.10, 1964, pp. 1115-1121. Oei, Anthony, "What is a Singaporean?", in: Oei, Anthony, *What if there had been no Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore: Mandarin, 1992), pp. 257-274. Tremewan, Christopher, *The Political Economy of Social Control in Singapore* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994) [reprint London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996]. Vasil, Raj, *Governing Singapore* (Singapore: Mandarin, 1992). Vorys, Karl von, *Democracy without Consensus: Communalism and Political Stability in Malaysia* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press 1975). Yeo, K. W., *Political Development in Singapore, 1945 – 55* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1973).

possibilities for political participation[42]. It opened new state-owned institutions of higher education and generalized the curricula, to allow more ample access to advanced general education to a wider segment of the Malay population[43]. Bahasa Melayu was introduced as the language of instruction in the universities.

Since 1996, the government has again revised its stance, opening tertiary education to the private sector. In doing so, the government has pursued the primary goal of reducing its financial burden. However, the move has sparked intense debate about the impact of university privatisation on interethnic relations and, beyond that, on the relationship of the entire Malaysian population to the state. In brief, the issues at stake are these. In consequence of the divisive policies of the British colonial administration, people of Chinese descent, who have traditionally taken a high regard for the education of their children, have taken positions of influence and affluence in key sectors of the Malaysian economy. The enforcement of Malay as a national language and the main language of instruction in government-sponsored schools has forced culturally conscientious members of the Chinese communities to invest privately in the education of their children by sending them to private schools, where Chinese could be the medium of instruction. Therefore, students of Chinese origin are most likely to enrol most often in privately operated universities and will thus become capable of maintaining or even expanding their already dominating position in the Malaysian economy. Therefore, the move to support the establishment of private universities in Malaysia is equivalent of the revocation of the previous affirmative action policies, established in the aftermath of the "Race Riots". This thesis seeks to demonstrate that, given the legacy of British colonialism, ethnic exclusion and divisiveness, political instability is likely to grow in Malaysia as a consequence of the increase of the involvement of the private sector in higher education institutions.

C) Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere

For his theoretical assumption and analytical framework, the researcher has drawn on the variant of Critical Theory that Jürgen Habermas has applied to his conceptualisation of the public sphere[44]. Despite

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[42] Slimming, John, *Malaysia: Death of a Democracy* (London: J. Murray, 1969).

[43] Lee, Hock Guan, *Ethnic Relations in Peninsular Malaysia: The Cultural and Economic Dimensions*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Working Papers, Social and Cultural Issues 1 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000).

[44] Habermas, *op. cit.* , pp.20-40.

recently emerging criticism[45], Habermas's concept of the public sphere still conveys important merits to the study of developing countries, most notably states with an ethnically diverse population. In essence, Habermas holds that the legitimacy of state institutions, that is the public acceptance of the constitutional framework of the state, critically hinges on the existence of the public sphere as the set of forums for open reasoning and controversial debate about fundamental issues of state policy. Assuming that the public sphere is the core property of the democratic state, Habermas demands that debate about fundamental issues of state policy must take place free of government intervention or guidance that is, in a 'rule-free' mental space[46]. According to Habermas, the set of such publicly accessible forums of reasoning and debate constitute the public sphere. Habermas further insists that governments can only expect that political stability will continue, if they are willing – and demonstrate their willingness – to accept not merely the freedom of a critical press but also various forms of explicit political opposition. He predicts that, in a democratically constituted state, any government attempt to impose constraints on the public sphere will sooner or later result in the decline of the legitimacy of state institutions and, in turn, the growth of political instability.

Habermas based his theory on his view of European state history of the Modern Era and described the process of the institutionalization of the public sphere as part and parcel of the establishment of the European bourgeois nation-state. He correctly observed that, in the course of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, the establishment of the nation-state entailed the making of societies whose bourgeois opinion leaders succeeded in imposing their conception of the public sphere upon the entire population of the state, specifically the working classes. The incremental acceptance, in the course of the twentieth century, of the concept of the national public sphere by the initially internationalist working class movement has indeed elevated the public sphere to an instrument of national integration in Europe and North America.

Any argument about the applicability of the concept of the public sphere critically hinges on the understanding of the peculiarities of the publication history of Jürgen Habermas's major contributions to the theory of the public sphere, specifically his Habilitation Thesis *Strukurwandel der Öffentlichkeit* of 1962, and *opus magnum Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* of 1981. Despite early criticism[47], *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* evolved into a standard textbook in German sociology of the 1960s,

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[45] For a survey of responses see: Calhoun, Craig (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA,: MIT Press, 1993).

[46] More elaborately argued in: Habermas, Jürgen, *Theory of Communicative Action,* vol. 1 (Boston: Beacon, 1984).

[47] Negt, Oskar, Kluge, and Alexander, *The Public Sphere and Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) (Theory and History of Literature. 85.) [first published (Frankfurt, 1972)].

1970s and 1980s but remained then confined to the German-speaking world. By contrast, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* was quickly disseminated in the English-speaking world. Habermas explicated two successive stages of his theory of the public sphere in these two works, the original version in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* and a more elaborate version in *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. The first English edition of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* appeared only in 1989. This edition was thus published after the English edition of *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* had appeared in 1984. In other words, the reception of Habermas's theory of the public sphere within German-speaking audiences and in the English-speaking world at large took opposite processes. Whereas German-speaking audiences responded to the theory in accordance with the sequence in which Habermas explicated it, the reception of Habermas's original version of 1962 beyond German-speaking audiences followed the publication of the more elaborate version. Beyond the German-speaking world, the two versions of Habermas's theory of the public sphere have not been subjected to distinct discussions from the 1980s and have since then been applied beyond the initially European reach of Habermas's theory to political analyses in the Muslim world[48] and East Asia[49]. The reception process, with particular regard to the German and the English editions of both works in which Habermas laid down his theory of the public sphere, has had important consequences for the resulting debates. The major point of difference between the two reception processes relates to the key term *Öffentlichkeit*.

In the original version of his theory, Habermas used the term *Öffentlichkeit* to categorize domestic processes of institution-making linked to the democratic nation-state and based on "rule-free reasoning". Habermas limited his notion of "rule-free reasoning" not merely to the legal dimension of the freedom of speech to express personal opinions without manifest or felt constraints but defined the notion in terms political sociology as the admission of citizens to participate in formal processes of determining core norms and values seen as relevant for society at large. He further identified "rule-free debate" as the core condition for the emergence of legitimate institutions of governance within a state. By consequence, he associated the quest for "rule-free reasoning" as part of the bourgeois ideologies that had emerged through the revolutionary processes in North America and Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century and connected the implementation of the quest for "rule-free reasoning" with the making of institutions of the nation-state in Europe and the Americas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, Habermas's original concept of *Öffentlichkeit* is focused on politics and mostly refers to

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[48] See Eickelman, Dale F., and Anderson, Jon W. (eds.), *The Emerging Public Sphere*, edited, second edition (Bloomington, IN, and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003).

[49] Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah, Schluchter, Wolfgang, and Wittstock, Björn (eds.), *Public Spheres and Collective Identities* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2001).

groups of resident populations within the territory of a state[50], its closest explicit approximation to notions of space resting with parliaments as politically relevant and constitutionally legitimate gatherings of decision-makers. Beyond its association with parliamentary institutions, however, Habermas's original concept of *Öffentlichkeit* as a borderless entity with theoretically unrestricted access contains no direct reference to the spatial dimension.

The expanded version of Habermas's theory of the public sphere integrated "rule-free reasoning" into more fundamental arguments about communicative action at large. Using speech act theory as explicated in the philosophy of language mainly of Charles S. Peirce, Habermas attempted to lay the foundation for communicative action in general as part of a theory of society. In the expanded version of this theory of the public sphere, Habermas thus further reduced the degree of interconnectedness between his concept of *Öffentlichkeit* and the spatial dimension.

However, the translators working on the English edition of *Strukturwandel der Oeffentlichkeit* chose to represent *Öffentlichkeit* by the attributive construction "Public Sphere" which explicitly spatialized Habermas's theory. One reason for this choice is morphological in kind, as German *abstracta* ending in *-keit*, popular among Hegel and other nineteenth-century philosophers, are notoriously difficult to render into English, the usual dictionary equation being the absolute noun *the public*. This equation is based on the etymological fact that the stem word of *Öffentlichkeit* goes back to the same Germanic root as English *open*. Ignoring the lack of direct connectedness of Habermas's concept of *Öffentlichkeit* with the spatial dimension, the translators reduced *public* to an attribute in combination with the noun *sphere* explicitly referring to the spatial dimension. As the English edition of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* has become the textual base for the international reception of Habermas's theory of the public sphere, the Habermasian concept of *Öffentlichkeit* has secondarily and retrospectively acquired its spatial dimension much against its definitory connection with groups of resident populations.

Moreover, the reception of *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* beyond German-speaking audiences began at a time, when, within these audiences, criticisms against Habermas's contentions about *Öffentlichkeit* were becoming vocal. As Habermas identified the public sphere as the sphere of politics, he could not but associate the public sphere with territorialized notions of state and society while ignoring national and transnational civil society agents and the international political arena. He also had to follow the lead of early twentieth-century German political theory in positioned state and

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[50] See Jellinek, Georg, *Allgemeine Staatslehre,* 7th reprint of the 3rd ed. of 1913 (Bad Homburg: Gentner, 1960), pp. 394-434 [first published (Berlin: Häring, 1900)].

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society as arenas of controversy about the norms and rules guiding politics[51]. Prejudiced by the legacy of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century political theory mainly of German origin, Habermas was thus led to accept the premise that no public sphere had existed in Europe prior to the late eighteenth century and could not be found outside Europe and the Americas at all[52]. Habermas felt justified to make this claim because he looked back onto earlier periods of European history through the spectacles of his predecessor theorists and looked out for institutions of state and society similar to those on record from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Failing to find such institutions in the earlier periods of European history, as neither states with sharply delineated boundaries nor societies with comprehensive collective identities and legal frameworks existed at a large scale in Europe before the end of the eighteenth century, Habermas arrived at the paradoxical conclusion that legitimate political debate should be "rule-free" in a government-controlled arena of the nation-state and concluded that no public sphere could then have existed. Last but not least, in explicating his notion of *Öffentlichkeit*, Habermas focused on the Western traditions and totally ignored the non-Western world.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, however, historians have intensified their studies of what might be defined as *Öffentlichkeit* prior to the end of the eighteenth century[53]. These investigations have made it clear that Habermas was mistaken in assuming that the public sphere was established in Europe only at the end of the eighteenth century and that it did not exist outside the West. As Habermas, in the original version of his theory of the public sphere, had focused on politics, he had overlooked primary sources that put on record intensive public reasoning about honor as a factor of social status and commercial success[54], reveal the extensive use of ceremony to exhibit government to the governed[55] and

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[51] See Schmitt, Carl, T*he Concept of the Political.* Expanded Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) [first published 1933].

[52] See Eley, Geoff, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures. Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century", in Calhoun, Craig (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), pp.289-339.

[53] Brubaker, Leslie, "Topography and the Creation of Public Space in Early Medieval Constantinople", in: Jong, Mayke de (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2001), pp.31-43. Castiglione, Dario, Sharpe, Leslie (eds.), *Shifting the Boundaries. Transformation of Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995). Goodman, Dena, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime", *History and Theory*, vol.31, no.1, Feb.1992, pp.1-20. La Vopa, Anthony J., "Conceiving a Public: Ideas and Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe", Journal *of Modern History*, vol. 64, no.1, March 1992, pp.79-116. Zaret, David, "Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England", in: Calhoun, Craig (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), pp.212-235.

[54] Foyster, Elizabeth, "Male Honour, Social Control and Wife Beating in Late Stuart England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6, 1996, pp.215-224. Gowing, Laura, "Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 6, 1996, pp.225-234. Lentz, Matthias, "Defamatory Pictures and Letters in Late Medieval Germany: The Visualisation of Disorder and Infamy", *Medieval History Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2000, pp.139-160.

[55] Among others, see Burke, Peter, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

display the willingness even of common soldiers as well as military organizers to engage, throughout the eighteenth century, in public and "rule-free" reasoning about issues that were considered classified in nineteenth- and twentieth-century retrospective[56].

Criticism has also become vocal about Habermas's bias towards Europe and his rigid dichotomization of the public versus the private. In doing so, he omits important further dimensions of that distinction that would need to be taken into account when the non-Western world comes into consideration[57]. What has not been considered in this connection, are the factors that have contributed to the lack of applicability of the theory to the non-Western world. In search for these factors, not only Habermas's bias in favor of the European legal, political and social theories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comes into play but also his focus on the domestic factors of socio-political change. By implication, he took for granted that the state population is a population of residents and that the international borders of states are givens. He thus completely ignored migration as a factor of political as well as social change and, more importantly, external political impacts on transformations of state structure, border-making processes and the molding of collective identities through colonial rule.

The challenging problem underlying the applicability of Habermas's theory of the public sphere beyond the confines of the West therefore is this: Has European colonial rule entailed a set of political as well as social conditions that have prevented the formation of a public sphere as a forum for institutionalized debate about norms and rules, with the implication that post-colonial state institutions have been burdened with a legitimacy deficit? In other words, the problem is not merely to state the lack of applicability of Habermas's theory of the public sphere to the non-Western world but to analyze the reason why this is so. In many parts of the world, but most noteworthily in parts of Southeast Asia, European, specifically British, colonial rule entailed the diversity of populations in consequence of large-scale forced migration. Under these conditions, a public sphere as an arena of controversy about major issues relating to state and society could only have come into existence if the British colonial government would have made purposeful efforts to bring it about by, first and foremost, promoting a sense of unity among and thus integrating the resident and immigrant populations under their control. According to Habermas, the public sphere owes its existence to domestic political factors operating in an established state with a resident population. None of these conditions exist in most developing countries, where colonial governments have intervened as external political actors often enforcing immigration. As

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[56] See Kleinschmidt, Harald, *The Nemesis of Power. A History of International Relations Theories* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp.139-146.

[57] Benn, Stanley I., and Gaus, Gerhard F., "The Public and the Private. Concept and Action", in: Benn and Gaus (eds.), *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp.3-27.

will be shown in detail in subsequent chapters, the British colonial government opted for policies of segregation rather than integration, using education as the core means of segregating people in Malaysia. It will also be clarified that the public sphere did not come into existence in Malaysia just because its concept is alien to Southeast Asian political tradition but in the main because British colonial rule obstructed its formation. Education will thus be used as a case apt to display the complex interdependence between the colonial legacy, the quest for the public sphere as a non-spatial arena of debate and the governance capability of state institutions[58].

D) The Social History of Education

It is at this point that the study of the political impact of higher education becomes crucial for the assessment of domestic policies and international relations of developing countries. Students enrolled in or graduating from and faculty working in institutions of higher education are, in accordance with Habermas's theory, the prime actors in the public sphere, even if they usually do not hold political power. Oftentimes, political movements in developing countries have commenced on university campuses and then embraced wider sectors of society. By consequence, if institutions of higher education, such as privately controlled universities in Malaysia, may spark interethnic conflict, they are unlikely to contribute to the formation of a public sphere, to add to the legitimacy of state institutions and, eventually, to foster political stability.

Any study of the interface between higher education and politics, as conducted through this thesis, must therefore take a broader approach than mere policy analysis. While educational policy analysis can explain the attitudes and decisions of political actors seeking to establish and maintain higher education institutions, it fails to come to grips with the attitudes and desires of teaching staff and the recipients of education. In other words, a study of the interconnectedness of higher education with politics in developing countries must follow a bottom-up approach taking into account social issues in their historical dimension.

In analyzing the historical roots of Malaysian higher education, the researcher will thus use the principles and presuppositions of social history to examine the factors preventing the evolution of the public sphere. The researcher discredits the hegemony of the history of events, rejects the primacy of

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[58] What Habermas conceptualized as public sphere is sometimes referred to as "political space" in debates about Malaysian politics, arguing that the "political space is absent. See: Abbott, Jason P, and Franks, Oliver S., "Malaysia at Fifty: Conflicting Definitions of Citizenship", *Asian Affairs*, vol. 38, no, 3, November 2007, p.351.

political history by insisting on its interaction with economic, social and cultural history and asserts that mentalities and modes of thinking should be object of serious historical research. Furthermore, the researcher believes that history should be concerned with the life and destiny of human masses and social ethnic groups at the expense of individual princes, heroes, and leaders who occupied the attention of conventional historians during the last two centuries. Thus, rather than being concerned with the life of the mighty, the wealthy, or the cultured, history should be occupied by the analysis of the life of peasants, labourers in the plantation estates, and workers in the tin mines. Consequently, colonial education institutes should be analyzed as an integral part of the social climate of the colonial era and as a mental structure in which the production modes, and thoughts and relation of domination and exploitation, of wealth and poverty were closely interwoven. Moreover, the relationship between higher education colleges and the economic and social history in British Malaya should be emphasized and linked to the colonial subtle stereotypes and unconscious mentalities. In order to achieve these targets, the material as well social bases of the daily life of the broad masses of health, housing, production, nutrition and disease will be analyzed. Correspondingly, this study is about the living and suffering people who live and die unheard of.

Social history gained popularity in the 1950s and 1960s, when social historians sought to recapture the lives and the experiences of the working class and other impoverished groups. Later the list of topics expanded to include women and then minority groups. "Social history challenged dominant historical narratives which were constructed around the history of politics and the state. Social historians sought to uncover the relationships between economic, demographic and social processes and structures, as well as their impact on political institutions, the distribution of resources, social movements, shared worldviews, and forms of public and private behavior"[59].

Social history has resulted in a rich literature on many aspects of the life of labourers, women, minorities, and the poor. Via the literature of social history social processes such as demographic change, social protest, and social movements were analyzed and were best understood. Social history sought to explore the lives of subaltern groups such as peasant movements and the problems of working class identity

During the early phase of the social history, much of the studies were empirical in nature, and almost revolving around a notion of social structure, especially, class structure, derived from the Marxist literature. With the passage of time, the 1970s and the 1980s witnessed the decline of the appeal of a

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[59] "Social History" in: Smelser, Neil and Baltes, Paul (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd, 2001), vol. 21, p.14299.

class-based analysis of the society. Thus, there was a move towards the social history of crime, popular culture and social policy. The declining popularity of the socio-economic explanations of historical change as well as the rising interest in culture and cultural interpretations both of the past and the present were part of this thematic shift.

"In the course of this paradigm shift, *explanation* has become less obvious, less self-evident, less desirable or less manageable for many historians. Understanding has regained center-stage. Historians have become less interested in establishing the causes and the conditions, and more interested in (re) constructing the meanings of past phenomena, i.e. the meanings a phenomenon of the past had for contemporaries as well as the meanings it has or may have for the present historians and their audiences"[60].

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an intensive cooperation with sociology and a partial one with economics. That was the period of interdisciplinary cooperation where social sciences provided the historians with ready-made theories and models. With the passage of time cooperation with other disciplines broadened and changed. Thus, close cooperation developed with ethnology, linguistics, history of literature, philosophy, education, psychology and law.

In the 1960s theories like modernization had influenced the thought of many social historians. By now, the influence of post-structuralism and gender studies made Grand Narratives lose their appeal. "At present, there is a great distrust of binary oppositions (subject/object, male/female, abstract/concrete, etc.). Comprehensive theories appeal to few people. This fact and the abundance of subjects in which social historians are interested make this field look incoherent. Our discipline seems to consist of many concrete 'fragments' which only with many reservations can be said to reside in the same theoretical space. The field is indeed primarily 'a collection of topics and analytical styles'. At the same time, much that appeared solid has melted into thin air"[61]. The methods of social history are predominantly empirical but not devoid of a conceptual framework. Its connectedness with Habermas's theory of the public sphere will be further explored in Chapter II[62].

While analyzing the educational institutions during the colonial era three core concepts will be used. Thus, during the period from 1874 to 1957 the three concepts that are used are quality, equity, and social cohesion. As for the period from 1957 to 1996 the analysis will be limited to describing the evolution of public universities. There are two reasons for this treatment of the topic. The first is the

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[60] Kocka, Jürgen, "Losses, Gains and Opportunities: Social History Today", *Journal of Social History*, vol.37, no.1, Fall 2003, p.24.
[61] Van der Linden, Marcel, "Gaining Ground", *Journal of Social History*, vol.37, no.1, Fall 2003, pp.70-71.
[62] See Chapter II, notes 20-25.

limited availability of primary archival sources. It is a rule of the thumb that archival material which is less than thirty years old, can not be accessed freely by the public audience. Due to this archival restriction rule, few primary sources can be analyzed during such period. The second reason is the absence of any radical or dramatic structural reforms in the Malaysian university system. The period from 1957 to 1969 was a mere continuation of the colonial pre-independence policies. As for the period from 1969 to 1996 it did not witness any significant reforms apart from the quantitative expansion of Malaysian universities.

Regarding the analysis of the current university system, the researcher will combine the three concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion with five core concepts developed by Bruce Johnston. The five concepts are mission or purpose, ownership, source of revenue, government control and management norms.

TABLE 1.1. Privatization of Universities as Direction or Tendency on Multiple Dimensions.

Dimensions	High 'Publicness'			High 'Privateness'
Continuum of Privatization （Greater Privatization ------→ ）				
1.Mission or Purpose	Serves a clear 'public' mission as determined by the faculty or the state.	Mission is avowedly both public and private, but as defined by faculty.	Mission is mainly to respond to students' private interests, mainly vocational.	Mission serves interests of students, clients, and owners.
2.Ownership	Publicly owned: can be altered or even closed by state.	Public corporation or constitutional entity.	Privately non-profit: clear public accountability.	Private for-profit.
3.Source of Revenue	All taxpayer, or public, revenue.	Mainly public, but some tuition, or 'cost sharing'.	Mainly private, but public assistance to needy students.	All private revenue: mainly tuition-dependent.
4.Control by Government	High state control, as in agency or ministry.	Subject to controls, but less than other state agencies.	High degree of autonomy; control limited to oversight.	Controls limited to those over any other businesses.
5.Norms of Management	Academic norms; shared governance, antiauthoritarianism.	Academic norms, but acceptance of need for effective management.	Limited homage to academic norms; high management control.	Operated like a business; norms from management.

Source: Johnstone, Bruce, *Privatization in and of Higher Education in the US*, (Buffalo, New York: the Center for Comparative and Global Studies in Education, 2000), p.2.

In the light of the ethnic tensions that have strangled many developing countries, and due to the desire of many governments to increase the ratio of enrolment in universities, the relationship between the privatization of universities and ethnic relations must be studied. Malaysia has applied policies of educational privatization in an atmosphere in which many factors are interacting. Some of these factors are: an aspiration to become a fully industrialized country by the year 2020, the existence of a strong competition between different sectors to secure sufficient finance and the Asian economic crisis. Therefore, it is necessary to help policy makers and planners in the economic and educational sectors via

providing them with information about the present and expected future repercussions of the policies of educational privatization. This can only be done by clarifying the expected effects that may result from implementing such privatization policies, and by learning from the successful Malaysian experience in managing ethnic relations.

Perhaps equally important, however, is the valuable perspective that studying the educational system in a Southeast Asian state provides us in understanding the ethnic problems also in the Arab countries. To step outside of our own limited experience and our commonly held assumptions about quality, equity and social cohesion in order to look back at our system in contrast to another, places it in a very different light. To learn, for example how Malaysia manages her ethnic relations and higher educational policies can enable Arab and other Muslim countries to understand that there are alternatives to their own familiar way of doing things.

The core difference between conventional researches in higher education and the current thesis is its focus on the interconnectedness between higher education and politics through the formation and maintenance of the public sphere. As has been said before, Habermas's focus on domestic politics was confined to the analysis of Western countries. With regard to Western countries, this focus may be regarded as justifiable as, in these countries, the public sphere usually emerged from processes of domestic political and social change. The current thesis, however, looks at higher education not merely from the point of view of domestic politics and intra-societal relations but, given the colonial legacy pertinent to Malaysia as to many other developing countries, takes into consideration the international impacts arising from British colonial administration in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. It thus contextualizes higher education with the international relations of former colonial dependencies. In doing so, the thesis investigates the interconnectedness between higher education and politics in the Malaysia as a case of the problems associated with the formation and maintenance of the public sphere in developing countries.

E) Outline of the Chapters

Chapter I seeks to set the scene for the study. It gives an explanation of the relationship between ethnicity and university education in the Malaysian context. The problem of the study is explained and the questions of the study are elucidated. After explaining the scope and purpose of the study, the objectives of the study are investigated. In explaining the research methodology the researcher justifies the reasons behind the utilization of social history in the analysis. The significance of the study in

addition to the thesis statement are explained. Chapter I is concluded by summarizing the outline of the chapters.

Chapter II analyzes the previous studies and explains the distinction of the current study in terms of topic and methodology. It also seeks to put the privatization phenomenon in its global context. By explaining the international austerity, the crisis of educational finance, and the intellectual bases of privatization, the worldwide setting is linked to the Malaysian conditions. This chapter explains the importance of studying privatization of Malaysian universities and the significance of using the social history as a methodological paradigm.

Chapter III aims at explaining the evolution and development of teacher training institutions during the colonial era. The teacher training programs in Sultan Idris Training College, Raffles College and higher technical education are analyzed. After investigating the common stereotypes among the British educational experts, the influence of the colonial policies on quality, equity and social cohesion are elucidated.

Chapter IV seeks to analyze the evolution and development of medical education institutions from 1974 to 1957. The chapter begins by explaining traditional Malay and Chinese medicine at this period. The common diseases and the reasons for their spread are analyzed. In addition to this the attitudes of the local populations towards medical vaccinations are explained. After analyzing the domestic attitudes the common colonial stereotypes regarding health and disease are examined. The goals as well as the priorities of the colonial health policies are explained. These goals and priorities shed light on the degree of exploitation that the Asian population suffered from at the hands of the colonial authorities. By explaining the influence of the colonial educational policies on the quality of higher medical education, the nature of the denigrating education is clarified. Chapter four elucidates the nature of exploitation that the Asian population suffered from the impact of the colonial educational policies on equity. This chapter also sheds light on the effect of the colonial educational policies on inhibiting the social cohesion.

Chapter V aims at explaining the nature of the denigrating and exploitative policies as applied in establishing the University of Malaya. The chapter explains the stereotypes of the colonial administrators as had been expressed in the McLean Report of 1939 and the Carr-Saunders Report of 1947. The low quality of the education provided by the University of Malaya and its inability to accomplish equity and social cohesion are the characteristics of higher education institutions during the colonial era.

Chapter VI traces the heritage from the colonial era and its influence on the present educational system. This chapter links the current educational problems to their roots during the colonial era. The various symptoms of low quality are analyzed. The chapter explains that this down-reaching impact was not the result of coincidence. On the contrary, it was the outcome of the deliberate colonial policies. In addition, the role of the colonial policies in hindering equity is investigated. Chapter VI specifically explains how the colonial educational policies were biased against the poor rural Malays and Indians in the plantation estates. In addition to this, it clarifies how the colonial policies benefited the Chinese and enhanced their educational as well as economic status. It analyzes the role of the colonial polices in preparing for the so-called "Race Riots" of 1969 and the affirmative action policies implemented in their aftermath.

Chapter VII explains the Malaysian universities from independence to privatization (1957-1996). It scrutinizes the nature of changes and reforms that were implemented during that period. In addition, the evolution and establishment of nineteen public universities are explained.

Chapter VIII explains the reasons for the spread of privatization. It traces the paradigm shift in the political economy of development and tackled the increasing austerity in public funds. Afterwards, the theoretical advantages of privatization are explained and are juxtaposed against the potential disadvantages of privatization for education. Chapter VIII further explains how the external benefits, market imperfections, choice, equity, academic freedom, quality and technical problems turned the privatization of education into a hazardous process.

Chapter IX aims at analyzing the Malaysian experience in establishing domestic private universities. It analyzes the factors that facilitated the establishment of domestic private universities in Malaysia. This chapter explains how the consequences of the Asian economic crisis, the vision 2020, the Multi-Media Super Corridor, and the unsatisfied demand on education expedited the establishment of private universities. Then the privatization model applied in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional is explained. Chapter IX also examines the differences between branch campuses of foreign universities and domestic private universities. After explaining these differences, the researcher compares the different types of privatization applied to universities in Malaysia.

Chapter X aims at analyzing the Malaysian experience in the corporatization of public universities as a variant of privatization. The reasons that facilitated the corporatization of Malaysian public universities are explained. Three main reasons are analyzed. The researcher also analyzes the model applied in the most prestigious Malaysian public universities; University of Malaya and Universiti

Kebangsaan Malaysia. The two public universities are compared in terms of mission, ownership, source of revenue, control by government and norms of management.

Chapter XI summarizes the legacies of denigration and exploitation and explained their influence on the privatization of universities. The chapter synopsizes the characteristics of the British educational colonial policies. The merits and the demerits of privatization in Malaysia are reviewed. After summing up the most important results of the study recommendations for the Malaysian government and suggestions for further studies are advocated.

Chapter II

Political Problems and Prospects of the Privatization of Malaysian Universities

A) Introduction

The current study is the first study that tackles the roots, evolution, and development of higher education since the colonial era to the present. No previous studies exist about the genesis and growth of university education from 1874 to 2005. Thus, the current study is a pioneer study in the sense that it is the first piece of research that has investigated the birth of Malaysian university education along a period of 125 years. All the previous studies dealt only with pre-university education either before or after the independence but none has taken into account the entire period from 1874 to 2005. The reasons behind selecting higher education as a topic for this research are various. The most important reason is because it is the study of higher education, rather than pre-university education, that can explain the ideology of the colonial administrators. If we want to probe the ideology of the British administrators, we have to analyze the philosophy of higher education during the colonial era. By studying higher education we can identify the negative assumptions made by the colonial administrators. As these administrators implemented protracted development policies, it was logical that they did not encourage the establishment of higher education institutions. Even, when they had to open a few colleges, they did not establish a college for engineering. These administrators believed that the purpose of education is to train better farmers and fishermen. For them the goal of higher education had never been to produce intellectuals or engineers. As this ideology cannot be explained or probed by studying primary and secondary education, it becomes necessary to study the evolution and development of higher education during the colonial era.

The existing research literature focuses on pre-university education. In doing so, it reflects the priorities set by the British colonial administration having remained, to its very end, reluctant to support the establishment of general higher education institutions, specifically universities. Moreover, existing studies are predominantly descriptive, some are limited to only one ethnic group and, when they deal with the colonial period at all, do so largely on the basis of secondary sources. None of the existing studies links educational issues with domestic, let alone international politics. Neither does the long-term historical impact of education on the formation of the public sphere under the specific conditions of a multi-ethnic state come under review nor have the short-term current consequences of globalization

attracted students of Malaysian education. The following five monographs on Malaysian education share most of these features.

B) Literature Review

The first study is Loh's *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874-1940*[1]. The study aimed at analyzing the major aspects of the British approach to educational development in the former Federated Malay States, namely, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, continuing to exist under British colonial rule.[2] The study focused solely on the origins of pre-university education during the first sixty-six years of the British colonialism. It described how the formal system of Malay secular education was introduced and developed by the British. It elaborated how the religious education was replaced by lay education in the Malay and English languages at first and by Malay, English, Chinese and Indian vernacular education at a later stage. The study elucidated the goals of the vernacular education during the colonial period.

The study described the characteristics of the 'old-style' Chinese schools in Federated Malay States and their modernization process. It also analyzed the phases of the development of Indian vernacular schools. The characteristics of the Indian vernacular schools established inside plantation estates were also explained. The processes through which the colonial administration managed this four-throng educational system were analyzed. The study investigated the reasons behind the reluctance of the British administration to expand English education, and the influences of such policies on the expansion of Chinese and Indian vernacular schools. According to the study the British colonial educators believed that expanding primary education will increase the aspirations of the students to become clerks. A second reason for the reluctance of the colonial educators to expand access to English primary education is the fear of unemployment. According to the study increasing enrollment at English primary education produced an increasing number of students who would not be able to find enough jobs. Philip Loh's study failed to pinpoint the real reason for this difficulty. Therefore, the present study goes beyond Loh and offers alternative explanations for this phenomenon, by analyzing primary sources elucidating the stereotypes and assumptions embedded in the mentalities of the colonial administrators.

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[1] Loh, Philip Fook Seng, *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874-1940* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[2] The Federated Malay States together with the Unfederated Malay State were thus subordinated to the British colonial government. They were replaced by the Federation of Malaysia at independence in 1957.

Explanations drawn on primary sources transcend the naïve and depthless arguments offered by Philip Loh's study.

Loh's study tried to trace the seeds of ethnic separatism to the colonial educational as well as economic policies without, however, penetrating into the mentalities of the colonial administrators. It also described how the curricula of vernacular schools helped alienate pupils belonging to different ethnicities from socializing with each other, without criticizing the ideologies upon which British colonial administrators drew when constructing these ethnicities[3].

In terms of methodology Philip Loh's study[4] depended on the descriptive approach. It relied upon the mere description of events. Prioritizing pre-university education like the British colonial administrators, Philip Loh's study solely focused on the development of vernacular pre-university education during the colonial period. By contrast, the current study will investigate the evolution and development of university education from 1874 to 2005.

One of the methodological shortcomings of Philip Loh's study is its limited usage of the unpublished primary sources available at the Public Records Office (British National Archive) in London. While Philip Loh's study analyzed only two primary sources available at the Public Records Office, the current study examined one hundred and twenty seven primary sources available there. Thus, the current study has gone through and examined many more primary sources than the previous studies.

The second study is Solomon's *The Development of Bilingual Education in Malaysia*[5]. The study aimed at analyzing the development of the vernacular schools and bilingual education from 1930s to 1987. In order to fulfill that aim the study described in brief the political developments that resulted in changes in the pre-university educational system before the Second World War up to the mid-eighties. Solomon's study discussed the rationale for introducing bilingual education before and after independence. The term bilingual education used in this study refers to the usage of two or more languages in teaching and learning in primary and secondary schools. Before independence Malay was the medium of instruction in Malay schools and English was taught as a compulsory subject. With regard to Chinese schools, Chinese was the language of instruction and English was taught as a separate

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[3] Huat, Chua Beng, "Racial- Singaporeans: Absence after the Hyphen", in: Kahn, Joel S., *Southeast Asia Identities* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), pp.28-31.

[4] Loh, Philip Fook Seng is a Historian. His book "Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874-1940" is an expanded and revised version based on his Ph.D. dissertation which was submitted to Stanford University, School of Education in 1970. The title of his Ph.D. dissertation is "British Educational Strategy in the Malay States, 1874 to 1940". He worked in University of Malaya. Now he is a retired professor. His further publications include: Loh, Philip Fook Seng, *The Malay States, 1877-1895; Political change and Social Policy* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[5] Solomon, J.S., *The Development of Bilingual Education in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd, 1988).

subject. As for Indian schools, Tamil was the medium of instruction and English was taught also as a separate subject. The only type of primary education where English was the medium of instruction, was English primary schools. Despite the title of the books, its analysis is limited to non-English language schools and does not investigate universities or higher education at all.

The study is merely descriptive and in many instances quotes the previous studies without analysis. Solomon's study narrated the chronological order of establishing Malay, Chinese, English and Indian schools in British Malaya. According to the study this pre-university education did not promote national unity or national integration in the Malaysian society. Yet the study did not elaborate why schools were divisive or the reasons for hindering social cohesion.

The study described in brief the political developments that resulted in changes in the pre-university educational during the 1950s. It described the tensions between the hopes of the Malays in elevating Bahasa Melayu to the standard of the national language and the hopes of the Chinese to do the same for their Chinese language. The period from 1950 to 1961 witnessed a fierce competition between the Malays and the Chinese in terms of enforcing their respective languages to be the sole medium of instruction in the schools all over the country. The Malays saw the country their native homeland. Therefore, it was their right as 'sons of the soil' to dictate teaching by Bahasa Melayu in all Malay, Chinese and Indian schools. For the Malays, Bahasa Melayu was to be the sole legitimate medium of instruction in all levels of schooling. By contrast, the Chinese considered it to be their just to right to preserve their culture by teaching in their schools via Chinese. The Indians also called for the continuity of the Tamil language as their medium of instruction in their schools. The study described in brief the tense frictions between the politicians representing the three ethnic groups while trying to overcome this sensitive deadlock.

Solomon's study gave a brief summary of the important recommendations of Razak Report of 1956[6]. According to the Razak Report[7] primary education was to be offered through the mediums of four languages. English and Malay were to be compulsory subjects in all schools. The medium of instruction in secondary schools was to be either Malay or English. The report allowed Chinese and Indian pupils to study their own languages as optional subjects. Yet Solomon treats the subject in a

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[6] J.S. Solomon is a highly respected English Language Teacher, having been conferred the status of Master Teacher by the Ministry of Education, Malaysia.

[7] London, The National Archives, DO 35/9963, *Education in the Federation of Malaya, 1957*, pp.10-18. See also: Ministry of Education, Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Education Committee 1956* (Kuala Lumpur: The Government Press, 1957), pp. 9-14.

merely descriptive way and does not explain why the report adopted this transitional approach for achieving social cohesion instead of implementing a radical approach.

Solomon's study also described the Education Ordinance of 1957 [8], the Rahman Talib Committee's Report of 1960[9] and the Education Act of 1961[10]. Again the description is merely narrative and sketchy. The educational changes during the sixties, the seventies and eighties are described briefly on eleven pages only.

One methodological defect of the study is the complete absence of primary sources obtained on the colonial period. A second shortcoming is use of but a limited number of official documents issued by the MOE. It depended on analyzing only four official documents issued by the MOE, which were not checked against other sources. The absence of primary sources in addition to the very limited number of no more than seventeen secondary sources led to the shallowness of description and the lack of deep analysis in Solomon's study.

The third study is Ingrid Glad's *An Identity Dilemma: A Comparative Study of Primary Education for Ethnic Chinese in the Context of National Identity and Nation-Building in Malaysia and Singapore* [11]. The study aimed at comparing the efforts exerted by the Malaysian and Singaporean governments to establish new identities for their countries via education. The thesis focused on the integration of the Chinese communities in nation-building and the role of Chinese language and culture in this process. The study also explored the social construction of national identities and moral universes

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[8] The Education Ordinance of 1957 changed the status of education from a state's matter to a federal matter. It also explained the roles of education. "The educational policy of the Federation, originally declared in the Education Ordinance, 1957, is to establish a national system of education which will satisfy the needs of the nation and promote its culture, social, and economic and political development". See: Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 1985/0005974, *Operation of Education Ordinance 1957*, p.148. Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 1985/0005975, *Operation of Education Ordinance 1957(Miscellaneous & State Correspondence Re Operation of Ordinances)*, pp.1-3.

[9] Ministry of Education, Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Education Review Committee 1960*, (Kuala Lumpur: The Government Press, 1960), pp. 30-32. "The only way to reconcile the existing basic objectives of education policy which are to create a national consciousness while at the same time preserving and sustaining the various cultures of the country, is to conduct education at primary level in the language of the family and thereafter to reduce the language and racial differential in our education system. For the sake of national unity, the objective must be to eliminate communal secondary schools from the national system of assisted schools and to ensure that pupils of all races shall attend both National and National-type secondary schools. An essential requirement of his policy is that public examinations at secondary level should be conducted only in the country's official languages".

[10] The Education Act of 1961 put into practice the recommendations of the Rahman Talib Committee Report. It solidified the existence of Chinese and Tamil primary schools in the structure of the educational system. In addition, it made Bahasa Melayu and English as the only two official languages to be used as medium of instruction in secondary schools. See: Government of the Federation of Malaya, *Education Act, 1961* (Kuala Lumpur: International Law Book Services, 1987), pp.1-6.

[11] Glad, Ingrid, *An Identity Dilemma: A Comparative Study of Primary Education for Ethnic Chinese in the Context of National Identity and Nation-Building in Malaysia and Singapore,* Ph.D. Dissertation from the Faculty of Arts at University of Oslo (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1998).

through educational policy-making. It investigated how Chinese language and moral education textbooks sustain a Chinese identity and how this is balanced with a Malaysian/ Singaporean identity. The overall objective of Glad's study was to explore what kind of national identity, what common sets of values and norms are transmitted to the ethnic Chinese children through the curricula in primary schools in Malaysia and Singapore, and how Chinese language teachers/ administrators in the two countries perceive their own identity and the way values and norms are reflected in textbooks.

The researcher stayed for one month in Penang (Malaysia) and Singapore each. She conducted in-depth interviews with Chinese teachers/administrators in Penang and Singapore and observed classes in primary schools in both countries. In total forty four and forty two ethnic Chinese teachers and school administrators were interviewed in Penang and Singapore respectively. In addition to interviews the researcher analyzed the contents of Chinese language and moral education textbooks for primary schools.

Although Glad's study tackles the major reforms affecting Chinese-medium education in Malaysia and Singapore after World War II, the analysis is very brief. For example, it focuses on reform initiatives in Malaysia on eleven pages only. The analysis evolves around the language of instruction that should be used in schools. Thus, Glad's thesis is a study that spotlights the educational issues of the 1990s. This is in contrast with the current study that connects both the past and the present. A second difference is that Glad's study focused on analyzing school textbooks while the current study concentrates on analyzing official documents obtained from the Public Records Office and from the MOE and examines all ethnic groups in Malaysia

Glad's study concluded that the continued existence of parallel systems in schooling has led to a reduction in the frequency of interethnic interactions and to a drop in standards of Malay language capability among the Chinese and Indian ethnic groups in Malaysia. In spite of the official policy of considering Bahasa Melayu as the official language and as the unifying educational factor in the Malaysian society, the existence of Chinese and Indian primary schools has hindered the creation of a common national identity. The study also emphasized that although Bahasa Melayu is the national language it has not established itself as the main communication tool between the country's different communities. For example non-Malay Malaysians seem to speak or read either English or their own community's language. Several Chinese teachers in the sample of Glad's study explained that they were using Bahasa Melayu only when they were shopping in the bazaar, or communicating with non-English speaking Malay colleagues and friends. In addition to this, Chinese teachers rarely read Malay newspapers. The study also criticized the privileges enjoyed by the Bumiputera as an obstacle for achieving national unity.

The Fourth study is Tan Liok Ee's *The Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya, 1945-1961*[12]. Tan Liok's study aimed at analyzing the political aspects of the formation of Chinese education organizations[13]. It traced the establishment of United Chinese School Committees' Association (UCSCA), United Chinese School Teachers' Association (UCSTA) and Malayan Chinese Association Chinese Education Central Committee (MCACECC). According to the study the UCSTA had three main objectives. These aims were to promote Chinese culture and defend Chinese education, to improve Chinese education through co-operation with the government and to safeguard the interests and improve the working conditions of the Chinese school teachers. The study portrayed the UCSTA leaders as a voice of protest against colonial policies on education which they saw as seeking to impose an Anglo-Malay hegemony on the Chinese by excluding the Chinese schools as well as the Chinese language and culture from the Malayan mainstream.

UCSCA argued that the Chinese constituted a significant proportion of the population. It contended that the Chinese and Indian populations totaled more than half the entire population and contributed to the revenue of the country. In addition to this, it stated that the Chinese population in the Federation and Singapore is greater than the Malay population. In addition to this, it emphasized that loyalty and allegiance to a state were not necessarily won through the adoption of one or two national languages or by the adoption of a single culture. Consequently, it defended the principle that children should be taught first of all in their own mother tongue, and upheld the right of the Chinese schools to be provided with equal treatment and to be accepted as an integral part of the Malayan system education.

MCACECC reiterated the arguments against a single language in a multi-ethnic society, asserted the educational merit of teaching in the mother tongue, and maintained that the preservation of diverse languages and cultures would enrich the development of a Malayan culture. It considered that a legitimate place for the Chinese language, schools, and culture was based on the principles of equality and justice, even if it would enhance segregation.

The study subdivides the history of the Chinese Education Movement from its evolution in 1951 to its dissolution in 1961 into three main phases. The first phase continued from 1951 to 1954 and had the main objective of opposing the British educational policies. The second phase followed from January

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[12] Ee Tan Liok, *The Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya, 1945-1961* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[13] Tan Liok Ee is a historian. His book "The Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya, 1945-1961" is an expanded and revised version based on his Ph.D. dissertation which was submitted to the University of Malaya in 1985. He worked in Universiti Sains Malaysia at the School of Humanities. Now he is a retired professor. His publications include:
Abu Talib Ahmad and Ee Tan Liok (eds.), *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).
Ee Tan Liok, *Rhetoric of Bangsa and Minzu: Community and Nation in Tension, The Malay Peninsula, 1900-1955* (Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, January 1988).

1955 to August 1957 during which period the leaders of the movement entered into crucial compromises with the Alliance leaders. The third phase witnessed a confrontation and a severe crisis which led eventually to the dissolution of the movement in 1961.

Tan Liok Ee's study tackles the political aspects of Chinese education in Malaya from 1945 to 1961. The focus is on the activities of three Chinese educational organizations, UCSCA, UCSTA and MCACECC, in order to maintain the existence of Chinese schools in Malaya. The study investigates the efforts of the three organizations in securing the independence of Chinese schools, calling for Chinese to be considered as a one national language and trying to influence the national education policy in favour of Chinese schools. The study also analyzes the responses of these three organizations to Barnes Report (1951),[14] Razak Report (1956)[15] and Talib Report (1960)[16]. In terms of content, Tan Liok Ee's study focuses on Chinese primary and secondary education while excluding university education and educational issues relating to other ethnic groups. In terms of the chronological order, Tan Liok Ee's study deals with period from 1945 to 1961 only. Thus, the current study is different from Tan Liok Ee's study in terms of content and time frame.

The fifth study is Santhiram's *Education of Minorities: The Case of Indians in Malaysia*[17] . The study aimed at evaluating the educational policy and its influences on Indian Malaysian students enrolled in Tamil vernacular primary schools from 1957 to 1998. In addition, the study investigated the academic achievement of Indian pupils in three mainstream national medium secondary schools. The study consisted of a historical section and an empirical section. The historical section gave a brief description of language policies adopted in Malaysian primary education after independence. The empirical section dealt with the school experiences in Tamil vernacular primary schools and in three mainstream national medium secondary schools. It analyzed the attitudes of Indian pupils, teacher-pupil interaction, occupational aspiration and expectation and educational aspiration and expectation.

In terms of attitude towards school and teaching for secondary schools, Malay pupils held more favourable attitudes towards school and schoolwork than non-Malays. But the picture at the primary school level is different. Here, the Chinese pupils have a more positive attitude towards school, followed by Indians and then Malays. With regards to teacher-pupil interaction there appears to be a variety of patterns. Many of the national medium pupils feel that their teachers are strict; that the teachers are

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[14] London, The National Archives, C0 717 - 190 - 12, *Barnes Report 1951*, pp. 26-33.

[15] Ministry of Education, Federation of Malaya, Report of the Education Committee 1956, *op.cit.* , pp. 9-22.

[16] Ministry of Education, Federation of Malaya, Report of the Education Review Committee 1960, op.cit. , pp.14-18.

[17] Santhiram, R., *Education of Minorities: The Case of Indians in Malaysia* (Selangor: Child Information, Learning and Development Center, 1999).

genuinely interested in their school work; they get more help from their teachers and they talk to their teachers about their ambitions and problems. On the contrary, non-English language school pupils at the secondary school feel their teachers are not very strict and they care about what their teachers think about them. If we compare the non-English language school pupils with the Indian pupils from national English language schools, we will find that not many of the first category say that they have received any help from the teachers; or talk to them about their ambitions and problems. As for primary school pupils, only 41.7 per cent of the Indian pupils in the sample agreed that they get very little help from their teachers. In respect of occupational aspiration and expectation, questions were asked in order to determine whether the medium of instruction at the primary level has any effect on the choice of the occupations. Irrespective of the medium of instruction at the primary level, the Indian pupils aspire for professional-technical and semi-professional jobs. The popular job in the professional-technical category is that of a medical doctor while it is that of a teacher in the semi-professional category. In terms of educational aspiration and expectation, the Tamil language schooled Indians have slightly lower aspiration and expectation than their national medium counterparts. However, more of the Tamil language school pupils are not sure what the future holds for them educationally. This feeling reflects a sense of uncertainty as to their potential because of their school educational background.

The conclusion of Santhiram[18]'s study is that the low educational quality of Tamil language schools as well as socio-economic disadvantages negatively influenced the academic achievement of Indian students. It calls for adopting positive discrimination policies in favour of the Indian minority. It suggested increasing the ratio of Indian Malaysian pupils who are allowed to enroll in prestigious residential secondary schools. It also recommended lowering the entry qualification for Indian pupils in secondary education.

In terms of methodology, Santhiram's study used semi-structured interviews and analysis of secondary sources, whereas, the current study used interviews, secondary and primary sources. Santhiram's study excludes the colonial period and thus does not analyze the primary sources available in the Public Records Office. While Santhiram's study is limited to the study of Indian Malaysian pupils, parents, teachers, headmasters and community leaders, the current study looks at various ethnic groups

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[18] Raman Santhiram is an educationalist. His book "Education of Minorities: The Case of Indians in Malaysia" is an expanded and revised version based on his Ph.D. dissertation which was submitted to University of Sussex in Brighton, U.K. in 1991. The title of his Ph.D. dissertation is "The Education of a Minority Community in Malaysia: the Case of Indian Children from Vernacular Primary School Background". He worked in Universiti Sains Malaysia at the School of Educational Studies.

various ethnic groups. While Santhiram's study mainly focuses on present conditions of Tamil vernacular schools, the current study deals with university education in the long-term perspective.

C) Research Methodology

In order to write this current thesis the researcher[19] has conducted interviews or communicated with specialists in education and administrators from the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia.

Such contacts also help the researcher compare between the official declared goals and the real situation. Rather than depending solely on interviewing the officials working in the Private Education Department, Educational Planning Department and Higher Education Department in the Malaysian Ministry of Education, the researcher contacted also those academics belonging to different ethnicities and who have critical visions and are actively engaged in civil society activities. With such comparison, the researcher can distinguish between propaganda and real achievements of the privatization policies.

In order to fulfill that purpose the researcher conducted archival research on the roots of Malaysian higher education from 5 March 2006 till 25 April 2006 and from 5 December 2007 to 31 December 2007. In terms of the amount of official primary sources, the current study is the most comprehensive study that has analyzed the evolution and development of Malaysian educational system. These primary sources have not been studied before, although a comprehensive and all-embracing study of higher education during the colonial era can not be done without consulting and analyzing these primary sources available.

The researcher has combined Habermas's theory of the public sphere with social history of education as the paradigm for his analysis because of the suitability of its postulates and principles to the theme of the dissertation. The researcher believes there should be a move from the focus on state-oriented narrative history to the focus on social and economic structures influencing higher education institutions. A shift is needed from concentrating on the life of famous characters to closely contemplating about a complex of social, economic and political relationships and collective mentalities. Thus, the researcher thinks that a change is necessary when tackling history of education. The move should be from the focus on events and political history to the focus on marginalized people and to the

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[19] Ahmed Mohamed Nabawy Hassab El-Naby, "Denigrating Higher Education, Derogatory Exploitation and the Privatization of Universities in Malaysia: A Case Study in the Social History of Education", *Ph.D. Dissertation from the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences- Department of International Political Economy, University of Tsukuba* (Tsukuba: Department of International Political Economy at University of Tsukuba, July 2008).

structural history. Social historians of education, according to the researcher, should go beyond the history of events to the common denominator of profound structures on the long term. Thus, events are not necessarily important per se, but they should be placed by historians of education within the recurrent structures accompanied by a series of social, economic and political milieus. From the point of view of the researcher history of education should concern itself with the long-term processes in attempt to transcend the event. "Major events such as wars or revolutions of course reflect social change and cause additional social change; but smaller developments, such as a change in political administration or the advent of a new king or president, do not necessarily have deep impact on the social fabric. Often, more general social processes are more important. Explaining the shift in pattern, and its impact on other social behaviors, provides the key focus- which means an attention to processes more than sharply defined events like laws or elections. It also means a definition of change in terms of often decades-long transitions, rather than tidy chronological packages marked by a new monarch or a major battle"[20].

This definition takes up the debates between social and political historians in the 1960s over the question whether long-term structures or short-term events should be given priority in historical research. While this debate continues to be significant, it has however been supplemented by the further debate whether historical inquiries should primarily be focused on political top-down decision-making processes or rather on bottom-up social transformations; in other words, whether the reasons for changes should first and foremost be sought for in the actions of decision-makers or in the attitudes of population groups affected by these decisions. The current thesis seeks to combine the long-term perspective with the bottom-up social history approach.

Moreover, the current study is based on "bottom-up" social history. "Bottom-up social history entailed not only a redefinition of major historical topics, it also called for reassessment of historical causation- toward consideration of the role of various population segments, and not just formal leadership; and it enforced imaginative quests for new kinds of historical sources that would reveal the lives and thinking of these same segments"[21].

Social history had moved from the quantitative to the qualitative approach. However, "social historians were by no means united. They disagreed over specific interpretations. They settled on no single methodology, particularly after the flirtation with numbers subsided. They argued over causation, with some urging the centrality of political and economic factors, others urging attention to culture or

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[20] Stearns, Peter, "Introduction", in: Stearns, Peter (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social History* (New York: Garland Publishing, INC, 1994), p.viii.

[21] Stearns, Peter, "Social History", in: Stearns, Peter (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social History* (New York: Garland Publishing, INC, 1994), p.685.

mentalities. They disputed political preferences: bottom-up historians often maintained lively sympathy for their subjects, but other social historians might explore elites with great sympathy and certainly saw no reason for their findings to advance a current radical cause"[22].

Stearns' scepticism provides an appropriate warning against the branding of any single approach, such as structural analysis, or any single method, such as the use of quantitative sources, as social history per se. Nevertheless, if the attribute social is to have any meaning at all, it must apply to large and complex collectives. Then social history must be an investigation into the history of these collectives. By definition, education applies to, and even may establish, such collectives. Any historical inquiry into education from the point of view of the recipients of education must, by consequence, be social in kind. It is therefore that this researcher has chosen social history of education as the framework of analysis. The framework mandates the focus on the recipients rather than the organizers of education to the extent that the sources cast light on the recipients. More than any other educational sector, tertiary education operates in the interface between educational institutions and society, because teaching in universities is not merely undertaken "for life" as such but primarily for the purpose of the acquisition of and application in certain professional activities. Thus, institutions of higher education can rightly be expected to respond to needs of society. By consequence, the decision who operates a university and what kind of students and faculty are attracted by which university and by what kind of universities is an issue that cannot be settled intramurally only. The social dimension of education is nowhere more recognizable than in the university sector.

Adopting the social history of education as an approach is one of the significant characteristics of this piece of research. Another characteristic is its analysis of the privatization of university education. The current study is one of the first studies that investigate the phenomenon of educational privatization in the Malaysian context.

Before 1996, the Malaysian Government used the Universities and University Colleges Act of 1971 to justify the prohibition of establishing Chinese-medium universities or private universities. This prohibition was an integral part of the NEP promotion of Bumiputera affirmative action and community upgrading. By eliminating the possibility of competition for the state public universities, the government ensured its control over language, admissions and curricula in unprecedented way that would have been impossible if there had been other domestic educational options available to the non-Bumiputera students. In addition, most government scholarships were only given to Malay students. As a result of this quota system there was a continuous shortage of the places available in public universities for non-

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[22]*Ibid.* , p.686.

Bumiputera students. While richer parents could send their children overseas, other non-Bumiputera students found themselves lacking the financial means and the opportunity to attain a degree, despite their good qualifications. Although, the affirmative action policies and the quota system have improved the educational status of many Bumiputera students, many of the country's Chinese-Malaysian became increasingly frustrated from their relative educational deprivation. For their part, the Chinese-Malaysians found themselves on the defensive, constantly reacting to government initiatives seen by them as intruding upon their right to maintain their cultural and Chinese education. As a result of the Affirmative action policies and the refusal to establish a Chinese-medium university (Merdeka University) or private universities, tension between the Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera increased during the seventies and eighties.

In order to offset these tensions, the Malaysian Government enforced a new Act in 1996 allowing the establishment of private universities. These new private universities will satisfy the increasing Chinese social demand on university education. In other words, private universities will be filled with Chinese-Malaysian students who could afford to pay their high tuition fees. The increasing number of Chinese-Malaysian graduates from the new private universities may upset the poor segments of the Bumiputera. Another reason for the probable ethnic tension is the relaxation of enforcing the quota system in public universities. "While the percentage of local places were increasingly allocated to Malay students (rising from 40% to 63% between 1970 and 1985 compared to the Chinese-Malaysian drop from 49% to 30% over the same period), the overall number of places increased for all ethnic groups (for example, Chinese-Malaysian students increased from 3,752 to 11,241 over this 15 year period). Also, the split itself dropped after 1985 to 55% Bumiputera and 45% non-Bumiputera"[23]. With privatization more non-Bumiputera students will enroll in public as well as private universities. This reduction in the opportunities available to Bumiputera students to enroll in private and public universities may create ethnic conflicts.

A third reason for the likelihood of ethnic conflict is the downgrading of Bahasa Melayu as a medium of instruction in the private universities that have been established since the mid 1990s. Major studies of ethnicity refer to the importance of language in preserving national identity as explained Ernest Gellner[24]. Any attacks on the national language risks alienating the Malays again who considered

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[23] Samuel Dier Stafford David Geoffrey, *Globalization Amid Diversity: Economic Development Policy in Multi-Ethnic Malaysia 1987-1997*, Ph.D. Dissertation from University of Wisconsin-Madison (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998).

[24] Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). See also: Gellner, Ernest, "Nationalism and High Cultures", in: Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony (eds.), *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.63-64.

the role of the government to be the guardian and protector of a Malay-Based Malaysian culture and in 1969 engaged in violent protest against what they perceived as a lack of government concern for Malay interests. Moreover, Habermas's theory of the public sphere suggests that major reforms of what citizens take to be core aspects of the constitutional framework of a state can only obtain legitimacy, if they are built on majority consent [25]. That consent, according to Habermas, must result from public debate. Unilateral top-down government decision-making, not based on majority consent but bureaucratic reasoning, is thus unlikely to find acceptance, specifically in the case of the privatization of Malaysian higher educational institutions, as there will, with privatization, be more educational as well as economic opportunities available to the Chinese-Malaysians who are more affluent and capable of communicating in a language other than Bahasa Melayu than Malays, especially rural Malays. The more opportunities available to the urban, English speaking Chinese-Malaysian in the new era of the liberalized economy and higher education system, the greater the fear of a return to the ethnic polarization of 1969. There are fears that the economic as well educational reforms will marginalize the weakest, primarily rural Malay sectors of the society and will create a split between those who can speak English and those who can not, and between those who are educated in public universities and between those who are educated in private universities that than to students from well-to-do families and can offer better opportunities. With privatization of universities the unifying gains of the NEP era may disappear.

In order to understand the interface between inter-ethnic relations and the privatization of universities in Malaysia, the global background of educational privatization and finance has to be explained and analyzed. The core concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion are appropriate tools for this analysis because the concept of quality focuses on internal matters of the organization of teaching, such as curricular issues, whereas the concept of equity relates to access, that is, the historically grown cross-section between education and society and social cohesion encapsulates the domestic and international effects of education on politics.

Recent theories have been demanding that teaching staff have to be pressured to become concerned about maintaining quality of education [26]. Accordingly, quality judgments impact on both

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[25]Hohendahl, Peter Uwe, "The Public Sphere: Models and Boundaries", in: Calhoun, Craig (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993), pp.99-108. See also: Fraser, Nancy, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", in: Calhoun, Craig (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 109- 137.

[26] Mok, Joshua and Lee, Hiu, "A Reflection on Quality Assurance in Hong Kong's Higher Education", in: Mok, Joshu and Chan, David (eds.), *Globalization and Education: The Quest for Quality Education in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002), p.218.

teaching and research[27]. Yet British colonial administrators did little to encourage research in the higher education institutions they were establishing.

By contrast, British colonial administrators were unwilling to take the principle of equity into their considerations. Equity is commonly defined as "providing equal access to education regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status"[28]. Admittedly the application of this principle has always been a difficult matter. The reason behind the difficulty is that schools for the poor have tended to be underfunded in comparison with schools allocated for wealthy students. Nevertheless, the principle of equity demands that there should be some compensatory measures for those students who have been subject to harsh measures of discrimination or deprivation [29] Unless there is evidence for such measures, education cannot be accepted as equitable.

Moreover, it needs to be taken into account that benefiting from the educational opportunity not merely depends on the will of the individual but that there are many obstacles that prevent the individuals from making use of educational opportunities[30]. Among these obstacles, limited access of families and wider social groups to information, orientation, guidance and support can entail unequal access to educational institutions.

> Equal opportunity offered in circumstances of inequalities of endowment and environment will perpetuate existing patterns of inequity, for equals on a given set of criteria will be able to respond unequally to opportunity because of inequalities in environment. In parallel, the more powerful groups will be able to protect their less able members at the expense of the more able members of the less powerful groups.[31]

Thus, what is important is not treating people equally but treating individuals according to their needs. Those persons who need more help should benefit from affirmative action policies. Those students who belong to poorer families and live in remote areas should receive more support. This means that different people who have different circumstances should be treated differently. It also means compensating those who suffer from any type of handicap to make them capable of benefiting from the educational opportunities[32].

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[27] *Ibid.,* p.222.

[28] Mitchell, Bruce and Salsbury, Robert, *Encyclopedia of Multicultural Education*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), p.70.

[29] Oxenham, J., "Equality, Policies for Educational", in: Saha, Lawrence (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Sociology of Education*, (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 1997), p.448.

[30] *Ibid.*, p.448.

[31] Husen, Torsten, "Equality, Policies for Educational", in: Husen, Torsten and Postlethwaite, Neville (Editors-in-Chief), *The International Encyclopedia of Education Research and Studies*, vol.3, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985), p.1694.

[32] Oxenham, J., "Equality, Policies for Educational" *op.cit.* ,p.448.

Lastly, social cohesion has been regarded as a criterion for the evaluation of educational policies[33]. If and as long as education is considered a matter of state public policy, its effect on the degree of cohesion necessary to establish a public sphere must be taken into account. Theoretically, social cohesion can be accomplished through integrative schooling systems that bring together pupils from a variety of social, ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds[34]. By contrast, if the educational system is designed to the effect of separating population groups, a segregationist society is likely to emerge with the resulting lack of social cohesion and absence of a public sphere.

The following section elaborates the conditions in which the calls for privatizing education have appeared and gained an increasing momentum.

D) The Politics of Privatization and the Crisis of Educational Finance: A Global Perspective

Throughout many parts of the world, the financing of education is in a state of crisis. Since the 1950s in developed countries, and since the 1970s in most developing countries, the demand for education has increased tremendously, often exponentially. Currently, about 200 million students are enrolled in universities all over the globe. With limited infrastructure and little financial resources, many universities in the Third World found themselves under unbearable pressure. For many citizens in the developing countries having a university degree was considered the only path for upward social mobility. Both demographic factors and rising expectations on the part of the families have played important roles in the expansion of post-secondary education, especially in developing countries.

This tremendous expansion implied a formidable financial effort in favor of education. At first, public budgets for education were sharply raised. The share of the Gross Domestic Product spent publicly on education increased rapidly during the 1960s[35].

Although a movement towards stabilization of the growth rate was visible in the 1970s, it still increased in a majority of countries in every world region, until around 1980. Since then, there has been a marked reversal of the trend, so that, today, a large majority of countries, both in the developed and in

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[33] Green, Andy, Preston, John, German-Janmaat, Jan, Education, *Equality and Social Cohesion: A Comparative Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006). Roberts-Schweitzer, eluned, Greanez, Vincent, Duer, Kreszentia (eds.), *Promoting Social Cohesion Through Education. Case Studies and Tools Using Textbooks* (Washington, DC: The World Bank 2006).

[34] Akasah, Khalil, *National Integration in A New State – Malaysia*, 1st edition (Kuala Lumpur: ASIE Sdn Bhd, 2005), pp.5-14.

[35] Eicher, Jean-Claude and Chevaillier, Thierry, "Rethinking the Financing of Post-compulsory Education", *Higher Education in Europe*, vol.27, nos.1-2, 2002, p.70.

the developing world, have either stabilized, or more often, have reduced their public effort to finance education. The 1980s have witnessed the severest criticisms on notions such as the welfare state, social equity and the new global economic order. Consequently, there were drastic cuts in the budgets of universities across the globe. The efficiency and effectiveness of educational systems were subject to increasing waves of suspicions[36].

During the last fifteen years dramatic changes had swept many countries. Consequently, educational goals changed and became mostly focused on the needs of the economy instead of on the quality of life and society. Increasingly curricula have moved from concentrating on children to concentrating on achieving economic goals. In the field of educational planning, ideals such as social equity were replaced with new notions such as competition and quality of production[37].

This change has been embodied in two main different trends guided by two international agencies. While the first trend, under the aegis of UNESCO, has emphasized the importance of the correlation between education and the human heritage as well as between education and equity. The first trend has been informed by concerns for socialization, the granting of equal opportunities and the presentation of the human heritage. By contrast, he second trend, under the auspices of OECD and the World Bank, has pointed to the financial aspects and economic benefits of education. In the light of the second trend OECD has stressed the important role that education can play in achieving economic development. The second trend has been based on the neo-liberal approach, which considers education as an investment in human capital[38].

In the light of these circumstances many states have begun to gradually and slowly abandon the role that they can play in guiding and directing the developmental process[39].

It was in this context that calls for privatizing education have appeared and gained increasing momentum. Under the pressure of the international financial community and the globalization of economies, African, Latin American, and Asian countries, as well as a number of transitional countries introduced, fostered, or allowed the development of the private sector in tertiary education. However, the paths followed differed from one country to another. While some countries opted for allowing private

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[36] Coombs, Philip H., *The World Crisis in Education: The View from the Eighties* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 5-15.

[37] OECD, *Education Policy Analysis: Focus on Higher Education, 2005-2006* (Paris: OECD, 2006), pp.20-21.

[38] Jones, Phillip, "Taking the Credit: Financing and Policy Linkages in the Education Portfolio of the World Bank", in: Khamsi, Gita Steiner (ed.), *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 2004), pp. 188 - 193. See also: OECD, *Human Capital Investment: An International Comparison* (Paris: OECD, 1998), pp.7-13.

[39] Bhola, H.S., "World Trends and Issues in Adult Education on the Eve of the 21st Century", *International Review of Education*, vol.44, nos.5-6, November 1998, pp.478-480.

universities to be established, a second group chose to introduce or increase tuition fees in state-owned universities, specifically in Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Ireland in the 1980s, Portugal, Italy, the United Kingdom in the 1990s, in Austria in 2000 and in Germany in 2002[40].

Consequently, more deregulation and decentralization, performance orientation, accountability, competition and differentiation among higher education institutions were emphasized and called for. The supporters of privatization believe that deregulation and the introduction of a market system would naturally bring efficiency and raise productivity. They also believe that those universities which spend public money should be accountable. Sizeable budget cuts, coercive accountability, increased competition have become widely spread.

The liberal doctrine had a great impact in the area of education, including higher education. The impact was essentially that private universities emerged and institutional autonomy was allowed to develop. Thus, many voices called for restructuring universities so that they became able to do more activities and tasks with less expenditures[41]. They also urged governments to give universities as much autonomy as possible so that they became able to allocate their human and financial resources as they wished. They emphasized that this type of autonomy should be real and wide. In addition, this autonomy should not only be enshrined in a general law, but also respected in all fields of legislation. In many OECD countries, governments have recently promoted greater parental and pupil choice to stimulate increased competition among schools. These policies were in part inspired by the market choice critique of public schooling. Thus, the supporters of privatization were prone to think that most public universities should face the need to move in order to be able to respond successfully to the opportunities and threats present in the external globalized environment. According to the liberal doctrine

> universities needed to be stimulated to profile themselves based on actual competition. State and private universities had to compete with one another so as to raise the standards of the course programs offered.[42]

While this liberal doctrine was based on the premise that market-oriented self-organization is beneficial, it is not necessarily the instrument to reduce costs and provide equal opportunities, even if governments go as far as actually withdrawing from positions of control of higher education institutions.

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[40] Eicher, Jean-Claude and Chevaillier, Thierry, "Higher Education Funding: A decade of Changes", *Higher Education in Europe*, vol.27, nos.1-2, 2002, p.91.

[41] OECD, *Current Issues in Chinese Higher Education* (Paris, OECD, 2000), pp.70-71. See also: OECD, *Quality and Recognition in Higher Education* (Paris: OECD, 2004).

[42] Marga, Andrei. "Reform of Education in Romania in the 1990s: A Retrospective", *Higher Education in Europe*, vol.27, nos.1-2, 2002, p.133.

Indeed, some economists have criticized the implementation of tuition fees. The increased competition for college students and the declining level of state support for higher education has magnified the importance of financial aid in the access to and the choice of college. Thus, this group of scholars has believed that the administration of tuition fees in the absence of scholarships and other forms of monetary aid is a hindrance for enrollment in universities. They have thought that charging tuition fees will prevent students who belong to poor classes from pursuing their university education[43].

Thus, for those who advocate privatization the issue is not whether to implement privatization or not as they all agree that applying privatization of universities is a must. The real issue for them is how to implement privatization. Naturally, they ponder upon different sets of questions. One set of questions that is raised by them is; Who should pay for higher education? What is the share that should be shouldered by students themselves, by their parents and by the government? What are reasonable debt loads for graduates?

Some of the proponents of privatization suggest giving loans to poor students to enable them to pursue their higher education. However, one study[44] shows that borrowing constraints retard social mobility among the poor by preventing poor parents from investing optimally in their children's human capital[45]. This makes an obvious point: if parents are not allowed to borrow against their children's earnings, poor parents will be unable to invest optimally in their children's human capital. This inability will in turn depress the earnings of poor children vis-à-vis rich children with the same ability and will retard social mobility among the poor. But the advocates of the loan schemes ignore one important factor namely market failure. University education is a long term investment with uncertain returns, combined with the imperfection of capital markets. The prospect of uncertain future higher earnings does not provide collateral for a loan. The high costs, involving foregone earnings as well as direct costs in the form of fees, are consequently often met by intra-family transfers. Hence, charging high tuition fees and the implantation of loan schemes may perpetuate wealth inequalities and reduce social mobility as only wealthy people will be able to send their children to universities[46].

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[43] Montgomery, Mark, "A Nested Logit Model of the Choice of a Graduate Business School", Economics of *Education Review*, vol.21, no.5, October 2002, p.472.

[44] Bray, Mark and Bunly, Seng, *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia* (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Center, 2005), pp.50-60.

[45] Bray, Mark, *The Private Costs of Public Schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1999), pp.74-80. See also: OECD, *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Tertiary Education and Research in the Russian Federation* (Paris: OECD, 1999), pp. 139-156.

[46] Gaviria, Alejandro. "Intergenerational Mobility, Sibling Inequality and Borrowing Constraints", *Economics of Education Review*, vol.21, no.4, August 2002, p.331.

Another study states that parents' education seems instead to be the main determinant of school enrollment. If this is the case, poor parents will not encourage their children to join higher education institutions. Therefore, those who are against privatization believe that members of richer households have a substantially higher probability to enter universities than the rest of the population. To support their claim they refer to the fact that in many countries most of the students who do not continue in the educational system after the completion of compulsory stages are from poor households. In addition, critics of privatization mention that parental income is positively correlated with children's enrollment and level of educational achievement. They suggest that parental income greatly influences children's educational achievement even after controlling for parental education and other observable characteristics. Besides covering the direct cost of education, parental income may have other positive effects on children's level of education. Higher income can be used to improve living conditions. Higher income makes it less necessary for poor students to drop out of university in order to support the family or themselves. That is why some analysts oppose the privatization of education. For them

> [p]oor students are particularly at risk, because of the high opportunity costs of studying rather than working. For this reason, government subsidy of the private costs of [higher education], particularly for the poor, is seen as an important element of the social policy.[47]

In linking educational reforms to policies of socialization and the establishment of social cohesion, these critics maintain that the state has, and of right should retain, a responsibility for the provision of higher education. Moreover, these opponents to privatization believe that the private sector is seen by some as more dynamic and flexible than publicly funded higher education. However, if publicly –funded institutions become more flexible and better provided with resources, private institutions will lose their comparative advantage[48].

In sum, the existing research literature shows significant diversity of approaches to and assessment of the privatization of universities. First and foremost, there is a division between supporters and critics. While the supporters seek to introduce market mechanisms into the provision of higher education with the expectation of an increase in cost efficiency and quality, the critics towards an increase of the social costs as a consequence of forcing higher education institutions to operate in accordance with neo-liberal principles. In turn, both camps are divided. Among the supporters, there is

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[47] Ziderman, Adrian, "Financing Student Loans in Thailand: Revolving Fund or Open-Ended Commitment?", *Economics of Education Review*, vol.21, no.4, August 2002, p.367.
[48] Scott, Peter, "Reflections on The Reform of Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe", *Higher Education in Europe*, vol.27, nos.1-2, 2002, p.149.

disagreement as to whether the market for higher education should be fully liberalized or rather supplemented by a scholarship system. Among the critics, there is a split between those who are against private universities per se and those who are concerned about the negative consequences of unrestricted private ownership of universities[49]. Nevertheless, one characteristic feature shared by all participants in the privatization debate is that the debate takes place among authors from developed countries assuming consolidated and homogeneous state populations sharing a public sphere. The case of Malaysia, however, shows that these assumptions are far from obvious. In the case of Malaysia, the emergence of a public sphere was thwarted under British colonial rule that segregated rather than united resident and immigrant populations. Hence, the study of the effects of the privatization of Malaysian universities is mandatory to reveal the impact it may have on the stability of state institutions and the social cohesion of the population[50].

After elucidating the global framework for reducing the public funding of higher education, the intellectual bases of the privatization need to be explained. The researcher will also clarify his stance concerning the need for increasing the state's finance of public universities. Thus, the next section points out the rationale for the continuity of the public financial responsibility for higher education.

E) The Intellectual Bases that Privatization Movement is Built on

Such intellectual bases depend on a number of ideas that requires the execution of a group of strategies. Thus, the proponents of privatizing education believe that the application of free market instruments is the best means for the managerial success of any institution.

However, the researcher has a different point of view. Not only should the university be a primary provider of the scientific and technical knowledge and professional skills on which advanced economies depend to generate future wealth and improve the quality of social and individual life, but it should also offer alternative, and fairer and more rational, principles for social stratification. In earlier generations, nations calibrated their greatness in terms of their conquests and colonies. In the knowledge society, universities will become key agencies of national esteem and global competitiveness. Therefore, developing countries have been advised to increase their expenditure on education, as in the United Nations Development Program *Human Development Report* for 2002:

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[49] Nabawy, Ahmed Mohamed, "The Privatization of Education, The Perils and Promises: Lessons for Developing Countries", Paper Presented at *The Worldwide Comparative Education Forum* (Beijing: The Worldwide Comparative Education Forum, 14-16 October 2002), p.2.
[50] Feintuck, Mike, *Accountability and Choice in Schooling* (Buckingham: open university Press, 1994), p.39.

Economic growth, increased international trade and investment, technological advance – all are very important. But they are means, not ends. Whether they contribute to human development in the 21st century will depend on whether they expand people's choices, whether they help create an environment for people to develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives.[51]

No country can follow a course of lopsided development for a long time-where economic growth is not matched by advances in human development, or vice versa. Thus, the Cairo based Institute of National Planning holds that

high levels of human development promote economic growth which in turn can promote human development. Conversely, weak human development is likely to result in low growth, further undermining the prospect of future human development.[52]

The Institute concludes that increased spending on education contributes to higher GDP growth rates. Thus, a sound policy should require the developing countries to spend more money efficiently on financing universities. Such rational expenditure is essential for the development and maintenance of international competitive strength. In human development the priority should be given to research and development; science and technology and university and vocational education. The researcher believes that it would be a grievous mistake to see the tendency of the economically developed countries to reduce state support to university education and to research as merely a quantitative and temporary adjustment. Rather, what seems to be involved is a fundamental and political redefinition of the social value of public services in general, and of universities and education in particular. Social and political values are today increasingly subordinated to economic values, that of producing profit, of operating efficiently. The researcher thus believes that this extreme trend of privatization is hazardous to developing countries.

Understanding the global framework in which educational policies are designed and implemented is one step for comprehending complex phenomena such as privatization. However, grasping the worldwide schemes of educational privatization alone is not enough for explaining the peculiarities of the Malaysian framework of educational privatization. Thus, it is mandatory to delineate the distinctive features of privatization of higher education in Malaysia. The following section

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[51] United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2002: Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.13.

[52] Institute of National Planning, *Egypt Human Development Report 200-2001* (Cairo: Institute of National Planning, 2001), pp.31-33.

investigates in brief the main reasons for implementing these policies of educational privatization in Malaysia.

F) The Privatization of Higher Education in Malaysia

During the early 1980s, in a period of economic slowdown and fiscal crisis, many countries, including Malaysia, followed structural adjustment programs and adopted privatization to solve the financial loses of state-owned enterprises. Beginning in the early 1980s, the government announced its privatization plans. This policy then expanded during the mid 1980s and early 1990s after the publication of the *Guidelines for Privatization* [Malaysia, Economic Planning Unit (EPU)] and *Privatization Master Plan* (PMP) [Malaysia, EPU 1991]. Privatization in Malaysia, however, referred to a wide variety of forms reducing the direct role of the state in the economic activities. It also refers to accelerating economic growth through private investment, promoting competition, raising efficiency and increasing productivity.

In Malaysia the privatization of higher education has been a strong trend up to the present. In the Malaysian context, privatization of university level education has passed through several phases. Initially, the burden of meeting fees and living expenses was privatized as students proceeded overseas for their tertiary education. From the late 1980s onwards, the practice of twinning[53] was introduced. The third phase of privatization at the university level was made possible with the enactment of the Private Higher Education Institutions Bill 1996.

As a consequence of the Bill, foreign universities can set up their own campuses in Malaysia offering full degree programs. Moreover, Malaysian private and public investors can establish and own

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[53]Because of the increase in the costs of living and study overseas, twinning programs flourished. In these programs students can study one or two years in Malaysia and the last year overseas. Sometimes it is called the split degree program. The Japanese name for this program is 1+2 or 2+1 program. 3+0-twinning programs also flourished. These are split degree programs where students study in a local institution, and upon completion they are conferred a degree by the foreign university. The target from such twinning program is to reduce the cost of getting a university degree. Twinning programs are cheaper than living and studying in overseas universities. Lee, Molly, "Private Higher Education in Malaysia: Expansion, Diversification and Consolidation", *Paper presented at the Second Regional Seminar on Private Higher Education: Its Role in Human Resource Development in a Globalised Knowledge Society*, (Bangkok: UNESCO PROAP and SEAMEO RIHED, 20-22 June 2001), pp.5-6. According to Lee, Molly "in 2001 there were 44 courses using the (2+1) and (1+2) twinning programs and 35 programs using 3+0 system. Now there were 10 Australian and 9 British universities providing these programs in Malaysia. Experts also predict that the number of these twinning programs will increase with the passage of time".

universities, while state-owned universities have embarked on corporatization schemes [54]. The involvement of the private sector is needed for at least two reasons. Firstly, to ease the government's expenditure burden in providing educational services and secondly, to give the private sector an equal responsibility with the government in solving the problem of shortage of educational services. Due to the limited capacity of public universities, many talented students could not secure places for themselves to pursue their study. In an attempt to reduce the financial cost of providing university education, the Malaysian government encouraged the private sector to participate in providing university education.

According to *Malaysia's Vision 2020*, there are at least three ways, among many possibilities, how the private sector can contribute towards the achievement of Vision 2020 in the field of education and training. These ways are as follows:

> 1. The establishment of privately funded and managed institutions of education and training;
> 2. The provision of in-house or collaborative education and training programs by firms; and
> 3. Direct support in the form of grants and scholarship to institutions of higher education by the private sector.[55]

The mid-1990s saw a phenomenal growth of private education especially at the tertiary level. This increase was due to a number of factors. Among them the consequences of the Asian economic crisis, the aspiration to make Malaysia a fully- industrialized country, the establishment of the Multimedia Super Corridor and the unsatisfied demand on university education loomed largest. These factors interacted with one another and led to the mushrooming of private institutions of higher education, as the MOE observed in 2001:

> The number of private institutions of higher education (PHEIs) more than doubled within a period of four years from 196 institutions in 1995 to 564 institutions in 1998. In 2000, there were 629 private higher education institutions throughout the country.[56]

Contrary to intuition, the Asian financial crisis accelerated the expansion of PHEIs, thereby confirming the lasting demand for them. With the devaluation of the Malaysian currency and the

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[54] Leigh, Michael. "The Privatization of Malaysian Higher Education: A Cost-Benefit Analysis, Stakeholders, Agenda Setting", in: Marshallsay, Zaniah (ed.), *Educational Challenges In Malaysia: Advances and Prospects* (Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 1997), pp.121-122.

[55] Aziz, Ungku, "Human Resource Development. The Education and Training Aspect", in: Sarji, Ahmed (ed.), *Malaysia's Vision 2020: Understanding the Concept, Implications & Challenges* (Kuala Lumpur: Scio-Economic Research Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 1993), p.353.

[56] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Education in Malaysia, A Journey To Excellence* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2001), p.142.

reduction of the number of scholarships offered to Malaysian students to study overseas, many students were forced to return to Malaysia. In spite of the expansion in the capacity of Malaysian public universities, they could not accommodate all those returnees. Therefore, the sole alternative option was to allow the establishment of private universities. The increase in the number of private universities is even more dramatic, from 0 in 1995 to 12 in 2001[57]. In 2002 the number of PHEIs had become 707 and there were 13 private universities. The number of students studying to PHEIs had increased from 35,600 in 1990 to 203,000 in 2000[58].

G) Conclusion

This chapter was opened by reviewing the previous studies that tackled education in Malaysia before and after independence. The researcher analyzed the previous research and elucidated the main differences between such studies and the current research. After explaining the distinctiveness of the current study, the conditions in which the calls for privatizing education have appeared and gained an increasing momentum. Thus, the crisis of educational finance was explained from a global perspective. After elucidating the global framework in which the public funding of higher education decreased, the intellectual bases of the privatization was explained. Afterwards, the context in which privatization of universities was implemented in Malaysia was investigated. The review of existing research literature and public documentation has displayed a lack of awareness among scholars of the embeddedness of educational reforms in the socio-cultural and political setting, most notably the interdependence between the development of higher education institutions and the evolution of the public sphere. This setting can be, and in the case of Malaysia is, specific to that state and thus reflects the specific historical conditions from which the state's educational system has emerged. Therefore, it is mandatory to analyze the long-term evolution of Malaysian higher education institutions and place them against the background of the legacy of divisiveness that British colonial rule has left behind and that has prevented the establishment of a public sphere. This analysis shall be the topic of the following four chapters. Although the year 1957 when Malaysia obtained independence marks an important breaking point in the constitutional history of the state, it was no real line of demarcation in the history of higher education. Hence, for

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[57] Lee, Molly, "Private Higher Education in Malaysia: Expansion, Diversification and Consolidation", *op.cit.*, p.3.

[58] Hitoshi, Sugimoto, "Malaysia Ni Okeru Koutou Kyouiku No Min Eika No Tokushitsu" in: Yokuo, Murata (ed.), Asia Shokoku Ni Okeru Chu Tou Koutou Kyouiku No Min Eika Ni Kansuru Jissouteki Hikaku Kenkyu: Sono Tokushitsu To Mondaiten Ni Kansuru Kousatsu (Tsukuba: Tsukuba Daigaku Kyouiku Kaihatsu Kokusai Kyoryoku Kenkyu Center Chou, March 2003), p.28.

practical reasons of description and analysis, the year1957 will not be observed rigidly as a watershed in all subsequent historical chapters.

Chapter III

Teacher Training in British Malaya from 1874 to 1957

A) Chapter Overview

The main legacy of British colonial rule has been the cultural, lingual, legal, social and political segregation of the population groups inhabiting Malaysia. The seeds of segregation in Malaysia were produced by the British colonial policies that resulted in the massive immigration of people of Chinese and Indian origin. British colonial rule began with the occupation of Penang under English East India Company auspices in 1786[1]. The Company turned the island into a military stronghold with a fortress overlooking the sound between the island and the mainland. In 1819, the Company occupied the island of Singapore, which quickly developed into the administrative center for the British dependencies in Southeast Asia. The Company's administrative center in Singapore was directly subjected to the headquarters in Calcutta. In 1824, the British government organized the exchange of the Company's stronghold at Bencoolen on the Indonesian archipelago, then coming under Dutch sway, against Melaka, which the Dutch East India Company (VOC) had snatched away from the Portuguese in 1641. The transfer of Melaka from Dutch to British control gave opportunity to the British government to launch a process of the expansion of its Southeast Asian colonial dependencies into the Malay Peninsula. At the same time, British privateers strengthened their impact on the eastern part of Kalimantan (Borneo), the current states of Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak. British colonial expansion continued till the early twentieth century and entailed the establishment of mainly indirect rule in which the British government gradually replaced the English East India Company as the suzerain and main administrator. The British government created a tripartite territorial nomenclature for the subjects of its rule in Southeast Asia, the Straits Settlements comprising the set of newly founded British administrative institutions, towns and plantations, the Federated Malay States as a set of institutions of pre-colonial origin and tied together into one single administration under British suzerainty, and the Unfederated Malay States, also of pre-colonial origin but preserving their own administration also under British suzerainty.

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[1] For studies of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia see Wang, Gungwu, Ng Chin-keong (eds.), *Maritime China in Transition 1750 –1850* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004). Wang, Gungwu, *The Chinese Minority in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises, 1978). Wang, Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1958).

In the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colonial immigration policies brought to the Malayan peninsula hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Indian immigrants who were ethnically, linguistically, culturally and religiously different from the indigenous Malay population. Whereas pre-colonial numbers of immigrants were limited and thus could not change the demographic map of the Peninsula, the waves of immigrants systematically enforced by the colonial authorities, have changed all aspects of life since the nineteenth century. pre-colonial immigrants were regarded as politically neutral and socio-culturally unproblematic. They came in small numbers, and most of them returned to China or India after accumulating some wealth. Even those immigrants who stayed in Malaya, such as the Baba Chinese in Melaka, intermarried with the local Malay population and adopted the local culture partly. By contrast, the subsequent waves of immigration arriving during the colonial era did change the collective identities of the populations of British Malaya.

In terms of education, the British colonial authorities developed four different pre-university educational sub-systems, which were based on Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil as languages of instruction and totally differed with regard to curricula, school culture as well as teachers' qualifications and training. The encapsulation of the majority of Malay, Chinese, and Indian pupils in separate schools implanted the seeds of ethnic frictions, by socializing the younger children into contradistinctive linguistic and cultural atmospheres. This system of multiple language schools mirrored and exacerbated the ethnic ghettos in which the opposed racial groups lived. The racial lines were much further demarcated by the economic divisions of labour aiming at keeping the Malay peasants in the rural areas while confining immigrant Chinese and Indian labourers to work in the mines, plantation estates, or petty trade in towns and urban areas. With the application of these colonial educational as well as economic policies the three main races lived economically differentiated, politically divided, socially compartmentalized and culturally isolated from each other.

According to *Education Policy in Malaya 1926*, the aim of the governmental educational policy still was "to provide high education for the more brilliant few"[2]. Thus, the goal of education policies was to limit access to pre-university education in general and to higher education in particular. Consequently, educational plans were exclusionist and classy. In other words, enrolment at higher education colleges was reserved, almost exclusively, to the well-off classes of the Malaysian society. As the majority of the poor during the colonial era were from the Malay (Bumiputera) population, the number of Malay students studying at the level of higher education was limited. The reason is that the majority of Malays lived in the countryside and depended on agriculture for generating their income.

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[2] London, The National Archives, CO 717 – 53 – 14, *Education Policy in Malaya 1926*, p.57.

These policies have left their deep delineation on the quality, equity and social cohesion in higher education institutes. Taking these premises into consideration this chapter examines the influence of colonial policies on the evolution and development of teacher training colleges as the major type of higher education institutions in British Malay from 1874 to 1957. The chapter begins with a brief introduction of roots of teacher training in British Malaya. Afterwards, an analysis of Sultan Idris Training College and Raffles College follows. The analysis deals with the purpose of each of the colleges, curricula taught there, the practice of teacher training, tests and examinations, and the teaching staff. The analysis shall expose the negative stereotypes imposed upon the Asian populations by the colonial administrators. The last section of the chapter investigates the influence of colonial educational policies on quality, equity, and social cohesion. Then, the main findings of the chapter will be summarized in the conclusion.

B) Introduction

Western pre-university education in British Malaya started in 1856 by the establishment of some two-day schools in Singapore. However, it was only in 1867 that non-English language schools were given more attention when control over the Straits Settlements was transferred to the Colonial Office. Before that date, the only pre-university education available was provided in Islamic religious schools (one-year Koran Schools). The training of teachers started in 1878 with the opening of a "college for teachers" in Singapore. The college operated until 1895 and was succeeded by a new "Training College" in Melaka in 1900. A further "training college" began to operate at Matang in Perak in 1913[3].

From the year 1895 till 1900, there was no educational institution responsible for training and preparing teachers in the Straits Settlements. In 1900, the government in the Straits Settlements decided to establish a training college for male teachers under the authority of the Federated Malay States which were to bear part of the teaching costs. It was also suggested that Raffles Girls School should be used as an educational institution for training female teachers. In 1905, 1907, 1913 normal classes for training teachers were provided in Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Melaka. A class for training student teachers was also started in Singapore in 1914 but was stopped in 1922.

Thus, during the period from 1900 till 1922 there were only two educational institutions for training teachers in British Malaya. The first training college was in Malacca and the second was the one

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[3] Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Committee on Malay Education*, (Kuala Lumpur: the Government Press, 1951), p.1.

opened in Matang in Perak. Both colleges offered a two-year course for training teachers. In addition, a number of normal classes were delivered in Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Melaka.

In 1922, Sultan Idris Training College was opened in Tanjong Malim in order to train Malay teachers. Sultan Idris Training College offered a three-year training course and was intended to replace the two small existing colleges which used to offer a two-year course only. In addition to Sultan Idris Training College in Tanjong Malim, there was also a small college operating in Johore, operating till 1928. At its inauguration, Sultan Idris Training College had the combined staff of Malacca and Matang colleges.

As Sultan Idris Training College could not provide education to the required number of teachers, scholarships were given to promising students to study overseas. From 1918 till 1928, the year in which Raffles College was opened, the governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States gave scholarships to brilliant students to pursue their teacher training and education at Hong Kong University. Upon their return from Hong Kong University, those students were supposed to work in the government or aided schools for 5 years.

Thus, by the year 1930 there were only two big educational institutions working in the field of training teachers; Sultan Idris Training College in Tanjong Malim and Raffles College in Singapore. In addition to this, a number of normal classes were given in a number of cities where teacher training colleges did not exist.

C) Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim

Brilliant students were encouraged to become teachers at Malay schools. As pupil-teachers they were to study until they become sixteen years old where they were to sit for an examination that qualified them to enroll at Sultan Idris Training College. Once admitted in that college they were supposed to study Malay Language and Literature, Malay History, Geography, Arithmetic, Hygiene, Physical Training, Writing, Drawing, Basketry, Theory and Practice of Teaching and religious Knowledge (Koran). The study continues for three years.

Students from the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, the Unfederated Malay States, Sarawak and Brunei study at this college. The *Annual Report on Education in the Straits Settlements* gave the following overview for 1931:

> At the beginning of 1931 there were 390 students in residence and at the end of the number was 388 students and one probationer; Ninety-three of the students were from the Straits Settlements, 199

from the Federated Malay States, ninety-one from the Unfederated Malay States and five from Brunei and Sarawak.[4]

Almost one third of the students came from the Straits Settlements and two thirds are from the Federated Malay States. Around 130 students enrolled annually and 120 students graduate for studying there for three years.

C.1) Curricula

The purpose of that college was to train teachers who could work later in Malay vernacular schools. It also aimed to train Malay assistant inspectors of schools. Emphasis was placed in handwork and gardening, on physical training and general games. From 1922 till the Japanese occupation of British Malaya, the curricula of Sultan Idris Training College developed considerably, as they were enlarged to include rudimentary agricultural science and basketry. Agricultural knowledge obtained an important place in the curricula. The curricula aimed at acquaintance with the rotation of crops, the selection of soils and seeds and the study of pests. A series of textbooks written in Malay language dealing with arithmetic, tropical hygiene, botany, local geography and history was also used at the college to contextualize the agriculture-based courses. In 1938, additional agricultural training was added and arranged for a selected number of teachers. According to that arrangement, academically high-achievers were sent to the College of Agriculture to pursue a special one-year course.

The emphasis on agricultural knowledge had it stereotype roots in the mentality of policy makers. According to a report written by Arthur Mayhew from the Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies, there were large segments from the Malay children who are dull and unfit for academic pursuit.

> There will always be a large number of Malay children with no aptitude for languages or literary pursuits, whose mental and moral development will depend mainly on the discipline of the village school […] and acquiring such rudiments of simple agriculture as will fit them for the free life of that country-side, where the happiness and economic interests of their race have lain for centuries.[5]

Mayhew's phraseology reflects the image of British Malaya as an arena, which has been and ought to continue to be agricultural. The training college was designed so that it could offer specialized training for teachers expected to educate future farmers. The underlying philosophy was that education

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[4] London, The National Archives, CO 273-579-3, *Annual Report on Education in the Straits Settlements for 1931*, p.33.
[5] London, The National Archives, CO 717-67-2, *Education Policy in Malaya 1929*, p.25.

should a preparation for the agricultural life of the students. Thus, school education should enable pupils to become more efficient farmers. Another report predicted in 1929:

> The result is that the students become really enthusiastic gardeners. It is hoped that as the young teachers go out to the villages throughout the Peninsula they will, by practical demonstrations in the school-gardens, imbue their pupils with their own enthusiasm. If this hope is realized, the pupils may begin to see how their school education is a preparation for life.[6]

School gardening and rural husbandry were the cornerstones of the curricula[7]. There were theoretical aspects and practical aspects of the gardening course. During the first year the characteristics of the different types of soils, soil improvement, the relation of plants to soil, the elementary structure of plants, the cellular construction of plants, and their outward forms are explained as simply as possible. As for the second year theoretical course, a thorough study of plant physiology and anatomy, of the relation between animals and plants, of the inter-breeding of imported stock with indigenous stock, and of animal nutrition is implemented. The third year theoretical course begins with studying plant and animal pests, the practical methods of disease control and their application, economic crops such as rubber, coconuts, and rice, economic aspects of agriculture, and the organization and development of school gardens.

The first and second year practical courses were centered on giving each student a plot of land, divided into three ridges. The students were subject to the advice and supervision of the staff. The students planted two crops in each ridge every year. Thus, every student had the chance to observe the growth and characteristics of six plants annually. In the second year, the cultivation of six plants annually is continued. In addition to this, every student becomes responsible for taking care of one tree and for protecting that tree from pests and diseases. The third year is a year of application where students get practical training of teaching at vernacular schools and practise what they have learned so far. Third year students study also learned practical agricultural areas of knowledge as follow:

> I. Care of orchard. II. Care of large communal plots. III. Care of grounds under economic crops. IV. Supervision of the first and second year students and helping those students. V. Ornamental work and care of flowers. VI. Nurseries. VII. Manuring. VIII. Raising seed foreign to Malaya. IX. Pests.[8]

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[6]London, The National Archives, CO 273-574-8, *Education in Malaya 1931*, p.8.

[7] Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 1957/0292116, *Annual Report of the Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim for 1946, 1947*, p.13.

[88] London, The National Archives, CO 273-574-8*, Ibid.*, pp.37-38.

Public Hygiene was also taught at the training college. Only elementary facts related to some common diseases, such as Malaria, hock-worms, tuberculosis, were taught. In addition to this, students received shallow instruction about some of the very basic information related to the importance of domestic cleanliness and the dangers of water pollution. That hygiene course taught students to recognize, treat and prevent simple diseases.

Geography course started giving information about the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, and expanded to cover certain countries, cities and occupations in the world. The course of physical geography contrasted phenomena of nature with old believes and myths. The history course dealt with Malayan traditions and the history of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

C.2) Practical Teacher Training

A Malay school was located inside the grounds of Sultan Idris Training College and was administered by its authorities. A European teacher, who taught the theory of learning course to students in the college, was in charge of the school. Every third-year student spent two separate weeks of teaching practice. Every week different six students taught at the school to practise teaching. However, due to the limited number of schools available for such internships in the surroundings of the training college, the goal of offering a practical teaching training for six weeks could not be achieved. In addition, optional extra classes about school management were given to students after the end of the academic day. Students also received a compendium about all the necessary information related to school management which every teacher should know.

The second-year students devoted their practical teaching hours to criticism lessons. A class at the Malay school was taught a prepared lesson which was followed by receiving and analyzing criticism. Students express their opinions about the strong points and weak points in the lesson taught. Later, the European teacher, who ran the school, gave comments and explained the theoretical aspects to the students.

The first-year students only took theoretical classes in the course on the theory of teaching. Usually, the lessons on criticism, which the second-year students took, were more valuable than the theoretical classes in the course theory of teaching. To enhance the practical use of the teacher training, the College became the first educational institution in British Malaya to be equipped with a machine for cinematography.

The courses of the first, second and third years are separate, and students had to pass a final examination at the end of every year before being promoted to the following year. The majority of failure cases take place at the first year examinations. Students who failed at the first year were dismissed[9].

The staff included the principal, two European assistant masters, sixteen Malay assistant masters, two religious instructors, one basketry instructor, one music master and one instructor in carpentry[10].

C.3) The Translation Bureau

Before the establishment of a translation bureau, the number of books translated and published in the Malay language had been quite limited. Translation mainly depended on the efforts of committed individuals such as R.J. Wilkinson[11] and Dr. R.O.Winstedt[12]. Such individual efforts could not cope with the increasing demands for books published in the Malay language. Thus, a translation bureau was established in Sultan Idris Training College in early 1924. That bureau translated and edited educational publications, modern English novels, and light literature. It also saw the books through the publication process.

The financial running expenditures were covered in the ratio of 2:1 by the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements. The Bureau was run and administered by the principal of Sultan Idris Training College. It had three editors who worked on and reviewed the translated materials. Dr. R.O.Winstedt (the Director of Education), Mr. O.T. Dussek (the principal of Sultan Idris Training College), Che Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (the chief translator) were the only editors responsible for checking all school books and publications in 1924.

After a modest start with only one translator in 1924, the translation bureau had seven translators, including three trainees, and two Malaya writers in 1930. The translators were selected from

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[9] Department of Education, the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Singapore, *Regulations for Vernacular Schools in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States and for The Sultan Idris Training College* (Singapore: The Government Printing Office, 1927), pp.2, 24-26. See also: Department of Education, the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Singapore, *Memorandum on The Sultan Idris Training College and Malay Vernacular Education* (Singapore: Printers Limited, 1931), p.4.

[10] London, The National Archives, CO 273-574-8*, op.cit.*, p.53.

[11] He was Inspector of Schools in the Straits Settlements in the early 1900s, and later was promoted to become the Federal Inspector of the Federated Malay States.

[12] He acted as Assistant Director of Education for Vernacular Malay Schools from 1916 till 1919. Later, he became the Director of Education.

among the graduates of any English school in the Straits Settlements or the Federated Malay States, should they have obtained Senior Cambridge Certificate. After being nominated by the Director of Education as probationers, they entered a course of tuition and training at Sultan Idris Training College for a period not exceeding two years. During that training period, the probationers receive an allowance of $20 in addition to free board and lodging. After passing an examination in translation, proof-reading and typewriting in both Arabic characters and Romanized Malay letters, the probationer is appointed as a translator with a monthly salary of $90. The salary of each translator increased $10 annually till it could reach $300. Translation was the major duty of translators, while editing of books and training of probationary translators were subsidiary duties.

Malay writers were selected from among the graduates of Sultan Idris Training College. Once they were selected they were treated as trained teachers Class III ,a rising to Class II A at the monthly salary of $30 with annual increment of $2.9. The Maximum salary that a Malay writer could earn was $70 per month[13]. Transliteration, preparation of fair copies, proof reading and practice at ordinal translations were the responsibilities of Malay writers.

The main functions of the bureau were the writing, translating and editing of educational publications and seeing them through the Press, the writing, translating and editing of modern novels and seeing them through the Press, translations for other government departments and the training of translators[14].

The Translation Bureau has published two series of books; the Malay School Series and the Malay Home Library Series. The Malay School Series has included books on various school subjects. So far, only forty schoolbooks have been published and there has still been an increasing demand to translate more school books. The Malay Home Library Series was dedicated to publishing light literature. Since its beginning in 1928, it published seven books in Arabic characters.

Although, the European staff should have consisted of five persons including the principal, there was actually a recurrent shortage. In many years, there were only two European instructors in addition to the principal. Moreover, the College was plagued by the lack of incentives given to its European instructors who did not receive any special allowances. To make the situation worse, they had to pay for the cost of electricity in their residences. A further difficulty was posed by the lack of books written in Malay. Due to the lack of efficient bilingual staff who could speak both English and Malay, the number of books translated to Malay language was few. While precise data about the College's budget are no

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[13] $ refers to Straits Settlements Dollar.
[14] London, The National Archives, CO 273-574-8, *Ibid.*, p.48.

longer extant, the administrative records support the supposition that the College was underfunded and could not accomplish even its limited tasks.

D) Raffles College

In 1918 a committee appointed by the government advised to celebrate the centenary of Singapore by establishing a college that can gradually develop later to be a fully-fledged university. Later another committee reinforced the suggestion to establish a residential college for higher education and to call it "Raffles College" in commemoration of Sir Thomas Raffles, the founder of the British settlement at Singapore. The legislative Council encouraged the Governments of the Malay States and the Malay public to subscribe an amount of $ 2,000,000 for achieving that target. From that amount $1,000,000 will be used for construction of the buildings and an annual amount of $50,000 will be used for the current expenditures. The construction work started in 1924 and the college was opened in 1928. But the newly founded college even remained without a principal for a number of months and was initially run by the Director of the Education Department in the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements.

The delay in establishing Raffles College can be traced to lack of commitment on the part of colonial authorities to provide higher education in Malaya and lack of money allocated for funding higher education there. These real reasons were covered under the pretext of ascribing some alleged lack of quality to graduates of secondary schools in Malaya. In the mind of British colonial administrators, these graduates appeared to be unfit for higher education. According to a report published in 1926, the graduates of Malayan secondary education could not benefit from studying at the higher education level:

> The present day product of our English schools is fit for nothing, being too proud to perform manual work and too stupid in his command of English to make a good clerk. Least of all is he fitted for a course of higher education.[15]

The adduction of alleged moral and intellectual defects, such as unwarranted pride and "stupidity", put the full blame for the presumed lack of qualification for higher education on the pupils themselves, while exempting the British colonial authorities from any responsibility. The policy makers in the Department of Education did not believe that establishing a college that could train Malay schoolteachers was a priority. For them, the sole benefit from establishing Raffles College was training teachers who could later work at the English secondary schools. In taking this decision, they displayed

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[15] London, The National Archives, CO 717-53-14, *Education Policy in Malaya 1926*, p.65.

their negative stereotype about the incapability of Malayan students to make a good use of the institutions of higher education if they were to be established. The author thus even justified the delay of the establishment of Raffles College with his assumption that there was no urgent need for a higher educational institution in Britain's Southeast Asian dependencies:

> With the exception of the urgent need for a college to train teachers for the English schools, this long delay is not so serious as might at first appear to be the case; as the product of the secondary schools is not in my opinion sufficiently advanced to benefit by a course of instruction at a university or university college.[16]

In the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements there were 89,076 pupils studying at 1554 Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools, where they were taught by 3263 teachers in 1925. There were also 35,597 pupils studying at 90 English schools instructed by 1311 teachers. The revenues of the Department of Education in British Malaya from tuition fees were $1,095,805, while the expenditures were $5,123,914 in 1925[17]. The figures show the limitation of the budget that the Department of Education in British Malaya was willing to spend on educating 125,000 pupils studying at 1644 schools.

The Colonial authorities were unwilling to spread education in British Malaya. Their lack of willingness negatively influenced the development of teacher training colleges. They claimed that "with the present accommodation in English schools, free education can not be extended. The policy of the Government is to restrict education regardless of the fact that there are thousands and thousands of children who are unable to find accommodation in existing schools" [18].

They gave a number of reasons for this restrictive policy. In some cases, they cite the lack of trained and efficient teachers. Consequently, in 1926, the colonial authorities claimed that it would be better to stop building schools rather than establish many schools that could not be provided with efficient teachers.

> The training of an adequate staff of competent teachers will take years. Schools with incompetent teachers will do more harm than good.[19]

But rather than rapidly increasing the number of teacher training colleges to provide such qualified teachers, their number remained constant and their budget remained limited.

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[16] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 8 and p.21.
[18] Extract from *Malay Mail* newspaper on 16th September 1926, p.9.
[19] *Ibid.* , p.9.

The government also claimed that the expansion of the provision of free education would increase the rate of unemployment and entail discontent. What the colonial government disregarded was that illiteracy in itself, as a result of lack of education, was a sound reason for discontent and that suppressing the demand for education would not help increase popular satisfaction. Although Britain claimed that its purpose was to improve economic development in British Malaya, it did not exert concrete efforts to see that target fulfilled. However, the colonial authorities did not establish industrial and technical higher education institutions enabling people to advance the development of the colonial dependencies. Even in the fields of rubber and tin, which were considered the leading two industries in British Malaya during the colonial era, there were no educational institutions directed to preparing and training efficient and educated laborers, nothing to say of qualified engineers.

Instead, the short-term purpose from establishing Raffles College was to train teachers, offer the pre-medical course in physics and chemistry the Medical College and present students for London University degrees until it might become able to attain the status of a university.

The restrictive policy of the British colonial administration regarding the pre-university level of education reduced the number of qualifies students who could pursue their higher education at Raffles College. In 1930 and 1931 there were 128 and 123 students respectively studying at Raffles College[20]. Moreover, the colonial administrators kept the College's budget so tight that it could not be put on a track towards accomplishing fully fledged university status[21].

The curricula taught at Raffles College were Eurocentric and Western-oriented. Even the geography and history curricula were mainly western. The focus on Europe was reflected in the exams. The 1938 exams of geography, for example, featured six papers in the third year, of which only one paper was not dedicated to test students' knowledge of European geography. This exam paper concerned Australia, Asia and Africa. Even in this paper, there was only one question on British Malaya, out of a total of ten questions. Teaching on Malaya focused solely on Japan's ambitions and expansionist policies in Asia. The emphasis on the dangers of Japanese military policies reflected the political anxieties of the British government at that time, not those of the people living in Malaya. The other exam papers had the geography of the Americas, of Europe and the British Isles as their subjects[22].

The questions in the exams were direct and of that type that encourages rote memory and learning by heart. The questions required descriptive answers only. The analytical dimension in testing was limited. Thus, students were usually asked to "write a short essay on one of the following, give an

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[20] London, The National Archives, CO 273-579-3, *op. cit.* , p.32 left side.
[21] Extract from *the Straits Budget* newspaper on 12th February, 1948, p.2.
[22] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 544, *Commission on Higher Education in Malay- Papers*, 1939, various pages.

account of, write a brief account of, what is meant by, write short notes on five of the following, describe briefly, and write a concise account of".[23] It was no surprise that such testing of rote memory could hardly lead to satisfactory results. The lack of achievement of school instruction, measured through this kind of exams, became so notorious already during the period of British colonial rule tat it had to be admitted by the British administrators themselves, who ranked graduates from Raffles College as unfit for entering the local education service in their *Memorandum on the Report of the Public Services Salaries Commission of Malaya* of 1947:

> The present arrangements for the training of teachers both in Singapore and on the Mainland are admitted on all sides to be unsatisfactory. It will be seen therefore that the Raffles diploma can by no means be regarded as the equivalent of an honours degree which is demanded of recruits to the Colonial Education Service.[24]

Nevertheless, the same memorandum took a more optimistic view of the capabilities of Raffles College teachers:

> [T]he professors and lecturers at Raffles College are highly qualified and are in no way inferior to those engaged in university work in the United Kingdom. The standard of work attained in the College is above that for a General B.A. or B.Sc. degree at British Universities. Where special subjects are taken, the standard aimed at in the special subject is that of an honours degree.[25]

However, the focus of this statement was on the performance of teachers rather than that of the students. The message thus was clear: while the teachers employed by the British colonial authorities at Raffles College were doing their best, its students could hardly be helped.

E) Higher Technical Education

The colonial authorities were not willing to provide higher technical education neither in the Federated Malay States nor in the Straits Settlements. They cited various reasons for their refusal to do so. Among them, the following were most significant:

1. There is no demand for a higher collegiate or university training in engineering.
2. Locally trained Asians are not qualified to hold administrative positions in charge of dealing with employees from different races.

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[23] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 544, *Commission on Higher Education in Malay- Papers*, 1939, various pages.
[24] London, The National Archives, CO 717-160-1, *Revisions of Salaries Representations on Behalf of Locally Appointed Teachers 1948*, pp.3-4.
[25] *Ibid.*, p.17.

3. The previous failure of an engineering technical college in Sri Lanka.

4. The weak academic achievement of Asian students in applied mathematics, drawing, manual instruction and elementary science.

5. Lack of devotion and commitment on part of Asian parents towards the education of their offspring[26].

In consequence of the negative policy towards higher technical education the number of engineers and architects who obtained higher education degrees was 1,839 in 1939 in the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States. Those 1,839 engineers and architects were supposed to provide services to a male population of 2,061,622.[27]

Although the Penang Chinese Chamber of Commerce suggested the establishment of technical higher education program at Raffles College, and the provision of government scholarships to achieving students of poor parentage, the colonial authorities refused to implement these suggestions. Rather than offering public scholarships, the colonial government recommended that the Raffles College Committee, the Chambers of Commerce and other bodies of wealthy persons should come forward as donors of technical higher education scholarships. Again, colonial administrators held it that there was no public demand for engineers, as they regarded the majority of the population under their control as suitable mainly for cash crop farming:

> We are convinced that the future of all except town Malays lies in agriculture, but the provision of an agricultural education is geographically a matter for the Federated Malay States.[28]

> The importance of agriculture in the development of Malaya must be our excuse for urging the need for one or more agricultural schools where all the operations of rubber planting can be taught to local boys so as to enable them to take charge at any rate of small estates with knowledge and success. [29]

Educational policy in Malaya was aimed at maintaining the status quo. This policy made it easier for the colonial authorities to maintain their control. That policy wanted to instill and inculcate inside the hearts and minds of the colonized people that they should not, at any case, try to change

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[26] Hashim, Rosnani, Educational Dualism in Malaysia: Implications for Theory and Practice, 2nd edition (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2004), pp.53-54. According to the Federal Council Proceedings, "It is no real education that qualifies a pupil in reading, writing and arithmetic and leaves him with a distaste, or perhaps even a contempt, for the honourable pursuits of husbandry and handicraft. It will not only be a disaster to, but a violation of the whole spirit and traditions of, the Malay race if the result of our vernacular education is to lure the whole of the youth from the Kampong to the town".

[27] London, The National Archives, CO 717-53-14, *Education Policy in Malaya 1926*, 1939, pp.23-24.

[28] *Ibid.,* p.27 left side.

[29] *Ibid.*, p.27 right side.

neither their social positions nor their relationships with those who are superior to them. Thus, according to a note written by Sir George Maxwell[30]

> [t]he aim of Government […] is to make the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and a man whose education will enable him to understand how his own lot in life fits in with the scheme of life around him.[31]

The following passage embodies the same belief in the idea of progress and displays optimism regarding the future of British colonial rule in Southeast Asia:

> Far more important is it to establish a University having a limited range of subjects, but adequate in all it does in them, having no fears of financial distress, and with a live spirit, than one which in an Endeavour to be too embracing, is crippled by lack of adequate funds with all the ill-effects which this has on its morale. We believe that in the Medical College and Raffles College Malaya have indeed the foundations of a future University of which she will be proud; steady and solid development of these two institutions as a University College, with their expansion in the justified establishment of this University within a reasonable time. It seems to us that if progress which appears to us possible under the proposals we have made, were completely achieved, the question of the establishment of University should be ready for review within a period of ten years.[32]

But the display of optimism and the gradualist approach to solving deep-seated and long-lasting problems encountered serious difficulties. The colonial planners were not only unwilling to quickly establish a fully-fledged university in British Malaya, but they also were reluctant to totally cover the expenditures of the new university college. The writers of the Report criticized the practice that the government provided 70 per cent of the expenditures of the two colleges in Singapore. They suggested that the new university college should be financed in a way similar to the British universities, namely by charging tuition. They therefore suggested raising the tuition fees. In a colonized country, however, where more than 70 per cent of the Malays were poor, the reduction of public funding together with the increase of the private financing of higher education could hardly improve add to the benefit of the children of the impoverished rural Malay farmers. If the following passage proves anything, it establishes the fact that the British colonial administration was not genuine in its claim to serve the colonized population.

> [W]hereas only one third of the income of the institutions in England is obtained directly from the Treasury, more than two thirds of that of the Singapore Colleges has its origin in Government provision. Secondary, while in English Universities and Colleges student fee provide approximately

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[30] He was the Chief Secretary to the Government of Federated Malay States from 1920 to 1926.
[31] London, The National Archives, CO 717-67-2, *op.cit.*, p.7.
[32] London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, pp.199-200.

one third of the income, in Malaya they account for little more than one ninth. Thirdly, the present income from investments which is 17.2 per cent is very similar to that of the institutions in England.[33]

Rather than taking into consideration of the needs and peculiarity of the colonized Malayan society, the Report called for following the same schemes applied in for financing British universities. Instead of recommending an increase of public spending on education in British Malaya, the Commission chose to appeal to the local population to contribute more of their own scarce funds for the education of their children:

> The government has in the past borne the brunt of the financial burden of the Colleges and it has indeed been most liberal in its provision; the people, in the future, must share this burden to a greater degree. We are confident that we do not make this appeal in vain.[34]

The Report left no doubt that British colonial administrators expected the colonized population in British Malaya to pay for the education the British were imposing upon them by implementing British curricula, using British teaching methods and, in the case of higher education institutions, British faculty. During the colonial era educational planners were predominantly British so that the context of Malayan education was Eurocentric, thus located outside the country and beyond the control of its Asian populations. The life and suffering of the Asian populations of the Malayan Peninsula were totally ignored by the British planners, did not feature in the curricula and could thus not become the subject of schooling and research. The British colonizers thus managed to create elite classes that were alienated and aloof from the culture and customs of their constituent ethnicities. Consequently, it is not surprising that the McLean Report called for in increasing tuition fess and the private contributions to financing higher education in British Malaya. The stereotype related to this attitude was the belief in the superiority of the British mentality and the white race.

F) Common Stereotypes among British Educational Experts

Educational policies during the colonial era were influenced by the stereotypes and mentalities of the British planners. One stereotype was the belief in the superiority of the European and the inferiority of the Asians. This stereotype is explicit in the McLean Report of 1939. Among other things, the Report called for constituting the majority of Europeans on the Council of the proposed new higher education

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[33] *Ibid.*, p.204.
[34] *Ibid.*, p.205.

institution, that was to become the University College of Malaya. The Report expressed the lack of confidence in the ability of Malays, Indians and Chinese to co-operate with each other in running the University College of Malaya. The absence of trust in the Asian people convinced the authors of McLean Report to suggest establishing a university of college that has only a Council and a Senate run by Europeans only. Unlike British universities, the new Malayan college was not to have the privilege of adjudicating its own student affairs:

> "We regard it as essential that the control of this Council must at the outset be in European hands and that only by very slow stages should members of the Asiatic populace of Malaya take a greater share in its work. Safety is provided by the necessity for approval of all nominations by His Excellency the Governor, by the fact that there will be a European majority, and because it seems to us extremely likely that the Malays will vote with the Chinese and Indians on any major issue […] While the Court thus provides a factor of safety in the administration of Universities in England, we think that the establishment of a Court for the University College of Malaya is undesirable, for the racial complexity of the country and the difficulties associated with the oriental mind make it potentially dangerous. We accordingly suggest a constitution which does not include a Court, but consists of a Council and a Senate". [35]

Thus, on the eve of the Second World War, an official report, requesting by the British government, confirmed one of the core consequences of British colonial rule in Southeast Asia. British colonialism had brought about an ethnically divided society whose members were not allowed to form a public sphere and engage in regularized public debates on issues of public policy. By consequence, their willing ness and capability to co-operate was limited. The McLean report, while recognizing this defect, failed to acknowledge that the lack of co-operation capability had resulted from the British colonial segregation policies and was thus the consequence of some lack of capability or willingness on the side of the Asian population. In consequence of its disrespect for the Asian population, the Report called for filling most of the positions of the Council by Europeans, even though the Report was quick in admitting that the number of Europeans who are committed to volunteer works and community servicing was limited. Furthermore, the authors of the Report claimed that this lack of European enthusiasm to engage in the educational welfare of British Malaya could be overcome by merely appointing a new principal for the suggested new university college. The authors did not explain the reasons behind their exaggerated optimism:

> [T]here is less incentive to them to undertake this type of service, and with few notable exceptions they appeared to us to have a limited interest in the educational welfare of the country. We recognize the particular difficulties, but we hope and believe that with the appointment of the new Principal,

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[35]London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-14, *Commission on Higher Education in Malaya: Acquisition of Further Land for Medical Buildings: Inspection of Malay Girls' Schools: Observations Made on the Report, 1939*, pp.79-80.

this attitude will undergo change and that the new University College may become an institution evoking both the interest and service of men of the type we are discussing.[36]

In spite of lightly admitting that there were ethnic problems in British Malaya, the colonial administrators and experts never had any sense of guilt of the catastrophic policies they pursued. After the Second World War, they resorted to blaming any serious problems on the Japanese occupation, unless they chose to totally ignore the existence of such problems.

Another stereotype was thus searching for scapegoats to blame for the problems encountered in the colonies. This practice of blaming a scapegoat is typically exemplified in the following passage in a report submitted to the British government in 1946:

> This week has seen the reopening of Raffles College after its submergence in the dark age of Nippon-age and Nippon culture in the history of south-east Asia, and so we have attained an objective in the rehabilitation of Malaya which has been one of the most ardently desired and one of the last to be achieved.[37]

The Japanese were brought in as a scapegoat to explain difficulties that the British colonial administration had already admitted prior to the war. The primary sources are full of this sense of taking pride in the self-imposed British mission of civilizing Malaya and in implementing policies that, contrary to the evidence, were advocated as means to develop social cohesion and positive political awareness among the various ethnic populations.

Thus, a further stereotype was the false belief in the civilizing mission and the benevolence of the British colonialism. This false assumption is elucidated in the following statement, referring to the beginning of the British occupation of Singapore and dating from 1946:

> Centenaries are not as significant in our historical perspective today as they were in 1919, when Singapore looked back upon a hundred years of unbroken peace and continuity under British rule, and confidently expected the second century to be as happy and prosperous as the first: but we have today the same feeling that our predecessors had in 1919 that we are at a fresh starting point in the evolution of Malaya, and that education of university standards, with the research and scholarship and resources of informed and disciplined intellect that go with it, is essential if we are to develop social coherence and a constructive political consciousness rather than chronic inter-racial turmoil in this country.[38]

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[36] *Ibid.*, p.81.

[37] London, The National Archives, CO 273-677-6, *Higher Education in Malaya 1945-1946*, 1946, p.76.

[38] *Ibid.*, p.76.

Even after the Second World War, British colonial administrators did not hesitate to portray the nineteenth century and, with it, European colonial expansion as a period of protracted peace and prosperity. Given the veracity of the military suppression of anti-colonial resistance movements, these claims were preposterous and absurd. These absurd claims are in total contrast with the fact that British administrators not only suppressed people but, through their segregationist policies, also perpetuated many social differences and economic disparities among the ethnic groups. The major tool for bolstering such disparities was the divisive educational system where each racial group organized its own schools. Via these schools a clear ethnically differentiated educational system evolved: free schooling for Malays in the rural areas, and also free or subsidized instruction for the Indians on the plantation estates; subsidized fee-charging English education in towns and cities attended mostly by Europeans, and rich Chinese and Indians; and self-financed Chinese schooling. This exclusionist and divisive educational system sharply divided the ethnic communities in British Malaya.

The primary sources were full of a sweet-tongued language in which British experts boasted of their self-claimed achievements and allegedly far-sighted policies. Although in fact little education was offered to the Asian population, they took pride in propagating that they were educating and training the colonized population. This pride is well embodied in the following programmatic statement:

> What I do believe, in common with all my colleagues of the Asquith commission, is that self-government of the type the colonial regions are clamouring for, and to which we are committed, cannot be successfully exerted without higher education. A democratic people must, of all people, have educated leaders and well trained professional men. It needs also an educated populace but that pre-requisite is outside the scope of the present inquiry.[39]

In explicit contradistinction to this self-ascribed benevolent colonial attitude, the same document called for restricting access to higher education if this access would overproduce graduates. The same expert, who urged for the training of professionals and educating leaders at higher education level, assured that the entrance standards in the newly to be established University College of Malaya should be strict and high. He did not realize that the quality of those who finish the non-English language schools was very low and that raising the entry requirements meant limiting the number of pupils who were ready to enroll at the university college. Rather than taking into consideration how the low quality of schools could be improved and how the prevalent poverty in rural areas could be alleviated, he called for raising the admission threshold.

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp.144-145.

The institution should be small. Its size should be related chiefly to two factors. (a) the number of university-worthy youths the educational system of the particular colonial region is capable of producing, (b) the number of locally-educated university graduates the country can absorb at any particular time. The second consideration must, if the health and happiness of the region is to be of paramount consideration, as it should, override the first. That can be assured by a judicious manipulation of entrance standards which should in any case be high to ensure the standards of a new university which has to establish its position in the eyes of a rightly critical and a jealous academic world. The size of our universities must therefore be determined, so far as the financial situation will permit, by the type of society the university serves, by the stage of its social and industrial development and, to some extent, by the size of its population since the number of doctors and teachers, important elements in a university's output, will be a function of the last factor if poverty does not make this impossible.[40]

This desire to limit the number of those who could benefit from studying at a higher education institution was hidden under the pretext of ensuring quality of education, avoiding the dangers of unemployment, and bypassing probable financial austerity. Unfortunately, these honey-covered words did restrict enrolment at both pre-university and tertiary levels. Even the Governor of the Straits Settlements[41] himself recognized the lack of equity of access opportunities that were resulting from the segregationist British educational policies, and admitted the dangers of this policy,

"if we keep the university small, one result will be that the university-worthy Chinese and Indians who can not get in will go off to universities in India and China, for example. They will then return to Malaya and compete, rather at disadvantage, with the product of the University of Malaya. You will therefore not be able to avoid your disgruntled intellectual proletariat who are unemployed or under-privileged as regards type of employment. Any attempt to safeguard the Malay element of the population will make this situation worse because it will make the under-privileged element predominately Indian and Chinese".[42]

The author thus had the clear foresight that the ethnicities brought together in the British Southeast Asian dependencies were to be rivals rather than fellow citizens and would compete for access to political power and economic influence rather than engage in forming a public sphere. He also realized that the colonial policies were favoring the wealthy urban Chinese and Indians at the expense of the rural poor Malays. Not only did the rich Chinese and Indians have their children enrolled in domestic higher education colleges, but they were also capable of sending them to study overseas. While the rich Chinese and Indians could send their children to English schools which led to higher education institutions, the poor Malays had no choice but to send their children to Malay primary schools which were a dead end. Even when there was an insufficient number of places to accommodate all the aspiring

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[40] *Ibid.*, p.145.

[41] Sir Shenton Whitlegge Thomas was the last Governor of the Straits Settlements (1932-1942). After the Second World War, he continued as the 11th British High Commissioner in Malaya (9 November, 1934 - 1 April, 1946).

[42] *Ibid.*, p.147.

and academically qualified Chinese and Indian students in Raffles College or King Edward VII College of Medicine, their well-off parents could send them to study abroad to any of the English-speaking countries. Under these circumstances, the losers were the poor rural Malays. Therefore, the only way to allow the Malays to catch up with their more educated neighbours would have been to offer them a quota in higher education colleges.

It was natural that the British colonial administration would behave in a selfish way in order to maximize its own economic benefits from occupying British Malaya. However, it is depressing to realize that even some of the victims accepted this denigrating colonialism of the British. In a memo signed in 1946, Datoh Panglims Bukit Gantang, the Secretary-General of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) expressed his warm feelings towards the continuity of the British cultural influence not only in Malayan university colleges, but also in the region of Southeast Asia. He spoke with great affection and affinity about the British Empire, as if that empire had done great achievements for the poor Malays.

> "Graduates from the University College or Malayan university should find no difficulty in finding employment and spreading British Culture and influence in the neighboring countries and islands. In this way the security of the Empire in South East Asia and in the East is assured.
> As regards the curricula to be included in the scheme of instruction, schemes may be formulated in accordance with the needs of the country from time to time and U.M.N.O. has therefore no concrete suggestions to make at present. British culture and oriental studies should however be encouraged".[43].

This Malay elite infatuation with the British culture can be explained by the fact that this class of Malay elites was educated in British institutes inside and outside Malaya. By being isolated from their deep cultural roots, they assimilated British culture and values. This Malay elite class was nurtured and developed under the British eye with care and tenderness, so that they could maintain and preserve the British interests even after the withdrawal of the British army from Malaya. Colonialism reproduced itself by co-operating with and co-opting indigenous elites. That is why British influence could linger on beyond the end of colonial rule and British capital was neither nationalized nor confiscated after independence in 1957. On the contrary, it continued to flourish and prosper until the beginning of the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1971. Thus British colonial administrators held it as a final stereotype that British culture was superior and thus had to be maintained and perpetuated.

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[43] *Ibid.,* p.116.

G) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Quality

Quality has played a significant role in evaluating educational policies. British colonial administrators paid attention to quality. However, contrary to the recent belief that quality assurance and the application of accountability bring efficiency and improve the productivity of universities, they exempted the British higher educational institutions from the requests of accountability and thus made no efforts to put pressure on the teaching staff to ensure the quality of education.

Raffles College was envisaged to become the nucleus of a future university into which the Medical College would eventually be incorporated, while for a period of transition, it was to be "affiliated" with the University of London. It was to provide for the education of teachers urgently needed for the secondary schools and to offer facilities for training in the scientific and technical subjects for the increasing number of young men and women desiring to become better fitted for the commercial and economic work of the community by an education of the university type. The College was opened in 1928 with a faculty recruited from Great Britain.

The College provided Arts and Science courses. These courses entailed the study for three years of subjects selected from one of two groups. Group I contained English, Geography, History, Pure and Applied Mathematics and Economics; Group II comprised the four subjects of Physics, Chemistry, Pure and Applied Mathematics. In the Arts group students selected no less than three subjects, and at the end of the first year they chose one of these subjects for principal study and continued the other two as minor subjects. In the Science group, all four subjects were to be taken and received equal attention over the whole period of three years. From the distribution and number of the subjects, it can be seen that these groups approximated in the content to those prescribed for the initial degree in Arts and Science given in British Universities under the various titles of Ordinary, Pass or General degrees. At the end of three years of study, a diploma examination consisted of Parts I, II and III held at the end of first, second and third years respectively, and the rules regarding the passing of examinations are not ungenerous to the students. Students failing in either the Part I or Part II examination were re-examined at the end of long vacation period only in the subject or subjects in which they had been unsuccessful; if they passed, their courses would continue without interruption. Only when they failed to complete the Part I examination at the second attempt, they were required to present themselves for re-examination in all subjects in the following year. Furthermore, they were not required to withdraw from the College until they failed to complete the Part I examination at the fourth attempt or were unsuccessful in obtaining the diploma after five years.

In addition to these diploma courses there is a course in Education given as a fourth post-graduate course. The Science teaching included three courses in Chemistry and Physics required by the first-year students of Medicine.

The Arts subjects usually chosen were English, Geography and History, which were studied on the average by 87, 70 and 74 students per year. In the Session from 1935 to 1956, the subject of Economics was introduced and the number of the students talking this subject rapidly rose from 6 in the first year to 88.

The courses of study were given by a faculty consisting of seven Professors of the subjects of Economics, Education, English and History and of Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics; the Professor of Education was also Reader in Geography. There are also Lecturers in the subjects of English, Geography and History, and in Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics. If Mathematics be regarded as entirely a Science subject, there was thus a faculty of seven for the 157 students of the Arts Faculty, and one of six for the 54 students of the Science Faculty; to these 54, there must be added, however, an average number of 50 first years students from the medical College. While one member of a staff to every twenty students appears extravagant, it must be remembered that each subject must have one teacher, and in no subject were there more than two.

The hours devoted to the different forms of teaching activity were somewhat greater than was usual the case in British universities because the educational administration assumed that there was the greater need for tutorial and written work for Asian students. Each member of staff concerned with the Arts group of subjects and also with Mathematics spent on the average about twelve hours a week in teaching, in addition to the marking of written work, the teachers in Chemistry and Physics spend some twenty hours per week in teaching.

The age of admission of students to the College was seventeen years although in special cases admission below this threshold was possible. In this connection, mention is necessary of the fact that of the 570 students admitted since the opening of the College, 45 or 48 percent of the total were less than 17 years of age; four of these students were no more 16 years 1 month old and three of them were 16 years or less.

The qualification for admission was (a) the Malayan School Certificate with a passing degree with credits in English and three of the following subjects: History, Geography, Latin, Elementary Mathematics, Additional, Mathematics (provided credit Pass has been obtained in Elementary Mathematics), Chemistry, Physics, General Science, Botany, Art or any approved language, (b) the

Matriculation Examination of any university in United Kingdom, (c) any other examination especially approved by the Senate.

One of the major problems that degraded the quality of education in Raffles College was the high ratio of dropouts before completing study. The dropout ratio was 47 percent. The colonial language referred to the dropouts in the language of garbage removal:

> We now turn to consider the important problem of the wastage rate, and discussion will be easier if attention is directed only to 360 students who have completed their courses and left college. Only 190 of these 360 students obtained diplomas; of the remainder, 146 left the college without completing their courses, while 24 completed their courses but failed in the diploma examination. Thus, only 53 percent of the students who have left Raffles College have obtained diploma which was their aim. Of the students who left before reaching the third year of study, there are 135; of these 75 left because of failure in the Parts I or II examination; a number of others left because of miscellaneous reasons of health or migration, and 34 left for reasons described as "private". It is important to notice that the racial distribution of these 135 students who gave up their courses was Chinese 72, Eurasians 12, Indian 40, Malays 6, others 5. When these figures are expressed as percentages, they differ little from the average percentage distribution among the general student body. We regard these high figures for wastage rate as being very undesirable.[44]

The ethnic distribution of the dropouts reflected the concentration on students of Chinese and Indian origin within the student body. While the administrators noted the problem that they were discriminating against Malays, they accepted the situation as a given and refrained from pursuing solutions. Instead of seeking to increase the quality of teaching at pre-university level Malay language schools and equity of access to higher education, they retained their policy of segregating educational institutions. Consequently, one reason for the dropping out was the absence of attractive opportunities for graduates to seek employment. The working opportunities were limited and restricted mainly to the teaching profession. 81.7 percent of the male graduates of Raffles College worked as teachers, while 11 percent are in various government services and 3 percent only held posts in the commercial sector.

> Study of the posts occupied by former student is important for it throws considerable light on the part which Raffles College is playing in the life and development of Malaya. Of the 147 men who have obtained the diploma and left the College, 10 may be omitted from consideration for various valid reasons such as death or migration. Of the 137 remaining, 112 are teachers in the schools and 4 are on the staffs of the two colleges; 15 are in the services of various Governments (Straits Settlement Civil Service 6, Malay Administrative Service 1, Johore Malay Officers' Scheme 3, Fisheries Department S.S. 2, Raffles Museum 1, and Miscellaneous 2); 4 are in Commerce, while only 2 are unemployed.[45]

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[44] London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, *Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939*, 1939, pp.72-73.
[45] *Ibid.* , p.73.

The majority of female graduates also worked as teachers.

> Of the 39 women graduates, 33 only need to be considered since 6 are taking the post-graduate course in Education. Among these there are 21 unmarried teachers; 5 have since married and are still teaching; 6 who were teachers have given up their posts on marriage and 1 is living at home. Thus no woman graduate has obtained a post other than as a teacher.[46]

No figures are given illustrating ethnic affiliations of the graduates. But it is safe to postulate that the ratios did not differ principally from those for male graduates.

The constitution and finance of Raffles College will be analyzed briefly in the following paragraphs. The control of the College was vested in Raffles College Council, which was responsible for all matters relating the general policy and finance of the College. The Council consisted of fifteen members eight of whom were official members as set out in the Raffles College Ordinance of 1928. Its Chairman held the title of President of Raffles College, and the Director of Education usually filled the office of President.

The more academic aspects of the work of the College, such as curriculum, regulations for the conduct of examinations, awards of the scholarships and diploma were advised upon by a Senate, the members of which were the College Professors. The Senate reported to the Council. The chairman of the Senate was the President of the Council who served as the only link between the academic body and the Council itself, for there was no academic member on the Council.

The only other point which needs mention here concerns the carting out of the duties usually assigned to a Principal. During the first seven years of the existence of the College, the Director of Education acted not only as President of the Council but also as Principal of the College. In 1935 a change was made when the Principal of the Medical College became Principal of Raffles College also. This arrangement was discontinued in 1937 when Dr. G. McOwan, Professor of Chemistry, was appointed as Acting Principal and was then appointed Principal until April 1940, although he continued to serve as Professor of Chemistry.

The more important aspects of the financial position of the College are shown in the accounts for the year 1937. Raffles College income was derived from three main sources, annual grants from the various governments, interest on capital invested and students' fees[47].

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[46] *Ibid.* , pp.73-74.

[47] Thanks to the support of the various Governments, the annual States grants total approximately $155,000 (£18,083). Thus the Straits Settlements have allocated $ 50,000 (£5,833) in perpetuity, the Federated States $ 50,000 (£5,833) for 35 years, the government of Johore $12,000 (£1,400) in perpetuity and that of Kedah $ 5,000 (£584) for a period of ten years.

The total income of the College was about $ 310,000 (£36,167). The expenditure was such that a small annual surplus could be generated in 1937 amounting to $ 23,000 (£2,683). With automat ic salary increases of the members of the staff, the annual expenditure, however, increased by $ 3,000 (£350) in 1939 and reached maximum increases of $ 30,000 (£3,500) in 1949. "In view of this, the financial position of Raffles College may be summarized by saying that with its present staff and with no further commitments its income is no more than barely sufficient for its needs"[48].

In order to evaluate the quality of education in Raffles College, an assessment of its status and of the prospects of future development was in order. The first problem that the college suffered from was the absence of a permanent president for it. This absence hindered the quality of the management of the College, as the colonial administration admitted itself in 1939:

> We begin by expressing the opinion that the College has undoubtedly suffered from the lack of a Principal […], there is no doubt in our minds that the progress of the College has been greatly impeded as a result, for if it is recognized that every long established and well organized university institution requires an administrative head, then the needs of a University College in its infancy, particularly in the Far East, must be so much the greater. It requires in these early days someone of wise experience to lead it along a carefully determined path of development; to provide it with inspiration and to instill the right atmosphere; to act as the friend and guide both of the staff and of the students.[49]

In addition the Government of Straits Settlements has made an additional annual grant during the last four years, and in 1937 this supplementary contribution amounted to $ 38,000 (£4,417).

The second most substantial source of income is that derived from invested capital. Here again the governments have been generous, for that of the Straits Settlements contributed $ 1,000,000 (£116,667) for general buildings and that of the Federated States $ 200,000 (£23,333) for a hostel. In addition many large gifts were received from private subscribers and from firms totaling in all about $ 1,100,000 (£128,333), and we wish that space would allow us to mention them in detail. The cost of all buildings now valued at $ 1,647,000 (£192,150) has been met from these funds leaving a present balance of $ 1,735,417 (£202,417). In addition there is a Building Reserve Fund of $ 149,000 (£17,383) into which there has been wisely transferred $ 20,000 (£2,333) per year from the annual income. Lastly, the Clifford Fund amounts to $ 38,000 (£4,417). The income from these total invested funds is about $ 85,000 (£9,917) per year.

The third and smallest proportion of the income is that derived from student fees. In 1937, tuition fees amounted to $ 42,900 (£4,900); hostel fees, which need to be considered apart, to $ 21,000 (£2,450); miscellaneous fees provide a further $ 7,000 (£817).

[48] *Raffles College Report* , p.76. *Ibid.*, pp.148-149: "The income from these sources constitutes only 13.4 per cent of the total income, which is a low proportion compared with that in which Universities and University Colleges in England which derive some 30 per cent of their income from students' fees. The total fee income depends, of course, on the number of students and the annual tuition fee per student. The main explanations of this low percentage figure of 13.4 per cent are firstly that the number of students at the College is relatively small, and secondly that the cost of providing facilities for education at Raffles College is relatively higher than in similar institutions in Great Britain. In view of the latter, it should be appreciated that the present fees of $300 (£35) per year are very similar to the £30 and £40 charged for similar courses in England, are in comparison, low."

[49] *Ibid.* , pp.76-77.

Even if the President of the Council of the College acted as Chairman of Senate, this did not prevent the negative influence of the absence of the permanent Principal of the College. In order to overcome this problem, the Director of Education had to act as the Principal. It is obvious that a person, who had no previous experience of working as an academic, could hardly be expected to be able to improve the management of a higher education institution. The fact that the Director of Education had to run Raffles College in parallel with doing his job in managing the various primary and secondary schools meant that he could not fulfill his duties efficiently. As both jobs are time-consuming, it was natural that one of the two jobs would be negatively influenced eventually. A second factor that hindered the development of Raffles College was the short terms of office of the presidents in a very short period of time. The College had seven presidents in eleven years only. Again, the colonial administration recognized the problem but refrained from doing more than acknowledging the feeling

> that the fact that the president of the Council has acted as Chairman of Senate can have gone far towards making good this lack of a Principal. In the first place, the building up of a tradition needs the daily presence of the individual who is to lay its foundations. Secondly, the main interests of a Director of Education who has filled the post of President, must clearly be in the work of his office which itself so amply occupies his time. Even if he gives his services freely, he cannot have the detailed knowledge born of professional experience of university administration, necessary to enable him adequately to guide the development of an institution such as Raffles College. Leaving these questions aside, the system can have resulted in no continuity of policy, for the post of President has had seven different holders in the eleven years. We do not need to say that we are not making criticism of the past President, for the College owes much to them; we do feel it necessary, however, to point the deficiencies of the system, because it has acted in some measure at least, against the progress of the College. In one other respect also, the constitution of the College has been unfortunate, for the lack of a member of the Senate on the controlling body, the Council, must have reacted unfavorably on the enthusiasm of the academic staff as whole.[50]

The administrators detected a deficit in the motivation of faculty resulting from a lack of their influence on the direction of the College. But they failed to acknowledge that it would have been their own responsibility to increase the length of the term of office of the Director of Education and to allocate a budget for the payment of the Principal of the College.

One of the further considerations, which must bear on the question of the possible development of a University in Malaya, was the administration of the standard of the Raffles College Diploma. Here the expectations of the British trained faculty clashed with the level of education accomplished in the schools. The clash resulted in the high dropout rate. The colonial administrators tried to reduce the dropout rate by suggesting to reduce the Science curriculum of the College:

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[50] *Ibid.* , p.77-78.

"In the Science Diploma four subjects are taken in contrast to the three subjects of the London B.Sc. Degree. It was the opinion of the professors that if the number of subjects was decreased to three, 40 percent of the students might pass in pure Mathematics, 10 percent in Applied Mathematics, 20 percent in Chemistry and 20 percent in physics".[51]

The high dropout and failure rate was not surprising, since it signified that much remained to be done in providing Science teaching in the schools leading up to College. Further evidence on this problem is provided by the results of the examination of those students who sat for the London Degree Examination. These results are as follows:-

TABLE 3.1. The Results of Examination of Students Who Sat for London Degree Examination[52].

		Entered Withdrew	passed	Failed
Intermediate	Arts	11	4	4
	Science	4	1	7
B.A. General or				
Honours	Arts	3	-	1
B.A. General	Science	6	-	3

Source: London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, *Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939*, 1939, p.80.

These figures show that merely about half of the students who sat for the Intermediate or Final examinations were successful. Taking into consideration that the best students were those who attempted to pass the examinations for the London Degree, and that students usually took Intermediate Examination at the end of their second and not at the end of their first year of study as was the normal practice, showed that the quality of teaching and learning at Raffles College had to be judged very low.

The conclusion was that the standard achieved by average student was much below that necessary for the B.A. or B.Sc. General Degree in the UK. The relatively low proportion of science students seeking the B.Sc. Degree was explained in part by the fact that the courses for the diploma

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[51] *Ibid.* , p.79.
[52] London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939, 1939, p.80.

examination did not correspond with those required for London Degree. This conclusion stands again the level of achievement claimed by Raffles College itself, as its calendar contained the statement: "The standard of instrumentation given in the three years course will aim at reaching that of the London University degree of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. Students should attain an honours standard in their principal subject and a pass standard in their subsidiary subject".[53] While the aim mentioned in the first part of the statement might have been achieved for a small proportion of the students, the second part of the statement was blatantly misleading. By consequence, the prospects for the further development of the institution were grim even in the judgment of the colonial administration of the eve of the Second World War.

> While there is little doubt that the standard attained by the students of the College has improved since the College opened eleven years ago, the considerable evidence presented to us leaves in our minds no doubt that but little further progress can be expected under present conditions. If the subject of the foundation of Raffle College-its eventual establishment as the nucleus of a University-is to be attained, fundamental changes are necessary both in the standard of the knowledge of the students entering upon its courses, as well as in the conduct of the examination held at the end of the courses.[54]

Here the researcher will now consider the diploma examination and its bearing on the furthering of Raffles College as a constituent part of a University and shall begin discussing this subject by emphasizing that it is the McLean Commission's opinion that a Malayan University was not to be established until the academic performance of the students would have become such as to satisfy the requirements of an English examining body. They believed that a student should not desire a degree unless that degree was of a standard equal to that of the universities in the UK.

The Commission suggested one possible method of evolution towards a University of Malaya whereby the students of Raffles College might take the examination for General Degrees of London University. For the time being, the diploma examinations could be held in the same way as they were, so that successful students would leave the College either with a London Degree or with a Raffles College Diploma. Gradually the number of the former would increase at the expense of the latter, and when the majority of the students obtained a degree, Raffles College would have shown itself as worthy of incorporation in a Malayan University, at least from the point of view of examination standards. As a University it would then be granted a Charter and it would award its own degrees and also diplomas,

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[53] Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0025650, *Annual Report of Raffles College, Singapore for the Academic Year – 1937 – 1938, 1938*, pp. 9-15. See also: Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 1957/0279539, *Memorandum by the President, Raffles College, Concerning Proposed Changes in the Curriculum of that College, 1933*, pp.10-15.
[54] London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, *op.cit.*, p.81.

where the latter considered desirable. By this method of evolution, the best students would obtain a London degree, and if they wished to seek a higher degree by post graduate study in a British University, they would receive exemption from the courses corresponding to those which they took for his degree.[55] In other words, British colonial administrators postponed the establishment of a fully fledged university in its Southeast Asian dependencies till they could hope to be certain that this university would operate in complete accordance with British standards. Unless the local elites should readiness to fully adopt the standards of the colonizing state, the colonial administrators ranked them unfit for receiving high-quality education.

Next comes the consideration of the suitability of the curricula of the London University Degree Courses in Arts and Science for students of Malaya. Since the majority of the students of Raffles College were, and would continue to be, students in the Faculty of Arts, the curriculum for the B.A. degree shall be discussed first. Of the list of subjects which may be taken for final examination for this degree, instruction was provided at Raffles College in English, Geography, History, Mathematics and Economics in 1939. If recommendations made later in the report were adopted, Malay and Chinese would also be possible subjects in the future. The Commission held the reduced syllabi for Geography, History, and Mathematics to be suitable for students from Malaya: but refused to comment on those for Malay and Chinese. The Commission confirmed their verdict by pointing out that London University standards for courses in English would inappropriate because they would overcharge students from Malaya:

> This brings us to consider the syllabus for English, a subject which it is essentially should be taken by all students reading for Arts Diploma. The London University curriculum for this subject is, in our opinion unsuitable for the students of Malaya, since it includes Middle English in the intermediate, and Anglo Saxon and Middle English in the final examinations.[56]

Thus, Malayan students were not taken to be in need of instruction about the diachronic dimension of the English language, as no knowledge of historical linguistic was deemed required for schoolteachers in British Malaya. Hence, still in 1939, the old idea was prevailing that higher education institutions in the dependencies should be places for the training of teacher in the practical skills that they were expected to teach to their school pupils. In other words, the goal of studying English language at this level was simply to implant the love and affection of the English culture into the hearts and minds of the Asian population. The end was not only mastering the language but it was also inculcating the

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[55] *Ibid.*, p.82.
[56] *Ibid.*, p.83.

admiration for the English vales and standards. Once the attitudes of these student-teachers were shifted, they would become unconscious preachers of the benefits and supremacy of the British civilization. Thus the Report concluded:

> Clearly the subject of the study of English by the students of the mixed races of Malaya must be that they should acquire in the fullest measure possible an appreciation of the spirit of English life; they can acquire this only by intimate contact with English literature; the ample appreciation of English literature in turn demands an easy mastery of modern English. It must be emphasized here that to the great majority of these Asiatic students English is a foreign tongue and that only a small proportion of them hear English spoken in their own homes.
> The importance of an adequate appreciation of the spirit of English literature and language by these students appears to us overwhelming. For they are to be the teachers in the English schools of Malaya and in their hands lies the important yet difficult task of introducing the English language and spirit of the English people to the youth of the country.[57]

Yet, given its various defects, the College was not even fit to fulfill its limited mission of being a spearhead for implanting the British culture in the Malayan peninsula. Thus, the authors of the Report called for improving its conditions:

> Raffles College which has now been in existence for eleven years, will not progress much further under present conditions and it is now an urgent matter that the provision of means for its advancement should be accelerated.[58]

While the secondary schools of Malaya received the help and the stimulus of an external examining body in the Cambridge University Syndicate, and the College of Medicine benefited by the periodic inspection by a representative of the General Medical Council, the diploma of Raffles College was awarded on the results of an internal examination only. The Commission felt that Raffles College suffered as a result. Thus, it suggested using the system of external examiners in Raffles College in order to improve its quality of education.

> Our conclusion, therefore, is that at the present stage the taking of the London Degree Examination under a modified curriculum might supplement the examination for the diploma awarded under the new system; they could not, in our opinion, replace it, nor provide the same assistance to the progress of the College. The possession of a London B.A. or B. Sc. Degree would, of course, be to the gain of the individual student in the seeking of a post, or in gaining exemption from examination in England, should he wish to pursue post-graduate study; this would, however, affect for a time at least, only a minority and not the majority of students. In contrast, the Examination Broad would provide a sure means of raising the standards of achievement of all the students.

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[57] *Ibid.*, p.83.
[58] *Ibid.*, p.86.

If the many other proposals made in this report are adopted, we believe that within a few years Raffles College will have reached the stage, at which it would merit university status.[59]

The Commission then directed discussion to the more important problem of the means whereby the level of the student achievement on entrance into the College might have been improved and how the "wastage" rate might thereby have been diminished. Earlier it has been pointed out that 48 percent of the students entering Raffles College failed to obtain diplomas. Likewise, more than 40 percent of the students of the Medical College were unsuccessful. While that high "wastage" rate frequently occurred in institutions in the Far East, this was not a desirable state of affairs. Instead, it was taken to be highly desirable to analyze the means whereby the number of students who failed to complete their courses might be decreased.

The entrance requirement for both Raffles College and The School of Medicine was the School Certificate with credit in English and in three other subjects, a requirement which was lower than that for any degree course in a University in Great Britain. This entrance qualification is, however, accepted in the case of medical students seeking the qualification of a conjoint board, and not a University degree.

The student at higher education colleges in Malaya was one year, and possibly two years less mature than the corresponding student in England. This is not a criticism, nor is it surprising. The fact that Asian students very often did not hear English spoken save in their hours at school greatly hinders mastering the language. Even more important than this was the lack of the background to the English education that an English home might have provided, but homes in British Malaya could and often would not.

> The Asiatic understands English spoken by a European less than that spoken by one of his own race, and the student lags too far behind the lecturer; it is likely that anything calculated to change this state of affairs must have important results in improving the standard of achievement of the College as a whole. Further we frequently heard potential employers referring to the poverty of the spoken English of the students of the College, and often we ourselves had difficulty in understanding that of the teachers in the schools.[60]

In their analysis of the reasons for the deterioration of the level of the secondary education in British Malaya, the McLean Commission displayed two main stereotypes. The first was taking pride in the achievements of British colonialism. The second was blaming the victims of colonialism for their low academic achievement. Although, the authors of the Report admitted that teachers focused on drills

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[59] *Ibid.*, p.90.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp.111-112.

aimed at practicing rote memory learning, they blamed the pupils for the alleged necessity to practice this didactical method. The authors of the Report did not admit that pre-university education was under-funded and that many of the teachers instructing in schools were unqualified:

> No one who has seen the secondary schools of Malaya and who has reflected on the great difficulties of the teaching of its mixed races in a tongue which is not their mother tongue, largely by teachers to whom this tongue is also foreign, can fail to be greatly impressed by the success of what has already been achieved; we ourselves wish to pay our tribute to all those who are concerned with the present system. This however, does not preclude us from saying that we gained the impressions that the teacher tends to make his instruction too largely a matter of training the memory rather than developing the mind. He is helped and encouraged to do this by the fact that, speaking generally, the Asiatic pupil has a much greater ability to memories catalogues of facts than has the pupil of Great Britain. We took many opinions on this question, and we left Malaya with a feeling that the result of a written examination was of far less value as a criterion of educational standards than it is in England. All these considerations help to explain the high wastage rate at the Colleges, and they confirm the unanimous opinion of the members of the staffs both of the Medical and of Raffles College that the primary need is an improvement in the standard of the student on admission; in this opinion we concur.[61]

A contemporary critic noted the uselessness of the school curricula for practical life in 1940:

> Many of our students, when they leave school, have only the intention of becoming the servants of others. The children of fishermen, after their schooling, have learnt to write, to read and to count but have not learnt how to make a fishing net….the farmers' children after their schooling have learnt to read and to count but are not able to distinguish between a hoe and a scythe.[62]

On its surface, the observation may read similar to the conceit of British colonial administrators who organized education so as to perpetuate the state of dependence of the populations under their control. However, a closer look at the text reveals the paradox that the colonial administrators were facing. On the one hand, they planned to organize education for the purpose of obstructing the kind of social change that was perceived to counteract British interests. One the other hand, they enforced curricula which, if implemented successfully, would have entailed precisely that undesired social change. While the acquisition of general skills like reading and writing, when placed into the context of education towards autonomy and personhood, might have produced self-reliant persons, apt to take an active role in transforming society, the colonial administrators forced school graduates to take up dependent work in sectors in which the acquired skills

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[61] *Ibid.*, p.93-94.

[62] Utusan Zaman Newspaper: January 1940, in: Seng, Philip Loh Fook, *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874-1940* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.128.

were of limited use. This isolation from the needs of the Malayan society, obstructing the provision of high-quality education at the tertiary level, was not the sole characteristic of the colonial education policy. It was an education incapable of fulfilling the needs of the society and geared in order not to produce the efficient human resources the society needs. This stark reality was in sharp contrast with the colonial propaganda that the wisdom of colonial planners would eventually lead to prosperity and welfare of the colonized Malays. At the Convocation of the University of Malaya on Saturday 13th October 1956 Sir Sydney Caine[63] noted in his address:

> Thanks to the support and inspiration from overseas which have so far sustained and guided it, the University is becoming equipped with fine buildings, a large and well-organized library and excellent laboratories, with a highly qualified staff and a growing tradition of research and respect for learning. It rests with you the graduates, to determine, through your own actions and through your influence on public opinion, whether this University in the future will be worthy of the foundations it has inherited, just as you will have a large share in determining whether this country can make full use of the work of the past in building the free, prosperous and mature Malaya of all our hopes.[64]

The colonial mentality believed in the benevolent role of the British imperialism. According to the colonial administrators, it was the British's inspiration and far-sightedness that led to the establishment of University of Malaya with its superb laboratories and excellent facilities. This naïve belief in the benevolence of the British colonialism and in the idea of progress is in keen-edged contrast of the low quality of education delivered in University of Malaya during the colonial era. Even up to the mid-seventies of the twentieth century the Medical College for example could not offer graduate studies, twenty-three years after the establishment of the University of Malaya and almost seventy years after the establishment of King Edward VII College of Medicine. This shows how low the level of education provided in that institute was.

An important reason for the high dropout rate was the limited number of faculty at Raffles College. The teaching staff of most departments consisted of two members only. When one of them was on leave, his work was carried out by a substitute who was usually a teacher from one of the secondary schools. However excellent a teacher from a secondary school may have been, neither training nor

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[63] Born in 1902; educated at Harrow County School and the London School of Economics; entered Colonial Office in 1926; Financial Secretary, Hong Kong, 1937; Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office, 1944; Deputy Under-Secretary for State, Colonial Office, 1947-48; 3rd Secretary of the Treasury, 1948; Head of the UK Treasury and Supply Delegation, Washington, 1949-1951; Vice-Chancellor, University of Malaya, 1952-1956; Director of London School of Economics, 1957-1967; Chairman, International Institute of Educational Planning, 1963-1970; Chairman of the Governing Body and Member of the Board, University College at Buckingham, 1973-1983; died in 1991.
[64] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *University of Malaya, 1954-1974,* 1975, p. 114. The speech was delivered on Saturday 13th October 1956.

experience could have been adequate for lecturing in diploma courses; further, school teachers could not establish the desirable personal relationships with the students, and the time at their disposal was too short. Moreover, the students themselves were not likely to derive the greatest benefit from lecturer who, to their knowledge, were serving in a temporary capacity only. Under the existing system, students find themselves in the unfortunate position that teaching was interrupted at least in one, and sometimes in two terms, of two of the three years of the course.

In order to raise the level of the achievement of students at Raffles College, the McLean Report suggested that the period of study should be extended by an additional year in the four subjects of English, Mathematics, Biology and one elective subject. They recommended the making of English, Mathematics and Biology compulsory for all students, whether they be proceeding to further studies in the Faculties of Arts, Science or Medicine, as these fields were taken to lay the foundation for broad general knowledge and a more mature outlook towards future work. At the end of this year, the question of whether the student should be admitted to the diploma courses either of the College of Medicine or of Raffles College would need to be decided. For this purpose a special Entrance Examination was to be held, which ought not to test student ability for memorising facts, but to determine intellectual maturity. Success in this examination would largely depend on the intelligence shown by the applicants at interviews with an adequate allowance for previous records.

According to the Report the students who failed to pass this examination would be unable to enter the Colleges; however, in order to raise the quality of teaching, the Commission deemed it wise to recommend that the unsuccessful students should not be allowed to remain in this preliminary course for a second year. They argued that, while failure would be unfortunate, it would be far less so than failure after some years of study at one or the other College; it would be much better for the welfare of the student that the lack of suitability for academic study should be discovered at as early an age as possible. Such students would not have wasted this year, the Commission assumed. The logic was that students considered unfit for higher education were to be eliminated from the educational system as quickly as possible.

The effect of this proposal would be to increase the age of qualification by one year. The Commission proposed that the regulations then in force regarding admission to Raffles College should be adopted as those for admission to the new preliminary course. The best student entering at 17 years would obtain the Diploma at Raffles College at the age of 21; if students then took the course for the teaching diploma, they would complete it at the age of 22. Medical students would enter the Medical

College at the age of 18 and would qualify at the age of 24, which was no higher than the average age of qualification in the UK.

The Commission also suggested that scholarships should be awarded by both Colleges on the results of the School Certificate examination; that awards should be provisional for one year, confirmed only if the results of the examination at the end of the preliminary year were satisfactory. Any provisional scholarship which was forfeited might then be awarded to some other promising students.

It is relevant here to attempt to assess the number of students who were likely to enter Raffles College each year. While this number should not be entirely governed by the number of posts which were likely to be available, this question of the employment of the graduates was to be the main consideration. The Report noted that

> of the 167 men and women graduates of the College who have found employment, 144 have become teachers, and it seems certain that the great majority of the students will for some time ahead enter the teaching profession; it is of importance therefore to attempt to calculate the number of teaching appointments likely to be vacant in the average year. In 1937, 477 Asiatic male teachers were employed in the English Schools of the Straits Settlements, 365 in those of the Federated Malaya States, and 100 in those of the Unfederated States. If the policy of recruiting the teachers for both the middle and secondary departments of these schools from Raffles College be continued, and if the average period of service is 25 years, there are required 38 men teachers a year.[65]

The Report displays that the largest number of graduates entered the teaching profession while assessing the demand in rather low terms. These terms were even lower for female graduates than those for males:

> "The total number of women teachers employed is 426, but about three quarters of these teach in primary schools and are recruited from girls who have received special training in primary methods in normal classes. Many of these women teachers marry and it is probable that their average period of service does not exceed 10 years. If this assumption be correct, there are required 11 women teachers per year".[66]

In addition to the already stated adherence to the conviction that higher education should solely pursue the purpose of teacher training, two further points needed mention concerning the figures of 38 men and 11 women teachers. Firstly they were based on the number of schools existing in 1939 and did not allow for any increase in this number.

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[65] *Ibid.*, pp.101-102.
[66] *Ibid.*, p.102.

It is appropriate here to express the opinion that by far the greatest service which Raffles College can provide for Malaya must be in the production of teachers, for the majority of the students are, and will continue to be, recruits for this vitally important educational service. It must be far more important in Malaya, where Asiatic teachers are to be trained to teach the children of the mixed races of the country in school in which the medium of instruction is English, a matter which we emphasise at various points in this report. It cannot be too strongly urged how great is the responsibility of the College in this respect, for the future history and happiness of country as a whole must lie largely in the provision in its schools of teachers who have received at the College all that can be possibly given to them. Admittedly the problem is a difficult one, but its importance is so great that no pains should be spared to provide for its adequate solution.[67]

It is logical that there had to be a progressive expansion of the number of schools in the future, if education was to be improved in terms of quality and equity, and that the number of teachers required would increase rather than decrease. This increase ought to have been even greater in the girls' schools, since facilities for the education for girls, under considerations of equity, should have expanded more rapidly than those for boys. But not only did the Report fail to demand steps towards the expansion of the education system, it also gave a grim assessment of the employment prospects for the limited number of Raffles graduates beyond the school sector.

With regard to other forms of employment, the position appears less hopeful in the immediate future. Graduates in science from universities in Great Britain are absorbed largely unto industry, into research departments connected either with Government services or with industry, as members of university staffs or as teachers in the schools. In a non-industrial country such as Malaya, it will only infrequently happen that a graduate in science will find employment in industry; possibly very occasionally posts will be available in departments related to the different services, such as the Department of the Government Analysis, of Agriculture or of Forestry; or in the Institute of Medical Research at Kuala Lumpur; further there are no academic opportunities provided by institutes concerned with higher education. It seems to us therefore, that the teaching profession, although other infrequent openings in which he will directly apply his particular knowledge will occasionally occur. The fact that a general training in science provides an excellent background for certain types of administrative post must, however, always be remembered.[68]

Earlier it has been stated that only four students have obtained employment in the world of commerce. It seems likely that in the future the number of students who find employment in this direction will increase, but not until the passage of time could establish confidence in the abilities of the graduates of Raffles College for this type of employment, would the situation change. Given the fact that the British colonial administration did nothing to promote the development of local industries and

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[67] *Ibid.* , p.107.
[68] *Ibid.*, p.104.

markets for locally produced goods, the capacity of the corporate sector for absorbing college graduates was indeed slim.

A further number of students might have been those who entered the College with a view to becoming candidates for the Straits Settlements Civil Service. In addition, employment options might have arisen for those who were sent by the governments under a scheme whereby entrants to the Malaya Administrative Service were required to take the diploma course of Raffles College. Students might also have been sent from the Unfederated Malaya States with the same object in view. It is difficult to assess the number of students entering the College under these two latter categories, but ten in each year may be safe estimate.

Under the given regulations for the entrance of Raffles College, students who were to become teachers, spent in all four years at the College, three of which were taken up by the diploma course and one by the post-graduate education course. On the basis of 38 men and 11 women per year, the total number of students in this category were 152 men and 44 women. The estimated number of ten students a year entering the services mentioned above would account for a further 30 men. In the long-term perspective, these two sources of employment would have brought at least 182 men and 44 women to the College, and the College could have expected therefore to contain 226 students.

If the proposal made regarding the extra year of preliminary study would have been adopted, the number would have increased to 285. In addition there would then have been the increased number of 64 students who entered the Medical College each year, giving a total of 349. These two total 226 and 349 under the two different conditions of entrance represented minimum figures since they were based on employment in two spheres only.

The Education Course was designed to cover the syllabus of the London Teacher's Diploma with training in professional subjects required by the Board of Education for certificated teachers in England, but it included neither the History of Education nor any set books. In the first term, the professor gave 60 lectures on the Principles and on the Psychological Bases of Education. In the second term he gave 20 lectures on General Methods; in this term also were given 12 lectures by practising schoolmasters in the special methods of teaching English, Geography, History, Mathematics and Science; a course of 60 hours in physical training was given by the Supervisor of Physical Training and one of 12 hours on Music by the Master of Music of the Education Department: in addition the students attended for two days a week in the schools. In the third term, students devoted their whole time to practical work in the schools. The examination at the end of the year consisted of two papers of three hours each in the principles of Education and method, an examination of one paper in each of the Special Method and

Professional Subjects, including a practical examination in Physical Training, and an examination in Practical Teaching. Such is a summary of the evidence presented by the Professor of Education.

The Commission also suggested that a short course of the lectures in Hygiene mentioned in the prospectus should be extended to a course in Physiology and Hygiene of one lecture a week throughout the session. While the students took Hygiene as a subject in the School Certificate Examination, the Commission's visits to the schools left them with impression that there would be a great gain to the country as a whole if the teachers of the future made a more serious study of this subject in their Education Course at Raffles College, especially if it were given by the Professor of Physiology from the College of Medicine. The emphasis of the course was to be on the subjects of the relationship of diet to health and of preventive measures against infections, with adequate treatment of the problems of sanitation, ventilation and personal hygiene, particularly in relation to local conditions. The Commission was also of the opinion that there should be an examination in this subject at the end of the course.

In comparison to teaching, the research side was badly neglected at Raffles College, as the McLean Report explicitly admitted:

> Our enquiries from the members of the staff showed that they generally felt that their teaching hours were too extensive to allow sufficient time for research; that the necessary facilities were lacking; that original investigation at Raffles College could be of little value in competition with work carried out at home. It was clear to us that research was not regarded, at least by some of them, as being essential to the welfare of College.
> Modern research of the type which is carried out in the western countries cannot of course be carried out at Raffles College. Such research usually requires extensive library facilities which can never be available in the Far East; work in science frequently needs expensive laboratories, costly apparatus and many assistants, who are often students carrying out post-graduate investigation for higher degrees; only to a limited extent can these requirements be met in Singapore.[69]

The Commission expected that higher education institutions in Southeast Asia could not possibly be developed into research institutions comparable to those existing in Europe. It was consistent, therefore, that the colonial administration made no provision for a library building. When the McLean Commission visited Raffles College for the first time, the books were housed in cases set at right angles to the walls, with reading tables between them, in a gallery nine feet wide which surrounds the hall in the administrative block. On their return some five weeks later, some improvement had been effected, for the books devoted to History, Geography and Education had been moved from the gallery down to the hall itself. The cases containing them and the reading tables have been shut off from the main body of the hall by a wooden screen, which can be removed when the whole hall is required for other purposes.

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[69] *Ibid.*, pp.119-120.

The remainder of the hall served as a lecture room. Apart from the main body of the books thus housed in the gallery and ground floor of the main hall, the libraries of Physics, Mathematics and Chemistry were retained in the departments concerned, which mean that they were less accessible to the student. The Report therefore contained a negative verdict on the prospects for Raffles College to develop into a fully-fledged university. On the one side, the Report recognized the need for higher education:

> If the College is to proceed further and to achieve the aims of its foundation that it should become the nucleus of a University, its work must be further extended. It should do more than impart established facts; it should both contribute to the sum of human knowledge, and provide as complete a cultural background as is possible in country in which the emphasis has far rightly been laid on the provision of training for the various professions.[70]

On the other side, it adduced some lack of "rapid development" seemingly obstructing the extension of the provision of higher education:

> In our travels round the country we became very conscious of a pessimistic attitude among some of the educated Malays, occasioned apparently by the feeling that their people could not hope to keep pace witch the educational demands which the rapid development of the country makes necessary. We believe this attitude to be due in part to the lack of facilities for the study and development of their tongue.[71]

While it was considered impossible for a young institution such as Raffles College to provide facilities for study of the language and literature of all the peoples of Malaya, the Report was of the opinion that in addition to Malay, the time was then opportune for Chinese to be included as a subject in the courses of study. The Commission thus recommended that opportunities for the study of local languages and literatures at Raffles College should be postponed to the more distant future.

The Commission further recommended the establishment of a professorship of Biology and that a woman member be appointed to the staff. It was surprising to find that there was no woman lecturer in a College, which already contained 39 women students, a number which had doubtless steadily increased.

The review of the establishment of higher education institutions in British Malaya has shown that curricula were drawn on British models, not on local needs. It has further revealed that British colonial administrators focused the curricula on teacher training in select fields of study rather than on engineering and industrial and commercial needs. These institutions could only provide low-quality education because the outputs from pre-university schooling institutions had in themselves were of low

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[70] *Ibid.*, pp.133.
[71] *Ibid.*, p.135.

quality. By consequence, the majority of the population in British Malaya remained illiterate under colonial rule. Moreover, as British colonial administrators held discriminating views about the "native" population under their control, they took it for granted that, in their view, there was no need high- quality education. In summary, the social history approach leads to the recognition of the fact that British colonial administrators did not take into account the interests of recipients of education which they provided paternalistically as external agents.

H) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Equity

Enrollment at Raffles College was biased against the rural and female students. The college had the least number of students from the Unfederated Malay States and from female students.

TABLE 3. 2. Students Present in Raffles College from1928 to1938[72].

New Admissions				Total number of students		
Session.	Arts.	Science.	Total	Men.	Women.	Total
1928/29	27	16	43	41	2	43
1929/30	35	17	52	73	9	82
1930/31	46	16	62	118	12	130
1931/32	37	8	45	107	16	123
1932/33	27	4	31	72	30	102
1933/34	35	5	40	65	31	96
1934/35	22	7	29	57	23	80
1935/36	26	12	38	66	19	85
1936/37	46	11	57	86	26	112
1937/38	50	22	72	133	29	162
1938/39	65	35	101	172	39	211

Source: London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, *Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939*, 1939, p.68.

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[72] London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 651 – 9, Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939, 1939, p.68.

Considering first the new admissions, the figures in Table 3.2 show that whereas 43 students were admitted in the opening session (1928/29), this number has arisen to 101 in the present session (1938/39). This considerable and noteworthy increase has however not been the result of the steady growth. After increasing from 43 to 62 in the third year, there followed the years of trade depression until in 1934-35, the number of new admissions had sunk as low as 29. Since that time and possibly in part because of some improvement in material conditions, there was a progressive increase to the present satisfactory number, which is nearly two and half times greater than the initial entry eleven years before. During these eleven years the total number of students admitted has been 570, an average of about 52 per year, and of these, 417 have entered upon courses in Arts and 153 those in Science subjects.

Turning now to the total number of students in attendance, the figures in Table 3.2. show that this has increased from 43 in the first year to 211. The figures naturally reflect the low entries in the period of depression from 1933-36. To the totals recorded had to be added the students of the College of Medicine who spent two thirds of their first year in carrying out their study of Chemistry and Physics at Raffles College; during the previous few years, the average number of these medical students had been 50 per year.

The study of the areas from which the students were drawn is of some importance, for it throws light on the degree to which Raffles College was serving British Malaya as a whole. Initially, of the College's 43 students 15 were drawn from Singapore, 5 from Penang, 2 from Melaka; 7 from Perak, 2 from Selangor, 4 from Negri Sembilan, and 3 from Pahang, while there were no students from the Unfederated Malay States. Gradually the number of States from which students came increased, for there were students from Johore from 1932, and from Kedah and Kelantan also from 1937. Thus in 1939, the 211 students are made up as follows: Singapore 102, Penang 23, Malacca 6; Perak 25, Selangor 23, Negri Sembilan 6, Pahang 5; Johore 14, Kedah 4, Kelantan 2, Sarawak 1, all the states, save Perlis and Trengganu, being represented. Roughly speaking, therefore, in 1939, 60 percent of the students are derived from the Straits Settlements, 30 percent from Federated Malay States and 10 percent from the Unfederated Malay States. It is worthy of note also that not only did the number of States providing students increase since the opening of the College, but in all cases the numbers from any given State increased often substantially. Thus, 7 students came from both Perak and Selangor in 1928, while in 1938, 25 and 23 students respectively were drawn from these two States.

In addition to the unequal distribution of the areas from which students came, their ethnic mix shows significant disparities, as the McLean Report stated:

It is instructive also to study the racial distribution of the students. While there is naturally some variation in this from year to year, there is not sufficient deviation from the general trend as to make it unwise to speak of an average distribution. These average figures for the eleven sessions show that in every hundred students there are 58 Chinese, 22 Indians, 11 Eurasians and 9 Malaya. It is of interest too, to refer to the women students. The figures just recorded which refer to both men and women, include 11 Chinese, 3 Indians and 4 Eurasians women students; it is noteworthy that there are and have been no Malay women students.[73]

These figures showed the hegemony of the Chinese in the educational sector. The figures also clarified the degree of the deprivation that the Malays suffered from during the colonial era. In spite of all rhetoric about protecting Malays, the British educational policies deprived the Malays from pursuing their higher education. 91 percent of the male places in Raffles College were filled by non-Malays. The figures also spotlight the fact that Malay females were the most deprived educationally. One reason for the absence of Malay females in Raffles College is their limited number in Malay and English schools. A second reason was the long distance between their homes and the College in Singapore. If we add to the distance factor, the fact that until 1937, there was no residential hostel for women, it can be easily understood why there was not any Malay female students enrolled in Raffles College. The Report listed the figures:

> Until 1937 there was no hostel for women students, but in that year a house was adapted for this purposes for the joint use of women students from both the College of Medicine and from Raffles College. There is accommodation for 18 women students: at present 7 rooms are occupied by students from Raffles College and 7 by those from the College of Medicine.[74]

The annual charge for residence which included food, laundry and medical attention was $ 300 (£75); in England the corresponding charge, which did not usually include the latter two services, was about $ 640. This cost of residence was also a factor in restricting access to higher education in British Malaya. To provide $ 300 for food and accommodation plus the tuition fees was a big burden that ordinary parents could not afford. It is not surprising that only the rich Chinese and Indian families could send their children to Raffles College and the College of Medicine. The high cost of education was a restricting factor that prevented many students from pursuing their higher education in British Malaya.

Admittedly, there were no major ethnic conflicts during the colonial era because there was a common enemy for all in the British colonial administration, who left no occasion for such confrontation to take place. The fact that latent ethnic frictions were prevented from becoming manifest by the British does not mean that the seeds of conflict were absent or non-evolving.

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[73] *Ibid.*, p.71.
[74] *Ibid.* , p.72.

> The Malay community is at present under-represented at the upper educational levels. These educational differences are due not to the inherent intellectual characteristics of the races but to the operation of economic and social factors. The disabilities under which the Malay community may be labouring at the moment are not permanent, are alike removable and actually shared by members of other races in economic and geographic circumstances similar to their own.[75]

The scrutiny of the history of higher education in British Malaya discloses that access to higher education institutions was limited in numerical terms, with the consequence that only a tiny minority of each age cohort from among the Asian populations in British Malaya could enter the university. Moreover, access to higher education was unequal not merely in terms of ethnic groups, giving preference to people of Chinese origin, but also in terms regional distribution, offering better chances to wealthy people in urban areas. Vice versa, the lack of equity of access entailed the discrimination of rural Malays and poor Indians both in the rubber plantations and in urban areas. The social history of education approach thus leads to the recognition of the fact that higher education in British Malaya added to ethnic and socio-economic divisions among the population in British Malaya.

I) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Social Cohesion

Education is an important block for nation-building and social cohesion. Colonial educational documents confirm the political significance of education with reference to the idea of progress despite the catastrophic consequences of the colonial policies. These documents are laden with the beliefs that problems were there to be solved by the British colonial administrators in Malaya who assumed the self-ascribed task of kicking off a process that was supposed to enlighten ignorant natives. Among others, these ideas were expressed in the following document included in the Carr-Saunders Report of 1948:

> Out of Malaya's sufferings, during enemy occupation and a difficult period of rehabilitation, have come more emphatic realization of the importance of university education, not merely for training students to fill the highest posts, but also for giving them the culture, the qualities of leadership and disinterested public service which are necessary for the progress and the closer integration of her people.[76]

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[75] [75] London, The National Archives, CO 717 – 160 – 9, Higher Education: Publication and Printing of Sir Alexander Carr Saunders Report, 1947, *op.cit.,* p.212.

[76] London, The National Archives, CO 717 – 160 – 9, *Higher Education: Publication and Printing of Sir Alexander Carr Saunders Report, 1947*, 1948, p. 209. The sufferings here refers to the atrocities committed by the Japanese army during it occupation of British Malaya.

Rather than admitting the negative devastating repercussions of the colonial policies, the British used the Japanese occupation as a scapegoat. This evasion from holding responsibility for the creation of a divisive society in Malaya stood in stark contrast against the vain hope of being able to set up a university education that could accomplish to the closer integration of the various ethnicities.

> The immigrant populations are widely but unequally distributed. The different communities differ in religion, tradition, custom and ambition but live under a common administrative, legal and economic system. In the maintenance and improvement of this system all the communities are interested. Hence, the main task of the University is to foster the growth of citizenship by concentration upon problems common to all.[77]

Against these solemn words, the legacy of colonial economic policies created a much harsher real world, in which the indigenous Malay population was numerically eclipsed by Chinese and Indian fellow citizens and collectively formed a "minority" of less than 50 percent of the total population in British Malaya. As a result of the segregationist schooling systems, the gaps between the three main ethnicities were maintained and expanded creating three separated racial ghettos. The Malays were isolated as farmers in the rural areas. The Indians were divided into two classes; the impoverished rural estate workers and the urbanized middle class. The Chinese penetrated every economic activity whether in rural or urban spheres.

The Malays spoke Bahasa Melayu and professed to Islam. The Indians spoke a variety of languages such as Tamil, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu and professed to various religions such as Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism, while the majority of Indian immigrants were Tamil Hindus. The few Tamil Muslims who immigrated later intermarried with Malays and North Indian Muslims. For better or worse, Indians came from a number of different parts of the subcontinent, and did not all speak the same language. In addition to this, they settled in many different localities, often separated from and in isolation from others of their own kind. Even among Tamils, the gulf between Sri Lanka Tamils who acted as overseers and clerks and labour of Tamils from mainland India was vast. This segregation has remained until the present time, and underlies many of the current problems facing the Indian community in Malaysia. The Chinese immigrants almost all came from the provinces of Kwantung and Fukien and they spoke different languages such as Hokkien, Teochew (Chaozhou), Cantonese, Hakka, and Hainanese. Hokkiens came from the Amoy area; the speakers of Teochew from present-day canton

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[77] London, The National Archives, CO 717 – 160 – 9, Higher Education: Publication and Printing of Sir Alexander Carr Saunders Report, 1947, *op.cit.,* p.210.

or Guang Dong area; Cantonese from the area of Canton, Macao and Hong Kong; Hakkas from various parts of Kwangtung province.

One reason for the backwardness of the Malays was the application of negative stereotypes held by the British colonizers. These negative stereotypes were created and maintained, and spread by the colonial administrators. According to the colonial mentality, Malays were lazy by instinct, were not only slothful and unenergetic, but also handicapped by being Muslims. Moreover, according to the colonial assumptions, the basic tenets of Islamic such as reading the Quran (Muslims' Holy Book) were seen as impeding their intellectual capabilities. Thus, no wonder for the colonial bureaucrats that the numbers of Malays who enrolled at higher education institutes were limited. A post-Second World War British assessment of Malay intellectual capabilities cast these views into the diction of racism:

Malay youth is not studious by nature, develops late intellectually speaking, and is moreover badly handicapped from the competitive point of view by the Mohammedan system of religious education. One hour a day of rather exhausting memory work in connection with the Koran appears to be obligatory both for boys and girls. The effect of these factors has been that it has been comparatively rare for Malays to enter either Raffles College or the medical college. The present constitution of the student body at the latter is as follows.[78]

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[78] London, The National Archives, CO 273 – 677 – 6, *Higher Education in Malaya 1945-1946*, 1946, pp.153-154.

TABLE 3.3.

The Ethnicity of the Students Enrolled and Admitted at Medical College in 1946[79].

Nationalities of students		
	In college	Admissions in October 1946
Malays	16	8
Indians	45	21
Chinese	127	56
Eurasians	11	5
Jews	1	-
Total	200	90

Source: London, The National Archives, *CO 273 – 677 – 6, Higher Education in Malaya 1945-1946, 1946,* p.154.

Thus, in 1946, the majority of enrolled students at Raffles College were the Chinese followed by Indians and Eurasians. Malays represented the smallest percentage of students enrolled at Raffles College.

The present students are drawn from the different Malayan groups as follows: S.S. 60%, F.M.S. 30%, U.M.S 10%, and their average racial distribution is: Chinese 58%, Indians 22%, Eurasians 11%, and Malays 9%.[80]

As the Chinese have been the second wealthiest group since the colonial era up till the present, it was logical that their percentage of participation in higher education institutions to be the highest. The first Chinese school was established in Penang in 1819. This early establishment of Chinese vernacular schools in British Malaya had enlightened the local Chinese populations about the importance of education. From the first decade of the twentieth century Chinese schools mushroomed. Their number increased from 564 schools serving 27,476 pupils and employing 1,257 teachers in the year 1924 to become 1,015 schools serving 91,534 pupils and employing 3,985 teachers in the year 1938 according to

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[79] *Ibid.*, p.154.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

one study. Other sources show different figures[81]. The statistics signify the fact that Chinese primary schools outnumbered the other schools, be they Malay, Tamil or English primary schools.

TABLE 3.4.

Number of Schools, Pupils, and Teachers in All Primary Schools in Malaya, 1938[82].

Medium	No. of Schools	Pupils	Teachers
Malay	788	56,904	2,810
English	271	41,917	2,350
Chinese	996	86,147	3,556
Tamil	607	26,271	864

Source: *Ministry of Education* (1968).

According to Ee, Tan Liok a number of reasons were behind the mushrooming of Chinese schools in spite of not receiving any financial support from the British colonial administration. The first factor was the traditional Chinese respect for education and the keen awareness among Chinese immigrants that education was the only means for upward social and economic mobility. Such matrix of positive values attached to education pushed and encouraged many Chinese parents to send their children not only to Chinese schools but also to English schools. The second reason was the wish of the Chinese immigrants to preserve their culture and language. In order to achieve that goal, the Chinese immigrants established their vernacular schools that aimed at transferring to their children their distinctive culture, moral values, and the wisdom of the ancient Chinese sages[83].

Unlike the English language schools which were established by the colonial authority mainly in towns or urban centres, Chinese schools were established in towns as well as in small villages. With such values, economic wealth, and high rates of enrolling at pre-university education, it was natural that the number of Chinese students enrolled at colleges and higher education institutions would be higher than the other two races. Not only did wealthy Chinese parents send their children to domestic colleges

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[81] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience" " in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *The Chinese in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.230-231.

[82] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience" " in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp.231-233.

[83] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience", in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *op.cit.*, p.236.

in British Malaya, but they also continued to dispatch them to study at Hong Kong, British and Australian universities whenever it was possible.

The high achievement of the Chinese in terms of wealth was not only restricted to the colonial era but has continued even after independence. A recent assessment by an economic analyst concluded:

> By 1970, income and sectoral imbalances between Malays and non-Malays had become disproportionately high. Malays formed the majority of the poor, accounting for 74 per cent of all poor households in Peninsular Malaysia. The Malay population was predominantly rural (63.4 per cent compared to the Chinese proportion of 26.1 per cent), while the Chinese formed the majority of the urban population (58.7% per cent compared to the Malay proportion of 27.4 per cent).[84]

As for the Indians, the rich middle and upper middle urbanized groups prospered and could send their children to English schools and to higher education colleges. These wealthy Indians were better educated than Malays. However, their numbers were less than the numbers of Chinese students. The second Indian group consisted of the plantation estate workers. These agricultural labourers were the most destitute, impoverished and low-caste, including what used to be called the untouchable. They were already socialized to be docile, servile and unquestioning of authority, and the colonial plantation capitalized on these attitudes and helped to perpetuate them by various means including education. They were educated up to primary level only in Tamil schools which provided them with no job skills at all. In these Indian schools "there were inadequate teachers and available teachers did not have the necessary qualification or training. Clerks and hospital assistants sometimes became substitute teachers on a part-time basis. Thus, by the year 1937 there were 548 Indian schools with enrolment of 23,350. But the general quality of Indian education was nothing but a shame and a mockery"[85].

Contrary to the impoverished Indian plantation workers and the poor rural Malay farmers, the Chinese prospered and flourished. Their prosperity continued to increase after independence and allowed them to dominate certain sectors of the Malaysian economy:

> In 1970, Chinese economic activities were concentrated in the construction sector (52.8 per cent of fixed assets), followed by transport (43.3 per cent of fixed assets) and commerce (30.4 per cent of fixed assets). In terms of fixed assets in the corporate industrial sector the Chinese share of the total value of fixed assets was only 26.2 per cent compared to the 57.2 per cent share of foreign ownership. Chinese ownership of total acreage in the corporate agricultural sector (mainly rubber and oil palm) was 25.9 per cent, compared to the foreign share of 70.8 per cent. An analysis prepared by MCA

[84] Koon, Heng Pek, "The New Economic Policy and the Chinese Community in Peninsular Malaysia", *The Developing Economics*, vol.35, no.3, September 1997, p.264.

[85] Daniel, Rabindra, "A Socio-Economic Study of the Indians in the Rubber and Oil-Palm Estates of Perak and Selangore" *M.A. Thesis, Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1978), pp. 200-210.

gave a more detailed breakdown of the Chinese role in the urban sector in 1970. In the commercial sector, Chinese firms accounted for 66 per cent of total turnover in wholesale and 81 per cent of retail trade, and employed 62 per cent and 76 per cent of the wholesale and retail workforce respectively. In the manufacturing sector, Chinese firms accounted for 32.5 per cent of total fixed assets, compared to 51 per cent and 0.9 per cent owned by foreign and Malay firms respectively. Chinese firms absorbed 57 per cent of all full-time paid labour, while foreign firms took in 33 per cent of the total. Chinese workers made up 61.3 per cent of the full-time labour, while Malays accounted for 28.7 per cent of the total.[86]

In the light of Chinese economic hegemony, it was natural that the Chinese constituted the most highly educated and economically privileged group. Their economic and educational hegemony continued not only after independence, but also after the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP). It is true that the NEP has lifted many Malays from the pockets of poverty and transformed their lives dramatically. However, the colonial legacies have deeply entrenched the economic as well as educational gains of the Chinese in Malaysian society. A 1997 comparative assessment of educational opportunities stated:

> On average the financial and educational performance of the bumiputera groups is (even now) lower than the performance of the non-bumiputeras. The non-bumiputeras (such as the Chinese and the Indians) continue to be ahead of the Malays on most economic, social and educational indexes and achieve, on average, higher results than bumiputeras in the Malay-based education system.[87]

With sharp economic, educational, linguistic, religious, and racial differences, the seeds of separatism and ethnic friction were sown during the colonial era. The vernacular Indian and Malay education prepared for nothing but the substandard conditions they have always been subjected to during the colonial period. It was an education designed to replicate social segregation and inequality. As for the English pre-university as well tertiary education was designed to create a class that was infatuated with what is British and, more widely conceived, Western. It was an education tailored to inculcate a mentality of dependence. With the divisive instead of integrating education, social animosity was implanted and ethnic polarization was embedded. Accordingly, Solomon's study of bilingual education in Malaysia summed up his own analysis for the 1980s by saying that

> it is clear that the school system that came into being during the British rule was *plural* both racially and linguistically in that by and large the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians attended racially segregated schools using different language media.[88]

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[86] *Ibid.*, pp.267-268.

[87] Gupta, Anthea Fraser, "When Mother-tongue Education is not Preferred", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 18, no.6, 1997, p.502.

[88] Solomon, J.S., *The Development of Bilingual Education in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd, 1988), p.18.

The analysis of higher education in British Malaya thus leads to the result that British colonial educational policies resulted in the segregation of the ethnic groups under British rule. The ethnic segregation has prevented the formation of a public sphere from becoming institutionalized in British Malaya. It will be shown in subsequent chapters that the legacy of segregation has continued until the present day.

J) Conclusion

This chapter aimed at analyzing the educational system in Sultan Idris Training College and Raffles College. The researcher investigated the role of these two institutions in preparing and training teachers in British Malaya. Afterwards, the researcher analyzed the various stereotypes embedded in the mentality of the colonial administrators. The first stereotype is the belief in the superiority of the European and the inferiority of the Asians. The second stereotype was searching for scapegoats to blame for the problems encountered in the colonies. The third stereotype was the false belief in the civilizing mission and the benevolence of the British colonialism. The fourth stereotype was that restricting access to education will reduce unemployment. The fifth stereotype was that British culture was superior and thus had to be maintained and perpetuated.

Then the researcher analyzed teacher training colleges in terms of the three core concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion. In terms of quality, the colleges provided a low-quality education that was alienated from the needs of society. Engineering education was denied to the residents of British Malaya save the rudimentary instruction given at Kuala Lumpur Technical School. In terms of equity, higher education colleges catered for urbanized and rich residents of British Malaya. It was wealthy Chinese and well-off Indians who made the most of these educational institutions. In brief, Raffles College was a Chinese educational enclave. The majority of Malays were marginalized in English pre-university and tertiary education. It is true that Malays represented the majority of students at Sultan Idris Training College. However, this college provided a much lower quality of education than Raffles College. On the one hand, Sultan Idris Training College aimed at preparing teachers who would work at the poorly equipped Malay schools. On the other hand, Raffles College specialized at preparing the teachers who would work at well-equipped and better English schools. Thus, we can say that teacher training colleges during the colonial era did not achieve equity of educational opportunity.

In terms of social cohesion the primary sources are full of sweetly uttered phrases about the benefits of the British colonialism. It was these lip-service phrases which were, at the best, reluctantly

and belatedly half-implemented, that created ethnic frictions, perpetuated inequity of educational opportunities and degraded the quality of education in British Malaya during the colonial era and until the beginning of 1970s. Unfortunately for the country, both the Governor and the colonial authorities dismissed the idea of introducing affirmative action policies to the benefit of rural Malays early after the end of the Second World War. The eventual consequence was that Malaysia had to suffer from fierce ethnic riots in May 1969 in which many lives were lost. Had the colonial administration genuinely applied its nicely uttered phrases, many of the current problems of the contemporary educational systems would have never come to existence. It was these lip-service initiatives which were, at the best, reluctantly and belatedly half-implemented that created ethnic frictions, perpetuated inequity of educational opportunities and degraded the quality of education in British Malaya during the colonial era and until the beginning of 1970s.

The chapter has demonstrated the interconnectedness between education and politics under the conditions of British colonial rule in Malaya. As an external actor, British government authorities, significantly changed the population setup in the Malay Peninsula through forced migration from China and India, established segregating educational institutions, imposed British curricular norms, failed to boost social cohesion and purposefully obstructed the establishment of a public sphere in their dependency. This result confirms that a theory of the public sphere, seeking to be applicable to developing countries, must take into account international political factors such as colonial rule, and must consider the political significance of education.

Chapter IV

Medical Education in British Malaya from 1874 till 1957: King Edward VII College of Medicine

A) Introduction

In Chapter III the researcher explained the evolution and development of the institutions of teacher training in British Malaya. He explained the characteristics of higher education colleges that were responsible for teacher preparation during the colonial era. The researcher gave an analysis of the repercussions of the colonial policies on three main educational core concepts; these are quality, equity and social cohesion. As the higher education institutions were not limited only to teacher training colleges, but also included medical education institutions, thus the investigation of medical education becomes necessary. Therefore, Chapter IV studies the evolution of medical education in British Malaya from 1874 to 1957. As a comprehensive analysis of medical higher education institutions necessitates the deep understanding of the socio-economic milieu of the Malaysian society during the first half of the twentieth century, the first half of chapter four will portray the influence of the various colonial policies on the health and diseases prevalent in the Malaysian peninsula.

Chapter IV begins with an analysis of the traditional Malay and Chinese medicines. That section will be followed by an investigation of the common diseases during the colonial period. As the researcher believes that history should be written from below, in other words, that it is about the life of those who suffered silently, derogatorily worked, harshly exploited and prematurely died, the first part of Chapter IV deals with the sufferings and diseases outside and inside the plantation estates and tin mines, maternal neonatal and post-neonatal diseases and attitudes of the Asian populations towards vaccinations.

In this chapter the researcher will utilize the premises and principles of social history practiced by the *Annales* School. Consequently, the researcher will not write only about the facts, but focus more on analyzing the socio-economic and political contexts in which these facts were shaped. Thus, rather than merely describing the structures of medical education and the curricula that were taught inside King Edward VII College of Medicine, the researcher will focus first on analyzing the common prevalent colonial stereotypes about health in the early twentieth century. As the writer believes that these stereotypes have deeply shaped the goals and priorities of health policies, it becomes necessary to unveil the perception informing these stereotypes and show their consequences. Having so far probed and explained the mentalities of the colonial administrators, the researcher moves forward with analyzing the

medical education offered inside King Edward VII College of Medicine in an attempt to analyze the clash between these mentalities and the attitudes of the victims of colonial rule. During this examination, the researcher will use three core concepts. These core concepts are: quality, equity, and social cohesion.

B) Traditional Malay and Chinese Medicine

There are no Malay writings that express the mindsets of Malay people related to sickness and health during the colonial period. Most of the writings that deal with that period were produced either by colonial administrators or British anthropologists. Such texts were biased and overloaded with hidden values and intrinsic arrogant attitudes that looked down upon the indigenous beliefs and norms. For example, Malay medicine was described as sets of superstitions practiced by illiterate, underdeveloped, ignorant and dirty practitioners who appeared to lack even the most rudimentary amount of medical knowledge. Thus, such wittings should be treated with caution.

The Pawang (Magician) and the Bomoh, sometimes referred to as Bomor (Malay medicine man) used to act the legal medicine man or the village sorcerer in Malaya during the colonial period. The Malay rural population sought the help of Pawang in all the agricultural operations such as sowing, reaping, irrigation works and the clearing of the jungle to prepare it for being planted. In addition to this, the Pawang played important role in beginning the fishing at sea, prospecting for minerals and curing the sick people.

The Bomoh had a high status in his community due to his sagacity and his useful use of the medical remedial herbs and plants. He worked independently and sometimes with his wife in performing the remedial rituals. People usually sought his healing powers at birth and at death, for any accident, injury or sickness. As his occupation was secretive, it is no surprise that one Bomoh did not know the magical remedies used by another Bomoh. A village Bomoh thus was a rural herbalist acquainted with use of local native drugs and the folklore and customs connected with them.

Ordinary Malays believed that "a certain class of these evil spirits, the *hantu penyakit,* caused illness. For example, among others are the *hantu kembong,* that afflicts him with stomache and distension of the abdomen; the *hantu ketumbohan*, that brings on small–pox; the *hantu chika*, that causes severe colic at night time; the *hantu mambang* of jaundice; the *hantu buta* and *hantu pekak* of blindness and deafness. The *hantu uri*, an evil spirit of the after-birth connected with the caul, is held responsible for the gurgle (agah) of an infant during sleep"[1]. According to the mind of the traditional Malay Bomoh,

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[1] Gimlette, J.D., *Malay Poisons and Charms Cures* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971) (1st pub. 1915), p.25.

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the origin of the disease was the fixation of the thought of mankind upon disease coupled with the strength of the imported spirit (external *jinn*) who acted with the jinn that controlled human will.

It was also believed among the Malays that a certain jinn *Rihul'-ahmar* (Red jinn) is responsible for inflicting a number of diseases depending on the place of entering the body of the person. If that jinn *Rihul'-ahmar* entered from the right nostril, then the person would have hemiplegia. If it entered from the left nostril, then the person would have dropsy and would be unable to drink or eat because of pain. If it entered from the anal aperture, then the person would suffer from piles. If it entered from the orifice of the urethra, then the person would suffer from any testicular swelling. If it entered from the eye, then the person would become blind; if by the tongue, he would become dumb; if by the brain, he would become mad[2].

Malay traditional medicine was also influenced by the Neo-Platonic philosophers, knowledge of whose work reached Malaya via the Arabs. Thus, it was not strange to see some Bomoh who referred to the origin of disease as the result of imbalance between the four elements of nature (earth and fire and water and air). In that case the work of the Bomoh was to restore and preserve the balance of power among the four natural properties of heat and cold and dryness and moisture.

The Bomoh used to diagnose and treat sick people. In doing so, he performed main four following therapeutic rites:

> "1. Propitiatory Ceremonies.
> 2. Neutralisatory Ceremonies for destroying the evil principle.
> 3. Expulsory Ceremonies.
> 4. Revivificatory Ceremonies for recalling a sick person's soul".[3]

The Bomoh used to enforce his own style of health quarantine. There were two types of health quarantine as applied by the Bomoh; village quarantine and house quarantine. Village quarantine was established for a period of thirty days, while house quarantine used to last for three days, extendable to five. There was a high financial penalty against those who did not respect the quarantine. The Bomoh used to hang a number of strings loaded with various herbs and leaves and to stretch them by sticks at the entrance of the village or the house. In the case of the eruption of an epidemic like cholera, some offerings and sacrifices were also tied to such strings. Such offerings were supposed to be offered to some spirits who would help the Bomoh in his fighting the bad evil spirits that had incurred that

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[2] *Ibid.*, p.30.

[3] Skeat, Walter, *Malay Magic: Being an Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula* (New York: Benjamin Blom, INC., 1972) (1st pub. 1900), p.410.

epidemic to befall on this miserable village. The fact that health quarantine was enforced by the Bomoh is in sharp contradiction with the common misconception that Malay people used to flee and escape from "an epidemic disease such as cholera or small-pox"[4].

Sacrifices were also performed in order to appease the evil spirits responsible for incurring diseases. In some cases, Kelantan Malays erected by themselves "stems of bamboo (*sakok*) about four feet long, to make homely sacrifice to the spirits of disease. In Kota Bharu; when cholera was prevalent (1920) a *sakok* was quietly and unobtrusively set up in the garden, but such proceedings are not specially sanctioned by the *bomor*. Another lengthy charm deals with ghosts in the form of black jin. It is intended to cure a man of small-pox and is recited by the *bomor* over a draught of water, which is afterwards given to the sick man to drink"[5].

By contrast, Chinese medicine depended on the principle of preserving a balance among the five elements of water, fire, wood, earth and metal[6] and interpreting the twelve signs of Zodiac. Chinese doctors believed that illness was the result of disharmony between the two opposite elements Yin (the moon) and Yang (the sun), combined with the influence of the five elements on the five internal organs (heart, lungs, liver, kidneys and stomach).

There are Chinese herbalists and druggists. A Chinese-type druggist's shop has many jars filled with various liquids, medicine containers, with dark cabinets and numerous drawers arranged round the walls. It also includes various herbs, deer's horns and bones of different animals.

Charms, amulets, and talismans are also used as protection against evil. "An amulet which is frequently worn by young Chinese children in Malaya is a rabbit's foot worn on a string around the neck. This is meant to bring good luck and afford protection against illness. A multi-coloured cap, often worn by young Malayan Chinese children, is believed to give protection against all harmful influences. Some babies wear a small silver chain and padlock around their neck, wrist, or ankle, which are believed to fasten them securely to life out of reach of all devils from the Otherworld"[7].

The colonial administrators and medical officers did not understand the logic and the nature of the traditional Chinese medicine. Therefore, they sometimes portrayed it as nothing but mere mumbo jumbo superstitions. It is true that traditional Chinese medicine has constantly relied upon inductive and

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[4] Gullick, J.M., *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Change*, 2nd edition (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.258.

[5] Gimlette, J.D., *op.cit.*, pp.45-46.

[6] According to Taoist beliefs the five elements are water, fire, wood, earth and metal, while according to Buddhist conception the five elements are water, fire, earth, air and ether.

[7] Comber, Leon, *Chinese Magic and Superstitions in Malaya* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press LTD, 1960), pp.55-56.

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synthetic method; consequently it did not develop any anatomy, and has known no histology or biochemistry. However, what those officials and anthropologists ignored is that it "has evolved organic energetic, a number of interrelated, highly consistent physiological subdisciplines such as orbisiconography and sinarteriology, pharmacodynamics, and even a methodically imperfect yet fairly extensive climatology and immunology called phase energetics"[8]. The contributions of traditional Chinese medicine lie in its development of orbisiconography, that field which describes the interaction of the functional orbs of the organism; of sinarteriology, that field which deals with the interdependence of physiological signs, pathological symptoms, and therapeutic measures perceptible at or applicable to the body surface; and of phase energetics, that field which postulates criteria for determining the influence of cosmic functions on the functions of the organisms.

As British medical officers could not understand the theoretical foundations of the traditional Chinese medicine, it was natural that they did not realize its strengths. These strengths are as follow:

> "1. The diagnosis and treatment of diseases that are manifest essentially through systems- i.e., irregularities of function without as-yet concomitant alterations of the substratum.
> 2. The diagnosis and treatment of so-called chronodemic diseases; a number of diseases which flare up simultaneously over vast territories.
> 3. The early diagnosis and prevention of organic diseases".[9]

Malay Pawang and Bomoh as well as Chinese druggists and acupuncturists were only part of a mere extensive network of healers. Clairvoyants and astrologists gave advice to people concerning many daily activities. They helped families select the blessed days for conducting their weddings and circumcision ceremonies, advised on funerary rites and mourning procedures and protected villages from the astray evil spirits, ghosts and fairies. In addition to all this, they nursed, treated and prayed for the rest and relief of the bodies and the souls of the sick and obsessed people.

C) Common Diseases during the Colonial Period

Preventive medicine and public health enjoyed a secondary rather than a primary importance during the colonial period.

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[8] Porkert, Manfred, "The Intellectual and Social Impulses Behind the Evolution of Traditional Chinese Medicine", in: Leslie, Charles, *Asian Medical Systems: A Comparative Study* (India: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1998), p.65.
[9] *Ibid*., p.67.

C.1) Diseases Outside the Plantation Estates and the Tin Mines

Illness and deaths that occurred during the colonial period were the result of inequities, powerlessness and poverty produced by the colonial structures. The extensiveness of emiseration and poverty among the Malay farmers, the suffering endured those whose bad luck enticed them to work on tin mines and rubber estates and the unhygienic environment in which the crowded dwellers of urban slums lived explain the reasons for the spread of various diseases in British Malaya during that period. A small percentage of deaths were due to homicide and murder and a small proportion of hospital admissions were due to injury and assault. Diarrhoeal disease, acute respiratory infections and sexually transmitted diseases were prevalent in urban areas.

Women working in the brothels were constantly infected with syphilis, gonorrhoea, genital ulcers, and abscesses and were forced to work in spite of these infections. They were vulnerable to cystitis and other urinary tract infections, fungal and bacterial genital and pelvic infections. Despite their recurrent illness and infection, they had to work for long hours and fear hovered over their miserable life. They were routinely beaten by brothel keepers, raped and abused by their clients, threatened and bullied by police and shunned by pious onlookers.

In his telegram, dispatched to the Secretary of State on 16 April, 1924, the Governor of the Straits Settlements recognized the connection between prostitution and the spread of venereal diseases but did not suggest the adoption of radical proposals to prevent venereal diseases. He stated very clearly that "[n]o reasonable person acquainted with the conditions described in the report supposes that brothels can be abolished – any attempt to suppress them could only result in a large increase of far more undesirable practices – and it is therefore, in my opinion, the clear duty of the Government is to control them in such a way that the grave conditions disclosed by the committee's report shall cease to exist. The proposed bill does not provide for the compulsory isolation of infected prostitutes"[10]. The statement made it clear that the colonial government was unwilling to act forcefully against prostitution while merely seeking to license it in order to impose some control. The government displayed little concern for the health of the prostitutes and showed less intention to curtail illegal male sexual behavior.

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[10] London, The National Archives, CO 882-11-4, *Straits Settlements Correspondence (1923-1925) Relating to Social Hygiene in Singapore*, telegram no. 18368, p.275 left side.

C.2) Diseases Inside the Plantation Estates

Death rates among the labourers of plantation estates were very high. "As late as 1911, death rates of estate labourers in the Federated Malay States were 62.9 per thousand. In the less-developed states of Negri Sembilan and Pahang the death rates were as high as 195.6 and 109.5 per thousand, respectively. By 1921, this had been reduced to 18.2 per thousand for the F.M.S. as a whole, but in view of the fact that these rates applied mainly to males of working age, they were still high. It was not until 1929 that births exceeded deaths amongst Indian estate labour"[11]. Many estate managers argued that the high death rates reflected the poor selection of labourers rather than the unhygienic conditions of the estates. Thus, the victims were blamed for their poor physique, low resistance to disease, low care about cleanliness or ordinary sanitary precautions, their preference of alcohol over food and being miser and stinting on food.

The fact that labourers were called "pigs" signifies the value of human life at this time. "The men recruited were badly handled; they were enticed from their homes by fine promises and not infrequently were simply kidnapped; once they left their home towns, being ignorant and illiterate, they were at the mercy of the recruiting agents. The ships which took them from the Chinese ports to Malaya were crowded, and seldom were the migrants given enough food, disease was widespread and medical care was rare; many died on the route before they could even reach their destination. The 'pigs', as these coolie labourers were contemptuously called at that time, were turned over to their employers and put to work immediately after their arrival"[12].

Conditions inside the plantation estates varied but they were very poor on average. The houses in which labourers lived were called "lines". These "lines" were rows of crudely built huts which lacked proper provisions for potable water, sewage system and for cooking and storing food. As these "lines" were not equipped with latrines, adults used to defecate in the neighbouring fields, while children used to do so indiscriminately around the unclean huts. The water of nearby rivers or streams was used for cooking, drinking, bathing and washing clothes.

On the one hand, poor hygiene and sanitation led to high rates of diarrhoeal disease and helminthic infections, particularly ankylostomiasis. On the other hand, poor drainage and sewage systems and the swampy ground led to the proliferation of Anopheles mosquitoes, the vector of malaria.

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[11] Kaur, Amarjit, "Tappers and Weeders. South Indian Plantation Workers in Peninsular Malaysia, 1880-1970", *South Asia*, vol. 21, Special Issue, 1998, pp.73-102. Stenson, Michael, *Class, Race and Colonialism in West Malaysia* (Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1980), p.21.

[12] Jen, Li Dun, *British Malaya: an Economic Analysis* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute for Social Analysis, 1982), p.136. See also: Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0019638, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the State of Labour in Straits Settlements (S.S.) and Protected Native States – 1890, 1890*, pp.4-15.

On some estates, labour conditions were exceptionally harsh and brutality and violence were the norms. Wages were very low and sometimes were withheld in order to prevent absconding and as punishment for uncompleted tasks. Labourers were ill-treated and ill fed. Sick labourers had food costs deducted from their salaries and their referral to hospital was delayed. "Strenuous work, for long hours and at little pay, combined with malnutrition and bad living conditions to raise their particular death rate at unbelievable height"[13].

C.3) Diseases Inside the Tin Mines

While Indian laborers had to work for very low wages with no prospect of getting rich, Chinese laborers in the mines could get higher wages. "Where the tin industry had its immediate scourge of beri-beri, the rubber plantations for years lay under the evil cloud of Malaria which darkened the early history of the rubber industry as more and more land was brought under cultivation. One of the most serious diseases at the time was beri-beri. Between 1883 and 1884 Perak had 22,258 cases of this disease, the highest incidence being in Larut, with a total of 2,917 deaths. The Chinese seemed particularly prone to beri-beri which killed thousands of labourers in the mines from the time tin industry began"[14].

Like their fellow Indian labourers, the Chinese labourers lived in unhealthy overcrowded huts. "With certain exceptions the housing of labourers on mines is not satisfactory, the mining lands harbour many dilapidated and insanitary hovels occupied by squatters; night-soil disposal usually consists of a more or less unsanitary latrine built over an oven ditch, pond or stream; refuse is as often as not dumped in immediate proximity to the communal kongsi huts built for labourers; the floors of these huts are usually of earth and befouled with sputum; the surroundings of the huts and kitchens are ineffectively drained; lastly, the water supply is often ample in quantity but of very doubtful purity"[15]. Thus, Dysentery and tropical fevers were common in the mines and posed a grave problem to health authorities.

One of the most serious problems that negatively influenced the health of Chinese labourers was opium addiction. As a Chinese laborer who is addicted to opium used to spend two thirds of his income on opium, his health deteriorated not merely of the opium consumption but also due to the shortage of the remaining income. The British attitude towards opium consumption ranged from a total lack of constructive effort to the actual encouragement of opium consumption for the purpose of increasing the

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[13] Jen, Li Dun, British Malaya: an Economic Analysis, *op.cit.* , p.125.
[14] Hon-Chan, Chai, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp.201-219.
[15] Jen, Li Dun, British Malaya: an Economic Analysis, *op.cit.* , p.158.

revenues of the government. That attitude was apparent in the refusal of the Governor of Singapore, Sir John Anderson, to help the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce in combating opium consumption. After many requests an Opium Enquiry Commission was established in 1907 and it finished its report in 1909.

The Commission found that "the use of opium had no effect whatsoever in lowering [the working] capacity. Furthermore, according to the Commission, it had no effect on longevity, or on heredity, and was not conducive to insanity. More interesting is the conclusion that instead of increasing crime opium smoking had the good effect of decreasing crime because of the lack of physical energy which opium smoking produced among potential wrongdoers. As to its effects on the Chinese family, the Commission maintained that the destruction of family life as a result of the habit was a very rare occurrence and that consequently opium smoking should not be viewed with alarm on this account"[16]. The report thus encouraged the colonial administration to continue the opium trade and to draw on the revenue from opium sales rather than assisting the Chinese community in combating opium consumption.

C.4) Maternal Neonatal and Post-neonatal Diseases

By contrast, the attitude of the colonial administration towards maternal health underwent some change. Two reasons were the driving forces for the change in the colonial health policies towards mothers and infants. The first was the pragmatic concern of the colonial authorities to maintain the plantation estates and tin mines provided with the labour force necessary for their economic utilization. As the cost of importing adult labourers started to increase, it was cheaper to produce them locally by reducing infant mortality rates. The second was the increasing desire in British Malaya to improve the health services due to the contacts between the colonial doctors and their colleagues in London.

However, the intervention of the colonial authorities was very slow and collided with many of the political economy structures of colonialism. "On some estates as many as 25 per cent of Indian labourers were women; until well into the twentieth century they had no antenatal or other health care; they lived in crowded conditions, often sharing single rooms with other unmarried men as well as their husbands"[17]. Although, Indian women were paid less, they treated in the same way as men in terms of work loads. Their living conditions shaped by anaemia, malaria, malnutrition and bowel diseases

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[16] *Ibid.* , pp.151-152.

[17] Manderson, Lenore, "Shaping Reproduction: Maternity in Early Twentieth-Century Malaya", in: Ram, Kalpana and Jolly, Margaret (eds.), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998), pp.30-31.

negatively influenced their pregnancies and their ultimate infants. The maternity-leave provisions that were given to them further worsened their ailing health conditions. They were given one month leave before and another month after delivery. Due to the poor wages of women and their husbands, pregnant women were forced to work as long as possible and to return to work early after delivery.

Due to the small number of beds and in consequence of cultural traditions, the number of women who delivered inside government hospitals was limited. Government hospitals had no female medical doctors and an inadequate number of women nurses. Thus, pregnant women (especially Malay Muslims) were shy to deliver at the hands of male doctors. Negative perceptions about hospitals as places of death, and not of recovery, made women even more afraid to step inside hospitals. Thus, women resorted to help from traditional midwives (*bidan*).

In Singapore "maternity mortality for women from all backgrounds was around 16 per 1,000 at the turn of the century and still 9.7 per 1,000 in 1931, with death primarily from postpartum haemorrhage and eclampsia, placenta praevia, septicaemia and various fevers; their infants died from prematurity, tetanus and convulsions. In Malaya, they included environmental conditions such as housing and sanitation, the prevalence of endemic diseases such as malaria, maternal and infant nutrition, midwifery training and practice, and child-rearing practice considered to compromise infant health"[18]. The infant mortality rate in Singapore was 343 per 1,000 in the year 1910, while it was 369.1 and 234.1 in Malacca and Penang respectively in 1911[19].

In order to reduce the maternal and infant death rates the colonial authorities started to implement a number of procedures such as: regulating the midwifery practice, home visiting, and establishing infant welfare centers. Measures to bring midwifery practice under the government control took place in Singapore, Malacca, and Penang in 1910, 1912, and 1917 respectively. The training of midwives ranged from six months to three years. However, similar provisions to make the registration of midwives compulsory were not introduced in the Federated and Unfederated Malay States until 1954.

However, a number of reasons reduced the success of these initiatives. First, the number of registered midwives was limited. For example, their number in Penang was fourteen by January 1930[20]. More important were the barriers of class and language. The majority of nurses in the clinics and the health visitors were Europeans who looked down the Asiatic population and had racist misperceptions

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[18] *Ibid.*, pp.33-36.
[19] Manderson, Lenore, "Blame, Responsibility and Remedial Action and the Infant in Early Twentieth Century Malaya", in: Owen, Norman (ed.), *Death and Disease in Southeast Asia: Explorations in Social, Medical and Demographic History* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp.258-261.
[20] *Ibid.*, p.266.

about them. For these European nurses native women had intellectual shortcomings which rendered their training and health education ineffective. Therefore, the reports about the trained and registered midwives (*bidan*) were antipathetic and unfavourable at all.

> The Bidans were so ignorant that they had to be taught again and again the names of the contents of their baskets, such as lotions for baby's eyes, cord dressings, etc., and how to use them […] even after several years of intensive training some of them still need the most careful watching- being prone to slip back into dirty habits and superstitious practices.[21]

In addition to this, the colonial government was systematically reluctant to allocate the sufficient financial resources to fund maternal health programs.

D) Vaccination

Variolation against smallpox was administered since the early nineteenth century in Penang. However, it was not until 1870 that vaccination was provided systematically against smallpox. In spite of the benefits of vaccination, the practice was slow to gain general acceptance. One factor was the stringency of the colonial administration and its refusal to allocate sufficient funds to finance vaccination campaigns. A second factor was the spread of negative attitudes with regards to vaccination among the colonized populations.

Before 1800, local residents used to recourse to variolation at the hands of indigenous variolators. It was not easy to abandon the traditional method of inoculation in order to adopt a new means of vaccination which was in many cases ineffective. Vaccines were imported from Britain by sea. Due to the long journey and the humid weather, vaccines in many occasions lost their efficiency and, thus, became unsuccessful. Batches of lymph were often heat-affected after arrival when left on wharves or in godowns. Vaccination used the traditional and painful method of arm to arm inoculation. In that case all the infected lymph had to be extracted from the vesicles on its arms and then the inflamed base of the vaccine pustules had to be squeezed in order to obtain serum for more vaccinations. That painful process sometimes resulted in severe deep ulcers and in some cases led to fatal complications.

Vaccinations were disliked for additional reasons. Vaccination had to be administered at infants under one year old, unlike variolation which were usually performed when the child was over five years old. It was commonly believed by the Asian population that infants of less that one year were too young

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[21] *Ibid.*, p.266.

to undergo that process. To make things worse, vaccination had a mild reaction contrary to the strong reaction of variolation. This mildness was perceived by the Asians as a sign of the ineffectiveness. Skepticism was increased by the high failure rate from the vaccination as compared to the lifelong immunity acquired through variolation. Another obstacle to administering vaccinations was the fact that it involved exposing girls of post-pubertal age to the touch of a male vaccinator.

One the one hand, vaccination in British Malaya was inhibited by technical difficulties – there were problems of climate for example, and of obtaining sufficient vaccines. On the other hand, the reluctance of the colonial state to make the financial and administrative commitment necessary for effective administering of vaccination campaigns led to the continuity of the unpopularity of vaccination.

E) Common Colonial Stereotypes about Health in British Malaya

Influenced by the general theories of evolution and race, the British administrators believed in the superiority of their political, scientific, industrial, and medical organization. Eventually, such theories molded the British attitudes towards the colonized population and signified them with paternalistic and racists dyes. Thus, sickness was perceived to be the result of ignorance, lack of hygiene and sanitation, the spread of superstitions and the some principled primitiveness of the colonized native peoples.

The colonial authorities used to blame mainly the population of British Malaya and their unhealthy habits for their being sick. In their explanation for the spread of dysentery and diarrhea, they mentioned the contamination of food supply as the chief cause. According to one source, the British authorities did their best by enforcing laws necessitating proper hygienic production and distribution of clean food, while complaining that the laws were not successful in fulfilling their targets because of the alleged ignorance of the Asian population.: "Laws and regulations aimed at securing clean food supplies are in force but no law can obviate all the risks involved in the consumption of foods prepared by people who do not understand what are possible sources of contamination and who would not bother if they did"[22]. Thus, the Asian populations of British Malaya were not only deemed ignorant of the healthy hygienic customs related to food consumption, but they were also held incapable of benefiting from such information, even if they were to be taught.

The colonial administrators also used to blame the population for not receiving treatment from the western hospitals operating in cities and towns. They did not understand the Malay perceptions related to sickness as a trial from God that should be endured with patience and without compliant. In

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[22] *Hygiene and Sanitation in British Malaya* (London: British Empire Exhibition, 1924), p.15.

addition to this, the colonial authorities failed to address the fearings of the Malay Muslim population of being treated at the hands of Christian doctors inside western hospitals which might serve non-Islamic food. There was a common belief among the Malays that western hospitals would serve food made of pork ingredients to the in-patients section. The Chinese laborers who worked in tin mines, and the Indians who worked in the plantation estates were prevented by their masters from being absent from their job in order to seek medical advice. Rather than enforcing laws which make it obligatory for the European owners of tin mines and plantation estates to establish hospitals within a reachable distance, the colonial authorities chose to blame the sick victims for not seeking treatment at western hospitals. The accusation was all too often made that "Asiatics seldom seek advice from a qualified practitioner until they are in advanced stages of disease when recovery is almost hopeless. (Even) early cases leave the hospital against the advice of the Medical Officer to return after an interval with symptoms of advanced disease"[23].

Rather than implementing the Labour Code which necessitates the provision of clean water and the establishment of sufficient and sanitary drainage and sewage arrangements, the colonial administrators used to blame the victim labourers who were deprived from such facilities. They perceived the spread of Ankylostomiasis as something natural due to uncleanliness of the Tamil labourers. "The general disregard of sanitary principles in the practice of defaecation, especially among Tamils who form the bulk of the estate population, would lead one to expect far more trouble from this disease than is actually experienced. Efforts have been made and are being made by the health authorities to prevent the spread of this disease by the proper disposal of night soil but it is difficult to convince either European or Asiatic of the seriousness of Ankylostomiasis when so many are infected and show symptoms"[24]. Thus, it does not matter how much efforts will be exerted by the health authorities, because these Indians defecate in the fields and roads.

F) The Goals of Colonial Health Policies in British Malaya

The major goal and rationale for rural health programs was pragmatic and instrumental. The main goal was to keep the labor force alive so that it could be used for economic exploitation. The medical service was originally developed in cities and towns in order to serve the British officers and other colonial officers and later expanded to cover those who were deemed important for the economic exploitation of

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[23] *Ibid.*, p.16.
[24] *Ibid.*, p.17.

the natural resources of British Malaya. Thus, it is not surprising that the first hospitals were built to serve the needs of the British troops and European settlers. At the same time, those who lived at a far distance from European settlements and those whose sickness were held to be the least likely to negatively influence the economic activities or the health of others and thus were given little or no access to Western medical services.

The introduction of the British medicine was part of the colonizing project that aimed at introducing the Western cultural values to the colonies of the empire. In order to facilitate Western expansion, the colonial powers needed a moral authority. Britain found in Western medicine with its advanced knowledge base, logical theoretical basis and the suitability of its institutions that moral authority.

G) The Priorities of Colonial Health Policies in British Malaya

The priorities of colonial health policies all over the empire were centered on protecting the heath of the whites and securing the colonial economic interests. For example the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine was established in order to discover the suitable means deemed necessary in order to promote the health of the whites in the tropics, so that long-term white settlement areas could be assured. The health of the indigenous population in Australia was ignored till the 1960s. As for Papua New Guinea, the medical initiatives were almost solely aimed at protecting the health of expatriates and the natives employed in European economic projects. Even in South Africa, public health efforts were used to justify the urban segregation of the whites from the non-whites.[25] The segregationist attitudes towards the provision of health care also prevailed in British Malaya.

Although British Malaya was a rich colony, education and health were under- funded. The British sources themselves admit the richness of British Malaya.

> The Government revenues amount to nearly 16 million pounds, the value of the imports from overseas to about 60 million pounds, and the exports to a figure of over 73 million (both being exclusive of bullion and specie). The value of the external trade of Malaya equals about three-fourths of the total of the rest of the Colonial Dependencies put together, and the value of the exports per head of population has exceeded that of any other country in the world. This great material wealth accordingly lends special importance to the urgency and scope for educational progress.[26]

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[25] Macleod, Roy, "Introduction", in: Macleod, Roy and Lewis, Milton, *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.7.

[26] London, The National Archives, CO 882-11-10*, Malaya. The Colonial Education Service. Notes on the Educational Service in Malaya,* June 1938, p.462 left side.

In spite of its richness, the sums spent on education and medical services in Malaya were negligible. If we analyze the items of expenditure in the Straits Settlements in the year 1908, we will reach the same conclusion.[27] What is more striking is that expenditure on the educational and medical sectors did not even appear in the detailed listing. Apart from expenditure on railway construction and other public works, a large amount of revenue was consumed by the military budget. The hegemony of military expenditure over the budget of a country like British Malaya that was not involved in any war of its own during the period from 1895 till 1938 is quite surprising. Even if we look at one state like Kedah, we will observe the same trend. Expenditure on education and medical services declined from 4% of the total expenditure in 1906 to become 3% in 1930. Even in the Unfederated Malay States education received a very insignificant portion of the general expenditures[28].

Consequently, the health initiatives were biased towards favouring the main urban centers, while neglecting the rural areas and the health of women and children. In addition to this, there was an emphasis on epidemic rather than endemic disease, and upon curative rather than preventive medicine.

H) King Edward VII College of Medicine

Moreover, the British Malayan dependencies suffered from a complete lack of higher education in medicine till the early twentieth century. As the dependencies had to rely on immigrants for medical care, the possibilities to provide health care were necessarily limited. The situation began to change slightly when King Edward VII College of Medicine was established in 1906. It awards a diploma in medicine and surgery and that diploma was recognized by the General Medical Council in 1916. The Dental School was founded in 1928.

Male students were admitted at the average age of 19 years and 2 months and female students were admitted at the age of 18 years during the period from 1928 till 1938. The majority of the students in the medical and dental departments were from Chinese and Indian origin that came either from Singapore or Penang and Province Wellesley and studied at their own expense. Yet the number of students admitted and graduated from King Edward VII College of Medicine was insufficient to meet

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[27] Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0025606, Annual Report of the King Edward VII College of Medicine – 1929, 1930, pp.1-13. See also: Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0025607, Annual Report of the King Edward VII College of Medicine – 1931, 1932, pp.1-10. See also: Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0025608, Annual Report of the King Edward VII College of Medicine – 1934, 1935, pp.1-16.
[28] Jen, Li Dun, British Malaya: an Economic Analysis, *op.cit.*, pp.28-32.

the needs of the government service and private practice in British Malaya. The failure ratio was around one third of the total number of admitted students.

Parasitic infestations, bacterial infections and nutritional disorders were of the highest importance in Malaya. According to one report "the study of the disease in the tropics is in its infancy"[29]. But these dreams received little attention in the College curricula, which were based on British, but not on Malayan needs.

Since the publication of Mclean Report in 1939, a proposal was suggested to fuse King Edward VII College of Medicine and Raffles College at Singapore to form a "University College of Malaya" which was to be raised later to the status of a university. However, due to the impacts of the Second World War this proposal was not implemented.

I) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on the Quality of Medical Higher Education

The quality of higher medical education was low due to the low level of education offered in many schools. Tamil schools were badly run, poorly equipped, understaffed and under-funded. The natural result of these low-quality Indian schools was their incapability to prepare Indian students to pursue higher levels of education. Thus, well-off Indian parents opted to send their children to the English-medium schools. On the one hand, the small percentage of rich Indian merchants and professionals who wanted their children to enroll at the operating institutions of higher education sent their children to the English-medium schools which were better equipped and recruited better teachers. On the other hand, Tamil schools with their allegedly "authoritarian climate trained the child to be docile, obedient and compliant. Independent thought was discouraged, and learning was by rote [memory]. Thus, the Indian vernacular school has become an instrument of labourer control in the hands of planters"[30].

As not only Tamil but also other non-English language schools were of a very bad quality, it was logical that the standard of students who graduated from such schools was very low. The outputs of these schools were the inputs of higher education colleges. Consequently, the failure and dropout rates from higher education institutions, including King Edward College VII of Medicine, were high.

> The number of schools equipped with laboratories adequate to teach to the standard of University entrance requirements is limited. Even in these there is an acute shortage of qualified science teachers. Experience over the last few years has shown that less than half the applicants have been

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[29]London, The National Archives, CO 717-160-9, *Higher Education Publication & Printing of Sir Alexander Carr Saunders 1948*, p.221.

[30] Institute of Social Analysis (INSAN), *Sucked Oranges: the Indian Poor in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of social Analysis, 1989), p.31.

judged capable of benefiting from University study, and even among these selected students there has been some wastage. The present distribution of the schools capable of training students to the standard of University entrance leaves several of the States without any such facilities. We should like to see in each of the States at least one school staffed and equipped to teach the scientific subjects at the requisite level.[31]

The fact that in many states not even a single school existed that could provide a high quality of education exposes the exploitative type of the colonial administration. It was an administration that restricted the spread of pre-university as well as university education. Even when the colonial authorities offered education on a very limited scale, it was a low quality and denigrating rather than an enlightening education.

A second reason for this low quality of higher education institutions is the nature of the colonial educational policies themselves. In order to make sure that the Asian populations in the Malaysian peninsula would not rebel, the British administrators "permitted no possibility of a modernized or qualitative education system. The cultural function of colonialism, which evolved from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, was posited on the view that the culture of the Muslims was deficient. Education, as an instrument of moral and material improvement, could not possibly use a deficient culture as its epistemological basis; it had to be rooted in the knowledge and culture that represented the colonizer not the colonized"[32] . Consequently, the curricula in King Edward VII College of Medicine were totally disassociated from the Malay Muslim students' everyday life and milieu. The aim of medical education was not to develop intellectual scholarship nor moral or social values. On the contrary, the goal was to create psychological barriers between the various ethnic groups comprising the society. The aim of medical education was not to develop the character or the mental powers. Rather than this, the end of higher education was to prevent the labourers in rubber plantations and tin mines from dying prematurely before the colonial authorities could make profits from importing these immigrant labourers. The logical result of these circumstances was the low quality of education in King Edward VII College of Medicine.

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[31] London, The National Archives, CO 1022 – 347, *Appointment of A Committee to Consider the Future Needs of University Medical Education in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore 1953*, pp.120-121.

[32] Shuriye, Abdi Omar, "Islamic Education: Issues in History and Approach" in: Baginda, Abdul Razak, *Education in Malaysia: Unifying or Divisive* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Strategic Research Center and Konrad- Adenauer- Foundation, 2003), p.85.

J) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on the Equity of Medical Higher Education

Enrollment in the educational institutions during the colonial era was a reflection of the financial assets that the families possessed. Parents of the lower socio-economic classes used to send their children to vernacular schools. As the Malay and Indian schools were of a very poor quality, many of their pupils tended to drop out and not to reach secondary level. On the other hand, parents who belonged to the upper middle and the upper classes used to send their children to English- medium schools which were better equipped, had newly-built and attractive buildings with better facilities. Another reason for increase of Chinese pupils' numbers in English-medium school is related to geographical location. As the majority of these English-medium were concentrated in the cities and big towns, it was natural that the majority of the pupils would come from the Chinese families.

As the majority of Malays and the Indians were poor, it was logical that their number of enrolled pupils in the English-medium schools were few. If we take into consideration that a high percentage of even those enrolled Malays and Indians used to drop out before finishing their secondary school, we will not be surprised to know that the number of Malay and Indian graduates from English-medium schools were few. As the number of Malay and Indian pupils graduating from the better equipped English-medium schools was limited, the number of Malay and Indian students enrolled at higher education institutions was also limited.

In communities where death ratios were high like the rubber plantation farms and tin mines, it was natural that parents might even abstain from sending their children schools. Morbid diseases and poverty had made the poor segments in British Malaya feel powerless and alienated. In an environment characterized by economic insecurity, the prevalence of many life threatening diseases, and various modes of exploitation, it was natural for impoverished Malay farmers, and the hard core of poor Indians to ignore sending their children to schools.

In addition to this, a high percentage of the Asian population was illiterate. According to a number of studies,[33] illiterate and uneducated parents tend to underestimate the value of education. In

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[33] Swartz, David, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997). Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron; translated from the French by Richard Nice, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 2nd edition (London: Sage in association with Theory, Culture & Society, Dept. of Administrative and Social Studies, Teesside Polytechnic, 1990). Pierre Bourdieu; translated by Richard Nice, *Sociology in Education* (London: Sage, 1993). Pierre Bourdieu; translated by Lauretta C. Clough, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996). Holmes, Jessica, "Measuring the Determinants of School Completion in Pakistan: Analysis of Censoring and Selection Bias", *Economics of Education Review*, vol.22, no.3, June 2003, pp.249-264.

addition this, pupils whose parents have no formal education and hold unskilled jobs leave school prematurely; that is before finishing primary education.

The colonial educational policies restricted access to higher education. Only 37.5%, 29% and 24.8% of those who applied to enroll at King Edward VII College of Medicine in the years 1949/1950, 1950/1951 and 1951/1952 respectively were accepted[34]. This restriction becomes clear when we know that the number of students enrolled at the medical college was ranging from 86 to 114 students in the years 1949/1950 and 1953/1954 respectively. Although, some students had gone overseas to study medicine at the universities of U.K., Hong Kong, and Australia, the colonial authorities did not expand access and admission to medical education. Thus, it was only the elite and the upper class that could send their children to study medicine either in domestic or foreign medical institutions. There was no place for the poor or the pupils who came from rural areas to enroll at King Edward VII College of Medicine. Enrollment at the medical college was based on the wealth and the socio-economic status of the parents. There were no equal opportunities that pupils could make use of even if they were achieving. It was clear that admission to King Edward VII College of Medicine needed obtaining a certain level of pre-university education that was not offered inside poor-quality schools. Thus, only rich people who could send their children to expensive private schools or to the English-medium schools did have real opportunities to proceed with the education of their children. As the tuition fees in King Edward VII College of Medicine was high, it was natural that enrollment in the College would remain monopolized by the rich.

K) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Social Cohesion and Medical Higher Education

The British policies of ethnic exclusivism encouraged segregation rather than integration among Malays, Chinese and Indians. Thus, schools were established by the three ethnicities in addition to the English-medium schools. For the Malays two types of schools were established. The first type was the Quranic religious schools that were established by the Malay religious scholars and preachers. These schools were private and did not receive any financial support from the public purse. The second type was the official public schools which were established by the colonial authority and publicly funded. The language of instruction in both these types was the Malay language. However, education in Malay was

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[34] London, The National Archives, CO 1022 – 347, Appointment of A Committee to Consider the Future Needs of University Medical Education in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore 1953, *op.cit.* , p.35.

taken to be equivalent of education for the poor, with the consequence that Malay children, whose parents wanted them to go for higher education, had to attend English language schools.[35] In doing so, they were forced to receive instruction in a language other than their native one. In these schools, they were taught by non-Malay teachers and were exposed to curricula and textbooks designed for British children and offered nothing of relevance to Malay cultural traditions.

By contrast, Chinese and Indian schools used Chinese and Indian textbooks. The teachers belonged to the same community and were employed by the leaders of each ethnic group in the locality. However, the contents of these curricula had nothing to do with British Malaya, revolving either around China or India. In spite of the attempt of colonial administration to put these schools under the control of the government in 1920, Malaya was not placed at the center of teaching, as the focus of these schools continued to be centered either on China or India. For example, the registered Chinese vernacular schools remained modeled after the educational system in China and the curricula contents continued to be about China without any treating of Malayan history or the people of the peninsular Malaya.

As a consequence, the English-medium schools established under the British administration continued to exist alongside Malay, Chinese, and Indian schools. Although the promulgation of the 1952 Education Ordinance tried to implement a fully public funded national school system, it was not until the passage of the 1961 Education Act that a real attempt to unify the school system in Malaysia. The 1961 Education Act required all secondary schools to use English as the medium of instruction and to adopt the national curricula and examination systems or risk lose the public financial support. Subsequently, Malay language curricula were introduced in English-language primary schools in 1971, English-language secondary schools in 1977 and public universities in 1983. By then, Bahasa Melayu began to operate as the national language for Malaysia to the disadvantage of the Chinese and the Indians[36].

In spite of assimilating the Chinese and Indian vernacular secondary schools into the public educational system in two stages implemented in 1961 and 1977, Chinese and Indian vernacular primary schools were allowed to teach the national curricula in their own respective languages up till now. Through these various types of schools further seeds of separatism were sewn, with fears and suspicions prevailing among the three main ethnicities in the Malaysian peninsula since the colonial era and up to the present. The absence of instruction in a unified medium of learning since the British intervention in

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[35] Glad, Ingrid, An Identity Dilemma: A Comparative Study of Primary Education for Ethnic Chinese in the Context of National Identity and Nation-Building in Malaysia and Singapore *op.cit.,* p.70.

[36] Chiang, Chan Huan, "Racial Polarisation and Room-mate Choices among University Students" in: Kheng, Cheah Boon (ed.), *The Challenge of Ethnicity: Building a Nation in Malaysia* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International Private Limited, 2004), pp.11-37.

Malaya in 1874 till 1961 has created three separate ethnic entities among which communication, affection, love, and trust was limited if not absent in certain periods of time.

Separate media of instruction, separate curricula and separate examinations in the several types of the schools prevented the development of a common core of values among the pupils. The segregation of education also hindered the intermingling of pupils belonging to the different ethnicities and distinct economic classes. Such sharp divisiveness was the bitter fruit of the colonial educational policies, as a research report on education revealed in 2003:

> "In short, the schools became small colonies of their own within the Malay states. The Chinese and Indian communities have guarded these 'colonies' from being influenced by the local environment. This move was in line with the political ambitions of the British who desired to differentiate and separate peoples under their rule as it would make it easier for them to rule and enslave longer".[37]

The report makes it clear that the legacy of British colonialism-enforced segregation lasted far beyond the end of colonial rule, as it proved to be impossible for post-colonial administrators of education to find a path between the Scylla of ethnic diversity and the Charybdis of the forced imposition of Bahasa Melayu as the sole language of communication upon all other languages spoken in Malaysia. The colonial legacy has obstructed the use of education to foster social cohesion in Malaysia.

In order to promote social cohesion through education, it was too late for the three ethnic groups to socialize with each other only at the higher education level. As many of the values and attitudes that a person possesses are developed during the primary and lower secondary levels, the mere existence of the Malay, Chinese, and Indians together inside the lecture halls in King Edward VII College of Medicine after the age of 19 was not enough to rectify the negative perceptions developed during the early levels of education. Consequently, it was not a surprise that King Edward VII College of Medicine, like the other institutions of higher education in British Malaya, failed to bridge the gaps between these divided races. Under the prevailing circumstances students were not exposed to other cultures in the schools and therefore in adult life they found it difficult to mix because they were handicapped by not having previous exposure to other races. It was thus logical that social cohesion was not successfully achieved during the colonial era. Malcolm MacDonald, the British General Commissioner for the Straits Settlements and incoming Chancellor of the University of Malaya, thanking the authorities of the College of Medicine "for their many years of devoted work", claimed on the occasion of the foundation of that university on 8 October 1949 that Malaya's "population has been divided between different racial

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[37] Datuk Mahat, Abdul Rafie, "Untitled" in: Baginda, Abdul Razak, *Education in Malaysia: Unifying or Divisive* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Strategic Research Center and Konrad- Adenauer- Foundation, 2003), p.16.

communities", and that "such unity as existed was maintained largely by a friendly and benevolent outside power"[38]. In making this claim, MacDonald articulated the colonial perspective emphasizing that colonial rule had been beneficial for the population of British Malaya. Neither does the history of the institutions providing higher medical education lend support to this claim nor does the lack of promotion of social cohesion justify the contention that the provision of higher medical education had a positive impact on politics and social relations in British Malaya.

L) Conclusion

This chapter aimed at analyzing the evolution and development of medical higher education during the colonial era in British Malaya. Rather than being a blessing for the health of the population, British colonial health provision was a strong tool for the domination and exploitation of the colonized people outweighing, even negating the medical advantages. The adduced statements warrant the conclusion that, despite the provision of rudimentary medical services, the cost of colonization was too high, as British colonialism had disastrous demographic and social consequences. Rather than as a betterment, colonialism must be seen as a major health hazard for the Asiatic population. Moreover, the research has shown that the "successes" of western medicine in British Malaya, if existent at all, arrived too late in the colonial era to benefit more than just a fraction of the total population. Even the sole, underfunded and low-quality institution providing higher medical education remained inapt to improve the unsatisfactory health care situation in British Malaya, as it produced insufficient numbers of graduates and added to the ethnic segregation of the population.

The spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis, gonorrhea, genital ulcers, and abscesses, cystitis and other urinary tract infections, fungal and bacterial genital and pelvic infections was a bitter part of the British colonial legacy.

Colonial labour recruitment policies had serious negative repercussions both for the workers and for the communities in which they had settled. Crowded and insanitary conditions in mine compounds and on plantations created micro-environments favourable to the spread of disease among the work force, aided by venereal diseases contracted through prostitution and by opium addiction. On an even larger scale, the nature of the colonial economy and the environmental changes brought about under colonialism had far-reaching and everlasting effects on public health. The expansion of irrigation

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[38] London, The National Archive, CO 717-160-7, *Higher Education in Malaya: Foundation of a University*, *1949*, p.57.

canals and the construction of railway embankments created favourable habitats for malaria-carrying mosquitoes in British Malaya.

Beneath the sweet language of medical objectivity, European medical attitudes remained highly subjective reflecting the social and cultural prejudices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cholera, dysentery, and small pox were associated with what European medical officers found to be outlandish and repugnant in Asian religions and rituals. Thus, the European attack on such diseases was a barely disguised assault on Asian religions themselves. The association of diseases like small pox, plague, cholera and malaria with the indigenous population deepened the European suspicions of the indigenous populations as a whole and of those servants and subordinates in particular. Ill health among the Asian populations of British Malaya fostered Europeans' growing sense of their innate racial and physical superiority. Debilitating and incapacitating illness like malaria and dysentery fostered ideas of weakness, indolence and inferiority, and contributed strongly to the development of racial stereotyping by the Europeans.

Ill health, especially the circulation of epidemic diseases among the Asian workers posed a hazard for white employees and their families. High morbidity and mortality rates interfered with the efficiency and productivity of production in mines and estate plantations. In spite of the carelessness of the early British administration to the health of its Asian subjects, there was a growing appreciation of the practical returns of investing in the health of the workforce. Given the critical importance of Asian labour to the realization of wealth from the colonies, some degree of medical intervention was clearly in the colonial interest, providing that it did not consume too much of the profitability of empire and individual enterprise. In an era in which the imperial powers were so anxious to unlock the mineral and agricultural wealth of their "undeveloped estates", the health of the Asian labour was too important to be entirely ignored. But the medical intervention was piecemeal and selective with scant resources concentrated in areas vital to the operation of the colonial economic and administrative system.

In addition, the British colonial administration used medicine as a demonstration of their allegedly benevolent and paternalistic intentions, as a way of winning support from a subject population, of balancing out the coercive features of colonial rule, and of establishing a wider imperial hegemony than could be derived from conquest alone. The operation of medical services under British colonial rule added to the inequality of opportunities among the Asian populations in British Malaya and boosted the evolution of ethnic frictions.

The chapter has elucidated the interconnectedness between education, politics and social relations in British Malaya. As an external actor, the British government used an institution providing

higher medical education to enhance the segregation of the populations under its control. This result confirms once again that no public sphere could come into existence under prevailing British colonial rule.

Chapter V

The Establishment of University of Malaya and Educational Policies in the

Concluding Phase of British Colonial Rule

In Chapter IV the researcher explained and analyzed the traditional Malay and Chinese medicine, and then he explained the influence of the colonial socio-economic structures on the prevalence of diseases in British Malaya. The researcher utilized the principles of the social history as practiced by the *Annales* School in explaining the suffering of the various races in the tin mines, on the plantation estates, in rural and in urban areas. After, elucidating the mentalities and stereotypes of the colonial administrators, the researcher examined the medical education offered in King Edward VII Medical College in term of the three core concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion.

In Chapter V the researcher investigates the establishment of University of Malaya against the background of British colonial educational policies[1]. He will analyze two reports that suggested the establishment of this university; the McLean Report of 1939 and the Carr-Saunders Report of 1947. The researcher will try to explain the mentalities and stereotypes of the colonial administrators as exemplified in the opinions expressed in these two reports. He will also analyze the establishment of University of Malaya in the light of the three main concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion.

A) Introduction

The McLean Report of 1939 called for the establishment of a university in Malaya, but the outbreak of the Second World War delayed the implementation of this recommendation. Both the Colonial Office and the Malayan Government agreed in 1941 on the idea of creating a university college. After the end of the war, there were two opinions. The first opinion called for the establishment of a new commission of enquiry in order to study the feasibility of the project and the reform of higher education.

Based upon the suggestion by the Carr-Saunders Commission that visited British Malaya in 1947, the Federal Legislative Council passed a bill to establish the University of Malaya without waiting for a transitional period to pass. The bill was agreed upon on 31 March, 1949. According to the bill, the university was to have a senate, a council and a court in which all sections of public opinion were to be

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[1] For a general description see Ashby, Eric, Anderson, Mary, *Universities. British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson 1966).

represented. The university was to be financed from public purse and the funds were to be allocated via the Malayan University Grants Committee. That committee was to inform the government of the financial needs of the university every five years. The bill was implemented, and the University College of Malaya opened on 8 October 1949.

The capital cost of the buildings and the recurrent expenditures were estimated to be 3,000,000 Pounds Sterling and 600,000 Pounds Sterling over a period of ten years. From these 3,000,000 Pounds Sterling, the British government donated 1,000,000 as a gift to the newly established university. It was decided that the university would depend on three main sources of finance, namely tuition fees, government grants and the public donations to the University Endowment Fund.

B) Stereotypes of Colonial Administrators: the McLean Report of 1939 and the Carr-Saunders Report of 1947

The two reports display a number of stereotypes about the Malayan people and about the allegedly benevolent role of British colonialism. The first stereotype expressed in McLean Report was the naïve belief in tender-hearted colonial educational policies. These purportedly warm-hearted policies would spread knowledge among the new university students and contribute to the research produced by higher education colleges in British Malaya. According to McLean Report, the University College of Malaya would provide its graduates with the necessary technical education they needed. In addition this, it would also inculcate in them the intellectual independence and the values of citizenship:

> By its teaching it helps its students in the acquisition of knowledge; by its research it adds to knowledge already available; not least of its achievements is, however, the production of men and women who have gained something more than the technical knowledge necessary for their professions, for they should have received education it its real sense – an ability to think for themselves, a potentially mature sense of values and an ample realization of the duties of citizenship.[2]

The British administrators perceived themselves to be on a civilizing mission which they expected to end successfully in the very long term. They did not admit that their purpose for providing higher education was to channel the energies of the colonized population to subordinate roles in the colonial social and economic structures. Within these structures, education was a means for reinforcing subordination. Before the Second World War, they assumed "the backwardness and subservience of

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[2] London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, *Raffles College: Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Malaya 1939*, 1939, pp.183-184.

natives and their political, social and economic inferiority, but after the Second World War a replacement of longstanding concerns for keeping natives and their labour complaint and cheap [took place and led to] the building of new educational systems and responsible elites and citizens attuned to Western values and interests"[3].

The colonial educational policies were thwarting the process of turning British Malaya into an industrialized country. Disregard for and ignorance of industry were not accidental but the results of intended and planned British policy. During the colonial era, the British did not encourage local manufacturing or social transformation based on industrialization. In order to maximize the economic exploitation of the natural resources, the British focused on cultivating cash crops such rubber and excavating mines while ignoring manufacturing. Thus, 85.2 per cent of the British direct investment of 108,000,000 Pounds Sterling in Malaya went into agriculture in 1930, 6.4 per cent into mining and another 7.4 per cent into various other sectors. Manufacturing received no British direct foreign investment. What was true for 1930 remained the case fr the rest of the colonial period[4].

The colonial intentional disregard for and premeditated ignorance of industry in British Malaya was reflected in the refusal of British authorities to establish a faculty of engineering. New markets and raw materials were needed to uphold the British industries. Britain depended on her colonies for raw materials to be used in her factories so that she could produce a growing number of manufactured goods. Britain then hoped to sell the manufactured goods to her colonies. One purpose of the occupation was to extract raw materials to feed the manufacturing industries of Britain, while developing new markets for British manufactures. In particular the focus was on mineral prospecting and on land alienation for commercial farming by British businessmen. The McLean Commission deliberated the issue of higher education in engeneering but concluded

> that the exhaustive evidence which was available to us, led us to decide against the establishment of a Faculty of Engineering at Raffles College at the present time. Our remarks in section 9 of this Report will have included our attitude towards the provision of teaching in the subject of Agriculture. It seems to us that in the condition peculiar to the Agriculture of Malaya, with the predominance of rubber on the one hand and of peasant cultivation of small holdings on the other, there is unlikely for some time to be a need for professional agriculturalists in the sense we know them in Great Britain. It seemed clear to us as we say in Section 125, that the Agricultural College at Serdang and not in Singapore. We feel also that neither in Forestry nor in Veterinary Science there is any justification for attempting to establish schools for the training of professional men for these subjects. While it is somewhat removed from the present discussion, we cannot refrain from expressing our opinion that

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[3] Madeira, Ana Isabel, "Portuguese, French and British Discourses on Colonial Education: Church-State Relations, Schools Expansion and Missionary Competition in Africa, 1890-1930", *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol.41, Nos. 1& 2, February 2005, p.59.

[4] Embong, Abdul Rahman, *State-Led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p.35.

far too little emphasis is being placed on research in these subjects which are of such great importance to the country as a whole. It is true that interesting work which should be of great value is in progress at the agricultural College at Serdang, but so far as our admittedly rather limited enquiries showed, the amount of research in progress on forestry and on veterinary problems was not impressive.[5]

The rejection of the idea of establishing a faculty of engineering at Raffles College was in line with the long-prevailing British policy of using its dependencies n Southeast Asia exclusively for the production of cash crops and the mining of minerals. In order to ensure these flow of raw materials that Britain needed to fuel her industrial base, British manufacturers attempted to control all aspects of production of manufactured goods. In order to achieve that target domestic industrialization was discouraged and engineering education was distressed. Not only did McLean Report refuse to recommend the establishment of a faculty of engineering at the newly suggested university college, but it also declined to propose erecting a faculty of agriculture. As the colonial economic policies encouraged the cultivation of cash crops such as rubber, the McLean Report saw no need for a faculty of agriculture. The reason was that, in the mind of British colonial administrators, the Asian populations in Malaya were mainly considered as manual workers in the plantations and the mines and were thus not supposed to develop the skills necessary for the operation of the plantations and the mines on their own, let alone to develop new crops and new production techniques. Some passages of the report clearly embody attitudes of racial superiority as the Commission denied that British Malaya needed trained agricultural specialists in the same way as Britain needed them. The report continued this attitude of looking down upon the colonized country by saying that it does not need specialists in forestry or veterinary sciences either. That paternalism according to which British planners knew everything and that they are working in the best interests of the colonized population was a typical stereotype prevalent at that time. As the British educationalists were considered to know the interests of the Asian populations better than the Asian populations themselves, the latter were expected to accept and implement the golden bits of advice offered to them. Thus, a faculty of engineering and a faculty of agriculture were not established until 1955 and 1962 respectively. Once established, the Faculty of Agriculture did not offer any degrees in forestry or veterinary sciences till 1973. These facts show the nature of the exploitative colonial policies that focused on quick profits accumulated from planting rubber trees rather than developing agricultural sciences. Ironically, the same passage laments the absence of impressive research in agricultural sciences in British Malaya in 1939.

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[5] London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, *op.cit.*, pp. 197-198.

Although the writers of McLean Report were upset by the low quality of the amount of research in progress on forestry and on veterinary problems, they did not recommend the establishment of a faculty of agriculture. At the same time, they stressed the urgency of conducting research that handled the pressing needs and the acute problems of the country. But this research, in their view, was to be carried out by British scientists alone. Instead of proposing modalities for the training of researchers from the Asian populations, McLean Commission simply lamented the absence of genuine research activities:

> Routine investigations and inspections can rarely be classed as research save in a narrow sense, and we wish to record our opinion that much greater emphasis should be placed on research on problems of immediate interest to the country.[6]

The writers of McLean Report gave a number of reasons for not establishing a faculty of engineering. They cited the limited demand for mechanical and electrical engineers in British Malaya, lack of places suitable for providing practical work training and experience, and the expensive costs of establishing an efficient faculty of engineering.

> It early became clear to us that in a non-industrial country such as Malaya, the demand for Asiatic mechanical or electrical engineers is and for some time will remain limited to those essential for maintenance. The evidence convinced us that the numbers required would not be such as to justify the provision of facilities for training to professional standard in these subjects. Apart from this decisive factor, it was also apparent that any facilities for training in these two branches of engineering which might be provided in Malaya would be defective in that the essential works experience could not be adequately obtained. We concluded therefore that the training of such electrical and mechanical engineers as might be required should be carried out in England. With regard to civil engineering the position appeared different in two respects; firstly it appeared to us that Malaya could absorb a very limited number of Asiatic civil engineers each year, and secondly the difficulties which exist regarding the practical training in mechanical and electrical engineering could be overcome in the case of civil engineering. On the other hand, the very small number of civil engineers involved, is insufficient to justify the large capital and current expenditure necessary for the establishment of an efficient school of Engineering. We concluded therefore that at the present time a Faculty of Engineering at Raffles College should not be established.[7]

Instead of proposing to train engineers locally, the Commission suggested the continuation of the practice of sending Asian students to study at British universities under the pretext of the lack of suitable training facilities in British Malaya. The logic was circular: Because the British colonial administrators had failed to establish faculties for higher technical education, there were no institutions for that purpose, and because there were no institutions for higher technical education, no such education

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[6] London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, *op.cit.*, p.198.
[7] London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, *op.cit.*, pp.208-209.

could take place. What the writers of the report did not say was that this continuity of the practice of learning overseas served a number of purposes. First, it perpetuated the dependent Malayan mentality that is infatuated by the West and that has an inferiority complex towards the British. It was logical that those students who got educated in British educational institutes would develop intimate feelings towards the British culture and values. They would have Malayan names and perhaps dress in Malayan style, but assimilate the British values and internalize the British culture and modes of thinking. With this transformation happening unconsciously, an indigenous, British-affiliated colonial elite would be produced that could perpetuate British interests, should at some future day independence have to be granted. Second, the study of people from the dependencies presented a source of income for British universities. Third, sending people abroad for study posed a threshold that could help limit access to higher engineering education. With these goals accomplished, British Malaya could continue to operate as a source of cheap raw materials fueling the British industrial base and as a consuming market for completely-manufactured British goods.

Full-time instruction in engineering was provided in one institution only, the Technical School at Kuala Lumpur, a school with a chequered history. It opened in 1904, and due to lack of a suitable staff and equipment consequent on war conditions, it was closed in 1915; it was reopened in 1926. Its original object was the training of government apprentices, boys sent to it by the different government departments for training; in 1926 there were, for instance, separate schools for boys from the Public Works, the Posts and Telegraphs and Electrical Department; these schools were amalgamated in 1931 to form the present polytechnic school. Before 1931 apprentices from government departments only were admitted, and with a few exceptions these apprentices came from the Federated Malaya States. While the School mainly served the government departments, particularly those of the Federated Malay States, it contained boys from all states save Perlis, and of the 157 students 33 were private students[8].

The school had a number of shortcomings. In the first place the old secondary school building which housed the school was ill-suited to the needs of a technical school. For the subject of engineering, laboratories and equipment for practical instruction were essential, but the school was greatly lacking in these facilities and much of the teaching was theoretical. Rather than establish a number of these technical schools in the various big cities, the report suggested renovating the old technical school at

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[8] Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0014409, *Straits Settlements (S.S.), Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year – 1933,* 1934, p.31. Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0014410, *Annual Report on the Education in the Straits Settlements (S.S.), Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year – 1938,* 1939, p.69-70. Kuala Lumpur, Archib Negara Malaysia, 2006/0008072, *Federation of Malaya Annual Report-1951*, 1952, p.146. London, The National Archives, CO 273-651-9, *op.cit.*, pp. 210-211.

Kuala Lumpur. The newly built technical school could accommodate 300 students and included a hostel for 200 of them as well as quarters for the staff. The Report refused establishing technical schools in Penang or Singapore.

Beyond the fields of engineering and agriculture, the Mclean Report suggested the gradualist approach in expanding the existing institutes of higher education in order to become later on a full-fledged university. The Report suggested the amalgamation of Raffles College and King Edward VII College of Medicine with their departments into a university college. After ten years from the amalgamation of the two colleges, a fully-fledged university was to be finally established. The reason behind this gradualist approach was the lack of financial resources that the colonial authorities were willing to allocate to higher education in British Malaya.

In opposition to the McLean Report of 1939, which had portrayed a rosy and unrealistic picture of the educational conditions in British Malaya, the Carr-Saunders Report of 1947 hinted indirectly to some of the shortcomings of the colonial educational policies. It is true that such hints were soft and did not rise up to the level of razor-sharp or prickly criticism. However, it was written by an experienced university administrator and represented a minor shift in the style of British educational advising. The Carr-Saunders Report dealt with the four issues of access, quality, equity, and relevance to the demographic needs of the population in a way that is slightly different the pervious educational report.

> In terms of access to higher education institutions, the Report deplored the incapability of the secondary education schools to prepare sufficient numbers of qualified pupils who could enroll in higher education institutions. In order to explain this incapability, the author showed that secondary schools only produced 1,600 pupils annually who had the qualification for studying at Raffles College or King Edward VII College of Medicine. The authors of the Report exclaimed about the sufficiency of this limited number of secondary school graduates to furnish the needs of the Malayan society comprised of six million persons. In addition, he explained that the number of secondary school pupils in British Malaya should have been 85,000 pupils instead of 20,000. In 1929, the schools produced only 66 pupils who had passed the School Certificate examination on the subjects required for entry to the College of Medicine and very few had Grade I Certificate. In 1941, of 1600 successful candidates 400 were awarded Grade I Certificates. The experience of Raffles College has been similar. But a yearly output of 1,600 successful School Certificate candidates forms all too narrow a field from which to supply the professional and technical demands of a population of some six millions. The university entrant needs a period of higher schooling between School Certificate and the start of his degree course. We thus attach importance of the first order to increasing the number of those who are to be competent by the age of 17 or earlier to undertake "sixth form" work. Educationists usually assume that 15 to 20 per cent of children have aptitude for this type of education, so there should be in Malaya at least 85,000 children potentially available for post-primary classes in the English schools, but there are only about 20,000 in these classes. The figures suggest that some three-quarters of the abler children either are not drawn into the school system at

all or drop out of it before they reach Standard V. Hence the University would draw upon only a relatively small proportion of those who could profit by a university course.[9]

This minute number of 20,000, in comparison of what it should have been, shows clearly that the colonial educational policies were restrictive of access to all educational levels. Along with these restrictive policies, the quality of education provided was not high. In addition, Carr-Saunders again addressed the problem of high dropout rates.

While the Carr-Saunders Report admitted the lack of equity in providing educational opportunities, it offered rather naïve solutions to this problem. The author conceded that the educational system was biased in favour of males, wealthy people and urban dwellers at the expense of females, poor people and rural dwellers. Nevertheless, he upheld the optimism of the McLean Report in expecting that counterbalancing these long-lasting deficiencies could easily be achieved. Furthermore, he accepted that one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of female education in British Malaya was its under-funding. However, rather than admitting the responsibility of the British colonial administrators in this respect, he simply postulated rather than proved that the expansion of the female education was easy and could be done quickly. This baseless and immature belief in the rose-coloured possibility of overcoming the inequitable opportunities for benefiting from educational services is well expressed in the following quote:

> We wish to emphasize the identity of the academic interest of all racial groups at every stage of the process of education.
> Steps should be taken to correct the three deficiencies in the post-primary schools, i.e. the predominance of:-
> (1) boys over girls,
> (2) children from urban families over those from rural families.
> (3) children whose parents are above a certain income level over children whose parents are below it.
> If this is done the problem of racial balance will solve itself by according to each racial group representation commensurate with the amount of intellectual ability it can put into the pool. The main factor retarding the spread of education to-day among girls in general and Malay girls in particular is not parental hesitancy, but the material difficulty of building and staffing more schools. On broad social grounds, the case for a rapid expansion of post-primary classes for girls seems particularly cogent.[10]

The author clearly explained the limited educational opportunities available for the Malays, specifically Malay women, and the residents of the impoverished rural areas. In spite of his knowledge, Carr-Saunders failed to admit the responsibility of the colonial policies in creating this imbalanced educational system. He did not explain why the urban areas were favoured in terms of educational

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[9] London, The National Archives, CO 717-160-9, *Higher Education: Publication and Printing of Sir Alexander Carr Saunders Report 1947*, 1948, p.211.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp.212-213.

opportunities, clearly admitted the divisions between the cities and villages in respect of the availability of educational opportunities, but went no further:

> The chance of post-primary schooling is at least thirteen times greater for a Chinese living in Penang than for a Chinese living in kelantan; and the chance for a Malay in Penang at least twenty-one times greater than for a Malay in Kelantan. There may be some grounds for the view that it is undesirable for boys, and still more for girls, to come from the country to town to attend school, but an educational split between town and country is socially regrettable and the rural reserves of intelligence must be tapped if the best brains are to reach the University.[11]

This stereotype consisted in the refusal to admit the real deep causes of the pressing educational problems. The British planners and experts systematically refused to admit their responsibility for creating many of the problems that struck their colonies. They lacked the sense of guilt for causing many political, social, economic, demographic and educational crises in their colonies.

Surprisingly, while the Report called for offering scholarships and assisted maintenance for the pupils of pre-university education, it also demanded increasing tuition fees for higher education institutions. While the Report admitted the importance of offering scholarships, it did not criticize the colonial policies that were responsible for impoverishing the rural farmers and the labourers in the plantations. The Report stayed far away from explaining the reasons for the lack of equity:

> The provision for free places and scholarships is not enough to fetch all able children in into school and keep them there. Free or assisted maintenance will also be necessary. Such assistance is a prerequisite of a high social dividend on the material and mental capital locked up in the founding of a university.[12]

> Tuition fees in the two Colleges amounted only to 11.8% of the income. We recommend that they should be raised to a point where they cover at least 20% of the income of the University. Some students could easily pay these fees.[13]

These two contradicting statements about the importance of offering scholarships and assisted maintenance to the pupils of pre-university education while asking higher education students to pay more tuition fees show that the colonial planners were not sincere in their efforts to expand higher education in British Malaya.

One good point of the Carr-Saunders Report was its admittance of the low quality of pre-university education. It criticized the lack of preparedness of secondary school graduates, their inappropriateness for study at the higher education level and the high dropout rates. The Report also

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[11] *Ibid.*, p.213.

[12] *Ibid.*, p.213.

[13] *Ibid.*, p.228.

criticized the practice of learning by heart, rote memory and spoon-feeding. With the standards of contemporary pedagogy, this was an advanced critique. The Report also called for the synthesizing of theoretical knowledge with practical training. The authors of the Report called for a two-year theoretical learning to be followed by a six-month practical training:

> Many students now enter the Colleges insufficiently advanced alike in academic attainments and in personal development. Student wastage is still high by European standards. The School Certificate Examination is insufficient as a basis of admittance to the University. In Malaya the need is for a higher liberal course aiming at the mastery of principles rather than the mere assimilation of factual knowledge. Its duration should be two years, followed by six months devoted to some form of public service. It should cater also for the needs of those not proceeding to the University and should wean the student from dependence upon intellectual spoon-feeding. Is should lead to a School Leaving Certificate planned to meet the requirements of University entrance and also of various professional and technical bodies and of employers.[14]

Even though the recommendations were good, they did not take into consideration the unity of knowledge principle. Rather than calling for mixing theoretical information with practical apprentice to be included simultaneously in the curriculum of the same subject, it separated the time of learning from the time of practice. This was a shortage of the Report. However, we should take into consideration that this was the prevalent assumption at this time.

A further point in the Carr-Saunders Report was that it went beyond earlier recommendations and called for the establishment of a department for the study of Malay language and literature, a department for Chinese language and literature, and a Senior Lectureship or Lectureship in Tamil Studies, which was to cover Dravidian culture and South Indian history as well.

C) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Quality

Higher education in the University of Malaya suffered from the same problems that pre-university education. It was an education of low quality. This low quality was embodied in a number of features. Most significant among them was the irrelevance of education to life and needs of the people to be educated. A gap between the structure of the curricula and the demands of society emerged.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p.213.

Besides the irrelevance of the curricula to the needs of Malayan society, higher education focused on producing the majority of graduates in the humanities and social sciences. There was an "enthusiasm of many students for the humanities and social sciences and, in particular, a keen demand for places to read politics, sociology and anthropology"[15]. This over-production of graduates in the humanities and social sciences was accompanied by the recognized "manpower shortages particularly in agriculture, medicine, managerial skills, engineering and technician services"[16]. It is reasonable to suspect that the focus on the humanities and social sciences, together with the lack of support for the science and engineering fields, was the result of the underfunding of university institutes.

This bad quality of the pre-university education pupils meant that even the few persons who could enroll at the university level and finish their tertiary education were also of low academic level. This low quality in higher education institutions continued even after independence. The shortage in qualified and educated manpower was not only confined to the fields of engineering, medicine, and agriculture, but it was also including geology. This fact was emphasized by Professor J. Sutton who visited Malaysian in 1967 and reported about his visit to the Ministry of Overseas Development.

> "In recent years the Geological Survey has sent twenty-eight geologists overseas for European training, but sixteen of these have failed to reach the standard required by the Geological Survey, and this high wastage rate is partly responsible for the present shortage of trained geologists".[17]

With irrelevance of the curricula and research to the needs of the Malayan society and limited resources available for funding, "it is not surprising so far, with a few exceptions, the research output has been modest"[18].

D) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Equity

In addition to the underfunding and the low quality of education provided in higher education institutions, systematic restrictive policies for hindering and limiting the enrolment in these institutes were implemented during the colonial era. Colonial administrators looked at what they called over-education as an evil that was to be avoided. For them, educating around five hundred students at higher education colleges was an evil over-education that should be bypassed.

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[15] *Ibid.* , p.23.

[16] *Ibid.* , p.45.

[17] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit.,* p.80.

[18] *Ibid.* , p.4.

> We have to avoid the mistakes committed in other parts of the world. History has taught us that under-education is not so serious an evil to a country as over-education…The result of such education is encouraging false hopes in youths, giving them ideas beyond their situation in life and creating dissatisfied aspirants to Government positions.[19]

If such shocking phrases had been uttered by a British colonial administrator, it could be understood why they had been said, but the fact that these sentences were said by Sir Chulan Ibni Abdullah, a Malay member of the Raffles College council from 1928 to 1932 shows the far-reaching extent of the brain-washing process that the British had exercised over the mentalities of the colonized Malays. For Sir Chulan Ibni Abdullah, education would encourage the ordinary people to think of changing their social status in this life and consequently will mislead them to try to aspire for better life, which was unacceptable according to him. What he did not say was that the colonial policies were aimed at restricting access to education in order to keep the population dependent. The colonial authorities believed that illiterate and ignorant people are easily controlled and governed. If less education meant a longer period of colonialism and exploitation of the natural resources of British Malaya, then the educational policies should limit and prohibit access to higher education.

The poor rural Malay farming community and impoverished Indian labourers in the plantation estates were the most discriminated against in pre-university as well as tertiary education during the colonial period. One reason for the educational deprivation of the Malays was the continuing force of negative British stereotypes towards the Malays, who were perceived as lazy and careless. That negative presumption was expressed by many colonial administrators, for example by Frank Swettenham[20], Governor and High Commissioner:

> The Malays who show themselves able to wield authority with justice and intelligence are unfortunately all too rare […] the Malays have in all this been great gainers, and I only regret that their national characteristics make it difficult, though not impossible, for them to take full advantage of the opportunities which now come begging to their doors.[21]

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[19] Seng, Philip Loh Fook, *op.cit.,* p.118.

[20] He was Deputy Commissioner with the Perak Expedition from 175 to 1876. He was the British Resident of Selangor in 1882 and of Perak from 1889 to 1895. He became the Resident-General of the Federated Malay States from 1896 to 1901. He was appointed as Governor of the Federated Malay States and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements from 1901 to 1904.

[21] Seng, Philip Loh Fook, *op.cit.,* pp.20-21. Such opinions were expressed by Frank Swettenham in a letter to W.H. Treacher, the Resident General, in 1903. These opinions were also repeated by Frank Swettenham at the Rulers' Conference held in Perak in 1903.

Thus, according to Swettenham, Malays have mental and physical defects that appear to be due to some seemingly unchangeable genetic and racial characteristics. Moreover, but it was the mistake of these allegedly lazy Malays that they were unable to avail themselves of the golden opportunities that were knocking at their doors. That attitude of blaming the victims for their suffering that resulted from the colonial policies was one the main characteristics of the colonial administration. The colonial policies marginalized the Malays not only in higher education but also in pre-university education, as the following table shows:

TABLE 5.1.Total Enrolment in English Schools, F.M.S. (By PERCENTAGE)[22].

Year	Total Number	% of Malays	% of Chinese	% of Indians	% of Europeans & Eurasians	% of Other Races
1919	8,456	9	48	30	10	3
1924	12,806	18	48	24	7	3
1927	16,283	18	49	25	6	2
1930	17,997	16	49	27	6	2
1933	16,417	17	49	27	6	1
1937	17,161	15	50	28	6	1

Source: *Annual Reports on Education. Federated Malay States 1919 to 1937.*

The fact that the ratio of Malays enrolled in English language schools, thus qualifying for higher education, did not exceed 15% explains why the number of Malay students enrolled at higher education institutes was the least in comparison with the Chinese and Indians, even though Malays made up the majority of the population. Thus, while the rich Chinese and Indians could enroll their children enrolled in English language schools which lead to university education, the poor Malays and the needy Indians have no choice but to send their children to the badly equipped and end terminal Malay or Tamil schools. Consequently, there was not a single Malay secondary school until 1957.

Similarly, the Tamil primary schools "were the smallest and the poorest in the whole education system. And within the community, those who attended the vernacular schools tended to be the poorer sections"[23].

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[22] *Ibid.*, p.106.

[23] Santhiram, R., *Education of Minorities: The Case of Indians in Malaysia* (Selangor: Child Information, Learning and Development Center), p.50.

These colonial policies, which restricted the number of Malay and Indian students capable of enrolling at higher education institutions during the colonial era, entailed a situation in which there were few qualified Malay and Indian cadres. Thus, the Malays were imprisoned in a vicious circle of poverty. With no higher education, rural Malays had no option but to continue as farmers like their parents. With no higher education, no prestigious jobs, the Malays had limited income and this limited income further restricted their opportunities of access to higher education. Consequently, it is not surprising that by January 1972, 15 years after independence and under the auspices of affirmative action policies enforced to the benefit of the Bumiputeras, "of the 840 academic posts, only 65% were filled"[24] in the University of Malaya[25].

In addition to the marginalizing educational policies, the colonial administration pursued economic policies which further segregated the Malays from profitable professions and jobs[26]. Thus, up to its end in 1957, British administration pursued economic policies which were in favour firstly of British businessmen and secondly Chinese middlemen. Malays were isolated in the subsistence rice-agriculture sector, while the profitable sectors of corporate capital and mining were monopolized by Europeans in most cases and occasionally by wealthy Chinese. With the concentration of small agricultural holdings in Malay hands, their holdings were fragmented by the passage of time and, as they provided insufficient support for livelihood, they were transferred to the ownership of the few richer farmers and the non-agricultural landlords. The transfer of land ownership perpetuated the cycle of poverty in which rural Malays lived during and beyond colonial rule[27].

Colonial British educational and economic policies have created and increased the inequality of income and resulting social status within the three ethnic groups in Malaysia. These policies obstructed Malay participation in the modem sectors and high-status employment. They also divided the professions along ethnic lines. Thus, it was not surprising that the number of Chinese enrolled at university education level exceeded by far that of Malays and to a lesser extent that of Indians[28].

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[24] *Ibid.* , p.51.

[25] *Ibid.* , p.50.

[26] Snodgrass, Donald, *Inequality and Economic Development in Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp.91-92.

[27] *Ibid.* , pp.97-100.

[28] Kheng, Cheah Boon, *Malaysia: the Making of a Nation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), p.80.

E) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Social Cohesion

In the course of the colonial era, the ethnic categories, invented by the British administration for the declared purpose of compiling population censuses, evolved into the conceptual platform for networks among the populations, upon whom the colonial agencies had imposed new collective ethnic identities. In turn, these networks thereafter became the basis for ethnic associations that organized themselves, began to participate in political debate and, towards the end of the colonial era, articulated political demands in pursuit of their own ethnicity based interests. Therefore, the existence of ethnic divisions among the Asian populations of British Malaya and, subsequently Malaysia, was not a given but a consequence of British colonialism.[29] Its result was the emergence of a pluralism of ethnically restricted public spheres that could not be tied to the newly founded state of Malaysia.

These colonial immigration policies had turned the Malays from a massive majority of 85.9 per cent in 1835 to a tiny majority of 53.2 per cent in 1970. These figures do not include the population of the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca whose majority were Chinese. If we include the population of the Straits Settlements in our calculation, we can realize how the colonial policies have succeeded in turning Malays into a minority in their native country. Whereas the Chinese and Indians constituted 7.7 per cent of the total population in 1835, they combined together represented 46 per cent of population in 1970. The following table shows the change in the racial composition of the population in the peninsular Malaya from 1835 to 1970.

TABLE 5.2. Racial Composition of Malaya From 1935 To 1970 By PERCENTAGES[30].

Racial Group	1835	1884	1921	1931	1947	1957	1965	1970
Malays	85.9	63.9	54.0	49.2	49.5	49.8	50.1	53.2
Chinese	7.7	29.4	29.4	33.9	38.4	37.2	36.8	35.4
Indians	-	-	15.1	15.1	10.8	11.3	11.1	10.6
Others	6.3	6.7	1.5	1.8	1.3	1.8	2.0	.8

Source: Syed Husin Ali, *Malay Peasant Society and leadership*, p.23.

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[29] PuruShotam, Nirmala Srirekam, *Negotiating Language. Constructing Race, Disciplining Difference in Singapore* (Berlin, London, Paris, New York: Springer, 1998). Shams A.B., "Text and Collective Memories: The Construction of 'Chinese' and 'Chineseness' from the Perspective of a Malay", in: Suryadinata, Leo (ed.), *Ethnic Relations and Nation-Building in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Ethnic Chinese* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), p.125.
[30] Haji Hasni, Mej, *Ethnic Conflict in Malaysia- A Historical Perspective* (Kuala Lumpur: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at University of Malaya, 1998), p.19.

Education, ethnicity and language of the three main ethnicities interacted with the colonial policies to create a divisive society. English and ethnically specific education systems were used by the colonial administration as a means for complicating ethnic relations. The British policy was to limit the access of the Malays to English education. The result was that the education the Malays received was suited for nothing but peasant farmers. By contrast, Chinese and Indians continued to benefit from the urban English education. With their increased enrolment in English education, the immigrants could pursue better jobs and proceed to higher education colleges than Malays.

The striking thing is this lack of the sense of guilt on the part of colonial administrators. They did not admit the grave mistakes they committed in British Malaya, but they were also very proud of what they believe to be their colonial civilizing contributions. They could not see the negative repercussions of their harmful immigration, educational and economic policies. On the eve of independence, Sir Sydney Caine,[31] Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, from 1952 to 1956, lamented the end of what he perceived as far-sighted and generous British colonialism that had established the University of Malaya from the British public purse. The British Vice-Chancellor failed to recognize the catastrophic consequences of the colonial policies for Malaysian society, the thwarting of the quality and equity of education, the fettering of social cohesion and the implantation of racial frictions in educational institutions. Rather than promoting development he reiterated the long-established conceit that innovation had been brought from Britain to Malaya and had been offered rather than imposed. He also gave expression to the skepticism that the new government of independent Malaysia could be able to continue to pursue the established part:

> As I turn from this record of the University of Malaya's achievement to look on the future, I recall one aspect of the past which is too often disregarded. The driving force for all that has gone so far to the making of the University has come from outside Malaya – not from inside. Suggestions and offers from London, not pressure on the spot, led to the creation of this University. It is a catchword in certain political circles that this is a colonial University; that is perfectly true in the sense that the University was consciously created by the Colonial power to prepare for the expected death of

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[31] Born 1902; educated Harrow County School and the London School of Economics; Assistant Inspector of Taxes, 1923-1926; entered Colonial Office, 1926; Secretary, West Indian Sugar Commission, 1929; Secretary, UK Sugar Industry Inquiry Committee, 1934; Financial Secretary, Hong Kong, 1937; Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office, 1944; CMG, 1945; Deputy Under-Secretary for State, Colonial Office, 1947-1948; KCMG, 1947; 3rd Secretary of the Treasury, 1948; Head of the UK Treasury and Supply Delegation, Washington, 1949-1951; Chief of the World Bank Mission to Ceylon, 1951; Vice-Chancellor, University of Malaya, 1952-1956; Chairman, British Caribbean Federation Fiscal Commission, 1955; Director, London School of Economics, 1957-1967; Chairman, Grassland Utilisation Committee, 1957-1958; Member, 1960-1967, and Deputy Chairman, 1964-1967, Independent Television Authority; Chairman, International Institute of Educational Planning, 1963-1970; Governor, Reserve Bank of Rhodesia, 1965-1967; Coordinator, Indonesian Sugar Study, 1971-1972; Chairman of the Governing Body and Member of the Board, University College at Buckingham, 1973-1983; died 1991.

colonialism, was supported by money voted by Colonial officials and is still dependent for its growth on money provided freely and without any political strings by the Colonial Office. Now, as colonialism fades away, it is from local sources[32] that must be sought the idealism, the knowledge and the organizing drive that have come from overseas – from both East and West but still from overseas – to create the University just as they came originally from Britain and China and India to create this great trading city of Singapore.[33]

Indeed, the immediate post-colonial era posed difficulties. The legacy of divisive pre-university as well as higher education policy has marginalized Malays educationally and economically. This emisseration and impoverishment of the Malays continued till the mid-1970s. Consequently, ethnic divisions rather than general prosperity evolved and developed in the Malaysian society. The lack of ethnic integration and social cohesion due to the hesitation of the government policies preserved a difficult and burdensome legacy[34].

Economic disparities and educational discrimination have continued to feed feelings of suspicion and jealousy among the various ethnicities in the Malaysian Peninsula. Thus, it becomes clear the role of colonial policies in instilling educational segregation which in turn reinforced ethnic prejudice, fear and hostility. Ethnicized negative collective memories, introduced and internalized in the early childhood created an encapsulated society with distinctive segregated sub-cultures. Thus, when these individuals enrolled at colonial higher education colleges, ethnic polarization was already grown-up and deeply-internalized. The elements contributing to such polarization were introduced in the university student's life when he was a primary and secondary school pupil. With the passage of time and more educational, cultural and economic segregation, ethnic polarization had already become part of the individual identity, guiding his thinking, molding his feelings, attitudes, values as well as his behaviour towards the other ethnicities.

F) Conclusion

In Chapter V the researcher investigated the establishment of University of Malaya. He analyzed two reports that suggested the establishment of the university; namely the McLean Report of 1939 and the Carr-Saunders Report of 1947. The researcher tried to explain the mentalities of the colonial administrators as exemplified in the opinions expressed in these two reports. First, there was the naïve belief in the tender-hearted colonial educational policies. British administrators perceived themselves to be on a civilizing mission which will end successfully. They did not admit that their purpose for

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[32] This lib service to the importance of the local wisdom was never put into practice during the colonial era.

[33] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit.,* p.110.

[34] Santhiram, *op.cit.,* p.53.

providing higher education was to channel the energies of the colonized population to subordinate roles in the colonial social and economic structures. Secondly, there was the purposeful disregard for and ignorance of industry. Thirdly, there was the paternalistic attitude that the British planners knew everything and that they were working in the best interests of the colonized population. Fourthly, there was the vain belief in the efficiency of the gradualist approach to solving deep-seated and long lasting problems. Fifthly, there was the postulate of the superiority of the British mentality and the white race. Sixthly, there was the refusal to admit the deep causes of the pressing educational problems. British administrators systematically refused to admit their responsibility for having created many of the problems that struck their colonies. They lacked the sense of guilt for causing many political, social, economic, demographic and educational crises in their colonies, most notably the making of a deeply divisive society that cannot provide the conditions for establishment of a public sphere and, as its result, a legitimate and responsible government.

After explaining these attitudes the researcher also analyzed the establishment of the University of Malaya in the light of the three main concepts of quality, equity and social cohesion. According to the researcher higher education in the University of Malaya suffered from the same problems to which pre-university education was susceptible. It was an education of low quality and isolated from the needs of the Malayan society. It was mainly focused on producing graduates in the humanities and social sciences with a disregard for applied agricultural sciences and engineering. The few laboratories that did exist, were poorly equipped and education was underfunded. It was an education aimed at creating elites that were alienated and aloof from the culture and customs of their constituent ethnicities.

In terms of equity, higher education was marginalizing of the poor, rural dwellers, and the Malay farmers and Indian plantation labourers. The Colonial higher educational policies succeeded in segregating Malays from profitable professions and jobs. Thus, Malays were underrepresented in every major occupational category, except of course that of agricultural worker. Chinese, by contrast, clearly supplied most of the rather modest skilled and educated labour inputs used by the economy till 1957.

In terms of social cohesion, higher education was a dividing force that hindered and prohibited the formation of a unified population. Through ethnically specific schools and higher education institutions, British colonial policies led to ethnic frictions, social divisions, and economic disparities. In addition to disparities in education, the colonial policies created a dual economic system in which an advanced economic sector, based on rubber plantations and tin mining operated side by side with the traditional low-productivity subsistence agricultural sector. Due to the colonial educational as well economic policies Chinese and Indians had better jobs than Malays. Consequently, ethnic divisions

evolved and developed in Malaysian society. In this respect, the later period of British colonial rule during and after the Second World War did not differ from the previous periods. The seeds of the current ethnic frictions and racial antagonism in the contemporary Malaysian society were sewn during the colonial era.

Although Habermas neither considered developing countries nor took into account education, his theory still allows the specification of the main condition under which the concept of the public sphere could not emerge in a developing country like colonial Malaya and, beyond that, post-colonial Malaysia. The creation there of a multi-ethnic society under British colonial rule would have required measures to accomplish a degree of integration among the population that is necessary to support the expectation that reasoning and debating principal issues of state policy are desirable and possible and, if so, can be undertaken in a fair and conclusive manner. In other words, the legacy of the divisiveness of the state population in Malaya, inherited from British colonial rule, has obstructed the emergence of a public sphere in Habermas's sense.

Chapter VI

From the Legacy of the Past to the Deficiencies of the Present

A) Introduction

The present Malaysian higher education system was deeply influenced by the heritage of the past. In other words, the colonial traditions and practices left their deep fingerprints on the structures and institutions of learning. Put simply, the majority of the problems of the current educational system were the bitter fruits of the malicious colonial educational policies. Even after the departure of the British soldiers and administrators from the Federation of Malaya in 1957, the persisting and detrimental colonial scruples continued to negatively influence Malaysian higher education. This adverse influence has had cynical repercussions on the quality, equity and social cohesion in Malaysian tertiary education to the present. This chapter provides an overview of the legacy of colonial rule in its continuing effects, namely the grounding of curricula in the Western tradition, the underfunding of higher education institutions, the limitation of access to them and the perpetuation of educational and economic disparities among the three ethnic groups in Malaysia.

B) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Quality

Even after independence a number of studies expressed critical concern about the quality of university education in Malaysia. For example, expatriate Silicon Valley surgeon Bakri Musa stated in 1999 that "there is a gnawing feeling that while the nation has done well quantitatively, the quality leaves much to be desired"[1]. The curricula continued to be irrelevant to the needs of the Malaysian society, far from being purposeful for the culture of the various ethnic communities, and theoretical in their core. Due to the poor planning of educational policies during the colonial era, the majority of graduates from higher education institutions were humanities graduates. These trends continued up to the mid1990s. Surprisingly, the low level of the competence acquired by Malaysian students enrolled at domestic public universities was not rectified even after the passage of forty years after the independence of the country, as Bakri Musa noted:

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[1] Musa, Bakri, *The Malay Dilemma Revisited: Race Dynamics in Modern Malaysia* (San José, CA: iUniverse, 1999), p.131.

> [A]rts graduates from local campuses, who make the bulk of the administrative service, have science literacy and mathematical competency of an American Grade 10, at best. They are ignorant of modern science and their skills in mathematics do not include much beyond elementary algebra. Certainly no statistics or calculus. Yet these are the graduates who will eventually be in charge of departments concerned with environmental pollution, energy, and high finance.[2]

In addition to the low level of the skills obtained by students, and the concentration of graduates in the theoretical fields, Malaysian higher education institutions do not produce sufficient numbers of skilled and semi-skilled professionals. As the British colonial policies did not encourage technical or engineering higher education, the Malaysian populations developed an attitude of looking down upon skilled and semi-skilled professionals. Consequently, when these individuals were given the opportunities to enroll at public universities after the independence they opted to study the humanities specializations. The disdainful and contemptuous attitudes of the British bureaucrats towards skilled and semi-skilled professional workforce were passed on to the Asian dwellers of the Malaysian peninsula. Expectedly, there was a shortage in the numbers of technicians, surveyors and draughtsmen even beyond 1957 and till the twenty-first century. According to the Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000) the percentages of first degree graduates at public universities in the fields of Arts, Science and Technical Education (engineering, architecture, town planning and survey) were 58 percent, 25 percent, and 17 percent respectively[3]. Despite the need for scientists and engineers, the country's universities still hammer away and grind out mainly humanities graduates.

One reason for the continuity of the colonial legacy is the use of the English language in all official activities during the colonial era. This British influence was so deep that it did channel and shape the mentality of the educated Asian populations in British Malaya. At the time of colonial rule, administrators took great care to instill things British into the minds and hearts of the people under their control:

> In Burma and Malaya, British cultural influence was naturally greatest because English was the medium of administration and of local higher education. Local men from Malaya and Burma often spent several years studying in England. Technical, scientific and political work in those countries were exclusively English-inspired and literature was profoundly influenced by British tradition. This interest in British things had a utilitarian basis- the wish for better jobs and for access to the administration.[4]

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[2] Musa, Bakri, *op.cit*., pp.131-132.

[3] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Education Development Plan 2001-2010: Generating Educational Excellence Through Collaboration Planning* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2003), p. 84.

[4] London, The National Archives, BW 90 – 543, *Correspondence and Papers Concerning Future of Higher Education in Malaya Following Japanese Occupation 1945- 1948* , 1981, p.96. Although this file covers the Japanese occupation

The impact was the outcome of the deliberate, well-laid, well-planned and resourceful colonial policies. Even when the British policy-makers realized after the end of World War II that they could not maintain their colonial dominion in Malaya any more, they continued to plan in order to ensure that their hegemony over the Southeast Asian region would be perpetuated. They endorsed educational and cultural policies that would conserve and sustain their influence even after withdrawing their armies from this area. Rather than resorting to overt and violent military forces which were not acceptable any more, the British decided to advance their interests by utilizing covert and foxy tactics. They decided to replace military colonialism with cultural imperialism. While military colonialism is easily detected and resisted, cultural imperialism is formidably hidden and confoundedly entangled. Rather than using temporary and short-lived form of colonialism, the British opted to use cultural imperialism which is everlasting and enduring. The following excerpt from a closed document, that was made open to the public based upon request by the researcher, shows the extent of the insidious and cunning cultural policies implemented by the colonial policy-makers:

> In Southeast Asia opposition to the British is, then, political, not cultural. If we can lead the Southeast Asia people into British cultural centres which disseminate material suitably modulated to attract local traditionalists and nationalists by showing them that British culture offers the best means of modernizing and of learning how to improve their circumstances without damaging their traditions but working through their traditions, then British influence will be maintained whatever form of local political self-government may be evolved because the British influence will have a place in all the political groups. We have to show that the British culture means something more attractive and more expansive than business competition. [The peoples of Southeast Asia region] have to be shown that they can turn to British people and find in them sympathetic help and a fair deal. This is the mood to be created by British cultural institutes in Southeast Asia.[5]

The document is uncompromisingly straightforward in restating the established perceptions of colonial administrators. They did not conceal their intention to make sure that the political and socio-cultural transformations inaugurated under their control would continue to be of effect even after eventual British withdrawal. The following sections will examine the extent to which this intention was implemented.

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period, it has some correspondences from 1945 to 1981. The file was classified until April 2006 when it became declassified based upon the request of the researcher.

[5] BW 90 – 543, Correspondence and Papers Concerning Future of Higher Education in Malaya Following Japanese Occupation 1945- 1948, *op.cit*., pp.96-97.

C) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Equity

These miserable conditions not only of Malay farmers but also of Indian plantations labourers[6], which were created during the colonial era, continued to impede access to higher education even after independence. The British colonial administration became aware of the hair-raising inequalities that discriminated against Indian labourers, but they chose to remain inactive and thereby allowed the misery to continue:

> The income figures for 1979 suggest that between 60 to 70% of all Indian households were below the poverty line of $ 700. From these figures, we can conclude that almost two-thirds of Indian households in peninsular Malaysia are living in poverty, and that up to 80% of rural Indian households are poor.[7]

The impoverished and destitute housing "lines" that the plantations labourers had to live in during the colonial era had a significant negative impact on the academic achievement of Indian pupils in their schools. Many of these "lines" were even worse than the dens of animals. In an article published in October 1948, a very gloomy and heartbreaking picture is portrayed about the living conditions and poverty prevalent in British Malaya at this time:

> Several times I have been shown with pride coolie lines on plantations that a kennelman in England would not tolerate for his hounds.[8]

If this was the situation in 1948, we can imagine how distressing and merciless the living conditions in the plantations were in the early twentieth century. Lack of space in the dwelling lines led to a lack of privacy among the inhabitants. The lack of privacy makes living together a frustrating experience. Thus, the pupils became victims of over-crowded homes with unpleasant conditions for learning. Amenities such as clean water and proper facilities for bathing and cooking were unheard of.

The degradation that the Indian labourers underwent did not only involve physical deprivation, but it also included corporal punishment, humiliation, and psychological degradation.

> Two generations of workers grew up and lived in an environment that discouraged initiative, independence of thought, or a sense of self-worth. The slightest expressions of dissent to the oppressive set-up were isolated and punished. Compliance and servile behavior were forced upon them. Facilities for toddy drinking were easily accessible, while recreational activities were

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[6] London, The National Archives, CO 717 – 53 – 14, *Education Policy in Malaya 1926*, p.57.

[7] Institute of Social Analysis (INSAN), Sucked Oranges: the Indian Poor in Malaysia*, op.cit.,* p.2.

[8] BW 90 – 543, Correspondence and Papers Concerning Future of Higher Education in Malaya Following Japanese Occupation 1945- 1948, *op.cit.*, p.34.

disallowed. The values and attitudes etched upon the consciousness of people by forty years of dehumanization do not fade away easily.[9]

In such humbling atmosphere Indian parents could not provide sufficient stimulus that would enhance the academic achievement of their offspring. In addition to this, many children were asked either to help their fathers by tapping rubber trees or to help their mothers by looking after their baby brothers and sisters. Thus, the lack of resources and the awareness of the importance of providing favourable environments for the learning of their children hindered the enrolment and halted the continuity of education, in case enrolment took place, for the Indian children.

Cultural as well as religious factors accentuated the already worsening situation of Indian education. Among the cultural factors that hindered the enrolment of girls in junior and senior secondary education during the colonial era were the rituals of puberty ceremony. After the start of menstruation, a celebration begins and is climaxed with the purification ceremony that is held in the girl's father's house. During these ceremonies, the girl is completely isolated from other people except the women-folk. Thus, the girl stops going to school. After the end of the ceremony, the adolescent girl is taught not be seen in public places including schools. Thus, female teenagers are kept inside their houses to receive informal education related to "the rearing of children and cooking. They are trained to do household chores. They are prepared for a life (marriage) and not a career"[10].

Chinese people continued to be a strong economic power in the post-colonial era. They held extensive shares in the major economic sectors during the colonial state. From the major economic activities that they aggressively practiced are possessing tin mines and rubber plantations. Chinese proprietors of tin mines and rubber plantations concentrated on the acquisition of small enterprises and the supply of labour to the British owners of large estates[11].

In addition to the tin mines and rubber plantations, the Chinese ventured and penetrated other fields of economic activities. The Chinese activities were concentrated in five main sectors, namely,

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[9] Institute of Social Analysis (INSAN), Sucked Oranges: the Indian Poor in Malaysia, *op.cit.,* p.29.

[10] Daniel, Rabindra, "A General Survey on Education Amongst the Malaysian Indian Plantation Community", Malaysia in History, Journal of the Malaysian Historical Society, Kuala Lumpur, No.24, 1981, p.88.

[11] Eng, Phang Hooi, "The Economic Role of the Chinese in Malaysia" in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *The Chinese in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.101: "By 1953, the Chinese owned 600 of the 740 tin mines but although they provided only 40 per cent of the tin produced, these mines employed more than half of the total labour in the tin mining sector which continued to be the main source of employment for Chinese labour. Then when the British entrepreneurs wanted to develop the rubber plantation industry, the Chinese provided labour needed to clear the jungles, construct roads, and work on the plantations. In the 1950s, the Chinese owned about one-half of the total number of rubber estates in Malaya but only 4 of the 54 rubber estates exceeding 2025 hectares belonged to the Chinese while 48 of them belonged to Europeans. More than 80 per cent of the rubber estates owned by the Chinese were small holdings. Hence in total, the Chinese-owned rubber estates accounted for only 23 per cent of the total planted hectarage."

agriculture and the processing of agricultural products, commerce or wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, and business services, manufacturing, and other services especially personal and recreation services. The Chinese were the principal middlemen and generally dominated the services industries.

This economic strength has led to the spread of education among the Chinese children in unmatched levels[12]. The statistics signify the fact that Chinese primary schools outnumbered the other schools, be they Malay, Tamil or English primary schools.

TABLE 6.1.
Number of Schools, Pupils, and Teachers in All Primary Schools in Malaya, 1938[13].

Medium	No. of Schools	Pupils	Teachers
Malay	788	56,904	2,810
English	271	41,917	2,350
Chinese	996	86,147	3,556
Tamil	607	26,271	864

Source: *Ministry of Education* (1968).

The hegemony of Chinese over other ethnicities in economic as well as educational sectors during the colonial era was well reflected in their overrepresentation in prestigious jobs and occupations[14]. The Chinese accounted for more than 50 per cent of the members registered with eight professional bodies comprising architects, engineers, surveyors, doctors, dental surgeons, veterinarians, accountants, and lawyers. Before 1970, there were almost three times as many Chinese as there were Bumiputera in the administrative and managerial occupations, although the gap narrowed considerably thereafter. The following table confirms for 1980 that colonial educational policies resulted in a lasting supremacy of the Chinese and Indian population in distinguished jobs and prominent occupations.

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[12] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience" " in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *The Chinese in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.230-231.

[13] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience" " in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp.231-233.

[14] Ee, Tan Liok, "Chinese Schools in Malaysia: A Case of Cultural Resilience", in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *op.cit.*, p.236.

TABLE 6.2.
Malaysia: Membership of Registered Professionals by Ethnic Group, 1980[15].
Unit: percent

Profession	1980				
	Bumiputera	**Chinese**	**Indian**	**Others**	**Total**
Architects	10.7	86.5	1.3	1.5	100.0
Accountants	7.4	77.9	7.2	7.5	100.0
Engineers	18.5	71.3	6.3	3.9	100.0
Dentists	10.3	65.7	21.3	2.7	100.0
Doctors	9.7	43.7	41.7	4.9	100.0
Veterinary Surgeons	17.8	27.8	46.5	7.9	100.0
Surveyors	31.2	58.7	7.2	2.9	100.0
Lawyers	14.8	48.5	35.4	1.3	100.0
Total	14.9	63.5	17.4	4.2	100.0

Source: *Labour and Manpower Report, 1984/85*, Ministry of Labour, Malaysia, p.40.

These disparities in benefiting from the economic as well as educational opportunities, which began during the colonial era, have continued beyond 1970. From independence till 1970, the Malaysian government pursued a policy of limited intervention in the economy. That limited regulation on the side of the government was seen by many Malays as the reason for their increased economic inequality and the concentration of the wealth in the hands of foreigners and Chinese. In 1970, Malay capital ownership still stood at a scant 2.4 per cent compared with 34.3 per cent for the Chinese and Indians and 63.4 per cent for the foreigners[16]. Not only did the Malays possess a very minor share of the economic assets, but they also became poorer after thirteen years from the independence. The increase ratio of poverty among

[15] Daniel, Rabindra, *Indian Christians in Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: The Tamil Annual Conference (TAC), Methodist Church, Malaysia, 1992), p.55. See also: Daniel, Rabindra, "Diversity Among Indian Christians in Peninsular Malaysia", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol.65, part 1. , no.262, pp.71-88.
[16] Gomez, Edmund Terence et.al., *Ethnic Futures: The State and Identity Politics in Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: International Center for Ethnic Studies and Sasakawa Peace Foundation, 2004), p.177.

the Malays was accompanied by the increase ratio of richness among the wealthy Chinese. Thus, the economic policies pursued after the independence did not improve the standards of living for the impoverished population but rather exacerbated them[17].

These economic and educational differences can be categorized as one factor contributing to racial taunts which eventually triggered off severe outrageous ethnic riots on 13th May, 1969[18]. As a result of the chaos, and human casualties a state of emergency was declared, the parliament was suspended and the National Operations Council (NOC) was established in order to restore order. As a result of this, it was decided to implement affirmative action policies in order to enhance the economic and educational status of the Bumiputera. NEP was instituted in 1971 with two-prongs: poverty reduction irrespective of race, and social restructuring to eliminate identification of race with economic achievement. NEP was an economic program premised, politically and socially, on national unity, stability and integration. The wounds of the 13 May 1969 riots compelled concerted efforts towards ethnic reconciliation. It was decided that economic imbalance should be redressed. In fact, however, the process led to the entrenchment of ethnic positions. In 1971, the government predicted that the national culture would be grounded in Malay-Muslim culture. Although economic policy was designed to remove differences, the paradox of division and cohesion was deepened in Malaysia.

In order to address the educational disadvantages of the Bumiputera general as well as tertiary education was expanded. Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA), the Council of Trust for Indigenous People, established technical colleges and institutes in the 1970s in order to train and educate Malays. The purpose of these colleges was to rectify the poor scientific and technological education of the Malays and to act as feeders to the local universities. Public universities rapidly increased in number from only one in 1970 to seven in 1990. The 1980s also witnessed a sharp increase in the number of students enrolled in universities. The preferential quota system to encourage the admission of Bumiputera in public tertiary education was enforced.

NEP has led to the increase of the Bumiputera students' enrolment in public universities and colleges. In 1995 the Bumiputera students studying economics and management in public universities were 12,700 compared with 6,320 non-Bumiputera students. As for technical courses, the number of

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[17] *Ibid.* , p.179: "The wealthiest 20 per cent of the population increased their share of total income from 49.3 per cent to 55 per cent between 1957 and 1970. Equal distribution of income would call for their share to be only 20 per cent. This top heavy distribution is even greater for the wealthiest 5 per cent who presently own 27.7 per cent of the nation's total household income. Concomitantly, the lowest 40 per cent of the population lost their previous share of income. In 1957, they had 15.9 per cent compared to their 13.9 per cent in 1970."

[18] See: Abd. Samad, Paridah, *Tun Abdul Razak: A Phenomenon in Malaysian Politics, A Political Biography* (Kuala Lumpur: Affluent Master Sdn. Bhd., 1998).

Bumiputera students was 5,500 compared with 3,300 non-Bumiputera students. The preferential treatment for Bumiputera students was not exclusively limited to the public universities in Malaysia, but it was also extended to include giving scholarships to Bumiputera students in order to enable them to study overseas. Thus, from the 50,600 Malaysian students studying abroad in 1995, 39.5 per cent or 20,000 were government-sponsored students of whom 87.8 per cent were Bumiputera students[19].

In consequence of the application of the quota system, as many as 30,600 non-Bumiputera students, mainly Chinese, were studying at foreign universities. Non-Bumiputera had to study overseas because of the limited number of seats available for them at public universities in Malaysia. The quota system allowed Malay students with poorer results vis-à-vis their Chinese or Indian counterparts to easily get admitted at public tertiary institutes.

In addition to the scholarships offered by the government to Bumiputera students enrolled at universities, similar scholarships were also given to them from the lower secondary school level. Offering scholarships to Malay students and accepting them in boarding residential schools increased the number of Malay graduates from higher secondary schools. This favourable educational nurturing to Malays annoyed non-Malays, to the extent that some non-Malays believed that "Malaysia is a 'Malay' government and not their government"[20].

Successes in rectifying educational and economic imbalances were not achieved equally. In terms of economics, the NEP aimed at raising the Malay ownership of domestic corporate equity from 2.4% in 1970 to 30% in 1990. But this target was not achieved. However, the Malays' share of ownership of domestic corporate equity increased to 19.3 percent in 1990 and then decreased to become19.1 percent in 2000. As for the Chinese and Indians their share increased from 34.3 percent in 1970 to 46.8 percent in 1990 and decreased to 40.3 percent in 2000[21]. These figures reflect the fact that the non-Bumiputera's share of wealth was still almost double that of Bumiputera. In spite of the continuous affirmative action policies during the last three decades of the twentieth century the incomes of Malays were still lower than that of the Chinese in particular. It is true that the number of Malays were categorized within the middle class workforce has increased from 12.9 percent to 33.6 percent.

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[19] Eng, Phang Hooi, "The Economic Role of the Chinese in Malaysia", in: Hing, Lee Kam and Beng, Tan Chee (eds.), *The Chinese in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.110.

[20] Fui, Lim Hin*, Poverty & Household Economic Strategies in Malaysian New Villages* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Advanced Studies at University of Malaya, 1994), p.191.

[21] Othman, Abu Hassan; Ahmad, Qasim; Kasim, Mohamed Yusof, "Social Changes and National Integration" in: Yahaya, Jahara; Peng, Tey Nai; Kheng, Yeoh Kok (eds.), *Sustaining Growth, Enhancing Distribution: the NEP and NDP Revisited* (Kuala Lumpur: Centre for Economic Development and Ethnic Relations, University of Malaya, 2003), pp.147-154.

However, the 30 percent Malay/Bumiputera ownership of domestic corporate equity has not been achieved.

In terms of educational progress of the Malays, the period 1970-2000 had witnessed radical improvements in their educational qualifications. This has resulted from the markedly larger pool of Malay students that have found places in universities both within the country and abroad. In contrast to the pre-NEP years, the post-NEP period heralded a clearly greater number of Malay professionals in urban areas.

TABLE 6.3.
The Percentage of Bumiputera Registered Professionals in each profession, 1980-2000.
Unit: percent

Profession	1980	1990	2000
Architects	10.7	27.6	28.9
Accountants	7.4	11.2	15.9
Engineers	18.5	13.1	26.5
Dentists	10.3	24.3	34.8
Doctors	9.7	27.8	36.7
Veterinary Surgeons	17.8	35.9	42.6
Surveyors	31.2	44.7	47.8
Lawyers	14.8	22.3	31.3

Source: the researcher.
a- The figures for 1980 are taken from: Daniel, Rabindra, Indian Christians in Peninsular Malaysia, *op.cit.*, p.55.
b- The figures for 1990 and 200 are taken from: Othman, Abu Hassan; Ahmad, Qasim; Kasim, Mohamed Yusof, "Social Changes and National Integration" in: Yahaya, Jahara; Peng, Tey Nai; Kheng, Yeoh Kok (eds.), Sustaining Growth, Enhancing Distribution: the NEP and NDP Revisited, *op.cit.,* p.154.[22]

The figures in table 7.3 show that the non-Bumiputera still constitute the majority of registered professionals. In spite of the passage of 43 years after the independence of Malaysia, the impacts of the

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[22] For further details see the following chapter.

colonial educational policies are still influential. Even after the application of affirmative action policies since 1970, the percentage of the Malays of registered professional still lag behind that of the Chinese for example. On the one hand, the Bumiputera complain that they are still poor and underprivileged in their own land. Thus, they assure that without positive discrimination policies that favour them, they can not catch up with the non-Bumiputera. On the other hand, the Chinese and Indians criticize the affirmative action and quota system for being discriminatory against them. They have to endure and succeed with high grades in the gruesome and difficult Malaysian High School Certificate (STPM)[23], equivalent to A-level standard in the UK, before setting foot at public universities, unlike their Malay counterparts who only have to take the easier and relaxing matriculation courses. They have limited seats at public universities because of the quota system. They have to send their children at their own expense to study at costly overseas universities, while the Bumiputera can enroll easily at the cheap and publicly subsidized Malaysian universities.

D) The Influence of Colonial Educational Policies on Social Cohesion

The educational institutions were essentially a divisive force in society, tending to sustain its ethnically plural character[24]. As the vernacular schools were unequal in the opportunities provided to different linguistic groups, the Chinese being the most advantageously placed with a large measure of access to education in the English-medium schools, the Indians somewhat less so and the Malays being the least advantaged with access to English education largely denied to them on purpose in government schools, the segregation in jobs was also maintained. This plural and unequal nature of colonial education rendered it its divisive traits.

Before independence, there were several factions each one propagating for a certain language to be used as the national medium of instruction. Some English would argue for the blessings of English education and stress the necessity of English for business reasons and to pursue further education. Malay nationalists would insist on Malay as the only true national language and the sole language to be used as medium of instruction in the future. Others would refer to the wisdom of teaching and instructing their children in their own languages from the very beginning, and slowly introduce the other compulsory languages (English and Bahasa Melayu) in the Chinese and Tamil medium schools. In order to

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[23] STPM refers in Bahasa Melayu to Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran Malaysia.
[24] Solomon, J.S., *The Development of Bilingual Education in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd, 1988), p.18.

accommodate all such diverging opinions, the Razak Report of 1956 agreed to allow the vernacular schools to operate within two types:[25] standard primary schools in which the medium of instruction was to be the Malayan national language and standard-type primary schools in which the medium of instruction was to be Mandarin or Tamil or English. In order to overcome the existing educational divisions in pre-university education, the Razak Report called for conducting public examinations in secondary schools only in the two official languages, English and Malay. This recommendation, however, angered the Chinese educators who argued that it was contradictory and unreasonable to allow the Chinese language to be continually used as a medium of instruction, but not as a medium of examinations. The Razak Report established a situation where education up to the higher secondary level was conducted in Bahasa Melayu, Chinese, English and Tamil.

The Talib Report of 1960[26] kept the conditions in primary education as they were. As for secondary education the Report made it mandatory to teach and examine all students in all secondary schools in only the two official languages if they wanted to receive subsidies from the public budget. There were strong reactions to the main recommendation of the Talib Report both from the Chinese and Malay communities. For the Chinese this meant the elimination of Government supported Chinese language secondary schools and it was also made clear in the report that the ultimate goal of the education policy was to make Bahasa Melayu the main medium of instruction in all schools. Malays were disappointed with the enhanced position given to English at all levels of instruction, and of the lack of clear guidance on how to develop a national school system with Bahasa Melayu as the main medium of instruction.

The Razak Report and the Talib Report paved the way for the eventual promulgation of the Education Act of 1961, amended in 1974. The act enforced the following points:

1. The usage of Bahasa Melayu as the national language.
2. The introduction of a standard Malaysian-oriented curriculum in all schools.
3. The enforcement of Bahasa Melayu and English as compulsory subjects, while permitting the study of other languages such as Mandarin and Tamil as optional subjects in secondary schools.
4. The formulation of a standardized examination system.
5. The provision of nine years of basic education for all.

Thus, Bahasa Melayu began to be used as the sole medium of instruction for all races in Malaysia in lower and higher secondary schools only during the 1970s. For more than a century and a

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[25] London, The National Archives, DO 35/9963, *Education in the Federation of Malaya, 1957*, pp.10-18.
[26] London, The National Archives, DO 167/1, *The Rahman-Talib Report on Education in Malaya, 1960*, pp.5-17.

half, the Chinese used to receive their secondary education in Mandarin and other Chinese dialects. This long period of immersion in Chinese culture isolated Chinese students from their Malay and Indian counterparts. Tamil education, which started in 1905, played the same disintegrating role of breeding disagreeable enmity and distasteful hostility among the various races. The long period of segregation in all aspects of economic, political and educational life has sown the seeds of separatism into the hearts and minds of the three main ethnicities comprising Malaysian society.

As for higher education, the language of instruction was English from 1874 till the 1980s when Bahasa Melayu became elevated to take the place of English. By consequence, it was, as former Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamed noted, a deceptive illusion was to expect that a university could eventually bring about harmonious interethnic relations and attain a community of citizens. One of the activists in the late 1960s, Mahathir gave a straightforward picture that differed gravely from Carr-Saunders' deceiving rhetoric[27]:

> While the British remained in Malaya they acted as a buffer between the Malays and the immigrant Chinese and Indians. Contact between these two communities and the Malays was kept to the minimum, both administratively and socially. The presence of the British Protectors of the Chinese, and of the Indian agents, meant that the problems of those immigrant communities were outside the purview of Malay officialdom. Segregation and cultural and language differences prevented social contact. The result was that these immigrants understood little about Malay behaviour and characteristics, and nothing at all about how to handle them.[28]

No harmonious society had come into existence in British Malaya, as Mahathir Mohamed appropriately described in his famous book *The Malay Dilemma*:

> Looking back through the years, one of the startling facts which must be admitted is that there never was true racial harmony. There was a lack of inter-racial strife. There was tolerance. There was accommodation. There was a certain amount of give and take. But there was no harmony. There was in fact cacophony, muted but still audible. And periodically the discordant notes rose and erupted into isolated or widespread racial fights.
> Racial harmony in Malaya was therefore neither real nor deep-rooted. What was taken for harmony was absence of open inter-racial strife. And absence of strife is not necessarily due to lack of desire or reasons for strife. It is more frequently due to a lack of capacity to bring about open conflict. The Malays and the Chinese […]. When they retire, they retire into their respective ethnic and cultural sanctum, neither of which has ever been truly breached by the other. And in their own world their values are not merely different, but are often conflicting.[29]

One could hardly give clearer expression to the deep ethnic entrenchment than Mahathir. Only in retrospect could it be admitted that colonial rule had created racial inequality instead of establishing

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[27] See note77 in Chapter III.

[28] Mohamed, Mahathir bin, *The Malay Dilemma*, 5th edition (Singapore: Times Books International, 1981), p.120.

[29] Mohamed, Mahathir, The Malay Dilemma, *op.cit.*, pp.4-5.

an educational system which could in turn have acted as an instrument for achieving a public sphere in the Malayan Peninsula. There had been no discussion of the role of poverty and urban unemployment in poverty-striking the rural Malays and the Indian labourers in the plantations. Instead, the vicious circle of poverty and lack of education was intensified by the segregating colonial economic policies and the result was the breeding of malevolent feelings, hostile dissension, and distasteful racial divisiveness.

The University of Malaya throve nevertheless. It grew rapidly during the first decade of its establishment. The growth resulted in the setting up of two autonomous Divisions in 1959, one located in Singapore, later becoming the National University of Singapore, and the other in Kuala Lumpur, retaining the name University of Malaya. In 1960, the government of the two territories indicated their desire to change the status of the Divisions into that of a national university. Legislation was passed in 1961 and the University of Malaya was established on 1st January 1962 in Kuala Lumpur and the National University of Singapore was established in Singapore. On June 16th 1962, University of Malaya celebrated the installation of its first Chancellor, the Rt. Hon. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, who was also the country's first prime minister. The first Vice-Chancellor was Professor Alexander Oppenheim, a world-renowned Mathematician.

E) Conclusion

The roots of many of the current educational problems can be traced back to the colonial era. Early post-colonial education policies hardly aimed at preparing the Asian populations for self-government and independence. Pre-university education continued to be focused on preparing Malays and Indian immigrants to play their roles assigned to them in the colonial economic scheme. Hence, the system failed to prepare Malays to cope with the rapid changes occurring as colonial rule was coming to its end. By contrast, rich Chinese and Indian families sent their children to the English language schools which were of better quality. English education remained the key to economic advancement, while Malay education resulted in a vicious circle of low-quality schooling and poverty.

Early post-colonial educational policies continued to be divisive and led to the economic disadvantage of the mass of Malays and to the lack of Malay social and political development. They were restrictive especially at the tertiary level. Education continued to be theoretical rather than practical. It inculcated a despising view for manual and technical professions and remained restricted to the undergraduate level. It continued to be an alien type of education of low quality that matched with neither the domestic needs of the learners nor the local necessities of society. It continued to be focused

on teaching rather than conducting research. Even when research was done in Malaysian colleges during the colonial era, it was underfunded and alienated from the needs of the colonized populations. Education remained urban rather than rural, biased in favour of the rich and male-dominated. It provided unequal opportunities for the various ethnicities of the society. Early post-colonial educational as well as economic policies boosted economic backwardness of the majority of rural Malays. The access of Malays to colonial higher education institutions was often blocked by inferior educational preparation and lack of facility in English. Much of pre-university as well as tertiary education took place in Chinese enclaves. Indian students who belonged to wealthy families were co-opted into the system and were thereby better represented in higher education institutions than the Malays. Malay economic underprivileging as well as educational underrepresentation, exacerbated by the colonial segregation policies, resulted in an education that fostered divisiveness, enmity and disunity among the three main ethnicities in Malaysia.

Since the mid 1950s, the drives to expand and unify the school system became highly politicized and dominated by the language medium issue. As the system expanded and moved toward unification on the basis of Bahasa Melayu as the medium of instruction, the urban, mainly Chinese, population continued to derive the most economic advantage from schooling. In order to overcome the non-Malay economic as well as educational hegemony, the Malaysian government started to implement a quota system for the Bumiputera in the mid 1970s. In spite of the enforcement of quota system and the establishment of eight additional universities, the problems of low quality, weak equity and ethnic divisiveness has continued to permeate higher education institutions. As higher education fostered segregation rather than integration, it could not become a factor for the emergence of the public sphere.

Chapter VII

The Expansion of the Malaysian University System from Independence to Privatization

A) Introduction

This chapter examines the reasons for the expansion of the Malaysian university system during the forty years after independence. The crucial events in this period were the May 1969 riots, in which disappointed Malays took to the streets attacking Chinese people and property. Although the actual unrest was quenched quickly, the riots entailed a thorough change of the domestic political landscape in Malaysia. One of the major protagonists was the subsequent Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (1981 – 2003). Between 1957 and 1996, government educational policy changed abruptly twice. One change was precipitated by the 1969 riots, the other occurred under Mahathir's rule. The reason for choosing 1996 as the end for this period is that this year has witnessed the enforcement of a new law for higher education. That new Act of 1996 has ended the monopoly of the state in providing university education. Before the passage of that law, private universities were non-existent; in other words they were not allowed to be established. However, the period following 1996 witnessed the mushrooming of private universities in Malaysia. The following section investigates the evolution and development of each of the nineteen Malaysian public universities.

The Malaysian pre-university educational system consists of eleven years of basic education. The educational school structure is six-three-two; that is, six years of primary education, three years of lower secondary, and two years of upper secondary. Universities have been established in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act of 1971. This Act outlines matters relating to the setup, the constitution, management and administration, as well as matters pertaining to students of universities and university colleges. The government also formed the Higher Education Advisory Council to advise the Education Minister on educational issues related to the development of the existing universities and the establishment of new universities. In order to support that council in its mission, the Ministry of Education formed the Higher Education Division in 1972 which functioned as a secretariat for the council. However, the council did not play any effective role at all. The council's term ended on 21 October, 1976 and its service was not renewed.

With the termination of the activities of the council, the role of the Higher Education Division expanded and was extended to cover many areas of higher education policies. Following the restructuring of the Ministry of Education in 1995, the status of this division was elevated to the level of a department. On 27 March, 2004 the government again restructured the Ministry of Education and established the Ministry of Higher Education. Consequently, the Higher Education Division was placed under the Ministry of Higher Education.

During the period from 1957 to 1969 there were no changes of educational policies, which continued along the lines of the colonial policies. As will be shown later in this chapter, the continuity of educational policy beyond colonial times was a consequence of the elitism of the government, the Communist insurgency, the limitations of allocation of sources to higher education and the lack of infrastructure. The 1970s and the 1980s witnessed a rapid expansion of the number of institutions of higher education. That expansion was reflected in the increased number of universities and the proliferation of colleges. The rapid expansion was not only a response to the rising social demand, but also was a response to the expanding requirements of the growing Malaysian economy. After the riots of 1969, the Malaysian government considered access to university education as a means for redistributing social mobility and for reducing the income inequalities among the different ethnic groups. In order to eliminate the identification of ethnic communities with economic performance, NEP was implemented. In terms of education, NEP entailed the offering of more educational opportunities to the Bumiputeras. In order to achieve that target the Malaysian government implemented the 'racial quota' policy which allocated the majority of university seats to Bumiputeras students. In addition to giving a preferential treatment to Bumiputera students in university admission, appointments of faculty also became based on the racial quota.

Before 1969, there was only one university in Malaysia – the University of Malaya. Between 1969 and 1972, a span of just four years, the number of universities increased five-fold. The increase of the number of institutions was paralleled by the increase of the number of students. The period between 1969 and 1980 witnessed growth in university enrolments from 6,900 to 27,100 students. During the same period (1969-1980), total university education expenditures grew from $ 25.8 million to $ 350.0 million, an increase of 13.6 times over 11 years[1].

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[1] Mehmet, Ozay and Hoong, Yip Yat, *Human Capital Formation in Malaysian Universities: a Socio-Economic Profile of the 1983 Graduates* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Advanced Studies at University of Malaya, 1986), pp.106-112; at p.106:

The educational policies from 1969 to 1996 were aimed at quantitative expansion. The period did not witness dramatic or deep structural reforms. In terms of finance, management and regulation, the Malaysian Federal authorities remained in control of higher education. That is to say that universities were publicly owned.

B) The May 13th 1969 Riots and the Changes of Educational Policies

The colonial policies have resulted in impoverishing Malays economically as well as educationally. According to the *Household Budget Survey of the Federation of Malaya 1957-1958*, 75 percent of Malay households in the rural areas received a monthly income equal to or less than M\$[2] 150. This income was less than the income of Chinese Malaysians who lived in rural or urban areas. While Chinese dwellers of rural and urban areas who had the same income represented 23.5 percent and 24.5 percent respectively, the figure was much higher for Malays. If we took higher income as the parameter, we will reach the same conclusion that the Malays were much poorer and less richer than the Chinese and the Indians. While no more than 2.5 percent of the Malay rural households had incomes equal to or more than M\$300, 22.5 percent of Chinese rural households, 29 percent of Chinese urban households, 11 percent of Indian rural households and 19.2 percent Indian urban households had the same income. The glaring economic disparity between the indigenous Malays (sons of the soil) and the immigrant population was a reason for animosity, enmity and ethnic frictions.

Due to the modest efforts of the Malaysian government from 1957 to 1969, the majority of the rural Malays were very poor. In order to overcome this problem the government established a Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) to clear and distribute forest lands among poor Malays. During the period from 1961 to 1965, FLDA could open up 145,000 acres and provide new settlement to 12,000 families.[3] However, these areas were not sizeable enough to alleviate the poverty of the majority of Malays. Thus, many Malays moved to urban areas trying to secure better work opportunities.

"Of the two types of expenditures, capital development expenditures grew much faster during this period, from \$3.9 million in 1969 to a staggering \$129.9 million in 1980, an increase of 33.3 times. Over this period, annually recurrent expenditures also grew significantly but at a much slower rate, from \$21.9 million in 1969 to \$220.9 million in 1980, an increase of 10 times."

[2] M\$ refers to the Malaysian Ringgit.

[3] Vorys, Karl Von, *Democracy without Consensus* (Princeton N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), p.231.

Unaccustomed to the complex racial diversity of urban life and unskilled for commercial or industrial employment, they became frustrated. When these Malays compared their miserable life with the happy and luxurious life of Chinese immigrants, they were prone to become hostile. In order to improve the economic status of the Malays, the Training Center for the Rural Industrial Development Authority was created (RIDA). RIDA's purpose was to provide elementary training for Malay entrepreneurs and simple commercial education for English educated Malays from the rural areas who lacked the opportunity to pursue their higher education. In June 1965, as a result of the resolutions passed by the first Economic Congress for Bumiputeras, RIDA was reorganized into the Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat. With that change RIDA was transformed into a College of Business and Professional Studies. In order to improve the life of the urban Malays, Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat (MARA)[4] converted the College of Business and Professional Studies into MARA Institute of Technology in October 1967[5]. The curriculum aimed at training Malays in the skills needed in an urban environment. Between 1966 and 1970, MARA provided 4,800 loans totaling M$ 31 million for various Malay projects. It established a number of companies in manufacturing and commerce producing such products as batek[6] garments, leather goods, handicrafts, sawn timber and timber products, tapioca products and pellets and processed rubber. In addition to funding such small projects, MARA also built shophouses for Malay businesses and entered into the wholesale supply business for construction materials.

However, these efforts did not improve the economic or the Malay educational status as dramatically as it was expected after independence. The economic role of Malays in the urban centers was limited compared with that of the Chinese. For example in 1962, only 25.8 percent and 22 percent of the labour force in modern industries and commerce were Malays. In spite of the modest increase in these figures to 27.9 percent and 25 percent in 1967, the economy was monopolized by Western and Chinese capital. A good example of the extent of Chinese economic domination was a sample of five non-foreign owned public property companies listed on the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange. The Chinese possessed a total share holding of 89.2 percent in contrast to the Malays' total of 1.3 percent in these five

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[4] MARA refers to Council of Trust for the Indigenous People.

[5] Abu Shah, Ibrahim bin, "The Use of Higher Education as an Intervention Strategy in the Economic Development of a Plural Society: A Case Study of MARA Institute of Technology in the Economic Policy of Malaysia", Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland College Park (Maryland: University of Maryland College Park, 1987), pp.192-197. See also: Abu Shah, Ibrahim bin, *op.cit.* , pp.199-200. "However, the creation of Bumiputera commercial and industrial community proceeded at a very slow rate. Furthermore, Bumiputera still accounted for a very low proportion compared to non-Bumiputeras in the higher earning professional jobs. The universities in the country have been playing a major role in ameliorating these inequalities".

[6] Typical Malay dress.

companies. An analysis of the aggregate data for limited companies in 1969 assured the same pattern. In the smaller and smallest scale of businesses the Chinese numerical hegemony was clearly overwhelming. Of the 2,613 licenses for small businesses issued in Kuala Lumpur in 1969, the share of the Chinese was 82.1 percent and that of the Malays was 1.5 percent[7].

In terms of professions, Chinese and Indians outnumbered Malays. Before the 1969 elections medical practitioners included 65 Malays, 808 Chinese, 771 Indians and 249 others, mostly Europeans. Similarly, among the total of 570 West Malaysian lawyers were 92 Malays, 241 Chinese, 190 Indians and 47 others[8]. Due to this lack of progress in the economic as well as educational arena for the Malays, the complaints against the government began to accumulate during the 1960s.

While Malays were increasingly dissatisfied with their economic and educational benefits after independence, Chinese began to ask for more educational as well as political rights. The Chinese community supported by politicians from the Democratic Action Party (DAP) that called for the establishment of Merdeka University. Although Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) were opposed to the idea of establishing a Chinese language university in the beginning of the 1969 election campaign for fear that it would intensify Malay resentment and trigger Malay chauvinist demands, they gave in later to the pressure from the Chinese community. The leadership of MCA was afraid of being accused of being too soft on Malays and of selling out Chinese interests altogether. The pressures from MCA's local party units and the business community became so unbearable that certain MCA's candidates like Lew Sip Hon broke the party discipline and endorsed the Merdeka University project. Things began to get out of control in the MCA when a delegation bypassed the president of MCA, Tun Tan Siew Sin, went to meet Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and sought his intervention. Reluctantly, Tun Tan Siew Sin bent down to the increasing pressure and accepted the idea on 30 April 1969.

Due to endorsement by MCA and DAP of the idea of founding Merdeka University, Malays began to attack Tunku Abdul Rahman as disloyal to Malay interests. Worse even, some radical Malays began to accuse him of being unfaithful to Islam. To exacerbate the matters, the election campaign became ethnically inflammatory. For example, one DAP candidate in Selangor promised his audience that if his party were to win the election, he would make the Malays learn Chinese in two months. Among the rhetoric used by DAP candidates was the pledge to "teach the Malays a lesson; they are

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[7] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.*, pp.242-244.
[8] *Ibid.*, p.244.

primitive. We must gain political power"[9]. On the other side, the Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party (PMIP) called for converting all Chinese to Islam or sending them back to China. The Chief Minister of Selangor called for rationality and reason when dealing the Chinese. In one occasion he said: "I agree with you that they should be converted, but how can we circumcise all the Chinese. I agree with you that they should leave, but how can we ship them all back to China or put them back into their mothers' bellies?". "Put them on a slow boat and pray fro a typhoon or shoot them all," came the answer from the Malay crowd.[10]

The 1969 election campaign broke the bounds of constitutional constraints. To make things worse, PMIP politicians reproduced tens of thousands of the photo of the Minister of Education, Khir Johari, and his wife dressed in mandarin clothes. Two days before the election, PMIP flooded Malay villages (Kampongs) with reproductions of this photo, distributing 50,000 copies in the state of Kedah alone. A second photo was a composite one depicting the Prime Minister eating with chopsticks with a roast suckling pig in the middle of the table.

Far more influential was the funeral of a member of the China-oriented Labour Party. That person was shot by the police while painting with a group of eight to ten youths anti-election slogans on the main road at Kepong, a suburb of Kuala Lumpur on 4th May, 1969. According to the narration of the police, these youths attacked the policemen with iron pipes, iron spikes and sticks. Even after the retreat of the constables and taking cover in a nearby old market, the youths continued to attack them with catapults. Therefore, one of the policemen had to fire at the youths. One young man was injured and later died in hospital. The Labour Party took permission from the police in Kuala Lumpur to organize a funeral procession for the deceased person under the condition that the participants should not exceed one thousand. However, what happened was beyond imagination. The funeral procession continued for a whole day since 9:55 a.m. on the 9th of May. In addition, ten thousand people participated in it, waving red flags and carrying banners with "Mao Tse Tung's Thoughts," and demands for revenge and "to repay blood debt with blood and to return violence with violence"[11].

[9] *Ibid*., p.285. See also: Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman*, May 13: Before and After* (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu Press Limited, 1969), pp.30-33. The government of Malaysia, National Operations Council, *The May 13 Tragedy: A Report of the National Operations Council* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1969), pp. iv, 21, 29.

[10] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.*, p.285. See also: Means, Gordon, *Malaysian Politics: The Second Generation* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.4-7. Mubin, Sheppard, *The Authorized Biography of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj: Tunku, His Life and Times* (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 2007), p.158.

[11] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.*, p.287. See also: Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman*, May 13: Before and After*, *op.cit.*, pp.48-60. Mubin, Sheppard, *op.cit.* , pp. 160-161. The government of Malaysia, National Operations Council, The May 13 Tragedy: A Report of the National Operations Council*, op.cit.,* pp.29-30. Comber, Leon, *13 May 1969: A Historical Survey of Sino-*

In expression of their strength the Chinese demonstrators defiantly departed from their approved route and shouted insults at Malays at the MARA building. Lined along the route were thousands of Chinese population, mostly labourers. They were impressed by their number and power. First, they forced MCA to endorse Merdeka University. Second, they turned out in mass numbers, regulated and disrupted traffic and apparently controlled the capital Kuala Lumpur. This demonstration led many Malays to the belief that Malay political power had eroded. Many Malays talked about the "Chinese arrogance" and the "Chinese defiance". In this inflammatory atmosphere rumors spread like wildfire. Many Malays felt deeply that the incumbent United Malays National Organization (UMNO) did not champion Malay communal interests vigorously enough. They determined to teach the Alliance[12] a lesson by casting their ballots for PMIP candidates. By contrast, the Chinese they believed that the time was ripe for a new constitution contract. The Chinese opposition parties spoke of new political arrangements, the repeal of the Bumiputera privileges, amendments to the National Language Act, and the revision of the Education policy.

The results of parliamentary election in West Malaysia showed that the Alliance won 66 seats in the 1969 election while it had won 89 seats in the 1964 election. On the other hand, the opposition increased their seats from 15 in 1964 to 37 in 1969. As for the state election in West Malaysia, the Alliance won 167 seats while the opposition won 112 seats in the 1969 election. These results moved some of the supporters of DAP to walk in the streets and shout anti-Malay slogans such as "Kuala Lumpur now belongs to the Chinese", "Fire all Malay policemen", and "Death to the Malays, aborigines go back to the jungle"[13]. Roving bands indulged in obscene gestures and insults towards the Malays.

Malay Relations (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1983), pp.66-67. According to Tunku Abdul Rahman, the demonstrators "shouted insults calling the police running dogs of the government and other curses. It was obvious that the demonstrators were provoking trouble but the police kept their patience". See also: Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Challenging Times (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 1986), p.62.

[12] The Alliance consisted of three political parties; United Malays National Organization (UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), and Malayan Indian Congress (MIC).

[13] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.*, p.314. See also: Gill, Ranjit, *Of Political Bondage: An Authorized Biography of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's First Prime Minister and his Continuing Participation in Contemporary Politics* (Singapore: Sterling Corporate Services, 1990), p.80. According to Leon Comber "some of the DAP and Gerakan supporters went to the house of Dato Harun bin Idris, Chief Minister of Selangor, and chairman of UMNO Selangor Branch, and told him to quit as he was no longer Chief Minister". Comber, Leon, *13 May 1969: A Historical Survey of Sino- Malay Relations* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1983), p.69. Other slogans that were repeated by Gerakan supporters included: "Why should the Malays rule our country. This is not a Malay country". "This country does not belong to the Malays, we want to chase out all Malays". "Malays get out- why do you remain here. We will thrash you, we are now powerful". The government of Malaysia, National Operations Council, The May 13 Tragedy: A Report of the National Operations Council, *op.cit.,* pp.30-32.

They were spontaneous outbursts from the side of the Chinese who thought their cause had prevailed. The demonstrations were unrestrained by reason or tact and were aiming at disdaining the Malay community.

Chinese and Indian demonstrations on 11th and 12th May were based on communal lines. What had started out as a celebration of victory was rapidly reduced to a vivid expression of communal arrogance and a blowup of ethnic contention. With slogans such as "Finish off all Malays", "Better go or die", and "Malays go back to the villages[14]", Malays suspicion increased that the government may not be able to protect them. Malays were seeing by their own eyes, how Malay policemen were being ridiculed by Chinese and Indian demonstrators. If the government could not protect the Malay police, they wondered, how could it protect them in the urban centers? Their fear and animosity bubbled over. They were afraid that the spectre of fear which had haunted them for some years had turned into reality. For the Malays, their last pillar of safety and security, was crumbling before their eyes.

On 13th May, 1969 Dato Harun, the Chief Minister of Selangor, was forced to organize a procession for UMNO supporters. It was an atmosphere of virtual panic. In the area near Dato Harun's house shops were closed; people called relatives urging them to stay indoors; parents rushed to schools to take their children home. Into this environment later in the afternoon Malays from the countryside and urban communities, MARA students, clerks, drivers, filed hands and unemployed poured into the capital. While many of them came unarmed, others brought with them parangs or kris (Malay daggers). While one group of about one hundred Malays were passing through Setapak, a Chinese area where DAP demonstrations originated one night ago, at 6:00 p.m. some fist fights broke out and quickly escalated into bottle-and-stone throwing clashes. When the news of Setapak attack reached the four thousand crowds gathered in front of the UMNO branch in Jalan Raja Muda, more rumors were circulated. Among these rumors was the false assertion that Malay women and children had been killed by the Chinese while the Malay men were on their way to Kuala Lumpur. From 6:40 p.m. the riots started.

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[14] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.*, p.320. According to Tunku Abdul Rahman some of the Chinese demonstrators "went down Jalan Mountbatten stopping vehicles with Malays in them and insulting the occupants with the intention of humiliating them". Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, *May 13: Before and After, op.cit.,* pp.75-78. See also: Mubin, Sheppard, *op.cit.* , p.163. According to Gill Ranjit, the opposition parties' victory "procession quickly denigrated into rowdy hooliganism, in defiance of police instructions. DAP supporters joined the procession, thus igniting the smouldering powder keg". Gill, Ranjit, *Of Political Bondage: An Authorized Biography of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's First Prime Minister and his Continuing Participation in Contemporary Politics, op.cit.,* p.80.

Vehicles were over-turned, pushed aside and burned, houses were set on fire, shops were looted, and innocent people were slashed and killed. Violence was spreading like wildfire.

While the government officials attempted to play down the extent of the disaster, insisting that the death toll was only at 104, Western diplomats put the figure close to 600. Yet Tunku Abdul Rahman asserted that the Western reports on causalities and physical damage were "highly exaggerated". According to Tunku' statement of August 15, there were 184 killed, 356 wounded, 753 cases of arson attacks on buildings and 211 destroyed or damaged vehicles[15]. A more precise report produced by the National Operation Council stated the number of deaths and injuries to be 196 and 439 as at the 30th of June, 1969[16].

After explaining the connections between the 1969 riots and the changes of educational policies, the following section shall overview the factors that contributed to the expansion of existing and the foundation of new universities through which the government sought to respond to some of the demands articulated in the course of the riots.

C) Malaysian Universities from Independence to Privatization (1957-1996)

C.1) Overview of Newly Founded Universities (1957 – 1996)

Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM)

The university has been developing and expanding since its inception, which started with the enrolment of 57 science-based students. Now, USM offers courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels to approximately 35,000 students. USM has also become a well-known university locally and internationally.

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[15] Vorys, Karl Von, *op.cit.,* pp.358-362. According to the British High Commission "The breakdown of the casualty figures into races has not been given, but it is clear from our contacts in hospitals and elsewhere that the proportion of dead Chinese heavily outweighs that of the Malays, the ratio may be as great as 85:15". See also: Soong, Kua Kia, May 13: Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969 (Kuala Lumpur: Polar Vista SDN BHD, 2007), p.55, 69, 70. ". Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman*, May 13: Before and After, op.cit.,* p.177.
[16] The government of Malaysia, National Operations Council, The May 13 Tragedy: A Report of the National Operations Council*, op.cit.,* pp.88-91.

USM was founded after an agreement made on a resolution approved by the Penang State Legislative Council in 1962, which suggested that a university college be established in the state. An area in Sungai Ara was identified and later the foundation stone was placed by the then Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj on August 1967. In 1969, the University of Penang (later called USM) was established in response to the need for a larger campus with a more conducive environment, appropriate to the needs of the future of the country.

Since the area of Sungai Ara could not be developed as fast as required, the group was placed at the Malayan Teachers' Training College at Bukit Gelugor on loan from the Education Ministry. In 1971, the campus, which was originally planned to be situated in Sungai Ara, moved to its present site, Minden. Besides the main campus in Minden, USM has two other campuses; one at Kubang Kerian in Kelantan known as health campus and the other at Seri Ampangan, Nibong Tebal in mainland Penang known as engineering campus. Started as a USM hospital in 1983, the health campus has expanded after the School of Medical Science was moved from the main campus to the present site which is 72.84 hectare in size. The School of Medical Science was moved from the main campus in June 1990. There are are now two other schools in the health campus - the School of Dental Science and the School of Allied Health Sciences. The engineering campus, previously established in Tronoh, Perak moved to the present site in 1996.

Since its beginning, USM has been reform-oriented and implemented a school system, as opposed to the traditional faculty system. What is unique about this system is that each school could fulfill the needs of a more focused degree in the chosen area of study and at the same time, students could have the opportunity to explore other areas of study offered by another school. The interdisciplinary approach ensures that USM, the first in the country to adopt this system, would produce trained, multi-skilled graduates.

Like most of its subsequently founded fellow institutions, USM departed from the colonial legacy from its onset and was given the mandate to provide, promote and develop higher education in the fields of pure sciences, applied sciences, pharmaceutical sciences, building sciences and technology in addition to the social sciences, humanities and education as well as to provide research, advance and disseminate knowledge. Research areas of special strength at USM include environmental science, aquaculture, biomedical and pharmaceutical studies, natural language processing and computer aided translation, information technology, food technology, polymer science and technology, biotechnology,

distance education, geographical information system, structure analysis, materials science, engineering, surface chemistry, and robotic vision. Penang has excellent research facilities for collaborative search, particularly in coastal pollution, mangrove ecosystem and marine aquaculture.

USM is internationally oriented and offers opportunities for research and education to both local and foreign scholars. The university's core competencies are teaching, research and consultancies, which relate directly to the advancement of human resource development and capacity building, knowledge and industrial competitiveness. The main goal is to integrate academic interest and practical relevance.

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM)

During the 1950's the Federation of the Union of Malay Teachers of the Peninsula propagated for the use of the Malay Language in the active life of the country and it called for the establishment of a university that could meet the educational needs of the Malays and the development of their language. In the 1960's, the demands were repeated and discussions were reopened. A group of Malay intellectuals gathered to discuss ideas of a national university, not only in the context of the needs of Malays, but of the Malaysian nation as a whole. Their ideas were well received by the government. The university thus was to help bridging the ethnic cleavages that colonialism had inherited to independent Malaysia.

In 1969, a Sponsoring Committee was set up to prepare and publish a report recommending the establishment of UKM. The report formed the basis of the University. Much of its recommendations were adopted as guidelines in the official establishment of the University on May 18, 1970[17]. It is located in Bangi, Selangor which is about 35 km south of Kuala Lumpur. There is also a teaching hospital in Cheras and a branch campus in Kuala Lumpur.

The main thrust of educational policy of the 1970s was to create a single national education system with the final aim of using Bahasa Melayu, the national language as the main medium of instruction. The overriding factor was that the national language would be the catalyst for forging national unity. UKM is the third oldest university in Malaysia, but the first to use Bahasa Melayu, as the medium of instruction. However, Bahasa Melayu was used as the medium of instruction for science and

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[17] http://www.ukm.my/english/UKMroots.html.

mathematics courses only till 2003. From 2003 all science and mathematics based courses have been taught in English in line with the then inaugurated new Malaysian government policy.

Today UKM is recognised as one of four research universities in Malaysia. UKM has set up numerous science research institutes to accelerate research in new areas[18].

Tunku Abdul Rahman College (TARC)

TARC is a public institution of higher learning and is operating with 50% subsidy from the Malaysian Government for all its recurrent and capital expenditure. The other 50 percent is covered by the Trustees. It has six campuses located in six states across Malaysia. While having close links to Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR), the college and the university are separate entities. Being an institution founded by the Malaysian Chinese Association, a majority of the students in the college are of Chinese descent. However, as there are no admission quotas, there are a significant proportion of students from other ethnic backgrounds as well.

TARC was established on 24 February 1969 with the support of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA). The College was named after the late YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the founding Prime Minister of then newly independent Malaysia. The vision of MCA was to establish an institution of higher learning for young Malaysians who have been deprived of the opportunity to seek further education, as well as to meet the rising demand from the private sector for trained professional, sub-professional and technical personnel in the task of nation building. It focuses on undergraduate training in the humanities, the social sciences, specifically Business Administration, and technology.

The College started with the commencement of classes in the School of Pre-University Studies in 1969 and followed by the School of Business Studies in 1971. In 1972, School of Technology, School of Arts and Science and Extra-Mural Studies Department were established. The School of Social Science and Humanities was established in 1999. The earlier classes were conducted in the Technical Institute, Cheras and Day Training College, Jalan Kuantan. Due to its rapid expansion, new centres were set up in

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[18] http://www.ukm.my/english/UKMtoday.htm. On 28April 2005, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi launched the Malaysia Genome Institute at UKM.

six secondary schools and Catholic High School, Petaling Jaya. On 19 July 1976, with the completion of the first phase of the College Campus in Kuala Lumpur, classes were moved to its own campus premises in Jalan Genting Kelang, Setapak. Student enrolment of the College stands at 26,000. Today, the College operates from its Main Campus in Kuala Lumpur and five Branch Campuses in Penang, Perak, Johor, Pahang and Sabah[19].

Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM)

UPM was launched in Selangor State with the enacting of the Incorporation Order signed by His Majesty The Yang Di-Pertuan Agong as provided for under the Universities and University Colleges Act, 1971, and published in the Government Gazette as P.U.(A) 387 dated 29 October, 1971[20].

The University was based on the merger of the College of Agriculture Malaya in Serdang, Selangor State with the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Malaya. It has been science-based.

UPM started its first academic session in July 1973 with three faculties: the Faculty of Agriculture, the Faculty of Forestry, and the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Animal Science. Beside the three faculties there was a Basic Sciences Division. As of May 2007, there were 26,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students enrolled at UPM[21].

In the early 1980's, however, UPM expanded its areas of concentration by including Science and Technology subjects in its fields of study. In 1994 UPM embarked on its ambitious plan to develop into a future-oriented university. It decided to provide better and up-to-date skills and systems for science and technology education. To do so, it would take full advantage of the rapid development in information technology. UPM thereafter hoped to transform itself into a borderless campus, its name and reputation stretching far beyond Malaysian boundaries.

The climax of the transformation came with the changing of the name from Universiti Pertanian Malaysia to Universiti Putra Malaysia, in honour of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. The change was officially announced on 3rd April 1997 by the then Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir bin

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[19] http://www.tarc.edu.my/about/abt_overview.htm
[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universiti_Putra_Malaysia
[21] http://www.upm.edu.my/?aktvt=content&kat=D&kod=2007061917020450817216988

Mohamad. This was a strategic way of portraying the status of UPM as a center of higher education capable of providing various fields of study deemed necessary to facilitate national development in the new millennium. This was especially true of UPM's provisions for studies in Information Technology (IT).

The University, since its inception as Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, has had two branch campuses apart from the main campus at Serdang, Selangor. The UPM branch campuses were located in Bintulu, Sarawak and Mengabang Telipot, Terengganu. The campus in Terengganu, however, has been upgraded to the University College of Science and Technology Malaysia (KUSTEM), with its own management and administration. KUSTEM officially broke away from UPM on 1st July, 2001 and became the University Malaysia Terengganu (UMT).

UMT was officially launched on Feb, 1st 2007. It was formerly known as University College of Terengganu (Kolej Universiti Terengganu, KUT) founded in 1999. The founding of the university can be traced back to 1979 when the Centre for Fisheries and Marine Science was founded in Mengabang Telipot, Terengganu. Over the years the Centre has moved on from its original role and diversified to become the centre for maritime and oceanography research and development. It was later renamed University Putra Malaysia Terengganu (UPMT). The Incorporation Order of KUT (Perbadanan) 1999 (PUA 292) was passed by the Parliament on July 27 1999, enabling the inception of KUT, which was in consistent with the ever increasing need for higher education in Malaysia especially in the fields of maritime science and technology[22].

Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM)

The university specialises in technical studies, with separate faculties for Education, Pure Sciences, Management, and Human Resources Development.It is the country's major source of graduate engineers and similar professionals. Graduates from UTM have been instrumental in developing sectors related to engineering and technology in Malaysia. Of its more than 20,000 students over 25% are post graduates.

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[22] http://www.umt.edu.my/history.php

Established originally as the Institut Teknologi Kebangsaan (ITK), on April 1, 1975 it was officially changed to Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM). UTM has two campuses. The main one in Skudai was the first university in the state of Johor. It is about 20km from the state capital, Johor Bahru. Its branch campus at Jalan Semarak in Kuala Lumpur accommodates Diploma students[23].

UTM originally administered the Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Malaysia (UTHM) with the collaboration of the Ministry of Education through a memorandum of understanding signed on 28th July 1993. On 12th April 1996 UTHM was upgraded and known as Institut Teknologi Tun Hussein Onn (ITTHO). This announcement was made by the Minister of Education, Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak. Subsequently, ITTHO obtained its university status recognition. On 27th September 2000 under the University and University College Act 1971 the government endorsed the institution as Kolej Universiti Teknologi Tun Hussein Onn (KUiTTHO)[24].

International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM)

IIUM was first conceived in 1982 by Anwar Ibrahim during a special meeting between the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) leaders to establish an international institution for tertiary education based on Islamic principles and advance the Islamization of knowledge. It was opened on 10 May 1983 at Petaling Jaya. Its aim was "to be an international center of educational excellence which integrates Islamic revealed knowledge and values in all disciplines and which aspires to the restoration of the Ummah's[25] leading role in all branches of knowledge"[26].

IIUM is a privately owned but publicly-funded university in Malaysia and operates under the direction of a Board of Governors with representatives of the OIC as well as eight sponsoring foreign governments. Nevertheless, the Constitutional Head, President and Rector of this international university are all Malaysians.

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[23] The term "Diploma students" refers to students who study for two years instead of four at a higher education institute.
[24] http://www.uthm.edu.my/english/uthm/history.htm
[25] The Ummah refers to the Islamic Nation.
[26] http://www.iium.edu.my/about/intro.shtml

Presently, the university has its campus at Gombak, Kuala Lumpur. The original campus in Petaling Jaya has been converted to a matriculation centre. Apart from these two campuses, IIUM has another two campuses—the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan, about 250 km to the east in the state of Pahang; ; ISTAC might more properly be referred to as a research institute than a campus.

The medium of instruction is English, with Arabic used in courses related to the study of *fiqh* and *sharia*. Basic Arabic is a compulsory course, even for non-Muslim students. In addition, a basic course in the Malay Language is compulsory for international students. IIUM started with just 153 students in 1983, but today approximately 3,000 students enroll each year. As of 2007, there were approximately 21,000 students from over 40 Islamic countries studying in IIUM, as well as students from non-Islamic countries with a sizable Muslim minority[27].

Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM)

Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM), is a public university located in the northern Malaysian state of Kedah. It was formally incorporated on 16 February 1984. The University was established with the specific mission of providing a leadership role for management education in the country. Thus, the university is also known as a management university. UUM is the first university in the country to be a fully wired using fiber-optic cables.

Universiti Malaysia Sarawak (UNIMAS)

The university was incorporated on 24 December 1992. With about 30 academic staff, the University opened its doors on 8 August 1993. Students were temporarily taught at Kolej Latihan Telekom, Simpang Tiga, Kuching until the University moved to its East Campus in Kota Samarahan, Sarawak in 1994. The University's East Campus at Kota Samarahan was officially launched by the Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad on Independence Day, 31 August 1993. The university seeks to bring

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[27] http://www.iium.edu.my/about/fact.shtml

together humanities, social sciences and engineering and focuses on consultancy. Its students have been registered in the two pioneering faculties, the Faculty of Social Science and the Faculty of Resource Science and Technology. Two academic support centres were also established: the Centre for Applied Learning and Multimedia, and the Centre for Academic Information Services[28].

The year 1994 saw four more faculties opening their doors for degree courses: the Faculty of Cognitive Sciences and Human Development, the Faculty of Applied and Creative Arts, the Faculty of Engineering, and the Faculty of Information technology. Staff and student numbers quadrupled. Meanwhile, the University also grew in profile as most faculties began to offer postgraduate programmes. Research activities began to take root with the establishment of the Institute of Biodiversity and Environment Conservation, which focuses on the myriad of flora and fauna in Borneo. Links with various universities abroad were also established. In the same year, the Centre for Technology Transfer and Consultancy UNIMAS, won the contract for the study of the Bakun Hydroelectric Project, the biggest ever hydroelectric dam project in Malaysia.

Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS)

Established as part of its political promise to the State of Sabah upon winning the elections by Barisan Nasional (BN)[29], Universiti Malaysia Sabah first campus was sited at the site of Kolej Komunity Yayasan Sabah (KKYS) on the grounds of Yayasan Sabah (Sabah Foundation) itself. On the 24th November 1994, the university was established. Universiti Malaysia Sabah (UMS) was established on

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[28] http://www.unimas.my/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=122&Itemid=117

[29] Barisan Nasional or National Front was formed by Tun Razak, the Prime Minister, in 1973 in order to reduce ethnic conflict and mobilize national efforts for achieving the goals of NEP. It is the successor of the Alliance which included only UMNO, MCA and MIC. Tun Razak exerted substantial efforts to incorporate the more accommodating of the opposition parties into a broader coalition. In this way, criticism could be channeled and contained within the structure of intra-coalition discussions and bargaining, without involvement of public mobilization and acrimonious public debate. In 1973 BN included UMNO, MCA, MIC, Gerakan, People's Progressive Party (PPP), PMIP now is called PAS, Sabah Chinese Association, the Sarawak Chinese Association and Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP). It was broadened by the passage of time to include more political parties. Now it consists of : UMNO, MCA, MIC, Gerakan, PPP, Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu, SUPP, Sabah Progressive Party, Parti Bersatu Sabah, Liberal Democratic Party, Parti Bersatu, Rakayat Sabah, United Pasokmomogun kadazandusun Murut Organization, Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party. See also: Means, Gordon, Malaysian Politics: The Second Generation, *op.cit.* , pp.27-32. Quek Kim, *Where to Malaysia?: A Future With Anwar's Reformasi or Back to Mahathirism?* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information Research Development, 2005), pp.3-34. Hassan Ahmed Mustapha, The *Unmaking of Malaysia: Insider's Reminiscences of UMNO, Razak and Mahathir,* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information Research Development, 2007), pp.173-221.

24th November 1994. His Royal highness the Yang DiPertuan Agong proclaimed the establishment of UMS under Section 6(1) of the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971. The ninth university in Malaysia expanded rapidly since the early days of its inception. The management office that started activities at the Ministry of Education, Kuala Lumpur later on shifted to Kota Kinabalu. Teaching and research commenced in 1995 in rented buildings. The physical development of permanent campus on a 999 acre piece of land began in earnest in August 1995. The University's occupation of the permanent campus started in 1999 and completed in 2000. In the meantime, the government also granted approval to UMS to set up a branch campus in the Federal Territory of Labuan[30].

Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris (UPSI)

UPSI is the previous Sultan Idris Training College for Malay Teachers. UPSI was established on 1st May 1997 The history of this University dates back to 1922 when the University was then known as Sultan Idris Training College (SITC).

Following the 1957 Razak Report, new subjects were introduced and the training course was extended to five years. In addition, the name of the college was changed to Maktab Perguruan Sultan Idris (MPSI). Traditionally, MPSI accepted only male students. However, in 1976 it began to open its door to the female population. 1n 1987, the Minister of Education bestowed the institute status upon the country's oldest teacher training college, and MPSI was thereafter referred to as Institut Perguruan Sultan Idris (IPSI). With its new status, IPSI started to introduce new courses including a twinning programme with Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (currently known as Universiti Putra Malaysia).

The university continues to focus on teacher training and pressures for the implementation of the rule that only graduate teachers should teach in both the primary and secondary schools in Malaysia. In support of this policy, the Ministry of Education granted university status to IPSI on 1st May 1997[31].

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[30] http://www.ums.edu.my/go.php?sect=fstud&p=aboutums
[31] http://www.upsi.edu.my/am/history.htm

Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM)

UiTM is closely linked to the development of the independent Malaysian nation. It began in 1956 as Dewan Latehan RIDA (Rural and Industrial Development Authority Training Center) in Petaling Jaya, Selangor. The school became known as Maktab MARA (MARA College) in 1965. The name change meant that the college no longer operated under RIDA and instead became the most important unit of the MARA Training Division. MARA stands for Majlis Amanah Rakyat (Council of Trust for the Indigenous People).

In 1967, the school was renamed as Institut Teknologi MARA. Its establishment came as a response to a need in Malaysia for trained professionals, especially among Bumiputeras [32]. ITM's development took three major stages: From 1967 to 1976, ITM was an autonomous body with its own campus in Shah Alam, operating under the Ministry of Rural Development. From 1976 to 1996, ITM advanced as an institution of higher learning and not only a professional training institute, operating directly under the Ministry of Education. In 1996, an amendment to the ITM Act of 1976 put ITM on a par with all the universities in Malaysia, but its historical name was retained until 1999. Then it became Universiti Teknologi MARA. It is called "UiTM" to differenciate it from UTM, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, which is a wholly separate university, based in Johor.

The responsibility of managing and educating a large and diverse student population has resulted in the expansion of the university set-up. The university has a nationwide presence, with three satellite campuses, 13 branch campuses, 6 city campuses, 25 franchise colleges and a "smart campus for the future." The main campus is in Shah Alam, the capital of Selangor, about 25 km southwest of Kuala Lumpur. Universiti admission is open to Bumiputeras only. Graduates to date number more than 110,000 with professional certificates, diplomas, BSc, MSc and PhD in various disciplines. The

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[32] Bumiputra or Bumiputera (Malay, from Sanskrit *Bhumiputra*; translated literally, it means "son of the soil"), is an official definition widely used in Malaysia, embracing ethnic Malays as well as other indigenous ethnic groups such as the Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia and the tribal peoples in Sabah and Sarawak. Economic policies designed to favour Bumiputeras (including affirmative action in public education) were implemented in the 1970s in order to defuse inter-ethnic tensions following the May 13 Incident in 1969, but these have not been fully effective in eradicating poverty among rural bumiputras and have further caused a backlash of resentment on the part of non-bumi ethnic groups.

university's faculties comprise about 4,000 academics, scholars and researchers. Faculty members are not necessarily Bumiputeras. They include other races and nationalities.

One point of criticism is that the administration is somewhat not up to par with what they claim to be. An article and a survey conducted by *The Sun* newspaper early in 2007 reported that the highest rate of jobless graduates which consist of 80 percent came from UITM graduates while the lowest rate of jobless graduates came from Universiti Malaya graduates.

C.2) Summary on Further Institutions Established after 1996

Islamic Science University of Malaysia (USIM)

USIM or formerly known as Islamic University College of Malaysia (KUIM) is the 12th Public Higher Education Institution (IPTA) in Malaysia. KUIM was approved by the government on 11 June 1997 and established on 13 March 1998. KUIM started its operations in January 2000 in the Faculty of Islamic Studies Building, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi. The first enrolment for KUIM began on 18 June 2000 in our temporary location at Institut Professional Baitulmal (IPB), Kuala Lumpur. In January 2002, KUIM moved to another temporary campus in Tower A and B, Persiaran MPAJ, Pandan Indah, Kuala Lumpur. Currently, KUIM is operating in stages at a permanent campus in Bandar Baru Nilai starting 15 July 2005. KUIM was officially upgraded to USIM on 1 February 2007, in line with the government's aim to upgrade the development of higher education to an international level[33].

Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka (UteM)

UTeM is a public university in Durian Tunggal, Melaka, Malaysia. Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka (UTeM) was established on December 1, 2000. It was formerly known as Kolej Universiti Teknikal Kebangsaan Malaysia (KUTKM) before being upgraded to university status in early 2007. It was

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[33]   http://www.usim.edu.my/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=8&id=103&Itemid=528 http://www.usim.edu.my/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=17&id=132&Itemid=598

established under Section 20 of the University and University College Act 1971 in 2001[34]. UTeM's current (temporary) campus is located at Taman Tasik Utama, Ayer Keroh and is in the vicinity of Melaka International Trade Centre.

Universiti Malaysia Perlis (UniMAP)

UniMAP is located at the northernmost part of the Malaysian peninsula, less than 35 km from the borders of Thailand. Originally known as KUKUM (Kolej Universiti Kejuruteraan Utara Malaysia, or Northern Malaysia University College of Engineering), it was approved by the government as a public institution of higher learning in May, 2001 and started classes in June, 2002. It now has about 3000 students, and a workforce of more than 600 people comprising academic and non-academic staff. There are fifteen undergaduate programmes leading to B. Eng and six programmes leading to Diploma (Eng), offered through eight engineering schools[35].

Universiti Malaysia Pahang (UMP)

UMP is a Malaysian public university. It was formerly known as University College of Engineering & Technology Malaysia (KUKTEM). This college was established as a public technical university by the Malaysian government on 16 February 2002. Incorporated under the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 by the Royal Decree of the Yang DiPertuan Agong, KUKTEM was set up as a competency-based technical university, specializing in engineering and technology. KUKTEM has operated on a temporary campus in Gambang, Pahang. The university's permanent campus is located in Pekan, which is currently under construction[36]. On 8 October, 2006, the Malaysian government has agreed to rename KUKTEM to Universiti Malaysia Pahang. The change of name is because the words 'university college' (*Kolej Universiti*) tend to give impression to the public that KUKTEM is a "lower standard" institution of higher education compared to other universities such as Universiti Malaya[37].

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[34] http://www.utem.edu.my/page.php?link=u_glance.php&&link2=imageabout.php&&link3=menuabout.php
[35] http://www.unimap.edu.my/eng/template02.asp?tt=22
[36] http://www.ump.edu.my/ump/profil.htm
[37] http://www.ump.edu.my/ump/kronologi.htm

Universiti Malaysia Kelantan (UMK)

UMK was officially incorporated under the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010)[38]. UMK is a public university in Malaysia and has received its first intake in June 2007. Currently, three faculties and one centre have been formed. They are the Faculty of Entrepreneurship and Business, Faculty of Agro-Industry and Natural Resources, Faculty of Heritage and Creative Technology, and Centre for Language Studies and Human Development.

Universiti Pertahanan Nasional (UPNM)

UPNM or the National Defense University of Malaysia is Malaysia's first university catering to the needs and development of the armed forces. It is a federal government-funded public university. UPNM was originally Akademi Tentera Malaysia (ATMA) or the Malaysian Armed Forces Academy which was established on June 1, 1995. It was an organisation solely responsible in upgrading the knowledge and academic status of the armed forces by offering bachelor degrees in engineering and computer science while not neglecting the basic requirements of military training. The bachelor degree courses were accredited and awarded by Universiti Teknologi Malaysia in the beginning. Some lecturers were recruited from within the armed forces, some by the academy, and the rest were deputised by UTM. In November 10, 2006, ATMA was upgraded to university status creating the current UPNM.

D) The Impact of NEP on the Quality, Equity and Social Cohesion of Education in Malaysia

D.1) The Continuing Influence of the Colonial Legacy

The expansion of the Malaysian university system during the 1970s and 1980s attests to the determination of educational planners and administrators in the Malaysian government to overcome the

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[38] Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010)is a comprehensive five-year national development plan prepared by the Economic Planning Unit at the Prime Minister's Department.

legacy of colonialism. Whereas the numbers of students admitted to higher education had been small under colonial rule, the student body has grown exponentially since the 1970s. Whereas colonial institutions of higher education had been focused on teacher training mainly in the humanities, while neglecting science and engineering, most newly established universities of the post-colonial era have given priority to the sciences. Whereas colonial institutions had been confined to undergraduate teaching, most new institutions have featured graduate programs. Whereas research had been limited in scope during the colonial era, the new universitites have been equipped with research institutes. In summary, the expansion has by no means quantitative only.

The willingness of political decision-makers to allocate larger portions of the Federal and State budgets to education in general and to higher education in particular has occurred concomitantly with the world wide trend to increase government spending on education, as many witnessed the expansion of the education and research sectors in the 1970s and 1980s. But this general trend does not suffice as an explanation of the specific conditions of post-colonial Malaysia, where institutions of government inherited from their previous colonial rulers the task of overcoming the legacy of divisiveness that has burdened the ethnic groups in Malaysia. As the 1960s wore on, the legacy proffered controversy not about the principal desirability of the expansion of higher education but about the use of a standard language as the medium of instruction and the ownership of higher education institutions. As the government of independent Malaysia remained unresponsive towards the problems involved in language policy during the 1960s, English continued to be the main language of instruction in schools and universities, with the consequence that rural Malays continued to face difficulties in improving their condition[39]. The segregation of ethnic groups remained and even intensified.

Hence sixty-four years after the publication of McLean Report, the values of citizenships and ethnic integration did not develop to a satisfactory level. Students from different ethnic groups do not interact with each other. "Generally those who came from rural and mono-ethnic backgrounds, have tended to be less likely to interact with students from other ethnic group. Malay students choose not to share room with non-Malays mostly on religious reasons. There appears to be a lack of exchanges between the various mono-ethnic clubs and societies"[40]. For descendants of Chinese and Indian

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[39] Desai, Christina, "National Identity in a Multicultural Society: Malaysian Children's Literature in English", *Children's Literature in Education*, vol. 37, no.2, June 2006, p.168.

[40] Yahaya, Jahara et al., "Ethnic Relations Amongst University of Malaya Undergraduates*" Paper Presented at the CEDER Research Seminar, University of Malaya, 24th March 2003* (Kuala Lumpur: CEDER Center at University of Malaya, 2003), pp.70-71.

immigrants schools "became small colonies of their own within the Malay states"[41]. The British apartheid policies bore fruits far beyond the demise of colonialism, as the Chinese and Indian communities sought to protect their "colonies" against Malay[42]. Thus, while ethnic harmony was not achieved, the target of creating an elite class linked culturally to the West was accomplished and admiration for the British culture was maintained:

> Since independence little resentment has been evident against the British. There is appreciation for the legal and administrative systems the British left behind as well as for the educational traditions and English language. English continued to be taught well after independence.[43]

Hence, university education during the colonial era favored cities at the expense of villages, rich at the expense of poor, Chinese and Indians at the expense of Malays, and men at the expense of women. These educational, economic, and employment deprivation created during the colonial era scantly changed from 1957 to 1970. It as in protect against their deprivation that impoverished Malays went into the streets on 13th May 1969 looting and vandalizing Chinese property. In the aftermath of these violent riots, NEP was implemented and a quota system for increasing the number of Malays studying at university level was enforced.

The segregation continued to work to the disadvantage of Malays. Unlike some of the Indians who were rich traders and lived in the urban areas, the Malays were mainly poor farmers who lived in the rural areas[44]. Thus, they did not benefit from English education. This educational marginalization of the Malays continued till the 1970s.

> "In the past native-born Malays have occupied only insignificant proportions of such posts, largely because of the slender educational opportunities which denied most of them the chance of university education. Most university teachers have come from the Chinese Malaysian population with a considerable further contribution from expatriates-American, Australian, New Zealand and British".[45]

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[41] Datuk Mahat, Abdul Rafie, "Untitled" in: Baginda, Abdul Razak, *Education in Malaysia: Unifying or Divisive* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Strategic Research Center and Konrad- Adenaur- Foundation, 2003), p.16.

[42] Kheng, Cheah Boon, *Malaysia: the Making of a Nation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), p.80: "In 1967, nearly three-quarters of the university enrolment consisted of Chinese students. Thus, not only were the Chinese and Indians ahead of the Malays in literacy in 1957, but the former ethnic groups also increased their lead during the period 1957 to 1970."

[43] Desai, "National Identity", *op. cit.*, p.168.

[44] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit.,* p.50: "Secondary education is concentrated in urban areas. The ethnic implications of this are serious as 70% of the Malays live in rural areas and 60% of the non-Malays live in urban areas. Further, 80 to 90% of the best qualified school output comes from some 25 urban schools, and up to 90% of the medical students come from the towns. It is hardly surprising therefore if rural Malays foul that the University of Malaya is discriminating against them."

[45] *Ibid.* , p.23.

As the rich Chinese and Indians could avail themselves of the good quality English education, they could send their children to higher education colleges and consequently could secure better positions and prestigious jobs during and after the end of the colonial era. With prestigious jobs and higher incomes, non-Malay university graduates could repeat the same process with their children and in this way this circle continued.

During the 1960s, the segregated ethnic groups began to establish their own political organizations which, in turn, formed venues for the articulation of political demands. Opposition against what Malay nationalists perceived as government indecision and neglect of their interests became vocal about an issue of higher education when, at the turn of 1969, the federal government passed a decision to approve of the establishment of Merdaka University as a privately owned institutions funded by the Chinese community.

The federal government realized the seriousness of the clashes peaking in the May 13th, 1969 race riots, even though it remained in office for the time being. In order to strengthen social cohesion and to prevent the ethnic polarization it sought to restrict the discussion of "sensitive" provisions of the Federal Constitution by the National Operations Council (NOC) in 1970. Thus, the Articles 71, 152, 153 and 159 related to the "special position of the Malays" and the "legitimate interests" of the non-Malays over citizenship; and the rights and prerogatives of the Malay rulers were considered to be part of the pre-independence "historic bargain" and therefore, were not to be publicly discussed. The NOC also decided to reinforce and consolidate the Malay political supremacy. On 17th February 1971 the Malaysian Parliament approved the "Sensitive Issues" Bill. This Bill adopted the provisions endorsed by the NOC and put them beyond the pale of public discussion. The Deputy-Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Ismail, pledged during the debate in the Parliament that the Alliance politicians would meticulously interpret the spirit and the letter of the Bill. He also threatened that those who did not follow the same suit would be severely punished. He added that

> those who attempted to obstruct the government would be dealt with effectively and mercilessly. Dato Abdullah, the Tunku's erstwhile critic, who had been a close confidante of Tun Razak, revealed that Tun Razak had confided to his inner circles, 'Never again would the non-Malays be allowed to threaten the political future of the Malays', and assured them that he would entrench the 'pattern of Malay political supremacy which had always existed in the Constitution.[46]

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[46] Kheng, Cheah Boon, *Malaysia: the Making of a Nation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), pp.138-139.

The Bill effectively banned public debate about issues of state policy was prohibited. At the same time, it launched NEP consisting of a package of measures through which the government planned to improve the economic conditions for Malays. The logic of simultaneously enforcing a law banning debate in the public sphere and NEP indicates the solution the government was hoping to achieve, namely to acquiesce dissatisfaction through economic benefits, while quenching opposition. As the Malay Bumiputeras were credited with legitimacy for their demands for equity and taking the political lead in deciding matters relevant to "their" country, both the law banning public debate and NEP alienated the Chinese and the Indians. As the poor economic performance was recognized as being the consequence of unequal access to high-quality education at all levels, Malays had to be given privileged access to educational institutions through NEP. With the implementation of these policies the ratios of Malay students enrolled at public universities increased from "38 per cent to 57 per cent and then to 61 per cent, while the ratios of Chinese students decreased from 49 per cent to 37 per cent and then to 29 per cent in the years 1970, 1975 and 1983"[47].

In essence, then, both the 1969 riots and NEP as their consequence marked the start of the move towards the independence of Malaysia's educational institutions from the colonial legacy and the autonomy of decision-making on educational policy. However, the path towards manifest independence was thorny. First and foremost, British influence was too deeply entrenched to be removed instantaneously and could continue even into the 1970s. A report by the British Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies issued in April 1972, recorded dryly:

The present Medical School cannot teach at postgraduate level.[48]

Due to this low level of quality, the domestic graduates of School of medicine for example were not capable of providing local experts who could teach at the Malaysian universities which were being established at the time, such as the National University of Malaysia (Universiti Kebangsaan). Thus, the universities had to recruit British staff and to seek "short-term advisory visitors to help the local staff in setting up the curriculum. There was also a requirement for training of staff in the UK"[49]. The report had been compiled during a visit to Malaysia of the then director of the Council, Richard Griffiths. During the visit, Griffiths refused a request from the Vice-Chancellor of University of Malaya (Dr.Ungku Aziz) that the British Government bear some of the costs of the British professors teaching at University of

[47] Pong, Suet-Ling, "Preferential Policies and Secondary School Attainment in Peninsular Malaysia", *Sociology of Education*, vol.66, No.4, October 1993, *p.248*.

[48] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit.,* p.60.

[49] *Ibid.* , p.62.

Malaya. For the director of Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies British presence and influence over the Malaysian higher education had already been achieved. Consequently, the goal is how to secure the continuity of this influence by nominating British professors to fill prestigious and influential positions in the Malaysian universities. Griffiths had expressed this aim in the following way:

> There are currently more British staff than are needed to provide a British presence or to maintain a British orientation. Moreover, the value to the universities and from the point of view of maintaining the British orientation which they now have, seems to be accepted by all concerned. The High Commissioner felt that from the general political standpoint it was important to provide selective backing to premier university institutions by maintaining a high quality British presence in selected posts which the Malaysians keenly wish us to fill. There is no reason why we ourselves should not exercise some judgment about which posts we should try to fill in this way; presumably they will be key posts with some special innovatory feature and not mainstream academic posts.[50]

The British economic, cultural and educational influence did not wane in the wake of independence. On the contrary, it continued to function as if nothing had changed at all. In terms of economy "large parts of modern agriculture, industry and commerce- overall, as much as 61 per cent of the corporate sector- were in foreign hands"[51].

Not surprisingly, even in 1972, fifteen year after the independence, University of Malaya has sent an invitation to the director of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies inviting him to attend the installation of its new Chancellor in September 1972. Not only this, but the University of Malaya sent to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies asking for its advice and literature about the procedures implemented during the installation ceremonies of Chancellors in British universities[52]. These events show the hegemonic and deep cultural influence on the Malaysian mentality.

More importantly, the economic conditions of Malays improved no more than gradually while the affirmative action policies enshrined in NEP were being implemented. According to an analysis published in 1993, Malays aged 15 – 19 could attain "educational parity with their Chinese counterparts" in schooling only in 1976[53]. Yet better Malay achievement in education impacted but insignificantly on the unequal distribution of jobs across the ethnic groups. In 1957, 62.4 per cent of the slightly more than 25,000 employees holding administrative and managerial positions were Chinese, while Malays

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[50] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit*., pp.58-59.
[51] Snodgrass, Donald, *Inequality and Economic Development in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.100.
[52] London, The National Archives, BW 90- 1657, *op.cit.,* p.38 and pp.67-69.
[53] Pong, Suet-Ling, *op.cit*., pp.248-254.

represented no more than 17.6 per cent and Indians 12.0 per cent[54]. In addition to disparities in secondary education, the colonial policies created a dual economic system in which an advanced economic sector, based on rubber plantation and tin mining operated side by side with the traditional low-productivity subsistence sector. Due to the colonial educational as well economic policies the Chinese and Indians had better jobs than the Malays. With better jobs, higher incomes, and better education, the rich urban Chinese and Indians could perpetuate the high socio-economic status, not only during the colonial era but even beyond 1970. In spite of the application of affirmative action policies in favour of the Malays, since 1971, the Indians have constituted 33 per cent of medical doctors and about 25 per cent of lawyers in the country[55]. Whereas the Bumiputera share in the corporate sector increased from 2.4 percent in 1970 to 19.3 percent in 1990, the Chinese share increased from 22 percent to 45.5 percent over the same period[56].

D.2) Higher Education Policies and Quality

The problem of quality had persisted from the colonial past and continued after independence, though taking different shapes. The colonial policies created a tertiary education focusing on the social sciences, instead of applied sciences and engineering. They were also centered around teaching instead of R & D. Even when limited research were conducted in exceptional cases, it was irrelavent to the needs of the Asian populations. The period from 1957 to 1969 were a continuation of the colonail policies in one way or another. The reasons behind this perpetuated policy are the limited resources allocated for funding higher education during that period, focusing attention on expanding primary and secondary education in the deprived rural areas, the depletion of the budget in fighting the communist insurgency, and the elitist nature of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

> "In spite of independence the communal charachteristics of the economy remained. This was because the Merdaka elites who ruled in the first 12 years of independence perpetuated the colonial economy with a few modifications. As a result, all the deficiencies of the past responsible for the communalization of the economy- the identification of economic function with ethnicity, the emphasis upon the export-oriented sector, and so on- continued to influence the pattern of development. The only important difference was that there was a rural development programme now

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[54] Embong, Abdul Rahman, *State-Led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002), p.36.

[55] Ramasamy, P., "Nation-Building in Malaysia: Victimization of Indians", in: Suryadinata, Leo (ed.), *Ethnic Relations and Nation-Building in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Ethnic Chinese* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), p.157.

[56] Embong, Abdul Rahman, *op.cit.,* p.57.

which however failed to come to grips with the root causes of rural poverty. The Malay political elite was unwilling to effect a genuine transformation of the economy on behalf of the majority. [This] approach was disastrous. For not only did it keep a substatial section of the Malay community poor, it also perpetuated the communal charachertics of the economy".[57]

The reason behind the continuation of the colonial economy was that it benefited the post-independence elites. Perpetuating the colonial economy meant expanding the wealth of the political elites. The continuation of the colonial economy meant that the real economic power was concentrated in the hands of the minority elites. The British businessmen, the well-off Chinese merchants, and Malay aristocracy constituted the crucial elements of the post-independence urban elites. The majority however, were left largely poor, rural and powerless.

The failure of the First Malaysia Plan (1966-1971) in achieving its ultimate aim of creating an environment in which all sections of the community can live in peace, prosperity and dignity was due to the perpetuation of the colonial economic and educational legacies during the period from 1957 to 1969. According to Dr. Donald Snodgrass[58] "the pattern of income distribution did not change very much between 1965 and 1970. Certainly there was no significant reduction in inequality. The poorer segments of the population probably did not gain relative to the better-off segments in 1966-1970"[59]. In addition to this, unemployment in West Malaysia had increased from 180,000 to 250,000 with the rate of unemployment escalating from 6.5% to around 8% [60]. Inequitable income distribution, increasing unemployment aggravated by the limited resources allocated for funding higher education during that period, focusing attention on expanding primary and secondary education in the deprived rural areas, the depletion of the budget in fighting the communist insurregency, and the elitist nature of Tunku Abdul Rahman had negatively influnced the quality of education.

The period 1957-1969 saw a surge increase in the number of primary and lower secondary schools. However, that increase in the number of schools established in the rural areas since indpendence, did not mean that such schools were able to prepare rural school leavers to a level at which they can effectively compete with those who came from urban schools. Thus, the rural pupils were generally

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[57] Muzaffar, Chandra, *The NEP, Development and Alternative Consciousness* (Penang: Aliran Kesedaran Negara (Aliran), 1989), pp.173-174.

[58] He was an advisor to the Economic Planning Unit (EPU) Prime Minister's Department in Malaysia. He has also served as assistant professor at Yale and as Chief, Evaluation Division, at U.S. Agency for International Development.

[59] Snodgrass, Donald and Bruton, Henry J., "Has the First Malaysia Plan Achieved its Targets?", in: Kwai, Fong Chek and Kiat, Teh Swee (eds.)*, Selected Papers Delivered at the Great Economics Debate* (8th- 12th June, 1971) (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1971), p.8.

[60] *Ibid.* , p.8.

prepared for only the menial jobs in the urban and modern sector and for the lowest brnaches of the armed forces without much opportunities for upward mobility. The actual rural school buildings were there,but the quality of education provided was unacceptable to even the lesser known urban schools[61].

In terms of higher education, UKM conducted two study whose results, published in 1972 and 1974, confirmed the poor academic achivement of the Bumiputera students at pre-university as well as university education. The studies discovered that there are three main reasons behind this academic underachivement. First, they found out that most of the Bumiputera students had been studying in rural schools ill-equipped with physical facilities, qualified teachers, textbooks and library books. Second, the teachers, in many cases, were uncommitted and unconcerned with the actual needs and difficulties of the low-achieving students. Third, the studies showed that most of the students had come from poor families, and that the lack of money was distracting them from their studies[62]. Thus, the first major problem that haunted higher education during the period 1957-1969 was the low academic achievements of the Bumiptera students.

The second problem upsetting quality was the high level of wastage and repition for the Malay students at UM. The Committee to study the Campus Life at the University of Malaya found out that for the 1967-1968 session only thirteen out of a total of thirty national-medium students in the science stream passed the first year examination. However, Seventeen students were asked to repeat or leave. At the end of the 1968-1969 session, twenty-five sat for the first year examination with only three passing. As these students pursued their high secondary education only in Bahasa Melayu, they faced a great difficulty in following their studies at UM in English language. Their failure was mainly arrtibuted to having diffculty with mastering the English langauge. However, when these students who had failed were sent to Indonesian universities where the medium of instruction is Bahasa Indonesia[63], they performed very well[64].

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[61]*Ibid.* , p.38.

[62] Arof, Razali Bin, *"Rural Students and Academic Performance: A Case Study of Program Matrikulasi Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia"*, Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University (Ithaca, NY: the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University, January, 1985), p.30.

[63] Bahasa Indonesia is almost 80% similar to Bahasa Melayu.

[64] Sidin, Robiah, "The Roles of the Universities in the National Development of Malaysia As Perceived By Selected Government Officials, University Administrators and Faculty Members", Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the School of Applied Behavioral Sciences and Educational Leadership at Ohio University (Athens: Ohio University, 1980), pp.31-32.Iw

The third problem affecting quality during the period 1957-1969 was that the majority of Malay students were concentrated in the humanities while the non-Malays were overrepresented in the sciences. While 93.2% of the Malay students enrolled at UM were studying humanities, only 33.3% of the Chinese students enrolled at UM were studying humanities in 1959-1960. At the same time only 6.4% of the Malay students enrolled at UM wer studying sciences comapred with 66.5% of the Chinese students. Only after 1969, the ratio of the Malays studying sciences did began to increase gradually in UM and elsewhere. Thus, 87.79% of of the Malay students enrolled at UM were studying humanities, compared with 44.29% of the Chinese students in 1970-1971. In the same year 11.86% and 55.66% of the Malays and Chinese students enrolled at UM and studying science specializations[65].

The fourth problem influencing quality was the limited funds allocated for financing higher education. The government budget set aside for university education was 31 million Ringgit in 1969 which increased to 169 million Ringgit in 1975[66]. The biggest portion of the government expenditrue was allocated to funding pre-university education. After the riots of 1969 the government intensified her efforts to expand and improve primary and secondary schools in the deprived rural areas.

The fifth problem that haunted quality during the period 1957-1969 was the limited number of qualified local teaching staff at tertairy education institutions. In order to overcome this problem, the Malaysian government sent the academic staff overseas in order to better their academic qualifications. Until the mid-seventies, there were no local programmes for training the teaching staff at the university level[67].

Only after the riots of 1969, there were rigouros efforts to improve the quality of higher education in Malaysia. Before the riots the budget of higher education was tiny. In 1967, primary

[65] Abu Shah, Ibrahim Bin, *"The Use of Higher Education As An Intervention Strategy in the Economic Development of A Plural Society: A Case Study of MARA Institute of Technology in the Economic Policy of Malaysia"*, Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the University of Maryland College Park (Maryland: University of Maryland College Park, 1987), pp.159-160.

[66] Kassim, Mustapa Bin*, "Preferential Policy in Higher Education in Malaysia: A Case Study of Malay Graduates at the University of Science, Malaysia"*, Ph.D. dissertation submitted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (Wisconsin-Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), p.258. It is noteworthy that the budget of higher education constituted a small portion of the national budget allocated for the education sector. From a total of 524 million Ringgit allocated for the education sector as a whole, only 31 million Ringgit was allocated for university education in 1969. Despite the sharp increase in the budget of the whole education sector to become 1,098 million Ringgit, only 169 million Ringgit was set aside for university education in 1975.

[67] Sidin, Robiah, *op.cit.*, pp.98-99.

education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education and UM received 51.7%, 15.9%, 3.5% and 4.4% of total educational expenditure[68].

With the allocating of increasing funds to funding higher education in the period 1969-1996, many of the problems of the colonial era were overcome. However, three new problems had emerged and one old problem continued to existed negatively influencing the quality of higher education. The old problem that persisted in Malaysian higher education from the colonial period up to the mid-nineties is the imbalnce in the number of the students enrolled in the applied sciences and the liberal arts and humanities. Although, the *Third Malaysia Plan* (1976-1980) dedicated that the intake of liberal arts students would be progressively reduced from 54.5% in 1975 to become 46.5% in 1980, the problem still persisted. Therefore, the *Fourth Malaysia Plan* (1981-1985) aimed at reducing the percentage of the students pursuing liberal arts to 40% and increasing the percentage of students pursuing science specializations to become 60%. The *Fifth Malaysia Plan* (1986-1990) sets the output of liberal arts and sciences at 1:4.2[69].

The first of the new problems that emerged during the period 1969-1996 was the creation of two educated classes in the country. Due to a massive programme of scholarships, grants, fellowships and low or zero interest loans, the government and its agencies sent large numbers of Bumiputera students to study overseas. By 1983, there were about 17,000 government or government agency sponsored students , mostly Bumiputeras, studying at tertairy and non-tertiary institutions abroad. In 1984, it was estimated that a total of 74,000 Malaysians were studying in various overseas institutions. The government sponsored and privately financed Malaysian students overseas cost the country around 1.5 billion Ringgit in 1986[70].

The result of this massive programme of sending Malaysian students to study overseas was a growing dichotomy in the socialization and educational process of the locally and overseas educated Malaysians. In other words, a "two culture" society emerged. The overseas educated students particularly those who enrol at prestigeuos western universities enjoy greater pertsige and status and have better employment opportunities, while the locally educated face a growing unemployment

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[68] Bodora, Peter Alexander, *"Analysis of Some Factors Influencing The Composition of Higher Education in Malaysia"*, Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1974), p.46.

[69] Kassim, Mustapa Bin*, op.cit.* , pp.265-266.

[70] Selvaratnam, Viswanathan, *Ethnicity, Inequality and Higher Education in Peninsular Malaysia: The Sociological Implications* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1987), pp.21-22.

problem. While the Malay dominated public sector is employing more and more of the Malays locally or overseas trained, the private sector is empolying the overseas trained Malays and non-Malays. At the same time many of the non-Malay professionals work as self-employed such as consultants, engineers, architects, doctors, lawyers, ect. This dichotomy has been reinforcing the existing disparity in occupational opportunities, incomes and life-styles between the overseas educated and the local graduates. It also widened the gap between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural dewllers[71].

The second of the new problems that emerged during the period 1969-1996 was the focus of research on theoretical angles instead of applied themes. While university research in the 1970s and 1980s focused on basic fundamental research, it could not pursue applied research. According to Professor Hamzah Sendut the research conducted in Malaysia was largely conducted by individuals and was in most cases descrptive and analytical instead of being applied. It was also noticed that collaboration in and co-ordination of research among universities and between universities and governmental and non-geovernmental bodies were essential if research was to be expanded. However, the lack of discussions between the universities and the government agencies concerning research priorities had resulted in the wastage of huge efforts and resources in conducting research projects that were not later utilized by the government. The non-existence of a national commission for research in Malaysia had perpetuated this lack of co-operation. In addition to this, most of the reaserach was done individually instead of group research[72].

The third of the new problems that emerged during the period 1969-1996 was the lack of motivation among the Malay students to study hard. Due to the Malaysian government's decision to implement the quota system and to lower the entry requirments for the Bumiputera students to public universities, the Bumiputeras felt much more relaxed and lost some of their commitmment to studying hard. In particular, the educational system suffered from major weaknesses, espcially at the tertiray level. It was preoccupied with questions of ethnic representation in the student body and facult staff. Academic excellence and the development of a skilled technical cadre enjoyed low priority[73].

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[71] *Ibid.*, p.29.

[72] Sidin, Robiah, *op.cit.*, pp.102-109.

[73] Jesudason, James V., *Ethnicity and the Economy: The State, Chinese Business, and Multinationals in Malaysia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.187.

D.3) Higher Education Policies and Equity

Equity means giving equal opportunities to the rich and the poor, the dwellers of the countryside and the residents of the urban towns and cities, the members of the various ethnicities, and men and women to enroll at the educational institutions. On the contrary of this, the British colonial educational policies were an insurmountable obstacle for achieving that target. The colonial policies were biased in favour of the affluent residents of the urban centers, the majority of whom were Chinese and Indians. In order to overcome the colonial heritage of depriving the poor rural Malays from enrolling in higher education, the government tried cautiously and gradually to increase the number of the Malays enrolled at higher education institutions. However, the progress in this policy was slow due to the liberal meritocracy approach implemented by the post-independence government.

Without the implementation of the affirmative action policies, the income gap as well the education gap between the Malays and the non-Malays would have been maintained. It was necessary to upgrade the living standards of the Malays in order to increase their enrollment at higher education. In 1959-1960 the numbers of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, and Eurasians students at University of Malaya, were 195, 62, 41, 16, and 4. The under-representation of the Malays in higher education continued till the riots of 1969. In 1964-1965 the numbers of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, and Eurasians students at University of Malaya, were 1,330, 543, 211, 100, and 18. The under-representation of the Malays in higher education continued till the riots of 1969. Without the riots, the Chinese hegemony of Malaysian higher education would have continued. In 1968-1969 the numbers of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, and Eurasians students at University of Malaya, were 3,102, 1,825, 402, 175, and 39. However, after the application of the NEP with its ethnic preferential quota system the numbers of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, and Eurasians students at University of Malaya in 1970-1971 were 3,785, 3,123, 565, 191, and 28[74]. So like it or not, the quota system was the only way to improve the educational status of the Malays.

As the educational and economic policies implemented from 1957 to 1969 hindered the progress of having equal opportunities to everyone to enroll at higher education regardless of his wealth, family background, place of residence, ethnicity, or gender, the government started to implement the preferential educational policies since 1971. The purpose of these policies was to eliminate the association of poverty with ethnicity. The aim of the ethnic quota system was to ensure that the

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[74] Abu Shah, Ibrahim Bin, *op.cit.*, p.156.

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enrollment in public universities would gradually reflect the ethnic composition of the general population. In order to achieve that target, the government established several Malay-only programs and institutions.

The Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA), or the Council of Trust for Indigenous Peoples was established as a key vehicle to realize the objectives of the NEP. In the beginning, MARA was created in order to encourage, guide, train, and assist the indigenous peoples to participate actively and progressively in both commercial and industrial enterprises. Its goal was to help create a strong and viable Malay business community. Among the various indigenous groups, the Malays constantly benefited the most from the various MARA programmes, particularly in the field of education where MARA was thought to be most successful.

The Rural and Industrial Development Authority's (RIDA) training center was renamed the MARA College of Business and Professional Studies and then, in October 1967, the MARA Institute of Technology (MIT). MIT retained its name until it was upgraded to university status in 1999. MIT was the most important component in MARA's educational programmes. Initially, it offered courses in business, accountancy, commerce and secretarial studies and later on, applied sciences, engineering, languages, applied arts, computer sciences, and architecture. By 1986, MIT offered 91 courses and opened a branch in every state. Most of its programmes are centered at the certificate and diploma levels. By the passage of years, MIT has expanded to host 45,000 students in 1996. That expansion is impressive if we know that the number of students was 6,900 in 1975.

NEP caused the resentment of some segments of the Non-Bumiputeras. They saw the quota system and the ethnic preferential educational policies as hindering their legitimate educational aspirations. With the enforcement of the quota system many academically qualified Chinese and Indian students were denied enrollment at the cheap local public universities. While rich non-Bumiputeras could go abroad and study overseas at their own expense, there were poor non-Bumiputeras who could not afford to do so. In order to satisfy these angry non-Bumiputeras, MCA was granted a permission to establish a government-assisted college, Tunku Abdul Rahman College (TARC), for non-Malays to pursue certificate and diploma education. If we compare MIT which was established to cater for the educational needs of Bumiputeras with TARC which was established for Chinese students, we can notice that TARC was a much smaller institute who had a limited budget for its development and

expansion. Not surprisingly, the enrollment at TARC was not as big as the case of MIT. From 4,036 students in 1975, to around 6,000 in 1980, the number of enrolled at TARC reached only 9,000 in 1996.

In addition to MIT, MARA also established the MARA Junior Science Colleges (MJSCs) as a means to increase the number of Malay in order to increase the number of Malay students studying science and science related courses. The basic goal of MJSCs was to ensure produce sufficient numbers of qualified Malays students enough to fill their quota in public universities. In order to help Malay students to excel at these junior colleges, MJSCs recruited the best teachers and had generous public funds[75]. The MJSCs were essentially residential-type schools and had a highly prestigious status. While they started with 10 colleges enrolling 6,311 students in 1984, they expanded to comprise 25 ones enrolling 15,424 students in 2000.

Another step taken in order to increase the number of Bumiputera students enrolled at the local public universities was the launching of the Residential Secondary School System since 1971 with the purpose of increasing the number of Malay students in science courses.

A fourth important procedure implemented by the state to increase the Malay intake into public universities was the creation of the two-year matriculation programme in 1970. In its initial implementation, the students were attached to 11 selected residential schools during the first year, while they became fully attached to their respective university in the second year. The matriculation programme was initially implemented in UPM and UTM where matriculation programmes were started to admit Malay students into diploma courses, and those who performed well in these courses were then transferred to degree courses. Later on UM, USM, and UKM also introduced various matriculation science programmes in order to admit Malay students. If the students succeeded in these matriculation courses, they would be admitted as undergraduates in science and technology courses.

With the establishment of private colleges during the beginning of 1990s, the state exerted some efforts in order to increase the number of Malays studying at private colleges. Therefore, matriculation programmes had been also framed out to a number of mostly Malay-owned private colleges. MARA also increased its matriculation programmes by converting a number of its MJSC into colleges in order to absorb the Malay matriculation students. However, this move had encountered a number of problems

[75] Sulaiman, Siti Zahara Binti, *"MARA Junior Science College: Student Selection and Its Implication for Educational System Development"*, Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1975), pp.101-109.

such as lack of proper regulation and accreditation of the private colleges conducting such programmes, poor facilities, unqualified faculty members, inferior quality of education. Moreover, to further accelerate the entry of Malay students to take up degree courses at the university level, the matriculation programmes were recently shortened from two years to one year. One result of the shortened period of the matriculation programme was the increasing complaints from the lack of preparedness of the students for university education.

The concerted efforts of the establishment of the Residential Colleges[76], various MARA training and education institutions, and the matriculation programme had improved the educational status of many Malays. While the NEP policies encouraged the sharp increase of the Malays' intake into public higher education institutions, they to some extent ignored the non-Malays. Only TARC was established in order to cater for the needs of the non-Malays to receive certificate and diploma education. Moreover, the quota system made it quite difficult for Chinese and Indian students to get a place at the subsidized local public universities. Thus, non-Bumiputera students had to look for other alternatives in order to pursue their higher education. While rich Chinese and Indian families could send their children to study overseas, the poor ones could not follow the same path. These affirmative action policies favouring the Malays restricted the educational opportunities available for the non-Malays. In the 1970s and the 1980s the calls for establishing Merdeka University were revived again due to the scarcity of local higher education opportunities for the non-Bumiputeras. Due to the increased frustration among the Chinese population, former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman called in one of his articles for mutual sacrifices from all races and for increasing the number of the Chinese students at public universities. However, he stood firm in his rejection of the idea of establishing a fully fledged Chinese university to be called Merdeka University.

> The issue of whether a Chinese-sponsored university (to be known as Merdeka University) should be permitted or not continued to arouse feelings in 1979, although the government had categorically ruled out the proposal the previous year. The question of the percentages of places reserved for bumiputras in Malaysian universities also proved a source of controversy during the year […]. Everyone is expected to contribute his little share to make a success of Malaysia. Any move which runs counter to this ideal would be unwise. The government, too, must consider the position of

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[76] The NEP aimed at increasing the number of Bumiputera students enrolled at professional courses like medicine, dentistry, engineering and pharmacy. As the numbers of Bumiputera students at these professional courses were limited before 1969, residential junior science colleges were established in order to help create a visible Malay industrial and business community. These residential colleges were providing science education to the talented but poor Malay students in order to qualify them for pursuing their higher education locally or overseas. In 1980 there were eleven residential colleges educating 3,390 students, but the number of students reached 14,848 in 1987. See also: Selvaratnam, Viswanathan, *Ethnicity, Inequality and Higher Education in Peninsular Malaysia: The Sociological Implications* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1987), pp.17-18.

Chinese students who seek admission into our universities. They should be given more places in the universities, and students with good scholastic attainments should not be debarred from entering them.[77]

In spite of the recommendation of the Tunku in 1979, the government continued to implement the quota system which drove many qualified non-Bumiputera students away from the doors of local public universities. This preferential treatment for Bumiputeras further alienated Chinese and Indians and induced tense ethnic relations. While Malays looked at the affirmative action policies as a compensation for the past deprivation, some Chinese and Indians considered it to be a contradiction of having equal educational opportunity.

TABLE 7.1. Membership of Registered Professionals by Ethnic Group, 1970-2000 (in Percentages)[78].

Profession	1970 (Peninsula)				1980				1990				2000			
	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others	Bumiputeras	Chinese	Indians	Others	Bumiputeras	Chinese	Indians	Others	Bumiputeras	Chinese	Indians	Others
Architects	4.3	80.9	1.4	13.4	10.7	86.5	1.3	1.5	23.6	74.4	1.2	0.8	28.9	69.3	1.5	0.3
Accountants	6.8	65.4	7.9	19.9	7.4	77.9	7.2	7.5	11.2	81.2	6.2	1.4	15.9	77.0	5.8	1.3
Engineers	7.3	71	13.5	8.3	18.5	71.3	6.3	3.9	34.8	58.2	5.3	1.7	26.5	67.1	6.4	---
Dentists	3.1	89.1	5.1	2.8	10.3	65.7	21.3	2.7	24.3	50.7	23.7	1.3	34.8	42.1	21.0	2.1
Doctors	3.7	44.8	40.2	11.3	9.7	43.7	41.7	4.9	27.8	34.7	34.4	3.1	36.7	30.9	28.4	4.0
Veterinarian surgeons	40.0	30.0	15.0	15.0	17.8	27.8	46.5	7.9	35.9	23.7	37.0	3.4	42.6	26.8	28.5	2.1
Surveyors	---	---	---	---	31.2	58.7	7.2	2.9	44.7	49.6	3.7	2.0	47.8	47.4	3.0	1.8
Lawyers	---	---	---	---	14.8	48.5	35.4	1.3	22.4	50.0	26.5	1.2	31.3	41.0	26.8	0.9

Source: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

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[77] Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, *As a Matter of Interest* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (ASIA) LTD, 1981), pp.77-81.

[78] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

D.4) Higher Education Policies and Social Cohesion

> We had to win all the people over to our side, and to do so at a time when they were wary, even suspicious, of one another. The Malays felt that the Chinese would victimise them, while the Chinese felt that the Malays would abuse the powers they were given.[79]

These words uttered by the first Prime Minister of Malaysia explain the divisions created by the colonial administration. State planners and educationalists were quite aware of the inherited divisive and latently explosive multi-ethnic society. In spite of this knowledge, the progress towards ethnic integration and social cohesion in the period from 1957 to 1969 was slow. One reason for this slow social cohesion process was the gradual approach implemented by the first Prime Minister. He believed in the importance of "give and take" and "compromise". He thought that "on many issues there had to be a policy of compromise, a policy of give and take. It was maintained that the policies eventually agreed upon were on the whole fair to all communities, bearing in mind that in a multi-racial society no community could have its own way"[80]. Tunku Abdul Rahman was aware that as Prime Minister of a multi-ethnic society, he could no longer just represent his UMNO party or the Malays solely. He believed that he should represent the whole multi-ethic society who chose the Alliance to govern them. Within UMNO there was a faction that called exclusively for the rights of Malays at the expense of the other ethnic groups. This faction could challenge the Tunku's policies, if he deviated or neglected the Malay demands; it would press for the strengthening of a Malay national identity, a Malay national culture and a Malay nation-state. The Tunku used to give concesseions to the various ethnic groups in order to maintain peace and stability of the country. However, the Tunku could not ignore this faction totally. He had in occasions to accommodate their demands, wherever possible or whenever he felt that their position or their pressures were getting stronger. For the Tunku, "it was obvious that the Malays, might, without the protection of the Constitution, find themselves at a loss in the only homeland they had. This eventually might well mean trouble as the outcome"[81].

Perhaps the mistake of the Tunku was his slow and hisitant economic and educational policies which marginalized more and more Malays after indpendence. He had analyzed the Malaysian dilemma very well but failed to implement the necessary reforms in the required speed. One reason for this slowliness was his fear that the quick changes might jeoparadize the stability of the whole society:

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[79] Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Viewpoints* (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (ASIA) LTD, 1978), p.89.

[80] Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Looking Back: Monday Musings and Memories* ((Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977), p.172.

[81] *Ibid.,* p.79.

A nation like Malaysia with its multi-racial society, its multiplicity of religions and customs, needs a man who can give the people security and a feeling of confidence. I went on to say that after generations of foreign rule the people were divided, and it would take a long time to unite them.[82]

As these policies of fairness to all races, of compromise and of give and take did not improve the economic or the educational status of many of the impoverished rural and urban Malays social cohesion did not take place and eventually ethnic riots took place in 1969. The Alliance politicians had recognized the important role that education can play in facilitating social cohesion in the newly-independent state. The major dilemma encountered by Malaysian politicians during establishing their educational system was how to balance the promotion of Malay as the medium of instruction with guaranteeing Chinese and Indian rights to be educated in their mother tongues. In order to strengthen social cohesion and to cement the ethnically-divided society, the Alliance politicians also argued that it was mandatory to create a set of common values. While this point of view was agreed upon, what were and who defined these common values was a bone of contention that was rigorously debated. One function of education is to preserve culture. Therefore, a prevalent view looked at education as a means to preserve, transmit and develop each ethnic group's language and culture. This point of view influenced non-bumiputera communities to the extent that they regarded the policy to build a Malay-medium education system as a move that would hinder and curb their mother tongue education and lead to the gradual demise of their values, languages, and cultures.

The common values were only strongly implemented after the riots of 1969. They were formulated by the Department of National Unity and proclaimed by the Malaysian King, the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, on 31 August 1970. A bill on the common values, titled *Rukunegara*, was approved by Parliament in 1971 and later was integrated into educational curricula. The final draft of the bill emphasized five principles: Belief in God; Loyalty to King and Country; Upholding the Constitution; Acceptance of the Rule of Law; and Good Behaviour and Morality[83].

In addition to adopting the common values (*Rukunegara*) and restricting by law the discussions of sensitive issues, the government decided after 1970 to increase Malay participation in the economy and education was assigned the role of improving the skill levels and varieties, especially in the

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[82] Putra, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Viewpoints, *op.cit.*, p.85.

[83] Comber, Leon, 13 May 1969: A Historical Survey of Sino-Malay Relations, *op.cit.*, pp.79-81. See also: Ahmad, Shariff, *Tun Razak: Prince of Titiwangsa* (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd, 2001), pp.106-107. Abd. Samad, Paridah, *Tun Abdul Razak: A Phenomenon in Malaysian Politics, A Political Biography* (Kuala Lumpur: Affluent Master Sdn. Bhd., 1998), p.80-105.

management, technical, and scientific fields of the Malay labour force. This goal had to be achieved through a variety of ethnic preferential policies and programs. In higher education, the government decided to enforce the quota system because if admission policy were to be solely dependent on academic meritocracy, it would exclude many Malays from enrolling at public universities and this would adversely hinder national unity. Educational ethnic preferential treatment policies were not only crucial to expanding and upgrading the quality of the Malay labour force, but it was also important for promoting social cohesion.

Since the launch of the NEP in 1971, ethnic preferential policies and programmes had been implemented to expand Malay participation in higher education. Article 153 of the Constitution was used as the pretext for safeguarding the special position of the Malays via the implementation of a system of quotas for them in employment, admission to education and training, and access to scholarships. Prior to the implementation of the quota system, Malays were under-represented at tertiary education level, especially in science and technical courses. The National Educational Act of 1971 introduced a number of ethnic preferential policies that favoured Malays in general and the Bumiputeras in particular, in order to raise the Malay enrolment at the tertiary level. For example, the admission policy made it obligatory for all public higher education institutions, especially universities, to reserve 55 percent of their places for Malay students. In the early years of the implementation of the quota system, it was argued that since the Malays were under-represented in universities in the past, their proportion had to exceed 55 percent in order to compensate them for their educational deprivation in the past; during the 1975-80 period, the ratio was around 66.2 percent.

In reality, however, Malay admissions into local universities have continued to exceed 55 percent since 1980. The reason was because policy makers took into consideration the total university ethnic enrolment figure that included enrolment in overseas universities, the majority of whom were non-Malays. With the inclusion of non-Bumiputera students studying overseas, Malay enrollment in universities would be higher than 55 percent in order for the total Malay university enrollment figure to account for the 55 percent of the total university enrollment.

The number of students enrolled at tertiary institutions has significantly increased since the implementation of the NEP in 1971, especially since 1995, when the Malaysian government intensified their efforts to accelerate the human resource development. In 1970, the tertiary enrollment of Bumiputeras was 54.1 percent of the total enrollment, constituting 82.9 percent and 39.7 percent at

certificate and diploma and degrees level respectively (Table 7.2). These figures are only for local public institutions, and given that the majority of private and overseas students are non-Malay, the total percentage of enrollment of Bumiputeras would be lower than 54.1 percent. As for the enrollment of students in public and private (including overseas) tertiary institutions, in 1980, the Bumiputeras made 46 percent of the total, constituting 46.3 percent and 45.7 percent in the certificate and diploma, and degree courses respectively. By 1999, the Bumiputeras enrollment made up 53.9 percent and 58.7 percent at the certificate and diploma, and degree levels respectively, totaling 56 percent of the total tertiary enrollment.

Another significant contribution of the NEP was its success in changing the distribution of Bumiputera tertiary students in the public and private education sector. Historically, local public institutions were the enclaves of the majority of the Bumiputera students. If we look at the figures of 1980 for example we can notice that Bumiputeras made up 72.8 percent of the total enrollment in local public tertiary institutions, constituting 87.7 percent and 62.7 percent in the certificate and diploma, and degree programs respectively (Table 7.2). In contrast, the Bumiputeras made up only 21.1 percent of the student numbers in the private tertiary sector, constituting 15.7 percent and 26.8 percent in the certificate and diploma, and degree programs respectively. By 1999, Bumiputeras enrollment in the private sector had increased dramatically; 39.4 percent of enrollments with especially huge increase in the certificate and diploma programs where they made up 44.5 percent.

TABLE 7.2. Distribution of Enrollment in Tertiary Education by Ethnic Group (in Percentages)[84].

Type of Education	1970			1980			1999	
	Bumiputera	Chinese	Indian	Bumiputera	Chinese	Indian	Bumiputeras	Non-Bumiputeras
Public Sector								
Certificate & Diploma	82.9	15.5	1	87.7	10.9	1.4	78.9	21.1
Degree	39.7	49.2	7.3	62.7	31.5	5.8	69.9	30.1
Subtotal	54.1	40.3	5.6	72.8	23.2	4	72.7	27.3
Private Sector								
Certificate & Diploma	---	---	---	15.7	71.2	12.8	44.5	55.5
Degree	---	---	---	26.8	59.4	13.8	16.3	83.7
Subtotal	---	---	---	21.1	65.6	13.3	39.4	60.6
Public & Private Sector	---	---	---	46.3	45.7	8	53.9	46.1
Certificate & Diploma	---	---	---	46.3	45.7	8	53.9	46.1
Degree	---	---	---	45.7	44.7	9.6	58.7	41.3
Total	---	---	---	46	45.2	8.8	56	44

Source: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

In addition to the success of the quota system in increasing the number of Bumiputera students enrolled at tertiary education in general, the quota system also enhanced Malay participation in the science and technical courses at the university level. Historically, the number of Malays enrolled in higher education was disproportionately found in the humanities and arts faculties such that their numbers were much lower than that of non-Malays in the science, and engineering departments. For example, between 1959 and 1970, the ratio for Malays to Chinese graduates in engineering, science, and medicine was 1:100, 1:20, and 1:9 respectively. The proportion of Malay graduates in science and engineering has, however, increased significantly since the implementation of ethnic preferential policies.

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[84] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

In 2000, for the 25-29 and 35-39 age groups, Malays made up 48.2 percent and 57.1 percent and 59.9 percent and 60.2 percent respectively of those who had attained a certificate and diploma or degree in the fields of science and engineering, construction, and skills training in electronics and mechanics (Table 7.3). In contrast, the Chinese graduates' percentages across the age groups in these two fields indicated a declining trend, with the older cohort achieving a higher proportion than the younger cohort.

TABLE 7.3. Distribution of Malaysian Certificate/Diploma/Degree Holders by Main Filed of Study, Age Group, and Ethnic Group, 2000 (in Percentages)[85].

Main Field of Study	Age Group											
	25-29 Years				35-39 Years				55-59 Years			
	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Total	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Total	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Total
Education	77.20	10.39	4.59	100.00	70.48	17.42	7.16	100.00	57.04	31.34	8.49	100.00
Humanities & Arts	71.92	20.07	3.02	100.00	73.49	17.39	4.91	100.00	65.98	23.41	8.41	100.00
Social Sciences, business, law	48.35	41.59	6.74	100.00	51.89	37.21	7.09	100.00	39.41	47.09	9.68	100.00
Science	48.24	40.42	7.70	100.00	57.10	34.36	6.04	100.00	22.92	63.32	12.39	100.00
Engineering, construction, Skill training	59.87	29.56	7.88	100.00	60.21	30.93	6.65	100.00	27.54	60.10	9.93	100.00
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	72.60	10.24	3.25	100.00	80.18	9.22	2.95	100.00	43.75	43.44	8.44	100.00
Health and Welfare	65.93	18.82	10.42	100.00	52.54	25.48	16.21	100.00	19.82	46.68	31.71	100.00
Service	61.47	25.09	6.81	100.00	72.56	14.22	10.26	100.00	60.58	25.00	11.54	100.00
Unknown	56.25	31.69	6.24	100.00	56.36	31.89	6.50	100.00	45.95	40.70	8.93	100.00

Source: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

The success of NEP and the quota system have contributed to the growth of a sizeable Malay professional class. During the 1970s and 1980s, there was limited Malay representation of architects,

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[85]Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, various Malaysia Plans.

accountants, engineers, dentists, doctors and lawyers. Since 1990, their numbers in these professions have increased gradually except for accountants and less so for architects and engineers. By 2000, about one in three dentists, doctors, and lawyers and one in four architects and engineers were Malays. Indeed, while Chinese were previously over-represented in the majority of the professions, by 2000, Malay percentage has exceeded 30 percent except for architects, accountants, and engineers. 17.3 percent of Malays above 20 years of age benefited from some sort of post-secondary education, while only 16.5 percent and 13.0 percent of Chinese and Indians of the same age group had the same level of education[86]. In spite of this enhancement in the status of Malays, they are still lagging behind the Chinese and the Indians in certain professions, if we take into consideration the number of their population.

The manner in which ethnic preferential policies were implemented and the prevalent non-Malay sentiment that they were deprived of equal educational opportunities had negatively impacted the role of education in achieving social cohesion. Indeed, the educational system had become marked with the presence of ethnic enclaves.

E) Conclusion

To sum up, the quality of education increased in consequence of the appropriation of more public funds to the newly established universities during the 1970s and 1980s. But so did the quality of education elsewhere in the world during the same period. Hence, while the Malaysian government was able to overcome important parts of the colonial legacy through the enforcement of NEP, it could not close the gap between Malaysia and its former colonial ruler. It is true that some of problems inherited from the colonial era were overcome. However, new problems emerged to haunt the quality of Malaysian higher education. Likewise, equity of access to higher education institutions improved specifically for Malays, as the numbers of universities grew and affirmative action policies privileged Malays. Yet the segregation of ethnic groups remained.

In some newly established universities, monolingual education was practiced at least for a number of years, whereby Bahasa Melayu was given priority over English in a government bid to

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[86] Sriskandarajah, Dhananjayan, "Development, Inequality and Ethnic Accommodation: Clues from Malaysia, Mauritius and Trinidad and Tobago", *Oxford Development Studies*, vol. 33, no 1, March 2005, p. 70.

disseminate the use of the national language. But the preference for Bahasa Melayu alienated the Chinese and the Indians and drove them back into their own "colonies". The federal government as well as the state governments could not overcome the divisive legacy of multilingualism that the colonial authorities had entrenched. As a result, increased public spending on education, specifically on higher education institutions, could not contribute to the fostering of social cohesion. Malaysia has remained a divisive society without an option of establishing a public sphere. Habermas's theory of the public sphere argued that "rule-free reasoning" into more fundamental arguments about politics in the core condition for the legitimacy of government. The early post-colonial experience of Malaysia exhibits the predicament of Habermas's theory. In absence of the historical conditions for the formation of a public sphere during the colonial era, the post-colonial Malaysian state had no prospect for establishing it, neither through institutions of higher education nor any other means. The result was a severe disturbance of public life.

The first twelve years that followed independence did not witness any radical changes in the university educational policies. The period from 1957 to 1969 was a continuation of the same educational policies adpoted during the colonial era. Apart from increasing the number of enrolled students, nothing substantial took place. It was the riots of May 1969 that forced the Malaysian Government to change its educational as well as economic policies. With this shocking event, the priorities of educational planning significantally changed. The fifteen years that followed the ethnic riots of 1969 witnessed the establishment and development of six completely new universities. It was the restricted availability of university education in the colonial period together with the sudden discrete increase in the demand for local graduates to replace expatriates that stood behind that quantatitive expansion of Malaysian universities.

Due to the limited access to university education in Sarawak and Sabah, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak and Universiti Malaysia Sabah were established in 1992 and 1994 respectively. It was the strong political pressure from the indigenous population of Sarawak and Sabah that led to the establishment of these two public universities.

However, public universities could not satisfy the increasing social demand for education, therefore solutions had to be sought. Coming under pressure to reduce its financial burdens, the government began to think again of alternatives to public education and privatization was the solution. In 1996 the Malaysian government decided to allow private universities to be established. In addition to

this, a package of reforms to be implmented in public universities were agreed upon. The next chapter will investage the theoretical advantages and the potential disadvantages of university privatization in the global context.

Chapter VIII

Privatization of Education: Conceptual Framework

A) Introduction

Following the analysis of the factors that led the Malaysian government to establish its affirmative action policies, this chapter explores the framework for the revision of these policies at the turn of the twenty-first century and the reasons for the participation of the private sector in higher education institutions. The chapter discusses the general and principal aspects of the privatization of education. In admitting the private sector to the Malaysian university system, the government followed a general trend towards the increasing the share of private investment in existing publicly owned universities as well as newly founded private higher education institutions. This trend has been noteworthy specifically in states like Germany, France, Spain, the UK, Nigeria and a number of other African states, where the higher education sector had traditionally been publicly owned[1]. Hence, this chapter seeks to discuss the merits and demerits of private sector participation in higher education in general and theoretical terms.

In the following two chapters the social history of education will be expanded to subject the recent change of the educational policies of the Malaysian government to close scrutiny. As the researcher seeks to position the effects of government policies in the wider context of social relations and ethnic conflicts, he is compelled to follow the bottom-up perspective of social historians even when it comes to the analysis of recent phenomena. As has been said in Chapters I and II[2], social history research has focused on the study of underprivileged groups and has sought to determine the causes of economic deprivation and the resulting political dissatisfaction.

Any application of methods of historical inquiry to recent time periods encounters the problem of the availability of primary sources. In the case of Malaysia, this problem is aggravated by the lack of opportunity for independent empirical field research in the country. Yet, these constraints can be overcome by recourse to the reports of international institutions like the World Bank and the records of international civil society organizations operating in Malaysia, like Oxfam. While these sources may not reveal the full scale of the consequences of recent changes of government educational policies, they suffice to disclose socio-economic factors of discontent that became manifest in ethnicity-based public violence in the autumn of 2007.

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[1] See Apollos Okwuchi Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism. Britain and University Education for Africans. 1860-1960* (London: Cass 1997).

[2] See above, Chapter I, notes 58-60, Chapter II, notes 20-28.

As it bridges the past with the present as dimensions of time, the social history approach can shed light on the role of higher education institutions in the interface between education and society not merely in the past but also in the present. As Habermas's theory of the public sphere suggests, this role continues to be predominantly political in kind. By consequence, a significant change of government educational policies, affecting the structure of higher education institutions and the conditions of their operation, must have political effects. It is within this context that the privatization of higher education institutions in Malaysia will be analyzed.

One major difficulty with privatization results from the vagueness of the concept that covers widely disparate practical measures ranging, in the higher education sector, from cost-sharing public-private partnerships in the establishment and operation of universities to private ownership of higher education institutions. Vice versa, the concept does usually not imply the complete withdrawal of state institutions which often retain some degree of legitimizing power in the setup of universities and some political influence in their operation.

B) The Reasons behind the Spread of Privatization

There are various reasons behind the widespread support of privatization during the last two decades. However, there two main forces that boosted privatization. The following section will deal with these two factors
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B.1) Paradigm Shift in the Political Economy of Development

Higher education systems and institutions around the world have not been exempt from the demands and impact of globalization. As in the case of other major social institutions, universities have been undergoing dramatic reorganization along principles which converge largely around the economic costs and benefits of higher education. The ideology behind this development is a belief that only the free market can ensure both quality and efficiency, and that the hand of government should be light and used only for occasional adjustments. The rise of a philosophy based on market deregulation, state decentralization, and reduced state intervention into economic affairs in general greatly enhanced the stature and relative position of market models in the broader socio-political economy.

The past twenty or so years have seen a transformation of political thinking. The result is a gradual but nonetheless systematic shift in political thinking. The familiar centralized institutional forms, which once enjoyed control over economic development, are being dismantled in one country after another. These changes set the context in which not only industry but also the universities will

have to operate and within which both will have to work out their strategies for survival. A related assumption is that, in the past, the university system has been inefficient and unaccountable, so quality has been patchy and almost accidental. In many countries the national government commitment to universities, expressed for example in the percentage of total university costs that are government financed has been declining[3].

Thus, policies have emerged in some countries to reduce the public unit costs for study places and to increase the students' share with the introduction or increase of tuition and other fees. Such changes have been occurring in universities around the world and in the relationships between governments and universities. Policies moved towards introducing more market characteristics to this level of education. In Germany, the birthplace of professorial authority and freedom, the Federal Education Minister announced plans to challenge tenure and to introduce performance pay. In the United States, performance-based funding is used by many states and its application is spreading rapidly. In the United Kingdom a flat-rate means-tested tuition fee has been introduced to the higher education system.

Such Policy shifts took various forms such as:

- The inauguration of tuition fees where higher education had formerly been free.
- The very sharp rise in this tuition where public sector tuition has already existed.
- The imposition of user charges or fees to recover the expenses of institutionally provided and formerly heavily subsidized residence and dining halls.
- The diminution of student grants or scholarships.
- An increase in the effective cost recovery on students' loans.
- The official encouragement, and frequently a public subsidization, of a tuition dependent private higher education sector[4].

- The emergence of a global education marketplace embodied in the form of a variety of multinational higher education initiatives – ranging from *twinning programs* linking academic institutions or programs in one country with counterparts in another to universities in one country *setting up branch campuses in another.*[5]

- The requirement of higher education to demonstrate efficiency, effectiveness and value for money through external quality assurance system.
- Massification of access at existing or reduced levels of funding.
- The requirement to run universities according to private sector principles and the dominance of managerial and entrepreneurial approaches to universities (corporatization).
- The requirement to diversify sources of funding.

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[3] Ziguras, Christopher; Reinke, Leanne; and Mcburnie, Grant, "Hardly Neutral Players: Australia's Role in Liberalizing Trade in Education Services", *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 2003, p.360.

[4] Johnstone, Bruce, "The Finance and Politics of Cost Sharing in higher Education", Paper presented at the *International Conference on the Economics of Education* held at Peking University, (Beijing : Peking University, 16-19 May, 2001), pp.3-4.

[5] Altbach, G. Philip, "Globalization and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World", *Tertiary Education and Management*, vol. 10, 0, no. 1, March, 2004, p.12.

- The shift from basic research to applied research, increased emphasis on academic/industry links, and greater concern with issues of intellectual property rights.[6]

- The escalation of the commodification of culture and the new interest in treating universities as cultural factories and centers of private investment.[7] The commercial university, also known as academic capitalism, consists of a package that is based on *marketising, privatizing*, and *corporatizing* methods and modes for universities, and includes the proliferating and strengthening of private institutions, entrepreneurial management and a multiplicity of cost-recovering mechanisms.[8]

B.2) The Increasing Austerity in Public Funds

Higher education is costly, especially when costs are magnified by dramatically increased enrollment pressures. In addition, governments are also besieged with other pressing public needs, many of which seem more politically compelling than the claims of higher education and which, together with higher education, greatly exceed, in almost all countries, the available scarce public funds. Underlying most of the issues and problems in higher education is a high demand combined with already high and rapidly increasing costs. The result is an increasing sense of austerity within the higher educational systems of most countries, and a heightened appreciation of the importance of other than governmental revenue. In addition, higher education in many countries is under attack for its alleged lack of accountability, or seeming non-responsiveness, whether to students, the ministry, or business and industry. This pushed the governments to make sure that there is an appropriate array of providers of university education, that these institutions are managed effectively and efficiently, that students have informed choice and that there is in place quality assurance accountability[9].

C) Different Definitions of Privatization of Education

C.1) Cost Sharing

With university education being offered to increasing numbers of students and with limited public resources to underpin this demand for high-quality university education, students are required to

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[6] Singh, Mala, "Re-instating the Public Good into Higher Education Transformation", *International News*, no. 46, November 2001, pp.24-25.

[7] Kachur, Jerrold, "Whose Intellectual Property? Whose Rights? GATS, TRIPS and Education in Canada", *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*, vol.1, no. 3, November 2003, p.375.

[8] Schugurensky, Daniel and Harden, Adam, "From Cordoba to Washington: WTO/GATS and Latin American Education [1]", *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*, vol. 1, no. 3, November 2003, pp pp.324-325.

[9] Wertz, Richard, *Issues and Concerns in the Privatization and Outsourcing of Campus Services in Higher Education*, Occasional Paper No.10, (New York: National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, November 2000), p.5.

play an increasing role in alleviating the financial pressures on the public purse. Cost-sharing can take various forms and it has several meanings. In its simplest form it refers to the gradual transfer of financial responsibilities of university education from governments towards the students and their families. In this research cost-sharing refers to

> a shift in the burden of higher educational costs from an exclusive or nearly exclusive reliance on the government or taxpayer to some shared reliance by the family and/or the student. Thus, cost sharing generally implies one or more of the following: (a) the imposition of tuition where it did not exist or the sharp increase in tuition where it did; (b) the imposition of break-even charges on institutionally-or governmentally-provided room and board; (c) the shift of grants or very highly subsidized student loans to at least some reliance on student loans that yield a real cost recovery through a positive rate of interest; and (d) encouragement of a tuition-supported private higher education sector.[10]

C.2) Student Loans

Major arguments used to defend the development towards student loans revolve around the following. In many countries, students gain substantial private benefits from university education through future wage premiums over those with only secondary education. In addition, the limited public budgets and other important issues demanding public investments, such as health care, infrastructure, and primary and secondary education mean that university education has to compete for scarce resources. Furthermore, having students pay part of the costs of university education will lead to better-informed choices by students. Cost-sharing is often supplemented by student loan schemes as "deferred payment plans"[11]. They exist to allow students from poor families to realize their higher education opportunities.

Student loans are an important form of aid mostly have to be repaid within 10 or 20 years. However, there are considerable differences in terms of repayment, and in the interest rate charged. There are three different types of student loans:

Income-Contingent Loans

In this scheme students would undertake to pay a fixed proportion of their income each year until their debt was repaid. Sweden introduced income-related repayment in 1989, which means that graduates are expected to pay 4 percent of their income until their loan is repaid[12].Unlike in cases of

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[10] Johnstone, Bruce, *Cost Sharing in Africa: A Panel Discussion*, (Buffalo, New York: the Center for Comparative and Global Studies in Education, September 25, 2000), p.1.

[11] Johnstone, Bruce, "Income Contingent Loans and Graduate Taxes: Can They Work in Developing and Transitional Countries?", Paper presented at the *International Forum of the Association for the Study of Higher Education*, (Oregon: the International Forum of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, November 12, 2003), p.2.

[12] Maureen, Woodhall, "Student Loans", in: Carnoy, Martin (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Economics of Education*, 2nd edition, (New York: Elsevier Science Ltd., 1995), pp.421-422.

conventional loans, borrowers who have paid the maximum of years without paying off their loan, can be exempted from paying the remaining amount of money.

Conventional Loans

A conventional, or mortgage type, loan carries three contractual elements: (1) a rate of interest; (2) a repayment period; and (3) such as whether the payments are to be in equal monthly installments, or installments that begin small and increase over time, or some other arrangement that yields a stream of payments sufficient to amortize the loan at the contractual rate of interest[13].

Graduate Taxes

Graduate taxes are a variant on the income contingent loan, where the student, in return for government subsidization of higher education in the form of low or no tuition, becomes obliged to an income surtax, generally for the rest of his earning lifetime. The purpose of a graduate tax is to shift a portion of the costs of higher education from the government or taxpayers to students, but to be paid only after the student has graduated and is earning an income[14].

C.3) Corporatization and Privatization

Next to cost sharing, ownership and service delivery form crucial definitional parts of privatization. According to some studies central planning and control of higher education has resulted in uniformity, rigidity, and politicization of the system at a time when diversity, responsiveness to evolving development demands, and faculty and student commitment to institutional objectives of quality and relevance are essential. The poor quality of graduates, irrelevant curricula, the duplication of resources and rigidities were perceived as the main factors that prevented universities from acting as a vehicle for national recovery. From the perspective of economic liberals, all institutions, especially state-based institutions, were rigid and inflexible and inhibited the individual choice and institutional autonomy seen as necessary for bringing about much needed corrective adjustments. Thus, the growing shortage of public funds, combined with the desire for replacing the state as the sole source of university funding, has contributed to an unprecedented preoccupation in higher education with opening up additional and alternative sources of funding[15].

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[13] Johnstone, Bruce, "Income Contingent Loans and Graduate Taxes: Can They Work in Developing and Transitional Countries?", *op.cit.* , p.7.
[14] *Ibid.*, p.8.
[15] Weiler, Hans, *States and Markets: Competing Paradigm for the reform of higher Education in Europe*, Occasional Paper No.16, (New York: National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, March 2001), p.15.

Constituting universities as corporate bodies with a liability of their own is often chosen as a venue for privatization. Corporatization has been defined as

> a formula for institutional development that puts autonomy on a self-defined basis: diversify income to increase financial resources, provide discretionary money, and reduce governmental dependency; develop new units outside traditional departments to introduce new environmental relationships and new modes of thought and training; convince heartland departments that they too can look out for themselves, raise money, actively choose among sustainable specialties, and otherwise take on an entrepreneurial outlook; evolve a set of overarching beliefs that guide and rationalize the structural changes that provide a stronger response capability; and build a central steering capacity to make large choices that help focus the institution.[16]

Consequently, corporatization has the four main features of budget reforms, especially the introduction of performance and other forms of more incentive-sensitive budgeting; expenditure reforms, namely the removal of restrictions that impede the optimal allocation and reallocation of public revenues; these reforms include provisions to allow greater interchange between expenditure categories, budget year 'carry-forward', and the contracting out of non-academic services; personnel employment and compensation reforms, which consist of freeing faculty and staff from civil service status, and allowing institutions to set salaries and other terms and conditions of employment; and devolution of spending authority from the central government ministry to regional units of government (Province, State, Länder, Oblast, etc.), and then to systems and/or institutions of higher education themselves.

Contrary to corporatization, there have been various definitions of privatization, each focusing on one or more technical aspects. Thus, privatization has been equated with the transfer of ownership of assets from the state to private agencies[17]. But the ownership definition has also been supplemented by the definition of privatization in terms of the supply of services[18].

However, there is a need for an even wider definition that covers more aspects of the phenomenon of privatization, namely (1) divestiture, and sale of state-owned enterprises and assets; (2) contracting out of services, previously delivered by government agencies, to the private and nongovernmental organization (NGO) sectors; and (3) deregulation, through the removal of statutory controls on the behavior of organizations, and individuals[19].

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[16] Johnstone, Bruce; Arora, Alka; and Experton, William, *The Financing and Management of Higher Education: a Status Report on Worldwide Reforms*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), p.15.

[17] Trotter, Stephen, "Privatization", in: Kuper, Adam and Kuper, Jessica (eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, (London: Routledge, 1996), p.672.

[18] Lee, Simon, "Privatization", in: Jones, Barry (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy*, Vol.3, (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.1273-1274.

[19] Ernst, John, "Privatization", in: Shafritz, Jay, *International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration*, Vol.3, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), p.1741.

When applied to education, privatization sometimes refers to change of ownership only,[20] ignoring corporatization. As corporatization is often intertwined with other privatization processes, a more comprehensive definition is needed. The definition offered by educationalist Bruce Johnstone takes into account the various aspects of privatization and suggests that the

> term describes more of a tendency or direction than an absolute state, and applies to the several different dimensions of *ownership, mission, source of revenue, extent of governmental regulation, and norms of management*. A privately owned university can be quite dependent on governmental (taxpayer) revenue and also be highly regulated by government. In contrast, a university that is clearly publicly or governmentally owned, and subject entirely to the government's ultimate authority may, as a policy of the government, be treated with considerable autonomy, expected to operate under norms associated with private enterprise, and made to operate mainly on non-governmental revenue- and thus *de facto* very private. By identifying 'privatization' on the worldwide university change agenda, I am referring both to the encouragement of privately owned universities, but even more to the *privatization of governmentally or state-owned and ultimately state-controlled universities.*[21]

The following table explains the model of privatization that the researcher will use in explaining the phenomenon of privatization[22].

[20] Dima, Ana-Maria, "Privatization and Organizational Evolution in Higher Education", Paper presented at *the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies Summer School*, (Maribor: Center for Higher Education Policy Studies Summer School, July 2003), p.4.

[21] Johnstone, Bruce, "Chinese Higher Education in the Context of the Worldwide University Change Agenda", Paper presented at *the Chinese and Foreign University Presidents Forum*, (Beijing: the Chinese and Foreign University Presidents Forum, July 2002), p.5.

[22] Johnstone, Bruce, *Privatization in and of Higher Education in the US* (Buffalo, New York: Center for Comparative and Global Studies in Education, 2000), p.2.

TABLE 8.1. Privatization of Universities as Direction or Tendency on Multiple Dimensions.

Dimensions	High 'Publicness'			High 'Privateness'
Continuum of Privatization （Greater Privatization ------→ ）				
1.Mission or Purpose	Serves a clear 'public' mission as determined by the faculty or the state.	Mission is avowedly both public and private, but as defined by faculty.	Mission is mainly to respond to students' private interests, mainly vocational.	Mission serves interests of students, clients, and owners.
2.Ownership	Publicly owned: can be altered or even closed by state.	Public corporation or constitutional entity.	Privately non-profit: clear public accountability.	Private for-profit.
3.Source of Revenue	All taxpayer, or public, revenue.	Mainly public, but some tuition, or 'cost sharing'.	Mainly private, but public assistance to needy students.	All private revenue: mainly tuition-dependent.
4.Control by Government	High state control, as in agency or ministry.	Subject to controls, but less than other state agencies.	High degree of autonomy; control limited to oversight.	Controls limited to those over any other businesses.
5.Norms of Management	Academic norms; shared governance, antiauthoritarianism.	Academic norms, but acceptance of need for effective management.	Limited homage to academic norms; high management control.	Operated like a business; norms from management.

Source: Johnstone, Bruce, *Privatization in and of Higher Education in the US* (Buffalo, New York: Center for Comparative and Global Studies in Education, 2000), p.2.

Thus, the five analytical criteria of mission or purpose, ownership, source of revenue, control of government and norms of management will be used in analyzing the privatization models implemented supplementing the evaluative criteria of quality, equity, and social cohesion.

D) The Theoretical Advantages of the Privatization of Education

Neo-liberal economists stressed the benefits of trade liberalization, the privatization of economic activities, and the reduction of public expenditure for social services. Based upon a neo-liberal

perspective, some economists argued for reducing public expenditure for higher education by encouraging the creation of private institutions, transferring costs of attending post-secondary education to students or their families, and emphasizing loans rather scholarships for those students who could not afford to pay the increased tuition charges[23].The underlying belief was that

> private organizations were naturally more efficient, providing services to consumers on a supply-and-demand basis and being subject to the discipline of the market.[24]

Most notably, the World Bank has been an outspoken representative of these neo-liberal creeds blaming public institutions of mishandling higher education issues.

> Evidence of failure ranges from inadequate and declining resources, inefficient use of existing resources, poor quality of instruction, and low market value of degrees awarded, to public institutions' inability to meet the demand for increased access to higher education. Proponents of privatization promise that quality and efficiency can be achieved through greater and the right incentives: political and professional freedom, flexibility, and diversity.[25]

The proponents of the rationale that the introduction of market principles to higher education is virtuous, support their position with the argument that the greatest benefit accrues to graduates themselves as they receive the highest return for their investment in university education. These neo-liberal theorists expect that economic efficiency can best be achieved if individuals pay directly for the cost of education they receive but will not be achieved through higher rates of subsidization financed by taxation. They disclaim the logic according to which the existence of an educated population should be recognized as a collective national advantage. Instead they insist that those who gain personal or individual benefits from education ought to pay for it. They ignore the societal benefits of education and concentrate on its individual benefits.

One of the frequently cited rationales for privatization is the sheer need for other-than-governmental revenue. This need begins with the dramatic increase in most countries in both public and private demands for university education. This demand pressure is a function of the sheer demographic increase in the traditional college-age cohort, compound by the increasing secondary school completion rates, which in turn increases the number of those wanting to go on to higher

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[23] Johnstone, Bruce, "Cost Sharing in Higher Education: Tuition, Financial Assistance, and Accessibility in Comparative Perspective", in: Eggins, Heather (ed.), *Globalization and Reform in Higher Education*, (London: Society for Research into Higher Education, 2003), p.5.

[24] Ginsburg, Mark; Espinoza, Oscar; Popa, Simona; and Terano, Mayumi, "Privatization, Domestic Marketisation and International Commercialisation of Higher Education: Vulnerabilities and Opportunities for Chile and Romania within the framework of WTO/GATS {1}", Globalisation, *Societies, and Education*, vol. 1, no.3, November 2003, p.430.

[25] The World Bank, *Improving Higher Education in Developing Countries*, (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1993), p.10.

education. Neo-liberal theorists believe there are limits on the ability of governments to finance the expansion in university education. Such limits prevent governments from financing universities. Therefore, other sources of finance should be sought and encouraged.

A further rationale focuses on equity and demands cost-sharing for tuition and other forms of cost-sharing. The view again is that those who benefit should at least take a share of the costs. According to the proponents of cost sharing, a very disproportionate number of the beneficiaries of higher education are from middle, upper middle, and upper income families who could and would pay at least a portion of the costs of instruction if they had to. In this instance, the higher public subsidy required by low or no tuition can be said to resemble a transfer payment from the public treasury to middle and upper middle class families. The position directly feeds into the distributive-justice argument according to which a societal condition is intolerable in which the less well-off pay for the advantages of the privileged.

E) Practical Disadvantages of the Privatization of Education

Practical disadvantages following from the implementation of privatization policies in the higher education sector have emerged from a variety of difficulties rooted in the application of the market model. The first difficulty is to surmount the inevitably fierce ideological and political challenge enshrined in any attempt to implement a policy of higher educational cost sharing. This challenge is particularly serious in countries where students are politically active and influential. In these cases students often organized strikes and went out to the streets in violent demonstrations. Some analysts even continue to apply Che Guevara's motto:

> Education is the property of no one. It belongs to the people as a whole. And if education is not given to the people, they will have to take it.[26]

Higher education investments generate external benefits important for economic development, such as the long-term returns on basic research and on technology development and transfer; because these benefits cannot be captured by individuals, they result in socially suboptimal private investment in higher education. Externalities to university education are benefits that are not captured by individuals but shared by society as a whole. Many non-economic[27] and economic

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[26] Dima, Ana-Maria, *op.cit.* , p.4.

[27] The social benefits of a well-educated population are probably considerable. Increased education is strongly and positively correlated with measures of health, strong families, children's well-being, a clean environment, and absence of violent crime. Education can reduce infant mortality rates, decrease total fertility rates, increase life expectancy, boost democracy, human rights, and political stability, reduce poverty and inequality, reduce water and air pollution, and decrease crime and drug abuse. See also: Tilak, Jandhyala, "Education and Development:

benefits of education accrued to society have been mentioned in the literature[28]. Investment in higher education can be a key contributor to a country's economic growth. Higher education institutions have the main responsibility for training a country's professional personnel, including the managers, scientists, engineers, and technicians who participate in the development, adaptation, and diffusion of innovations in the economy. Such institutions should create new knowledge through research and advanced training and serve as a conduit for its transfer, adaptation, and dissemination.

Moreover, education has an important role in widening employment opportunities and reducing the risk of unemployment[29].

Higher education obviously confers benefits above and beyond enhancing the incomes of those who received higher academic degrees. Many of these benefits take the form of public goods, such as the contribution of higher education to enterprise, leadership, governance, culture, and participatory democracy. These are all vital building blocks for stronger economies and societies and all routes by which the benefit of investment in higher education multiplies throughout society. Thus, all that is spent during many years in opening the means of university education to the masses would be well paid for if it called out one more Newton or Darwin, Einstein, Max Blanc or James Dewey Watson.

According to some scholars, the narrowing-down of the multiple social purposes and goods of higher education to economic imperatives is worrying for higher education which has broader social purposes and could yield public benefits. Among those public benefits we can mention:

> 1. The facilitation of social justice through enhanced access to higher education for disadvantaged and excluded constituencies.
> 2. Just, democratic and economically stable societies require a complex range of general and specialized competencies where philosophers and poets are as critical to human development as engineers and accountants.
> 3. The ability of higher education to function as a critic and conscience of society, which is fundamental to the role of a critical citizenry in keeping democracy vibrant and substantial.[30]

It is also clear that higher education has many non-monetary benefits. According to one study, persons who have more education are expected to make more informed choices when voting,

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Measuring the Social Benefits", *International Journal of Educational Development*, vol.21, no.2, January 2001, pp.186-187.

[28] McMahon W., Education and Development: Measuring the Social Benefits (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).Schuller, Tom, et al., The Benefits of Learning: the Impact of Education on Health, Family Life and Social Capital (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004). Jere R. Behrman and Nevzer Stacey (eds.), The Social Benefits of Education (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). Susan E. Mayer and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter (New York: Brookings Institution Press, 1999).

[29] Kettunen, Juha, "Education and Unemployment Duration", *Economics of Education*, vol.16, no.2, April 1997, pp.163-167.
[30] Sing, Mala, *op.cit.*, p.25.

participate more actively in their communities through volunteering and the giving of donations, promote social cohesion and reduce the crime rate[31].

Education is beneficial for many different outcomes such as success in the marriage market, health and many other variables. Thus, university education has further non-economic benefits, including, among other things, lower mortality rate, better health and, by consequence, the reduction of social costs. However, the focus in many studies is confined only to labor market outcomes such as employment probability and earnings. It is fair to say that ignoring other types of returns to university education is misleading.

In the same direction one study finds that higher maternal education improves child quality, as measured by birth weight and gestational age. Thus, mothers who have higher education deliver healthier babies[32].

In addition, education has been found to contribute to the reduction of the inequality wealth distribution. It also reinforces the stability of social structures. This is true as education appears to reduce poverty and social alienation because people with more schooling are in general less likely to be left in the development process[33]. All of these non-economic achievements of education may be jeopardized if privatization according to market models occurs.

A further difficulty for the privatization of education results from market imperfections. Imperfections in capital markets curtail the ability of individuals to borrow adequately for education, which reduces, in particular, the participation of meritorious but economically disadvantaged groups in higher education. In countries where the poverty rate is substantial relatively few students can realize the best tertiary education options[34].

Another difficulty is related to the issue of choice. The reality is that households with more resources have more choices than households with fewer resources. Privately owned higher education institutions have often been more numerous in urban areas than in the countryside. Therefore, young people from rural or otherwise remote areas have found it harder to enroll in a private university because the opportunity costs would be higher for them than for urban residents[35].

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[31] Wolf, Barbara, and Zuvekas, Samuel, "Non Market Outcomes of Schooling", *International Journal of Educational Research*, vol.27, no.6, 1997, pp.495-496.

[32] Currie, Janet and Moretti, Enrico, "Mother's Education and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital: Evidence from College Openings*", The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 118, no.4, November 2003, pp.1495-1497.

[33] Vila, E. Luis, "The Non-Monetary Benefits of Education", *European Journal of Education*, vol.35, no.1, March 2000, pp.26-27.

[34] Gulosino, Charisse**,** *Evaluating Private Higher Education in the Philippines: The Case for Choice, Equity, and Efficiency*, Occasional Paper No.68 (New York: National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, 2003), p.19.

[35] *Ibid.* , p.30.

Thus, some scholars argue that the introduction of cost sharing for the rural population, may not only discourages their demand for higher education, but also adversely influences their decision to participate in primary and secondary education. Scholars have used this effect as an argument against privatization saying that a high percentage of those enrolling in prestigious universities belong to richer families or to families where parents are working as executives or in liberal professions[36]. These scholars predict that children from working class families tend to enroll in nearby two-year community colleges or in vocational institutions of higher education. This socio-economic status limits their choice. Therefore, Clarisse Gulosino from the US-based National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education concludes that

> letting market forces determine the composition of students who study at universities have far – reaching consequences to the degree of access to educational opportunities, the quality of those opportunities including institutional resources and student's peers, and the probable educational outcomes for students from different family backgrounds or regions.[37]

The preservation of quality standards also poses difficulties. In recent times, much has been written about quality education in university institutions. This has been largely due to the increased demand for economic accountability of these institutions. Economically rational policies have necessitated a push, by universities in developed countries, to make courses respond to consumer desires, rather than to principal theoretical standards determining what universities should provide. However, this has not been the case in all countries. Private universities, in some countries, are much criticized for their alleged lack of quality, as they operate with low-quality physical, financial and human resources[38].

Some scholars argue that it is exaggerated to state that private institutions always offer higher quality of education than public universities. To support their argument they cite Japan where public higher education is superior to private. The facilities in Japanese public universities are usually better than those provided in private universities. If we look at the Philippines and Indonesia we can notice that the student/teacher ratio in private institutions is three times the ratio in public institutions, and more than double in Thailand. Private universities in Colombia, Brazil, Argentina and Indonesia usually employ more retired, part time and underqualified teachers. It is common to notice that teachers working in private universities have less academic prestige. It is also noticed that private universities spend less than public universities on students. In addition, dropout rates are

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[36] Liberal professions refer to the professions of medicine, dentistry, law, optometry, architecture, pharmacy, engineering, and accounting which render their practioners a very high income and a high social status.

[37] Gulosino, Charisse, *op.cit.*, pp.30-31.

[38] Cannon, Robert and Djajanegara, Oetomo, "Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia", in: Knight, Jane and De Wit, Hans (eds.), *Internationalisation of Higher Education in Asia Pacific Countries*, (Amsterdam: the European Association for International Education, 1997), p.76.

higher in private than in public colleges in Thailand and in the Philippines and the rates of failure are higher in private than in public institutions of Colombia[39].

While the private sector has increased accessibility to education in the Philippines, it was found to have contributed to deterioration in the quality and standards of higher education. The picture is similar in India. In Brazil and Peru, the quality of private higher education was described as disgraceful. In addition to this, many non-elite private universities and colleges were created, as is the case in some Latin American countries, to provide job-related training, rather than higher education per se. That is why the rates of unemployment among graduates from private universities are about 2.8 times higher than those from public universities in the Philippines. The situation is similar in Thailand where 27 percent of graduates from private universities are unemployed compared with only 13.3 percent of the graduates from national universities[40].

A further difficulty is related to the issue of equity. Some economist believe that privatization of education will have a negative influence on the weak classes in the society. They argue that not all households have equal ability to meet the expenses of higher education. Hence, the major problem with privatization is on the equity front. The charging of market prices would prevent many low-income families from entering the university market. Poor students would seek substitute skills from the technical education sector, labor market programs or work-based training[41].

These scholars assure that by privatizing education income inequalities will be preserved from one generation to the next since education is itself a determinant of lifetime income. In this way, privatization will hinder the social mobility of the poor in the society. To support their belief they cite Barr's study[42] that states that the working class parents in U.K. tend not to encourage their children to aspire to have a university education[43].

Other scholars emphasize that students from richer families benefit more than those from the poor. A case study shows that the expansion of higher education in UK has not been equally distributed across people from richer and poorer backgrounds but has disproportionately benefited

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[39]Tilak, Jandhyala, "The Privatization of Higher Education", in: Kempner, Ken; Mollis, Marcela; and Tierney, William (eds.), *Comparative Education* (Needham, Massachusetts: Simon and Schuster Custom Publishing, 1998)**,** p.341.

[40] *Ibid.*, p.342.

[41] Bloom, David, "Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise", *International News*, No. 46, November 2001, pp.21-22.

[42] Barr, Nicholas and Crawford, Iain, "The Dearing Report and the Government's Response: A Critique", *Political Quarterly*, vol.69, no.1, January-March 1998, pp.72-84. See also: Barr, Nicholas, "Higher Education in Australia and Britain: What Lessons?", *Australian Economic Review*, vol. 31, no.2, June 1998, pp.179-188. Barr, Nicholas, *Funding Higher Education: Policies for Access and Quality*, House of Commons, Education and Skills Committee, Post-16 Student Support, Sixth Report of Session 2001-2, HC445 (London: TSO, 2002), pp.Evv19-35 [sic!]. Barr, Nicholas and Crawford, Iain, *Financing Higher Education: Answers from the U.K.* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp.269-289.

[43] Patrinos, Harry, "Market Forces in Education", *European Journal of Education*, vol.35, no.1, March 2000, p.64.

children from relatively rich families. Consequently, the expansion involving the private sector has actually acted to significantly widen participation gaps between rich and poor children[44].

> Another group of scholars shows that privatization will negatively influence the principle of equity even when grants are designed to help students from poor backgrounds. A case study of Spain found that rich students make the maximum benefit of grant schemes.[45]

Thus, evidence from UK and Spain shows that the privatization of higher education will negatively influence the weak segments of society.

These case studies confirm the widely held belief that private education caters to the needs of the wealthy and is therefore elitist. Many educationalists believe that private universities generally serve those privileged clientele[46].

Moreover, privatization is seen as jeopardizing academic freedom. Some argue that academe's increased involvement in corporations and the growth of privately sponsored research have transformed research funding and that this has implications for academic freedom. Academe thus appears to have become corporatized, and the interests of firms have become dominant on campus. Apart from waning support for basic research and log-term projects,[47] ever more researchers find their freedom reduced because educational knowledge has itself become a commodity that is produced, circulated, and consumed on the global markets of capitalism. Knowledge is not produced or sought for primarily in search for greater understanding or pursuit of truth, but rather for its circulation in a market where students and other recipients of knowledge are customers and researchers are suppliers[48].

F) Evaluating Privatization

During the last fifteen years the movement for ensuring that universities provide a high quality education has intensified spreading in many countries. It has been believed that quality assurance and the application of accountability will bring efficiency and improve the productivity of universities. In this context many scholars began calling for holding universities accountable that

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[44] Blanden, Jo and Machin, Stephen, "Educational Inequality and the Expansion of UK Higher Education", *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 51, no.2, May 2004, p.231.

[45] Mora, Jose-Gines and Garcia, Adela, "Private Costs of Higher Education in Spain", *European Journal of Education,* vol.35, no.1, March 1999, p.107.

[46] Tilak, Jandhyala, "The Privatization of Higher Education", *op.cit.* , pp.344-345.

[47] Altbach, G. Philip, "Academic Freedom: International Realities and Challenges", *International News*, no. 46, November 2001, p.18.

[48] Singh, Parlo, "Globalization and Education", *Educational Theory*, vol.54, no.1, February 2004, p.111.

spend public money, thereby adding to colonial administrators who had articulated similar concerns since the 1930s.

Quality Assurance can be defined as

> systematic management and assessment procedures adopted by universities to ensure achievement of specified benchmarks. These procedures enable key stakeholders to have confidence in monitoring the educational and managerial quality and outcomes.[49]

Quality judgments relate to both teaching and research. The purpose is to achieve the mission of the university and improve its outcomes[50]. There are three types of quality assurance measurements, namely research assessment exercises, teaching and learning quality process reviews and management reviews.

Equity has come to be defined as the equal realization of education opportunity [51]. Admittedly, the application of this principle has always been a difficult matter. In educational systems, in which private and public educational institutions compete, the reason behind the difficulty is that schools for the poor as publicly owned schools have always been underfunded in comparison with private schools open to wealthy students. For example, the funding for African-American students in the US during the Reconstruction Period of American history was about 50 percent of the amount spent on White European American children. The principle of equity demands that there should be some compensatory measures for students who have been subject to harsh measures of discrimination or deprivation[52].

Moreover, it needs to be taken into account that benefiting from the educational opportunity not merely depends on the will of the individual but that there are many obstacles that prevent the individuals from making use of educational opportunities[53].

Among these obstacles, limited household resources and restricted access to information, orientation, guidance, and support and households can entail unequal opportunities[54].

Thus, what is important is not treating people equally, but treating individuals according to their needs. Those persons who need more help should benefit from affirmative action policies. Those students who belong to poorer families and live in remote areas should receive more support.

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[49] Mok, Joshua and Lee, Hiu, "A Reflection on Quality Assurance in Hong Kong's Higher Education", in: Mok, Joshu and Chan, David (eds.), *Globalization and Education: The Quest for Quality Education in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002), p.218.

[50] *Ibid.*, p.222.

[51] Mitchell, Bruce and Salsbury, Robert, *Encyclopedia of Multicultural Education*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), p.70.

[52] Oxenham, J., "Equality, Policies for Educational", in: Saha, Lawrence (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Sociology of Education*, (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 1997), p.448.

[53] *Ibid.*, p.448.

[54] Husen, Torsten, "Equality, Policies for Educational", in: Husen, Torsten and Postlethwaite, Neville (Editors-in-Chief), *The International Encyclopedia of Education Research and Studies*, vol.3, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985), p.1694.

This means that different people who have different circumstances should be treated differently. It also means compensating those who suffer from any type of handicap to make them capable of benefiting from the educational opportunities[55].

Thus, this school of thought thus not merely expands equity to include also utilization and outcomes and suggests that all graduates should be provided with as much as possible the same minimum necessary skills[56], but also seeks to orchestrate education in general and higher education in particular to the fostering of social cohesion within the state population[57]. In other words, theorists of education are continuing to apply their views to Western countries while not taking into consideration the specific cultural, political and social conditions of developing countries. The privatization of universities in the many ethnically divided developing countries may lead to the allocation of a higher portion of educational resources to institutions catering not merely for the wealthier segments of society but also for specific ethnic groups. When the ethnic segregation of institutions providing higher education is enhanced, the fostering of social cohesion and the establishment of a public sphere in the state population can hardly be the overall political tasks of higher education institutions.

G) Conclusion

According to the European Committee for Social Cohesion, a "cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means"[58], recognizing that an exclusive stress on the rights of the individual cannot form a sufficient basis for social cohesion. Accordingly, a society is cohesive when people also accept responsibility for one another. The Committee suggests that it is therefore necessary to rebuild a sense of society, of belonging, of commitment to shared social goals. This chapter has demonstrated that, in doing so, the Committee has overlooked a significant impact of the focus on private interests when education comes into focus. This is so because it is far more difficult to accommodate the private interests of free individuals with the communal need of society for high-quality and equitable education than the Committee seems to expect, in Europe and much more so in developing countries. Rashly

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[55] Oxenham, J., "Equality, Policies for Educational" *op.cit.* , p.448.

[56] Husen, Torsten, "Equality, Policies for Educational", *op.cit.* , pp.1695-1696.

[57] Green, Andy, Preston, John, German-Janmaat, Jan, Education, *Equality and Social Cohesion. A Comparative Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006). Roberts-Schweitzer, eluned, Greanez, Vincent, Duer, Kreszentia (eds.), *Promoting Social Cohesion Through Education. Case Studies and Tools Using Textbooks* (Washington, DC: The World Bank 2006).

[58] The European Committee for Social Cohesion, *Revised Strategy for Social Cohesion* (Strasbourg: European Committee for Social Cohesion, 2004), p.3.

implemented policies of the privatization of education, specifically higher education, may jeopardize social cohesion.

The following two chapters shall thus analyze the Malaysian government policies of the privatization of higher education institutions with regard to their compatibility with quality, equity and social cohesion.

Chapter IX

The Malaysian Experience and the Establishment of Domestic Private Universities

A) Introduction

This chapter deals with the Malaysian privatization experience. It will tackle three main issues; the factors behind the establishment of domestic private universities, the privatization model applied in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional, and the different types of privatization applied to private universities in Malaysia.

There are various factors that facilitated the establishment of domestic private universities in Malaysia. These factors are the consequences of the Asian economic crisis, the aspiration to make Malaysia a fully-industrialized country, as proposed through the government sponsored *Vision 2020*, the Multimedia Super Corridor and the unsatisfied demand on university education.

The following part will shed more light on the reasons behind the establishment of Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional. It will explain in detail the various forces that stood behind allowing private universities to operate inside Malaysia.
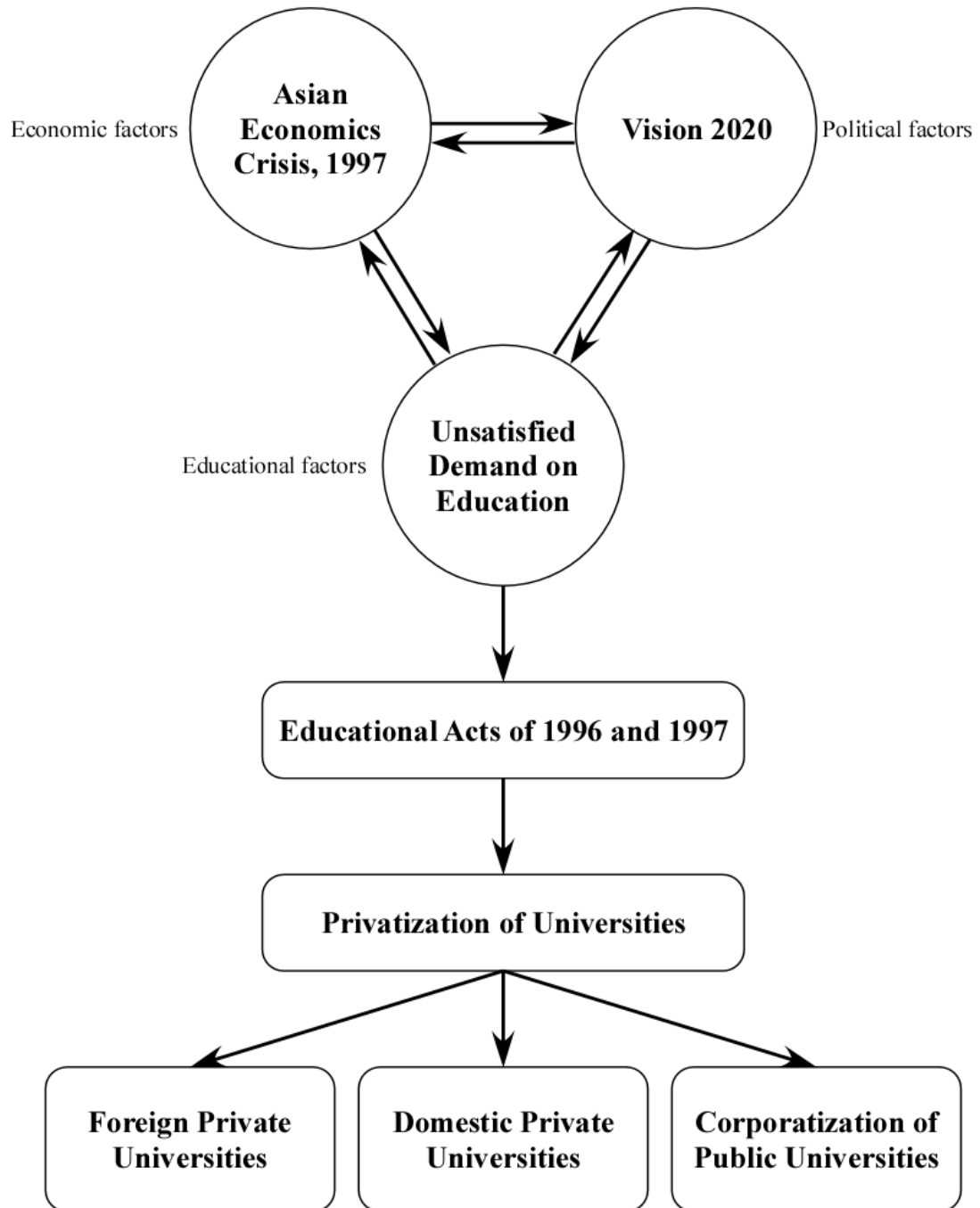
Figure No.1.The Malaysian Model for Privatization Of Universities

Source: This figure is designed by the researcher himself.

B) Factors Promoting the Establishment of Private Universities

The "miraculous" economic growth over the last four decades in Southeast and East Asia[1] has been severely halted by the Asian economic crisis. This economic crisis had left its deep fingerprints on the social, economic and political aspects in this region of the world. With the exception of Singapore, negative perceptions have continued to dog much of the Southeast Asia region. The crisis led to the contraction of Asian economies. It had a number of negative influences. On the one hand it resulted in the decline of FDI inflows and gross domestic product. On the other hand, it led to an increase in the ratio of inflation and unemployment. For example, Malaysian GDP dropped by 7.5 percent in 1998 and there was a flight of private capital from the country in 1990[2].

The negative influences of the crisis were not limited to one country. It penetrated the economies of a number of countries. While the influences affected unemployment in some countries, it effected further repercussions on the general elements of the macro-economic performance in other countries. Thus, in its *Education Report* of 2000, Oxfam pointed out that

> [a]s a result of the economic crisis [during 1998], the economies of Indonesia and Thailand contracted by 14% and 8% respectively. Inflation became rampant. Unemployment in Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand rose from 5 million in 1996 to 15 million in 1998. Thus, it can be said the effects of the crisis were devastating on the economies and the people.[3]

While Indonesia and Thailand were the biggest losers in the crisis, Singapore and Malaysia did not bear the severe aftershocks of the crisis in an identical way. Even within the same country, different levels of education were influenced in various degrees. In Indonesia, both primary and secondary educations were negatively influenced, with secondary education bearing the huge blunt[4].

For Malaysia, one World Bank study indicated that as a result of the economic crisis, the pressure on public expenditure has intensified following a shift in demand from private to public services, and the gains made in education and health services are being adversely affected. Perhaps one important consequence of the crisis has been the reduction of individual income available to parents to invest in the education of their children. At the national level, the crisis led to the

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[1] The World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.10-20.

[2] Soesastro, Hadi; Zainal Abidin, Mahani & Sussangkarn, Chalongphob, *The Regional Economic Outlook in 2001: Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001), pp.13-15.

[3] Watkins, Kevin, *The Oxfam Education Report* (Oxford: Oxfam GB, 2000), p.286.

[4] *Ibid.* , pp.287-288.

reduction in the budget of education at the same time. The devaluation of the Malaysian Ringgit meant more reductions in the real amounts allocated to financing education[5].

In order to understand these consequences the study seeks to analyze the social impacts of the financial crisis on the Malaysian households, and the impacts of the financial crisis on university education.

B.1) The Social Impacts of the Financial Crisis on the Malaysian Households

The 1997 currency and financial crises and the ensuing recession did not result in widespread unemployment, extensive impoverishment and a groundswell of social discontent in Malaysia. Nonetheless, the recession caused more households to slip into poverty[6]. This increase in the poverty rate was partially caused by the increase in unemployment. Unemployment increased but not on a wide scale. The unemployment rate increased from 2.4 percent to become 3.2 percent in the years 1997 and 1998 respectively[7]. The following three years witnessed also an increasing unemployment rate that became 3 percent and 2.9 percent[8], and 3.9 percent in the years 1999, 2000, and 2001 respectively[9]. Thus, it becomes clear that the Asian economic crisis increased unemployment from 2.4 percent in 1997 to 3.9 percent in 2001; the matter which increased the poverty rate from 6.7 percent in 1997 to 7.5 percent in 1999[10].

This increase in unemployment has negative influences on enrolling in formal education. Unemployment means reducing the income available for families to use in educating their sons and daughters. The negative influences of unemployment on education become more stinging in the case of widows and divorced women. Such categories are discriminated against in the labor market and

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[5] World Bank, Project Appraisal document on a Proposed Loan in the amount of US$ 244.0 Million to Malaysia for an Education Sector Support Project (Tokyo: World Bank, 1999), p.3.

[6] Jomo, S. and Aun, Lee, "Some Social Consequences of the 1997-8 Economic Crisis in Malaysia", in: The Thailand Development Research Institute, *Social Impacts of the Asian Economic Crisis in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines* (Bangkok: The Thailand Development Research Institute, 2000), p.217: "The poverty rate increased from 6.7 percent in 1997 to 8.0 percent in 1998, reversing the long-standing trend of declining poverty, e.g., from 8.9 percent in 1995. The number of households living below the poverty line increased from 346,000 in 1997 to 422,000 in 1998, i.e., by 22 percent."

[7] Liu, Eva and Kwong, Walter, "Unemployment Related-Benefits System in Malaysia", Paper prepared by the *Research and Library Services Division at the legislative Council Division* (Hong Kong: the Research and Library Services Division at the legislative Council Division, June 2000), p.7.

[8] Asian Development Bank, *Asian Development Outlook 2000* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2000), p.82.

[9] U.S. Pacific Command's Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate, *Asia-Pacific Economic Update 2002*, Vol.1 (Honolulu, Hawaii: U.S. Pacific Command's Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate, 2002), chapter 12.

[10] The following reference cites the poverty rates. Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department Malaysia, *Malaysia Achieving the Millennium Goals: Successes and Challenges* (Kuala Lumpur: UNDP Malaysia, 2005), p.36.

usually receive less salary than their male counterparts. As in Malaysia 18 percent of women are single parents,[11] the crisis had more negative influence on women and children than on men.

Combined with low levels of skills, low job levels, and total responsibility for the maintenance of the family, female-headed households are particularly at risk. Under the condition of the loss of jobs, these families would be forced to cut back their expenditure on food, education, and other essentials. There is also an increasing likelihood of the involvement of children in the informal sector of work as a result of economic pressures.

Primary school enrolment appears to have been fairly unaffected by the downturn. Secondary school enrolment at the start of the 1998 and 1999 school years did not undergo significant declines either. Unfortunately, data on drop-out rates are not publicly available. The impacts of economic recession on the quality of education are also difficult to identify and assess. But studies estimate that some families will have had to withdraw their children from school and that undernourished children will have had difficulties in following the courses[12].

The impact of recession on education may be not reflected in enrolment rates only. Instead, a major financial burden to low-income families, who tend to have larger families, is the cost of buying textbooks and other items required for schooling. In some cases, the cost of buying textbooks, stationary items, shoes, clothes and school uniforms for children becomes one of the reasons for dropping out of school. Low-income families face more difficulties in securing enough funds to send their children to school. For the public sector, the government pledged in December 1998 that it would pay a kind of bonus of RM 400 to each civil servant as assistance for the purchase of school textbooks, and to raise the eligibility ceiling for the government's book loan scheme was raised from RM1, 000 to RM1, 001-1,500[13].

From all that was mentioned above, it can be said that Asian economic crisis had negative impacts on some Malaysian households on the short and medium terms. This crisis will perpetuate the already existing educational gaps between certain segments within the Malaysian society. However, it will open the doors widely to some classes to get access to university education. In other words, certain classes will have more privileges and consequently will increase their quota in the private universities. The next section will analyze in much detail the impacts of the financial crisis on university education.

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[11] Ahmed, Aminah, *Country Briefing Paper: Women in Malaysia* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, December 1998), p.xiv.

[12] Jomo and Aun, Lee, "Some Social Consequences of the 1997-8 Economic Crisis in Malaysia", *op.cit.* , p.216.

[13] *Ibid.*, p.216.

B.2) The Impacts of the Financial Crisis on University Education

If the effects of the Asian economic crisis on pre-university education are not very clear, it have had recognizably deeper influences on higher education. The Asian economic crisis had affected higher education in various ways. It forced the Malaysian government to devalue its currency several times. This depreciation has eroded the buying capacity of the Ringgit[14].

This crisis forced the Malaysian government not only to reduce the number of domestic scholarships, but also to stop giving scholarships for going abroad in an attempt to prevent the transfer of Ringgit outside Malaysia. As a result of stopping scholarships, many Malaysian students studying overseas returned back to Malaysia. All those returnees could not join public universities, so that some of them joined private ones. Thus, the entrance capacities of national universities increased from 45,000 students in 1997 to 84,000 in 1999[15].

The Malaysian government was forced to reduce the number of overseas scholarships granted to Bumiputera students. This reduction in the number of scholarships offered to Bumiputera students, has led to a sharp decline in the number of Bumiputera students studying overseas, as a study of the Paris-based International Institute for Educational Planning found:

> While in 1995 approximately 20,000 students received governmental financial support for overseas education, the number was reduced to only 200 in 1998. In 1997, 18,000 Malaysians studied in the United Kingdom, comprising the largest foreign-student population there. However, in 1998 the figure dropped to somewhere between 12,000 and 14, 000.[16]

The years 1998 and 1999 witnessed a sharp reduction in the number of governmental scholarships offered to students to pursue their education overseas.

Because of the increase in the costs of living, twinning programs flourished. In these programs students can study one or two years in Malaysia and the last year overseas. Sometimes it is called the split degree program. The Japanese name for this program is 1+2 or 2+1 program. 3+0-twinning programs also flourished. These are split degree programs where students study in a local

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[14] Haflah, Piei, and Tan, Tiangchye**, *An Insight Into Macroeconomic Policy Management and Developments In Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Institute of Economic Research, 1999), p.3: "By March 1997 U.S dollar was equal to 2.48 Malaysian Ringgit (RM). By the end of 1997, the Ringgit was depreciated to a low of RM3.77 against the dollar. Worse followed in 1998 as the Ringgit plunged to an all-time low of RM4.88 to the dollar on January 7, a depreciation of 48 percent within half a year."

[15] Hitoshi, Sugimoto, "Malaysia Ni Okeru Koutou Kyouiku No Min Eika No Tokushitsu" in: Yokuo, Murata (ed.), *Asia Shokoku Ni Okeru Chu Tou Koutou Kyouiku No Min Eika Ni Kansuru Jissouteki Hikaku Kenkyu: Sono Tokushitsu To Mondaiten Ni Kansuru Kousatsu*, (Tsukuba: Tsukuba Daigaku Kyouiku Kaihatsu Kokusai Kyoryoku Kenkyu Center Chou, March2003), p.26.

[16] Hassan, Arif, "Impact of the Economic Crisis on Higher Education in Malaysia", in: Varghese, N., (ed.), *Impact of the Economic Crisis on Higher Education in East Asia: Country Experiences* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2001), p.117.

institution, and upon completion they are conferred a degree by the foreign university. The target from such twinning program is to reduce the cost of getting a university degree. Twinning programs are cheaper than living and studying in overseas universities[17].

Because of the many advantages of the twinning programs, their numbers increased gradually. They have enabled the Malaysian government to prevent the flow of currency out from Malaysia and to offer to Malaysian students a cheaper alternative to studying abroad[18].

The Asian economic crisis resulted in the flourishment of the Credit Transfer Programs, External Degree Programs and Distance Learning Programs. Credit Transfer Programs allow the conferment of a degree by the accumulation of credits. Under this arrangement, students can accumulate credits locally which are then transferable to one of the foreign-linked universities to complete the degree program. Basically, a Malaysian student intending to study overseas collects a sufficient number of credits through a local private college and then applies for entry to a foreign university. This type of program is very popular among students who plan to go and study in the United States and the UK[19].

Universiti Tun Abdul Razak (UNITAR), established in December 1997, is the first virtual university in Malaysia. It offers virtual education and its prominent feature is its online support facility, such as, tutorials and libraries. Telecommunications and electronic devices are used in teaching and learning activities, in interactions during tutorials and for accessibility of reference materials. UNITAR focuses on Information Technology and Business Administration programs. It was the Asian economic crisis that accelerated the establishment of this virtual university. Due to the desire to cut costs and to reduce the expenses of getting university education via conventional universities, many educationalists began to think of an alternative to conventional education. The MOR expected that

> [s]tudents enrolled at [UNITAR] will experience a mix of educational pedagogy and environment, which includes online tutorials, learning through multimedia rich coursework and interacting with other students and lecturers though the online course management system.[20]

The Asian economic crisis accelerated the expansion of PHEIs. Due to the concern of the Malaysian government to prevent currency outflow from the country during the currency downturn,

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[17] Lee, Molly, "Private Higher Education in Malaysia: Expansion, Diversification and Consolidation", *Paper presented at the Second Regional Seminar on Private Higher Education: Its Role in Human Resource Development in a Globalised Knowledge Society* (Bangkok: UNESCO PROAP and SEAMEO RIHED, 20-22 June 2001), pp.5-6.

[18] Hitoshi, Sugimoto, *op.cit.,* p.27.

[19] Lee, Molly, *op.cit.,* p.5.

[20] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Education in Malaysia: A Journey To Excellence*, (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2001), p.144.

the number of private colleges increased dramatically. That is why some Malaysian educationalists call this crisis a blessing in disguise. This increase in number of PHEIs has helped distribute private colleges all over Malaysian territory. Before the establishment of this generation of PHEIs, private colleges had mainly been concentrated in the urban regions of Subang Jaya and Petaling Jaya. New PHEIs were established in the northern provinces of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, as well as Trengganu and in the central zone of Pahang. Thus the number of private colleges more than trebled from 156 in 1992 to about 600 in 2000. The increase in the number of private universities is even more dramatic, from 0 in 1995 to 12 in 2001[21].

Figure No.2.

The Number of Private Higher Education Institutions, 1995-2000
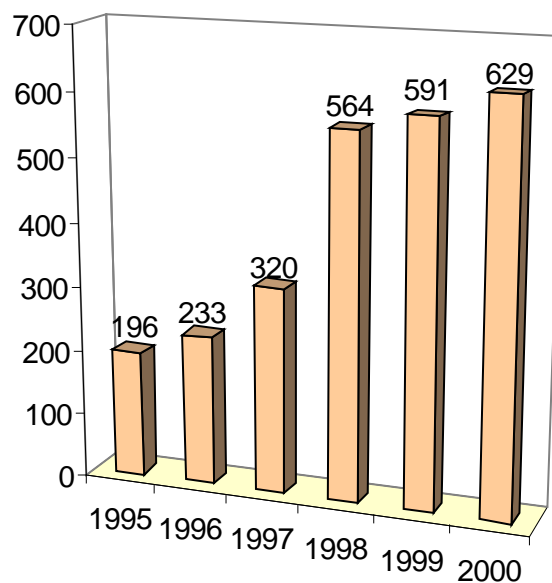
In addition to the increase in PHEIs, the number of private universities also increased. These private universities were established in order to absorb the unsatisfied demand for university education, as many Chinese and Indian Malaysians were denied access to public universities due to the quota system. With the devastating influences of the Asian economic crisis, many of even those

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[21] Lee, Molly, *op.cit.,* p.3.

who opted in the past to study abroad could not continue their studies. In order to tackle this problem, the MOE allowed private universities to be established[22].

The economic downturn had a direct impact on the provision of higher education. Due to the lack of resources in public universities to meet the increasing demand, many of the universities franchised some of their programs like matriculation, education and computer science programs to private colleges as a short-term measure. The MOE explained:

> Under this arrangement all teaching activities are conducted in the premises of the private colleges while the entire course curriculum is provided by the university. Upon completion of the program, the degree is conferred by the public university.[23]

This scheme has provided public universities with the resources they need and at the same time will relieve them from the burden of providing such courses within their campuses and by their own staff. Thus, public universities can concentrate more on their research activities. At the same time private colleges can increase their enrollments and gain more prestigue.

One of the important effects of the Asian economic crisis has been the corporatization of public universities. Since April 1998 a new constitution was introduced for all public universities which will ultimately lead to corporatization. It facilitates decision-making, reorganization and restructuring of the existing system and the introduction of a new salary scheme. According to the MOE,

> [w]ith corporatization, public owned universities will become more autonomous. Instead of the current 90% government funding, that figure will eventually be reduced to 70% in future following implementation of corporatization.[24]

Following ministerial guidance, the University of Malaya[25] was corporatized on 1 January 1998. On 1 March 1998, four other national universities followed. Corporatization has allowed universities to establish enterprises, collect money, receive loans, do stock investment, offer consultant services to public and private enterprises, provide short training courses to the private sector, rent their facilities, and have the right to join business ventures[26]. While the Malaysian government still controls most of the property of these universities, it hopes that a corporate culture

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[22] Hitoshi, Sugimoto, *op.cit.*, p.28: "In 2002 the number of PHEIs had become 707 and there were 13 private universities. The number of students studying to PHEIs had increased from 35,600 in 1990 to 203,000 in 2000."

[23] Ministry of Education Malaysia, Education in Malaysia: A Journey To Excellence, *op.cit.,* p.118.

[24] *Ibid.*, p.119.

[25] The English name is University of Malaya, whereas its name in Bahasa Melayu is Uinversiti Malaya. It will be abbreviated in the dissertation as UM.

[26] Hitoshi, Sugimoto, *op.cit* ., p.32.

will evolve and take deep roots within public universities and the salaries of university academics will increase.

Yet the move towards corporatization was also triggered by budgetary constraints. Since the Asian economic crisis, the Malaysian government has been forced to carry out a number of measures to cut its expenditures. One sector that was influenced by such cuts was the budget for universities. This meant that the budgets of many public universities were reduced. In 1998, the reduction equaled a cutback of 18 percent[27].

The drop in income forced universities to freeze financial support to needy students. Public universities were compelled to temporarily freeze library funds for book acquisitions. Funds for the faculty to travel overseas for conferences also became unavailable in 1998 and 1999. Since that time tuition fees imposed on students enrolled in public universities have soared.

When the financial crisis was at its peak in 1997, the immediate response was a cut-down on the provision for overseas study programs for faculty. Deans and heads of departments were to encourage university tutors and lecturers to further their postgraduate studies within any Malaysian university[28]. This cut-down on the provision of overseas scholarships, in addition to the low salary of university academics, enhanced brain drain. Many university academics, especially in applied sciences, preferred to work in the private sector and quit their university posts.

The financial crisis, to some extent, affected the university development budget. Some universities have explored various innovative methods to finance their development projects. One of the methods is by a 'build-operate-transfer' (BOT) approach to finance development projects, such as the building of student hostels.

B.3) *Vision 2020* and the Aspiration to Turn Malaysia into a Fully-Industrialized State

In counteraction against the Asian economic crisis and in order to advance its development policy goals, the Malaysian government announced its *Vision 2020* program, which aims at turning Malaysia into a fully industrialized state by 2020. In accordance with the *Vision*, many reports published by the MOE emphasize the role that universities can play in preparing the labor force, in the context of the shift towards the knowledge economy. As Malaysian society moves towards the knowledge-based economy the need for an ever more skilled and flexible workforce increases.

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[27] Hassan, Arif, o*p.cit.* , p.118.
[28] Saileh, Mohamed, "The Case of Universiti Utara, Malaysia", in: Varghese, N., (ed.), *Impact of the Economic Crisis on Higher Education in East Asia: Country Experiences* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2001), p.141.

Consequently, university education in Malaysia has to play an important role in delivering the science, knowledge and skills to sustain this. According to annual report of the MOE, released in 2000, restated the national education philosophy that had been formulated already in the 1970s. According to the 2000 MOE report, educational institutions are

> to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable and competent […] and who can contribute to the harmony and betterment of the society and the nation at large.[29]

In order to achieve this goal, the MOE demanded that universities should equip their graduates with vocational skills. Vocational skills are about more than specific job-related skills – they are not only about knowledge, but also attitudes and behavior, specifically entrepreneurial skills. According to the Economic Planning Unit in the Prime Minister's Office, the educational philosophy creates a demand for high-level skills that are necessary to direct the Malaysian economy towards

> higher capital-intensity and knowledge-based production process. Consequently, it is essential for the nation to create a critical mass of trained, skilled and knowledge manpower to sustain economic growth and increase competitiveness.[30]

Work is seen as changing unpredictably, so that generic forms of human formation are called for. Transferable skills and core skills are simply the code words for the kinds of capability now being sought; adaptability and flexibility are indications of the kinds of disposition now required. These are meta-skills, skills which not only enable persons to deploy effectively a repertoire of generic and more specific skills but which also make it possible for the self-reflexive individual ultimately to drop particular skills and take on new ones. In order to translate these qualitative goals into quantitative goals, the *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005* states that the need for workers who have the necessary core information technology skills such as systems analysis and design, systems engineering, software development, chip design and development and computer programming has increased from 88,160 workers in 1998 to become 108,000 in 2000. At the same time the national need for engineers and engineering assistants has increased dramatically from 61,030 in 1998 to 143,220 in 2000. As for the medical and health professional and allied health professionals the need was for 29,600 and for 45,860 respectively in the year 2000. Given the lack of educational tradition in these fields, public and private institutions in Malaysia could not provide sufficient numbers of graduates. For example, local public and private tertiary institutions were only

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[29] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Laporan Tahunan: 2000 Annual Report* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2000), p.1.

[30] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), p.87.

able to produce 8,590 medical and health professionals and 24,140 allied health professionals during the plan period. In addition to the increase in the number of computer specialists, there were sincere efforts to also build up other indigenous Malaysian scientific and technological capability. However, the demand for these specialist capabilities was even higher than imagined in the *Eighth Malaysia Plan*:

> This goal requires the increase of research and development (R&D) personnel from 5.1 per 10,000 labor force in 1996 to become 7.0 in 1998. This expected Malaysian ratio is low in comparison with Singapore at 66 per 10,000 labor force in 1998, Japan at 132 per 10,000 labour force in 1995 and United Kingdom at 95 per 10,000 labor force in 1995.[31]

According to the *Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010*, the gap has remained in existence even in 2008[32].

B.4) The Multi-Media Super Corridor

According to one of the official documents released by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Malaysia technology plays a very vital role in achieving development. The document states that technology will be the engine that drives the economy in the years to come. Without technological inputs vast amounts of capital will be lying idle or, at best, be put to productive work at only a fraction of the actual potential. Thus, one purpose of the Malaysian universities will be to increase knowledge and understanding for their own sake and to foster their application to the benefit of the economy and society. Malaysian universities should serve the needs of an adaptable, sustainable knowledge-based economy at local, regional and national levels:

> Soon, Malaysia will witness a new breed of knowledge capitalists who rely on the generation and processing of information rather than the acquisition and accumulation of land, labor and capital as the means for perpetuating economic life.[33]

The purpose of this Multi-Media Super Corridor (MSC) is to help Malaysia develop quickly by mastering information technology. It is also aimed at increasing the technological competitiveness of Malaysian information technology companies. According to former Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamed,

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp.93-96.

[32] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010*, (Putrajaya: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 2006), pp.1-40.

[33] Ministry of International Trade and Industry Malaysia, *Technology Innovation in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of International Trade and Industry Malaysia, June 2000), pp. iii-iv.

the establishment of the MSC, and Cyberjaya in particular, will enable Malaysian to leapfrog into the Information Age. We hope to create the ideal environment that will attract world-class companies to use it as a regional multicultural information age hub. Our long-term objective is to encourage the development of a highly competitive cluster of Malaysian multimedia and IT companies that will eventually become world class. In short, Malaysia is taking a single-minded approach to developing the country using the new tools offered by the Information Age. The MSC will be the R&D center for the information-based industries.[34]

IT needs a lot of highly qualified laborers and well prepared technicians, engineers, system developers, systems analysts, computer experts and R&D specialists. Thus, it will mandatory to establish the kind of educational institutions that can prepare this kind of well-educated graduates. The pioneering companies which will practice its activities from MSC will definitely need Malaysian experts who have the necessary skills needed to enter the information age and to make the maximum benefits of the potentials of such age. As such web of mutually dependent international and Malaysian companies is supposed to deliver new services to customers across Asia and the whole world, the establishment of high-quality tertiary educational institutions is a must. Experts in the fields of electronic government, telemedicine, smart schools, multipurpose cards, R&D clusters, world-wide manufacturing webs, and borderless marketing centers will be needed. Consequently, the higher education institutions that can prepare such experts will be highly needed.

This MSC is designed to host 240,000 IT intellectuals working in around 500 world class IT companies by the year 2020. Thus, it is necessary to prepare such graduates who can deal with such high-tech companies and industries.

It was projected that close to 36,000 ICT-skilled workers will be employed by 2001 to support the core activities of such internet centric, high value-added service industry.[35]

By December 1999, 17 institutions of higher learning have been conferred the MCS status. This makes these institutions of higher learning IT friendly.

B.5) The Unsatisfied Demand on University Education

One of the major reasons for establishing private universities in Malaysia was the unsatisfied demand for enrolling in public universities. Due to the quota system, many non-Malay students could not study at public universities. Thus, the only option available for them in the past had been

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[34] Mahathir Mohamed bin, *Excerpts from the Speeches of Mahathir Mohamed on the Multimedia Super Corridor*, 2nd edition (Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 1998), pp.29-30.

[35] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Study in Malaysia,* 2nd edition (Kuala Lumpur: Challenger Concept (M) Sdn. Bhd, 2001), p.29.

to study abroad at their own expense. But the Economic Planning Unit emphasized the gains provided by the twinning programs:

> In 1985, it was estimated that 60,000 students were studying in foreign tertiary educational institutions overseas. However, as a result of the increasing tuition fees imposed by foreign institutions and of the increasing number of Malaysian private institutions offering twinning programs, the number of Malaysian students studying overseas decreased to only 52,000 in 1990.[36]

Hence, the demand for higher education in Malaysia has increased and has resulted in the proliferation of private institutions in the tertiary level. Due to the inability of public universities to absorb all academically qualified students, and compelled by the Asian economic crisis, the Malaysian government started to encourage the private sector to supplement its efforts. It has also hoped that the establishment of private universities inside Malaysia will reduce the outflow of foreign currencies and consequently reduce the deficit in the balance of payments. Thus, private universities could flourish.

Consequently, the *Seventh Malaysia Plan 1996 – 2000* had already stressed the importance of the private sector in providing university education before the Asian economic crisis occurred. It called for loosening regulations on the establishment of private universities and to allow the market forces to operate. In accordance with neo-liberal creeds, the Plan argued that private universities could contribute to the increase of the quality and efficiency of higher education and could raise the number of places available for enrollment. Thus, the encouragement of private and non-governmental provision of tertiary education was to be crucial to sharing the cost burden, extending the opportunity for participation, and encouraging healthy competition. The Plan called for using multiple delivery modes and multiple channels of financing higher education[37].

The *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005* sheds more light on the role of private sector in providing higher education. It states that

> at the tertiary level, the capacity of public tertiary institutions expanded substantially. However, it was still incapable to meet the demand. Consequently, enrolment in private education and training institutions also expanded significantly, which was facilitated by the liberalization of the education sector.[38]

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[36] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991- 1995* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 1991), pp.163-181.

[37] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Seventh Malaysia Plan 1996- 2000* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, May 1996), p.329.

[38] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001- 2005, *op.cit.* , pp.98 -112.

The private sector is expected to intensify its involvement in the provision of education and training, especially in multidisciplinary knowledge and new disciplines such as biotechnology and bioinformatics. In view of the increasing demand for highly skilled workers to meet the requirements of more complex production processes, more advanced skills training centers in specialized fields have to be established.

C) The Privatization Model Applied in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional

The researcher chose these two universities because they are among the best domestic private universities in Malaysia. In addition, they are peculiar private universities in the sense that they were established by public companies and funded by public resources from these public companies. However, they are run and managed according to the principles of the private sector.

The analysis of privatization model applied in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional will depend on the analytical model developed by Bruce Johnstone and focused on mission or purpose, ownership, source of revenue, control by government and norms of management.

C.1) Mission

The mission of Multimedia University is centered on two main objectives. Its goals are:

> 1. To be an international center of excellence for learning and research in multimedia and information technology.
> 2. To be a prime innovator of ideas, provide solutions and act as a catalyst for change in the spheres of multimedia and information technology.[39]

Thus, Multimedia University seeks to increase and communicate knowledge and skills that will enrich society, allow individuals to realize their potential, and make a major contribution to the country's prosperity. According to its mission, Universiti Tenaga Nasional

> resolves to nurture and develop scholars, professionals and specialists who are superior in their respective fields, who would provide leadership and become catalysts for the development and improvement of universal wellbeing, in particular the wellbeing of the university's benefactors.[40]

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[39] Multimedia University, *Multimedia University: Company Profile* (Kuala Lumpur: Telekom Group Malaysia, 2003), p.4.

[40] Universiti Tenaga Nasional, *Universiti Tenaga Nasional: General Information* (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Tenaga Nasional, 2003), p.13.

Thus, it is very clear that both universities aspire to provide a world-class education which will provide the graduates with up to date information and train them according to cut-edging technology. Both universities desire to be from the world's leading universities in their fields of study. While Multimedia University concentrates more on national goals, Universiti Tenaga Nasional gives more emphasis on the individual goals. The Company Profile states that Multimedia University

> has been entrusted to contribute proactively towards nation building and towards making Malaysia a world renowned center of academic excellence in the areas of information technology and multimedia by running both Multimedia University's campuses in Cyberjaya and Melaka.[41]

However, what the missions of both universities lack is the understanding that universities are not just about science. The creation, maintenance and promotion of intellectual culture, more broadly defined, are also very much part of their mission. Malaysian private universities have to go deeper and wider- deeper in the sense that they must meet the needs of social and ethnic groups underrepresented in the public universities; and wider in the sense that they must take greater account of non-Western intellectual traditions and of the growing pluralism within the Western tradition.

C.2) Ownership

Both universities are owned by public corporations. Multimedia University is run by Universiti Telekom Sdn Bhd and Universiti Tenaga Nasional is managed by Tenaga Nasional Berhad. However, they are run according to the principles of the private sector. They have clear public accountability. Although tuition fees are applied both universities are not profit-oriented.

C.3) Source of Revenue

Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional mainly depend on tuition fees that cover most of their current expenditures. Although the universities charge tuition fees from students, they do their best to assist and help students get financial aid and grants for their students. For example, many established companies, corporate entities, state foundations and public agencies are granting scholarships or loans to the students enrolled at Multimedia University.

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[41] Multimedia University, Multimedia University: Company Profile, *op.cit.,* p.2.

More than 90 institutions/bodies offer scholarships and loans for Multimedia university students, including the National Higher Education Fund, Telekom Foundation and some popular multi-national companies.[42]

As for Universiti Tenaga Nasional the "majority of its students pursuing full-time programs have obtained scholarships/ sponsorships/study loans from various institutions"[43].

Thus, both universities have more freedom than public universities in terms of allocating their budgets. It is up to each private university to decide on disposition of resources between various departments and between teaching and research and so on. Both universities are free to distribute their budgets.

C.4) Control by Government

Both private universities have a high degree of autonomy. They have more freedom in selecting their employees in comparison with public universities. Selection of employees and academic staff is based on market-driven criteria. Curricula are freely chosen by both of the private universities. Thus, it can be said that government control is limited to oversight. The Malaysian private universities apply this pattern of extending maximum market freedoms relating to process while retaining state sovereignty in monitoring role and mission and quality of outcomes.

To ensure the healthy growth of tertiary education, the MOE, through the National Accreditation Board (LAN) and the Private Education Department, in 1997 formulated 56 operational guidelines on the establishment of private institutions of higher learning. These guidelines set standards on equipment, supporting facilities and teaching staff to ensure the provision of high quality education[44].

To make sure that both public and private universities will abide by quality requirements, the National Accreditation Act was enforced in 1996, setting up a National Accreditation Board to ensure high quality and the maintenance of government control[45].

The functions of the National Accreditation Board are according to the Act:

a) to formulate policies on the standard and quality control of-
(i) courses of study; and
(ii) Certificates, diplomas and degrees;

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[42] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Education Guide Malaysia*, 8th edition (Kuala Lumpur: Challenger Concept (M) Sdn. Bhd, February 2003), p.81.

[43] *Ibid.* , p.91.

[44] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Study in Malaysia*, 6th International edition, (Kuala Lumpur: Challenger Concept (M) Sdn. Bhd, December 2006), p.86.

[45] Ministry of Education Malaysia, Study in Malaysia, 2nd edition, *op.cit.* , p.47.

(b) to set, monitor, review and oversee the standard and quality-
(i) Courses of study; and
(ii) for accreditation of certificates, diplomas and degrees;

(c) To determine the level of achievement for the national language and the compulsory subjects specified in the Private Higher Educational Institutions Act 1996 as prerequisites to the award of certificates, diplomas and degrees; and

(d) to advise and make recommendations to the Minister for his approval of courses of study to be conducted by private higher educational institutions with regard to –
(i) the suitability of arrangements relating to the educational facilities relevant to the courses of study ; and
(ii) the standard and quality assurance of the courses of study.[46]

However, on 21st December, 2005 the Malaysian Cabinet established the Malaysian Qualifications Agency (MQA). The MQA will be responsible for assuring the quality of higher education programmes and qualifications based on the standards in the Malaysian Qualifications Framework (MQF) and the Quality Assurance Code of Practice. The MQA will be formed from the existing National Accreditation Board (LAN), the Quality Assurance Division for Public Universities and the Quality Assurance Division for Polytechnics and Community Colleges. The merged entity will unite the quality assurance system for both public and private higher educational institutions as well as the training/skill based providers. The LAN Act (ACT 555) will be repealed and other relevant Acts as well as policies are being reviewed to support the implementation of the MQA/MQF[47].

The MOE has thus applied greater flexibility in dealing with private than within public universities. This flexibility is embodied in giving much autonomy to private universities in hiring foreign teaching staff and in implementing more lenient immigration laws. The purpose of such flexibility is to provide more conducive atmosphere that can facilitate the establishment, growth and expansion of private universities. The MOE believes that the more autonomous the institution, the more adaptive and responsive it is likely to be in meeting the needs of the economy and society.

C.5) Norms of Management

Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional are operating under self-regulation with a broad framework of accountability and with greater use of free market incentives. They emphasize the importance of leadership skills and good management. They also stress the necessity of maximizing the effective use of assets within and across departments. They have a firm belief that

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[46] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Undang-Undang Malaysia Akta 556: Akta Lembaga Akreditasi Negara 1996*, (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 1996), pp.9-10.

[47] Ministry of Education Malaysia, Study in Malaysia, 6th International edition, *op.cit.* , p.86.

well-governed universities are those which motivate value and reward their staff. That is why both universities put great emphasis on improving leadership and management skills at department and faculty levels and enhancing the development and delivery of staff training. They apply the entrepreneurial model in decision-making, comprising autonomy, service orientation and competitiveness[48].

Both private universities are trying to implement Total Quality Management (TQM). The core of TQM is institutional evaluation. It includes self-assessment and self-evaluation using mechanisms which are transparent and open to occasional external inspection. It also implies putting in place better mechanisms to plan ahead strategically; making financial matters more transparent; and having clearer management lines with fewer committees. TQM aims to promote high quality, cost-effective teaching and research within a financially healthy education sector to have regard also to national goals of university education[49].

In addition, TQM, by definition, is a participative process. It is characterized by setting up teams with clearly defined mandates specifying who will do the job and who will participate in the planning process. In addition, both universities set up mechanisms for cost analysis linking costs with benefits and strengthened the role of the internal audit department.

Private universities in Malaysia should play a role in providing public service, applying specialized knowledge to solving social problems and giving informed guidance to those in business, manufacturing, agriculture, government, the professions and consumers. Private universities should become important elements in the industrial development. Both universities have established links between their faculties and business, industry and overseas universities. The purpose is to initiate, develop and strengthen research and development activities that are to be founded within each university. For example, Multimedia University has links with international corporations and universities in other countries[50].

Universiti Tenaga Nasional has collaborative agreements with Bond University, Australia; Lancaster University, UK; and Indiana University, U.S.A.

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[48] Sanyal, Bikas, *Strategies for Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific in the Post-Cold War Era*, (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1998), p.10.

[49] *Ibid.* , p.13.

[50] Ministry of Education Malaysia, Education Guide Malaysia**,** 8th edition, *op.cit.* , pp.80-91. Among the cooperating companies are: NTT, ALCATEL, Fujitsu, Lucent Technologies, Microsoft, IBM, Lotus, Visio, Cisco, IBS, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, and Intranesis Communication/RQ Net. Exchange programs exist with Dong Seo University in South Korea and with University of Alberta in Canada.

D) The Different Types of Privatization applied to Private Universities

There are two types of privatization that are being applied inside private universities. The first type is represented by branch campuses of foreign universities. This type includes: Curtin University of Technology Sarawak Campus Malaysia, Monash University Malaysia and the University of Nottingham in Malaysia[51]. They are established by foreign funds. They follow the same curricula of the mother foreign university and professors are recruited from overseas. They give fewer numbers of scholarships in comparison with the domestic private universities. In some cases such scholarships only cover 20% of the tuition fees as is the case in Monash University.

The second type comprises domestic private universities. They include for example: Multimedia University, Universiti Tenaga Nasional and Universiti Teknologi Petronas. They are established by public corporations using public funds but are operated as private corporations. These domestic private universities were established by public funds. Their curricula are less internationally oriented than the curricula of branch campuses of foreign universities. Therefore, they are less expensive than branch campuses of foreign universities. The numbers of Malaysian staff in domestic private universities are bigger than in the foreign private ones. Both the domestic private universities and branch campuses of foreign universities depend on tuition fees to finance their current expenditure. However, the ratio of cost recovery in branch campuses of foreign universities is higher than in domestic private universities.

Just to conclude it can be said that branch campuses of foreign universities are totally private. On the other hand, domestic private universities are private in terms of management and dependence on tuition fees paid by the students. However, domestic private universities used foreign public universities as sources for their establishment or they are operated by public corporations. Thus, the aspects of privatization in domestic private universities are less advanced than the aspects of privatization in branch campuses of foreign universities.

E) The Establishment of Domestic Private Universities and Quality

In terms of quality in Malaysian private universities, new problems have arisen in the period 1996-2007. Among these new problems, the following ones can be mentioned: the limited numbers of academic staff who hold Ph.D. in private universities, the focus on teaching instead of focusing on

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[51] University of Nottingham is a public university in U.K. It is has a branch campus in Malaysia. University of Nottingham's branch campus in Malaysia is considered by the Malaysian laws as a private university.

research, establishing long-term and durable links between private universities and industry, and ensuring the implementation of quality assurance measures.

According to the data obtained from the Department of Private Higher Education as of December 2003, the number of Ph.D. holders among private universities stood at 557 (see table 9.1 below), while within other types of private higher education institutions the total number of Ph.Ds only amounted to 311 (see table 9.1 below). Based upon these figures, it becomes very clear that a lot has to be done in order to upgrade and uplift the qualifications of the teaching staff working at the private higher education institutions.

TABLE 9.1. Staff Strength of Private Higher Education Institutions (Universities and Non-University), as of December, 2003[52].

University			Non-University		
Level of Qualification	Number	Percentage	Level of Qualification	Number	Percentage
Doctoral	557	18.6	Doctoral	311	2.8
Masters	1,404	46.9	Masters	3,340	29.9
Bachelors	962	32.2	Bachelors	6,068	54.2
Diploma	69	2.3	Diploma	1,470	13.1
Total	**2,992**	**100.0**	**Total**	**11,189**	**100.0**

Source: Malaysia Pusat Kecemerlangan, Pengajian Tinggi Di Peringkat Antrabangasa, Perangkaan Sepintas Lalu Pengajian Tinggi Malaysia, 2005 (Putrajaya: Malaysia Pusat Kecemerlangan, Pengajian Tinggi Di Peringkat Antrabangasa, August 2006), various pages.

One of the important indicators of a high quality higher education institution is the qualifications obtained by its academic staff and its research capacities. As the majority of the academic staff in private universities have either Master or bachelor degrees, the quality of teaching in these private universities is lower than these of public universities. It is true that the qualifications of academic staff in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional are better than that of

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[52] Malaysia Pusat Kecemerlangan, Pengajian Tinggi Di Peringkat Antrabangasa, Perangkaan Sepintas Lalu Pengajian Tinggi Malaysia, 2005 (Putrajaya: Malaysia Pusat Kecemerlangan, Pengajian Tinggi Di Peringkat Antrabangasa, August 2006), various pages.

other private universities. However, private universities in general and non-university private higher education intuitions in particular have to upgrade the qualifications of their academic staff.

The limited numbers of academic staff who hold Ph.D. in private universities has generated the second problem which is the focus on teaching instead of focusing on research. As many private universities in Malaysia do not have enough number of Ph.D. holders, they can't engage in conducting high quality research. In addition to this, private universities have to survive on profit motives and at the same time minimize expenditures. In order to ensure a high level of revenues, Malaysian private universities resorted to focusing primarily on first degree teaching or lower. At the same time minimizing expenditure dictates that the cost of operation is kept to the minimum by avoiding conducting research especially at the costly applied sciences fields[53].

The third problem that confronts the Malaysian private universities is establishing long-term and durable links between private universities and industry. Slowly gaining recognition by the political and corporate leader of Malaysia is the importance of encouraging industries to finance basic research at universities. The continuity of the competitiveness of big industries in Malaysia demands a broad and constantly revitalized science base. In order to prepare that scientific base, Malaysian private universities should be supported by local industries. One of the challenges that face Malaysian private universities is establishing lasting partnerships with industry. Local industries can offer research grants and contracts in order to support and finance the conducting of research in private universities[54].

The previous mentioned problems have resulted in the fourth problem which is the low quality of education provided in many private higher education institutes and some private universities[55]. Private universities should facilitate academia to be engaged in activities that ensure long professional development, providing opportunities for remaining on the cutting edge of science and technology in their fields of specialization, e.g. via sabbatical leaves, industrial attachments, study-visits and so on. Furthermore, private universities are required to start implementing incentives that help retain the brightest academicians. Therefore, merit-based promotion criteria, recognition of good research work and service to the community should be emphasized and implemented by private universities.

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[53] Jantan, Muhamad et al. (eds.), *Enhancing Quality of Faculty in Private Higher Education Institutions in Malaysia* (Penang: National Higher Education Research Institute, 2006), p.102.
[54] Ismail, Ghazally, "University Research: Honouring Traditional Role Amidst Wealth Creation in Malaysian Universities", in: Ismail, Ghazally and Mohamed Murtedza (eds.), *The New Wave University: A Prelude to Malaysia 2020*, 2nd edition (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., January 1997), p.36.
[55] *Ibid.* , p.38.

F) The Establishment of Domestic Private Universities and Equity

The current Malaysian higher education was influenced by the colonial policies. An "ethnic division of labour" had emerged when colonial capitalism created patterns of uneven development and socioeconomic disparities. At their highest peak, patterns of ethnic inequities were traceable to the organization of labour of different ethnic origins by separate sectors, crudely captured by stereotypes of the "Malay farmer", the "Chinese trader", and the "Indian estate labourer". The ethnic diversity and the ethnic division of labour has led to Malaysian society being characterized as a "plural society" whose "ethnic cleavages" had educationally as well as economically marginalized the majority of the Malay population. Even after independence the Chinese educational and economic domination continued due to the laissez-faire capitalism approach implemented. As the post independence economic and educational policies failed to redress inequities in income distribution, incidence of poverty, educational deprivation, employment, and social mobility, the country was engulfed by the ethnic violence of 13th May, 1969. In order to avoid the recurrence of the ethnic riots again in the future, the government implemented the NEP. The NEP aimed at restructuring society to abolish the identification of race with economic function by raising the Bumiputeras' share of corporate equity and to create new Malay capitalist, professional and middle classes. The NEP managed to overcome many of colonial educational legacies. The success of NEP meant that higher education no longer continued to be biased against women or the needy Malay people. However, tertiary education continued to be an urban activity with the majority of public universities concentrated in urban centers and cities.

The first challenge for equity of higher education during the period 1996-2007 was to expand and enroll more students especially those who belong to the rural areas. As the majority of the urban areas are from the Chinese, this means that private universities are in favour of the rich Chinese families. Although the NEP managed to increase the ratio of the Malays living in urban areas from 14.8 percent in 1970 to 21.3 percent in 1980, the Chinese still accounted for more than half of the total urban population[56].

The second challenge for equity of higher education during the period 1996-2007 was to overcome the poverty of the Malays in Terengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis. While poverty was eliminated to a great extent in Kuala Lumpur, it still persisted with higher rates in the eastern and northern states of Malaysia. Although in 1999, the ratio of mean monthly household income in Kuala Lumpur to other states has decreased, it still is at least 2.5 times higher than that in the less developed states of Terengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis and Pahang. It is true that the incidence

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[56] Hassan, Asan Ali Golam, *Growth, Structural Change and Regional Inequality in Malaysia* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), p.108.

of poverty in Malaysia had deceased from 49.3 percent in 1970 to 7.5 percent in 1999. However, poverty remained a problem in the less developed states of Terengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis and Pahang. In these states, the poverty rate was still relatively high, ranging from 11.8 percent to 22.9 percent in 1999[57].

The fact that the majority of the dwellers of the urban areas are from the Chinese, in addition to the fact that the Chinese are richer than the Malays means that private universities will cater more to the Chinese than the Malays. In 1999 the mean monthly gross household income for the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians are RM 1,984, RM 3,456 and RM 2,702[58].

G) The Establishment of Domestic Private Universities and Social Cohesion

Much of the present economic, political, and educational structure of Malaysia today can be traced to the era of British colonial rule. It was the British colonial administration who imported hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Indians to exploit the local natural resources, especially tin and cash crops. The successful introduction of rubber trees from Brazil to British Malaya required more labour than the Malays could provide. As a result large numbers of Indian contract labourers were brought to British Malaya to work in the rubber plantation estates. Due to the colonial policies the economic sectors were clearly demarcated. The Malays were left to their own subsistence agriculture and fishing activities in their rural areas, while the Chinese and Indians who were prominent in tin and rubber were located in the more developed west coast states of the peninsula.

The present-day multiracial character of the country is thus a direct result of British economic policy before the Second World War which encouraged mass non-Malay immigrations. Such policies also established distinct patterns of economic disparity between the Malays and non-Malays due to the sharp differences in culture, occupations, and income. These disparities continued even after independence. It was clear that the Malays, Chinese, and Indians were positioned differently in terms of their relative strengths and weaknesses. In economic terms the Chinese occupied the 'high ground' with their competence in utilizing the economic opportunities.

Politically, the Malays had seized the initiative based on historical legitimacy and their established nationalism. However, this political superiority of the Malays was not free of charge. In 1952 General Templer, the British High Commissioner, quite arbitrarily gave citizenship to 1.2 million Chinese and 150,000 Indians. Later, the colonial administration further pressurized the UMNO and work with MCA and MIC and to relax the qualifications for citizenship so that more Chinese and Indians could apply to become citizens of an independent Malaya. In 1955 the Alliance

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[57] *Ibid.*, pp.108-109.
[58] *Ibid.*, p.111.

government agreed to grant an additional one million or so of Chinese and Indians citizenship. Considering that the population of the Federation of Malaya at that time was slightly more than five million, the agreement to give 1.2 million and 1 million Chinese and Indians citizenship in 1952, and 1955 did change the demographical and political arena[59].

Whereas the non-Malays desired citizenship, the use of English in addition to the Malay language, a meritocracy, and a laissez-faire economy, the Malays demanded the recognition of their 'special position' and policies designed to accelerate their socio-economic progress. While the requests of the non-Malays were implemented, the socio-economic position of the Malays remained very low. The articles mentioned in the constitution about the 'special position' of the Malays were superficially adhered to and they proved to be inadequate to avoid the inter-ethnic conflict that erupted in 1969.

> "The concentration of economic activity in isolated pockets, especially on the west coast of the peninsula, as well as the accumulation of wealth in urban localities resulted in unequal development. Invariably, rural areas and, unfortunately, one particular ethnic group- the Bumiputera- were adversely affected. It is believed that there was a lack of national integration, spatially and ethnically, leading inevitably to polarization based on geographic location and communal identification. Furthermore, inequality in the distribution of wealth among the ethnic groups brought forward the need for new government policies and radical social change to avoid further interethnic problems".[60]

In terms of education, the colonial educational policies had given the non-Malay better chances to pursue their secondary and tertiary levels compared to the Malays who depended solely on Malay education which was available only for four-years of primary schooling. The English education obtained by the majority Chinese and Indians in the urban areas eventually enabled Chinese and Indians to dominate the professional world of doctors, lawyers, accountants and scientists and left the Malays marginalized. The existence of four types of primary schools in Malaysia from the colonial period to 1970 have created and perpetuated social and ethnic divisions. Although the English primary schools were abolished after 1970, three types of primary schools continued up to the present. The existence of two types of secondary schools (English and Chinese) in Malaysia since the colonial era till now, has prevented the achievement of social cohesion.

Furthermore, the absence of some civil rights such as freedom of speech had prevented the development of a public sphere. Due to the restrictions imposed during the colonial era and after 1969, there were limitations on the freedom of speech and freedom of association. Social and political movements were banned from discussing ethnic issues. Thus, while the NEP managed to improve the educational and the economic position of the poor Malays, it failed in creating a public

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[59] Mahathir Mohamed Bin, *The Way Forward* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), pp.42-43.
[60] Cho, George, *The Malaysian Economy: Spatial Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.33-34.

sphere for discussing the critical issues of the Malaysian society. One reason for the absence of the public sphere in the 1970s and 1980s is the ignorance of the voiced grievances of the non-Malays. One reason for these grievances is the limited number of Chinese hired in the public sector and the armed forces. A second reason is the perceived non-ending span for the implementation of the NEP. While Chinese are prepared to see Malays and other indigenous peoples receive more benefits as a temporary measure, they resent the fact that the numbers of Malays employed in the public sector outnumber their proportionate population. A third reason is the quota system applied in enrolling at public universities. The effects of the NEP led the Chinese, including the MCA, to issue publications containing statistics that showed that the Chinese were obtaining less than a proportionate share of various benefits.

The New Development Policy (NDP) implemented from 1990 to 2000 gave more rights to the non-Malays. During that period the MCA was determined to preserve what remained of the Chinese cultural component in the education- particularly the continuing status of Chinese (and Tamil) schools. In 1994 extra funds were provided by the government for Chinese private secondary schools. There has been a greater change in government sensitivity towards the Chinese since the mid-1990s. The government willingness to accommodate the Chinese was due to the wish to recoup a loss in Chinese votes at the 1990 election. The same was done at 1999 election. A good example of the government accommodation to the feelings of the non-Malays was giving time on state radio and television to non-Islamic religions to promote good values[61].

In spite of the relaxed implementation of the affirmative action policies since the mid-1990s, the public sphere did not evolve in Malaysia. With the establishment of domestic private and foreign branch campus universities, the chances for evolving the public sphere look much grimmer. The Malays perceive privatization of universities as a cancellation of the affirmative action policies previously implemented by the government. As private universities cost more than public universities, there is a big probability that they will turn into ethnic enclaves. In other words, the cheap public universities will remain an exclusive Malay domain, while the expensive private universities will become more and more Chinese dominated districts. These ethnic and class divisions will further hinder the development of the public sphere in Malaysia.

H) Conclusion

This chapter investigated the factors that stood behind the establishment of the domestic private universities in Malaysia after the enactment of the 1996 Acts. It analyzed the repercussions of the

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[61] Milne, R.S. and Mauzy, Diane, *Malaysian Politics Under Mahathir* (London: Routeldge, 1999), p.96.

Asian economic crisis of 1997, the vision 2020, the Multi-Media Super corridor and the unsatisfied demand on university education. It also elucidated the privatization model applied in Multimedia University and Universiti Tenaga Nasional. In order to analyze the privatization model five main parameters were utilized; mission, ownership, source of revenue, control by government and norms of management. The researcher also compared between the different types of privatization applied to private universities. He compared between branch campuses of foreign universities such as Curtin University of Technology Sarawak Campus Malaysia, Monash University Malaysia and University of Nottingham in Malaysia and domestic private universities such as Multimedia University and Uinversiti Tenaga Nasional.

The analysis of key documents relating to the Malaysian government policies of privatizing higher education institutions reveals the predominance of concerns for maintaining equal access to higher education under the constraints enforced by the Asian economic crisis. The government boosted privatization efforts for the purpose of reducing its financial burdens while increasing the number of study places. The result has been a further rapid expansion of the university system. Equity concerns overwhelmed the other aspects of providing higher education. Although the privately operating universities professed to adherence to rigid quality standards, achievement has been far from obvious. Much teaching could only be offered by hastily recruited foreign faculty. Thus the dilemma reoccurred that had already haunted colonial higher education institutions. Foreign faculty, mostly recruited from English speaking countries, have brought with them their knowledge and educational habits and have been prone to organize teaching in accordance with their training and personal experience. They have also restored much of the dependence of Malaysian higher education institutions on western models, even though these models are no longer exclusively colonial. Many newly founded private universities are focusing on teaching, predominantly at the undergraduate level, rather than research. Quality measured in terms of educational autonomy has thus suffered as a result of privatization. Last but not least, the total absence of government concerns for social cohesion as a goal of education is telling. Under budgetary constraints, the government has not only revoked the affirmative action policies that had benefited Malays, but has been reluctant to support universities as potential facilitators of a public sphere. While the number of universities and other higher education institutions has mushroomed, the traditional urban-rural and ethnic divides as the main legacies of colonial rule have gained strength once more, rather than being diminished. This has been so as the more prestigious universities continue to be located in the major cities and private universities cater to the more well-to-do students, that is to students of Chinese origin. The prospects for institutionalizing a public sphere look grim.

Chapter X

The Malaysian Experience and the Corporatization of Public Universities

This chapter turns the focus from the creation of new privately owned or operated universities to the enforcement of the corporatization of existing public universities. As outlined in Chapter VIII, corporatization of Malaysian public universities implied the autonomy of certain operational sectors under continuing public ownership. The chapter will examine the objectives of the corporatization of public universities with a focus on the University of Malaya and the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, while taking into account other types of privatization applied to public universities in Malaysia.

A) The Objectives of the Corporatization of Public Universities

Three objectives have guided the corporatization of public universities in Malaysia. They have been making Malaysia a regional center of educational excellence, turning some public universities into research universities and increasing the accountability and efficiency of public universities.

 The following part will shed more light on the reasons behind the corporatization of the University of Malaya (UM) and the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). It will explain in detail the various forces that stood behind allowing public universities to be corporatized inside Malaysia.

A.1) The Objective of Making Malaysia a Regional Center of Educational Excellence

The *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001- 2005* associates quality with equity and encourages public universities to establish and develop centers of excellence that are of the same high level as those operating in the top ranking international universities. The quality and quantity of teaching staff and academics will be increased. In addition to this, more advanced equipments will be provided to public universities. The Plan suggests offering more autonomy and flexibility to public universities for the purpose of strengthening their R& D capabilities. More incentives will be given to Malaysian universities so that they can hire the most qualified scientists and academics regardless of nationality. The Plan perceives greater autonomy and flexibility in the administrative structures of universities as an important means for enhancing the quality of education. One of the purposes of reforming public

universities in Malaysia is to make the country an attractive center for providing top quality university education in the region of Southeast Asia. The Plan states that

> [i]n line with the objective of becoming a regional center of educational excellence […] greater autonomy and flexibility will be given to public universities.[1]

For Malaysia to become a center of excellence, teaching must be efficiently provided by highly qualified professionals who are equipped with the most advanced teaching aids and educational technology. Consequently, corporatization is one of the strategies used by the Malaysian government to implement the goal of accomplishing educational excellence. In order to accomplish this target public universities are to become more autonomous and more commercialized, in order to become able to avail themselves of private sector funds. In this type of corporatization, public universities in Malaysia will remain non-profit oriented organizations. Already in 1995, then Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir announced that

> [t]he vast resources available in the private sector would be tapped to contribute rapidly to the realization of making Malaysia as a center of educational excellence at the regional and international levels.[2]

The announcement displays the Prime Minister's determination to open public universities to the private sector. Already in 1995, the goal of raising the quality of education took priority over the other concerns about equity and social cohesion. At that time, the Prime Minister confined himself to stating the principle while he refrained from specifying how the quality of education might be raised by way of subjecting higher education institutions to market forces. The *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001 – 2005* has reiterated these neo-liberal creeds but has done so under the financial constraints and the increase of student numbers in the aftermath of the Asian economic crisis.

A.2) The Objective of Turning some Public Universities into Research Universities

The lack of specificity regarding the implementability of the goal of raising the quality of education has not helped advance the further objective of turning some universities into research-focus higher

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[1] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001- 2005* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), p.117.

[2] Abdul Hamid, Nuraizah and Mohamed, Arpah, *Regional Seminar on Private Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 1995), p.18.

education institutions. The Malaysian government aspires to provide a world-class education inside universities. Consequently, Malaysian universities have to prepare the labor force according to certain requirements. They include high order cognitive skills, mastering the various disciplines related to science and technology and taking into consideration the future needs of the various professions. However, such requirements cannot be achieved within the present rigid structures of university education. Therefore, a restructuring process has been deemed necessary. The restructuring process entails the transformation of the present Malaysian universities from teaching to become research-oriented institutions.

At the same time *The Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010* emphasizes the importance of human capital in establishing the knowledge-based economy and in securing the competitiveness of the country. This Plan implies that the successful development of the knowledge-based economy will largely depend on the quality of the education and training system. The institutional framework to ensure an adequate supply of appropriately qualified and skilled manpower and to continuously retrain them will be put in place. Concerted efforts will be taken to increase enrolment at the tertiary level, particularly for science and technical courses. Public and private tertiary institutions will need to become more market-driven and proactive by moving beyond traditional areas to new fields of education required by a maturing knowledge-based economy. They will be required to enhance the standard of education and produce highly employable manpower. It also means an enhanced role for work-based elements, a wider exposure to the real world, the widening of university curriculum elements to incorporate transferable skills and placing more responsibility on learners. According to the Plan, Malaysian universities must sharpen the productive capacities to enhance the continuing economic competitiveness:

> [B]y the year 2010 there will be a need for 137,200 engineers and 331,700 engineering assistants trained in chemical, mechanical, and electrical and electronics fields as well as Information Communication Technology (ICT) and other cutting edge technologies. In parallel with this sophisticated demand, there will be a demand for 306,600 personnel by 2010 for systems analysts and designers, systems engineers, and software developers. Malaysia will also need to increase the number of R& D scientists and technologists from 7 per 10,000 labor force in 2000 to 60 per 10,000 or a total of 77,640 personnel by 2010.[3]

> According to the *Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010*

> universities will not only be developing the future workforce but also become centers for the creation of intellectual capital and new knowledge. This will hinge on their ability to produce a pool of high caliber researchers who are engaged in R&D as well as undertake research activities that have commercial viability. In this regard, a few of the existing public universities will be restructured to become research universities focusing on post-graduate degree programs. More

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[3] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *The Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), pp.154-157.

focus will be given to science and technology areas as there is an urgent need to increase the supply of S&T manpower. The curriculum and degree programs at the universities will be reviewed to ensure that they are market-driven, anticipatory of future trends and facilitate the adoption of new technologies.[4]

In order to fulfill this target, a number of new procedures have to be implemented. They focus on establishing stronger and sustainable public-private partnerships. Universities have to steer research and training to areas of national interest and to make themselves more competitive. Universities have a responsibility to transfer technology to the private enterprises. Thus, public universities should be encouraged to generate external financial support from businesses and industry. Universities should link their research to the "high tech" and "new tech" industries which Malaysia strongly needs to develop. In this respect the MOE should urge universities to strengthen their ties to business. It is such ties that will contribute to the national economic growth and global economic competitiveness. There is an increasing need for universities, industry and the community to engage in a two-way exchange. In this way, academics can keep in touch with the real world of business and industry. At the same time the industry will benefit from patents, and the new advances in knowledge and technology. Industry and commercial firms will provide funds and facilities to public universities. In return for the money they receive from businesses and industry, universities will provide consultancies and training programs to corporations. The following measures can be put into effect:

1. Memorandums of agreements will be signed to facilitate joint research, consultancy, donation of equipment and exchange of staff and experts.
2. Courses that take into consideration the requirements of private sector will be taught in public universities.
3. Extension and professional development courses will be taught inside public universities for the benefit of industry and private sector.[5]

However, the *Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010* has remained vague regarding the modalities of the implementation of the objective of enlarging the research sector. It fails to indicate whether additional teaching loads are to be taken over by unchanged numbers of faculty and how the goal of intensifying research can be accomplished jointly with the goal of increasing the practice-orientation of research. Moreover, the Plan takes for granted an affluent private sector willing and capable to invest heavily into R & D but does not separate the amount of funds to be

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[4] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *The Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010*, (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), p.161.

[5] Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, "Malaysian Universities Facing the Challenges of the Nineties", Paper presented to the *Seminar of the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL)*, (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1989), p.9.

provided by the state and that to be provided by the private sector which are deemed necessary to accomplish the stated objective. In stead of this, it mentions that "efforts will be taken to increase the amount of Gross Expenditure for Research and Development from the current level of 0.4 per cent of GDP to at least 1.5 per cent by 2010. While the government will continue to provide funding for R & D activities through the Intensification of Research in Priority Areas (IRPA) programme, the private sector is expected to raise its contribution in the national R & D expenditure"[6]. The Plan is also conspicuous for the absence from it of any consideration of basic research.

A.3) The Objective of Making Public Universities more Accountable and more Efficient

Many studies[7] elaborated the urgent need for Malaysian universities to revise their internal structures and programs. The studies called for the establishment of sets of indicators that measure their performance in terms of quality, efficiency, accountability and effectiveness. They also emphasized the importance of strategic planning and financial optimization. One of the strategies used by the Malaysian government to fulfill this target is corporatization. Under this new system public universities will have more administrative autonomy. This new system of governance will help public universities to achieve the following targets:

A) - increasing their competitiveness via allowing them to implement restructuring.
B) - Implementing a new salary scheme.
C) - Undertaking entrepreneurial ventures and projects.[8]

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[6] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, The Third Outline Perspective Plan 2001 – 2010, *op.cit.* , pp.185-186.

[7] Ismail, Zawawi, "Human Resource Development: Meeting The Challenge of the Future", in: Ghazally, Ismail and Mohamed Murtedza (eds.), *The New Wave University: A Prelude to Malaysia 2020* (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 1996), p.61. See also: Ministry of Education, Malaysia, *Education Development Plan 2001-2010* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 2003), pp.9-15. Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010*, (Putrajaya: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 2006), p.31.

[8] Ahmed Ansary, "University Funding Mechanism", in: Abdullah, Norbani (ed.), International Conference on Policy Issues in Higher Education in the New Millennium (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Public Policy and Management, University of Malaya, 12th -13th June 2000), pp.43-47. See also: OECD, *Investing in Education: Analysis of the 1999 World Education Indicators*, (Paris: OECD, 2000), p.39.

B) The Privatization Model applied in University of Malaya and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

The analysis of privatization model applied to UM and UKM will depends on the model developed by Bruce Johnstone. This model depends on analyzing of five dimensions. These dimensions are: mission or purpose, ownership, source of revenue, control by government and norms of management.

B.1) Mission

Following the move toward corporatization, Malaysian public universities have revised statements concerning their missions and overall objectives. One important factor for the revision has been the desire to achieve the national aspirations of becoming centers of excellence in producing and spreading knowledge. The mission of UM is to be

> a premier university seeking excellence in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge to meet the aspirations of the nation.[9]

The statement contains an appeal to the Malaysian nation as a whole, while emphasizing quality of education and research at the same time. Yet one important criticism that can be directed to the previous statement is that it is too general and unspecified. The phrase "aspirations of the nation" can be understood in various ways. For example, it can refer to producing technically educated or skilled people in various specializations to meet the demands of the labor market. It can also refer to conducting applied research which is practical and applicable to businesses and industries. In addition to this, it may also refer to offering training for good citizenship, advancing cultural interests and competencies of graduates and providing critiques of the society.

By contrast, UKM is more ethnicity-focused. This is very clear when its mission is being examined thoroughly. The mission of UKM is to be

> the premier university that affirms and promotes the values of the Malay language while globalizing knowledge within the framework of the national culture.[10]

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[9] University of Malaya, *Prospectus*, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 2003), p.1.

[10] Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Profile*, (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, October 2002), p.4.

The statement refers to quality of education in no more than indirect terms, while it is explicit in placing the Malay language at the center. It positions the Malay language as one element of the "national culture".

Both mission statements stress the importance of achieving national goals, with UKM giving more emphasis on Malay identity. This emphasis is clear via the weight that national language and Malay culture have in the curricula taught at UKM. While UM gives more importance to the role of university in disseminating knowledge that are vital to achieving economic development, we find that knowledge for UKM has a more moral role to play. This is clear when we analyze the UKM vision of. According to the UKM *Profile*, the university is to be

> the leading university that pioneers innovations in creating a dynamic, knowledgeable and ethical society.[11]

Thus, while the UKM vision gives a more stress on the ethical side, the UM vision emphasizes the importance of lifelong learning and quality education. It is this emphasis on the moral functions of university education that gives UKM its own distinctive characteristic. With the advent of the strong waves of globalization, it is important for Malaysian universities to prepare citizens who positively engage in useful activities that lead to the prosperity of their nation. It is important in this turbulent world to prepare graduates who do not use the information they have in pursuing criminal, destructive or life threatening activities. However, one important aspect that the UKM mission ignores is life-long learning. This perception that education can take place throughout life, literally speaking from womb to tomb, is one of the principles of philosophy of education in the 21st century. Contrary to UKM, the UM *Prospectus* understands education

> as a life-long process. As the premier university in Malaysia, Universiti of Malaya's image is one of excellence, prestige, quality of education and research.[12]

B.2) Ownership

Both universities are still under the jurisdiction of the federal government through the MOE. Thus, even after the application of corporatization the MOE is still responsible for managing and supervising the development of education in universities. However, more autonomy has been given to the universities. Corporatization is not related to ownership, but it is related to finance and

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[11] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[12] University of Malaya, *op.cit.* , p.1.

management. In the context of corporatization the governance structure of universities have not changed according to the corporate rules and regulations. With corporatization the MOE[13] stressed in a more emphatic manner the importance of increasing university productivity and quality. Therefore, a stronger case for insisting on a re-examination of the higher institutions, and enforcing high standards of governance, Key Performance Indicators (KPI) and benchmarking emerged. However, the government in Malaysia still funds and control public universities[14]. The researcher, therefore, recommends that the Minister of Higher Education delegate his powers to the Board of Directors[15] so that the latter can play its role as a guardian of autonomy, academic excellence and accountability.

B.3) Source of Revenue

Both UM and UKM rely on the federal government for obtaining the bulk of their resources, and the government makes decisions on the key issues of staff salary, undergraduate student fees, and the authorization of new programs and staff positions. Before corporatization 90 percent of the total budget of public universities came from the MOE. After the application of corporatization, it was hoped that only 70 percent of fund will come from MOE while the public universities would be responsible for obtaining 30 percent of their own budgets from other sources. After putting corporatization into practice the determination of the tuition fees for undergraduates still remains the responsibility of the MOE. On the other hand, the determination of tuition fees at the graduate level became the responsibility of public universities. After the application of corporatization, tuition fees in both UM and UKM have increased sharply[16]. In spite of the passage of almost a decade since the beginning of the implementation of corporatization the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE) still provides from 80 to 90 per cent of public universities expenditure. In addition to this, the MoHE also supervises the academic programmes as all new programmes, including any which have more than 30 per cent curriculum change, have to be brought to the attention of the Higher Education

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[13] Effective from March 2004, the responsibility of monitoring universities in Malaysia has become entrusted with the newly-established Ministry of Higher Education.

[14] Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, *Report By the Committee to Study, Review and Make Recommendations Concerning the Development and Direction of Higher Education in Malaysia* (Putrajaya: Ministry of Higher Education, 2006), pp.63-64.

[15] The Board of Directors has the highest authority in the university. The Minister of Higher Education appoints the Chairman and members of the Board. The Board of Directors runs the university. The second highest authority of the university is the Senate which is chaired by the Vice-Chancellor. The Senate is the academic body and has the right to control and give general directions on education, research, and evaluation and the conferring of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic credits. The Senate consists of the Vice Chancellor who acts as the Chairman, all Deputy Vice Chancellors, all the Deans of Faculty and Heads of Schools, Departments, University Academic Centers and Institutes and not more than 20 professors appointed by the Vice Chancellor.

[16] Ahmed Ansary, "University Funding Mechanism", *op.cit.*, p.43.

Committee[17].

B.4) Control by Government

Since corporatization in Malaysian public universities, more competencies have been supposed to be transferred to universities.[18] However, even under corporatization, university staff have remained public servants. Although their salaries have increased, the desired levels have not been fully implemented. Due to the Asian economic crisis, the MOE could not apply the second phase of the changes in the salary schemes. Thus, hiring and firing the staff on public universities are still the responsibility of the MOE. It is true that the MOE has become more flexible since corporatization. However, it still keeps much control in managing public universities. According to the Dean of Faculty of Education at UM "the changes were slow"[19]. Dr. Edmund Gomez, another UM faculty member confirms that "UM has applied corporatization only in name. The attempt to be more entrepreneurial has failed miserably, as a 'corporate culture' has not emerged. This 'corporate culture' is an alien concept to academics. Anyway, what has changed is that the tuition fees for students, especially the post-graduate ones, have increased appreciably"[20].

As the National Accreditation Board (LAN), established in 1996, is responsible for ensuring high quality education in private universities, the National Council of Tertiary Education (NCTE) is responsible for ensuring high quality education in public universities. NCTE is responsible for monitoring the performance of higher education institutions by introducing standards that put great emphasis on measuring learning and research outcomes[21].

Thus in UM, UKM and other public universities, the MOE and the NCTE determine the

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[17] Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, Report By the Committee to Study, Review and Make Recommendations Concerning the Development and Direction of Higher Education in Malaysia, *op. cit.* , p.56.

[18] Sarmani, Sukiman, "Good Governance in the Management of Graduate Education: Experience from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia", Paper presented to *The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia, July 21-22, 2003), p.2.

[19] Osman, Mohamed Taib, "The Ivory Tower: Some Dimensions of Organizational Development", in: Hussin, Sufean (ed.), *Revitalizing Education: Some Prospective Policy Innovations* (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd, 2002), p.51. Also an interview of Prof. Aziz Nik Aziz, the dean of Faculty of Education, Universiti of Malaya, 25th July, 2003. Also an interview of Prof. Rosnani Hashim, Professor at Institute of Education, International Islamic University Malaysia, 9th December, 2007.

[20] E-mail contact with Dr. Edmund Terence Gomez, an associate professor at the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya on August, 2003. An interview of Prof. Sidek Baba, Professor at Institute of Education, and ex-deputy rector of International Islamic University Malaysia, 18th December, 2007. See also: Osman, Mohamed Taib, "The Ivory Tower: Some Dimensions of Organizational Development", in: Hussin, Sufean (ed.), Revitalizing Education: Some Prospective Policy Innovations, *op. cit.,* p.53. "Academia and business have different purposes and priorities…. The aim of Academia is the search for 'truth' through discovery and dissemination of general principles. The bottom line for business is 'the search for profit through development and delivery of stable products…' Two paths would not converge because they have different aims, and therefore they evolved their own type of organization to get at what they set out to achieve".

[21] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Laporan Tahunan*, (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 2001), p.139.

policies of universities in Malaysia. While the MOE mainly decides upon financial and administrative policies, the NCTE is responsible for deciding issues related to number of students admitted and quality control. NCTE should exert more efforts in convincing the Malaysian universities to expand their knowledge bases, to enhance their competitiveness and to act as catalyst for change. However, translating the growing consensus on the growing need to improve quality into vital policies is a major challenge. Hence, public universities have not accomplished autonomy of determining the quality of education. A competitive education market has not yet come into existence.

B.5) Norms of Management

Before the implementation of corporatization Malaysian public universities were managed according to what can be called the bureaucratic model according to the Paris-based International Institute of Educational Planning[22].

As for funding, before corporatization Um and other public Malaysian public universities applied the input-based funding model. In this model public funds were provided by MOE to meet the 90 percent of the costs of the inputs into the university. After corporatization, different governments apply different methods for funding universities. According to Sanyal and Martin there are four main methods for financing universities:

> Single block grant model, performance-based fund formulas, prospective future performance-based fund formulas and the complete entrepreneurial model.[23]

These models refer to a mathematical basis for allocating money to institutions of higher education using ratios, rates and percentages derived from cost studies and peer analyses. Formulas are used as a means of achieving a sense of adequacy, stability and predictability in institutional funding levels and to distribute public funds for university education in what appears to be a rational and equitable manner.

According to the Single Block Grant Model, the MOE gives the university a single block

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[22] Sanyal, Bikas, *Strategies for Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific in the Post-Cold War Era*, (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1998), pp.10, 15-27. This model has three main characteristics: (i) Nationwide systems for higher education, strict government rules for recruitment, promotion, salary structures and study program; (ii) Administration is strong: professors and heads of institutions are purely executives; (iii) Conservative, uniform and less innovative, it suffers from less initiative and from a prevalence of rules over results.

[23] Sanyal, Bikas and Martin, Michaela, *New Strategies for Financing Management in Universities: the Experience of OECD Member Countries and Latin American Countries,* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1998), pp.9-10.

grant. The amount of this grant is based on the grant received in the previous years plus an increment that is determined based upon the inflation rate and the annual increase in prices. The university is free to spend this grant. There are no restrictions on spending this grant except the general broad legal terms applied in any governmental institutions. In this model the public universities can re-allocate the funds from one item to another. This model has been applied in Thailand after the application of autonomization.

According to the Performance-Based Fund Formulas, funds are based on the previous performance, and the university has also full freedom to spend its budget. The most common basis for this formula is students' numbers. However, some countries are trying now to include some aspects of quality in such formulas. Thus, they try to include the academic performance of students in these funding formulas. This type appeared after the call for more accountability and the desire to align universities more closely with national definitions of quality. Performance funding ties special sums directly to results of specific indicators.

According to the Prospective Future Performance-based Fund Formulas, the government buys the academic services from the university. Rather than depending on the past to determine the amount of the funds, this model depends on the future expected performance.

According to the Complete Entrepreneurial Model, the government allows universities to sell their teaching, research and consultancy services to a very wide spectrum of customers. Thus, the university can offer its services to individual students and companies, the private sector and the public sector.

Unlike other countries where vice-chancellors are elected by the faculty, they are appointed by the MOE in Malaysia [24]. This appointment contradicts the philosophy of corporatization. Corporatization in its essence requires devolving real authorities from the MOE to universities. Thus, it can be said that even after the application of corporatization, the government still has continued to intervene heavily into public universities.

Learning from the American experience, UKM has established a holding company UKM Holdings Sdn Bhd to be responsible for marketing the research produced by its researchers. The holding company is wholly owned and started operations in January 2001. With the restructuring of the previous independent business entities such as the Distance Learning Center, the Educational Advancement Center and University House as well as the Consultancy Bureau, this new holding company was established. UKM Holdings is the parent company to UKM Kesihatan Sdn Bhd and

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[24] Sarmani, Sukiman**, *op.cit.* , p.3.

UKM Pakarunding Sdn Bhd[25].

The purpose of this company is to bring substantial new revenues to the university. This company was also responsible for stimulating university-industry collaborations. This trend of universities undertaking commercial activities has recently increased in Malaysia. The scope of university-owned commercial enterprises has been expanding rapidly and sometimes into areas like stock market, real estate and investment services. This type of companies is supposed to help universities enter into contracts with private firms designed to produce income. Advances in information technology are opening up further opportunities for joint ventures between universities and high-tech industries.

Alliances between universities and industry can generate both private and social returns. Private returns refer to sources of revenue to the university, sponsored research and in-kind support from companies. Academics in universities can also conduct better experiments as a result of using the corporations' facilities. Positive social returns can be reaped from more technological diffusion and enhanced economic development. UKM Holdings Sdn Bhd was established under the Companies Act 1965 with an authorized capital 3,000,000 Ringgit. A board of directors governs the management of UKM Holdings Sdn Bhd. The chairman of UKM Holdings Sdn Bhd is the Vice Chancellor of UKM. The objectives of the UKM Holdings Sdn Bhd are become the commercial wing of UKM, to establish subsidiaries and joint ventures between UKM and other corporations, to plan, execute, co-ordinate and monitor operations and business activities of subsidiaries and UKM joint ventures companies, and to identify new business opportunities[26].

Similarly, UM has established its holding company which is responsible for marketing the research produced by the university and for engaging in business activities. UM tries to establish strategic alliances with industry. In addition to developing new knowledge via collaboration, UM tries to commercialize knowledge. As knowledge is being produced at an accelerating pace, the costs of research have to be recovered in ever shorter periods of time. In this respect, research has become influenced by market-oriented approaches[27].

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[25] Yahaya, Muhammad and Abdullah, Imran, "Challenges of Globalization: Educational Reform in Tertiary Education", Paper presented to *The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia, July 21-22, 2003), p.9.

[26] Mazlin, Mokhtar et al., "Sustaining Education in Malaysia: UKM a Key Player in Capacity Building", Paper presented to *The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia, July 21-22, 2003), pp.6-7.

[27] Interview of Prof. Aziz Nik Aziz, the dean of Faculty of Education, University of Malaya, 25 July, 2003. See also: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010, *op.cit.* , p.258. According to the *Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010,* "Greater collaboration in research will be undertaken between public institutions of higher education and local industry and research institutes as well as with reputable foreign research institutions, universities and firms. Private institutions of higher education will be encouraged to collaborate in research with public institutions of higher education".

Malaysian universities face several challenges; to build on their existing strengths, to create new products while at the same time preserving the cultural role of the university and strengthening its ethical and critical contributions. This situation places a greater pressure on the research and university education systems to be responsive to the expected needs of the society. To fulfill these targets, both UKM and UM exert great efforts to enhance the quality of their programs. For example, UKM has been awarded the prestigious MS-ISO 9000 for certain aspects of the process in the academic cycle and also in the Human Resource Division of the Registry[28]. UM is preparing itself to attaining the MS ISO 9000 recognition, which involves the implementation of a Quality Management System for all its core processes[29].

The MS ISO 9000 Quality Management System is a model that provides a unique framework for any organization to establish an efficient and effective customer satisfaction oriented system that is recognized internationally and can be independently assessed and certified. It complements Total Quality Management (TQM) and Quality Assurance (QA) since quality is seen as a process and system that can be managed. ISO quality managements system also provides a methodology for continuous improvement of quality.

Universities that are able to maximize learning opportunities provided by associations with partners who have something to teach them will benefit a lot. Thus, the business and higher education community should lock arms in support of post-secondary education for the purpose of achieving economic growth and maintenance of an educated citizenry. Universities would be strengthened through forming complementary strategic alliances between departments of similar standing in various fields. Through increased co-operation, complementarity and co-ordination between universities and industry scientific excellence and innovation can be fostered. Business start-ups and other spin out activities should be encouraged. In return for financial support, universities can also offer a wide range of courses to provide continuing professional development to employees in specific firms or industry sectors. Universities should play a key influential role in supporting knowledge and technology transfer and innovation to the public and private sectors. In Malaysia both UM and UKM have established links between their faculties and business, industry and overseas universities[30].

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[28] Yahaya, Muhammad and Abdullah, Imran, *op.cit.*, p.6. Said, Ikram and Kechot, Zhahir, "Towards Enhancing Quality of Teaching: the UKM Experience", Paper presented to *The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia, July 21-22, 2003), pp.2-4.

[29] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Laporan Tahunan*, (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 2001), p.142.

[30] *Ibid.*, p.144. University of Malaya, *op.cit.*, pp.27-28. Osman, Annuar, "Creating Synergy through Collaboration: UKM's Experience", Paper presented to *The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia, July 21-22, 2003), pp.4-5.

C) The Different Types of Privatization Applied to Public Universities

There are various types of privatization that are currently being applied in Malaysian public universities. These types are; franchised programs, Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) or Build-Lease-Transfer (BLT) and corporatization. Each type has its own characteristics. For example, UKM franchises its programs to private colleges. Within this scheme students can pursue a major part or the entire degree program in the private colleges. When successful, students can be awarded UKM degrees without being internal students at UKM. Under this collaborative arrangement the entire course curriculum is provided by UKM. Upon successful completion of the program, the bachelor degree will be conferred by UKM. Similar programs are operated by four other public universities[31].

The purpose of applying the BOT or BLT schemes is to decrease the financial burdens of public universities. In order to reduce the financial burden of providing accommodation facilities for students, the Malaysian government permitted several institutions to privatize the construction of student accommodation hostels. This type of privatization is a new one in the Malaysian context[32].

Several main changes took place after the application of corporatization in UKM and UM. The following lines will explain in detail these pivotal changes.

C.1) Transforming UKM and UM to Research Universities

Under corporatization, Malaysian public universities will be categorized on roles and functions. This means that well-established universities like UKM and UM will be transformed into research universities that focus on graduate education. If we translate this target into figures, the percentage of graduate students enrolled in these institutions will increase from the current percentage of 20 percent to become 50 percent. In order to facilitate such transformation the Malaysian government allocated 3.2 billion Ringgit for R&D in public universities and research institutes. The funds are to be channeled to researchers through four programs, namely the Intensification of Research in Priority Areas, the Industry Research and Development Grant Scheme, the MSC Research and Development Grant Scheme and the Demonstrator Applications Grant Scheme[33].

The government expects that the needs of the knowledge-based society will be satisfied through the advancement of research-based graduate training. At the same time co-operation between UKM and UM and industry is to increase. Collaboration and partnerships were arranged for the sharing of costs of training between universities and the private sector. In addition to this,

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[31] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Private Education in Malaysia: Center of Educational Excellence*, (Kuala Lumpur: Challenger Concept (M) Sdn. Bhd, 2000), various pages.

[32] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Laporan Tahunan* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 1997), p.71.

[33] Sarmani, Sukiman, *op.cit.* , pp.3-4.

graduate programs were modified to provide learners with dynamic and work-related skills, besides the necessary core knowledge of the studied disciplines.

Effective engagement in research and monitoring outcomes has been a priority for UKM and UM since corporatization. This interest crystallized in the establishment of centers of excellence within both universities. For example, the Center for Research Management plays an important role in the effective and efficient management of research in UKM, which set up the Institute of Molecular Medicine, the Institute of Malay World and Civilization, the Institute for Environment and Development, the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies and Institute of Micro-Engineering and Nano-Electronics as research centers of excellence[34].

Malaysian universities need to establish science parks and incubators. Thus, UM established the Institute of Research Management and Consultancy in October 2000[35]. The institute aims to provide support for staff in their quest for research excellence. It also assists in the transfer of technology through training programs, organized seminars and exhibitions and the filing of patents and commercialization of products. Thus, this institute plays a pivotal role in managing and marketing research inside and outside UM.

C.2) Internationalization

Both UM and UKM seek to become internationalized. Internationalization is a national goal formulated by the MOE. Under the goal of turning Malaysia into a center of academic excellence in Southeast Asia, Malaysian public universities have tried to introduce academic programs that comply with the international standards and benchmarking techniques applied elsewhere. The MOE is trying to attract and entice foreign students to study in Malaysian universities and plans to step up the number of registered foreign students from 36,466 in 2003 to 50,000 by 2010[36].

To secure the development of various disciplines Malaysian researchers have been obliged to be active in international information networks and in international research projects, promoting the evolution of an international scientific culture inside Malaysian universities. Thus, both UM and UKM have tried to establish strategic alliances with international universities. The purpose of these alliances is to set up greater and more efficient networks of partnerships in as many academic activities as possible.

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[34] Mazlin, Mokhtar et al., *op.cit.* , P2.
[35] University of Malaya, *op. cit.,* pp.24-25.

[36] Yasin, Mohamed Salleh, "Globalization and Higher Education in Malaysia", Paper presented *to The 4th Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia**,** July 21-22, 2003), p.7.

C.3) Quality Assurance

In accordance with the evaluation of funding mechanisms, research assessment and quality assurance assessments elsewhere in the world, UM and UKM have applied quality assurance measures. Both universities have taken measures to maintain and improve the quality of the academic programs they offer. In 1998 UKM established a Center for Academic Advancement in order to monitor the planning, development, consolidation and enhancement of its academic programs. This center has the Divisions of Strategic Planning, Quality Assurance and Academic Training, overseeing the quality of education provided at UKM. In addition to this, inputs from professional bodies and external reviewers from both the private and industry sectors are sought[37].

However, under corporatization Malaysian universities are facing a number of challenges such as cuts in funding, access expansion and increased competition. Most Malaysian universities need to manoeuver themselves to respond successfully to the opportunities and threats present in the external surrounding environment, whether these concern state policies and funding and/or competitive advantage over other institutions. Many Malaysian universities face real problems – including, in some cases, poor management – to which internal and external quality assurance measures may provide solutions. Both UM and UKM have sought to apply international standards of benchmarking and accreditation. International benchmarking also means that curricula have to be international. In order to achieve such goals both universities received accreditation from the international professional bodies for their programs[38].

UKM has developed its quality assessment policy by combining self-evaluation with external assessment procedures carried out by outside public or private bodies. In order to facilitate systematic assessment of performance, UKM has started to apply a new scheme for faculty promotion, requiring the publication of at least five articles in refereed international journals or one textbook for promotion to the rank of associate professor, and the publication of at least seven or eight international publications together with recommendations from international referees for the promotion to the rank of full professor[39].

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[37] Mazlin, Mokhtar et al., *op.cit.* , pp. 3-4.

[38] Farina, Yang et.al., "Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) in a Borderless World", Paper presented to *The 4ʰ Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) Biennial Conference*, (Bandung: Comparative Education Society of Asia**,** July 21-22, 2003), p.9. For example the Faculty of Medicine in UKM is currently benchmarking its programs with the Mayo Clinic in Rochester and the National University of Singapore (NUS), while the Faculty of Engineering is looking towards the Faculty of Engineering in NUS as well as the Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok, Thailand. In addition to this, the Chemical Engineering program was accredited by the Institute of Chemical Engineering in the United Kingdom. The Biomedical Sciences program in the Faculty of Allied Health Sciences has received international accreditation from the Institute of Biomedical Sciences in the United Kingdom since 1997.

[39] Sanyal, Bikas, Strategies for Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific in the Post-Cold War Era, *op.cit.*, p.20.

C.4) Re-engineering and Restructuring

In consequence of the restructuring, barriers between departments have fallen. In the case of UKM, restructuring has entailed the creation in 1999 and 2000 of two amalgamated comprehensive sections named Faculty of Science and Technology and Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, together with the establishment of the commercial holding company[40]. While the two comprehensive sections have been amalgamated to operate multi-disciplinary research and teaching programs at the graduate level, the commercial holding company has received the task of facilitating technology transfer.

C.5) Expenditures Reforms

The optimal application of corporatization means the removal of restrictions that impede the optimal allocation and reallocation of public revenues. Such reforms include provisions to allow greater interchange between expenditure categories, budget year 'carry-forward', and the contracting out of non-academic services. However, this has not happened in Malaysian public universities. It is true that both UKM and Universiti Putra have finalized either BOT or BLT agreements. But still many of the required reforms were not implemented. For example, the provisions to allow greater interchange between expenditure categories and budget year 'carry-forward' were not put into practice. Expenditure practices are rather similar to what was implemented before corporatization. One reason for this is that the largest part of the budget of public university is allocated to cover the salary of faculty and non-academic employees. Thus, we can say that many of the priorities of expenditure have continued to be determined by the MOE. According to Professor Morshidi Sirat,

> As long as the majority of public universities budgets come from the government, the government will still have a tight hold on the financial matters.[41]

Yet the government has used its continuing tight control to the end of slashing university budgets to the bone. One article explains that the cuts are of the order 70-80 percent of the operating budgets for 2003 and details the intensity of government financial control:

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[40] Yahaya, Muhammad and Abdullah, Imran, *op.cit.*, p.8.

[41] E-mail contact with Dr. Morshidi Sirat, a professor and director of the National Higher Education Institute at Universiti Sains Malaysia in August, 2005. See also: Ministry of Education, Malaysia, Education Development Plan 2001-2010 (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education, 2003), p.4-17. "The operational and development costs at the public tertiary education institutions have increased and are expected to increase further. The increasing costs and continued dependence on the government for financing have placed a heavy burden on the government. The lack of cost recovery activities, lack of support from the private sector in R&D, and lack of grants for R&D from the industries have caused the government to continually bear the costs of tertiary education".

In an attempt to strengthen the grip of MOE over the financial affairs of public universities the government decided that all equipment purchases must have the direct approval of the Chief Secretary of the MOE. In addition to this, the MOE has prohibited overseas travel for academic staff regardless of the source of funding.[42]

Such restrictions and conditions are in total contradiction with the ethos and true spirit of corporatization.

C. 6) Devolution of Spending Authority

A full-scale implementation of corporatization requires the devolution of the spending authority from the central government ministry to regional units of government (Province, State, Lander, Oblast, etc.), and then to systems and/or institutions of higher education themselves. Yet in Malaysian public universities the ultimate authority of governance of the universities is vested by the MOE in the Board of Directors and delegated by the Board to the Vice Chancellor. Theoretically, the Vice Chancellor has in his hands a lot of authority[43].

C.7) Personnel Employment and Compensation Reforms

Theoretically corporatization means freeing faculty and staff from civil service status, and allowing institutions to determine their own salary schemes and other terms and conditions of employment. However, what happened in Malaysian public universities is different. Faculty and non-academic employees are still public servants subject to the national rules of recruitment. By consequence, their salaries are still low. It is true that the first phase of corporatization has increased salaries but the second phase has not been implemented yet. These low salaries have made it difficult for public universities to keep their staff. Consequently, many qualified faculty seek employment outside universities in the private sector. Thus, low salaries represent a source of attrition and brain drain for public universities. On the one hand, the MOE has become more flexible in the rules that govern the recruitment and firing of university staff and employees. On the other hand, some professors maintain that the speed of reforms is very slow. The unattractive salary schemes make it very difficult to hire new competent academics. At the same, public universities cannot fire those whose performance is found to be low and unsatisfactory. According to one academician

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[42] Aliran Monthly, "Is the Government Facing a Fiscal Crunch? Is This the Reason for Nor Mohamed Yacop's Appointment as Finance Minister II?", *Aliran Monthly*,vol.24, no.1, 2004, p.18.

[43] Sarmani, Sukiman, *op.cit.* , p.3.

Under corporatization university professors were supposed to be given a 17% hike in their salary. Although, this increase is not much of an increment, it was better than nothing for some professors. However, even this small increase in salary was not implemented.[44]

Thus, we can say that corporatization in Malaysian public universities was mainly concerned with improving governance and reducing the government financial burdens. Although the MOE became more flexible, it still exercises substantial control over public universities. Concerning financial matters, the MOE still determines the tuition fees in the undergraduate level, the salary schemes and the priorities of budget allocation. It is true that public universities now are encouraged to generate their income and to establish strategic alliances with business and industry. However, the corporate culture has not developed yet inside public universities.

D) Corporatization of Public Universities and Quality

After the implementation of corporatization, public universities in Malaysia still face five major challenges; the hiking public expenditure on higher education, the low salaries of academic staff, the insufficient number of Ph.D. holders among public university staff, strengthening the partnership between public universities and industry, and improving the quality of research to reach the international level.

In 2005, about RM 1.3 billion or 3.9 percent of the total development budget of the government was allocated for higher education, whilst the operational budget allocation for higher education amount to RM 5.6 billion or 5.6 percent of the total government operational budget. The allocations increased to RM 3.6 billion (or 7.73 of total) and RM 6.8 billion (or 6.02 percent of total) for development and operational expenditure respectively in 2006[45]. The fact that from 80 to 90 percent of the budget of public higher education comes from the state's purse, poses a real challenge to the ability of the state to face the increasing social demand on higher education.

The second challenge is increasing the low salaries of academic staff. The academic community in Malaysia complain of being underpaid and overloaded, lack of incentives to do research and unfair promotion criteria. As a result, their motivation has shrunk and morale is low. Due to this problem, public universities constantly lose their best people to the higher waged industrial sector. As a short-term solution to high-level academic manpower shortages, universities

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[44] E-mail contact Interview with Dr. Edmund Terence Gomez, an associate professor at the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya in August, 2005. See also: Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, Report By the Committee to Study, Review and Make Recommendations Concerning the Development and Direction of Higher Education in Malaysia, *op. cit.*, p.81.

[45] Jantan, Muhamad et al. (eds.), Enhancing Quality of Faculty in Private Higher Education Institutions in Malaysia, *op.cit.* , p.5.

in Malaysia resorted to hiring expatriate staff from developed countries[46].

The third challenge is improving the quality of academic staff in public universities. "The rapid growth in student population and the increasing number of courses of study on offer has led to an increase in, the lecturer-student ratio, especially in the social sciences and humanities. If this situation is not satisfactorily addressed, the effectiveness, quality and performance level of teaching and learning will be adversely affected. Therefore, efforts to recruit academic staff need to be carried out continually so that the need for new staff is met, vacancies are filled, and personnel who are retiring or leaving are replaced. The MoHE, therefore, should make available sufficient funds to meet this need"[47]. Thus, the number of academic staff with Ph.D. qualification in public universities will be increased to achieve the target of 60 percent of total academic staff by 2010[48].

The fourth challenge is strengthening the partnership between public universities and industry. Universities are not only centres of knowledge, but also are places that stimulate development and progress to the nation. In order to ensure that the role and contributions of the universities are effective, up-to-date and efficient, universities should establish smart partnerships with the industrial and commercial sectors. Malaysian universities should encourage professionals from the industrial and commercial sectors to actively involve in teaching and learning activities. Via co-operation, collaboration, and strategic alliances between universities and industry, corporate figures, experts and professionals can share their ideas and experiences with their academic counterparts in universities and with students. Procedures and incentives should be sorted out in order to achieve that target.

This partnership will help institutions of higher education reform their academic programmes and develop their curricula based on market requirement in order to ensure the employability of graduates. In addition to this, such alliances will give the students early exposure to workplace experience environment[49].

The fifth challenge is improving the quality of research to reach the international level. Although expenditure for R&D in institutions of higher education was RM 360.4 million, i.e. 14.4 percent of Gross Domestic Expenditure of R&D, research in Malaysian universities still faces some problems. "Research and Development activities are limited in local universities. Although the latest equipment is available, without incentives to promote R&D, it would be difficult for Malaysia to compete internationally. It is therefore necessary to build a culture and environment that is suited for

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[46] Ghazally, Ismail, "University Research: Honouring Traditional Role Amidst Wealth Creation in Malaysian Universities", in: Ghazally, Ismail and Mohamed Murtedza (eds.), The New Wave University: A Prelude to Malaysia 2020, *op.cit.* , p.38.

[47] Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, Report By the Committee to Study, Review and Make Recommendations Concerning the Development and Direction of Higher Education in Malaysia, *op. cit.* , p.84.

[48] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010, *op.cit.* , p.257.

[49] *Ibid.*, p.257.

the growth of R&D in Malaysia" [50]. The main obstacles to progress in R&D in Malaysian universities are as follows:

"1- Lack of autonomy in the management of funds allotted for R&D;
2- Very limited funding;
3- Insufficiently trained human resources including researchers as well as technicians and supporting staff;
4- Limited state-of-the-art infrastructure including space and equipment;
5- Administrative obstacles caused by delay and tentativeness in decision making;
6- Lack of incentives for the lecturers and institutions;
7- Incomplete information about market demand due to paucity of market research". [51]

In order to overcome these shortcomings, it is necessary to change the manner in which research is currently financed and managed. Furthermore, it is mandatory to reorient research priorities in line with the international perspectives. In addition to this, it is necessary to realign research activities to the socioeconomic and development goals and objectives of the country as well as the needs of the local communities. Collaboration among universities, research institutions, commercial and industrial sectors, and government agencies should be strengthened. In order to facilitate this, a central body responsible for co-ordination and sponsorship needs to be established.

E) Corporatization of Public Universities and Equity

The NEP has succeeded in offering more educational opportunities to the rural, poor and female students. Due to the success of the NEP and NDP, the incidence of poverty among Malaysians decreased from 8.5 percent in 1999 to 5.7 percent in 2004 with a corresponding decline in the number of the poor households from 409,300 to 311,300. The incidence of poverty in rural areas decreased from 14.8 percent in 1999 to 11.9 percent in 2004 while the number of poor households reduced from 323,200 to 219,700. Despite the decrease in the incidence of poverty and the number of poor rural households, poverty continued to be predominantly a rural phenomenon with 70.6 percent of the poor living in the rural areas. As for the incidence of urban poverty it declined from 3.3 percent in 1999 to 2.5 percent in 2004 while the number of urban poor households increased to 91,600. All ethnic groups experienced a reduction in the incidence of poverty. However, poverty among Bumiputeras remained by far the highest decreasing from 12.4 per cent to 8.3 percent in 2004. The incidence of poverty among the Indians declined from 3.5 percent to 2.9 percent while among the Chinese from 1.2 percent to 0.6 percent. The poverty gap among Bumiputera households was the widest at 2.1 percent compared with the Chinese and Indian households at 0.1 percent and 0.6

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[50] Ministry of Higher Education, Malaysia, Report By the Committee to Study, Review and Make Recommendations Concerning the Development and Direction of Higher Education in Malaysia, *op. cit.* , p.153.

[51] *Ibid.,* p.154.

percent respectively. The Malaysian government aims to narrow the income gap between Bumiputeras and Chinese from 1: 1.64 in 2004 to 1: 1.50 in 2010. It also targets to reduce the income gap between the Bumiputeras and Indians from 1: 1.27 in 2004 to 1: 1.15 in 2010[52].

These income gaps in addition to the quota system have split higher education in Malaysia into two types; the Malay dominated cheap public universities where the medium of instruction is Bahasa Melayu, and the non-Malay expensive private universities where the language of instruction is English. While the quota system and affirmative action policies have increased the number of Malay professionals, their percentages in certain professions are not in proportion with their percentages in the population. The share of Bumiputeras employed in the senior officials and managers category remained low at 37.1 percent in 2005. Excluding lecturers, pre-university and secondary school teachers as well as writers and artists, the proportion of Bumiputeras in the professional category was 47.5 percent in 2005 compared with 77.6 percent among the Chinese and 69.2 percent for the Indians. The share of Bumiputera professionals registered in the eight selected occupations increased from 35.5 percent in 2000 to 38.8 percent in 2005[53]. If we take into consideration that the equity ownership of the Bumiputeras, the Chinese and Indians were 18.9 percent, 39.0 percent and 1.2 percent respectively, we can realize the influence of the economic status in perpetuating the educational superiority enjoyed by the Chinese. While the Chinese depend on their superior economic status to enroll at private universities in Malaysia and foreign universities overseas, the Malays depend on the affirmative action policies and the state's sponsorship to study at the local public universities or overseas. This economic dichotomy has left certain segments of the Indian community educationally marginalized. The real threat for the Malays under the corporatization of public universities is the application of a meritocracy system for enrollment at public higher education institutions. As the application of a meritocracy system means the abolition of the preferential quota system that favours the Malays, corporatization can increase ethnic tension in Malaysia and may negatively influence equity.

F) Corporatization of Public Universities and Social Cohesion

Malaysian higher education has failed in achieving social cohesion. The absence of public sphere for debate and discussion of public issues led to the lack of social cohesion. The economic disparities were a second reason for the lack of ethnic integration. These problems were created during the colonial period and continued after independence. Following independence in 1957, the Malaysian

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[52] Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006 – 2010, *op.cit.* , pp. 331-354.

[53] *Ibid.*, p.333.

government adopted the 'laissez-faire' approach where liberal economy and industrialization were the engines of growth. Economic development during the period of the 1950s and 1960s was mainly concentrated on accelerating economic growth, allocating investment to establishing infrastructure, and promoting import substitution industries. Although these policies did successfully strengthen the economy, it nevertheless resulted in an imbalance of economic activities and contributed to marked economic differences in activities between races, and between urban and rural areas. Such liberal economic policies did not deal adequately with the problem of social disparities and economic deprivation faced by the Malaysian society.

> "The imbalance of economic activities, income and poverty raised tension among the different races and culminated in the riots on 13th of May 1969".[54]

The lack of public sphere was exemplified in the warning of the ex-Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamed to the other BN's component parties that UMNO could rule the country on its own if UMNO was not committed to power sharing. Such warnings were repeated mostly during the late 1980s[55].

A second example on the absence of public sphere was the appointment of non-Mandarin educated administrators to work in the Chinese national-type primary schools in 1987. Politicians from MCA, DAP and Gerakan and major Chinese parties joined the protests on 11 October, 1987. Dong Jiao Zong (Chinese educationists) held a 2,000 gathering at the Hainanese Association Building which evoked racially provocative speeches from the Chinese politicians present. Although the meeting resolved to call a three-day boycott in Chinese schools if the government did not settle the appointments issue, the boycott was cancelled. In retaliation UMNO Youth organized a rally of 10,000 at TPCA stadium. Among the slogans repeated by the leader of UMNO Youth, Najib Tun Razak, in a rally organized in Kampung Baru was "This dagger wants to drink Chinese blood"[56]. The Malay demonstrators promised to repeat the massacre of 13th of May. In addition to this, UMNO declared that it would organize a massive rally of half a million participants to celebrate the memory of its 41st anniversary. The Inspector General of the Police had cancelled the UMNO massive rally and on 27th October Operation Lalang (it means removing the bad harmful weed in Bahasa Melayu) was conducted by security forces. Operation Lalang was the second largest Internal Security Act swoop in Malaysian history since May 13 riots.

Operation Lalang resulted in arresting 106 persons from opposition parties and social movements and NGOs and the revoking of the publishing licenses of two dailies, *the Star*, and the

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[54] Hassan, Asan Ali Golam, Growth, Structural Change and Regional Inequality in Malaysia, *op.cit.* , p.68.

[55] Teik, Boo Khoo, *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance in the Public Sector* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2005), p.39.

[56] Soong, Kua Kia, May 13: Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969, *op.cit.*, p.7.

Sin Chew Jit Poh and two weeklies, *The Sunday Star* and *Watan*. This swoop of Internal Security Act has provided the government with an opportunity to tighten its grip on political parties and to restrict fundamental liberties. In 1988, the Printing Presses and Publishing Act was given more bite by requiring every printer and publisher to apply annually for the renewal of its license. In addition, if a license was revoked it could not be challenged in court. In addition, a three year jail term was added in the law for any publisher who publishes false news. The Police Act was modified to make even an assembly of more than five people an illegal gathering. Any illegal gathering without a police permit could earn the person a RM 10,000 fine and a jail term of one year. In addition, there are at least 14 acts of Parliament that grant the government wide discretionary powers which inhibit the operations of a normal democracy society. The legislation involved includes the Internal Security Act (ISA), which was transformed from the British colonial government's Emergency Regulations 1948, and adopted in response to the rebellion of the Malayan Communist Party. The ISA provides, among other things, for detention without trial, and has been used against political opposition and leaders of NGOs. Since 1989 ministerial decisions, except rules and procedures, have been no longer subject to judicial review[57].

Since the enactment of the Trade Union Act 1959, trade unionists have been barred from holding party political office, although they can be nominated as party candidates. The aim behind this act is to prevent opposition party leaders from strengthening close links with the unions. Furthermore, the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 forbids academics and students from political activities, except with the permission of their vice-chancellors. The Societies Act 1966 and amended in 1981 required societies to declare whether they are 'political' or 'friendly', and gave wide powers to the Registrar of Societies in examining their foreign contacts. Although some of these amendments were removed, due to the efforts of Anwar Ibrahim, Islamic Youth Movement, and leaders of NGOs, there are many restrictions on the activities of NGOs. The Sedition Act 1948 is aimed at restricting the scope of discussion of political matters. In the aftermath of the 1969 riots, the Act was amended, widening the scope of sedition to cover 'sensitive issues'. It was under this Act that the former opposition MP and DAP youth leader, Lim Guan Eng, was charged and convicted in 1977. The Official Secrets Act 1972 and its amendments in 1983 were seen by some opposition parties leaders as a 'super catch all clause' as an instrument to cow and curb press freedom. Under this Act, any information held by an official is deemed to be a secret, and breaches involve a mandatory custodial sentence[58].

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[57] Kok Wah, Francis Loh, "A New Politics in Malaysia: Ferment and Fragmentation", in: Barlow, Colin and Kok Wah, Francis Loh (eds.), *Malaysian Economics and Politics in the New Century* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2003), p.115.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp.115-116.

A third example for the absence of public sphere was the assault on the Second Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor at Asia Hotel, Kuala Lumpur by a 600 strong persons of UMNO Youth in 1996. It took the police two hours to arrive, by which time the UMNO Youth members had already harassed the conference participants. Instead of apprehending the aggressors for their violent actions, the police arrested some 59 conference participants.

A fourth example took place on 18 August 2000 when around 300 UMNO Youth members demonstrated in front of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall in Kuala Lumpur over the Chinese Associations'1999 *Suqiu* election appeal for civil rights. They threatened to burn down the Assembly Hall[59]. Ex-Prime Minister Mahathir confirmed in Parliament on 11 December, 1999 that the social contract made among the races would have come undone if all 17 points in Suqiu's memorandum[60] were accepted by the government. He also said that bowing to Suqiu's requests would have also meant that the Constitution would have to be set aside. The Malaysian Youth Council, the Islamic Consumers Association and UMNO Youth started to object and rally support for special rights of the Malays as if they were under threat. The National Silat Federation of Malaysia screamed that three million exponents of silat were ready to fight for the cause. The Federation of Peninsular Malay Students or GPMS after breaking fast with the Prime Minister at Putrajaya on 13 December submitted 100 demands on behalf of the Malays. Some of the demands reportedly included 70 per cent Malay intake into local universities and 60 per cent into private colleges and a call to amend the constitution so that only a Malay can be the PM of Malaysia. This student body has threatened to call a rally of 100,000 people to protest against Suqiu's demands. They have warned that if Suqiu's demands are not withdrawn within a month, then GPMS will go on a roadshow to every state to agitate against this issue.

A fifth example for the absence of public sphere and lack of social cohesion is the racial incident of Kampong Medan, Petaling Jaya from 8th to 23rd March 2001. The clashes between the Indian Malaysians and the Malay Malaysians left six persons killed and over a hundred others suffered from grievous bodily injuries. It took the Malaysian Police fifteen days to restore order[61].

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[59] Soong, Kua Kia, May 13: Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969, *op.cit.* , pp.7-8. The 17-point memorandum was drawn up by 13 Chinese associations and endorsed by 2,095 other Chinese associations in August 1999. This memorandum, among other things, called for promotion of national unity, advancing democracy, upholding human rights and justice, curbing corruption, having a fair and equitable economic policy and restoring confidence in the police force. This memorandum was accepted unconditionally and without reservation by the MCA, the Gerakan, the SUPP and the Cabinet. The Barisan Alternative also accepted this fully. Nobody questioned or berated the Malaysian Chinese Organisations Election Committee, commonly referred to as Suqiu, for formulating this document; nobody chided it for the timing.

[60] Kok Wah, Francis Loh, "A New Politics in Malaysia: Ferment and Fragmentation", in: Barlow, Colin and Kok Wah, Francis Loh (eds.), Malaysian Economics and Politics in the New Century, *op.cit.*, p.96.
[61] Soong, Kua Kia, May 13: Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969, *op.cit.*, p.8.

When we compare the surprising ineptitude with the speed with which the same police force took to disperse tens of thousands of *Reformasi*[62] demonstrators after Anwar Ibrahim's detention in 1998, a stark contrast emerges. The sacking of Anwar, arrest, prosecution and imprisonment is one the clearest example for the absence of public sphere in Malaysia[63]. When the second highest political leader in the land, Mahathir's heir-apparent who had virtually been appointed as the incoming fifth prime minister got dumped and was treated as the most notorious criminal in the country, this showed that justice, fair play or even common decency could not be implemented as long the powerful apparatus of the government has been subverted to serve, not the interests of the people and nation as it should be, but the interests of the prime minister.

A sixth example of the absence of the public sphere took place on 15 March 2006 when 50 UMNO Youth members delivered an 'ultimatum' to the Kelana Jaya MP, Loh Seng Kok at his service center. In retaliation for the speech of the MP in Parliament on the concerns of the non-Muslims in Malaysia in general and on the ignorance of the history books of the contributions of non-Bumiputera to the Malaysian society, UMNO Youth threatened to take action against the MP if he failed to respond to their letter within a specified number of days[64]. Although the MP called for the establishment of a religious department to help resolve religious misunderstanding, UMNO Youth tried to intimidate him.

Ignorance about politics and the lack of interest in politics among Malaysian students is critical. Political ignorance could be due to the severe restrictions imposed by the educational authority in banning university students from political debates and dialogues. As a result, the lack of social and cultural integration among students in campus life has widened their political polarization, and political aspirations. It is clear that the politics of communalism practised by the political parties have hindered the social cohesion in the Malaysian society. The lack of social cohesion and communal politics has been a threat for national integration. In this sense, higher education has continued to be a place where the "seed of separatism" is being cultivated.

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[62] The *Reformasi* movement in Malaysia was initiated by Anwar Ibrahim and his supporters shortly after he was sacked as Deputy Prime Minister in 1998. It consisted of several mass demonstrations and rallies against the Barisan Nasional government, and continued until Anwar was arrested and jailed in late 1998, whereupon it slowly died down. The target of the *reformasi* campaign was then Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, who was perceived as corrupt and having stayed too long in office.

[63] Siang, Lim Kit, "The Challenges of Opposition Politics in Malaysia – Checking Growing Authoritarianism and Ethnic Re-polarization", in: Barlow, Colin and Kok Wah, Francis Loh (eds.), Malaysian Economics and Politics in the New Century, *op.cit.*, p.160.

[64] Soong, Kua Kia, May 13: Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969, *op.cit.*, p.8.

"Students' political power in higher education has been viewed by Malaysian society as a destructive movement and as a threat to the ruling authority. With this negative perception about students' movement and the lack of self-respect about students' rights, it reflects that society does not permit social and political freedom in a functional democracy. Political rights should be granted to students in university campuses in order to encourage diversity of opinions, and thus to forge a higher degree of tolerance and maturity. After all, the university is the place for free intellectual discourses concerning the pros and cons of many issues. Suppression of ideas and thoughts would stifle creativity, human achievements [and social cohesion]".[65]

Suppression and oppression are not the means for solving ethnic, social and political problems. The Malaysian society needs to create a conducive and progressive political atmosphere in which public sphere can evolve and flourish. Universities as the incubators of intellectual groups and social activists should be allowed to play a crucial role in enhancing the development of the public sphere and reforming the Malaysian political system. However, the restrictive laws, the communal politics, the economic disparities, the lack of debates and dialogues about affirmative action policies were all factors that combined together to hinder the evolution of public sphere in Malaysia.

The fact that the affirmative action policies are still enforced without discussions with the non-Bumiputeras constituted a reason for the dissent among them. Some non-Bumiputeras see the NEP as a "heavy arm-twisting. Be that as it may, Malaysia has lived with it for 35 years, and, indeed it seems reasonable at this stage for the major parties concerned in the original NEP to look at alternative routes of development that the NEP could have taken"[66].

With coporatization of public universities, the quota system should be abolished. However, the revocation of the quota system will anger the Malays who cannot compete with the Chinese under a 'meritocracy' system of university intake. Although the official quota should 55 Bumiputeras to 45 non-Bumiputeras, of the total public university student population of 203,675, the Bumiputeras to non-Bumiputeras ratio was 72.7 percent to 27.3 percent in 1999. The meager quota given to the non-Bumiputeras has forced an exodus of Chinese students to overseas universities. Many of these non-Bumiputera students found employment overseas and hence the country suffered from brain drain. The rejection of 500 non-Bumiputera top scorers to local public universities, while there were 7,000 vacancies unfilled due to the lack of qualified Bumiputera applicants in the year 2000 was a source of anger among the Chinese and Indian communities[67].

With the implementation of corporatization of public universities and the establishment of private universities the poor segments in the society will rebel and may sort to violence. The economic and educational deprivation of certain segments of the Indian community has led to a mass

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[65] Abd Rashid, Abd Rahim, "Politics of Higher Education in Malaysia: Trends and Issues", in: Hussin, Sufean (ed.), Revitalizing Education: Some Prospective Policy Innovations, *op. cit.,* pp.109-110.

[66] Beng, Ooi Kee, Era of Transition: Malaysia After Mahathir (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006), p.65. See also Gomez, Edmund Terence, "The Perils of Pro-Malay Policies", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol.168, no.8, September 2005, p.39.

[67] Quek, Kim, Where to Malaysia?: A Future with Anwar's Reformasi or Back to Mahathirism?, *op.cit.* , pp.200-204.

demonstration of 10,000 that took place in Kuala Lumpur on 25 November, 2007. The demonstrators wanted to submit a petition with 100,000 signatures to the British High Commission requesting assistance from Queen Elizabeth in securing reparations of RM 28 trillion for Malaysia's two million Indians in recompense for Britain's historical importation of indentured labour to Malaysia. The petition also claimed that The Indians in Malaysia are suffering from genocide and ethnic cleansing. The anti-riots police forces sprayed water cannons and billowed tear gas over crowds of protestors and the demonstration ended in clashes with the police. As a result 240 demonstrators were arrested[68].

The response of the government was constituted of two parts; resorting to arresting the demonstrators and claiming that the demonstration has negatively influenced economy. After initially arresting 240 persons, 104 demonstrators were released and the remaining 136 detained persons were to face charges which included illegal assembly, sedition, causing a nuisance and contempt of court. Even when a member of parliament and a member of MIC, S .K. Devamany, was critical of the government policies on Indians, he was summoned to explain his conduct before the Barisan Nasional "chief whip", deputy prime minister. Although the MP expressed his opinions inside one of the sessions of the parliament, his behaviour was criticized by Nazri Aziz, a Minister in the Prime Minister's Department. In addition, the MP was told by Nazri Aziz to "leave MIC if he was unhappy" with the government policies towards recruitment of the Indians in the civil service and armed forces[69]. The Prime Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, threatened that the "government will invoke Internal Security Act to handle street demonstrations if situation warrants it". He added that "ISA is a preventive measure to protect the nation from incidents that can harm the prevailing peace and harmony and create all sorts of adverse situations. The government will use the Internal Security Act to prevent illegal demonstrations from disrupting the country's harmony"[70]. University students who participated in the demonstration were threatened by the spokesperson for the Ministry of Higher Education to be fired from their colleges. According to the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 undergraduates are not allowed to participate in demonstrations. "They can be suspended from their studies if they are arrested and charged in court" [71] . Although the demonstration was organized by the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf), the protestors were called by the president of MIC as "fighting to create problems. They are troublemakers"[72]. The Deputy Prime Minister, Najib Tun Razak, said that "illegal demonstrations could severely affect the

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[68] *New Straits Times*, Monday, November, 26, 2007, pp.1-4.
[69] *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, November, 28, 2007, p.12.
[70] *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, November, 28, 2007, p.1.
[71] *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, November, 28, 2007, p.6.
[72] *New Straits Times*, Wednesday, November, 28, 2007, p.7.

economy and people's lives"[73].

The Inspector-General of Police, Tan Sri Musa Hassan, claimed that "there are signs that Hindraf is trying to garner support from terrorist groups". He also said that the group was trying "to sow hatred towards the government and that its actions could spark racial clashes"[74]. On Thursday 13th December, 2007 five leaders of Hindraf were detained under the Internal Security Act. Their detention will last for two years. The Inspector-General of Police threatened that "other personalities who are involved or have links with any terrorist organization that could threaten or jeopardize national security will be picked up"[75]. The Prime Minister said that "it was his duty to act accordingly if the country's peace and security was threatened"[76]. On 15 December, 2007 the Deputy Internal Security Minister threatened that more arrests could take place according to ISA. In an emphatic note he asserted that

> "[w]e will not tolerate anyone who threatens the security of the country. It doesn't matter if they are professionals, civil servants or members of non-governmental organizations and religious groups".[77]

The Hindraf demonstration on 25 November, 2007 and the arrests that followed give a clear example of the absence of the public sphere in Malaysian society. The use of the ISA on 13th December, 2007 assures that the absence of the public sphere and social cohesion has perpetuated the ethnic divisions in Malaysia.

Moreover, some Indians, once staunch supporters of the government, have been alienated by state agencies, after several Hindu temples were suddenly destroyed to make way for development projects[78]. The general elections held on 8 March 2008 reduced the government control of parliamentary seats from 90.4 percent to 62 percent and even produced a majority for the opposition in five out of thirteen states[79]. On the average of the general elections between 1959 and 2004 the ruling coalition has drawn 80.8 per cent of the parliamentary seats. Only once in the entire post-independence history of Malaysia has the ruling coalition had lesser approval than in 2008. This was in the general elections in 1969 before the riots that the ruling coalition won merely 58.4 per cent of parliamentary seats[80]. The slump in approval for the ruling coalition in 2008 was partly due to poor Indians together with segments of the Chinese switching their votes to the opposition.

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[73] *New Straits Times*, Tuesday, November, 27, 2007, p.4.

[74] *Star,* Friday, December, 7, 2007, p.1.

[75] *Star,* Friday, December, 14, 2007, p.1.

[76] *Star,* Friday, December, 7, 2007, p.4.

[77] *New Sunday Times*, Sunday, December, 16, 2007, p.1.

[78] *Financial Times*, February 14, 2008, p.6.

[79] *Japan Times*, March 10, 2008, p.1. See *also International Herald Tribune*, March 18, 2008, p.1.

[80] See: Brown, Graham K., "Playing the (Non) Ethnic Card: The Electoral System and Ethnic Voting Patterns in Malaysia", *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 4, no 4, November 2005, pp. 431, 432.

Dissatisfaction had already been noticed in the course of 2007, when the trend of skilled Indians and Chinese to emigrate to Australia and the USA because of the implementation of racial quotas on higher education[81]. The poorer segments of the same ethnic groups, seen suffering from the same disadvantage[82] and having no option to emigrate, would have to articulate their dissatisfaction through elections and by demonstrations. Contrary to the expectation articulated in *Vision 2020*[83], the implementation of privatization policies has increased income inequalities, sparked ethnic conflicts and thereby further reduced the social cohesion among the Malaysian population[84]. Thus the opposition has responded with the pledge to "dismantle the government's long-standing policy of special rights for ethnic Malays"[85], signaling its concern that ethnic tensions may further gain steam.

The contemporaneous occurrence of the eruption of violent street protest and massive support for the opposition in regular general elections, often mutually exclusive venues of the articulation of discontent, has been featured twice in the post-independent history of Malaysia. This particular feature of Malaysian politics points to the continuing absence of the public sphere, in which violent street protest would have been redundant had there been public confidence in general elections.

G) Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the various circumstances leading to the corporatization of public universities in Malaysia. It analyzed the corporatization process in UM and UKM. It explained how factors such as the objective of making Malaysia a regional center of educational excellence, the objective of making some public universities research universities, and the objective of making public universities more accountable and more efficient were the driving forces for the implementation of corporatization. By analyzing the goals of the five-year national plans, the researcher elucidated the rationale for adopting the corporatization policy. The chapter also dealt with privatization as corporatization applied in UM and UKM.

In these two universities, the practical implementation of the restructuring kicked off through the introduction of corporatization has been difficult and time-consuming. Contrary to its

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[81] Abbott, Jason P, and Franks, Oliver S., "Malaysia at Fifty: Conflicting Definitions of Citizenship", *Asian Affairs*, vol. 38, no, 3, November 2007, p.351.

[82] Lim, Danny, "Rallying for Rights in Malaysia", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 171, no 2, March 2008, p.41.

[83] Ministry of Education Malaysia, *Laporan Tahunan: 2000 Annual Report* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2000), p.1. Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, *Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005* (Kuala Lumpur: Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, April 2001), p.87.

[84] This has been observed already by Stark, Jan, "India Muslim in Malaysia: Images of Shifting Identities in the Multi-Ethnic State", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 26, no 3, December 2006, p.387.

[85] *Financial Times*, March 20, 2008, p.8.

pledges, the government has shown little willingness to reduce practical control over public universities but has used its continuing sway to enforce rigid budgetary cuts. While these measures may have been mandated by the consequences of the Asian economic crisis of 1997, they have impeded the introduction of market mechanisms into the management of public universities. Although corporatization has been defended as a venue towards raising the quality of education and intensifying research activities, the net advance has so far been slow in consequence of continuing government administrative surveillance and budgetary restrictions. Therefore corporatization has so far not materially contributed to the improvement of the quality of education, even though its implementation has ensued high social costs in consequence of the neglect of equity and social cohesion as aspects of tertiary education. The privatization and corporatization of Malaysian universities have not contributed to the making of a public sphere.

Chapter XI

Political Effects of Colonialism and Privatization on Malaysian Higher Education

A) The Characteristics of British Educational Colonial Policies

British Colonial administration limited education to the demands for the preservation of the status quo in their predominantly agricultural and raw material producing dependencies in Southeast Asia. To that end, British administrators established primary schools offering training in basic skills but did little to set up a fully-fledged educational system comprising primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. Moreover, they distinguished rigorously between decent equipped schools designed for European expatriates on the one side and, on the other, of poorly equipped schools for the various ethnic groups under their control. As the latter type of schools was of a very bad quality, it was logical that the standard of achievement of students who graduated from these schools was very low. As the output of these schools was the input of higher education institutions, the failure and dropout rates from higher education institutions surged. The curricula in higher education institutions were drawn on European models and thus totally disassociated from students' everyday life and milieu. The aim of higher education was not to develop intellectual scholarship nor moral or social values. On the contrary, the goal was to create psychological barriers between the various ethnic groups comprising the society. For example, the aim of medical education was not to develop the mental powers. Rather than this, the end of higher education was to prevent the labourers in rubber plantations and tin mines from dying prematurely before the colonial authorities could make profits from importing these immigrant labourers.

The low quality of higher educational institutions was not confined to teaching only. On the contrary, it was also widespread in the research produced by these institutions. In many respects research produced by tertiary education institutions in Malaysia was not related to the needs of the society. It was research for sake of doing research rather than trying to solve the problems of the country. It was theoretical rather than applied, individual rather than collective, repetitive instead of original, conventional instead of innovative and traditional instead of pioneering.

The colonial policies in the 1940s and 1950s aimed at gaining the hearts and minds of the Asian dwellers of the Malayan Union. By reaching to Malaysian students who studied overseas and instilling in them respect and affection to British values, learning institutions, educational system, and world views, the colonial policy-makers planned to preserve the British influence in Southeast Asia in general and in Malaysia in particular.

Enrolment in educational institutions during the colonial era was a reflection of the financial assets that the families possessed. There were no equal opportunities for pupils to make use of. It was clear that admission to King Edward VII College of Medicine and Raffles College needed obtaining a certain level of pre-university education that was not offered inside the poor-quality non-English schools. Thus, only rich and urbanized people who could send their children to expensive private schools or to the English-medium schools did have real opportunities to proceed with the education of their children. As the tuition fee in King Edward VII College of Medicine was high, it was natural that enrolment in the college would remain monopolized by the rich. During the colonial era the number of Indian students enrolled at domestic Malaysian higher education institutes was second to none except the Chinese students. The number of Chinese pupils and students at pre-university and college levels education was the highest amongst all ethnicities in British Malaya.

The British policies of ethnic exclusivism encouraged segregation rather than integration among the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. Thus, the three ethnicities had their own separate schools established in addition to the English-language schools. British colonial administrators established a framework of apartheid separating the three major ethnic groups inhabiting their Southeast Asian dependencies. The framework of apartheid impacted particularly heavily on the formation and operation of primary and secondary educational institutions. It was too late for the three ethnic groups to socialize with each other at the higher education level. As many of the values and attitudes that a person possesses are developed during the primary and lower secondary levels, the mere congregation of Malay, Chinese, and Indians together inside the lecture halls in higher education institutions after the age of 19 was not enough to rectify the negative perceptions developed during the early levels of education. Consequently, it was not a surprise that institutions of higher education in British Malaya failed to bridge the gaps between these divided ethnicities. A public sphere that might eventually have ushered in establishing the basis for legitimate institutions of government did not come into existence during the colonial period.

Colonial educational policies led to the economic disadvantage of the mass of Malays and to the detriment of Malay social and political development. The economic underprivileging as well as educational underrepresentation of the Malays, exacerbated by the colonial segregation policies, resulted in an education that fostered divisiveness, enmity and disunity among the three main ethnicities in British Malaya.

The education system in British Malaya was influenced by the mentalities of the British administrators, who impinged upon the minds of the people under their control the mistaken belief in the superiority of the European and the inferiority of the Asians, the search for scapegoats to blame for the

problems encountered in the colonies, the erroneous belief in the civilizing mission and the benevolence of British colonialism, the vain assumption that restricting access to education will reduce unemployment, and the feigned trust in the superiority of British culture that was supposed to be perpetuated.

The resulting paternalism was based on the expectation that the British planners knew everything and that they were working in the best interests of the colonized populations. As British educationalists were taken to know the interests of the Asian populations better than the Asian populations themselves, the latter were expected to accept and implement the golden bits of advice offered to them.

During and even after British colonialism, Malaysian education was analyzed by a non-Malayan mentality rendering the analysis Eurocentric. During the colonial era educational planners were predominantly British so that the context of Malayan education was located outside the country. The life and suffering of the Asian populations of the Malayan peninsula were totally ignored by the British planners. The British colonizers managed in creating elite classes that were alienated form the culture and customs of their basic constituent ethnicities.

B) The Impact of Colonial Educational Policies on the Post-Colonial Era.

Colonial policies thus created a legacy of low-quality education that offered grossly unequally distributed opportunities and did bad service to promoting social cohesion among the diverse populations inhabiting British Malaya. As British colonial administrators refused to acknowledge the long-lasting difficulties implied in the legacies they were creating, the difficulties have lingered on beyond the independence of Malaysia in 1957. The early post-colonial government became increasingly aware of these difficulties in the course of the 1960s but had little room to move, given the diversity of populations inhabiting the newly independent state, the gross economic disparities that had emerged specifically between Chinese and Malays, the continuity of the British models to be implemented, a British trained indigenous elite together with the continuous presence of British faculty and British supervising agents in Malaysian educational institutions. Hence, the early post-colonial government tried to maintain a shaky balance among the ethnic groups. Any attempt to change the status quo, be it by way of reducing the discrimination of the Malays, be it by granting special schoolings privileges to the Chinese, would have angered the neglected groups. During the latter part of the 1960s, the absence of a generally acknowledged and practiced national language became the foment for radical demands for educational reforms. One the one side, Malay nationalists requested the introduction of Bahasa Melayu

as the sole language of instruction at all levels of education. On the other side, Chinese associations refused to accept this demand citing the need to preserve their traditional culture. The resulting controversies peaked in the 1969 riots. As there was no public forum for debate about crucial issues of state policy, dissatisfied people had little choice other than to take to the streets.

Early in the 1970s, the Malaysian government responded with a package of measures aimed at enforcing affirmative action policies to the benefit of Malays. The policies were to accomplish the improvement of the quality of education, grant equal access to educational institutions and foster social cohesion by bringing dissatisfied Malays back into the political system. New institutions of higher education sprang up designed to remedy the evils of the colonial legacy. Tertiary education gradually expanded within Malaysia and more and more students became capable of pursuing their studies abroad. However, at the same time, the government pushed through legislation that banning pubic debate about crucial issues of state policy. The price of affirmative action policies was the prevention of the emergence of a public sphere.

The problem of quality had persisted from the colonial past and continued after independence, though taking different shapes. The colonial policies created a tertiary education focusing on the social sciences, instead of applied sciences and engineering. They were also centered around teaching instead of R & D. Even when limited research were conducted in exceptional cases, it was irrelavent to the needs of the Asian populations. The period from 1957 to 1969 was a continuation of the colonial policies in one way or another. The reasons behind this perpetuated policy are the limited resources allocated for funding higher education during that period, focusing attention on expanding primary and secondary education in the deprived rural areas, the depletion of the budget in fighting the communist insurregency, and the elitist nature of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

In spite of independence the communal characteristics of the economy remained. This was because the Merdaka elites who ruled in the first 12 years of independence perpetuated the colonial economy with a few modifications. As a result, all the deficiencies of the past responsible for the communalization of the economy- the identification of economic function with ethnicity, the emphasis upon the export-oriented sector, and so on, continued to influence the pattern of development. The only important difference was that there was a rural development programme now which however failed to come to grips with the root causes of rural poverty. The Malay political elite was unwilling to effect a genuine transformation of the economy on behalf of the majority.

The first major problem that haunted higher education during the period 1957-1969 was the low academic achievements of the Bumiputera students.

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The second problem upsetting quality was the high level of wastage and repetition for the Malay students at UM. The third problem affecting quality during the period 1957-1969 was that the majority of Malay students were concentrated in the humanities while the non-Malays were overrepresented in the sciences. The fourth problem influencing quality was the limited funds allocated for financing higher education. The fifth problem that haunted quality during the period 1957-1969 was the limited number of qualified local teaching staff at tertiary education institutions. Only after the riots of 1969, there were rigouros efforts to improve the quality of higher education in Malaysia.

With the allocating of increasing funds to funding higher education in the period 1969-1996, many of the problems of the colonial era were overcome. However, three new problems had emerged and one old problem continued to exist, negatively influencing the quality of higher education. The old problem concerned the imbalance in the number of the students enrolled in the applied sciences and the liberal arts and humanities. The first of the new problems was the creation of two educated classes in the country. Due to a massive programme of scholarships, grants, fellowships and low or zero interest loans, the government and its agencies sent large numbers of Bumiputera students to study overseas. The result of this massive programme was a growing dichotomy in the socialization and educational process of the locally and overseas educated Malaysians. In other words, a "two culture" society emerged. The second of the new problems was the focus of research on theoretical angles instead of applied themes. The third of the new problems was the lack of motivation among the Malay students to study hard.

The colonial policies were biased in favour of the affluent residents of the urban centers, the majority of whom were Chinese and Indians. In order to overcome the colonial legacy of depriving the poor rural Malays from enrolling in higher education, the government tried cautiously and gradually to increase their number. However, the progress in this policy was slow due to the liberal meritocracy approach implemented by the post-independence government. As the educational and economic policies implemented from 1957 to 1969 hindered the progress of having equal opportunities to everyone to enroll at higher education regardless of his wealth, family background, place of residence, ethnicity, or gender, the government started to implement the preferential educational policies since 1971. NEP caused resentment of some segments of the Non-Bumiputeras. They saw the quota system and the ethnic preferential educational policies as hindering their legitimate educational aspirations. With the enforcement of the quota system many academically qualified Chinese and Indian students were denied enrollment at the cheap local public universities. While rich Non-Bumiputeras could go abroad and study overseas at their own expense, there were poor Non-Bumiputeras who could not afford to do so. In order to satisfy the Chinese Malaysians, the government permitted the establishment of Tunku Abdul

Rahman College in 1969 and many private colleges were opened in the 1990s. The concerted efforts of the establishment of the Residential Colleges, various MARA training and education institutions, and the matriculation programme had improved the educational status of many Malays. While the NEP policies encouraged the sharp increase of the Malays' intake into public higher education institutions, they to some extent ignored the non-Malays.

In the wake of independence, state planners and educationalists were quite aware of the inherited divisive and latently explosive multi-ethnic society. In spite of this knowledge, the progress towards ethnic integration and social cohesion in the period from 1957 to 1969 was slow. One reason for this slow social cohesion process was the gradualist approach implemented by the first Prime Minister. As these policies of fairness to all races, of compromise and of give and take did not improve the economic or the educational status of many of the impoverished rural and urban Malays social cohesion did not come about and eventually ethnic riots took place in 1969. The Alliance politicians had recognized the important role that education can play in facilitating social cohesion in the newly independent state. The major dilemma encountered by Malaysian politicians during establishing their educational system was how to balance the promotion of Malay as the medium of instruction with guaranteeing Chinese and Indian rights to be educated in their mother tongues. In order to strengthen social cohesion and to cement the ethnically divided society, the Alliance politicians also argued that it was mandatory to create a set of common values. While this point of view was agreed upon, what were and who defined these common values was a bone of contention that was rigorously debated. The common values were only strongly implemented after the riots of 1969. They were formulated by the Department of National Unity and proclaimed by the Malaysian King, the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, on 31 August 1970. A bill on the common values, titled *Rukunegara*, was approved by Parliament in 1971 and later was integrated into educational curricula. In spite of the success of NEP in solving some of the problems related to quality and equity in the period from 1971 to 1996, the problem of ethnic divisiveness and lack of social cohesion persisted due to the absence of public sphere.

C) Malaysian Educational Policies since the 1970s: Quality, Equity, Social Cohesion

The Asian financial crisis, the desire to implement *Vision 2020* in order to transform Malaysia into a fully-industrialized state, the plan to establish the Multi-Media Super Corridor, and the unsatisfied demand on university education left the Malaysian government no option but to allow private universities to be established, a step which the government resisted for around forty years. In terms of quality, the establishment of private universities has resulted in the emergence of new educational

problems. Among these new problems, the following ones can be mentioned: the limited numbers of academic staff who hold Ph.D. degrees in private universities, the focus on teaching instead of focusing on research, establishing long-term and durable links between private universities and industry, and ensuring the implementation of quality assurance measures.

In terms of equity, private universities posed a number of challenges to the policy makers in Malaysia. The first challenge for equity of higher education during the period 1996-2007 was to expand and enroll more students especially those who belong to the rural areas. As the majority of the urban areas residents are people of Chinese origin, this means that private universities are biased in favour of the rich and well-connected Chinese families. The second challenge for equity of higher education during the period 1996-2007 was to overcome the poverty of the Malays in Terengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis.

The establishment of domestic private and foreign branch campus universities, has made the chances for promoting social cohesion look much grimmer. The Malays perceive privatization of universities as the effective cancellation of the affirmative action policies previously implemented by the government. Poor urban Indians, who have no access to affirmative action benefits and suffer from the quota system, will be equally negatively affected. As private universities cost more than public universities, there is a big probability that they will turn into ethnic enclaves. In other words, the cheap public universities will remain an exclusive Malay domain, while the expensive private universities will become more and more Chinese dominated districts. Moreover, affluent, urban and well-connected Chinese families have a far higher capability of sending their children out to universities in different countries than poor rural Malays.

If we turn to the corporatization of public universities, we can observe that in terms of quality public universities in Malaysia still face five major challenges; the hiking public expenditure on higher education, the low salaries of academic staff, the insufficient number of Ph.D. holders among public university staff, strengthening the partnership between public universities and industry, and improving the quality of research to reach the international level.

With regard to corporatization and equity, the income gaps in addition to the quota system have split higher education in Malaysia into two types; the Malay dominated cheap public universities where the medium of instruction is Bahasa Melayu, and the non-Malay expensive private universities where the language of instruction is English. While the quota system and affirmative action policies have increased the number of Malay professionals, their percentages in certain professions are not in proportion with their percentages in the population. While the Chinese depend on their superior economic status to enroll

at private universities in Malaysia and foreign universities overseas, the Malays depend on the affirmative action policies and the state's sponsorship to study at the local public universities or overseas. This economic dichotomy has left certain segments of the Indian community educationally marginalized. The real threat for the Malays under the corporatization of public universities is the application of a meritocracy system for enrollment at public higher education institutions. As the application of a meritocracy system means the abolition of the preferential quota system that favours the Malays, corporatization can increase ethnic tension in Malaysia and may negatively influence equity.

In terms of corporatization and social cohesion, Malaysian higher education has failed in achieving social cohesion. Corporatization, in essence, ignores achieving ethnic integration and thus, has prevented the evolution of public sphere in Malaysian society. The absence of public sphere for debate and discussion of public issues led to the lack of social cohesion. The economic disparities were a second reason for the lack of ethnic integration. These problems were created during the colonial period and continued after independence. The enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1959, the 13th May 1969 riots, the enforcement of the Internal Security Act in 1970, the promulgation of the Universities and University College Act in 1971, the 1972 Official Secrets Act and its amendments in 1983, the amendment of the 1966 Societies Act in 1981, Operation Lalang in 1987, the modification in 1988 of the Printing Presses and Publishing Act, the 1999 *Suqiu* election appeal, the racial incident of Kampong Medan, Petaling Jaya from 8th to 23rd March 2001, and the ignorance of the NEP of the educational needs of the Non-Malays, especially the Indian community, all have prevented the evolution of the public sphere in Malaysia. The failure of the educational system in fostering social cohesion was clearly expressed by the Indian demonstrations in Kuala Lumpur on 25th November, 2007. The use of the ISA on 13th December, 2007 assures that the absence of the public sphere has perpetuated the ethnic divisions in the Malaysia. Even with the passage of fifty years after independence higher education in Malaysia has been still failing to achieve social cohesion. With the implementation of privatization, it is to be expected that ethnic tensions will escalate unless serious measures are taken to ensure the evolvement and development of public sphere.

That price became due in the 1990s when the financial burdens, resulting from the policies of expanding the education sector, became unbearable. As the Malaysian government convinced itself by the mid-1990s that it could no longer shoulder the costs of higher education alone, it decided to open higher education institutions to the private sector in search for new sources of funding. The bid towards privatization was equivalent of the revocation of the affirmative action policies of the early 1970s. Yet

the act preventing public debate about crucial issues of state policies has remained in force and has entailed the further public articulation of discontent as late as in November 2007.

D) Summary of the Results: Higher Education and Politics in Malaysia

In summary, this study of higher education and politics has shown that the legacy of British colonial in rule in the Malay Peninsula has had the lasting impact of impeding the evolvement and development of the public sphere for more than fifty years beyond the independence of the former dependency and thereby jeopardizing the stability of the state. The concept of the public sphere has been used as a tool for the analysis of the domestic and international political significance of the interface between education and society in a developing country. In other words, the problem of the emergence of the public sphere has been investigated as an aspect of the social relations as shaped through education in an ethnically divided society.

Primary sources related to the establishment and maintenance of higher education institutions have been subjected to close scrutiny under the guidance of the methods of social history as practiced in the *Annales* school. The application of the method of social history has entailed a research focus on the effects of government educational policies on the potential or actual recipients of education, that is to say, has sought to determine the political, social and economic consequences of government decisions on the Asian populations in British Malaya. The inquiry yields the results that colonial higher education policies ushered in the alienation of successive younger generations from their own local traditions, that curricula enforced by colonial administrative agencies ignored the demands and needs of the Asian populations, that persistent underfunding contributed to poor performance which the administrators blamed on the recipients of education rather than their own decisions, that these decisions were informed by racist stereotypes which the British administrators applied to the Asian populations, and that access to higher education institutions was restrictive and highly unequal, giving priority to Chinese over Malays and Indians. Hence, British colonial administrators, on behalf of the British government as an external actor, used these institutions to implement policies of segregation rather than promoting the use of high-quality and equitable higher education as a venue for the accomplishment and maintenance of social cohesion among the various population groups made to live in Malaya.

The study has also demonstrated that the legacy of colonial rule has continued to be of effect beyond independence. As elsewhere in Asia, Africa and the South Pacific, the external intervention by several European governments in these parts of the world has led to the creation of native colonial elites whose members were carefully selected by the rulers with the expectation that they would continue to

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enforce colonial norms and values even beyond eventual independence. The history of higher education institutions in British Malaya and Malaysia dramatically confirms this point. The University of Malaya, by far the most important higher education institution created in Southeast Asia under British colonial rule, was designed and established in the late 1940s to perform as an agent for the continuation of British curricula to ensure the continued application of British norms and values. Under the constraints of the effects of the Cold War in Southeast Asia, the government of newly independent Malaysia had no realistic chance to establish its own higher education policy but allowed existing institutions to operate on the given foundations. The analysis of sources relevant to social history shows that the riots of 1969 originated from discontent over the continued application of the principles of colonial higher education policies beyond independence.

In the aftermath of the riots, the government recognized the problem but decided to solve it through the quantitative expansion of the university system rather than through qualitative change. With new universities being established, new scholarship systems being inaugurated under affirmative action conditions, and a quota system being installed to regulate admission, the quality of teaching and the degree of equity of access improved at least for one ethnic group within the population, namely the Malays who saw themselves as the losers after a decade of independent government in Malaysia and were in the forefront of the riots. But the underlying problem of the lack of contribution of higher education institutions to social cohesion remained unsolved and thus lingered on as a burden for government and society. With segregation rising, the government had to ban public debate over core political issues, which included access to higher education institutions. Under prevailing segregation, a public sphere could not come into existence even after independence. The problem aggravated again early in the twenty-first century after the government had, in consequence of the Asian financial crisis, to reduce its burden of spending on education by inaugurating policies of the privatization and corporatization of universities, whereby corporatization meant the reduction of government funds without reduction of government control. As there was neither a public sphere ready for formal debate about these policy changes nor a confidences in the reliability of the admitted results of general elections, negatively affected ethnic groups could articulated their discontent in no other way than through violent protest. As a consequence of the affirmative action policies to the benefit of Malays, Indians were most among the negatively groups and thus bore the brunt of the protests of November 2007.

Given the fact that Malaysia shares many of the consequences of the intervention of European colonial powers with other developing countries, the results of this study may apply elsewhere in the world as well. Thus the findings of this study suggest that colonialism is not a matter of past history but

continues to be a political issue of significance particularly in the many ethnically divided developing countries. Under these conditions, the implications of the provision of higher education and of the decision whether or not to allow the privatization of higher education institutions for political processes relevant to the formation or maintenance of the public sphere should be taken into account. Stated in more general terms, the study has revealed the close interconnectedness of higher education with politics.

Last but not least, the findings of the study warrant the conclusion that the provision of higher education should not be considered merely as a facet of domestic politics. Specifically in developing countries, the continuing legacies of colonial rule put on record the international dimension of the interconnectedness of higher education with politics. This is so not merely because of the nature of colonial rule as external intervention but also and, perhaps, more importantly, because colonial rule created varieties of diasporas which, in a globalized world, become the bases for multiple cross-, trans- and international networks apt to reduce the decision-making capabilities of governments of states not only but also with regard to higher education.