

Civics and Citizenship Education in Malaysia : The Voice of Micro Policy Enactors

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study is to provide an understanding of the way Civic and Citizenship Education, as intended at the macro level is translated, implemented and enacted at the micro level. Moreover, it also seeks to understand the contestation and challenges of secondary school teachers as policy implementers at the micro level in transferring the new curriculum policy into teaching and learning practice. Adopting a qualitative research approach, empirical evidence and in-depth information were gathered through document analysis, interviews, questionnaire, lesson observation and field notes. The document analysis showed that there were similarities between Western and Malaysian concepts of citizenship education in that Malaysia's Civic and Citizenship Education was concerned with developing good personal and patriotic citizens. This differed from England's citizenship education that promoted political literacy and active participation in democratic society. Despite in the official document, Civic and Citizenship Education seems to be strongly classified and strongly framed (Bernstein, 1975; 1971), at the school level, this subject is weakly classified and weakly framed. Indeed, a closer examination in each school visited showed that the 'battle' (Goodson, 1998 : 45) between this subject and other academic subjects continue. The analysis also illustrated that the enactment of Civic and Citizenship Education was mediated, not only by school students' ethnic population, but also by school contexts that existed in each school. This also led to the gap between teachers' perception of citizenship and citizenship education with their teaching practices. Thus, this study demonstrated that the process of translating, implementing and enacting policy at the school level is not a direct process (Ball, 2006) as there are various factors that could mediate the way a policy is implemented and enacted at the micro level (Ball et al., 2012; Braun et al. 2011a).

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

1.1 Problem Statement and Aims

The substantive focus of this study is on the introduction of Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE) in Malaysia's school curriculum, which is to support the state's major objective of achieving national integration and public harmony among the multiethnic and multicultural society. More broadly, it is about the ways in which the Malaysian government has sought to develop and implement educational policy supporting the dual aims of social cohesion and economic growth. Such aims are specified in the National Philosophy of Education, Education Act 1996, Education Development Master Plan (2006 – 2010) and Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013 to 2025 (Preschool to Post-secondary Education) which are also in part, a response to globalisation. Thus, the school curriculum and the processes of schooling are seen as a means to contribute to the development of society and the economy. This study, therefore, involves an investigation of the ways in which the school curriculum in Malaysia has been contested, negotiated and re-negotiated (Goodson, 1993; Ball and Goodson, 1984) over time. However, what constitutes the curriculum of today, and the definition and place of CCE within it, is to be regarded as only a stage in its evolutionary development (Kerr, 2003a; Goodson, 1998).

Thus, at the macro level, this study explores how teachers define and understand CCE, the ways in which it has been enacted (Ball et al. 2012) and the opportunities for its future. It sets this against an exploration of the government's 'official' definitions of CCE and the ways in which it has sought to introduce it into the school curriculum. In this way, the school curriculum, and CCE within it, are conceptualised as being socially and politically constructed (Ball and Goodson, 1984). This gives rise to the main aims of the study:

1. What is CCE and why has it been introduced into the school curriculum in Malaysia?
2. How is CCE defined and enacted particularly in secondary schools in Selangor, Malaysia?

3. What progress has been made in the enactment of CCE and what challenges are likely to hinder its future development?

1.2 Background

Malaysia is a multiethnic country in which each ethnic group not only practices its own language and culture but also practices its own religion. During British colonisation, with the migration of Chinese and Indian labour into Malaysia the state was changed from a primarily Malay homogeneous society to plural society (Singh and Mukherjee, 1993). The 'divide and rule' policy practised by the British during its colonisation had led Malaysia to be ethnically and geographically divided (Haque, 2003). Consequently, after Malaysia achieved its independence in 1957, uniting the various ethnics groups and developing a national identity was one of the state's major tasks (Brown, 2007; Loo, 2007). Since the early stages of independence, the state managed to reduce its poverty rate from 35 percent in 1970 to 5 percent in 2000 and also to overcome the 1997 economic crisis (Baharuddin, 2005). Indeed, since independence to 2005, the state's real gross domestic product (GDP) had grown by 6.5 percent per annum, which was claimed to be 'one of the highest growth rates achieved by sovereign nations of similar age and size' (EPU, 2006: 3). Following independence, Malaysia's economy relied on natural resources and agricultural products. However, with the rise of globalisation, Malaysia realised the need to transform its economy from a production-based economy to a knowledge-based economy. As it became a developing country, the economy expanded in production and service sectors and relied more on investment from foreign countries. Though a major ethnic riot had occurred in 1969, since then the state had not only managed to develop its economy but also managed to control inter-ethnic tension (Baharuddin, 2005).

Despite the fact that Malaysia has now become a developing country, the state realised that one of the major challenges is in developing a harmonious and integrated society which share a common national identity. Furthermore, the state realised that only through a united society, and with social stability maintained could the objective to be a developed country as envisaged in Vision 2020 be achieved (Wawasan2020.com, 2008). Due to this, it is not a surprise that the objectives of national unity, growth and social equity remain as the core objective of National Economic Policy (1971 – 1990), National

Development Policy (1991 – 2000), National Vision Policy (2001-2010) and the Malaysia Five Year Plan including the Tenth Malaysia Plan (2011 – 2015). In fact, in striving to be a developed country by the year 2020, one of the nine challenges to be faced is to ‘establish a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny’ (Wawasan2020.com, 2008). The latest policy “1Malaysia” with the principle “One Malaysia, People First, Performance Now” introduced by Malaysia’s Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak at his first Cabinet Appointment Speech (Razak, 2009) on 9th April 2009 also promotes national unity and national cohesion.

With the concern to ensure national integration, education in Malaysia has always been perceived as a vehicle to promote and maintain national unity (Jamil, 2007; Brown, 2007). As British colonisation had left the pre-independent Malaysia with a divided education system, since then the state has strived to develop a national education that could unite the divided ethnics. The *Razak Report* (1956) which had led to the regulation of Education Ordinance 1957 had been the state’s first major step to develop national unity (Loo, 2007; Singh and Mukherjee, 1993). This was further strengthened by the *Rahman Talib Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1960) which had been the basis for the Education Act 1961. This Act proposed that the Malay language was to be used as a national language; a common syllabus with Malaysian outlook and a common examination would be used for all students and common teacher training for all teachers as a tool to develop national identity in the process of nation building. However, these suggestions had only seriously been implemented after the major ethnic riot in 1969, which was believed to be caused by the Malay’s dissatisfaction towards their social and economic backwardness (Sua, 2012; Freedman, 2001).

The objective of promoting national integration through the education system was further stressed after the 1969 riot. Loo (2007) stated that the establishment of a national education system is so that ‘children from all cultural communities could interact freely and ultimately develop a sense of national belonging and destiny’ (p. 229). However, political compromise and accommodation among the major ethnic groups had led to the continuation of the existence of vernacular schools up until the present national education system (Shamsul, 2008). Moreover, due to differences in political belief, education issues

have always been used by political parties to seek voters support (Ishak, 1999). The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), for example, has always been accused by the opposing parties of not doing enough to protect the Chinese schools and language which represent Chinese identity (Ishak, 1999).

Thus, due to societal and political pressure education policy has been formed and reformed in order to achieve national integration. In other words, education policy and the school curriculum have been produced and reproduced in order to create what Anderson (1991) termed as the 'imagined society'. As suggested by Coffey (2001 : 43) 'national curricula provide a mechanism for government to exert direct control over what is taught in schools and how'. Moreover, the state has increasingly played a significant role 'in regulating and legitimizing 'appropriate' knowledge transmission' (Coffey, 2001 : 43). In fact in Malaysia, one of the aims of the national education system as stated in Education Act 1996 (Malaysia Government, 1996) is that:

education plays a vital role in achieving the country's vision of attaining the status of a fully developed nation in terms of economic development, social justice, and spiritual, moral and ethical strength, towards creating a society that is united, democratic, liberal and dynamic (p 11).

Malaysia like many other countries has formulated its recent education policy in response to the needs imposed by globalisation. Besides providing students with the knowledge and skill needed to keep abreast with economic globalisation, education is also expected to inculcate students with spiritual values; the universal human and Islamic values (Jadi, 1997). Indeed, the importance of values in the school curriculum had been recognised even in the post independence education system (Barone and Bajunid, 2000). The teaching of Islamic Education to the Muslim students had been indicated in the *Razak Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1956), while the *Rahman Talib Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1960) recommended on the need of providing appropriate form of moral education to the non-Muslim students and the teaching of civics defined as 'good citizenship in the fullest sense of the word' (para. 368) to all students. However, based on the Cabinet Committee Review (KPM, 1979) on the failure of the Civics subject, this subject was later replaced with Moral Education in a New Primary Curriculum or *Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah* (KBSR)

for primary school; in 1983 and later on in the new curriculum for secondary school; the Integrated Secondary Curriculum or *Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah* (KBSM). Besides inculcating these values in all school subjects, they were also stressed in the subject Moral Education for non-Muslim students and Islamic Education for Muslim. As in the previous curriculum a values-related subject was not offered especially to non-Muslim students and the introduction of Moral Education subject in KBSR and KBSM was seen as important in developing a disciplined, ethical, and united society (KPM, 1979: Subsection 127.1). In accordance, before the introduction of CCE in 2005, the values of patriotism and loyalty are to be taught through the subject of History (Ahmad, 2004).

The importance of developing a united society was further emphasized in the Education Development Master Plan 2006 - 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2006), which was launched in 2007 with one of its thrusts; to build a Malaysian nation. Moreover in the Malaysia Ninth Plan, besides the continuation of Moral Education for the non-Muslim students, a new subject termed as '*Sivik dan Kewarganegaraan*' (Civics and Citizenship) was to be taught to Years Four and Six and to all secondary school students (EPU, 2006). Even though this subject had been introduced in stages in 2005, the success of CCE at the micro level remains to be seen. Indeed, as education in Malaysia is a highly centralised and bureaucratic system, the question arises whether Malaysian teachers, similar to the Singaporean teachers, 'acquiesce to government policy or they demonstrate independence of thought on civic matters in their classroom?' (Sim and Print, 2009a : 386).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad aim of this study is to investigate the challenges faced by education policies aimed at achieving national integration among multiethnic schoolchildren. Specifically, the main objective is to analyse and provide an understanding of issues related to the introduction of CCE curriculum policy and the ways this policy was enacted at schools with different ethnic populations. It seeks to analyse and understand CCE as prescribed at the macro level compared with CCE as enacted at the micro level. Accordingly, this study aims to answer these research questions:

- 1) To what extent does the concept of CCE in Malaysia differ from the concept of CCE in other countries, particularly in England?
 - a) What are the goals of CCE in Malaysia and how do they differ from other countries?
 - b) How does Malaysia's CCE curriculum content differ from other countries?

- 2) What understanding do CCE teachers, particularly in Selangor, have of citizenship and CCE?
 - a) What are the teachers' understanding of citizenship and CCE?
 - b) How do teachers understanding differ from CCE as intended in the official documents?

- 3) How do CCE teachers as micro policy enactors, particularly in Selangor, transfer CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices?
 - a) How is CCE differently delivered in schools with different proportions of ethnic group students?
 - b) What are the challenges faced by teachers who have to deliver CCE to multicultural and multiethnic groups of students?
 - c) What are the facilitators and barriers to CCE enactors?

This study will provide a valuable supplement to other studies and help to fill the gap in existing research literature especially in Malaysia. Even though citizenship education has gained interest among researchers in other countries such as the United Kingdom, little citizenship education research has been done in Malaysia. Thus, this study will be significant in providing new knowledge and understanding particularly of the CCE curriculum policy from the perspective of teachers. Moreover, it seeks to provide useful insights for improving the enactment of education policy at the micro level. So, unlike study at the macro level, study on how curriculum has been comprehended and practiced by those involved in the other part of the policy cycle has been relatively neglected (Measor, 1984).

In addressing the objectives of this research, a qualitative research methodology is used to give in-depth insights and some indication on the complexity of transferring CCE

policy into teaching and learning practices. Data are drawn from document analysis, semi-structured interviews with CCE and non-CCE teachers, CCE lesson observation and field notes. To be clear, it is not looking at the ways policy is made but at the process of policy implementation and enactment at the micro level. Ball et al. (2012) argued for policy enactment as at the school level, policy is not simply implemented but could be differently interpreted and translated by various actors. Moreover, as illustrated and discussed in Chapter Six, the way policy is translated and enacted is a complex process as this policy could be mediated by various factors that existed in each school. Thus, the CCE policy could be filtered, interpreted and reinterpreted causing the significant detail of this good intention to be lost along the way (Trowler, 2003).

1.4 Theoretical and conceptual framework

The main focus of this study is on the development of CCE; on the way this curriculum policy is being interpreted, mediated and enacted by micro level agents in schools and classrooms. Theoretically, Ball's (1994; 1990) constructions of policy making and implementation and Bernstein's concept of classification and framing (1975; 1971) are used in understanding the way CCE is recontextualised by micro levels agents. In addition, Ball et al.'s (2012) more recent work together with Maguire, Braun, Hoskins and Perryman draws attention to the difference between implementation and enactment is drawn on.

Bernstein in his work, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge" (1971) introduced the 'three messages system'; *curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation*. Bernstein (1975) defines curriculum as 'what counts as valid knowledge' (p 85) to be transmitted, pedagogy as the 'valid transmission of knowledge' (p 85) or also known as methods, while evaluation is defined as 'a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught' (p 85) or most usually known as assessment. In analysing this three messages system, curriculum is distinguished into two types of curriculum; *Collection* and *Integrated*. Collection refers to 'contents (that) are clearly bounded and insulated from each other' (Bernstein, 1975 : 87) while integrated refers to little boundaries and insulation of subjects. Thus, a collection type of curriculum is a curriculum that is strongly classified in contrast to integrated that refers to a weakly classified curriculum.

Classification to Bernstein (1975 : 88) refers 'to the *relationships* between contents' and not to '*what* is classified'. In accordance, strong classification means that there are strong boundaries or insulations between curricular categories while weak classification refers to weak boundaries for example, between the contents of school subjects. Thus, Bernstein (1971 : 49) emphasised that:

'Where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents, for the boundaries between contents are weak or blurred. *Classification thus refers to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents*'.

In relation to this, Chien and Wallace (2004 : 2) for example, indicated that in the school organisation, power in classification 'can be seen in the structure of the timetabling and the arrangement of and use made of the spaces within the school, not just classrooms and halls etc., but also in the arrangement of the subjects and the importance they assume in the timetabling'. Different from classification that concerns the power over the way knowledge is organised into curriculum, framing 'refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted in the pedagogic relationships' (Walford, 1995 : 192). Thus, to Bernstein (1990 : 100), 'if classification regulates the voice of a category then framing regulates the form of its legitimate messages'. Accordingly, weak framing refers to the freedom that teachers and students have over the selection, organization, pacing and timing in transmitting the knowledge in contrast to strong framing that allowed limited options to these teachers and students. As indicated by Cause (2010 : 7), 'analyzing the strength of framing in an educational organization can help illuminate the power particular agencies have over *what, when* and *how* knowledge is learnt'. In addition, Walford (2002) further utilised this work of Bernstein and applied it to enable us to think more broadly about the way classification and framing influence the way the religious curriculum was differently constructed in the Christian and Muslim schools in Ireland.

However, in a state practicing tight control over education policy like in Malaysia, the decision on what is considered as valid knowledge that is the curriculum is not directly in the hands of teachers or students, but is the agenda of policy makers. Indeed, 'to avoid regional discrepancies and to encourage national integration' Lee, (1999 : 89) argued that

since independence the education agenda, including school funding and teachers' transformation had been controlled by the state. Furthermore, as Malaysia is a multiethnic state, the production and reproduction of education policies have needed to consider the existing various needs and interests of the different ethnic groups as they 'will continue to contest and lobby for education changes that would promote their interest, and to resist any changes that may be damaging to their interest' (Lee, 2000a : 25). Thus, the national education system, education policies, and the curriculum that transpires as today's education at the school level have been socially and politically constructed, a product of ongoing contest and compromise between various level actors or agents (Jephcote, 2002).

According to Jephcote (2002), the relationships between the different active actors could be divided into three levels which are macro (central government and ministries), meso (state department, districts office, agencies and societies) and micro levels (schools, teachers and students). Though policy is produced at the macro level, it is still essential to understand the conflict, contest and tension that exist not only within each but also between each level. Policy is not only contested and compromised at the macro level but recontextualised by actors at the micro level too, although as Bernstein reminds us, power and control, as well as resources are unevenly distributed.

In this study, school actors; CCE teachers are those who act as recontextualising agents 'whose task is to *reproduce*, not produce knowledge' (Apple, 1995 : 57). The CCE curriculum 'is "de-located" from its original location and "relocated" into new pedagogic situation, the logic and power' (Apple, 1995 : 57) of the school recontextualisation agents which could ensure that 'the text is no longer the same text' (Apple, 1995 : 57). As further stressed by Apple (1995 : 57) 'political accords and educational needs can radically alter the shape and organisation of the knowledge'. For example, the National Curriculum in England 'has been strongly classified into (traditional) subjects that cross-curricular themes, officially sponsored only after strong boundaries were in place, have struggled to survive' (Edwards, 1995 : 109). In Malaysia, the potential of the CCE as a compulsory but non-examined subject to survive and to give impact to the students' school life is yet to be determined.

Furthermore, the process of interpreting, implementing and ultimately enacting policy by the policy actors is not a direct process. Ball (2006) suggested that the process

of encoding and decoding a policy is a dynamic, contested and on-going process. Policy is encoded, through 'struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretation' (Ball, 2006: 44); so that the interpretation of policy texts cannot be fully controlled by policy makers as the actors' various interpretations of the meaning of policy is 'in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context' (Ball, 2006: 44). In fact, one of the dynamics of the policy process comes from the active process of interpreting the policy which is 'almost always subject to multiple interpretations depending upon the standpoints of the people doing the interpretative 'work' (Trowler, 2003: 96). Thus, Bowe et al. (1992) indicated that the interpretation of policy could not be controlled as 'practitioners do not confront policy texts as naïve readers...Policies will be interpreted differently as the histories, experiences, values, purposes and interests which make up any arena differ' (p 22).

In addition, there are also other factors that exist in schools that could mediate the way a policy is implemented and enacted at the school level. Ball et al. (2012) and Braun et al. (2011a) argued that a school's contextual dimensions need to be identified in studying differences in the enactment of a policy between similar schools. Indeed, it was argued that 'in much policy making and research the fact that policies are intimately shaped and influenced by school-specific factors which act as constraints, pressures and enablers of policy enactments tends to be neglected' (Ball et al. 2012 : 19). In implementing and enacting any educational policy, 'policy-making and policy-makers tend to assume 'best possible' environments for 'implementation': ideal buildings, students and teachers and even resources' (Braun et al., 2011a : 595). However, this is not always the case as at the school level, other factors such as situated, professional, material and external contexts (Ball et al. 2012; Braun et al. 2011a) could also play a role in mediating the policy enactment. School situated contexts could be referred, for example, to a school's location, intakes and histories while external contexts usually refer to the pressure of achieving excellent examination results or maintaining external relations. This external pressure as illustrated, for example, by Perryman et al. (2011 : 179) had caused schools in their research to be 'preoccupied with policies of achievement, particularly public examination results' that had further led these 'schools to adopt a results-driven approach, with a plethora of strategies aimed at improving results'. Thus, as policy is implemented and enacted, it is always

interpreted, negotiated and changed in different contexts and the impact of policy also depends on the way teachers perceived and respond towards educational issues (Trowler, 2003).

Besides the complexity of implementing a policy, it is also essential to get a notion of how policy implementers (teachers) understand the concept of citizenship. This is fundamentally important, as teachers' understandings would affect the way the citizenship education is taught (Faulks, 2006). Sim and Print (2009a) in their study of Singaporean citizenship teachers stressed that in:

exploring the application of education policy involving citizenship, it is important to ask about teachers' personal understanding of citizenship and how it fits into a tightly controlled, nationally oriented education policy (p 386)

Similar to Singapore, Malaysia also practiced a tight control education system where most of the policies were made from top to bottom. Due to this, the way teachers understand citizenship is important, as this is likely to affect the way they either support, reject, or teach the subject. Jadi (1997) also stressed that in the teaching of value-related subjects, it is important for teachers to understand the curriculum as 'teachers understanding of the curriculum also plays a part in the mismatch between what is intentional and what is being operationalized' (p 105). Indeed, teachers' understanding is essential as unlike other school subjects, citizenship education's 'very substantive basis is open to dispute' (Kerr, 2003b: 14). Although the definition of citizenship education is made by the state, understanding and application is still open to interpretation and criticism by those with contrasting ideas. Furthermore, teachers teaching citizenship education have 'few precedents to be followed' (Kerr, 2003b: 14) as an earlier approach to civics education in Malaysia just like in England, was rejected by school level actors. Due to this, even if the CCE policy had been carefully produced, being a new subject in the school curriculum, teachers might interpret it differently from what it was intended to be and might lead to its failure in achieving the objective, as had been encountered with the implementation of Civics subjects before.

1.5 Outline of the Study

Chapter One has set out the problem of the study, outlined the research focus and research questions and also the significance of the study. Furthermore, it also outlines the theoretical framework and the organisation of the thesis.

Chapter Two presents the historical background of Malaysia's multiethnic society and the chronological development of education policy from British colonisation until the present education development. Besides providing a clear understanding of the nature of Malaysia's multiethnic society, it also provides an historical analysis in understanding the existing national education system.

Chapter Three provides the literature review for the study, which focuses on the issue of Civics and Citizenship Education. It describes the purpose of introducing Civics and Citizenship Education in various states' school curriculum. It also reviews the empirical research that have been done and the findings that can be applied in the teaching and learning of this subject in Malaysia. Furthermore, it includes the development of values inculcation in the Malaysia curriculum.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological consideration for carrying out the research. The strengths and weakness of the methods and techniques used in the research are discussed and justified. This chapter also explains the methodology, research methods and research ethics that have been used in this study.

Chapter Five discusses the analysis of CCE documents that is CCE as prescribed at the macro level. In addition, it also looks at citizenship education in England in order to provide comparisons between the goals of CCE in Malaysia with citizenship education prescribed in another country. This chapter also discusses similarities and differences of CCE curriculum with citizenship education in England.

Chapter Six examines the school contexts that exist in four selected schools. This chapter provides descriptive analysis of the situated, material and external contexts and school

ethos and cultures to provide insights into the factors that might mediate the enactment of CCE at the school level.

Chapter Seven focuses on the CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship and their perceptions of CCE. It positions teachers as micro policy enactors' and examines their perception of CCE. This chapter also looks at CCE as intended at the macro level with CCE as perceived by teachers at the school level.

Chapter Eight discusses the ways CCE was transferred into teaching and learning practices in four different schools. Drawing from the interview data, this chapter identify and analyse CCE administrative practices and the way CCE was practiced at these four schools. Using the interview data, this chapter also deals with teachers' perception on the appropriate approach in delivering the elements of citizenship education. This chapter also presents the way different school contexts mediated the enactment of CCE at these four schools.

Finally, in Chapter Nine I conclude the study by presenting key findings. In this chapter, I also propose some recommendations for the improvements of education policy particularly in enacting CCE curriculum policy at the micro level.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA

2.1 Background

The Federation of Malaysia comprises West Malaysia and East Malaysia (Tourism Malaysia, 2009). West Malaysia, known as Peninsula Malaysia consists of 13 states while East Malaysia consists of the state of Sarawak, Sabah and the Federal Territory of Labuan. Malaysia Borneo or East Malaysia is separated from Peninsular Malaysia by the South China Sea, a distance of 640 km (AllMalaysiaInfo, 2009). Peninsula Malaysia neighbours Thailand on the north, Singapore connected by a Causeway on the south and Indonesia separated by Straits of Malacca on the west. Meanwhile the state of Sarawak and Sabah in West Malaysia share the island of Borneo with Brunei and Indonesia (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Map of Malaysia



Source : WorldAtlas.com, 2009

Malaysia, previously called Malaya gained its independence from the British in 1957. In 1963, the Federation of Malaysia was born when Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak joined Malaya. However, in 1965 Singapore seceded from Malaysia to form the Republic of Singapore. Malaysia comprises 16 states; the Federal Territories of Kuala Lumpur, the Federal Territories of Putrajaya, Perlis, Penang (Pulau Pinang), Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Malacca, Johor, Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan situated in Peninsular Malaysia and the other three states are situated in East Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur is the

capital city of Malaysia and since 1999 Putrajaya replaced Kuala Lumpur as the seat of Malaysian Government (MAMPU, 2009).

Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary democratic government broadly derived from the British model. The Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia was approved in 1957 but was amended with the formation of Malaysia in 1963. In 1952, the Alliance Party; a political coalition of the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) representing the Malay, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA); the Chinese; the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) and the Indians, agreed to compromise on the sensitive issues of citizenship, education and Malay special privileges. The UMNO agreed that those born in Malaya would automatically gain citizenship. In return, the MCA and the MIC agreed on educational policy where Malay language would be a compulsory subject and a common Malayan curriculum would be devised for schools of whatever language medium. Besides agreeing to the four to one ratio of Malay to non-Malay in the civil service, the MCA and MIC also agreed to the position of *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay language) as the national language, Islam as the national religion, and the form of the Malay monarchy to be accorded in this Constitution. For these concessions, MCA and MIC were assured that liberal economic policies would be pursued to enable non-Malay to engage in economic activities without fear of confiscation or discriminatory taxation and also for permission to retain their cultures and traditions (Freedman, 2001; Andaya and Andaya, 1984). 'The institutionalization of Malay special rights in the Independence Constitution of 1957' (Freedman, 2001 : 416) meant that the *Bumiputera* special right could not be questioned by the non-*Bumiputera* as the outcome of this political bargaining became a form of social contract between the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera*. The approval of the constitution of the Federation of Malaya in 1957, which according to Loo (2007: 212) was 'the product of political accommodation between the natives and nonnatives, had since that day divided Malaysians into two classes of citizens – native and non-natives' and divided between the right of the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* citizens (Balasubramaniam, 2007; Shamsul and Daud, 2006).

2.2 Ethnic Diversity in Malaysia

Malaysia's population is 27.73 million with 63.5% aged between 15 to 64 years old (Department of Statistics, 2009). *Bumiputera* (the son of the soil) which consists of the Malay and the *Orang Asli* (the original people) in Peninsular Malaysia and the other native groups Sabah and Sarawak is the largest ethnic group in Malaysia followed by Chinese and Indians (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 : Malaysia Population Size

	2000	%	2005	%
<i>Bumiputera</i>	14.35	65.0	16.06	65.9
Chinese	5.76	26.1	6.14	25.3
Indian	1.70	7.7	1.83	7.5
Others	0.27	1.2	0.32	1.3
Total Population	23.49	100	26.75	100

Source: Department of Statistics, 2009

Article 160 of the Federal Constitution (Malaysia Government, 2006) defines 'Malay' as a person who professes the religion of Islam, habitually speaks the Malay language and conforms to Malay custom. Meanwhile Article 161A(6), defines the native of Sarawak as 'a person who is a citizen and either belongs to one of the races specified in Clause (7) as indigenous to state or of mixed blood deriving exclusively from those races'. For Sabah, native is defined as 'a person who is a citizen, is the child or grandchild of a person of a race indigenous to Sabah and was born (whether on or after Malaysia Day or not) either in Sabah or to a father domiciled in Sabah at the time of the birth.' In Sarawak, *Iban* is the largest native group while in Sabah *Kadazan Dusun* is the dominant native group (Table 2.2). Though the population of *Bumiputera* in East Malaysia is the largest, they are more dispersed in rural areas compared to the Chinese who dwell in urban areas.

Table 2.2 : Sabah and Sarawak Population, 2000

	Sarawak	%	Sabah	%	
<i>Bumiputera</i>	1,464,435	72.9	<i>Bumiputera</i>	1,601,356	80.5
Iban	(603,735)	(41.3)	Kadazan Dusun	(479,944)	(30.0)
Malays	(462,270)	(31.6)	Bajau	(343,178)	(21.4)
Bidayuh	(166,756)	(11.4)	Malays	(303,497)	(19.0)
Melanau	(112,984)	(7.7)	Murut	(84,679)	(5.2)
Others	(117,690)	(8.0)	Others	(390,058)	(24.4)
Chinese	537,230	26.7	Chinese	262,115	13.2
Others	8,103	0.4	Others	125,190	6.3
Total	2,008,768	100.0	Total	1,988,661	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, 2000

It is evident that Malaysia is a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual and multireligious country in which the three major ethnic groups are not socially homogenous, as there are not only differences in ethnicity but there are also differences in language, religion and culture (Jamil, 2007; Crouch, 2001). Though all Malay speak Malay language, they can still be differentiated by regional dialect and culture which, for example, unlike the other states, in Kelantan the traders in the wet market are monopolised by Malay women. However, unlike the Chinese and Indians, the Malay are united by the Malay language, religion and culture. It should be noted that all Malay in Malaysia are Muslim (Ishak, 1999) and generally speak the Malay language. However, not all *Bumiputera* are Muslim and they do have their own native languages and religions. The Chinese are more internally divided as there are Chinese who practice Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and other traditional Chinese religions. There are many dialects such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew and Hainanese. Similar to the Chinese, the Indians' religions are Hindu and a small number are Muslim and their dialects are Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu. There are also Chinese, Indian and the indigenous people of Sarawak and Sabah who embrace Christianity. In 2000, 60.4% of Malaysia's population practiced Islam, 19.2% Buddhism, 9.1% Christianity, 6.3% Hinduism, 2.6% traditional Chinese religions and 2.4% other faiths including Sikhism and Animism (Department of Statistics, 2000). Though Malay language is the national language, English is widely and extensively spoken and used by all ethnicities.

Besides differing in religion, language, and culture, the three major ethnic groups also differ in their geographic location and occupational and economic activities. During the British colonisation (1824 – 1957) and post colonisation period, due to the 'divide and rule' policy practiced by the coloniser, the ethnic groups were geographically divided based on their occupational structure (Crouch, 2001; Pong, 1993). Thus, the 'divide and rule' policy practiced by the British led to differences in the three major ethnic economic activity and population distribution. The Chinese in the mining industry and commercial sectors and the better educated Indian in the urban areas while most Indians in the rubber plantations and most Malay in agriculture and fishing in rural areas. Malay politicians meanwhile came from the aristocratic and civil servants who were educated in English vernacular schools in the urban areas. More non-Malays lived in urban areas in the western states of Malaya as there

were more employment and business opportunities. Besides better economic status, being in the urban areas had also made it easier for the Chinese and Indians to get access to an English education and to higher levels of education. However, unlike the Malay, the Chinese were more politically divided as their loyalties ranged from the Communist to a succession of leftist and reformist parties (Crouch, 1996). Thus, the geographic location and occupation had also reinforced segregation among the interethnic and prevented unity processes among the major ethnic groups (Haque, 2003; Sarji, 1989). Moreover, this 'divide and rule' policy had also led to societal segmentation according to ethnicity and culture, ethnic inequality and separate educational systems (Agadjanian and Liew, 2005). Indeed, to Ishak (1999 : 110) this policy had also 'led to the phenomenon of the association of ethnicity with schools and ultimately perpetuated and reinforced cultural pluralism in Malaysia even after independence'. However, with the implementation of National Economic Policy (NEP), the percentage of Malay population in the urban areas rose from 19.0% in 1947 to 37.9% in 1980 (Saw, 1988). Even though the percentage of the Chinese population in urban areas was still higher (50.3%), the gap in the geographical areas had been reduced.

With such differences in religious, linguistic, economic and cultural background, uniting Malaysia's diverse ethnic groups together in common shared values that are accepted by all ethnic groups has always been the government's major task. According to Crouch (2001 : 230), almost all policy issues including 'language, education, government, employment, business, licenses, immigration, internal security, foreign policy, or virtually everything else since the 1960s have been affected by ethnicity'. These differences in religion, language and culture, interethnic tensions in economic resources, political power and cultural and religious aspects have usually led to discontent and have also affected the state formation and policy agenda (Haque, 2003). As for Bakar (2007 : 81) the conflicts in Malaysia are mainly between

'Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera over socio-economic and political issues; among Malays due to differences in political beliefs; conflicts between states in Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak due to fear of Malay hegemony, as well as conflicts among Bumiputera in both Sabah and Sarawak over issue of ethnic politics'.

Thus, to Bakar (2007) conflict in Malaysia is not only between the *Bumiputera* and the non-*Bumiputera*, but also among *Bumiputera* in Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak. The issue of language for example, also led to racial conflict, as promoting the Malay language which is the national language, could be viewed by the other ethnic groups including non-Malay *Bumiputera*, as a threat to their culture and identity. Though other languages could still be used, the act of promoting the national language could be viewed as an attempt to 'Malaynise' the other ethnic groups. In fact, according to Ishak (1999 : 110) 'the politics of language and education in Malaysia has its long history in shaping the pattern of ethnic political mobilisation.' Besides language, the 1969 Malays and Chinese riots, the 1985 Memali incident, the 1998 confrontation between Indians and Malay-Muslims in Penang and the 2001 Malay's and Indian's Kampung Medan Incident were among those caused by the conflicts between culture and religion (Bakar, 2007). Due to these ethnic differences, 'education has often been perceived as an instrument for promoting national unity, social equality, and economic development' (Lee, 2000a: 109). In accordance, Malaysia's government report, just like the government reports of other countries such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Thailand, Indonesia and Mexico, indicated education as a means to achieve national integration (Saad, 1981).

2.3 The Development of Education Policies in Malaysia

Pre Independence

During British colonisation up to 1957, Malaya was regarded by the British as the country of the Malay. With encouragement from the British, workers from China and India started to immigrate to Malaya to work in the tin mines and rubber plantations and were only considered as 'transitory labouring communities' (Andaya and Andaya, 1984: 237). As indicated earlier, the 'divide and rule' policy reinforced by the British led to social and economic distance between the three major ethnic groups. Indeed, 'put crudely, the European was to govern and administer the immigrant Chinese and Tamil to labour the extractive industries and commerce, and Malays to till the field' (Andaya and Andaya, 1984: 222). Education was left to the responsibility of the various ethnic groups which not only led to the preservation of separate ethnic identities but also led to wider separation. The British had introduced a *laissez-faire* policy in education and developed five types of schools;

English Vernacular schools, Malay Vernacular schools, Chinese Vernacular schools, Tamil Vernacular schools and Islamic Religious schools. The English schools which were considered as the best education provided were the only place where the Malay, Chinese and Tamil could learn together. However, the British did not intend to provide free English education to everyone. During this time, an education system that could unite different ethnicities was unavailable. Schools were not only separately managed but also used their own curricula based on their own needs. The teachers and curriculum were brought from other countries; the Chinese school teachers and curriculum came from China, the Tamil school came from India. For the Malay, teachers were local people who had the knowledge and skills in certain areas, together with teachers from the Middle East to teach in the religious schools.

Under British colonisation, the Malay was not encouraged to migrate to urban areas and work with the English government or work in tin mining, rubber and sugar plantations. The British also believed that it was enough to provide the Malay, Chinese and Tamil with education in their own language. The three major ethnic groups were to learn to accept the roles allocated by the British. Education was highly elitist as English education was only provided to the sons of Malay royalty and nobility and to a few exceptional outstanding commoners with the objective of employing them in lower government services. As the British were only interested to offer government service to the Malay of good birth, the Malay vernacular schools that were provided for the Malay commoner only stressed the basic 3Rs; reading, writing and arithmetic besides basic knowledge on agriculture and craftwork. Thus, the education provided for these Malay was only to provide them with basic information to be better farmers and fishermen.

Initially, the British had left the Chinese education to their own responsibilities. Realising the importance of education to preserve their culture and language, many primary and secondary Chinese vernacular schools were built from funds collected from Chinese individuals, communities and societies. The number of Chinese schools increased from 56 in 1919 to 684 in 1938 and later on to 1,100 in 1947 (BPPDP, 2008). Chinese schools in Malaya were China oriented and this later led to increased politicisation and the growth of anti-British orientation in these Chinese schools (BPPDP, 2008). The arrival of the Indian workers in the plantations also led to the development of Tamil schools in the estates dependent

on the philanthropy of the missionary societies and plantation managers. However, the estate owners were only required to provide education to the estate children after the passing of the Labour Code in 1923 (Andaya and Andaya, 1984) that led to the growth of Tamil vernacular schools from 547 in 1938 to 881 in 1950 (BPPDP, 2008). Nevertheless, the lack of interest in Tamil schools by the British government led to poor school conditions and low quality of education (BPPDP, 2008). Similar to the Malay, the British did not see any good reason to provide free English Vernacular secondary education to the Indian. With no secondary Malay and Tamil medium education provided, those who were interested to continue their secondary and higher education had to be sent to the English medium schools.

During the Japanese colonisation from 1941 to 1945, a Japanese curriculum to help the Japanese rule the country was introduced in the vernacular schools. In primary schools, *Nippon-Go* teaching that stressed Japanese songs and culture was implemented. Technical schools and colleges to teach communication, fishing, agriculture, and architectural engineering replaced secondary education (Ministry of Education, 2007). The Japanese abolished the use of English language in the vernacular schools and prevented the use of Chinese language in the Chinese vernacular schools. Subsequently, the trauma of the Japanese occupation and the 13 May 1969 Incident had ruined the ethnics' relationship especially between the Malay and the Chinese (Andaya and Andaya, 1984).

Japanese occupation had led to an increased awareness for education from all ethnicities and to the emergence of Malay nationalism for independence. The Malay also began to realise that only through education could they have the power to improve their status economically, socially and politically. Realising this, the Malay had urged the British government to improve and expand education for the Malay. The British in the *Cheeseman Plan* suggested English as a compulsory subject in all vernacular schools and Chinese and Tamil languages were made available in all English schools (Loo, 2007). As this plan was rejected by Malay nationalists, *The Barnes Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1951a) or the *Malay Education Report* was set up to find ways to improve Malay's education. This report recommended only one national public school system which used either Malay or preferably English, as a medium of instruction in fostering good ethnic relations and

national integration. This report was opposed by the *Education of Chinese Malaysians or Fenn-Wu Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1951b) that recommended Malay and English be taught together with the Chinese or Tamil language as the Chinese 'are more likely to resent any effort to restrict them to one or two languages than the necessity which requires them to study three' (Federation of Malaya, 1951b: 6). To the Chinese, it was important to protect the Chinese schools and language as these were seen as important to their Chinese identity. The conflicting views of these two reports were later examined by *The Central Advisory Committee on Education*, which recommended that, apart from learning Mandarin and Tamil, the students in these schools also needed to learn Malay and English. These three reports led to the enactment of *Education Ordinance 1952* (Federation of Malaya, 1952). The compromise on the language issue between the Malay and non-Malay eventually led to the adoption of Malay to be used as the national language with provisions for English to be used for ten years after 1957; the full attainment of Malaya's independence.

The Alliance government that took over from the British in 1957 regarded language and education as important instruments to mould a new Malayan citizen, who is loyal to the nation instead of to any particular ethnic group. Realising the separated education system caused by the British colonisation, an Education Committee consisting of representatives from the three major ethnic groups, tried to develop a national education system that could foster national integration and encourage the development of one culture, society and economy. This *Report of the Education Committee 1956*, known as *Razak Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1956), recommended that the way to do this was by making the Malay language the main medium of instruction and Chinese and Tamil languages continued to be the medium of instruction in the primary vernacular schools. Malay language was also to be made a compulsory subject in Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools. Moreover, a common curriculum was also to be used in all schools. This report also recommended the establishment of one type of secondary school with Malay language as the medium of instruction and English language as a compulsory subject. The proposals made in this report led to the enactment of *The Education Ordinance 1957* (Federation of Malaya, 1957) and the formulation of *National Education Policy*. This Ordinance set out an education system that not only had national characteristics but also guaranteed primary education for children from all races and religions. In this ordinance, the Chinese and Tamil vernacular

schools were integrated in the national education system as National Type primary schools. However, it restricted the secondary school's medium of instruction and examination language to only Malay or English.

Post Independence 1957 – 1970

Since independence education has been seen as a tool to promote national unity and to integrate multiethnic society in the country. After its independence in 1957, the education system was once again reviewed. *The Report of the Education Review Committee 1960*, known as the *Rahman Talib Report (1960)*, confirmed the public's acceptance and the soundness of education policy recommended in the *Razak Report (1956)* (Ministry of Education, 2001a). These two reports stressed the need for an appropriate school curriculum based on the country's needs. *The Rahman Talib Report* also recommended that free education be provided to all primary schools and the Standard and Standard-Type primary schools be changed to National and National Type schools. These two reports later became the fundamental components in the *Education Act 1961* which was then extended to Sabah and Sarawak states in 1976 in line with the incorporation of Sabah and Sarawak in the formation of Malaysia in 1963 (Ministry of Education, 2001a). The *Education Act 1961* emphasized the role of Malay as the national language, with a common curriculum and a common public examination in all schools to promote and foster integration among ethnic groups.

In 1957, all existing Malay medium primary schools were converted to national schools and the English, Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools were converted to National Type schools (Ministry of Education, 2001a). In national schools, Malay language (the national language), was the medium of instruction while English, Chinese or Tamil language was the medium of instruction in the National Type schools with Malay language made a compulsory subject in these schools. English and Chinese secondary schools were also converted to National Type secondary schools and became fully or partially financially assisted schools. The Chinese vernacular secondary schools that agreed to accept full assistance offered by the government and agreed to conform to the *National Education Policy* were also known as Conforming Schools while those that declined the offer became Chinese Independent schools. Implementing the *Razak Report*, the first Malay medium

secondary classes were started as an annex in English secondary schools in 1958 (Ministry of Education, 2001a) which marked the beginning of the conversion of English medium National Type schools into Malay medium National schools.

After ten years of independence, the medium of instruction in secondary schools and in examinations were converted to the Malay language. In achieving standardised education, Section 21(2) of *1961 Education Act* (Federation of Malaya, 1961) stated that the Education Minister could change the status of government-aided Chinese and Indian primary schools to national primary schools when he deemed fit. Though this right was never exercised, it was seen by the non-Malay as a serious threat to the Chinese and Tamil schools (Ishak, 1999). Major changes were also announced in education policy; in 1962, school fees were abolished in all fully assisted primary schools and education was free for children in all ethnic groups and religions; the secondary school entrance examination was abolished in 1964 in Peninsular Malaysia, 1974 in Sarawak and 1977 in Sabah; and universal education was extended from six to nine years in 1964 (Ministry of Education, 2007). The Government agenda to unify all ethnics started in 1956 with comprehensive revision on the scope and curriculum content based on the Malaysian mould. In 1964, The General Syllabus and Review Committee was set up to revise and improve this curriculum and also devise new syllabuses. In the next year, a comprehensive lower secondary education was introduced.

Socioeconomic Reorganisation 1970 – 1990

A racial riot between the Chinese and Malay broke out immediately after the general election on 13 May 1969 caused by the economic backwardness of the Malay and ‘the growing political encroachment of the immigrant races against certain provisions of the Constitutions, which relate to the Malay language and the positions of the Malays’ (The National Operation Council, 1969: ix). Following the 1969 racial riot, the government felt that promoting national integration and unity would be ‘the overriding objective of the education system’ (Malaysia Government, 1976: 384). The aim to unite people was to be attained through the National Language Policy, which was laid down by the *Rahman Talib Report* (Federation of Malaya, 1960). The transition of using Malay language as national schools’ medium of instruction, which began in stages in 1970, became the tertiary school

medium of instruction in 1983 (Ministry of Education, 2001a). The Malaysia Certificate of Education which was conducted in English was also changed to Malay language in 1980 (MOE, 2007). Although the government believed that maintaining a single language policy was essential to forge national unity, the non-*Bumiputera* demanded Mandarin, Tamil and English language be given equal status as the Malay language. Due to this, not only did the state allow the Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools to keep on operating but it also allowed Chinese and Tamil language to be the medium of instruction in all National Type Chinese and Tamil schools with Malay language being a compulsory subject in these schools.

On Malaysia's 13th Independence Day; 31 August 1970, the national ideology *Rukunegara* (Articles of Faith of the State) which aimed to unite all ethnics by inculcating one common set of beliefs was formally acclaimed. The nation principles of *Rukunegara* are Belief in God, Loyalty to King and Country, Upholding the Constitution, Respecting the Rule of Law, and Inculcating Good Behaviours and Morality. The *Rukunegara* ideology 'has provided the direction for all political, economic, social and cultural policies including education' (UNESCO, 2006/07: 2). The 1969 racial riot had also led to the suspension of Parliament and declaration of a state of emergency (Agadjanian and Liew, 2005; Crouch, 2001). As income disparity was claimed to be the prime reason, the government introduced the National Economic Policy (NEP) in 1971 to narrow the gaps between the *Bumiputera* especially the Malay; with the non-*Bumiputera* especially the Chinese. The NEP's two-pronged objectives were:

...to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty, by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race.

...accelerating the process of restructuring Malaysia society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. This involves the modernization of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the community in all categories and at all levels of operation, so that Malays and other indigenous people will become full partners in all aspects of the economic life of the nation

(Malaysia Government 1970: 1).

The NEP also aimed to increase production and create more economic opportunities especially for the *Bumiputera* in industrial and professional areas. The education system was also strongly influenced by the aspirations of the NEP in which all of the National and National Type schools used the same curriculum and the same public examination. Subsequently, more importance was also given to maths and science subjects in secondary schools and more schools were built in the rural areas in order to give more educational access for rural and economically disadvantaged children.

In restructuring the Malaysian economy, the state had implemented preferential educational policies that were in favour of the *Bumiputera* (Sua, 2012; Loo, 2007). The implementation of these affirmative policies was seen as a tool to promote national unity by reducing inter-ethnic differences in economic and educational attainment due to the divide and rule policy of the British colonial government (Sua, 2012). In line with the NEP's aim to correct *Bumiputera* economic backwardness, a racial quota system was implemented where easier access to tertiary education was given to *Bumiputera* students. Besides providing financial aid, fully residential schools were also built for *Bumiputera* students, MARA (a government agency established in the 1960s to assist *Bumiputera* in small and medium business) and ITM (*Institut Teknologi Mara*), IKM (*Institut Kemahiran Mara*) and Mara Junior Science Colleges established exclusively for the *Bumiputera* to further their secondary and tertiary education (Ishak, 1999). The implementation of the quota system led the non-*Bumiputera* to be distressed with the tertiary education financial burden, as the quota system limited the opportunities of the non-*Bumiputera* to gain tertiary education entrance. Subsequently, the non-*Bumiputera* needed to go overseas to further their education which not only led the country 'to face a "brain-drain factor" among Chinese Malaysian, especially to Singapore' (Bunnell, 2002: 17) but had also 'further accentuated the ethnic fragmentation of the education system' (Guan, 2006: 243).

Though the NEP has always been criticised as a form of social and economic discrimination to the non-*Bumiputera*, Bakar (2007) claimed that it has helped to close the gap between *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera*. With the implementation of NEP, the Malay's mean monthly income in 2004 was higher compared to 1970 (Table 2.3). However, despite the increment in the Malay's household income, the Chinese continued to earn

the highest household income (Department of Statistics, 1970; 1999; 2004). Ong (2000) in his study also found that the differences of the Malay's earnings from the pre NEP to post NEP to the other races earnings had declined. Nevertheless, in terms of income attainment, the Chinese and Indians' income attainment were still higher than the Malay (Ong, 1990) and these ethnic groups continued to be overrepresented in high income professions and in the development of entrepreneurship activities (Haque, 2003).

Table 2.3: Mean Monthly Gross Household Income by Ethnic Group and Strata

<i>Ethnic Group & Strata</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2004</i>
<i>Bumiputera</i>	276	1984	2711
Chinese	632	3456	4437
Indian	478	2702	3456
Others	1304	1371	2312
Malaysia	423	2472	3249
Urban	687	3103	3956
Rural	321	1718	1875

Source: Department of Statistics 1970, 1999 and 2004

As a result of this preferential or affirmative policy, more Malays were now working in professional jobs and in commerce, earning higher income and living in the urban areas (Haque, 2003; Crouch, 2001). The increase of the number of Malay involved in business and working in middle class jobs had helped to reduce Malay poverty. Table 2.4 shows the percentage of *Bumiputera* registered as professionals has increased from 17.1% in 2000 to 20.8% in 2005. This slight increment is essential in closing the gap between *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* which had been one of the primary sources of ethnic tension and conflicts in 1969. Despite viewed as limiting the other races' employment opportunities, the percentage of Chinese and Indians employed in middle class occupations from 1970s to 1990s had also increased (Crouch, 2001). The NEP also had been shown to play a strong role in reducing ethnic inequalities and in increasing the educational levels of the Malay (Stewart et al., 2005; Hirschman, 1979). However, even though the NEP succeeded in increasing the percentage of Malay representative in many areas, the target for the *Bumiputera* to own 30% of the state share capital by 1990 is still yet to be achieved.

Table 2.4: Registered Professionals by Ethnic Group

Profession	2000				2005			
	<i>Bumiputera</i>	Chinese	Indian	Others	<i>Bumiputera</i>	Chinese	Indian	Others
Accountants	17.1%	76.2%	5.6%	1.1%	20.8%	73.6%	4.4%	1.2%
Professionals					6.2%	87.9%	5.2%	0.7%
Architects	42.1%	56.2%	1.5%	0.2%	45.3%	53.1%	1.4%	0.2%
Professionals	29.8%	68.4%	1.5%	0.3%	33.7%	64.5%	1.6%	0.2%
Doctors	36.8%	31.0%	29.7%	2.5%	36.7%	29.9%	26.6%	6.8%
Dentists	35.2%	42.4%	20.5%	1.9%	44.4%	35.3%	18.4%	1.9%
Veterinary Surgeons	41.7%	27.7%	27.4%	3.2%	39.0%	32.2%	24.8%	4.0%
Engineers	42.6%	51.1%	5.2%	1.1%	46.0%	47.6%	5.4%	1.0%
Professionals	25.0%	66.5%	6.5%	2.0%	28.9%	63.2%	6.3%	1.6%
Surveyors	45.1%	49.6%	3.4%	1.9%	48.2%	47.0%	3.2%	1.6%
Professionals	42.5%	52.2%	3.5%	1.8%	47.2%	47.9%	3.4%	1.5%
Lawyers	32.3%	40.1%	26.8%	0.8%	38.0%	37.1%	24.1%	0.8%
Total	35.5%	51.2%	12.0%	1.3%	38.8%	48.7%	10.6%	1.9%

Source: Professional associations and institutions covering both public and private sectors such as Malaysian Institute of Accountants, Board of Architects Malaysia, Malaysian Medical Council, Malaysian Dental Council, Board of Engineers Malaysia, Bar Council, The Institution of Surveyors Malaysia and Malaysia Veterinary Surgeons Council

In 1974, a *Cabinet Committee* that revised the national education system concluded that it was 'too content-heavy and did not give enough attention to the balanced development of the individual child' (Loo, 2007 : 216). In the era of globalisation the need was to ensure that the human capital produced by the education system could meet the nation's short and long term needs. Reacting to the 1969 racial riots and the need to accommodate the nation's short and long-term needs, this *Cabinet Committee* on Education had made a few important recommendations which included removing unequal participation in education, stressing science and technology in education, expanding vocational and technical education, strengthening religious, moral and civic education, promoting co-curricular activities and streamlining professional and administrative

management in the education system. Most importantly, based on the suggestion of this committee which is also known as *Mahathir Report on Education* (Malaysia, 1979), a New Primary Curriculum or *Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah* (KBSR) and Integrated Secondary Curriculum or *Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah* (KBSM) were introduced in 1983 and 1989 (Loo, 2007; Lee, 1999; Ahmad, 1998). KBSR and KBSM emphasized the development of basic skills, acquisition of knowledge and promotion of thinking skills. Besides making Moral Education a compulsory subject for the non-*Muslim* students and Islamic Education for the *Muslim* students, moral and spiritual values were also to be inculcated in all subjects. This curriculum also aimed to improve the performance of mixed ability students in all geographical areas including the rural and disadvantaged areas. In line with the objective to develop a Malaysian-oriented curriculum, local content-based materials and models were to be used in teaching and learning (Ahmad, 1998).

In order to build a strong foundation for the primary students, KBSR concentrated on the basic 3Rs skills; reading, writing and arithmetic. As recommended by the *Mahathir Report on Education* (Malaysia, 1979), this curriculum did not only provide students with basic 3Rs skills but also develop students' thinking skills and good moral values. The role of the teacher had apparently moved from merely teaching to facilitating the student to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to be a well developed individual (Sargunan, 1990). The teacher needed to be innovative and creative in developing suitable teaching and learning materials and activities that were not only suitable for mixed ability students but could also promote these students' thinking skills.

KBSM is the continuation of KBSR, and offered secondary students core and elective subjects to prepare them not only for the work market but also to further their tertiary education. Secondary students were offered different groups of elective subjects from humanities, science, technology and vocational. Besides Islamic Studies which is compulsory for the *Muslim* students and Moral Education for the non-*Muslim* students, Living Skills which comprise the choice of industrial arts, home economics, commerce and agriculture science was introduced to the lower secondary students.

However, both the KBSR and KBSM curriculums also had their own problems and controversies. With the liberation of subject choice in KBSM, the number of students taking

the science subjects had decreased (Loo, 2007; Lee, 1999). As this would affect the nation's aim to be a well developed country by 2020, various measures were taken to promote students' interest in the science stream. Among them was reintroducing science into the KBSR curriculum which was initially integrated with the humanities subjects (Loo, 2007; Lee, 1999). A science : arts ratio of 60 : 40 policy was implemented where the state set a target of secondary and tertiary students to pursue education in science, technical and engineering disciplines (Loo, 2007).

Besides aiming to reduce the gap between rural and urban areas, the recommendations made by the Cabinet Committee were also supposed to bring greater democratization in educational opportunities. This is in line with the main objectives stated by the NEP which were to raise the income of the poor and to close the disparity not only between ethnics but also between geographical areas. Due to this, the goal and direction of education was strengthened through the formulation of the National Philosophy of Education (NPE) in 1988 (Ministry of Education, 2001a : 16) with the aim to:

'develop the potential of individuals in a holistic and integrated manner, so as to produce individuals who are intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically balanced and harmonic, based on a firm belief in and devotion to God. Such an effort is designed to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable and competent, who possess high moral standards and who are responsible and capable of achieving high level of personal well-being as well as being able to contribute to the harmony and betterment of the family, the society and the nation at large'

NPE aims to develop balanced individuals who are not only knowledgeable, skilled and competent but also a moral and responsible citizen. Furthermore, as Malaysia is fast developing from an agricultural to a technological economy, the national education system needed to ensure that the human capital produced by the education systems were progressive, holistic, well disciplined and trained in various skills (Ministry of Education, 2001a). The formulation of NPE was also guided by the nation *Rukunegara's* principles. In accordance, the formulation of KBSR and KBSM was also in line with NPE.

Democratisation of Education 1990 Till Present

Malaysia's five year economic plans have also influenced the development and focus of Malaysia education. From the First Malaysia Plan (1966 – 1970) (Malaysia Government, 1966) until the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986 – 1990) (Malaysia Government, 1986), education has been used as a tool for nation building and for enhancing unity among the ethnics 'through the development of a unified education system, a national curriculum, and the use of *Bahasa Melayu*, the national language, as the medium of instruction and communication' (UNESCO, 2006: 2). Similar to other countries in the world, Malaysia's educational agenda also includes 'investing in education to develop human capital or better workers and to promote economic growth' (Spring, 2008: 332). With the rise of globalisation, Malaysia realised the need to transform its economy from a production-based economy to a knowledge-based economy. As Malaysia became a developing country, its economy, which used to rely on natural resources and agricultural products, was then expanded into the production and service sectors and relied more on investment from foreign countries. The state realised that in order to keep up with economic globalisation, it needed to produce skilful and knowledgeable human resources that are able to compete with other fast developing states (Lee, 2000b). Due to this, in the 90s, the education system readjusted its focus and necessary changes were made. In the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991 – 1995) (Malaysia Government, 1991), the objectives of education were to expand education access and opportunities and to increase education quality. The Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996 – 2000) (Malaysia Government, 1996b) meanwhile emphasized the need to provide skilled and knowledgeable human resources particularly in science and technology for the development of the nation and to produce responsible and highly moral citizens. The objectives of these two plans were in line with the implementation of the National Development Policy 1991 – 2000 (NDP) and Vision 2020.

In 1991, Vision 2020 was initiated by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad; Malaysia's Former Prime Minister with the objective:

'By the year 2020, Malaysia can be a united nation, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values, living in a society that is democratic, liberal and tolerant, caring, economically just and equitable, progressive

and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient.'

(Wawasan2020.com)

Vision 2020 also aimed to build an industrialised nation with its own image; 'made up of one *'Bangsa Malaysia'*, a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny' (Wawasan2020.com). With nine challenges to be met, Vision 2020's aim was that Malaysia would be a fully developed industrialised country by 2020. In achieving this, the state allocated large expenditure to education and training which emphasized science, technology and the use of information technology. This national policy was also Malaysia's first step towards the information era and globalised world. Based on this vision, the Ministry of Education came up with its mission 'to develop a world-class quality education system which will realise the full potential of the individual and fulfil the aspiration of the Malaysian nation' (Ministry of Education, 2001a: 12). The *Education Act of 1961* was also reviewed and later on replaced with the *Education Act 1996* that introduced *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (Malaysia Education Certificate) and *Sijil Pelajaran Tinggi Malaysia* (Malaysia High Education Certificate) Open Certificate examinations to the education system (Ministry of Education, 2001a).

Major changes had been made to the *Education Act 1996* (Malaysia Government, 1996b) where Section 16 included private educational institutions as part of the National Education system. These private educational institutions include Chinese Independent Schools and private colleges and universities that are using Chinese and English as a medium of instruction. Beside that, in Section 17 (1) of the Act, the Education Minister was given the power to exempt any other educational institutions beside the National Type school to use language other than national language as the medium of instruction. In the 1961 Act (Federation of Malaya, 1961), only Chinese and Tamil primary schools were allowed to use other than the national language as the medium of instruction. The government rationale for this amendment was in accordance with the Vision 2020's aim to make Malaysia an industrialised country with a united *Bangsa Malaysia*.

Based on the suggestion of *Mahathir's Report* (KPM, 1979), the education system in Malaysia had also been restructured into universal education where starting from 1991,

free basic education provided to all children regardless of ethnicity has been extended from nine to eleven years. This extension means that students, regardless of performance, could automatically continue their secondary education after sitting for the PMR examination at the end of lower secondary education. Besides democratization of education, this policy is also in line with the need to provide education for all as indicated in the UNESCO's World Conference on Education for All in 1990 (Lee, 2000b). In the *Education Act 1996*, democratisation of education had led to the restructuring of the national education system to include education from pre-school level to post-secondary level and also to include special education (Lee, 2000a). By extending the education to eleven years, not only is the state widening access to education, but it is also hopes to provide a literate workforce to face the challenging world (Lee, 2000b).

The democratization of education led to an increasing number of students enrolling to tertiary education. Due to the increasing number of enrolments, the public institutions available could not afford to provide sufficient space for the qualified students. In order to produce human resources that could compete with economic globalisation and to provide more opportunities for the Chinese and Indians to extend their tertiary education, the state had allowed the privatisation and corporatization of higher learning (Guan, 2006; Lee, 2004; 2000a). This reformation of tertiary education had 'softened' the ethnic tension especially among the non-*Bumiputera* caused by the affirmative policies (Guan 2006; Salleh 2000). However, though the ethnic pressure has been taken off with the blooming of private institutions, the quota system introduced by the NEP is still causing political problems and ethnic tensions (Ishak, 1999).

Realising the importance of English as an international language; a language that is needed to compete in the globalised world, in 2003, at the suggestion of Malaysia's former Prime Minister, a program using English to teach Maths and Science (PPSMI) was carried out in stages to Year 1 primary students and Form 1 and Lower Six secondary students. The objective of this program was to equip students with the knowledge and skills to compete in the changing globalised world. This program was fully implemented in 2007 in secondary schools and 2008 in primary schools. PPSMI had been critically opposed and debated by literary figures and opposition parties. The government has been constantly pressured

to review and abolish this policy as it had been claimed to threaten the position of national language and to cause learning difficulties especially to rural students (Ahmad, 2009; Thock, 2009). Furthermore, the Chinese had been insisting to keep on using the Chinese language to teach Maths and Science to the National Type Chinese primary students (Thock, 2009). Due to the pressures and discontent from various parties, PPSMI was abolished in 2012 and the teaching of Maths and Science will be taught in Malay language in national schools and in Malay and in Chinese or Tamil languages in National Type schools.

Also realising the importance of information technology for Malaysia to compete as a developed country and to further develop its economy in the global world, various ICT educational initiatives have been implemented. In fact, in attribute to the vast development of technology in the globalised world, the MOE have been equipping all schools with computer laboratories and software (Hashim and Nor, 2009). Besides providing ICT training to teachers, various initiatives have also been implemented in schools such as The ICT Literacy Project and offering Information and Communication Technology such as computer science and multimedia as elective subjects to secondary school students. However, due to the geography of Malaysia, equipping ICT facilities in the remote areas especially in Sabah and Sarawak is still a problem as there are still places that rely on generators.

Malaysia aspires to develop its nation according to its own identity, which is holistic in nature, encompassing the acquisition of knowledge and skills including science and technology and also entrepreneurial capabilities. Besides that, human capital must uphold the cultural values of Malaysian society and the internalisation of positive and progressive attitudes, values and ethics as espoused by *Islam Hadhari* (Civilisational Islam) which was introduced by the former Prime Minister, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in 2004.

The Racial Integration and Malaysian Unity Programme (RIMUP) was also introduced by Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi when he was the Minister of Education in 1986 which encouraged co-operation between national and National Type schools through sport, co-curriculum activities and information technology. In 2005, this program was reintroduced to both primary and secondary schools with the main objectives to encourage involvement between community, teachers and students from primary to secondary schools, to instil a sense of co-operation, understanding and awareness among students,

creating tolerance among various ethnic groups and to instil a sense of sharing of facilities, equipment, energy and expertise in conducting programs. F1 (Formula 1) in Schools and Robotic competitions, for example, was among the new elements introduced in this RIMUP Student Leader Integration and Unity Camps in 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The new Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak in his maiden speech on 3rd April 2009 introduced a new concept '1Malaysia' with the principle 'One Malaysia, People First, Performance Now' (1Malaysia.com.my; 2009). Similar to the concept introduced by earlier Prime Ministers, this concept also promotes national unity and national cohesion, but with a different approach and method in making Malaysia a developed country as inspired in Vision 2020. The Prime Minister stated that '1Malaysia' acted as a guideline to achieve '*Bangsa Malaysia*' or Malaysian nation; one of the objectives of Vision 2020 (Razak, 2009). This concept realises the importance of strengthening the nation's unity so that a stable and developed country could be achieved more smoothly. The '1Malaysia' concept emphasises bringing the multi-racial, multiethnic and multireligious people together as one people and one nation. '1Malaysia' means realising the diversity that exists in Malaysia as a strength of the country. This concept seeks that those races from different ethnicities and religions migrate from tolerating each other's differences to unconditionally accepting and respecting each other's unique differences, and to compete against and collaborate with each other to achieve a better future for the nation. This new concept is claimed as reaffirming the Federal Constitution and the other documents that have shaped the nation which among them are *Rukunegara*, the principles of National Economic Policy, Vision 2020 and National Mission (Razak, 2009). It is also claimed to be different from the assimilation concept practiced by the other countries and different from the concept of Malaysian Malaysia introduced by Lee Kuan Yew through the People's Action Party which had led to the separation of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 (Razak, 2009).

Malaysia's education reformation has also been influenced by supranational organisations' agenda such as UNESCO and by the global issues. Based on regional collaboration among ASEAN countries, education has been focused on the basic 3Rs skills and in formal and nonformal education areas (Rivera, 2003). The third National Institute for Educational Research (NIER) report showed that Malaysia is also concerned with

the emerging global society and the need to 'strengthen social cohesion and national identity and preserve cultural heritage' (Rivera, 2003: 560). The values for the Moral Education syllabus implemented in KBSR and KBSM was derived from the workshop conducted by the National Institute for Educational Research (NIER) (Ahmad, 1998) and the principle of the new Civic and Citizenship Education stressed the four learning pillars of the UNESCO Task Force on Education for the 21st Century (Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum, 2005). Besides that, the state is also committed to achieve the inclusive education and Education for All agenda as laid out by UNESCO. Among the measures taken are the implementation of compulsory education in 2003, providing support services such as the Food Nutrition Programme and Trust Fund for Poor Students and developing an alternative curriculum known as the Integrative Curriculum for Pupils of Orang Asli and Penan (Ministry of Education, 2008). Malaysia's educational policies concerning access and equity also 'reflect the influence of worldwide concerns on educational opportunities, social justice, multicultural education, and national integration' (Lee, 2000b: 323). However, according to Lee (2000b) sex education and environmental education are the two global concerns that are yet to have a strong effect on Malaysia's education system. Though environment topics have been integrated in the subjects taught, it still has not been introduced as a separate subject. Meanwhile policy for sex education has not been formulated as sex is a controversial subject especially between Islamic religious leaders.

Though the school curriculum reformation and development in Malaysia has been framed by global influences, the national context has also played an important role (Lee, 2000a). Besides implementing affirmative policies and racial quotas to correct the social and economic disparities among the ethnic groups, the choice of language in the national education system has always been a sensitive issue, especially among the Chinese (Haque, 2003). The use of Malay language in the national education system has always been seen as a way to abolish the Chinese language and culture in education (Haque, 2003; Ishak, 1999). The reinforcement of Malay language as the medium of instruction was resented by the Chinese not only as a restriction in economy but also as a symbol of second-class citizenship (Crouch, 2001). With the government allowing for the continuation of 'mother-tongue' primary education, Chinese and Indian parents preferred to send their children to these vernacular schools. In fact, the numbers of parents that send their children to the Chinese

schools are increasing and up to June 2005, there was only 7% non-*Bumiputera* enrolled in National schools (Ministry of Education, 2006). Indeed, there are also Chinese parents who preferred to educate their children in the secondary private Chinese schools. The Chinese community refused to give up the Chinese schools and demanded for more Chinese schools to be built as they are seen as a way to preserve their language and identity (Ishak, 1999). The economic growth in Malaysia also led the ethnics to seek ways to strengthen their ethnic identities through education, for example the emergence of Malay parents sending their children to the religious schools and the offering of *Kadazandusun* language in schools due to pressure from the Sabah community (Balasubramaniam, 2007). Balasubramaniam (2007) claimed that this need to preserve ethnic identities and the segregation of primary schools according to ethnicity might worsen interethnic tensions and might make the unity process more difficult to achieve. Moreover, the state not only needs to confront the ethnic language issue but also needs to balance the need to produce human resource competent in English as required by most transnational companies, with the need to strengthen Malay language as the national language. Though in the early days of independence moves had been taken to phase out English language which was seen as a coloniser language, due to the need to produce a global worker, the importance of English in the education system has been reemphasized. With the need to be a developed nation by 2020, the state 'has acknowledged a global imperative that makes a national priority secondary' (Lee, 2000a: 113).

Education reformation is also framed by the resurgence of Islam among the Malay in the state. With the vast influence of Western modernisation in the state, the Malay feel the need for a new form of social control, which is done through the strengthening of the teaching of Islam. 'The Islamic influence in Malaysia schools can be seen as a defensive response to the onslaught of Western influences in all spheres of social life which have been brought by the process of globalization' (Lee, 2000b : 324). Islamic resurgence in Malaysia is also due to the pressure from the opposition political party especially from PAS. In spite of the fact that PAS has still not succeeded in its struggle to create an Islamic state, its influence has remained as a major force in Malay-Muslim politics. Under pressure from PAS members in the governing coalition and *dakwah* groups, the religious studies curriculum has been increased in the national curriculum and Arabic has been offered as an

elective subject in schools. With the revival of interest in Islam and through a conscious effort of Islamization conducted by the state, Islamic religious education had received an unprecedented boost. The state had increased the number of primary and secondary religious schools. Islamic values are also embedded in the teaching of moral values in KBSR and KBSM which was viewed by many non-Malay 'as a deliberate attempt to put Islamic religion, culture and values at the centre of the school experience so that the Malaysian identity is an Islamic identity' (Singh and Mukherjee; 1993 : 94). Besides that, the state had also upgraded the Muslim College in the *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia* into a Faculty of Islamic studies and established the International Islamic University in 1983. Islamic groups such as *Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia* (ABIM) and Jemaah Islam Malaysia (JIM) have also established private religious schools starting from the preschool level. Vernacular schools have always been the school of choice among the minor ethnic groups especially the Chinese and with the increasing number of Muslim families sending their children to religious schools, segregation among the ethnics is further entrenched. Furthermore, Islamic resurgence has also led other ethnic groups to 'reassert their positions and define their space in the new global world' (Salleh, 2000: 164). This has not only led to further segregation among ethnics but has also led to religion becoming a more sensitive topic and much more guarded.

2.4 Educational Administration and Schooling System

Educational Administration

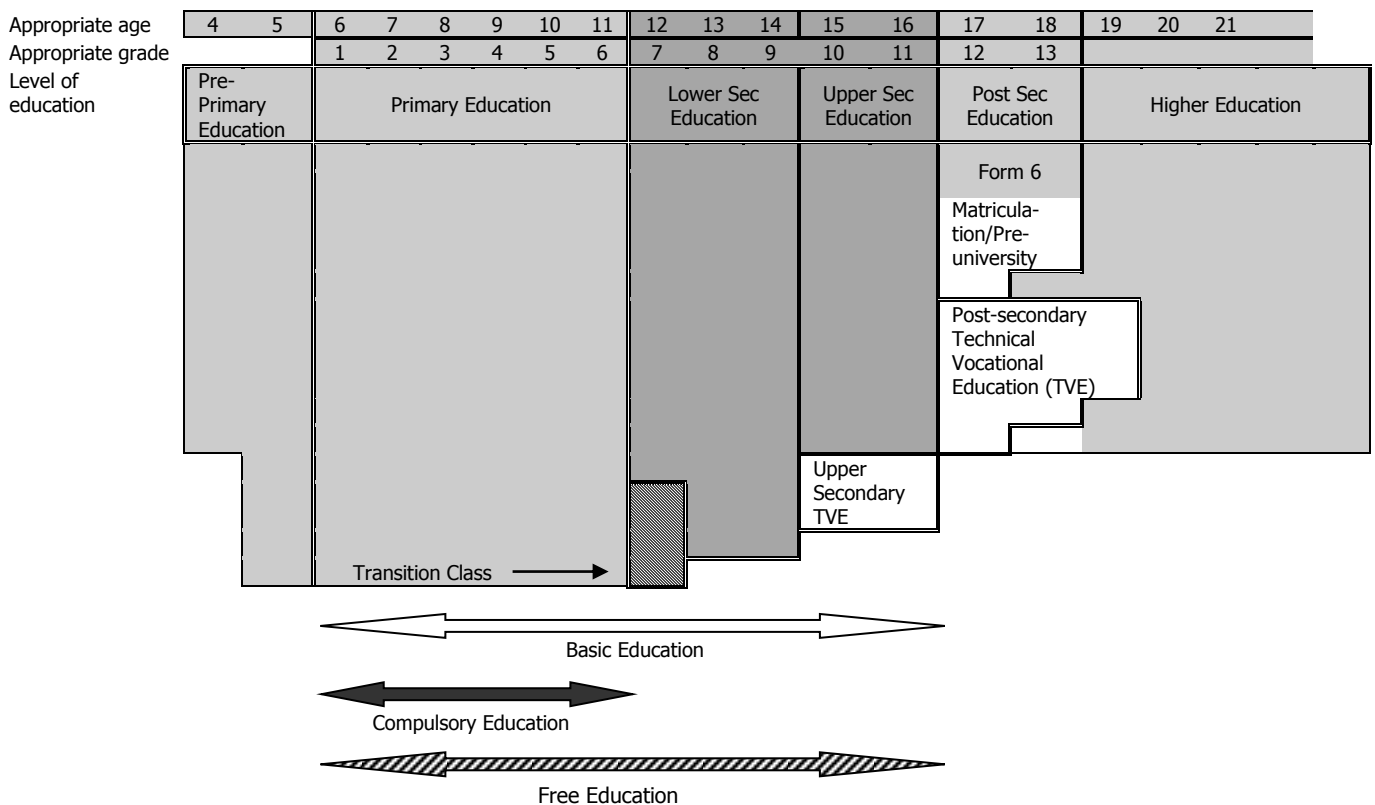
Malaysia's structure and organisation of educational administration is highly centralised. Education beginning from preschool until tertiary level was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Malaysia's education administrative structure has four distinct hierarchical levels which are federal, state, district and school. These four levels are represented by the Departments and Divisions in the Ministry of Education, the State Education Departments, the District Education Offices and schools. The Departments and Divisions in the Ministry of Education are responsible for formulating policy guidelines, translating education policies into plans, programmes, projects and activities and coordinating its implementation. The Ministry also design and develop the curricula, syllabuses and examination for all schools. Furthermore, there are 16 State Education

Departments that are responsible for carrying out the implementation of the educational policies and plans made at the Federal level. Besides providing feedback to the Central Agency, State Education Departments also coordinate and monitor the implementation of national education programmes, projects and activities at the districts level. In 1982, District Education Offices were set up in every state in order to have more effective control and management over the schools and serves as an effective link between the schools and the State Education Departments.

Levels of Education

Malaysia has eleven years basic education system which is subdivided into 6 years of primary education, 3 years of lower secondary education, 2 years of upper secondary education and 2 years of pre university education as in Figure 2.2, under the *Education Act 1996*, besides the incorporation of preschool education in the national education system, education has been made compulsory for primary students. Even though the Ministry of Education had planned to reduce the lower secondary education from three to two years, this plan until present is yet to be implemented (Loo, 2007).

Figure 2.2 : Education Structure Approximate Starting Age and Duration (UNESCO, 2011: 1)



The objective of preschool education is to prepare the students with a solid foundation in communication, social and basic skills as well as providing them with holistic learning intellectually, spiritually, physically and emotionally before entering the formal education system. Besides the MOE, there are other government agencies such as the State Religious Department, the National Unity Department and private agencies that provide preschool education using the National Preschool Curriculum to pupils age 4 to 6 years old. Despite universal primary education being achieved in 1990, the percentage of students enrolled in preschool especially in rural areas is still at a lower rate.

Primary education starts at the age of 6+ which takes five to seven years. In 2003, Malaysia implemented a Primary Education Compulsory Policy (Ministry of Education, 2008). Since Malaysia is a multi cultural society, the primary education system is delivered in two types of primary schools; National schools (*Sekolah Kebangsaan (SK)*) and National Type schools (*Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan (SJK)*) which are National Type Chinese School (SJKC) and National Type Tamil School (SJKT). The medium of instruction in National Schools is Malay and Chinese or Tamil in National Type School. Malay; the national language is a compulsory subject in both National Type Schools and English a compulsory subject in both National and National Type Schools. However, the Chinese and Tamil language must be taught in the national school if there is a request from at least 15 schoolchildren's parents (Education Act, 1996). The national type schools are also divided into government and government aided schools. The government schools are the schools built by the Government and the government aided schools are the schools which were built by other parties on the land belonging to certain organisations/associations or which are privately owned.

The Integrated Primary School Curriculum (KBSR) taught in the National and National Type schools aims to produce intellectual and high moral students. At the end of Year 6, the students sit for the same public examination; Primary School Evaluation Test (UPSR). This examination result and students' involvement in co-curriculum activities are also used in choosing qualified interested students to enter the Secondary Fully Residential Schools. However, in 2011, a new curriculum, Standard of Primary School Curriculum (KSSR) was introduced for Year 1 students which stressed on students' intellect, emotion and physicality and also on the application of knowledge and development of critical, creative

and innovative thinking. In addition, students' achievement in UPSR will not only be accessed based on national examination but also based on school based assessment (Bahagian Pembangunan Kurikulum, 2013).

Though the state through the Education Development Plan 2001 – 2010 has been promoting the primary national school as schools of choice in providing the foundation for cultivating unity among ethnics at an early stage, the percentage of other ethnics enrolling in these schools is still very low. The non-*Bumiputera* preference in sending their children to the vernacular schools was due to the negative perception towards the quality of teaching and learning in national schools and the perception of national schools becoming more Islamic (Marimuthu, 2008). Moreover, vernacular schools are also preferred due to the need to preserve and protect the Chinese and Indian culture and language (Marimuthu, 2008; Guan, 2000). In fact, not only is the enrolment in these schools increasing, but the enrolment of Malay students into Chinese schools is also increasing where in 2012 there were 31,396 Malay students enrolled in Chinese schools (Ministry of Education, 2012a).

Secondary education is open for children aged 12 to 17 years old. It consists of 3 years of lower secondary education and 2 years of upper secondary education. The students in the secondary education follow the Integrated Secondary School Curriculum (KBSM), a continuation of KBSR. The new Standard of Secondary School Curriculum (KSSM) meanwhile will begin in 2017. There are also secondary schools for special needs students, sports schools to produce potential athletes and also art schools.

Lower secondary education begins from Form 1 at the age of 13 or 14 to Form 3. As the medium of instruction in the secondary school is Malay language, the National Type Chinese and Tamil schools students who do not perform well in UPSR examination need to enter a Remedial class. The availability of choice subjects for secondary education depends on the facilities and teachers available in each secondary school. Lower secondary students are able to choose Life Skills: Home Economic, Life Skills: Agriculture, Life Skills: Entrepreneur and Commerce, Life Skills: Comprehensive, Selected European Languages and Mother Tongue subject which are classified based on the Lower Secondary Evaluation examination (*Peperiksaan Menengah Rendah (PMR)*) at the end of Form 3. The result for the PMR examination is also used to select students who are interested to enrol in the Fully

Residential School, Vocational and Technical school, Mara Junior Science College, Royal Military College and other education programs offered by the Ministry of Education, government agencies or private sectors. Although the students could apply to enter lower secondary and upper secondary in the fully residential schools and MARA Junior Science Colleges, these schools are largely reserved for rural *Bumiputeras* students (Loo, 2007). Since the numbers of these elitist schools are limited, enrolment to these schools is competitive and UPSR and PMR results are used as the main criterion. Furthermore, due to the unpopularity of Vocational schools among the upper secondary school students, in 1996 vocational education had been phased out and absorbed within the technical schools (Loo, 2007).

With the extension of education from 9 to 11 years, students can automatically enter Upper Secondary Education after sitting for the PMR examination. Based on their PMR result, the students have three main streams to choose; Academic Stream, Technical and Vocational Stream and Islamic Schools. In the Academic Stream, students can choose between the Arts and Science Streams. Students who are interested in the technical streams can apply to enter Technical and Vocational schools. However since 2002, vocational subjects have also been offered to students at the regular schools. Meanwhile the Muslim students who are inclined to study the Islamic field can apply to enter the Islamic Schools. In addition, upper secondary students also need to learn four core subjects which are *Bahasa Melayu*, English, Mathematics, History and Islamic Studies or Moral Education. At the end of Form 5, students will sit for the Open Certificate Examination (*Sijil Pelajaran Terbuka Malaysia* (SPM)). Meanwhile, students studying in the religious schools need to sit for the *Sijil Menengah Agama* examination and students in the State and Public Religious Schools sit for the *Sijil Tinggi Agama Malaysia* (Malaysia Higher Religious Certificate) examination. This examination which is conducted in Arabic is a base for students to pursue their studies in Al-Azhar University in Mesir, other universities in Middle East countries and local universities.

In meeting the demand of globalisation, as well as disseminating content knowledge, the state also need to face the challenge to provide students with skills for creative thinking, independent and self-directed learning, practical problem solving and lifelong learning

(Hallinger, 1998). 'Active learners who have acquired the skills of problem-solving, independent thinking, and autonomous learning as well as the ability to work co-operatively' (Lee, 1999 : 96) need to be produced in order to meet the objectives of Vision 2020 and to meet the changes facing Malaysia's economy. Thus, didactic teaching and rote learning need to be replaced in order to produce these active learners and knowledgeable human resources able to compete in the globalised world. Moreover, both KBSR and KBSM demanded teachers to be creative and to implement new teaching strategies such as 'co-operative learning, group work and other learner-directed modes of operation' (Lee, 1999 : 96).

However, although a lot of training, guidance and reform had been done, in the secondary schools 'teacher centered teaching practice still take centre stage' (Zakaria and Iksan, 2007 : 35). In fact, the TIMSS 2007 report had shown that not only in Malaysia but internationally textbooks remained the basis of instruction for both Mathematics and Science subjects (Mullis et al., 2008). Malaysian students reported that memorization was the most common Mathematics learning activity done. Subsequently, the main activities in Malaysian Mathematics classrooms were teacher-led lectures, teacher-guided student practice, homework review and students working problems on their own which were similar with the activities done in the Science classroom. In contrast with the students, who reported that they spent most time watching teacher's demonstration or investigation and making and describing the observation, the teachers reported that they emphasized explaining what the students were studying and relating the science learning with their daily life.

Although the implementation of KBSR and KBSM demanded innovative and creative teaching styles, due to an over-emphasis on examination results teachers still resort to traditional teaching styles (Puteh, 1994). Indeed, though the NPE emphasises the development of an all-round individual, school performance is still indicated through public examination results. Lee (1999) argued that besides the need to broaden school performance indicators, more input should also be gained from schools as most educational reforms in Malaysia occurred from top to bottom. Moreover, similar to other countries such as Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Brazil, Egypt and Mauritius, private tutoring had also been

heavily practiced in Malaysia (Bray, 2007). Indeed, private tutoring is considered as a huge business as it was reported that 'about 83% of Malaysian students will have received private tutoring by the time they reached senior secondary schools' (Bray, 2007 : 23). The apparent need of private tutoring in certain states was due to the pressure to excel in the examination and was also more evident in the state practicing teacher centred rather than student centred system. In relation to this, Ziguras (2001) in his study claimed that the undergraduates in Malaysian higher educations visited expected to be 'spoon-fed' with lots of information and expected to be able to recall this information in their examination. Moreover, they also preferred close and direct supervision from locally available teaching staff and were hesitant to work independently.

2.5 Conclusions

Since independence, education has been seen as one of the mechanisms to promote national cohesion and to create a sense of national identity among the multiethnic population (Jamil, 2007). After independence, education in Malaysia was not only seen as a tool to develop a citizen who is loyal to the nation instead of to any particular ethnic group (Andaya and Andaya, 1984) but also as a means to correct the economic imbalance between the *Bumiputera* and other ethnic groups (Sua, 2012; Crouch, 2001). As Malaysia grows into a developing state, education has also been further used to promote social equality and economic development (Lee, 2000a). Furthermore, education policies have also been implemented to enhance access, equity, quality and the efficiency and effectiveness of education systems and education management (Ministry of Education, 2006).

The objective of education in this developing state is also to produce knowledgeable human resources that can compete in a global world and contribute to the development of the country. Accordingly, the mission of national education is aligned with the objective of Vision 2020, which is to develop a world-class quality education system which will realise the full potential of the individual and fulfil the aspiration of the Malaysian nation (Ministry of Education, 2001a). In achieving the status of a fully-developed country as envisaged in Vision 2020, the state also aspires to develop a well balanced and multi skilled individual according to its own identity (Wawasan2020.com). Thus, the national education system aims to develop individuals who are not only knowledgeable but also with positive

attributes in line with the principle of *Rukunegara*. However, the state also realised the need to acknowledge the global imperative such as the importance of English language in order to achieve this Vision 2020 objective (Lee, 2000a). Besides that, the education system has also been influenced with an Islamic resurgence, especially in response to the rise of Western modernisation through the processes of globalisation (Lee, 2000a). Though the education system had moved from the education for the elitist to an education system for the mass, the objective of education since independence is also to nurture a stronger sense of national consciousness and national identity. Thus, the national education system has always been geared towards achieving national unity.

Some of these educational policies might look similar to educational policies in other countries. However, factors such as the way the policy is interpreted would determine the success of these changes. This is because policies are always interpreted differently within different national infrastructures, national ideologies and political contexts (Ball, 1998). Furthermore, as Malaysia is a multiethnic country, education reformation will need to consider the various needs and interests of different ethnic groups (Lee, 2000a). As maintaining ethnic harmony and promoting unity among the multiethnic society is still one of the main agendas in the education system, Civics and Citizenship Education has been implemented both in the primary and secondary schools in order to develop united and patriotic citizens who can contribute towards the development of the state and harmonious society (Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum, 2005). However, as discussed in the next chapter, this subject is not easily put into practice as there was curriculum contestation and bargaining, especially in a bureaucratic education system that emphasises examination performance.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEWS

3.1 Introduction

This study is interested in the development of Civics and Citizenship Education (CCE), a new subject that was reintroduced into the Malaysian school curriculum in 2005, and the ways this curriculum policy is enacted and mediated in schools. In relation to this, the chapter is divided into two main sections. The first reviews the purpose of school and the ways that school policy might be differently enacted due to different contexts and those factors existing in different schools. The second part of the chapter more specifically examines definitions of citizenship and citizenship education, and the development of citizenship education in the school curriculum.

3.2 The Purpose of School: The Contest for Space in the Curriculum

The question, 'what is the purpose of school?' is not that simple to answer. 'School' which originated from the Greek word '*schole*' was defined by Winch and Gingell (1999 : 212) as 'an institution dedicated to educational purposes, usually for children and adolescents'. Despite the fact that, for years, education has been provided in school, the debate on the purpose of school; specifically on the education that should be provided and the output that should be produced still goes on. Philosophers, scholars, sociologists, politicians, societies, head teachers, teachers and many other parties including students seem to have their own ideas on what should be the purpose of school. Some might see it more about preparation for work; others about optimising entrance to university; others about passing from one generation to the next the values, attitudes and beliefs that provide the basis of society.

These competing pressures shape the structure and content of the school curriculum determining what subjects are included or excluded, how much time is devoted to each and in turn the ways in which they are taught and assessed. Western societies have been influenced by Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle; Plato more concerned with producing a ruling elite, Aristotle with the development of an individual's intellect and

aesthetic values (Nodding, 2008). Their emphasis was on the teaching of academic subjects relying on the expertise of the teacher to select the knowledge to be taught and mastered by learners. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, philosophers such as Rousseau, labelled the 'Father of Progressivism' (Akinpelu, 1981), promoted a child-centered approach basing learning on the needs and interests of the child (Sanders, 2006). Similar to Rousseau, Dewey (2004; 1934) also believed in child-centered approaches in which students learn through their own experience and not just about preparing them for their future lives but also for their present lives.

In the twentieth century there was an increasing contribution from psychologists and sociologists. For example, psychologists such as Thorndike thought that specific approaches could be used to both guide educational policy and improve methods of teaching and learning (Berliner, 1993), and in turn, the curriculum should comprise subjects that had direct utility in life (Philips, 1976). Others, such as Skinner promoted behavioural techniques in teaching and learning, with some emphasis on rote learning, rewards and punishment (Ozmon and Craveer, 1986). Meanwhile, Vygotsky drew attention to the importance of social and cultural factors regarding learning as a social interaction, and the need for group activities and the influence of adults (Ormrod, 2010).

With the development of globalisation, the purpose of school or at least claims about its purpose have become increasingly contested as in the industrialised society 'government and business groups talk about the necessity of schools meeting the needs of the global economy' (Spring, 2008 : 332). If utilitarians believed that education in schools should teach useful subjects that could train the learners to meet the economic need of the society, capitalists meanwhile see education in school as an investment in human capital in order to develop better workers for economic and social advancement (Spring, 2008; Simon, 1985). Wolk (2007) also argued that the purpose of school in the United States was to train and to prepare the learners for the world of work. Though school was also supposed to prepare learners to be good citizens, the outcome was not impressive. Thus, the pressure on schools to produce good workers led to certain content not being taught in schools. Claxton (2008) claimed that schools in the United Kingdom had failed to achieve their purpose and suggested that if the purpose of education was to 'prepare young people

for the future' (p. vi) and help them 'to develop the capacities they will need to think' (p. vi), the present processes of schooling have led to an increase in social problems such as bullying, depression, self-harm and suicide among young learners in schools. Furthermore, he suggested that these social problems worsen because of the pressure of meeting the demands of a system which attaches importance to examination performance. Schools, he claimed, did not prepare young learners with the knowledge of how to face and avoid these pressures.

Lall (2009) noted that schooling particularly in post-colonial countries had been used 'as a tool for shaping and sustaining political systems' (p. 1). Thus, the state's political and dominant ideology was reflected and transmitted through the schools' official knowledge and hidden curriculum which was constructed, selected and controlled by the rulers of the day. Similarly Han (2009), through her analysis of Civics and Moral Education (CME) in Singapore found that the content and approach adopted in this subject emphasised a form of passive citizenship that aims to develop 'well-behaved, disciplined, responsible members of society who are committed to the country's survival and development' (p. 116). Hence, 'the sense of national identity has been consciously created by the political elite' (Vickers, 2009 : 18) in the younger generations, not only through CME, but also through other subjects such as Social Science and mother-tongue subjects taught in the school curriculum. Additionally, Han (2009 : 117) argued that

'many of the values and attitudes are devised with the view of staving off the ills of 'Westernisation', and to impose the moral and personal discipline needed to meet challenges of the competitiveness of a knowledge economy while maintaining social cohesion'.

Nevertheless, Han (2009) argued that these subjects were not putting enough emphasis on developing an individual who could participate independently, actively and creatively in the country's political process nor in developing knowledge workers who could compete in the globalised world.

Before Malaysia gained its independence in 1957, schools were the place to both produce an elite society and low level administrators, and a labour for the coloniser's economic advance. A key purpose was to transmit the coloniser's values via school syllabuses imported from England that were not representative of local values (Saad, 1980).

After independence, schools which were previously ethnically divided and whose curricula were narrowed towards ethnics' own needs, were replaced with an education policy that was 'more all-embraced and uniform throughout, but also more singular authoritative' (Rudner, 1977 : 51). The government authoritatively implemented education policy that was thought to be best to accommodate the state's development needs. The British grammar school curriculum which was previously provided for the elite was extended for all children. Thus, in Malaysia, the purpose of school had moved from an elite to mass system education. However, the strict selection in choosing qualified students to enter secondary schools had caused a low transition ratio of students entering post primary schools, a gap between the knowledge and skills of primary school leavers, and the need for human resources for economic development (Rudner, 1977). Due to this, the state felt the need to reform secondary schooling by introducing open access lower secondary schooling with a comprehensive curriculum combining academic, technical and arts subjects. Nonetheless, students entering upper secondary schooling were still selectively selected and streamed into academic, technical and vocational. Hence, after independence, besides providing education for people of all ethnicities, the purpose of school was primarily to act as a socialization agent aimed at integrating multiethnic groups across the state. As the state moved to become a developing country, the purpose of school was aligned to function more closely towards preparing human resources to meet economic development; to produce skilled and trained multi skilled workers for state economic development. This was emphasised in Vision 2020 (Wawasan2020.com) and The Malaysia Five Year Plan including The Tenth Malaysia Plan (2011 – 2015) (Malaysia Government, 2011). Subsequently, the purpose of school as a social agent to promote social cohesion still remains one of the primary purposes in these policies.

Although since independence, Malaysia's education system has been used as a tool of integration, some have argued that this objective had yet to be achieved (Jamil and Raman, 2012; Singh and Mukherjee, 1993). Raman and Sua (2010), for example, argued that the enrolment choices offered at all levels of the education system and preferential policies introduced by the state were the main factors that had further led to ethnic segregation. They suggested that the continuation of a vernacular education system at the primary level, the establishment of Islamic religious schools at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels,

the allowance for the existence of Chinese private education at the secondary level and the establishment of Chinese medium private tertiary education were provided due to the divergent needs and interest that existed in this multiethnic society. However, 'unfortunately, most of these educational paths are divided along ethnic lines and thus contribute towards ethnic segregation' (Raman and Sua, 2010 : 124). Various measures taken by the state to desegregate especially the primary school system, such as the introduction of integrated schools and vision schools, had not been positively accepted especially by the Chinese (Raman and Sua, 2010). Raman and Sua (2010) noted that racial segregation also existed at the secondary level due to 'the demographic pattern of the population' (p. 128). A New Economic Policy (NEP), the preferential policy that provided better treatment to the Malay such as the establishment of fully residential schools was also claimed to lead to further segregation (Raman and Sua, 2010).

In addition, it had also been argued that Malaysia's schools had to the few developed part of an uncritical political loyalty towards the present ruler in the younger generation, through the official and hidden school curriculum. Brown's (2007) analysis on Malaysia's Local Studies and History subjects, for example, argued that these two subjects curriculum 'combine a positive social agenda of inculcating cultural and religious pluralism and tolerance with a political agenda that emphasise loyalty and obedience to the incumbent administration' (p. 327). Moreover, traditional values such as 'dignity, loyalty towards the King and country's leader, respect for the country's emblem, upholding national pride and valuing and practicing Malaysian traditions and culture' (Ahmad, 2004 : 199) were also claimed to be embedded in students' schooling through Malaysia's History curriculum. Zimmer (2003 : 173 – 174) argued that 'national identity...is a public project rather than a fixed state of mind'. Subsequently, through a top-down approach, Malaysian schools had been used politically by political rulers to construct a national identity and similar to other South East Asia countries, had been emphasising traditional and moral values in the school curriculum as a response in facing globalisation (Kennedy and Lee, 2008). Not only that, education had also been used as a significant 'political tool in promoting a unifying vision of national identity, with the aims (variously blended) of reinforcing the loyalty of citizens to the state...and cultivating skills and attitudes conducive to the enhancement of national prosperity' (Thomas, 2009 : 120).

Although philosophers, scholars and practitioners have their own idealistic views on the purpose of school, it is often the state that has the final word to decide on the aims of education and on the purpose that is supposed to be played by the school. Thus, with all these demands put on education as well as on school, each country including Malaysia tends to come up with its own education system which is thought to be appropriate for society at that particular time. However, this education system is not likely to satisfy every individual and can marginalise certain groups. There is likely always to be people within society that will oppose the current system and which might give rise to ongoing dispute. Though the state sets up a curriculum to achieve its intended aims, there will be parties who feel the need to either eliminate or add subjects to the curriculum. For example, in Malaysia, the teaching of Maths and Science in English had created multiple reactions from society. There were parties that agreed with the need to teach these subjects in English due to the importance of English in the era of globalisation (Salleh, 2000). However, there were also parties who viewed this policy as a threat to the national language and to the ethnics' language (Ahmad 2009; Thock, 2009). Negotiation and renegotiation on the implementation of this policy had later on led to the abolishment of this policy. Yet, even after its abolishment, there are still parties who feel that this policy should be strengthened instead of discontinued (Mohamad, 2009). Thus, the curriculum is not fixed, but changes over time, even if the processes of change are slow and their outcomes highly mediated. Though the state realised the need to strengthen English language in line with the need to produce knowledgeable human resources in the globalised world, the state also realised the need to accommodate the wider needs of society. Moreover, by listening to and accommodating society's needs, the state has also begun to move from authoritarian to more democratic education practices.

These different ideas on the purpose of schools show that education is a 'changing, contested and often highly personalised, historically and politically constructed concept' (Harris, 1999 : 1). The aims and purposes of education are usually culture related and depend on the notion of the society demanded by any state at that particular time (Moore, 1982). As stated by Dewey (1934 : 1) 'any education is, in its forms and methods, an outcome of the needs of the society in which it exists'. Moreover, Noddings (2008 : 5) also stressed that the aim of education 'is necessarily colored by the times and cultures which

we live'. Thus, the Greek philosophers' notion of the man that should be produced by education at a particular time might not only be different but might also not be applicable to the notion of knowledgeable man in this global era. Moreover, it can also be seen that determining the purpose of school is not a simple matter. The response of the state is to implement an education system based on the state's own needs and on the outcomes of its own history, culture and politics. Nevertheless, this aim is constantly in a state of flux as the process of designing and implementing education policy is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated to accommodate changing and sometimes competing needs. This process does not stop at the macro level as policy is also negotiated and renegotiated by actors at the meso and micro levels. Thus, as argued by Bernstein (1975) the outcome of this negotiation and renegotiation is an expression of power and control by society and policy actors at all levels. This constant negotiation could lead to different schooling processes and educational outcome with an expectation that it will be implemented in all schools, as will be discussed in the next section. The structure and content of the school curriculum is a representation of the outcome of these struggles at any moment in time. Especially in the secondary school, this contest is played out between subjects competing for time, resources and ultimately status, and is a contest over ideologies (purposes) of schooling. The addition of citizenship education to the school curriculum is a case in point.

In studying policy in educational settings, Ozga (2000 : 2) viewed education policy 'as a product, involving negotiation, contestation or struggle between different groups who may lie outside the formal machinery of official making'. At the micro level the transmissions of the intended policy is not actually a simple process but are opened for renegotiation for example through teachers' and students' own interpretation of the policy. Similarly, studies in subject histories (Jephcote, 2002; Goodson and Marsh, 1996; Goodson, 1994; 1984) showed that there have always been disputes over the definition, content and practice of the school subjects. These 'disputes between subjects are perhaps best illustrated by reference to subject status, hierarchies of knowledge and the distribution of authority and power' (Jephcote, 2002 : 107). In this hierarchy of subject status, there are contestations between subjects viewed as 'academic' subject with those subjects viewed as low status or non-subject. In contrast to the non-subject, 'academic' subject is provided with a large share of time in the school timetable and other resources based on the assumptions

that 'such subjects are best suited for the able students who, it is further assumed, should receive favourable treatment' (Goodson, 1984 : 39). This could also lead to the influence of the teachers in promoting or hindering the enactment of a school subject. The 'academic' subjects which is often associated with external examination regimes are usually promoted as these subjects are also linked to teachers own material interest such as career advancement. Thus, in studying a school subject, Goodson and Marsh (1996 : 33) argued that subjects should not be regarded as 'continuing homogenous groups whose members share monolithic and similar values and definitions of role, common interests and identity' but they should be regarded as 'a multifaceted concept, contested, negotiated and renegotiated at a variety levels and in a variety of arenas (Goodson, 1994 : 111). Subsequently, Jephcote (2002 : 119) in his thesis among others suggested that 'the processes and outcomes of curriculum change are socially and politically constructed and are ongoing' and 'over time, the workings of different subject communities has led to the establishment of a hierarchy of school subjects'.

The nature of contest in the school curriculum has also been pointed out by Bernstein (2004; 2000; 1996; 1975; 1973a, 1973b). Bernstein (2000; 1996) introduced the term pedagogic device which constitute the rules that enable knowledge to be converted into pedagogic communication that acts on selectively 'meaning potential' that is on the potential knowledge that is available to be transmitted and acquired. This pedagogic device consists of the field of knowledge production, the field of knowledge recontextualisation and the field of knowledge reproduction that regulate the rules on what knowledge obtain privilege, what happens to this knowledge as it is recontextualised into curriculum and reproduced through pedagogy and evaluation. The field of recontextualisation consists of the official recontextualising field (ORF) and the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF). While PRF 'consists of pedagogues in schools and colleges, and departments of education, specialised journals, private research foundations' (Bernstein, 2000 : 33), the ORF field is 'created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries' (p. 33). This pedagogic device becomes sites for appropriation, conflict and control through three hierarchically related rules which are distributive, recontextualising and evaluative rules. There are not only interrelationships between these three rules but there are also power relationships between each other.

Bernstein (2000 : 33) argued that 'pedagogic discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order'. When knowledge is strongly insulated from ORF, agents within the PRF would have the autonomy to construct the pedagogic discourse and practices. Bernstein (2000; 1996) argued that it is essential to differentiate between the transformation of appropriate knowledge from the field of production within the OFR and PRF with the transformation of this pedagogised knowledge by teachers and students in the recontextualising field of school and classroom. These recontextualised agents

'struggle for control over the pedagogic discourses that regulate the production of pedagogic contexts, the relations between agents in these contexts, and the texts produced by these agents at the macro level of the state policy formation (ORF) and micro levels of classroom interactions' (Singh, 2002 : 577).

Pedagogic discourse is the term used to describe the set of rules or procedures to generate different pedagogic texts and practices (Bernstein, 2000; 1996). Pedagogic discourse consists of two discourses; a discourse of skills of various kinds and their relation to each other (instructional discourse), and a discourse of social order (regulative discourse) which always embedded the former discourse. The instructional discourse or discursive rule is underpinned by the rules of selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation and the regulative discourse is underpinned by the rules of hierarchy. These two discourses are also underpinned by the rules of criteria which enable the acquirer to define what is considered as a legitimate or illegitimate learning.

Bernstein (1975; 1973a; 1973b) also argued that the relationships between pedagogic practices vary according to the social principles which regulate their classification and framing values. Classification refers to the power relations and the strength of boundary between agencies, agents, discourses or practices categories. The degree of insulation or boundary between categories or areas of knowledge and subject regulates the classification values. Curriculum that is strongly classified refers to the curriculum that is greatly differentiated and separated into traditional subjects. Meanwhile, weak classification curriculum refers to integrated curriculum in which the boundaries between the subjects are weak or blurred (Bernstein, 1975; 1973a; 1973b). Framing refers to the nature of the

control over the selection of communication, sequencing, pacing and the criteria of the pedagogic discourse. Framing also refers to the transmission of knowledge through specific pedagogic discourse between teachers and students. Regulative discourse or social order and instructional discourse or rules of discursive order are the two rules that are regulated by framing. Bernstein (2000; 1996) defined the two types of pedagogic practice as visible pedagogic practice and invisible pedagogic practice. Visible pedagogic practice occurred where framing is strong that is when the rules of regulative and discursive order are explicit. In the visible pedagogic practice, the transmitter has explicit control over the instructional discursive and the acquirer of the knowledge explicitly knows what the expected performance is. Meanwhile, invisible practice is where the framing is weak and when these rules of regulative and discursive order are implicit and mainly unknown to the acquirer. Bernstein (2000 : 13) stressed that where framing is weak 'the acquirer has more apparent control over the communication and its social base'.

3.3 School Contexts in the Enactment of Educational Policy

The success or failure of any educational policy and reform is also determined by the way they are implemented at the local level (Ball, 2006; Trowler, 2003). However, as indicated by Bernstein (1975), research at the micro level is an under researched area. Similarly, Goodson (1988) also stated that the way education policies are implemented by those at the micro political levels which is one of the 'vital aspects of the social construction of schooling...have so far been seriously neglected in the study of curriculum and schooling' (p. 11). Subsequently, it is an illusion to think that any education policy will be implemented in the same way and will bring the same effect to every school. Even though the state may design a policy with an expectation that it will be implemented in all schools, the uniqueness of each school will drive the school to operate in different ways and achieve different educational outcomes. This might be due to the different attributes that exist in schools such as differences in leadership and teaching styles, socioeconomic surroundings or the prevailing school ethos and culture. Moreover, differences in the characteristics of the head teacher, teachers and students could also give some schools advantages or disadvantages compared to other schools.

Braun et al. (2011a : 585) argued that 'policies are intimately shaped and influenced by school-specific factors, even though in much central policy making, these sorts of constraints, pressures and enablers of policy enactments tend to be neglected'. Policy 'enactment' refers to an understanding that policies are interpreted and 'translated' by diverse policy actors in the school environment, rather than simply implemented' (Braun et al, 2010 : 547). As the process of enactment is very complex and depend on the context of the relevant schools, Ball et al. (2012) and Braun et al. (2011a) argued that 'a material, structural and relational need to be incorporated into policy analysis in order to make a better sense of policy enactments at the institutional level' (Ball et al., 2012 : 21). In relation to this, in their study in the four schools on the dynamics of school contexts and their inter-relationships, these contexts had been grouped into situated, professional, material and external contexts (see Ball et al., 2012 and Braun et al., 2011a). Situated contexts for example, could refer to the location, histories and intakes of the relevant schools.

In addition, equality of opportunity is another factor that could mediate policy enactment. The type of school and its geographical area for example, can lead to students from richer families to usually be more inclined to obtain higher qualifications and better paid occupations compared to students from a poor family. Hence, the different attributes that existed in schools and the advantages owned by some students and by some schools, can lead to different policy enactments and students' experience of schooling. Various researchers have claimed that differences in social class, gender and ethnicity have caused inequalities in educational attainment (Grant and Berhmen, 2010; Bodovski, 2010; Evans et al., 2010; Hauser, 2004). Indeed, many sociologists have also claimed that inequalities in society are reproduced through education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bernstein, 1975). Inequalities between the achievement of the male and female students have been illustrated in England (DCFS, 2008), Malaysia (Jelas et al., 2006) and in other developing countries (Grant and Berhmen, 2010). Jelas et al. (2006) in their study for example, revealed this was due to the differences between Malaysian male and female students and to the different perceptions and expectations put on these students. Pong (1999a), argued that in Malaysia, inequality in educational attainment still existed between the Malay and other ethnic groups and also between the wealthy and the poor.

Schools and those who attend them, therefore, do not start out on an equal footing. In the case of Malaysia, this might be exaggerated in schools with different ethnic mixes and especially in schools with a dominant ethnic group. For example, as generalisation, it is widely viewed that Chinese students come from families with wealthier backgrounds (higher social capital) and who are well connected in business and enterprise. Malay students, the political dominant ethnic, benefit from the National Economic Policy that gave preferences to 'the disadvantaged socioeconomic positions of the Malays' (Sua, 2012 : 60). As Bourdieu (2004) pointed out, cultural capital which 'includes the knowledge, skills and competencies an individual possesses and their confidence and ability to deploy them' (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008 : 635) could exist in an embodied, objectified and institutionalized state. Cultural capital in its embodied form was for example, a valuable skill learned by someone so that over time the competency gained in this skill could not be taken away from the learner, as it had become embodied in the person. Bourdieu (2004) further argued that cultural capital also existed in cultural and educational objects such as in paintings, books and monuments. The knowledge gained or transmitted from these objects could become the children's embodied form of cultural capital. As indicated by Weininger and Lareau (2007 : 892), 'the concept of cultural capital stresses the ways in which the standards for success are drenched in family cultural practices'. Due to this, students from advantaged families would be advantaged as the cultural capital transmitted to them at the preschool years was usually highly valued and more related in contrast to students from lower status families. These students from advantaged families 'approach school with a set of powerful, albeit largely invisible, cultural advantages which they draw on to comply with standards for school success' (Weininger and Lareau, 2007 : 892).

Coleman (1998) proposed that social capital did not exist within any single actor but obtained and developed through continuous interactions among actors within the social system. The relations that exist among actors in society are used as resources to facilitate productive and valuable outcomes. This network among actors could be facilitated and strengthened by fulfilling mutual obligations and expectations towards one another, by providing relevant information and by sharing effective norms in society. Moreover, it could also lead to the development of trustworthiness among the actors. Coleman (1998) further argued that social capital that existed within and outside a family was important

in developing the child's human capital particularly in educational growth. However, 'the effects of a lack of social capital within the family differ for different educational outcomes' (Coleman, 1998 : S111). Another perspective of social capital was by Bourdieu (2004 : 15) who viewed social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'. The ties between individuals and the resources available from the outcome of this social network would determine the degree of the social capital possessed. However, although those of low social status might only have limited social capital due to their ties to other low social status individuals, this investment on social capital could be increased by broadening their social networks out from their own social hierarchy. Santana and Schneider (2002 : 4355) noted that 'in contrast to Coleman, Bourdieu views social capital within the context of social stratification and reproduction, underscoring the benefits afforded to individuals located differentially within the social structure'. Moreover, though different scholars defined social capital differently, Lin (1999) concluded that from all of these well-known scholars' discussions on social capital, 'the premise behind the notion of social capital is...*investment in social relations with expected returns*' (p. 30).

Research has also shown that differences in educational attainment were also caused by differences in parental practices that also existed according to ethnicity and gender. Bodovski (2010) showed that parents' expectation towards educational attainment differed between ethnicity and gender as compared to the African-American, the White Hispanic parents were more engaged in the process of concerted cultivation and exposed these activities more on their female than on male children. The extent of concerted cultivation on the child was due to parents' 'own educational and occupational experiences that lead them to desire high educational attainment for their children' (Bodovski, 2010 : 152). Ong et al.'s (2010) study showed that Malaysian primary school performance in Mathematics and Malay Language was related to cognitive performance, family size and gender. Thus, besides being a male student, coming from a lower socioeconomic status and having a large number of siblings could also affect academic performance. Yahaya et al. (2010) in their study found that in contrast to teacher, peer-group, language and environment, family was indicated as the least influential external motivational factors

on secondary school students' Mathematic performance in one state in Malaysia, due to lack of attention from family members on their children's mathematics progress.

Studies by Evans et al. (2010) and Hanafi (2008) revealed that the environment provided at the children's home could also affect educational outcome. Evans et al.'s (2010) research in 27 countries showed that family scholarly culture; the 'taste of books' (p. 16) provided by parents at home had helped their children to stay longer in schools and also to gain better academic achievement. However, this scholarly culture gave more impact to children below university level and to children from least educated families. Similarly, Hanafi's (2008) small-scale study showed that Malaysian students' low academic achievement was not only influenced by the low-level educational status of the parents in rural areas but also by the lack of academic reading material available in the household.

The effect of cultural practices was further illustrated by Amin et al. (2003) who showed that the social problems of Malaysian secondary schools students both in rural and urban areas increased with the increment of their families' level of income. Despite being a small scale study which looked at secondary schools in one district in Malaysia, Amin et al. (2003) argued that students with higher income families in this district were more involved with social problems compared to students of lower income families. They suggested that this might be due to too much emphasis given to the economic aspect in higher income families compared to values development in lower income groups. In Eastern societies, that put more emphasis on the development of values, the society will usually relate a social problem that occurred in a family to the lack of teaching of values. Thus, although the socioeconomic status of the family has been improved, this did not necessarily help to lessen social problems as different parental practices could lead to different outcomes.

It has long been argued that inequalities in Malaysia had been caused by the New Economic Policy (NEP) implemented, in 1971 (Guan, 2006). The NEP was seen as essential even though after independence Malay was the politically dominant group, they 'were the least advantaged segments of the population, both economically and educationally' (Pong, 1993 : 245). Data from the 1998/1989 Malaysian Family Life Survey (MFLS) revealed that the NEP affected Malay, Chinese and Indian educational attainment in Malaysia (Pong, 1995). The comparison made between the cohorts born in 1950 to 1959 with those born in 1960

to 1964 showed that there was an increase in all of the ethnics' educational attainment both at the primary and secondary levels. However, with the preferential treatment given to the Malay, the NEP had led to a higher percentage of secondary level attainment for the Malay in contrast to the Chinese and Indians. Moreover, the education attainment gap between the Malay social classes, which was measured through father's occupational status, had also been reduced. On the other hand, 'over time, social class criteria have become more determinant of the access to secondary school among non-Malays than among Malays' (Pong, 1995 : 246).

Pong's (1995) analysis also indicated that despite gender inequality in all ethnic groups' educational attainment had been reduced, the gap between male and female Chinese and Indian students still existed at the secondary school levels. Pong (1995) concluded that though the NEP did bring positive effects to the Malay, it had 'produced unwanted negative effects among non-Malays' (p. 250). Although Pong (1995) rejected the idea that the NEP had 'primarily served the most advantaged Malays' (p. 249), it did help 'Malays who are most in a position to take advantage of them: those from more affluent families' (p. 249). She also noted that these differences in educational attainment between Malay and non-Malay were not only due to socioeconomic status but also due to 'strong state policy that alters the structure of economic opportunities for each ethnic group, followed by cultural change in response to the economic environment' (Pong, 1995 : 6). She further argued that the implementation of preferential policy had succeeded in changing the Malay's self-image, self-confidence and attitudes towards education in which these changes are the main features for the Malay's school success.

Sudha (1997) studied the effect of family-size comparing the generation of Malay, Chinese and Indian's education before independence with those generations after independence. This also indicated an increase in educational attainment especially for the Malay. Moreover, the analysis also noted that the gender gap in education attainment had also been reduced especially for the Chinese. For the non-Malays, family size did bring negative effects in completing primary education but not in completing secondary education. Indeed, 'those who succeed in advancing to higher level appear more affected by other factors including ethnicity, sex and parental socio-economic status' (Sudha, 1997 :

144). Family size, for example, did affect Chinese children's education but not the Malay's. Agadjanian and Liew's (2005) study using the 1988 – 1989 MFLS (MFLS-2) data also confirmed that the NEP had led to the percentage of Malay educational attainment to be the highest in contrast to being the lowest before the introduction of NEP and in minimizing the gender gap 'in making the transition to post-secondary education' (p. 226).

Despite out of school learning and co-curricular activities are an established part of the Malaysian school curriculum, research on these activities in relation to the aspect of the provision of CCE is still ongoing. However, research in out-of-school learning provision and participation in schools in the United Kingdom showed that there were differences in the way the secondary schools provided these activities and on the way the students participated in them (Power et al., 2009). School characteristics tend to determine these different levels of provision as analysis showed that state, independent, grammar, comprehensive 11 – 18, large school and urban and town schools not only provided broader range of activities for their students but these activities also offered 'new experiences and opening up new horizons' (Power et al., 2009 : 459) for their students in contrast to the activities offered in other schools. Moreover, schools also offered different kind of activities for their own students as students who were more academic were offered subject related activities while those who were less academically able were offered extra curricular activities. The study also revealed that inequalities existed in the way students participated in out-of-school learning activities. Students from poor families and students from minority ethnic communities especially Asian and Muslim female students were more inclined to 'miss out' (Power et al., 2009 : 451). This study illustrated that policy could have different effects on educational outcome as it was differently implemented at the micro level.

The future of a policy also relied on the way a policy is interpreted and implemented at the micro level (Gorard et al., 2001; Woods and Wenham, 1995). Through the introduction of school marketization policy, Gorard et al. (2001) showed that the response and action taken especially by heads of departments and senior managers as gatekeepers could lead to this policy initiative to be supported or undermined. Woods and Wenham (1995) too argued that heads teacher have the role to 'monitor what comes into the school, when and how, and what gets taken into consideration. They mediate and interpret policy

instructions and suggestions' (pp. 130 – 131). They further illustrated that teachers also might support a policy if it coincides with their ideology and school ethos, or oppose it for the opposite reasons. Thus, 'one has no control over how others will seek to represent it (policy initiative), view it, use it, disseminate it' (Woods and Wenham, 1995 : 138).

These various research findings illustrate that different attributes that take place in schools could lead to different process of schooling and different educational outcomes, and the effect of education policy enactment may not be similar across all schools. Although policy makers have tried to set a level playing field to ensure similar educational outcomes, social class, gender and ethnicity have been shown to be ongoing obstacles in achieving similar desired outcome. The chances for any policy to be successfully enacted depended on the different attributes that exist in each school and on the way those at the micro level view and respond to policy. Therefore, with all of this mix of things going on in schools, it is interesting to question whether CCE would be able to achieve its objective and to become established and survive in the school curriculum.

3.5 Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Defining Citizenship

Citizenship is a complex notion. The definition of citizenship has been constantly constructed and reconstructed due to changes that occur in the economy and culture of a society. Generally, citizenship has been associated with the rights and responsibilities of the citizens of the nation-state. For example, to Marshall (1950 : 28) those who possess the status of citizenship 'are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status endowed'. He perceived citizenship in modern western societies as three interrelated rights: the civil, political and social that developed from the late seventeenth century onwards. Civic rights acquired in the eighteenth century includes 'liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice' (p. 10). Political rights acquired in the nineteenth century, involved the right to vote and participate in the political process and are institutionalised in parliaments and councils of local government. Citizenship in the twentieth century was to include social rights which gave all citizens equal right to education, health care and other welfare benefits

intended to alleviate the inequalities caused by capitalism and to bring equal opportunity to the society (Delanty, 2000).

In the twentieth century, Marshall's work have been highly criticised and viewed as ignorant to the existence of heterogeneous modern society which consists of diverse races and ethnicities with different languages, religions and cultures (Turner, 1997), to the importance of active participation as an element in citizenship (Delanty, 2000) and to the issue of gender and the relation of citizenship with identity (Isin and Turner, 2007). As the structure of society is increasingly changing, and becoming more diverse due to global migration and increases in mobility, Pakulski (1997) further argued the need of minority cultures to be recognised and actively exercised in societies for example, to legitimately use their language and practice their religion without being hindered or discriminated.

Although the notion of citizenship may universally refer to rights granted to citizens of the state, the content and scope of these rights varies significantly among states as they are determined by each state's domestic laws. Thus, nationality is a part of citizenship as to whom, for example, the rights of protection are accorded and to whom they are denied (Bachmann and Staerklé, 2003) which, 'are sanctioned by the legal, political and administrative apparatus of the state' (Pakulski, 2007 : 74). Accordingly, the notion of citizenship to Turner (1997 : 9) is defined as 'a set of rights and obligations that attach to members of formally recognised nation-states within the system of nations and hence citizenship corresponds to legal membership of a nation state'. He further stressed that 'citizenship identities and citizenship cultures are national identities and national cultures' (p. 9). As citizenship is heavily related to the state, there are also differences in the contestation on citizenship where, for example, in the United States, emphasises the issue of slavery, race and immigration, in contrast to the issue of capitalism and class structure in the United Kingdom (Isin and Turner, 2007).

For Delanty (2000 : 9) citizenship is seen 'as membership of a political community assembled within a set of interrelations between rights, duties, participation and identity' that could be categorised as liberalism and civic republicanism. The liberal tradition emphasised the relationship between the rights and responsibilities of citizenship while the conservative tradition 'stressed the duties or responsibilities of citizenship' (Delanty, 2000 :

9). Thus, liberal citizenship tends to hold on to a passive conception of citizenship that stresses the freedom of individuals in contrast to the republican concept of citizenship which emphasises a more active and practice-oriented notion of citizenship, that involves participating in the political system to achieve common good in the civic community. Meanwhile, in the communitarian view, citizens' 'obligations to society may often predominate over rights because their goal is to build a strong community based on common identity, mutuality, participation, and integration' (Bachmann and Staerklé, 2003 : 20).

Smith (2002) drew attention to relationships between citizenship, government and governance. He suggested that in modern society, the main definition of citizenship was 'membership with at least some rights of political participation in an independent republic that governs through some system of elected representatives' (Smith 2002 : 107). Besides having political rights, citizens must also be willing to contribute to society by carrying out their political obligations. However, in some modern societies, the exercise of these political rights, such as the right to vote has been diminishing. As suggested by Smith (2002), the fast development of advanced technologies such as Internet has no doubt had an effect on the notion of citizenship and led to the discussion of citizenship to move beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Hermes (2006) argued that through new and fundamental practices among modernised citizens, the 'Internet-based communities make clear that new communication forms do allow for (new) citizenships and new groups to take up citizen identities' (p. 307). Tkach-Kawasaki (2003) for example, showed that the use of Internet in Japan, a country that imposed restrictions on the use of traditional media in political campaigns did bring positive impacts on political campaigning especially to smaller political parties and candidates.

Meta analysis on the influence of the internet on the political practices in China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea and Thailand further showed that the potential for Asian politics to be democratised through the Internet not only depended on the way the country imposed strict regulation on political content posted on the Internet, but also on the way democratization was being practised in these countries. Accordingly, Nisbet and Pearce (2012) in their study on the relationship between Internet

use, Internet penetration and democratization in 28 countries indicated that in a country like Malaysia that had 'high level of Internet penetration, a moderate amount of demand for democracy, and some freedoms, are also more likely to experience political change as citizen Internet use deepens and expands' (p. 262). In relation to this, Sani (2009) argued that Malaysia's political transition from consociational to public deliberation was not only due to the strengthening of civil society but also to the rise of internet usage. Despite imposing strict regulations on political campaigns through traditional print and broadcast media, the 2008 election result in which the long ruling party lost five of the states to the opposition parties indicated that society had realised its power of changing the government through the Internet.

The processes of globalization had also been argued 'as blurring national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation-states, and deeply affecting the constitutions of national and interest-groups identities' (Torress, 2002 : 364 - 365). With the rise of globalisation that allowed for economic, political and cultural arrangements to transcend national boundaries (Little, 1996), it was forecasted that the people of the world would be incorporated into a single global society (Albrow, 1990). Paradoxically, Castell (2010 : xxiii) argued that 'the more the world becomes global, the more people feel local'. In fact, statistically there was barely 13 per cent of people surveyed worldwide who feel that they were 'citizens of the world' (Castell, 2010: xxiii). Moreover, the argument that globalisation would lead to the emergence of a network society which would lead to a globally homogenous global society, diversity in the narratives, values and interests still existed among these global societies. Soysal (1994) meanwhile argued that due to the development of global systems including the establishment of international laws, the United Nations network, the emergence of global civil society and regional governance, the notion of citizenship underpinned by principles of nationhood had been taken over by the principles of universal personhood. She further argued that the accordance of social and civil rights to guest workers in Europe through transnational institutions such as the European Union, without being bestowed with citizenship, illustrated the growth in the importance of human rights as opposed to the benefit of citizenship. Faulks (2000), however, argued that although these transnational workers had been given social and civil rights, human rights still could not replace citizenship as these workers were unable to exercise their political rights such

as voting in the state where they worked. Indeed, 'citizenship involves participation and responsibilities that human rights cannot simply supersede' (Faulks, 2000 : 143) and in this globalised world, citizenship 'should be regarded as a foundation of human rights and not as a competitor' (Isin and Turner, 2007 : 13).

Falk (2000 : 6) claimed that 'this discourse on citizenship, and its changing character, remains an essentially Western experience that has not taken existential hold in non-Western societies nearly to the extent as...other quintessential Western conceptions'. Moreover, in a globalized world economy, the traditional conception of citizenship could weaken due to 'the changing role of the state, the rise of civilizational, religious and ethnic identities, new forms of backlash politics, the assertion of non-Western perspectives, trends toward post-heroic geopolitics and the rise of transnational social forces' (Falk, 2000 : 9). However, these factors might bring different effects on Western and non-Western societies where, for example, the need for religious and ethnic identities might lead to the weakening of Western but not non-Western citizens' conceptions of citizenship. Using the example of Malaysia and Singapore, Falk (2000) indicated that despite that these countries are economically successful, they are 'governed by political leaders who are seeking to stress cultural specificity as self-conscious modes of resistance directed at the alleged menace of Westernization' (p. 11).

This wide range of views and interpretation of citizenship suggests contestation over the concept of citizenship. Subsequently, this controversial nature of citizenship, as illustrated in the following section, in different ways, in different countries and in different contexts, leads to different meanings and different importance attached to the promotion and achievement of citizenship education. As suggested earlier, this should not be considered as unproblematic, but open to dispute over ideology and definition and contested for its place in the school curriculum. Moreover, as illustrated by Jephcote (2002), despite there might be a national policy, for a variety of reasons and in different ways, policies are filtered and mediated not only at the meso level but also at the school level.

Citizenship Education

Whereas the previous section of this chapter was concerned with broad definitions of citizenship, this section focuses on citizenship education; on how citizenship is transmitted and embedded into pedagogic discourses, ultimately, as a school subject. Though the reasons for introducing citizenship education may vary, more and more countries are now introducing this subject to their school curriculum. For example, in the United Kingdom, the need to introduce citizenship education in the school curriculum had, some assert, arisen with the decline of moral values and lack of national identity among the younger generation and with the weakening of social institutions (Arthur and Wright, 2001). Moreover, it was seen as the solution to the claim that younger generations were lacking political interest and in exercising their political rights such as voting, and to address the issue of identity and multiculturalism caused by migration of various ethnics into the United Kingdom (Potter, 2002; Heater, 2001).

In studying teachers in one Local Education Authority in England, Davies and Evans (2002) showed that the teachers characterised citizenship education goals as developing knowledgeable, responsible and active citizens. Evans (2006a) meanwhile, found that teachers in England and Canada characterised citizenship's learning goals as beyond the liberal and civic republican concept of citizenship. For multiethnic countries like Malaysia, citizenship education was seen as a way to educate the younger generation with civic knowledge and to promote unity (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004) particularly due to Malaysia's history, culture and society (see Chapter Two). Thus, similar to the contestation on the notion of citizenship, the notion of citizenship education is also highly contested as different people have different ideas on the aims and objectives that should be achieved by the implementation of citizenship education. Connell (1992) saw two vast differences in the ideas of citizenship in education where:

‘On the one hand citizenship appears as a principle of regulation and social control, casting citizens into standardised relations of obedience and orderliness...On the other hand citizenship appears as a claim of rights, as a demand by the excluded for access and participation’ (p. 133)

Heater (1990) argued that identity, civil citizenship, political citizenship, social citizenship and civic virtue were the important key perspectives in citizenship education debates.

To Heater, identities are concerned with the sense of identifying oneself with any particular group or with a nation state, while civic citizenship concerned the citizen's legal rights and responsibilities. Political citizenship was the right of the citizen to participate in the nation state's democratic system which included the right to vote while social citizenship was the right of the citizen to have equal access to appropriate levels of health, education and standard of living. Lastly, civic virtue was the citizen's active participation in contributing back to the society. Hall et al. (1998 : 301) too argued that besides the need to clearly identify the meaning and benefit of active citizenship to the younger generation, citizenship education also needed to address the meaning of identity, affiliation and citizenship in the twenty-first century.

As agreed by Crick's advisory group, citizenship education in England should consist of Marshall's social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy interrelated strands (Potter, 2002; Arthur and Wright, 2001; Bailey, 2000). In social and moral responsibility, citizenship education should develop learners' personal, social and moral values and behaviour in order to be a responsible individual within the classroom and school and within a pluralist and democratic community. Community involvement encouraged learners to be an active citizen that actively participated in the community within and beyond school which could be at the local, national or international levels. Political literacy meanwhile involved learning about political knowledge and having the skills, values and knowledge to participate effectively in public life at local, national and global levels. Thus, citizenship education in the United Kingdom comprises education *about* citizenship, education *for* citizenship and education *through* citizenship (Arthur and Wright, 2001).

In the review of theoretical texts from 1990 through to 2003, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) found that, particularly in the United States, civic republican and liberal citizenships were the two dominant discourses that shaped citizenship discourse in both policy texts and the school curriculum. The issue of exercising citizens' duty in voting was claimed to be the most highlighted in the civic republican educational text. In response to the 9/11 suicide attacks, civic republicanism, which stressed the development of 'good citizens', had further focused on patriotism. Normative values and cognitive and social skills were also

emphasised. However, these two main discourses, argued Abowitz and Harnish (2006), had been challenged with five other discourses; feminist, reconstructionist, cultural, queer and transnational; termed as 'critical discourses' (p. 656) attempted 'to broaden and deepen the liberal agendas of human freedom' (p. 666) based on the exclusion of 'gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic class' (p. 666). Feminist constructions, seek to find ways to transform the civic life of the oppressed female citizens at the national and global level while, cultural citizenship attempted to struggle over the idea of assimilationist identity and fight for the language, culture and many other rights of minorities through multicultural educational texts. Reconstructionist discourses struggled for the rights of the poor and marginalised, whereas queer discourses challenged dominant citizenship discourses by 'reframing civic life not as a sphere in which individuals enact their beliefs but as a diverse, open stage where people perform their lives and social worlds' (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006 : 674). Next; transnational citizenship, focused communities at the local, national and international level. Thus, to Abowitz and Harnish (2006), as membership in transnational citizenship in national and regional borders was becoming more fluid, school curricula should also prepare national citizens that 'move from a region-centered perspective to a global perspective' (p. 677).

Subsequently, discourses of globalisation have been 'used to explain almost anything and everything and is ubiquitous in current policy documents and policy analysis' (Ball, 1998 : 120). Dale (2000) argued that with the rise of globalisation, education had become 'a globally structured agenda' (p. 428) in which the agenda for education was not to the interest and intention of any individual state but shaped according to the interest of supranational forces. Similarly, the importance of citizenship education had been emphasised by UNESCO through their United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development and World Programme for Human Rights (2005 – onwards) (UNESCO, 2005) as one of the ways to deal with the circumstances of inequality, diversity, poverty and oppression. Indeed, the roots of CCE in Malaysia can be traced back to UNESCO 'Learning To Be' report of 1972, which warned of the 'dehumanization of the world', at that time associated with fears over technical progress, and the need for education to develop citizens who could exercise independent thought and actions (www.unesco.org/delors/1tobe.htm).

Davies (2006), Yamashita (2006) and Davies et al. (2004) argued that with the increase of globalisation, citizenship education which stressed more on national frameworks and less on political and universal issues needed to be reconceptualised by integrating global education. However, this is not actually a straightforward process, as this could not simply be done just by adding international issues into the curriculum. Social justice, one of the main elements of global citizenship concerned finding ways 'to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place' (Davies, 2006 : 7) based on the rights of the citizens and on their responsibilities and actions taken. Meanwhile, culture and conflict, another element of global citizenship concerned the ways to treat the diverse cultures that existed in the world society and the conflict that arises. Thus a global citizen should be able to 'act local, analyse national and think global' (Davies, 2006 : 10).

Due to globalisation, different notions of citizenship have further led to the need to reconceptualise citizenship education. Multicultural education, argued Banks (2001), needed to be included in citizenship education due to the issue of diversity caused by the increase of immigrants settling in various nations. The inclusion of multicultural education was seen as enabling minority students to maintain their own culture and to participate in civic action nationally and globally. Osler and Starkey (2005; 2003) argued for the inclusion of cosmopolitan citizenship in order to understand and to promote human rights and equality in diverse multicultural societies. With the rise of global interdependence, education for national citizenship was claimed as inadequate in preparing younger generations to be future citizens in the globalised world. 'Learning for citizenship therefore requires the development of a global awareness, an understanding of and commitment to human rights, and opportunities to act with others to make a difference' (Osler and Starkey, 2005 : 78) and as 'a way of being a citizen at any level, local, national, regional or global' (p. 23). With the changes in global social structure, Kalantzis and Cope (2008) argued for civic pluralism to facilitate the notion of global citizenship that promotes for self-governing citizenship that occurred at multiple and overlapping layers from the local communities to supranational levels of civil society.

Kennedy and Lee (2008), Lee (2006; 2004b, 2004c) and Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) argued that there were differences in the Asian and Western tensions and

contestations in citizenship education. National ideology and political purpose in the choice of education curriculum content underpinned the Asian conception of citizenship education. Despite the influence of globalisation and liberation of curriculum, citizenship education was still used by the state 'as a major means of inducting young citizens into the culture and values of the nation state itself' (Kennedy and Lee, 2008 : 58). Indeed, despite the argument for the need for global citizenship education, in Asia, 'within the region, tradition and local values become an important means to provide a very distinctive citizenship education' (Kennedy and Lee, 2008 : 61). Due to the need of competing in the globalised economy, and, at the same time maintaining national values, in Asia, 'there will always be a continuing tension between a liberalized economy, a liberal curriculum and conservative citizenship values' (Kennedy and Lee, 2008 : 61). Moreover, the contestation between a liberal curriculum and conservative values could influence the citizenship education curriculum content, pedagogy and assessment, and what is considered appropriate for citizenship education, to develop a loyal and critical citizen with national values and able to participate in the globalised world.

In Asia, citizenship education also emphasise the promotion of cultural traditions and elements of moral and personal values already incorporated in Moral Education subject (Lee, 2006; Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). However, due to diversity in societies, contestation and tension was evident in selecting and determining the appropriate culture to be promoted in and in deciding the need to uphold or adopt cultural contexts in preparing the younger generation to face challenges in the globalised world through citizenship education curriculum (Lee, 2006). Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) also argued that, other than the influences of the West and the concept of modernity, colonial contexts and religion such as Confucianism and Islam also provided rich and complex contexts for the development of citizenship education in Asian countries.

Thus, different from the West, harmony, spirituality and the development of individuality and self-individuals were the three common and essential aspects in the Asian citizenship context (Lee, 2004b). Lee (2004c) further argued that in contrast to the West, that emphasised individual rights and responsibilities, in Asia more emphasis was put on citizens' morality than on political views, as maintaining harmonious relationships between

an individual and the collective and developing individual good character were important to the Asian. Accordingly, civil society in Asian countries were constructed based on local values and thinking that promoted harmonious and balanced relationships between the individual and society (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). Besides arguing that democracy in Asia worked differently than in the West (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004), it was also claimed that 'whether it is liberal democracy in Japan, communism in China or a 'soft' authoritarianism in Malaysia, the focus is on instilling local values and national loyalty in young citizens' (Kennedy and Lee, 2008 : 56). Indeed, 'there is thus a strong independence in Asian societies indicating that colonialism and globalisation are not the totalising forces they are so often made out to be' (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004 : 301). Thus, embedding traditional values through the school curriculum was one of the ways for the Asian to face challenges and influences of globalisation (Kennedy and Lee, 2008).

Despite the fact that there are differences in the Asian and Western concept of citizenship education, similarity still exists in the political socialisation agenda embedded in the citizenship education curriculum (Lee, 2006; Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). Nevertheless, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) argued the need to understand the processes that different Asian countries went through in order to 'appreciate and understand properly Asian conceptions of citizenship education' (p. 294). Thus, contestation in citizenship education illustrated in the Asian and Western countries led to questions about the type of education that should be provided to younger generations and the type of citizens that were going to be produced by this education system (Maitles, 2000).

Citizenship Education in the School Curriculum

Various research on civics and citizenship education at the school level particularly on students' views had been conducted not only specifically in certain countries (see Yamashita, 2006; Evans, 2006; Davies et al., 2004; UNICEF, 2004; Mellor, 2003; Kerr et al., 2002) but also research on comparisons between countries (see Schulz et al. 2010; Amedeo et al., 2002; Torney-Putra et al., 2001; Morris and Cogan, 2001; Hann, 1999). Additionally, international studies such as *The International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies (ICCS)* and *The Civic Education Study (CIVED)* had also been undertaken by *The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)*. However, in the literature

very little exists about civics and citizenship education in Malaysia. Indeed, Malaysia has yet to be involved with any of these international studies. In analysing and taking into account the research that has been done, it is important not only to take into account differing cultural and political contexts, but also the time at which research was carried out, into what is a developing and changing area.

The literature reviewed suggested that one of the complexities in citizenship education was the various approaches that had been adopted in introducing citizenship education in the school curriculum. Generally, the three curriculum approaches adopted by Kerr's (1999) thematic study on citizenship education in sixteen states and Schulz et al.'s (2010) initial findings on civics and citizenship education in 38 ICCS countries were separated, integrated and cross-curricular. Thus, this curriculum could stand on its own, or be integrated into other related subjects, or permeated into all or some of the subjects in the state's national curriculum. Parallel to Kerr (1999) and Schulz et al. (2010), UNICEF's (2004) final survey report on citizenship education content and practice in 400 schools in the United Kingdom found that citizenship education also took place in school assemblies and school events. The emergence of 'four distinct approaches' (UNICEF, 2004 : 12) were due to differences in approach taken in implementing citizenship education in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. Similarly, the Fifth Annual Report of Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) (Kerr et al., 2007) which began in 2001 indicated that school assemblies and Personal Social and Health Education (PSHE) were the most common ways of delivering citizenship education in the United Kingdom secondary school. This study also stated that there were four main types or models of delivery of citizenship education in the United Kingdom, which were, curriculum driven citizenship, student efficacy driven citizenship, participation driven citizenship and citizenship-rich driven citizenship. It was suggested that citizenship-rich driven citizenship should be promoted in order to successfully implement the three dimensions of citizenship which were citizenship in the curriculum; active citizenship within the school; and active citizenship within the community. Similarly, in the CELS seventh findings (Keating et al., 2009) the varied approaches taken in delivering this subject and the importance of this subject in schools was claimed due to the flexible provision accorded to this subject. Indeed, with students in Kerr et al.'s (2007) study stating that the delivery of citizenship education was mostly visible

when it was delivered through a dedicated timetable in the school curriculum, it was suggested for citizenship education to be 'delivered in a discrete slot in a timetable of over 45 minutes per week' (Keating et al., 2010 : vii).

Although, there were some countries that granted citizenship education as a statutory subject in the national curriculum (Schulz et al., 2010; Morris and Cogan, 2001; Kerr, 1999), Losito and Mintrop (2001) in their report on teachers' questionnaires in the second phase of the IEA international study (Torney-Putra et al., 2001) showed that despite teachers in the 28 participating countries viewing civic education as important, they did not perceive the need of having civic education as its own subject. Accordingly, Kerr et al. (2002) and Mellor et al.'s (2002) in-depth analysis of teachers in England and Australia views on civics and citizenship education, found that teachers viewed citizenship education as an important subject that should be integrated with other subjects rather than as a subject on its own. However, a comparative study on the nature of civic value promoted in Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand and USA showed that in a more centralised Asian education system, a strong boundary was given by the states to civic education (Morris and Cogan, 2001). Thus, in Japan, Taiwan and Thailand, a specific timetable, teachers, textbooks and assessment were allocated for civic education. Indeed, Morris and Cogan (2001) argued that civic education in Asian countries resembled 'those characteristics that Bernstein (1971) associates with a collective code, namely, a strong separation from other subjects and a weak influence of teachers and pupils in determining the content and methods of teaching' (p. 112).

Kerr (1999) claimed that differences in citizenship education approaches among countries were due to each state's unique history, cultural and social traditions. Similarly, the importance of understanding the state's historical, political, social and educational context in understanding the development of its citizenship education curriculum was also stressed by Mutch (2004) and Hann (1999). Thus, context and culture influenced the state's general aim of citizenship education, the organisation of the citizenship curriculum, the way students experienced the formal and hidden curriculum, the way teachers understood the notion of citizenship and the way this subject was taught. Due to the unique cultural context that existed in each state, it was argued that citizenship approaches could not simply

be transferred and adopted by other states even if these states have similar aims or even if these states face similar challenges in citizenship education (Kerr, 1999). Indeed, Hann's (1999) comparative study in six countries; Britain, the USA, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and Australia highlighted that 'consequently 'what works' in one context cannot simply be adopted in another with differing traditions, values and meanings' (p. 231).

Literature also suggested that contents of citizenship education and the approaches adopted in delivering these contents were another complexity that existed in citizenship education. Although students in the second phase of the IEA study put less priority on learning about their states (Torney-Putra et al., 2001), history teachers in this study, stressed the importance of knowing the country's historical background in order to be good citizens (Losito and Mintrop, 2001). Meanwhile, from this study, citizenship education in England and Australia was found to be taught through teacher centred approaches with students having limited opportunities to participate as active citizens both in and outside of school (Mellor, 2003). Nevertheless, Australian teachers indicated that they wanted less participation from their students 'in community and political activities' (Mellor, 2003 : 10) compared to England's that viewed learning about social-movement citizenship and conventional citizenship as important in developing a good citizen. Kennedy et al. (2002) meanwhile found that Australian teachers gave more emphasis in developing civics skills rather than civics knowledge as this was viewed as 'dry' (Kennedy et al., 2002 : 79). In contrast to civics, citizenship remained invisible and did not appear much within the formal school curriculum. Whereas Australia's teachers emphasised the importance of values as the objective of civic education, the prescribed civics education curriculum was viewed as a hindrance in teaching this subject. Yet, despite recognizing civics and citizenship education as value based, values seemed not to be clearly visible in teaching practices. The lack of agreement on the content that should be taught was also due to teachers' belief that this subject 'should all reflect the whole society, and that they should be agreed upon by all' (Mellor et al., 2002: 119). Indeed, Kennedy et al. (2002 : 79) argued that 'it is teacher's personal values and understandings that construct civic and citizenship education...rather than a major policy initiative' by their own country.

The UNICEF's (2000) baseline survey in the United Kingdom found that the head teachers and teachers did not identify any substantive area as a high priority in curriculum content. However, they did identify democratic models and governance as a low priority while understanding students' rights and responsibilities were regarded as a high priority in curriculum practice. In contrast to Kennedy et al. (2002), Keating et al. (2009) indicated that citizenship education in England did offer learners a wide range of opportunities for participating in active citizenship both in school activities and in the community. Thus, citizenship education gave the opportunity for students' voices to be heard and to participate in school, local community and international activities. Nevertheless, more needed to be done as despite these opportunities being provided, the number of students participating in vertical and horizontal activities was still low due to the characteristics of the school ethos and climates and the characteristics of the local community. Davies et al. (2004) meanwhile, found that although teachers in England viewed citizenship education as 'rather low on their list of priorities' (p. 80), they indicated the need to use various approaches in teaching global citizenship education, which not only focus on active discussion and debate but also through activities that allowed them to meet and interact with different types of people from different countries.

Lee (2006) and Morris and Cogan (2001) argued that the conception of civic education in Asian countries emphasised explicit and predetermined values in developing a good citizen compared to the West such as USA and Australia that emphasised on 'active participation in civic action, democratic processes and social enhancement' (Morris and Cogan, 2001 : 122). In USA, Australia and Hong Kong, civic education for advantaged socioeconomic background students emphasised active and critical citizenship in contrast to skills and social responsibilities for students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Morris and Cogan, 2001). Ahmad's (2004) analysis on what was defined as the citizenship values that needed to be inculcated in Malaysia's History subject also found that besides there being no clear definition of citizenship values, citizenship in the History curriculum focused only on the element of patriotism. This, he argued needed to be looked into as it not only led to the failure of imparting citizenship values through the subject, but citizenship also carried 'a wider definition...about the individual, society and politics' (Ahmad, 2004 : 208). Contestation on the values to be embedded and the definition of good citizen that was

going to be produced through this intervention also arose in the West (Arcodia, 2002; Wilkins, 1999; Davies et al., 1999). Teachers in Davies et al.'s (1999) study for example, defined good citizenship as someone who carried out the responsibilities expected in their society and were divided into social concern, knowledge and conservative characteristics. Thus, besides the need of being knowledgeable in national and global issues, a good citizen was also expected to be considerate to other society members and obedient to laws and regulations. Moreover, parents were also viewed by the teachers as the model that influences the formation of their students' citizenship.

Differences were also found between what was perceived as important in teaching citizenship education with what was practiced in the classrooms and in school. Keating et al. (2009), Evans (2006), Morris and Cogan (2001), Sim (2001) and Kerr (1999) in their studies highlighted the gap that existed between curriculum policy and the rhetoric practiced at a school level. Davies et al. (1999) highlighted that although teachers were aware of the importance of involving world-wide issues and international projects to promote good citizenship, their classroom activities suggested in teachers' interviews focused only on school community and local community. This was parallel with Frazer's (2000) claim that the teaching of citizenship education in Britain placed more emphasis on values education and human rights in contrast to political content. Meanwhile, in Singapore, despite the education system being controlled by the state, the way teachers understood and the way citizenship education was taught in Singapore was not homogenous as they were divided into nationalistic, socially concerned and person oriented (Sim and Print, 2009a; Sim and Print, 2009b; Sim 2008). Thus, teachers' conceptions of citizenship, argued Torney-Putra (2005 : 37), was also 'inconsistent with models laid out by social studies researchers, national associations, education ministries, or community groups'. Indeed, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) also concluded that in the United States

'the lived curricula of citizenship and the lively debate among activist, scholars, and thinkers is ideologically diverse and suggests multiple forms of democratic engagement while the current formal, taught curriculum of citizenship produces a relatively narrow scope and set of meanings for what citizenship is and can be' (p. 657).

So, although literature has stressed various concepts of citizenship, there is still a gap between the rhetoric of the literature and political debates on the contested concept and

methodology of citizenship education, with the real practice of citizenship education at the school level. Thus, besides the recommendation that the key concepts of citizenship education should be spelled out clearly in the curriculum (Davies et al. 1999), it is also important to question 'why the conceptions of citizenship that currently are communicated in schools reflect little of the theoretical and practical insights that these discourses bring to the meaning of citizenship' (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006 : 681).

In teaching citizenship education, teachers had also indicated the importance of teaching critical issues which not only required adequate knowledge but also confidence in tackling critical and problematic issues in their teaching and learning (Davies, 2006; Torney-Putra, 2005). However, research shows that teachers face difficulties in teaching political and controversial issues (Kerr et al., 2007; Evans, 2006; Torney-Putra, 2005; Oulton et al., 2004). Leighton (2004), in studying the implementation of citizenship education in four schools in England, stated that there were teachers who lacked confidence in teaching this subject. Similarly, despite students in Yamashita's (2006) study indicating their interest in learning about current conflicts particularly about war, teachers' hesitation in teaching such topics was due to lacking in confidence and to feeling inadequately prepared to tackle these complex and conflicting issues. Moreover, teachers further avoided teaching about complex contemporary issues due to the need to be neutral in expressing their own opinion to avoid indoctrination.

Teachers also faced challenges in teaching aspects, which were related to political literacy, political institutions, identities, diversity and global issues which was not only due to lacking in knowledge, confidence and creativity, but also due to students viewing these topics as 'dry, boring and unrelated to their everyday interests and experience' (Keating et al., 2009 : 29; Kerr et al., 2007). Moreover, teachers who were chosen to teach this subject were usually not an expert and were often selected 'on an ad hoc basis, and for convenience' (Keating et al., 2009 : 42), causing them to lack confidence and interest in teaching this subject (Keating et al., 2009; Kerr et al., 2007). Thus, even though schools recognised the need for teams of experts to teach citizenship education, it was still being taught by teachers who have inadequate knowledge and training (Kerr et al., 2007). Students in the CELS study revealed that the teaching and learning of citizenship was found

to be more effective when it was taught by small and committed teams, when it had strong and clear leadership and direction and when it was supported through the latest resources (Kerr et al., 2007). Thus, teachers play an important role in determining the success of this curriculum as the teaching and learning processes adopted could be positively or negatively influenced by 'their beliefs and actions, by the cultural tradition and norms in the country' (Kerr, 1999 : 19; Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004).

Subsequently, it was not a surprise that many researchers have recommended the need for the reform of teachers' education in order to better equip teachers in teaching citizenship education (Keating et al., 2010; Niens and McIlrath, 2005; Torney-Putra, 2005; Ahmad, 2004; Sim, 2001; Davies et al., 1999; Kerr, 1999). Evans (2006) further stressed the need of pre-service programmes and in-service professional learning opportunities to provide teachers with necessary and specific knowledge and skills in order to address the gaps that exists between pedagogical practices and the goals of citizenship education. It was further argued that the way citizenship was presented to student teachers also gave significant impact in understanding the concept of citizenship (Peterson and Knowles, 2009) and in influencing students' civic knowledge at the school level (Torney-Putra, 2005). However, in teaching citizenship education, teachers' training was viewed as inadequate as teachers also need to know that 'they have the support of school authorities and national governments in addressing such issues' (Osler and Starkey, 2004 : 29). Moreover, besides guidance and support in developing knowledge and skills, support was also needed in conducting citizenship education projects and activities (Evans, 2006; Crick et al., 2004).

Osler and Starkey (2006; 2004), Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004), Davies et al. (2004), Davies and Evans (2002) and Torney-Purta et al. (1999) indicated that one of the challenges in teaching citizenship education was due to the low status of this subject in contrast to the status of traditional subjects and the importance put on them. Indeed, there were teachers who perceived teaching citizenship as 'a threat to their own subjects' (Leighton, 2004 : 174). Contestation in implementing citizenship education in the school curriculum also existed especially in countries where it was not acknowledged as a statutory subject. As producing excellent examination results would usually bring positive impacts on schools, they were more inclined to accommodate the need of more important subjects than the needs

of citizenship education. Thus, different from the practices of the Asian countries that usually provided and allocated this subject with specific space in the school timetable, resources, teachers and textbooks (Morris and Cogan, 2001), in the United Kingdom where freedom was given in deciding on how to implement this subject at the school level, led to pressures of accommodating this subject into the school timetable (Keating et al., 2009; Kerr et al., 2007; Davies et. al., 1999). Indeed, not only did citizenship education need to fight for space in the school curriculum, it also needed to fight for resources to manage its activities.

Another problem for citizenship education is that despite its important aims and objectives, many teachers viewed this subject as a non subject. As at present there is little literature on the development of citizenship education at the school level, examples from research on other subjects and initiatives can be referred to in order to indicate the possible fate of citizenship education. In studying the history of economics as a school subject, Jephcote and Davies (2007) illustrated on the conflict of economics being taught as permeation model. In addition, Whitty et al. (2002; 1994a; 1994b) in a study on the implementation of five cross-curricular themes in England and Wales secondary schools and in Northern Ireland post-primary schools revealed that in contrast to other school subjects in the National Curriculum, these themes were not only viewed as low status but were also lacking in resources. Moreover, variance did exist on the approaches taken in teaching these themes. Compared to the other themes, health education and careers education and guidance which had a longer history in the school curriculum were more likely to be taught through PSE and through their own discrete curriculum period. Thus, these two themes were more recognised and visible in the school curriculum due to their longer existence, and, as argued by the researchers 'the more attributes of a conventional subject a theme had, the more clearly visible it was within the curriculum structure' (Whitty et al., 1994a : 30). Nevertheless, as PSE and other related subjects 'did not have clear recognition and realisation rules, they tended not to be perceived as proper subjects and pupils along with many teachers had great difficulty in 'making sense' of them' (Whitty et al., 1994a : 35). Not only were these themes not visible in teaching and learning, but there were also teachers who hesitated to integrate these themes in their subjects and teachers who had problems in relating these themes to students' daily life. There were also schools having major problems determining the appropriate way and criteria to assess these themes.

Similarly, Jephcote and Abbott (2005), argued that although it was possible to link citizenship to economics and business education, it was actually up to the teachers to decide 'either to advance citizenship education in their own classroom or to act as a catalyst for curriculum change' (p. 50) due to the fact that linking the elements of economics and business into citizenship education was not an easy task. Moreover, it was doubtful that head teachers would be willing to allocate resources that are needed for this approach to take place.

These contestations on the introduction of new and low status subject are also illustrated by Goodson et al. (1998a, 1998b). It was claimed that the responses of the other subjects teachers towards the implementation of European Studies as a subject in the school curriculum could be categorised into 'holistic, sceptical, comparative, ignorance, personal, apathetical/lethargic, suspended and situational' (Goodson et al., 1998a : 44 – 45). This new subject introduced was also seen as a threat that would reduce other subjects' time and resources. Thus, European Studies, needed 'to battle against the vested interests and established examination status of 'traditional subjects. The battle is heavily loaded against new contenders' (Goodson et al., 1998a : 45). Moreover, the future prospect of the subject was also in question due to the way teachers viewed this subject and the way the subject was assessed in contrast to the other traditional subjects in the school curriculum. As indicated by Goodson et al. (1998a : 49) 'a micropolitical 'war of attrition' leads to an inevitable defeat for the new contender'.

Paechter (1998) argued that subjects which had been labelled as a 'non-school knowledge' (p. 162) or as a non-subject had difficulty to be regarded as a useful and important subject due to the influence played by those at the micro level. Similarly, Jephcote (2004) illustrated how economics as a school subject, which used to have an established status in the school curriculum, had been contested, negotiated and renegotiated by 'different players operating for different reasons in order to promote different versions of the subject' (p. 18). Jephcote and Davies (2007) further argued that despite being academic and a high status subject, at the micro level it still struggled to maintain its place in the school curriculum. Thus, due to the low status attached to certain subjects, support was rarely given to these subjects though it could be provided by the

schools (Iverson, 2009) and also led to teachers to question the perspective of their career advancement (Jephcote, 2004; Goodson et al., 1998a, 1998b). Again, as teachers' achievement is usually linked to the ability to produce excellent examination results for the subjects that they teach, the teaching of a subject which is considered low status might also influence their career perspectives. Indeed, as Paechter (1993) pointed out, teachers of low status subjects 'often have restricted promotional opportunities' and 'often find it difficult to have their voices heard in wider curriculum and management decisions' (p. 362).

Another challenge of citizenship education is on the appropriate approach in assessing this subject. With the view of citizenship education as a non-subject and its status as a non-statutory subject in some countries, some have emphasised the need for citizenship education to replicate the characteristics of a traditional high status subject, attaching importance to its assessment (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). However, even if offering citizenship education in England as a GCSE examination managed to upgrade the status of citizenship education and motivate students to have more interest in the subject, it was also argued as 'spoiling the nature of CE by turning CE lessons to be more like those in other exam subjects' (Kerr et al., 2007 : 33). The impact of assessment was further exemplified in Singapore where despite the accordance of social studies as an examined subject which did increase the status of this subject, it was also argued that teachers' views on the importance of producing good results for this subject had given negative impacts on the approaches taken in teaching this subject (Sim, 2001). Indeed, it had led to the existence of a gap between the objective of the curriculum and the real practice at the school level. Teacher-centred approaches, with heavy reliance on textbooks to accommodate the demand by society for examined subjects was seen as hindering the development of active and reflective citizenship as intended by the curriculum (Sim, 2001). To Singaporean politicians the purpose of introducing social studies in the school curriculum was 'tied closely to the survival of the nation' (Sim, 2001 : 79). Yet, this study showed that due to the demand put on social studies as a formal examined subject, 'the classroom with its own set of players, i.e. teachers and students, can take on an independent life, and interpret and execute curriculum in ways that diverge from the original intentions' (Sim, 2001 : 79). Similar to Leighton's (2004), teachers in Davies et al.'s (2004) study also had a mixed response on the need of the assessment as this subject was viewed as not an easy

subject to be assessed and not appropriate to be assessed in a traditional way. Heater (2001) in fact questioned the role of examinations and whether 'a pupil who scores badly be labelled a failed citizen?' (p. 120).

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter highlights the tension and contested nature of education. Every party interested in education has their own idea about what should be achieved through education. In a post-colonial country like Malaysia, the purpose of education is not only for the country's economic development but also for uniting a multi-ethnic society. Subsequently, since independence, various education policies have been implemented to achieve these objectives. However, due to different factors that exist in different schools such as differences in students' social class, gender and ethnicity, differences in the process of schooling and in educational attainment occur. Moreover, differences in school management, school ethos and in classroom teaching and learning approaches could also affect the outcomes of the schooling process. Thus, there is a political gap between policy making, its implementation and enactment in schools.

Literature has also shown that various ideas also have been derived on the concept of citizenship and on what should be achieved through the implementation of this subject in the school curriculum. Tensions arise not only about the concept of civics and citizenship but also on the content that should be included, on the approach that should be taken and on the culture and values that should be promoted in the school curriculum. Moreover, various notions of citizenship lead to question the means of embedding this notion into the teaching of citizenship education. Citizenship education in Malaysia could not simply rely on the content and approaches taken by other countries, as the context and content of this subject uniquely belongs to its own country. Moreover, research also revealed the fragility of the enactment of citizenship education such as in England (Keating et al., 2009; Kerr et al., 2007; UNICEF, 2004; Frazer, 2000) caused by political, social and pedagogical reasons (Heater, 2001). The CELS's research findings for example, highlighted that 'closer examination at individual school level reveals that the situation is more uneven, bumpy and fractured. The progress of CE is not always linear and positive but is marked by considerable ebb and flow' (Keating et al., 2009 : ii). In fact, the report further suggested that citizenship

education 'in a number of case-study schools is currently regressing rather than progressing, with the danger that it is barely visible and, in time, might become invisible and perhaps non-existent' (Keating et al., 2009 : 20). In Malaysia, due to various reasons, previous attempts of introducing citizenship education as its own subject and of incorporating it through the History curriculum were found to be ineffective and unsuccessful (Balakrishan, 2004; Ahmad 2004). Thus, with the reintroduction of CCE in Malaysia's national curriculum, it would be interesting to investigate the story of citizenship education especially in the Malaysian school context. Moreover, with limited research on civics and citizenship education conducted in Malaysia, it is essential to investigate teachers' understanding of the concept of citizenship as their understanding could influence the possibility of this subject to achieve its objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods and the procedures adopted in this study. As mentioned in Chapter One, the main purpose of this study is to explore CCE teachers' understanding of the concept of citizenship and citizenship education in the Malaysian context, especially in Selangor state, and the ways these understandings affect their teaching practices. Thus, the three main research questions of this study are:

- 1) To what extent does the concept of CCE in Malaysia differ from the concept of CCE in other countries, particularly in United Kingdom?
- 2) What understanding do CCE teachers, particularly in Selangor, have on citizenship and CCE?
- 3) How do CCE teachers as micro policy enactors, particularly in Selangor, transfer CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices?

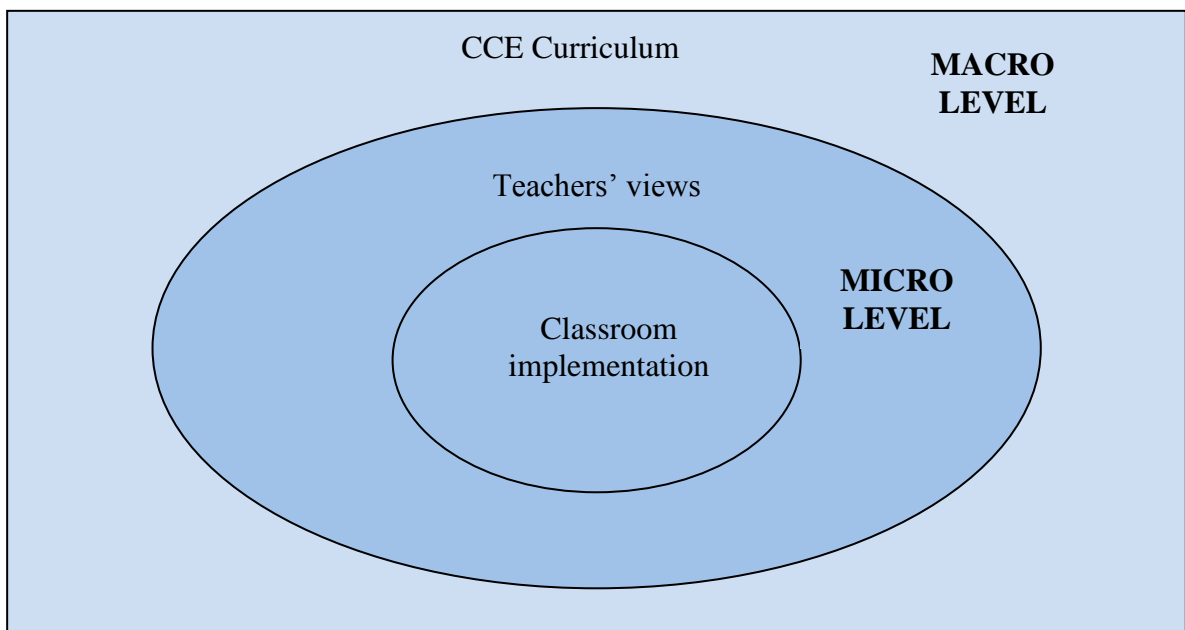
First, document analysis of official texts produced at the macro level were analysed and compared with the concept of citizenship education in England. Secondly, research was carried out in four schools, selected to broadly represent school profiles in Malaysia, and particularly in Selangor. This comprised: (i) semi-structured interviews with CCE and non-CCE teachers, to explore their understandings of citizenship and citizenship education and to identify their views on the place of CCE in the curriculum; (ii) observation of CCE lessons, to explore the tensions and challenges in transferring CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices; (iii) field notes of meetings with managers and teachers; and personal reflections recorded during the process of planning and conducting the research; (iv) analysis of school artefacts such as school magazines, schemes of work and minutes of meetings, and (v) records of meetings with government officials undertaken in the process of setting up the research. Taken together, these various data sources allowed for in-depth insight of the understanding of CCE at the micro level, to provide a picture of the

development of the CCE curriculum in Malaysia, a country with a highly centralised education system.

Research Design

The initial research design was adapted from Mutch's (2003) design. However, different from Mutch (2003), my study only looked at the understandings and transmission of CCE policy, that is, how CCE curriculum policy was interpreted by secondary school teachers and the tensions and contestation that they faced in transferring this policy into teaching and learning practices. In this way, it fits with and contributes to the genre of school subject histories (Goodson et al, 1998a; Goodson and Marsh, 1996; Goodson, 1988). The research design in Figure 4.1, is shaped as 'a spiral approach working inwards' (Mutch, 2003 : 170) from the interpretation of CCE at the macro level narrowing into the interpretation of CCE by school teachers at the micro level.

Figure 4.1: Research Design



As illustrated in Figure 4.2, this research adopted various research methods; document analysis, case studies of chosen school sites, semi-structured interviews, lesson observations and field notes. These methods were utilised as they provided a range of insights into teachers' understandings of CCE in the school curriculum and also a comparison on what was intended in the official curriculum with what was actually interpreted and

taught in secondary schools. Thus, collating different evidences from various sources and methods could provide in-depth and robust insights on the development of CCE in a highly centralised school curriculum design.

Figure 4.2: Research Methodology

Step	Sources of Data	Research Methods	Purposes
Step 1 : CCE Curriculum	Curriculum documents Textbooks Schools documents	Document analysis Interviews	Determine the aims and objectives of CCE as intended at the macro policy level
Step 2 : Teachers' view	CCE teachers Non-CCE teachers	Semi-structured interviews	Reveal the understanding of CCE as implemented at the micro policy level
Step 3 : Classroom observation	Classroom teaching and learning activities	Classroom observation Semi-structured interviews Field notes	The tensions and contestations in transferring CCE into teaching and learning practice

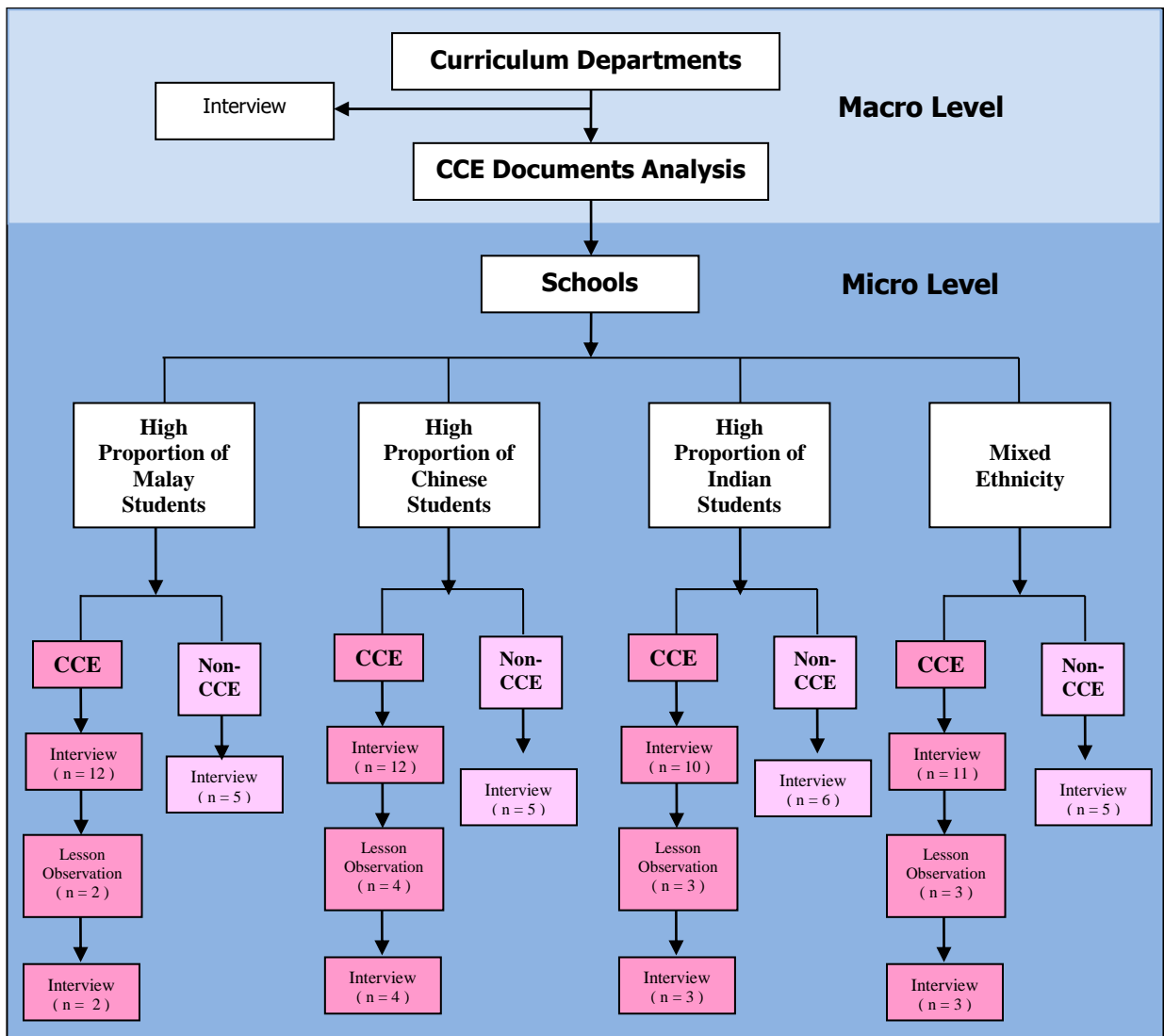
In summary, data in this study was gathered by looking at:

- i) The policy imperatives and 'official' definition of CCE as presented in the documentary analysis (Step 1);
- ii) CCE teachers' understandings and their perceptions of CCE presented in the interviews (Step 2); and
- iii) The realities of transferring CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices in classrooms observation (Step 3).

The decision to collect data from various methods was to enable me to triangulate results and to confirm significance of findings. Besides allowing data to be collected from broader sources, triangulation also 'helps to eliminate biases that might result from relying exclusively on any data-collection method, source, analyst, or theory' (Gall et al., 1996 : 574). Thus, in order to gain sufficient and rich data that could facilitate drawing a picture of teachers' understandings and practices of CCE in the school curriculum, evidence was also

gathered through multiple methods, which did not stand alone, but were complementary and supplementary to each other (Cohen and Manion, 1995). Indeed, the research methods adopted both at the macro and micro levels as illustrated in Figure 4.3, started with the analysis of the CCE curriculum which not only helped me to understand both the Malaysian and English curriculum better but also helped to build the interview schedules. Before these documents were analysed, an interview with the Head of CCE in the Curriculum Development Department (CDD) had been carried out, and was followed by conducting case studies in four secondary schools each representing different students' ethnic populations (discussed on page 101). The findings from these different methods not only complemented each other, but the use of these different methods could also 'generate a distinctive set of descriptions, versions, and understandings of the world' (Atkinson and Coffey, 2002 : 807). Indeed, Atkinson and Coffey (2002) argued that the use of different methods such as participant observation and interviewing 'are themselves distinctive forms of social action, generating distinctive kinds of accounts and giving rise to particular versions of social analysis' (p. 808). However, Patton (2002) warned that different results might come out from the analysis of these different methods as different methods had its' own strengths and weaknesses and 'the 'security' that triangulation provides is through giving a fuller picture of phenomena, not necessarily a more certain one' (Ritchie, 2003 : 44). Nevertheless, even though there might be inconsistencies in these different methods' findings, instead of favouring and dismissing results, I had given careful consideration of these different interpretations as these differences could 'open windows to better understanding the multifaceted, complex nature of phenomenon' (Patton, 2002 : 559).

Figure 4.3: Research Methods at the Macro and Micro Levels



In this study, I decided to employ a qualitative approach especially in gathering data on the way CCE was understood, interpreted and practiced at the micro level. A qualitative approach was emphasised as it ‘offers richly descriptive reports of individuals’ perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behaviour’ (Hakim, 2000 : 34). Moreover, even though in Malaysia a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is gaining in popularity, questionnaires rather than interviews have been widely used as the main method in collecting data (as shown in Chapter Three). Similarly, questionnaires have also been the main method in collecting data from both teachers and students in Civics and Citizenship international studies such as *The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)* (Torney-Putra et al., 2001) and *International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS)* (Schulz et al., 2008).

Accordingly, this research emphasised on semi-structured interviews as it concerned more with finding insight and explanation rather than a number (Silverman, 2010). Indeed, as the purpose of the research was to look at how those at the micro level responded to and enacted policy, a qualitative research approach was seen as an essential tool to gain 'in-depth and interpreted understanding' (Snape and Spencer, 2003 : 3) of the teachers; their views, their lived experiences and the working constraints on them as the micro level implementers of the new CCE curriculum policy in a centralised education system.

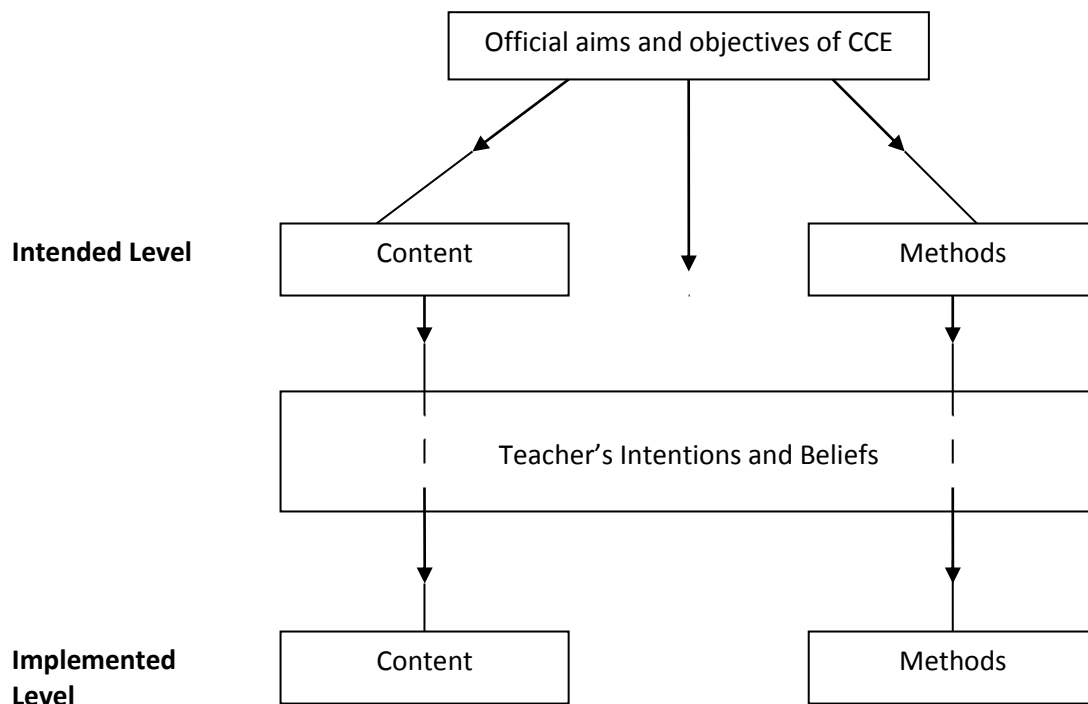
Analysis Framework

In analysing the data, this study initially adopted Leung's (1992) curriculum model and was later influenced by the work of Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) about policy enactment in schools. In comparing mathematics curriculum in China, Hong Kong and England, his curriculum model looked at three main levels of curriculum; intended, implemented and attained. The intended curriculum consists of the curriculum's aims and objectives, intended content and intended methods. Following his model, the intended curriculum only refers to the intention of the curriculum at the macro level and 'they are the aims and objectives as specified in the official documents, the intended content to be covered as set out in the official syllabus, and the officially intended methods to be used' (Leung, 1992 : 31). The implemented curriculum, which consists of the implemented content and implemented methods, refer to the teachers' teaching practice in the classroom. In my study, the data for the implemented content and methods were gathered through CCE teachers' interviews and lesson observations which were triangulated with the data derived from the document analysis, in order to crosscheck the concept of citizenship and CCE intended by those at the macro level with teachers' understandings and teaching practices.

However, as can be seen in Figure 4.4, different from Leung's (1992) study, my study did not look at the attained level as the objective of this study was only looking at Malaysian teachers' understanding of CCE and the way their understanding affected their teaching practices. Moreover, comparison between Malaysia's concept of citizenship and CCE with other countries was only made through the document analysis and was on the similarities and differences between the CCE curriculum in Malaysia and in England. In Leung's (1992)

model too, teachers' beliefs and intentions is situated in between the implemented and intended curriculum, and termed as 'mediation'; which refers to 'when the teacher interprets the intention of the system and when the teacher holds a view that is different from the intention of the system' (p. 31).

Figure 4.4 : Curriculum Analysis Model



4.2 CCE at Macro Level

In this section, I explain the method utilised in analysing the concept of CCE at the macro level. Accordingly, this begins with discussion on the documents used in this research, the reasons for choosing them and the way these documents were analysed.

Documents Analysis

As illustrated in Figure 4.3, this research began with the analysis of CCE documents as this step was seen 'as meaningful and appropriate in the context of the research strategy' (Mason, 1994 : 103). In addition, Silverman (2001) asserted that 'the choice between research methods should depend upon what you are trying to find out (p. 1)'. Due to this, in this study, document analysis was used in answering one of the research

questions that is on the conceptual difference of CCE in Malaysia and in England. This analysis compared the published CCE curriculum in Malaysia with the curriculum in England. Thus, the comparative curriculum analysis in this study intends to compare these documents with documents from England in order to look at the differences and similarities that exist among educational systems, particularly in relation to the concepts of CCE in Malaysia and England and to identify the implications of these differences to the implementation of CCE particular in Malaysia (Sasaki, 2004; Marginson and Mollis, 2001; Hantrais, 1995; Bereday, 1964). In this study, England is chosen as citizenship education compared to other countries particularly in Malaysia, has been widely researched (Keating et al., 2010; Crick, 2007; Frazer, 2007; Kerr et al., 2007; Lockyer et al., 2003, Kerr et al., 2002; Crick et al., 1998).

Comparative education research looks at both the differences and similarities that exist among educational system practiced in two or more countries or regions (Marginson and Mollis, 2001; Sasaki, 2004; Hantrais, 1995; Bereday, 1964). Besides searching for explanation for these identified similarities and differences, for sociologists, the purpose of comparative education is also to gain a better understanding and awareness of other social entities in different national settings (Hantrais, 1995; Sasaki, 2004). According to Bereday (1965), comparative research or cross-national comparative research served for two purposes which are

‘first, to deduce from the achievements and the mistakes of school systems other than their own and second, to appraise educational issues from a global rather than an ethnocentric perspective, or in other words, to be aware always of other nations’ points of view’ (p. 6).

Thus, by conducting a systematic comparison between Malaysia’s concept of CCE with the concept in England, I not only could understand Malaysia’s concept better but also understand and be aware of the concept used in England. This could also provide a ‘yardstick’ to assess Malaysia’s education system, providing a way to view other education practices and procedures (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2007). As stressed by Bereday (1965 : 6), ‘to understand others and to understand ourselves is to have in hand the two ingredients of comparison’.

Even though McCulloch (2004), Prior (2003), Bauer (2000), Mason (1996), and Scott (1990) argued that document analysis has not been a favourable research method for the social scientist, it was also utilised in this research as the knowledge or data derived from analysing official documents could also be used with other methods of data collection (Fitzgerald, 2007; Mason, 1996). Thus, in this study, CCE documents were analysed in order to understand the concept of CCE at the macro level and set against teachers' interviews and lesson observations to gain narration from different perspectives (Fitzgerald, 2007; Mason, 1996). Moreover, by analysing documents produced at the macro level, especially the documents which are officially used in Malaysia, could help 'to determine the extent to which policy and practices at institutional level reflect the agenda of these established bodies' (Fitzgerald, 2007 : 278).

Since 2005 CCE in Malaysia has become a compulsory subject for stage two primary school students and for all secondary school students. Due to this, in this research, citizenship curriculum documents in England was chosen to be compared with the Malaysia curriculum documents as in England, citizenship is a statutory subject for students in Key Stages 3 and 4. In order to make a more relevant and reliable comparison between these two curriculum documents, it was decided that the Key Stage 4 curriculum would be analysed. For the Malaysian curriculum, Form Two to Form Four curriculum documents were analysed. This was because as shown in Figure 4.5, secondary students, Form One to Form Five, in Malaysia are aged from 13 to 17 years, while in England Key Stage 4 students are aged 14 to 16 years.

Figure 4.5: Students Age Difference in Malaysia and England Education System

Malaysia	Students' Age		England
Primary School	11	11	Key Stage 3
	12	12	
Secondary School (Form 1 (13 yrs old) – Form 5 (17 yrs old))	13	13	
	14	14	Key Stage 4
	15	14	
	16	15	
	17	16	

In ensuring the authenticity and credibility of the documents analysed (Scott, 2004; 1990), these documents were obtained from recognised sources. Malaysia's documents

were obtained from the Head of CCE in Curriculum Development Department (CDD) while the textbooks used in the school curriculum were bought from the authorised book distributors. This officer was met during my visit to Malaysia to pilot the CCE teacher's interview schedule. For England's related documents, some documents were bought from QCA while others were printed from the NFER websites. Accordingly, the official documents that were analysed in this study are as shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Documents Analysed

Malaysia	<p>CCE Integrated Secondary School <i>Curriculum (KBSM) prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Teaching Syllabus for Form 2 <i>prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Teaching Syllabus for Form 3 <i>prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Teaching Syllabus for Form 4 <i>prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>CCE and Moral Education Teaching and Learning Techniques <i>prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>Secondary School Assessment Guide for CCE <i>prepared by CDD</i></p> <p>CCE Circulars</p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Textbook for Form 2 prepared by Textbook Division</p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Textbook for Form 3 prepared by Textbook Division</p> <p>CCE (KBSM) Textbook for Form 4 prepared by Textbook Division</p>
England	<p>Citizenship Programme of study for key stage 4 published by QCA, 2007</p> <p>Citizenship The National Curriculum for England key stages 3 - 4 published by DfEE and QCA</p> <p>Work-related learning at key stage 4 published by QCA</p> <p>Citizenship at key stages 1 - 4 Guidance on assessment, recording and reporting published by QCA</p>

Bryman (2004) stated that documents comprise data derived from various sources; in the form of 'text-based documents' or 'non-text based documents' (Mason, 1996 : 103) that is text in the form of written materials and in the form of audio and visual materials (Scott, 2004). Hence, other than the documents listed above, citizenship documents for England were also obtained from the TeacherNet website (<http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/>). I also analysed relevant information from this website as this information was considered as reliable and authentic as it was published by a department authorised by the government. Moreover, this was considered as relevant to the research as 'all statutory guidance and legislation published on this site continues to reflect the current legal position' ([http://www.education.gov.uk/help/About Content](http://www.education.gov.uk/help/About_Content)). The CCE textbooks; also termed as modules; were also analysed as schools in Malaysia were also supposedly bound to use textbooks prepared by the Textbook Division. Consequently, it was also necessary to analyse these textbooks as they reflect the purpose of CCE as intended by policy makers at the macro level.

In analysing the documents, comparative curriculum analysis was carried out in stages. Data analysis began by identifying the questions that needed to be answered in analysing the documents and by identifying the specific objectives of analysing them. Taking the suggestion of Bazerman (2006 : 79), focused questions were prepared in order 'to identify and categorize data'. As 'codes need to be derived theoretically and to reflect the purpose of the research' (Bauer, 2000 : 140), the literature review in Chapter Three was used in identifying these questions and objectives. This process, referred to as deductive category application (Marying, 2000), was used as a guide in preparing the coding categories in analysing these documents. Accordingly, the main objectives of document analysis were to look at:

- 1) the concept of citizenship and citizenship education that are put across in the school curriculum;
- 2) the key contents that are being promoted in the intended curriculum; and
- 3) the ways in which CCE was intended to be delivered in the school curriculum.

In the first reading, documents from these two countries were read separately and analysed using the qualitative content analysis approach in which all themes that appeared to answer the predetermined questions and objectives were highlighted and coded. This approach was adopted as it allowed for more flexibility in analysing the texts (May, 2001). These documents were then reread with me immersing myself in the text to allow for other themes to emerge. These new themes were then identified and analysed to determine whether they represented new categories or could be subcategories of existing codes. Later, the analysis of documents from both countries were compared where similarities and differences that existed between these two curriculums were identified and discussed (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2007). However, in order for the analysis to be meaningful, the analysis also considered the context of the document, that was, the intended content of the document, who the author was and the purpose of writing the document, and on the received content of the document, that was, the meaning of the text as conceived by the reader (Scott, 1990).

In facilitating the procedure of analysing documents, I utilised Fitzgerald's (2007) example of a documentary analysis tool which involved three columns; source, text and coding. Any important quotation from the analysed document was located in the text column to assist in making decisions on representativeness, meaning and credibility (Scott, 1990). The emerging key themes identified and coded meanwhile were placed in the coding column. These key themes were also 'devised from multiple readings of similar documents as well as the relevant literature' (Fitzgerald's, 2007: 290). In comparing and coding documents in two different languages, I also took Stemler's (2001) advice that 'each word may not represent a category equally well' (p. 2) and 'some words may have multiple meaning' (p. 3).

Philips and Schweisfurth (2007) further highlighted that comparative analysis should consider the problem of ethnocentricity, language and units of analysis. In the problem of ethnocentricity, I was reminded to 'be aware of ourselves looking at an educational phenomenon in another country and to neutralize as far as possible the preconceptions our individual backgrounds have formed in us' (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2007 : 94). As all of the Malaysia's documents analysed in this research were written in the Malay language,

language was another problem faced in analysing and comparing these documents, as not all words could be directly translated to English language as this direct translation might lead to different concepts or meanings (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2007; Peterson, 2005; Sasaki, 2004). Indeed, there were times when I found it 'hard to find equivalent phrases' (Peterson, 2005 : 269). Philips and Schweisfurth (2007 : 95) further warned about the 'tendency...to regard the nation-state as the basic unit of analysis and comparison'. Similarly in this study, Malaysia is not being compared to the United Kingdom but to England, which has its own education system. Moreover, in comparing the documents, the CCE curriculum and not the nation-state was the unit of analysis. This chapter will next move to discussion on the methods utilised in gathering data from those at the micro level.

4.3 CCE at the Micro Level

As illustrated in Figure 4.2, at the micro level, data were gathered through teachers' views and classroom observations. Accordingly, in this section, before discussing the methods adopted for the teachers, it begins with discussion of the fieldwork location and the case profiles of the selected schools.

The Case Studies Location

As informed in Chapter Two, Malaysia, a country occupying two separate lands and a number of islands is a multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual and multireligious country. Administratively, this country is divided into thirteen states and three federal territories. Due to its diversity, choosing an area or a state that is ideally representative of the country as a whole is not possible. At the same time, undertaking a small-scale research study, made it impossible to undertake a far-ranging study that would adequately reflect every state, or Malaysia as a whole. Thus, a decision had to be made to frame the research and limit its focus to one state. Therefore, the fieldwork for this study was carried out in Selangor in which Shah Alam, the state capital of Selangor is about 25 kilometres from Kuala Lumpur. Indeed, from the map, Kuala Lumpur which is Malaysia's capital and Putrajaya, the federal administrative capital, lie within the bounds of the state of Selangor. Even though the total area of this state is only 8104 sq. km, Selangor with a population of 5,462,141 in 2010, is the state with the highest population in Malaysia (Department of Statistics, 2010). As Tables 4.1

and 4.2 illustrate, Selangor is not a perfect match with Malaysia as a whole, but no state is. Nevertheless, the distribution of ethnic groups and religious practices are well reflected.

Figure 4.7 : Map of Selangor



Table 4.1: Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Selangor and Malaysia, 2010

<i>Ethnic</i>	<i>Selangor</i>	<i>Malaysia</i>
<i>Bumiputera</i>	57.1	67.4
Chinese	28.5	24.6
Indians	13.5	7.3
Other Ethnic	0.8	0.7

Source : Department of Statistics

Table 4.2: Percentage of Religions Practiced in Selangor and Malaysia, 2010

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Selangor</i>	<i>Malaysia</i>
Islam	57.9	61.3
Christianity	3.8	9.2
Buddhism	24.4	19.8
Hinduism	11.6	6.3
Confucianism/Taoism, other traditional Chinese religions	0.5	1.3
Others	2.8	2.1

Source : Department of Statistic, 2008

Selangor is a fast developing state and was declared as a developed state on 25th August 2005. Its Gross Domestic Product had increased from RM100,884 in 2006 to RM108,527 in 2007 (Department of Statistic, 2008). As shown in Table 4.3, Selangor's economy is also diversified with a good mix of agricultural, industrial, commercial and tourism activities. Cautious of the inherent dangers of over generalisation, it was felt that choosing schools situated in Selangor as sites for this research would offer useful insights into the development of CCE as a subject.

Table 4.3: Malaysia and Selangor GDP and Economic Activity, 2008

Constant year 2000 price	Selangor	Malaysia
Agriculture	1,783	39,392
Mining and Quarrying	160	42,509
Construction	5,255	14,021
Manufacturing	40,125	146,037
Services	65,543	279,512
Plus : Import Duties	4,016	6,839
Total (RM Million)	116,883	528,311

Source : Department of Statistic, 2008

There are nine administrative districts in Selangor which are Petaling, Hulu Langat, Klang, Gombak, Kuala Langat, Sepang, Kuala Selangor, Hulu Selangor and Sabak Bernam. However, in terms of educational administration, it is further extended into ten where Petaling district is divided into Petaling Perdana and Petaling Utama. As indicated in Table 4.4 below, on 31 January 2011, in Selangor, there were 265 secondary schools with a total number of 26,740 teachers (Jabatan Pelajaran Selangor Official Site, 2011). In this study, four National Type secondary schools were visited; three located in the district of Petaling Perdana and one in Kuala Selangor. The decision to choose this type of school was not only because it is the highest number of schools both in Selangor and in Malaysia, but also because of the stronger possibility of finding the three major ethnic groups represented.

Table 4.4: Total Number of Schools, Teachers and Students in Selangor as in 31 January 2011

School Type	Schools	Teachers	Students
National	222	23,745	361,269
Vocational	2	220	1,345
Technical	5	479	3,724
Religious	3	187	2,108
Special	1	86	241
Boarding	8	532	4,939
Special Model	1	222	4,108
Government Aided Religious	23	1,269	16,195
Total	265	26,740	393,929

(Jabatan Pelajaran Selangor Official Site, 2011)

The choice of location for the fieldwork was greatly influenced by the population of the state, which as explained earlier, represents Malaysia as a multiethnic and multicultural society. Due to the state's ethnic population, it was assumed that the possibility of finding schools representative of the three major ethnicities in the students' population would be higher in Selangor in contrast to other states. This assumption was confirmed from the data provided by the Data Sector, Educational and Planning Research Division (EPRD), Ministry of Education. Moreover, besides facing time constraints, the decision to conduct the study in Selangor was also due to familiarity, convenience and economic considerations. As my home state, I am more familiar with the places in Selangor which would ease the problem of locating and travelling to chosen schools. Although it is quite a big state, the schools are all sufficiently close to my residence. This was essential as the location of the schools not only made it convenient and possible for me to spend whole days in each school but also made it possible for data to be collected more efficiently despite the return journey to the schools usually taking two hours and sometimes longer due to road congestion.

Selection of Case Studies

Despite being viewed as 'the ugly duckling of research design' (Vaus, 2001 : 219) and 'a weak sibling among social science methods' (Yin, 1989 : 10), a case study has been adopted in this research as it is usually a preferred strategy in answering 'how' research questions that could be achieved by incorporating different types of evidences such as interview, observation and document analysis (Yin, 1989). Indeed, the 'use of multiple

sources of evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case study research' (Gilham, 2000: 12). Moreover, by using these various evidences collected through various methods as illustrated in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 allowed for 'a more rounded, holistic study' (Hakim, 2000).

Accordingly, by adopting a multiple case study strategy, I was able to develop a more purposeful and convincing tool that could provide better interpretations of CCE in schools with different ethnic populations (Vaus, 2001). Moreover, this design allowed me to draw together multiple data from various sources which could provide an in-depth analysis and a richly detailed description (Hakim, 2000; Creswell, 1998) of the potentially different understanding of CCE in these four different schools. In addition, the use of multiple methods, which emphasised interviews as tools in exploring teachers' understandings of CCE in schools with different ethnic populations, would be well suited to allow for the complexity of the development of CCE in a highly centralised education system to be recognised. Generalization, according to Miles and Huberman, (1994) is not an issue in multiple case studies as generalising is 'from one case to the next on the basis of a match to the underlying theory, not to a larger universe' (p. 29). In accordance, Yin (1989) stressed that case study rests on analytical generalisation and not on the statistical generalisation, which generalise from sample to population. Thus, in a case study, generalisation is about generalising a particular set of results to a broader theory or proposition.

Consequently, case studies of four secondary schools was utilised in order to determine possible similarities and differences on the concept of citizenship and CCE among teachers, to identify the challenges that these teachers faced. In Malaysia, secondary schools are divided into government schools and government aided schools. Besides the school types as shown earlier in Table 4.3, secondary schools also varied according to students total population; Grade A schools are those with a total population of students more than 2000, B with 1000 students and C less than 1000 students. Secondary schools also varied in terms of sex composition, which are single sex schools and coeducational schools; and in terms of ethnic group proportion; such as, a higher proportion of Malay, Chinese or Indian students or a mixed proportion of Malay, Chinese and Indian students.

In Malaysia, the locality or environment of the school which could be situated in an urban or rural area is also another term of variation.

The four school sites selected were to represent the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia, each with a higher proportion of student population based on ethnicity which could be Malay, Chinese, Indian, or mixed. In doing this, first of all, the 2010 Selangor school population data based on ethnicity were requested from Data Sector, EPRD. Based on these data, the list of schools with higher proportions of Malay, Chinese and Indian students and the schools with mixed ethnic students' populations were prepared. The percentages of each ethnicity in the student population were calculated by dividing the total number of each ethnicity in the school with the total number of the students in the school. In getting access, I had personally called these schools based on the order of the prepared list until I was accepted. Nevertheless, after meeting with the gatekeepers, there were schools that declined from participating despite verbal agreement having been given in the telephone conversations. As Selangor is a multiethnic and multicultural state, the reason for selecting four schools with such characteristics was to gain teachers' various views, experiences and challenges in transferring CCE curriculum policy to the three main ethnicities in Malaysia. In the next section, I explain the semi-structured interviews, the reasons for adopting this method along with the design of the interviews and the way these data were analysed.

Teachers' Interview

In qualitative research, interviewing is viewed as one of the most common (Mason, 2002) and powerful (Fontana and Frey, 2000) methods of collecting data and also the most common tool utilised in education research (Tierney and Dilley, 2002). As structured interviews are a form of interview where the interviewees are asked a list of prepared questions without allowing for probing and aim for 'standardization of explanations' (May, 2004 : 122), the semi-structured interview was utilised in this research as it allowed me to probe the responses provided to ensure that rich and detailed data were gathered (Legard et al., 2003). Indeed, as this study was interested in the respondents' perceptions, that is, on teachers' understanding of citizenship and CCE, the semi-structured interview which allowed for in-depth data collection was chosen as the primary tool (Mason, 2002).

Moreover, with the literature review in Chapter Three indicating that there was contestation on the concept of citizenship and citizenship education, I found the semi-structured interview to be an appropriate way to elicit teachers' understandings of these concepts. This method had provided CCE teachers the opportunity to elaborate their responses and to share the tensions and contestations that they faced in transferring CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices. Thus, it allowed me to 'gather information that cannot be obtained using other methods' (Tierney and Dilley, 2002 : 454) such as a questionnaire survey. The oral interaction between the researcher and the respondents allowed me to understand their world better (Patton, 2002). In addition, in this research, the interview was also a form of policy interviewing (Tierney and Dilley, 2002) which aimed to learn how CCE policy was interpreted and enacted at the micro level. Indeed, this was also the reason why questionnaire survey was not adopted in this research. Thus, this method could be more beneficial especially as mentioned earlier, in Malaysia questionnaire rather than interview is the favoured research design.

As CCE teachers were those responsible for the teaching and learning of CCE in the school curriculum, all of the CCE teachers in the selected schools had been invited to be interviewed. The initial selection criteria of CCE teachers to sample were those teachers who had three years experience in teaching CCE and who were currently teaching CCE. However, this criterion had to be altered as, during the fieldwork, in all of the schools approached and visited, not only were there no specific teachers allocated to teach CCE, but teachers teaching CCE were also continuously changed, which was usually every time the school's time table was modified. Indeed, in one school, the school timetable had been modified three times just after four months of schooling sessions. Consequently, due to these scenarios, CCE teachers in this study included teachers who had any experience in teaching and who were teaching CCE during my visit to their schools, provided that they had been teaching since the first day of the current year school session. These teachers had been personally approached and invited to be research respondents.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with a smaller sample of non-CCE teachers in order to deeper explore their perceptions towards CCE. Subsequently, the objective of this interview was 'to cover a more limited area of the same ground but in more

depth' (Mason, 1994 : 91). The data gained was also to act as supplementary and complementary to the main subjects of the study that is the CCE teachers. Even though the non-CCE teachers were not those directly involved in CCE teaching and learning process, they were a part of the school structure, a part of those at the micro policy level who had their own voice on the implementation of CCE in the school curriculum. Thus, it would be interesting to gain their interpretations of CCE, which could assist in portraying a more complete picture of the development of CCE in Malaysia's school curriculum. Indeed, Miles and Huberman (1993 : 34) suggested that in designing a research sample, 'it is also important to work a bit at the peripheries – to talk with people who are not central to the phenomenon but are neighbours to it'. This method seemed to be useful as from the interviews, these teachers did have their own perceptions on CCE and this was especially to a small number of non-CCE teachers who had a short experience (less than two months) in teaching CCE. As for the other non-CCE teachers, I personally approached the Form Two to Form Four non-CCE teachers for their consent to be interviewed. By the end of the fieldwork, the total number of semi-structured interviews that had been conducted both with the CCE and non-CCE teachers were as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Total Number of Interviews

Schools	The Head of Humanities Department and Head of CCE	CCE Teachers	Non-CCE Teachers (Teaching Form Two to Form Four Students)
<i>Anggerik</i>	2	8	5
<i>Bakawali</i>	2	9	5
<i>Cempaka</i>	2	10	5
<i>Dahlia</i>	2	10	5
Total	8	37	20

In conducting the semi-structured interview, an interview schedule was prepared to ensure that to some extent, similar information could be gathered from the respondents (See Appendix C). Having a prepared schedule proved to be beneficial as it assisted me 'to build a conversation within a particular area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversation style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined' (Patton, 2002: 343). In preparing these interview schedules, I had utilised

the nine different types of questions suggested by Kvale (1996) which among them were follow up, probing and in-direct questions.

As illustrated in Table 4.6, separate interview schedules were prepared for the Head of Humanities Department and Head of CCE, the CCE teachers and the non-CCE teachers. The objective of interviewing Heads of Department, Heads of CCE and CCE teachers was to gain their perspectives as policy implementers directly involved in transferring the CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practice. However, questions regarding administration matters were only asked to the Head of Humanities Department and Head of CCE as it was assumed that they were the ones who were responsible for the management of this subject.

Table 4.6: Main Questions in the Interview Schedules

Interviewees Groups	Main questions
Head of Humanities Department/Head of CCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher’s background • Training and support • Administrating CCE in the school • Teaching, learning and assessment • Concepts of Citizenship and CCE • Views on CCE in the school curriculum • Purpose of education • Challenges and recommendations
CCE teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher’s background • Training and support • Teaching, learning and assessment • Concepts of Citizenship and CCE • Views on CCE in the school curriculum • Purpose of education • Challenges and recommendations
Non-CCE teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher’s background • Views on CCE in the school curriculum • Concepts of Citizenship and CCE • Purpose of education

A second interview was also conducted with CCE teachers who had given their consent to observe their CCE teaching session. Different from the first interview, the second interview was more unstructured and there was no specific schedule prepared for this interview. Questions for the second interview differed between the CCE teachers as they

were derived from the lesson observation which was done before the interview. However, the main objective of this interview was to highlight the challenges and obstacles that they faced in teaching their students, which, in different schools, consisted of different students' ethnic populations.

Steps had been taken to examine and improve the validity of the interview schedules. Firstly, the CCE teachers' interview schedule was piloted with three CCE teachers in one secondary school in Selangor. The objectives of piloting were 'to test how well the interview flows' and 'to gain some experience' (Bryman, 2008 : 443). The interviewees were active during the pilot study interview and had not raised any comments regarding the ambiguity of the questions. Questions were added as these interviews had also provided me with a clearer picture on what was actually going on in Malaysia's schools. As this research was conducted in Malaysia and Malay language is the medium of instruction in all of the government schools in this country, once the schedules were approved by my supervisor, they were then personally translated from English to Malay language. The accuracy of the translation was then revised by a Senior Lecturer in the English Department in one of the universities in Malaysia.

Face to face interviews at the respondent's own school was adopted as this allowed for 'contextual naturalness' (Shy, 2002p: 541) and 'encourage more self-generated responses' (Shy, 2002p: 542). This approach seemed to be beneficial as during the interview, I was able to observe any facial impressions or physical responses made by the interviewees (Shy, 2002). Notes were also taken during the interview even though electronic recording was the main device used in recording the interviews. The duration of the interviews ranged from about 90 minutes to as little as 40 minutes depending on the responses of the interviewees. The second interview conducted only with these CCE teachers who agreed for their lesson to be observed varied between 30 to 10 minutes. As shown in Table 4.5, by the end of the fieldwork, a total of 65 teachers were formally interviewed.

In order not to disturb teachers' teaching and learning sessions, interviews were conducted during their free time and appointments to carry out the interviews were personally discussed with the teachers. Nevertheless, before an interview appointment could be arranged, a lot of time was spent in identifying and locating both CCE and non-CCE

teachers. As I did not know anyone in the school, teachers had to be approached in order to identify and get permission from the CCE teachers and non-CCE teachers that fitted the criteria to be interviewed. I also had to go everywhere in the school as there were CCE teachers who had been given their own room according to the subject that they taught or the responsibility that they held. Moreover, as I did not have the teachers' personal teaching timetable, teachers' whereabouts was difficult to be ascertained. Yet, knowing the teachers' timetable was not much help either as teachers could be anywhere during their free periods.

Thus, identifying the CCE teachers and requesting for CCE and non-CCE teachers' consent to be interviewed, eventually had made me feel like an insurance seller. Indeed, in one of the schools, one teacher curiously asked me whether I was selling insurance! Similar to the insurance seller, during the visit to all of the four schools, I not only had to wait for teachers but at times also had to persuade and convince them to participate in the research. Furthermore, due to the teachers' busy schedules, there were interviews with CCE teachers that needed to be rescheduled and those that needed to be conducted at more than one meeting. Thus, this method proved to be very time consuming (Bryman, 2004). Indeed, as experienced by Puteh (1994), conducting fieldwork in Malaysian schools could be taxing and exhausting particularly when all of the schools visited were double session schools. Therefore, it can be seen that doing fieldwork was not just about doing interviews. Much time and effort was put into preparing the ground.

In beginning the interview, besides informing the respondents of their rights, the consent to record the interview was obtained too. Despite hesitance from a very small number of interviewees, all of the interviewees did give their consent for the interviews to be recorded. Recording the interviews proved to be beneficial as it enabled me to have better concentration on the responses given which led to probing and posing of further questions and explanations (Kvale, 1996). The majority of the CCE and non-CCE teachers interviewed were cooperative, informative and open in giving their responses. One CCE teacher was excited and glad to participate as this teacher felt that policy makers need to know what was going on and what the teachers go through at the school level. One Head of CCE even requested ideas about CCE lessons.

In analysing the qualitative data, there is neither specific nor most appropriate way in analysing them (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). However, data need to be analysed 'in a rigorous and scholarly way – in order to capture the complexities of the social worlds we seek to understand' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 3). Moreover, in analysing qualitative data, Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 26) noted that, 'all researchers need to be able to organize, manage, and retrieve the most meaningful bits of our data'. Accordingly, in this research, before the data were analysed, all of the recorded interviews were transcribed. However, even though most of the interviews were done in the Malay language, translations were done only when any extract from these interviews need to be quoted in writing the analysis chapters. Despite transcribing the recorded interviews being very time consuming, (Delamont, 2002), it allowed me to read and reread the transcription to draw attention to issues that might be overlooked during the interviews (Ball, 1993).

In this research, MAXQDA, one of the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Systems (CAQDAS) was used as it assisted me to 'handle very large numbers of codings and separate codewords,' (Coffey et al. 1996: online). Besides allowing for a faster and more efficient way in analysing the interview data (Delamont, 2002), the multicoloured coding, one of the functions available in MAXQDA software allowed me to highlight and code the important and interesting data that emerged from the transcription. Coding which was also done based on the subtopics prepared in the interview schedules, was done not only to retrieve and organize data but also to 'expand and tease out the data, in order to formulate new questions and levels of interpretation' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 30). After the process of coding and categorizing the data, the analysis was then 'moved on to generalizing and theorizing' (Delamont, 2002: 181). The analysis from these qualitative interviews was then triangulated with the analysis made on other methods of data collection. However, as this research adopted a multiple case study design, analysis was treated as a single case before comparisons across the cases were made (Vaus, 2001). The chapter will now move to the discussion on observation, another method adopted with the CCE teachers.

Classroom Observation

In this study, the objective of classroom observation was to see the teaching and learning process of CCE in the school classroom and more specifically to experience the tension and challenges that these CCE teachers might face in transferring CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices. Thus, the observation was not only to see the way this subject was taught in classrooms but also to ‘record and analyze behaviour and interactions’ (Ritchie, 2003 : 35) of the students towards the teaching and learning of CCE. As the choice of schools was based on the students’ ethnic population, the main objective of this observation was not only to triangulate the information given in the interview but also to view the challenges, if any, that teachers faced in teaching different ethnicities. In addition, non-participant and unstructured observation was utilised as by ‘being there’ (Ball, 1993 : 73) provided me with the opportunity to personally view the transfer of CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practice rather than solely relying on the information gained from the teachers’ interview (Patton, 2002). Observation in this study was also used as a tool to generate questions for further interview which I hoped would be ‘an additional source of information about what was said and done’ (Mercer, 1991 : 54).

In observing the CCE lessons, there was no specific schedule prepared as the aim of observation was ‘to record in as much detail as possible the behaviour of participants with the aim of developing a narrative account of that behaviour’ (Bryman, 2008 : 257). However, taking Mason’s (2002) advice on the need of having some focus, the observation in this study looked at teacher’s teaching style, teaching aids used, teacher and students’ interaction and activities utilized in the lesson. In observing the class, I sat at the back corner of the classroom and tried to avoid eye contact with those in the classroom in order to establish a non-participant status. However, there were some occasions where I could not avoid talking to the students who were curious about my presence. Yin’s (2006) warning that teachers might not illustrate the normal practices as having prior knowledge that their lesson would be observed was also experienced with a small number of teachers as they voluntarily admitted that they had made extra effort in preparing for the class to be observed. At the end of the fieldwork, a total of twelve CCE teachers in all of the four schools were observed in twelve different CCE lessons which took a total of 960 minutes.

Conducting classroom observation in this research proved to be time consuming (Mason, 2002) and had caused pressing problems in getting access to schools. This method had led not only to a few schools contacted to decline to participate in the study but also had led to two schools that had given their consent over the telephone to withdraw from participating after further explanation on the research method was made during the first meeting. The difficulty of negotiating access with head teachers and teachers had forced me to conduct lesson observation only if the teachers allowed me to do so. Besides having head teachers rejecting the idea of lesson observation, only a small number of teachers allowed for their class to be observed even after some persuasion was attempted. As Lewis (2003) noted, I should be flexible in designing methods for qualitative research. Indeed as faced in this research, 'it is a continuing process which calls for constant review of decisions and approaches' (Lewis, 2003: 47). As Puteh (1994) found, the reluctance to be observed was understandable as most of the teachers were not comfortable having a stranger in their class making observations of his/her lessons. Moreover, most of the CCE teachers' teaching option was not in CCE and they had not been given any courses related to this subject, which might have made the feeling of being observed worse. Indeed, as notified by one of the head teachers and recorded in my field note, it was unfair for these teachers to be judged based on the subject that they were not trained to teach. The way CCE was viewed in all of these schools also made observation more difficult as CCE periods were sometimes taken by other subject teachers. Thus, the reality of what was going on in schools resulted in a small number of classes observed, and difficulties in setting time for the second interview, and overall the lesson observation and second interview did not provide as much information as I had hoped for.

I also wrote down notes on observations of the school including informal conversations with other teachers 'which might turn out to be important later' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 178). These hasty notes were usually made while waiting for teacher appointments either in the teacher's room or in the school canteen. Thus, in this research I also had the serendipity of relevant and important information delivered to me by those directly and indirectly involved in the research which was gathered when I least expected it. For example, in trying to gain access to school, I met with head teachers, assistant of head teachers, heads of humanities departments and heads of subjects who provided the reality

of the CCE scenario faced in their schools. Additionally, while waiting for teachers to be interviewed either in their room or in the canteen or even in other venues in the school, I sometimes chit-chatted with other teachers which again led to beneficial and interesting information being thrown into my lap which was also recorded in my field notes. Next, I draw attention to the ethical considerations informing this study together with the way access to secondary schools in Selangor was gained.

4.4 Ethics

In conducting this research, ethical concerns in all stages of the fieldwork had been considered. Accordingly, consent to conduct fieldwork in the secondary schools in Malaysia was acquired from both the Cardiff School of Social Sciences Ethics Committee and from Malaysian authorities.

The Malaysian government requires every overseas research project that intends to do fieldwork in Malaysia to obtain approval from the Prime Minister's Department. This regulation covers all foreign researchers and Malaysian nationals domiciled overseas. Consequently, the official government procedures to obtain authorisation for collecting data from secondary schools in Selangor were followed. Thus, the additional steps taken in gaining approval included:

- Submitting an online application form enclosed with a letter explaining the research topic, research objectives and the significance of the study to the Malaysian Development Institute, Economic Planning Unit (EPU), Prime Minister's Department, Malaysia.
- Obtaining an approval letter from Ministry of Education as this proposal would be forwarded by EPU to the Research Sector, EPRD. This is due to the jurisdiction that schools are under the administration of Ministry of Education.
- Personally collected the research pass from EPU as required in the research approval.

- Obtaining another approval letter from Selangor State Education Department after obtaining the approval letter from EPU, as schools in Selangor are under the responsibility of this department.
- Obtaining permissions to do fieldwork from the selected secondary schools' head teacher in Selangor.

The ethical code in conducting interviews is usually concerned with informed consent, respecting confidentiality and protecting participants from harm (Fontana and Frey, 2000). In this research, before interviews were conducted, the interviewee was provided with an information sheet that provided necessary information on the research and on their roles and rights (See Appendix A). In assuring that the interviewees were free from threat and were granted informed choice to participate without coercion, all interviewees were asked to sign a consent form (See Appendix B) to be interviewed and observed during the research process. They were also informed of their right to withdraw or to discontinue from participating at any time and the right to decline in answering any of the questions. In addition, the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants were protected by:

- i. ensuring that the participants could not be identified by name, age and school unless permission to do so was granted;
- ii. adopting pseudonyms to represent participants and schools; and
- iii. ensuring that any information that the participants wished to be confidential and disclosed was respected.

Gaining access and building trust had always been an issue in qualitative research (Ryen, 2004; Delamont, 2002; Fontana and Frey, 2000; Measor and Woods, 1991). Indeed, Fontana and Frey (2000) warned that even though when trust has been gained, it 'can still be very fragile' (p. 655). Similarly, in this research, I had experienced what was described as the relationship that 'produced despair, embarrassment and despondency' (Measor and Woods, 1991 : 64). In gaining access to schools, there were gatekeepers who made the process simple and easy and there were also those who made things difficult and complicated as head teachers still have the authority to decline to participate in the study. Bureaucracy existed which sometimes lead to confusion about whom to ask for consent and

as indicated by Miller and Bell (2002 : 61) 'control over decision-making around access is not always in the hands of the interviewer' or one person was also faced in this research.

Although I had tried to oblige in protecting the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants and schools, 'the risk is reasonably high that someone will recognize the characteristics of place and persons' (Ryen, 2004 : 233) especially when in this research the identification of school sampling was based on available school population data. Moreover, in asking teachers to sign the consent form, there was a teacher who only agreed in writing the name but not in signing the form. From some of the respondents' reactions and as recorded in field notes, this might be due to a concern that signing the form would influence teachers to conform with official statements. Indeed, in one of the interviews, the interviewee kept on voicing the anxiety that whatever was said would cause action to be taken on the interviewee. Thus, Ryen's (2004) suggestion that, in some countries it might be more appropriate to acquire verbal consent rather than informed consent might be helpful advice if accepted by an ethics committee.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the research decisions and the research processes which made up the research have been discussed. Despite careful planning on the research strategy, the initial research strategy had to be modified, due to the problems that arose in the field. These changes were seen as essential in making this research more credible in collecting and producing data derived from the research fieldwork. Indeed, Tizard and Hughes (1984) had also encountered such circumstances in doing their research on the way preschool children learned at home. As Miles and Huberman (1994: 30) advised, 'qualitative studies call for continuous refocusing and redrawing of study parameters during fieldwork'. Difficulties in gaining access since the early stage of the fieldwork indicated on the status of CCE. On the other hand, it might also indicate on the gatekeepers and teachers preference towards questionnaire which was viewed as a more convenient tool that provides them the flexibility particularly in terms of time in responding to the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the more qualitative approach adopted had provided the teachers the freedom to voice their views and share their experiences in transferring the CCE policy into teaching and learning practices. Different from the quantitative methods that are widely adopted in Malaysia,

this study provides a more in-depth scenario of the development of CCE in the school curriculum particularly from those at the micro level. The following chapters will draw on the empirical data gathered from the analysis which begins with the analysis of citizenship education documents in Malaysia and England.

CHAPTER FIVE

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the first research question which is ‘to what extent does the concept of CCE in Malaysia differ from the concept of CCE in other countries, particularly in England?’ Subsequently the chapter will engage with the sub-questions contained in the main question, which are ‘What are the goals of CCE in Malaysia and how do they differ from other countries?’, and ‘How does Malaysia’s CCE curriculum content differ from other countries?’ Moreover, as has been stated in the previous chapter, the purpose of analysing and comparing documents from Malaysia and England are to look at the similarities and differences that exist:

- 1) in the concept of citizenship and CCE that are put across in the school curriculum;
- 2) in the key content that are being promoted in the official curriculum materials (intended curriculum); and
- 3) on the ways in which CCE was intended to be delivered in the school curriculum.

Accordingly, in this chapter comparisons are made with official documents relating to citizenship education in England as a means of contrasting similarities and differences, and to provide a reference point given the obvious lack of literature of CCE in Malaysia, due to its recent introduction. In my research, the documents analysed are primary public documents (May, 2001) which included official textual and internet documents that are accessible to the public (for full list, see Figure 4.6 in Chapter Four). Thus, the authenticity of the documents (Scott, 2004; 1990) analysed are not in doubt as they were obtained from official public sources. In analysing them, I recognised that these documents had been written for specific readers and like ‘many official documents are based on a political interest in presenting one view rather than another’ (Scott, 1990: 23).

By comparing Malaysia’s with England’s citizenship education documents, enabled me to look at the differences and similarities that exist between the two (Bereday, 1964; Hantrais, 1995; Marginson and Mollis, 2001; Sasaki, 2004) which could provide a way for improving CCE (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2007). In addition, the analysis of documents from

these two countries showed that due to these two countries different culture and different historical background (Kerr, 1999), also lead to differences in the aims of citizenship education and in the teaching and learning approaches adopted. Moreover, these document analyses also proved Kennedy and Lee's (2008) and Lee's (2004a, 2004b) claim that differences on the conception of citizenship education, which in this chapter refers to the intended curriculum, do exist between the Asian and Western countries. Thus, different elements might be stressed in Malaysia's and England's theme and content of citizenship education intended curriculum. However, besides these differences, similarities also exist in these two countries intended curriculum which had been prescribed by each country government. This chapter will begin by explaining the documents provided to policy implementers who in this research are teachers in schools. This is then followed with a comparison of these documents.

5.2 Malaysia's Civics and Citizenship Education

The provision of citizenship education in Malaysia is termed *Civics and Citizenship Education* (CCE) and emphasises developing students' civic knowledge, skills and values. CCE, a statutory subject in the National Curriculum, was introduced in January 2005 to Year Four to Year Six primary school students aged ten to twelve and to Form One to Form Five secondary school students aged thirteen to seventeen. As indicated in Malaysia's Third Outline Perspective Plan (2001-2010), due to the rise of free flowing information in the globalised world, developing human resources with positive values and attitudes that are 'inherent in the religions, cultures and traditions of Malaysia's multiethnic and multicultural society' was viewed as 'an important facet in nation-building and in expediting the moulding of a *Bangsa Malaysia*' (EPU, 2001 : 165). In relation to this,

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

Subsequently, as stated in the Malaysia Ninth Plan (2006 – 2010), in order to develop society with strong moral and ethical values, besides the continuation of Moral Education in the school curriculum, 'the *Sivik dan Kewarganegaraan* (Civics and Citizenship) subject will be improved and expanded to all students in Years 4 to 6 and all levels of secondary

education' (EPU, 2006: 33). Moreover, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Education in a Parliament question and answer session, stressed that the 'purpose of *Pendidikan Moral* (Moral Education) is to build good character and the purpose of PSK (Civics and Citizenship Education) is to build good citizens' (Malaysia, 2005 : 19). Thus, the aim of CCE in Malaysia echoed Lee (2006) and Kennedy and Fairbrother's (2004) arguments for the promotion of the elements and values of Moral Education in Asian citizenship education.

In Malaysia's highly centralised education system, CCE, similar to other National Curriculum subjects is allocated with a specific syllabus, syllabus specification, modules or textbooks written in the Malay language and is supposed to be taught in Malay language, the official medium of instruction in secondary school. Moreover, CCE is also awarded with a financial allocation and 80 minutes teaching time per week. To provide space for the CCE timetable, the Living Skill subject's teaching time was reduced from 160 to 120 minutes per week. In addition, the lower secondary school timetable was increased from 41 to 42 hours per week, and for upper secondary school students, another 80 minutes of teaching time (2 periods of 40 minutes teaching per period) was also added (CDC, 2004).

The objective of CCE, which is to develop citizens who are united and patriotic, is clearly spelled out throughout the documents analysed. Citizenship in Malaysia's curriculum refers to the 'individual's relationship with his state' (CDC, 2006a: 1) while civics refers to 'individual relations with his surrounding society' (p. 1). Civics education, which had been introduced in the earlier school curriculum, emphasised types of government and its structure. However, in this new curriculum, CCE emphasised present society's state of affairs and its future needs. The objective of CCE, as clearly stated in the curriculum developed by the Center of Development Division (CDD) is 'to make students realise their roles, rights and responsibilities towards society and the country and to develop society and citizens who are united, patriotic and able to contribute towards a harmonious society, country and world' (CDD, 2008: 2-3). Similarly, in the CCE *Kurikulum Bersatu Sekolah Menengah* (KBSM) syllabus, the aims of creating united and patriotic citizens are stressed in the Objective, Foreword, Introduction and the Knowledge objective, Skill objective and Value objective sections. Additionally, these objectives are also emphasised in each

schooling year's CCE syllabus specifications. It is clear, therefore, that a primary reason for the inclusion of CCE in the curriculum stems from a perceived need to unite the country and is done in the context of growing concern about ethnic tension and inequality (see Chapter Two).

CCE was framed within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) *Learning to Be*, which stressed the principles of learning to know; learning to do; learning to live together; and, learning to be. The application of these principles is to develop students who have the knowledge to be civic minded individuals together with the knowledge and skills for future careers and to face future challenges. Additionally, the development of a wholesome person in the aspects of spiritual, physical, intellectual, emotional and social as inspired in the Education Act 1996 and in the National Education Philosophy are also expected to be developed through the principle of learning to be. The importance of unity and living together in peace and harmony in the family and multiethnic society is nurtured through the principle of living together.

To assist teachers in transferring the CCE intended curriculum into teaching and learning practices, schools are provided with:

- i) a CCE KBSM syllabus;
- ii) a syllabus specification for each schooling year; and
- iii) a CCE module for each schooling year.

These materials were developed by Ministry of Education CDD officers with the help of school teachers, teacher training centres, university lecturers, other Ministry of Education department officers and individuals representing various organisations and bodies (CDC, 2006a : ix). There are six recursive themes allocated in this CCE KBSM curriculum syllabus which are:

- i) Self-achievement
- ii) Family Relations
- iii) Living in Society
- iv) Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage
- v) Malaysian Sovereignty
- vi) Future Challenges

These six themes are to be taught in each secondary schooling year. However, in different years, each theme is assigned with different topics and subtopics. In each schooling year there is also a CCE syllabus specification, which sets out the topics and learning outcomes, and suggested teaching and learning activities for each topic and subtopic. For example; the Form Two topics for the 'Malaysian Sovereignty' theme are 'Malaysia's Parliamentary Democratic System', 'Malaysia's Monarchy', and 'Roles and Responsibilities of Malaysian Citizens in A Democratic Country', while for Form Four students the topics for the same theme are; 'The Importance of Malaysia's Constitution' and 'The Key Provisions of Malaysia's Constitutions'. Teachers are given the freedom to begin their teaching with any CCE theme and the freedom to teach these themes in accordance with any activities or celebration organised in or out of school. For example, the teaching of the 'Malaysian Sovereignty' theme could be taught in accordance with the school or nation's Independence Day celebration activities.

Schools are also provided with CCE textbooks and as discussed in Chapter Four, three CCE textbooks had been analysed. Although these textbooks are published by different publishers selected by the Ministry of Education Textbook Department, the learning objectives for each theme and topic do follow closely the syllabus specification developed by the CDC. Indeed, the teaching and learning activities developed in these textbooks do not depart much from the CCE syllabus specifications' suggested activities. For example, in the 'Family Relations' theme teaching activities which are designing a greeting card and creating a poem for the parents found in the Form Three CCE textbooks are also the activities suggested in the Form Three CCE curriculum specification.

In accordance with the CCE objective to develop unity among multiethnic society, in 'Malaysia's Diverse Cultural Heritage' theme, in CCE textbooks students are presented with topics and subtopics on different ethnics' customs, festivals and heritages which include traditional ethnic musical instruments, cultural dances, architecture, arts and games. In the Form Four textbook for instance, this theme is divided into the topics 'Important Principles in Diverse Religious Teaching' and 'The Importance of Certain Practices in Various Ethnic Festivals' Celebration', and are again divided into subtopics that present students with textual and pictorial information of various ethnics' customs, festivals and religious

living. In one of the subtopics, the concept of open house where students from all ethnic groups are encouraged to visit and celebrate each other's festival is also promoted. This promotion of unity is also instilled through the theme 'Family Relations' where again the aims of providing students with knowledge of other ethnic groups are to deepen students' understandings of different customs, festivals, heritage and religions, to foster the spirit of toleration, understanding and respect and to be proud of the uniqueness of Malaysian multiethnic society are apparent.

However, in CCE textbooks the promotion of the Malay seemed to be more apparent compared to the other ethnic groups. This is evident particularly through the 'Malaysia's Diverse Cultural Heritage' theme. To illustrate, in the topic 'The Importance of Certain Practices in Various Ethnic Festivals' Celebration', the arrangement of the reading text and illustrations begin with the Malay and are followed with the Chinese, Indian and the others (Ramli et al., 2007: 107 – 111). Meanwhile, in the Form Two textbook, under the subtopics 'Handicraft, Heritage and Traditional Games', the text and illustrations presented are only on Malay's handicrafts and traditional games. Thus, although greater efforts to represent more equal information on various ethnic groups might have been made in these textbooks, the information and illustrations presented seem to put more weight and higher hierarchy on the Malay, the biggest ethnic group population. Consequently, even if not obvious to the reader, there is a hidden message conveyed to students and teachers which is referred to as 'the hidden curriculum'. This lack of ethnic groups' representativeness in the textbooks might be because in Malaysia there are yet experts who are aware of the need of promoting diversity in the textbooks and/or who are aware of these hidden messages that might be conveyed through the CCE curriculum.

A specific module on the element of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) has also been integrated in the Form Three CCE curriculum under the theme 'Future Challenges'. This 'Exploring Humanitarian Law' (EHL) module used in the EHL program has been translated and adapted by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Malaysia, together with Ministry of Education EHL Coordinators and teachers. There are five sub modules with twelve subtopics in this whole module. However, teachers are allowed

to teach only the eight suggested subtopics. The sub-modules included in this teaching and learning module are:

- Introductory Exploration : Images and Perceptions
- The Humanitarian Perspective
- Limits to Armed Conflict
- The Law in Action
- Ensuring Justice
- Responding to the Consequences of War
- Closing Exploration : Where do we go from here?

As indicated in the syllabus specification, teaching and learning of CCE should be student centred and oriented towards hands-on activities in and out of the classroom. Moreover, teachers also need to emphasise added value skills which are thinking skills, learning skills, ICT skills, various intelligence theory, learning mastery, constructive learning and self accessed learning (CDC, 2006a : ix). Active participation and creative and critical thinking activities were also provided in CCE textbooks. For example, in the subtopic 'Let's Vote' under the theme 'Malaysia's Sovereignty,' the activity suggested in the Form Two CCE textbook is 'to plan and conduct an election in electing the school student representatives committee' (Jantan et. al, 2005 : 98).

Thus, in CCE teaching and learning, besides prioritising patriotism and good values, students are supposed to be involved in active learning activities in order to gain civics knowledge and to develop civics skills and values. Among the activities suggested are brainstorming, role-play, debate, research, discussion, study visits and organising classroom or school events. A teaching guideline booklet which included active learning, using cartoons in teaching and learning and brain-based learning (CDC, 2005) is provided too. However, the way this booklet is structured is more towards reading notes, rather than the promotion of participatory learning. Similarly, despite attempts made, the promotion of creative and critical thinking seemed to be minimal as most of CCE teaching and learning activities presented in CCE textbooks are more towards recalling information and reinforcing the interpretation of information provided in texts. For instance, in the Form Four subtopic 'The Responsibilities of Malaysia Citizens' under the theme 'Malaysian

Sovereignty', the reading text presented is followed with comprehension questions which among them are:

- What is the necessary behaviour that Malaysian citizens must have to defend Malaysia's constitution?
- List the values that will emerge if every Malaysian citizen obeys the constitution provision.
- Predict what is going to happen if its own citizens do not respect Malaysia's constitution.

(Ramli et.al, 2007: 138).

Despite that these questions seem to provide opportunities for critical thinking, in actuality the answers are clearly stated in the reading texts provided. Thus, critical thinking relies on the teaching and learning approaches adopted by CCE teachers. Subsequently, minimal critical thinking skills would be developed if CCE teachers merely teach what is presented in CCE textbooks. Indeed, although in 'Malaysia's Sovereignty' theme, students are provided with topics such as 'The Importance of Malaysia's Constitution' and 'Main Provisions of Malaysia's Constitution', the emphasis is on the need to understand the history of the Constitution and to uncritically and unquestionably obey the constitution's main provisions. Moreover, despite the attempt to promote active participation such as through the subtopic 'Voting', minimal opportunity is actually provided for students to participate in democratic processes.

As indicated in the CCE syllabus and syllabus specifications, in each schooling year, students need to participate in a minimum of ten hours community service projects that aim to provide opportunities for students to apply the civics knowledge, skills and values in contributing towards society and the nation and to develop patriotic, caring and responsible citizens. Themes for the community service project are determined in the syllabus, which for Form Two is, 'Living in Society'; Form Three, 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' and Form Four, 'Malaysian Sovereignty'. Among the community projects suggested in these documents are helping old folks at the old folks' home, volunteering at special needs children's homes or orphanages, organising a Malaysian multicultural exhibition, undertaking Malaysian multiethnic cultural performances or exhibitions on the meaning of independence, and researching the contribution of Malaysia's leaders. Students

are given the opportunity to discuss and decide on the activities that they would like to do. A simple strategy for implementing the community service project, which includes planning, practical work, reflection, report and acknowledgements are also provided in these syllabus specifications.

Despite awarded with statutory status, CCE is non-examined in any external National Examinations. Analysis showed that the means of assessing CCE is briefly mentioned in only a two line sentence in the CCE KBSM syllabus and syllabus specification. Indeed, the means of assessing CCE is not clearly specified in any document analysed, except that schools are provided with a booklet on the guidelines in assessing CCE. This tells teachers that they are expected to continuously assess their students' development and achievement in all aspects of civics and citizenship knowledge, skills and values through various assessment instruments suggested, which are internal examinations, assignments, reports, observation and a behavioural checklist. Examples on the ways to assess students' civics and citizenship knowledge, skills and values in each schooling years' themes and topics are provided in the assessment guideline. In these examples, teachers are supposed to continuously assess students' knowledge, skills and values in each topic taught based on the learning outcomes indicated in the syllabus specification. These examples clearly illustrate that assessment should begin by assessing students' knowledge based on the intended topics and subtopics followed by assessing the skills and values demonstrated in the teaching and learning activities. Guidance for assessing the CCE community service project, which include the grading component and criteria, reporting formats and forms to be used in conducting these projects are also provided. Among the forms provided are a community service project members and task list form, evaluation report, students' self-reflection form, students' community service evaluation forms and student's achievement report form. Examples of filled up forms are also provided in this assessment guideline. It would seem that the package of guidelines, if followed, would support the intention that engagement in CCE should be active, reflective and participative.

As shown in Table 5.1., CCE, similar to other National Curriculum subjects, is allocated with per capita financial aid based on school students' enrolment.

Table 5.1: Rates for Secondary School Per Capita Aids

Types of Aid	Below 100 pupils	101 – 500 pupils	501 – 1,000 pupils	Above 1,001 pupils
CCE	RM1,000	RM1,000 + RM8.00 per students for enrolment over 100 pupils	RM4,200 + RM6.00 per student for enrolment over 500 pupils	RM7,2000 + RM4.00 per student for enrolment over 1,000 pupils

(Finance Division, MOE, 2005)

This financial aid is to be used to purchase teaching resources and equipment for CCE teaching and learning purposes, study visits and activities and CCE community service projects which include organising community service programs, inviting speakers, students' and teachers' transport, travel insurances, accommodation and meals (CDC, 2006b). However, in terms of teaching aids, teachers are only provided with CCE videos on the Eduwebtv.com; (<http://eduwebtv.com/v2/>) the official WebTV developed by the Ministry of Education Technological Division. Before moving to the analysis of citizenship education in England, from the documents analysed it can be concluded that in ensuring that CCE could be successfully transferred into teaching and learning practices, schools have been provided with various guidance and funding such as curriculum specifications, textbooks and yearly financial aid.

5.3 Citizenship Education in England

In England, in 1999 *Citizenship Education* (CE) was introduced as a non-statutory subject taught in 'Personal and Social Education (PSE) or 'Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE)' at the Infant and Junior School which is for primary school students aged five to eleven years old and to Key Stage 1 and 2 students from September 2000. However, from September 2002, CE became a statutory subject for secondary school students aged eleven to sixteen years old at Key Stage 3 and 4. In England, the literature (see Chapter Three) suggested that there was a large number of competing ideas on the reasons for CE in the school curriculum which marked the contestation of CE.

In implementing CE in the school curriculum, schools are given the autonomy to decide how to develop the curriculum and the delivery methods to be adopted as CE is 'designed to be "light touch" and flexible' (QCA, 2001 : 3). Schools are supposedly to develop and deliver CE based on 'the particular needs and circumstances of the school' (QCA, 2002a : 11) and also responsible for providing 'a broad range of active citizenship experiences' (QCA, 2001 : 14) to their students by engaging and participating in school, local and wider community activities and by working with their own peers (QCA, 2002a). For example, for Key Stage 4 students, CE can 'be delivered through planned programmes combining:

- discrete provision with separate curriculum time;
- explicit opportunities through activities that address citizenship objectives alongside other areas of the curriculum;
- whole-school and suspended timetable activities; and
- increasing opportunities for pupils to learn through their participation in the life of the school and wider community'

(QCA, 2002a : 3).

Indeed, in the Teachernet, one of the official citizenship education websites, CE has been interpreted as could take place 'everywhere...it can happen:

- through a whole school approach in curriculum time
- via dedicated citizenship lessons
- through existing subjects, e.g. PSHE education, history, geography, RE and science
- through the National Healthy School Standard Initiative
- through the Key Stage 3 Strategy
- in extra-curricular activities and special events
- in the community
- at home
- through volunteering'

(Teachers.Net: online)

The main aim of CE as stated in the National Curriculum and emphasised in the schemes of work and teacher's guidance developed by the Qualifications and Curriculum

Authority (QCA), is to develop students' 'knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels...to become informed, thoughtful and responsible citizens who are aware of their duties and rights' (DEFS, 1999 : 12). Thus, social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy underpin citizenship knowledge, skills and understanding that need to be developed through this subject. In developing students as informed citizens, the National Curriculum has specified ten areas of citizenship knowledge and understanding that need to be taught which among them are:

- the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning society and how they relate to citizens, including the role and operation of the criminal and civil justice systems
- the work of parliament, the government and the courts in making and shaping the law
- the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes
- the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change, locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally

(DEFS, 1999 : 15)

Thus, CE in the English curriculum intends to develop effective and responsible citizens who would be able to actively participate and practice their rights and duties in wider society. It is also supposed to provide opportunities for students to promote their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and to develop students' practical skills which include skills in enquiring and communicating various sensitive and controversial social, political and community issues, skills in IT and ICT, skills in applying number and statistics in various social and political contexts, skills in working in responsible actions with others in the community, skills in improving their own learning and performance and skills in solving problems. Moreover, CE should also provide the opportunity to develop students' thinking skills, financial capabilities, economic capabilities, work-related learning and education for sustainable development. All of these skills are linked to citizenship programmes of study which are emphasised in the key concepts of democracy and justice, rights and responsibilities and identities and diversity. This indicates that CE in England does not only put emphasis on ethical, moral and political issues but the aspects of social, financial and economic are also seen as essential in students' lives.

To assist schools in implementing CE in Key Stage 4, schools are provided with a Programme of Study, Guidance on Assessment, Recording and Reporting, Work-related Learning at Key Stage 4 and A Scheme of Work for Key Stage 4 which consists of a Teacher's Guide, Exemplar Teaching Units and Booklets of Ideas, Staying Involved: Extending Opportunities for Pupil Participation developed by QCA. In the scheme of work, there are twelve standalone exemplar citizenship teaching units which are built upon nineteen citizenship teaching units in Key Stage 3 that are linked to the knowledge, skill and understanding of citizenship that need to be developed and linked to the aims of the key concepts indicated in the programme of study. As mentioned earlier, students could experience these teaching units in various ways including by integrating them with other National Curriculum statutory subjects. Schools are also given the autonomy to decide on the depth and the way of addressing these units depending on 'the needs, priorities and interests of teachers, pupils and the school' (QCA, 2002b : 7). These twelve citizenship units are:

- i) Human Rights
- ii) Crime – Young People and Car Crime
- iii) Challenging Racism and Discrimination
- iv) How and Why Are Laws Made?
- v) How The Economy Functions
- vi) Business and Enterprise
- vii) Taking Part – Planning A Community Event
- viii) Producing The News
- ix) Consumer Rights and Responsibilities
- x) Rights and Responsibilities In The World Of Work
- xi) Europe – Who Decides?
- xii) Global Issues, Local Action

(QCA, 2002a : 6).

Each exemplar teaching unit provides clear guidance and suggestions to assist teachers in transferring CE into teaching and learning practices. The expectations of what students 'will know and be able to do' (QCA, 2002a : 7) and the citizenship knowledge, skill and understanding to be attained at the end of each unit are clearly laid out in each and every

teaching unit. These standalone citizenship units also include suggested teaching activities, resources and a list of subjects that could be used and linked with each unit. Indeed, further information and suggestions are included in each unit 'Points to note' section.

The need to develop students' knowledge and understanding in becoming citizens who are able to develop enquiry and communication skills and to participate with responsible action can clearly be seen in the learning objectives and suggested activities presented in CE teaching exemplars. For example, in Unit 9 under the topic 'Consumer Rights and Responsibilities', it begins with developing students' knowledge on 'what it means to be a consumer and about the rights and responsibilities of consumers' (QCA, 2002d: Unit 9). This is then followed with suggested activities such as investigating the different goods and services used in their schools, researching the impact of tourism on a chosen area and investigating the production of an international product, which encourages students to identify citizens' roles and responsibilities as consumers in the community and wider society. These activities not only provide students with valuable knowledge, but also the opportunity to exercise their roles as active citizens. Moreover, these suggested activities provide them with the opportunity to discuss and communicate their own opinions and to present their own advertising campaign in educating consumers, all necessary skills to be informed and responsible citizens. Indeed, these approaches are adopted throughout CE teaching units.

Moreover, CE exemplar topics not only deal with matters related to students' surrounding lives, but also with national and global related issues. For example, under the topic 'Human Rights' in Unit 1, in understanding the meaning of human rights, students are asked to discuss issues that are closely related to themselves such as 'whether the law is right to prevent parents hitting children with sticks but to allow smacking by hand' (QCA, 2002d : Unit 1). This is then followed with activities related to the development of human rights both in the United Kingdom and Europe. These learning objectives and outcomes do not merely stop there as students are then introduced and exposed to more controversial and sensitive issues occurring globally such as slavery, child labour and discrimination. Subsequently, in Unit 11 under the topic 'Europe – Who Decides?' and in Unit 12 under the topic 'Global Issues, Local Action', among the learning objectives are

‘for individuals and voluntary groups to bring social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally’ and to ‘express, justify and defend orally and in writing a personal opinion about such issues, problems and events’ (QCA, 2002a). These units encourage exploring citizenship responsibilities beyond their own community and society and among the suggested activities are investigating the impact of Local Agenda 21 or sustainable development on local community organisations and presenting their investigation findings through posters or leaflets, school websites or assemblies, debates with Local Agenda 21 member organisations or sending approved proposals to their Local Agenda 21 group. However, in their study, Oulton et al. (2004) indicated that CE teachers in England were ‘under-prepared and feel constrained in their ability’ (p. 489) to teach controversial issues.

Schools are also provided with guidance in providing opportunities for students to actively and responsibly participate within the school and wider community that aims ‘to extend their citizenship knowledge, skills and understanding’ and to provide them with the opportunity to ‘put these into practice through increased engagement and participation’ (QCA, 2002c: 1). Among the suggested activities are organising sports events, organising awareness-raising campaigns in their own schools, designing brochures and websites for local charities events and volunteering in charities. Additionally, schools are also encouraged to provide opportunities for students to participate and contribute to local, national government and international activities. Subsequently, it is also important for students to reflect on their participation and on knowledge, skills and understandings gained and developed from these participating in activities.

The way to assess CE in Key Stage 4 is explained in the Teacher’s Guide and the Guidance on Assessment, Recording and Reporting (QCA, 2002b). Similarly, schools are given the flexibility to decide on the best approach in assessing students’ development and achievement made in the name of CE. As stated in the Teacher’s Guide, at the end of Key Stage 4, students may be assessed as ‘working towards, achieving, working beyond or demonstrating exceptional performance’ (QCA, 2002a : 18) of the expected levels of attainment provided in the National Curriculum. Besides provided with a broad description on the aim of assessment, teachers and students also need to work together in deciding on the assessment methods. As participating actively and learning independently

are emphasised in Key Stage 4 CE, peer-assessment, self-assessment, portfolios and teacher feedback are proposed as the way for the students to review and reflect on their own progress and participation in citizenship activities. Besides awarding or accrediting students for their development in citizenship knowledge, skill and understanding, schools are also encouraged to recognise their participation and the valuable skills and attributes made through 'a range of awards, certificates, portfolios and qualifications' (QCA, 2002b : 6). In addition, schools need to send a yearly citizenship report to parents. Yet, how and what is to be included and who should be involved in this report are left to the schools as it is not compulsory to use the assessing and reporting guidelines provided (QCA, 2002b).

In supporting the implementation of CCE at the school level, Standard Funds have been allocated for schools to apply via Local Education Authorities (LEAs). Schools are given the flexibility to decide on the best way of using this CCE allocation. Among the proposed ways are to send teachers for CE in-service training, to purchase teaching resources and to visit suggested schools that deliver good practices in CE. Besides financial funding, various agencies which include universities, professional associations, government departments and voluntary and private sector agencies have developed teaching resources and professional development opportunities for school teachers. Teachernet; a government funded website for example, provided vast information and useful resources in developing well-trained and skilful CE practitioners. A vast number of resources and links to EU resources, charities and other useful websites such as CitizED, Citizenship Foundation and Council of Europe that provide support for CE were also promoted in Teachernet. Thus, England has taken initiatives in offering necessary resources ranging from teaching and project ideas to teacher professional development in accompanying the introduction of CE as a statutory subject in the National Curriculum.

5.4 Comparing CCE in Malaysia and CE in England

Concepts and Goals

The examination of Malaysian CCE documents is valuable as these describe a clear picture of the kind of citizens that Malaysian schools are supposed to develop. Similar to other countries around the world, including England, the teaching of CCE in Malaysia's

school curriculum is expected to be able to address societal problems. However, parallel to Lee's (2006) and Morris and Cogan's (2001) arguments, due to differences in Malaysia's and England's historical, political, social and educational context (Mutch, 2004; Kerr, 1999; Hann, 1999), there are differences in Asian and Western concepts, approaches, content and assessment of citizenship education. Subsequently, different from other countries including England, in which a primary goal of CE is generally to prepare students for democratic life, CCE in Malaysia is to prepare students to be good and loyal citizens who would be able to live in peace and harmony in a multiethnic and multicultural society and be able to participate actively in achieving the goal of national development. These desirable aims are in line with the aims of National Education Philosophy and Education Act 1996 which are to develop a holistic individual in the aspects of the intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical and who would be able to contribute towards a peaceful and harmonious society and towards the prosperous development of the state. Thus, the aim of Malaysian education as a tool of social cohesion and national development is further evidenced in CCE.

The analysis shows that different from England, Malaysia's CCE gives more emphasis to traditional concepts of citizenship in developing good moral and patriotic citizens viewed as necessary for the country's continued survival and development and resembles the aims of citizenship education in other Asian countries (Han, 2009; Lee, 2006; Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). In contrast, the understanding of democracy and justice, rights and responsibilities, and identities and diversity are the three key concepts of CE in England together with the development of the skills of critical thinking and enquiry, advocacy and representation and taking informed and responsible action. Subsequently, England's CE focusses on developing citizens who know their rights in the democratic system, which include political, legal, human, social, civic and moral rights, obligations and responsibilities and to understand the concept of living together in the diverse society locally, nationally and globally. Moreover, different from CCE, England's CE gives emphasis to developing citizenship skills and providing the necessary experience for students to participate in democratic decision-making which is often associated with a perceived apathy towards politics and the need to increase the number of people, especially young people, who vote in local and national elections (Keating et al., 2010)

Teaching and Learning Content

In achieving the aims of CCE, different from England, the themes in Malaysia's CCE curriculum are developed in concentric circles that begin from the aspect of the individual followed by the aspect of family, school and community and extend to the aspect of the nation and the world. This echoed Lee's (2004b) and Kennedy and Fairbrother's (2004) claims on Asian citizenship education that put more emphasis in developing harmonious relationships with the collective society. Moreover, given that values education is emphasised across the Malaysian education system (Barone & Bajunid, 2000), it should not be a surprise for values such as the values of family in the theme 'Family Relations' which is also a typical 'Asian' value is encouraged in the CCE curriculum. This is in contrast to individualism and anti-social behaviour that are almost always associated with Westernisation and, therefore, are seen as inappropriate values to be nurtured in this society (Bajunid, 2008). The way CCE themes are developed also suggest that values such as gratefulness and respecting family members are expected to be carried on and extended towards Malaysia's multiethnic and multicultural society and their political leaders. Moreover, these values are also a reminder to students about their responsibility to take good care of their family's goodwill and dignity as they should to their state too. Thus, the official CCE curriculum seems to emphasise the importance of the development of good personal values which includes loving, appreciating and respecting not only family members, community and society but political leaders and rulers too. Indeed, parallel to Lee (2006) and Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004), other Asian values which resembled the values of the existing Moral Education curriculum were evident throughout the CCE curriculum's six themes.

Due to differences in the aims of CE in England with CCE in Malaysia, the twelve CE topics are more diverse compared to the six CCE themes in Malaysia. In order to develop an informed citizen who knows their rights, responsibilities and duties in the local, national and global society, teaching activities in England's CE curriculum emphasises the process of developing active and informed citizens who are able to develop enquiry and communication skills and to participate with responsible action. Different from the teaching activities suggested in Malaysia's CCE, throughout England's CE scheme of work,

the suggested teaching activities not only provide students with valuable knowledge, but also the opportunity to exercise their roles as active citizens and the space to develop necessary skills to be informed and responsible citizens. Moreover, in contrast to England's exemplar topics which deal not only with matters related to local, national and global related issues, Malaysia's CCE syllabus deals more with local matters such as individual development, the importance of having good relations with family members, community and society and the uniqueness of diverse culture and heritage. Despite that, in Malaysia's CCE syllabus, Malaysia's relations with other countries are included under the theme 'Future Challenges', the topics and subtopics under this theme are merely presented as factual knowledge. Thus, in Malaysia's CCE curriculum, particularly as illustrated in CCE textbooks, the CCE curriculum emphasises providing and transmitting civics knowledge, skills and values. Despite an effort to move from didactic approaches being made by providing students with active participatory learning and decision-making, this effort is minimal and inadequate especially when compared to the teaching activities suggested in exemplar teaching topics in England.

Knowledge on diverse ethnic groups is promoted in both Malaysia's CCE and England's CE curriculum but this was done for different reasons. In Malaysia's CCE, this is seen as essential in promoting unity among the multiethnic and multicultural society. However, in England's CE curriculum, the need to teach students 'the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding' (DEFS, 1999 : 15), as can be seen in the expectations for students at the end of 'Unit 3', is mainly due to global migration where people from diverse countries, ethnic backgrounds and religions migrate to the United Kingdom for various reasons. Moreover, the need of understanding diversity in the United Kingdom is to promote mutual respect and understanding and to prevent the practice of racism, xenophobia, discrimination or exclusion of those in ethnic minorities. In contrast, in Malaysia's CCE, the aims of providing students with knowledge of other ethnic groups are to deepen students' understandings of different customs, festivals, heritage and religions, to foster the spirit of toleration, understanding and respect and to be proud of the uniqueness of Malaysian multiethnic society. Thus, different from England,

in Malaysia, the promotion of cultural citizenship and unity are due to the state's cultural history (see Chapter Two).

In Malaysia and England, opportunities to exercise added value skills, such as active participation, critical and creative thinking and decision-making are encouraged through teaching activities such as gathering, recording and reporting information from a variety of sources, making decisions in relation to themselves and others in the community, engaging with a community service project, electing a student representative committee and discussing environmental issues. This, in the case of England, the 8th and final cohort study (Keating et al., 2010: iii) noted a 'marked and steady increase in young people's civic and political participation and indications that these young people will continue to participate as adult citizens'. Moreover, in 'Malaysia's CCE Community Service Project', which is quite similar to England's CE topic 'Taking Part – Planning a Community Event', provided CE and CCE students with the opportunities to exercise active citizenship through participating in community-based activities in and out of the school community. However, compared to England's students, the freedom provided to Malaysian students in deciding on the projects that they like to do are more limited as they are still bound to the allocated themes and suggested activities. Indeed, students also need to produce a report based on the prescribed guideline which will then be graded based on the prescribed guideline grading scheme. In contrast, students in England are provided with a higher degree of freedom and flexibility in developing skills such as in deciding the needs of the community, in listening to others views, in communicating their own views and in identifying and meeting specific training needs. Thus, besides developing students as informed and active citizens, activities in this topic encourages students to participate in democratic action, which seems to be less visible in carrying out CCE community service projects in Malaysia's CCE curriculum.

Similar to CE in England, the CCE curriculum in Malaysia also puts more emphasis on teaching institutional politics rather than on democratic political processes and experiences. In fact, compared to England, political understanding is less visible in the Malaysian CCE curriculum. In addition, different from England, in Malaysia, the learning activities suggested in CCE textbooks are limited to discussion on less controversial topics without much encouragement on more active participation in addressing real problems and in making

changes in their school, local community and wider society. Indeed, in Malaysia's CCE, the teaching of human rights, and especially war, is dealt with only through the use of EHL modules for the Form Three students. Different from Malaysia, in England's CE, students are exposed to controversial and complex issues and are provided with opportunities to explore international current events and to view conflicts from a humanitarian perspective which enables them to develop decision making, negotiating and teamwork skills not only through three different but interrelated EHL topics but in other topics too. However, as the 8th cohort study asserted (Keating et al., 2010), in England this type of active and participatory learning, became an end in itself, that is, teachers and students were attracted to different teaching and learning strategies, often not experienced in more traditional subjects. Moreover, this interest in community issues was more evident than the promotion of other objectives, such as political understanding.

Throughout the Malaysian students' secondary schooling, in CCE the emphasis is more on moulding students' attitudes and values; to be uncritically patriotic towards their state rather than preparing them as active and democratic citizens. Within each schooling year these six themes are reiterated and elaborated with different topics and subtopics suggesting that the desired knowledge, values and attitudes of the envisaged citizen are systematically and repeatedly emphasised and nurtured into students throughout their schooling years. The prescribed themes and suggested teaching activities also indicate that students are to be inculcated with values and accepting of the knowledge provided rather than helping them to develop the skills and values to be able to actively participate in democratic life. Moreover, as presented in this curriculum, it is the responsibility of the students as Malaysian citizens not only to maintain a harmonious life but also to be grateful and loyal to the state and to be able to give back for the continued survival and development of the state. Thus, parallel to Brown's (2007) analysis of Moral Education, Local Studies and History Curricula, the CCE model promoted is towards a passive notion of citizenship rather than on the promotion of active participation in a democratic society. Additionally, both in Malaysia and England, the political literacy curriculum is not designed to question or challenge the conceptions of politics but to accept and participate actively in it. Indeed, students especially in Malaysia are expected to uncritically and unquestionably accept the civics and citizenship knowledge, skills and values presented to them. Hence,

in the official documents and particularly in Malaysia CCE curriculum, the intended curriculum puts more importance on society and the moral domain rather than the political.

Teaching and Learning Approaches

Both in Malaysia and England, governments have made an effort to develop curriculum policies designed to orient the school curriculum to provide students with opportunities to actively experience citizenship education. Indeed, in both countries citizenship education has been awarded with statutory status indicating the prevailing needs of inculcating younger generations with citizenship knowledge. However, in terms of implementation, in these two countries this statutory status carries different weight. In Malaysia's highly centralised education system, the state plays a more autocratic role in determining and defining the place of CCE in the school curriculum. Its approach to CCE is parallel to what Bernstein (1975) terms as the extent of classification. Allocating 80 minutes of the secondary school timetable per week for CCE has led to the construction (at least in terms of official policy) of CCE as a distinct school subject with potentially stronger boundaries. CCE does not only gain a specific space in the school timetable but 40 minutes of the allocated timetable was taken from another subject and the length of school week was extended in order to give way for CCE to be properly delivered in the school curriculum.

The analysis showed that the allocation of CCE as a compulsory subject in Malaysia's school timetable, similar to the allocation of citizenship education in the Asian countries in Morris and Cogan (2001) study, is what Bernstein (1971) associates with strong boundaries of CCE from other subjects and a weak framing of teachers and students in determining the subject's teaching content and method. The allocation of the CCE curriculum specification, textbooks and timetable is likely to have caused teachers and pupils not to have much say 'over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (Bernstein, 1975: 89). This is especially the case with the CCE syllabus and syllabus specification that specifically determine CCE objectives, themes, learning outcomes and suggested activities and the prescription of guidelines in reporting and grading the CCE community project. Indeed, there are also a series of forms that need to be prepared by both CCE teachers and students

in doing these projects. If used these appear to leave little space for teachers to negotiate CCE content, delivery, assessment and perhaps more likely than teachers in England, teachers in Malaysia will more closely follow the guidelines provided. Indeed, the extent to which teachers in Malaysia do or do not follow the guidelines or the possibilities for local adaptation are to be explored in the fieldwork. Thus, Malaysia is an education system that is highly centralised with a school curriculum not only dictated and controlled by those at the top, but with teachers who also are generally bound to the intended curriculum and the learning outcomes prescribed to them. Indeed, according to Lee (1999: 92), the cultural norm is for teachers to 'rely on specific instructions from above so as to avoid the risk of being accused of doing something wrong'. However, as a non-examination subject, it is interesting to investigate whether at the school level CCE is as strongly framed as intended in the official documents.

In contrast to Malaysia, England adopts a weak boundaries approach to CE implementation with little direction actually provided on how CCE should be manifested and practiced in schools. Despite detailed guidance provided by central government, in contrast to schools in Malaysia where CCE has been allocated with a specific amount of time in the formal school curriculum, schools in England are given the flexibility to decide on the most appropriate approach in providing opportunities for CE to be experienced in school. Thus, in contrast to Malaysia, in England, at the micro level CE is weakly framed as teachers and students in England are given more freedom to decide on what is going to be transmitted in CE and on the way this is going to take place. Moreover, the way schools could choose to implement CE as suggested in the curriculum guidelines might lead to invisible pedagogies (Bernstein, 1975) as the transmission and acquisition of CE could be implicitly done through its infusion or permeation across more traditional school subjects and through participating in activities provided by the school or wider community. This might lead to students not realising the transmission and acquisition of education in citizenship, as the way of implementing CE as suggested by the central government has led to 'an invisible pedagogy which is created by an implicit hierarchy, implicit sequencing rules and implicit criteria' (Bernstein, 1975: 120). This flexible approach adopted in implementing CE was claimed as leading 'to a lack of clarity, incoherence and vagueness in many schools' approaches to citizenship' (Faulks, 2006: 67). Moreover, Whitty in his study with Aggleton and Rowe (2002;

1994b) on the permeation of themes through subjects found, that at the school level teaching and learning practices it was 'the subjects rather than the themes that were given prominence' (Whitty, 2002: 9) by subject teachers. In relation to this, it should not come as a surprise that one of the recommendations in the final report of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Report on the ways to improve CE delivery in England's schools is by delivering it 'in discrete timetable slots and for more than 45 minutes per week' (Keating et al., 2010 : 5). Essentially, therefore what is also important is the status of citizenship as a subject in the mind of teachers and students, and the danger of being labelled what Paetcher (1993) called a non-subject.

Assessment

The status of England's CE and Malaysia's CCE as statutory subjects however, do not come with national examination status. In Malaysia, CCE is only examined at the school level without having any impact on students' whole examination performance. As indicated in the syllabus specification, among the ways of assessing students' civics and citizenship knowledge, skills and values are through examinations, assignments, reports, observation and behavioural checklists. However, despite these forms of assessment suggested in the official documents, it is recall of knowledge that is emphasised in CCE textbooks. Although in the official assessment guidance provided, students are supposed to be assessed on the skills and values demonstrated in CCE teaching and learning activities, these approaches seemed not to be clearly evident in these textbooks. Moreover, the prescriptive guidance provided in doing the community service project report could also be 'regarded as too prescriptive and not really an assessment of what students believe and think in terms of values, attitudes and outlook' (Clarke, 2002: 128).

In England, flexibility in teaching approaches is also adopted in assessing CE. Teachers and students are supposed to work together 'to set their own targets...in assessing their progress towards, and achievement of these targets' (QCA, 2002a: 18). However, different from other subjects, the specific criteria that need to be assessed in CE in England and CCE in Malaysia are blurred. Different from Malaysia, in CE in England, students are required to be involved in deciding on how and what to be assessed on in their education of citizenship, which potentially indicates the strong influence of teachers and students

in determining the content and method of assessment (Bernstein, 1971). Nevertheless, CE in England could be assessed in various ways, among them through peer-assessment, self-assessment, portfolios, teachers' feedback and accreditation. Unlike CCE in Malaysia, in England, rather than assessing transmitted knowledge, students are encouraged to reflect on their own progress and participation in citizenship activities. Activities in each topic will usually end with students reflecting on their own participation or reviewing information gathered through various activities.

Different from Malaysia, in England a mixture of summative and formative assessments are supposed to be adopted in assessing students' progress in knowledge, understanding and skills of becoming informed and active citizens. This could be done for example through the way students demonstrated their understanding of the key concepts related to the topic or issue discussed, through their research findings and the way they presented them and through their contributions to discussion and debate. Thus, unlike Malaysia where assessment gives more emphasis on mastering the civics knowledge taught, in England the objective of assessment is on evaluating the development and progress that students have made in going through the process of being informed and active citizens. Indeed, different from England that required the schools to send a yearly citizenship report to parents and encourage schools to award students involvement and development made in the aspects of CE through awards and accreditations, these are not practiced in Malaysia and contribute to its lack of recognition or visibility (Bernstein, 2000) by students. However, the final CELS study indicated that one of the factors for students to have a higher level of 'received citizenship' was through formal and external examinations (Keating et al., 2010). Similarly, the need of assessment in citizenship education was viewed as necessary in order to upgrade the status of this subject (Osler and Starkey, 2004; Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004).

5.5 Conclusions

Citizenship education has been seen as essential to be introduced in the school curriculum both in Malaysia and England. However, due to the historical background and present challenges, differences could be seen in the concept, aims, design, content and assessment of this new subject. In Malaysia and England, ample support, especially in terms

of curriculum guidance, has been provided to support teachers in delivering citizenship. Yet, more teaching support including ideas for teaching and learning activities, citizenship knowledge and professional development, are provided in England than in Malaysia. Moreover, unlike in England where the implementation of citizenship education in the school curriculum is a 'light touch' and flexible, in Malaysia specific time is devoted to teach CCE in the school curriculum. Nevertheless, despite awarded with statutory status, in both countries, this is not followed with National external examination status.

The aims and objectives of these subjects differed as in England, CE puts importance on the promotion of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. Indeed, developing informed citizens that would be able to participate and make changes in the democratic political system and society is an aim of England's curriculum. This differs from Malaysia where the CCE intended curriculum strives to develop good moral and patriotic citizens who would be able to maintain peace and harmony in society and contribute to the development of society and the country. The model of citizenship embedded in Malaysia's curriculum is one that is essentially passive where students are being socialised into accepting a passive conception of citizenship and into Malaysia's own notion of democracy. The analysis also shows that Malaysia, similar to other Asian countries puts different emphasis on the values that are going to be inculcated in students. Thus, similar to other Asian countries, citizenship education in Malaysia stresses the development of individual and harmonious relationships with the other members in the community and society (Lee, 2004), and tends to avoid the in-depth analysis of controversial issues.

In addition, in both Malaysia and England the intended curriculums are produced by government agencies that already had specific ideas and aims to be developed and produced in the younger generation. In Malaysia's curriculum, the discourse of unity and patriotism are prioritised as a way of maintaining the country's stability and harmony and in facing internal and external threats. These elements have been properly 'structured and organised' (Rapley, 2007: 113) throughout the official documents together with the textbook contents that 'seeks to persuade' (Rapley, 2007: 113) the reader, that is the teachers as the micro policy implementers, in understanding the importance of developing these elements in the secondary school students. Furthermore, as a document could also

have its own function (Prior; 2004), it could be seen that these CCE documents in Malaysia acted as a political tool to promote specific concepts of citizenship among the younger generation, that is a citizen who is grateful and loyal to the state. Similarly, Brown (2007: 15), in his analysis claimed that the Malaysian 'education system promotes a concept of citizenship that posits Malaysian 'unity' as constantly under threat and requiring for its protection unconditional loyalty to the BN' (Barisan National).

The importance of CE in England meanwhile is illustrated through a series of themes in the scheme of work and various suggestions about the ways CE could be delivered in the school curriculum. However, the implicit way to exercise these numerous elements of citizenship in the school curriculum is not clearly spelled out in all of the analysed documents. This, according to research conducted, not only led to ineffectiveness in delivering this subject but also minimal effect of citizenship education on the students (Keating et al., 2010; Keating et al, 2009; Kerr et al, 2007; Faulks 2006). Indeed, these various suggestions on the way to deliver citizenship education 'can only lead to confusion' (Faulks, 2006: 67) to the micro policy implementers which have further led to the suggestion of providing CE with its own timetable (Keating et al., 2010; Faulks, 2006).

The documents analysed showed that both governments have made an attempt to establish a new subject. At least from the point of view of original planning, it seems that CCE was well intentioned and, at least initially, well supported with guidance materials, teaching materials, specific allocated resource and, critically, space in timetable. Nevertheless, despite Malaysia's highly centralised CCE curriculum, the way this policy is interpreted and enacted at the micro level and the degree of importance the Malaysian teachers attach to this subject is yet to be discovered. Subsequently, the next chapters focus on a qualitative study of how this curriculum is interpreted and transferred into teaching and learning practices. Thus, the chapters will not only explore teachers understanding on citizenship and CCE but also from teachers' accounts and fieldwork, the way this intended curriculum is enacted in the secondary schools curriculum.

CHAPTER SIX

UNDERSTANDING SCHOOL CONTEXTS

6.1 Introduction

Policy enactment refers to ‘an understanding that policies are interpreted and ‘translated’ by diverse policy actors in the school environment, rather than simply implemented’ (Braun et al., 2010: 547). Thus, ‘what happens inside a school in terms of how policies are interpreted and enacted is complex and will be mediated by institutionally inflected factors’ (Maguire et al., 2010 : 157). Accordingly, at the school level, CCE curriculum policy would not be similarly interpreted and similarly translated as, in different schools, this policy would be entering with different histories, infrastructures, staffing profiles and teaching and learning challenges (Ball et al., 2012; Braun et al., 2011a; Maguire et al., 2010). Moreover, ‘schools produce their own ‘take’ on policy, drawing on aspects of their culture or ethos, as well as on the situated necessities’ (Braun et al., 2010 : 547). Oliver and Heater (1994 : 168) too argued that, ‘the extreme difficulty of providing truly effective citizenship education in schools may be highlighted by reminding readers of the context in which the schools operate’. Indeed, the contexts where the schools are situated needs to be taken into consideration as in teaching CCE, what transpired in one school context might not in another school context (Oliver and Heater, 1994).

Accordingly, this chapter discusses the different school contexts that might have influenced the way CCE curriculum policy was interpreted and translated at the four schools with over representative of (i) Malay (*Anggerik School*), (ii) Chinese (*Bakawali School*), (iii) Indian (*Cempaka School*) and (iv) mixed (*Dahlia School*) student populations. To explore this issue further, this chapter draws on CCE and non-CCE teachers’ interviews, school documents and observations made in these four schools. However, the way the enactment of CCE was mediated by these different school contexts would only be discussed in the following chapters. Thus, the intention of this chapter is to specifically discuss the school contexts of the four schools visited in order to better address research question two; ‘what understanding do CCE teachers, particularly in Selangor, have of citizenship and CCE’ and also research question three; ‘how do teachers as micro enactors transfer CCE curriculum

policy into teaching and learning practices. Subsequently, this chapter is to better understand the way citizenship and CCE was perceived by teachers in these schools (see Chapter Seven) and the way school contexts mediated the enactment of CCE in these schools (see Chapter Eight). In exploring the school contexts, besides school ethos and cultures, this study also adopted the contextual dimensions used by Braun et al. (2011a) which are *situated*, *material* and *external* contexts. Although the aspects in these contexts are separately discussed, each does not actually stand on its' own but can overlap and are interconnected with one another.

6.2 Situated Contexts

Anggerik, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* are urban schools situated around 31 kilometres from Kuala Lumpur, the capital state of Malaysia. In 2011, 92% of 1669 *Anggerik* school student population was Malay. This reflects the school location which is in a high population Muslim housing area. Besides Form One to Form Five, it also provides education for special need students. Different from *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* school is situated in a fast developing and busy city with a more mixed ethnic population and caters for Form One to Form Six students. However, with Malaysian Chinese dominating the Malaysian business and commerce sectors, it was not a surprise that a higher proportion of the population in this commercial city are Chinese. Accordingly, in 2011, 63% of the 2276 *Bakawali* school student population was Chinese. Despite being situated just two kilometres from *Bakawali*, *Dahlia* school with 1269 students was more equally mixed among the Malay, Chinese, and Indian. The location of these urban schools is also reflected in the students' socioeconomic background as they generally came from middle to upper socioeconomic background.

Cempaka school meanwhile, is situated in a small and peaceful town surrounded by multiracial villages and oil palm plantations. In contrast to the other three schools, which are situated in cities well provided with many upscale amenities, *Cempaka* school is situated in a small town with basic amenities and infrastructures. Historically, the Indians came to Malaysia to work as 'coolies' in estates and plantations and although there are now more Indians working in the professional workforce, the estates and plantations are still weighted by them (Santhiram, 1992). In accordance, in 2011, 64% of *Cempaka* school 1107 students' population were Indian. Besides Form One to Form Five, similar to *Dahlia*, *Cempaka* school

also caters for Remedial classes, which is the class for students from the Chinese and Tamil National Primary Schools who do not manage to score at least Grade C in their Primary School National Examination (UPSR) Malay language paper and who are incapable of speaking good Malay. The reason for having an extra school year for these students is to strengthen their competency in Malay language as it is the medium of instruction in secondary school. Unlike the other three schools, most of *Cempaka* school students come from lower to middle socioeconomic background. Table 6.1 shows the summary of the key features of the four schools visited for the 2011 school year.

Table 6.1: Summary of Schools Key Features

School	<i>Anggerik</i>	<i>Bakawali</i>	<i>Cempaka</i>	<i>Dahlia</i>
Location	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Established	1997	1993	1966	1981
School structure	Special Need Students, Form 1 to Form 5	Form 1 to Form 6	Remove class to Form 5	Remove class to Form 5
Students' population by ethnicity	M (92%) C (3%) I (4%) O (1%)	M (23%) C (63%) I (11%) O (3%)	M (24%) C (12%) I (64%) O (%)	M (39%) C (36%) I (23%) O (2%)
Students' population	1669	2276	1107	1269
Teachers' population by ethnicity	M (96%) C (2%) I (2%) O (0%)	M (53%) C (33%) I (12%) O (2%)	M (74%) C (3%) I (22%) O (1%)	M (65%) C (23%) I (12%) O (0%)
Teachers' population	122	136	72	86
Students socioeconomic background	Middle to upper	Middle to upper	Lower to middle	Middle to upper

* M = Malay, C = Chinese, I = Indian, O = Others

The different locations of the schools further lead to differences in the characteristics of the intakes. As noted, *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools intakes comprised students from well-off family backgrounds who give emphasis to academic achievement. Generally, students in these three schools continuously strive for good results in the National Examinations and differ from *Cempaka* school, which seemed to be struggling to upgrade students' examinations performance. Indeed, as recorded in the field

notes, the pressure faced by *Cempaka* school teachers with their school being graded as one of Selangor low academic performance schools could be felt throughout my visit in this school. Due to this low rank, this school was constantly being visited by various meso level officers, which put further stress on these teachers.

Braun et al. (2011a) suggested that one of the ways for these teachers to cope with their frustration is to look for explanations from the characteristics of their students. Accordingly, in this research, the analysis drawn from teachers' interviews were 'not meant to criticise schools for potentially stereotyping their students' (Braun et al., 2011a : 590) but were meant to illustrate that students characteristics is also one of the 'active' (Braun et al., 2011a : 590) factors that mediate the way CCE curriculum was enacted in these four schools. From the interviews, it was apparent that to *Cempaka* school teachers, low socioeconomic and family background was among the reasons for the low performance of these students. To a senior CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, despite effort made by the teachers, due to their students' characteristics, the problems to increase the school's examination performance remained. Moreover, to some *Cempaka* school teachers, some of their students were viewed as neither having a purpose nor a high ambition in their life. As well as being viewed by a number of teachers as lacking a role model in the family with low socioeconomic background, this was also due to mind-sets and attitudes of students and surrounding society that were not academically motivated. As stated by these two male teachers:

'...in this school, maybe 'good' students in the front class they have their target that they intend to achieve, for their career and so on. For students in other classes, as if life is nothing, they are just wasting their time' (Cempaka 12)

'At the end of the day, these students tend to follow what their father has been doing, their father is a palm harvester, the son feel I might go one step further, I become a car repossesses guy. So he feels that is an achievement' (Cempaka 9)

To another non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, students' attitude particularly those '*at the back classes*' (Cempaka 13) who did not even put much emphasis on his Mathematic subject which is an external National Examination subject, would mediate the way CCE was enacted in this school. What is suggested here is that there were differences in these four schools

because 'by treating all schools as being the same and thus capable of achieving the same, they render unimportant, perhaps even invisible, the social and economic inequalities that really prevent some students from doing as well as others' (Thrupp & Lupton, 2006 : 312). Differences in the characteristics of the school intakes could 'cumulatively make a considerable difference to school processes and student achievement' (Thrupp & Lupton, 2006 : 309) and could also influence the way CCE was interpreted and translated in each school as will be illustrated in the following chapters.

To *Cempaka* school teachers, proficiency in Malay language, which is the medium of instruction in most of the subjects taught in the secondary school syllabus, was another reason for their students to be further left behind in their education. In fact, as would be shown in Chapter Eight, in *Cempaka* school, the way CCE was translated into teaching and learning practices was highly influenced by students' proficiency in this language. As elaborated by this CCE teacher with more than eighteen years of teaching experiences in this school:

'In my opinion, majority of the students here are Indian and they don't understand Malay language...I don't know whether they even understand the title of the subject... CCE needs lots of reading, lots of knowledge, understanding and so on. They need to comment but if they themselves could not understand, could not communicate properly, could not elaborate, how are they going to succeed. Language, in my school that's the main problem' (Cempaka 8)

To a few *Cempaka* school teachers, students' inability to properly communicate and to understand Malay language was due to their primary school backgrounds, many of which are from the Chinese and Tamil National Primary Schools. Since Chinese and Tamil is the medium of instruction in these two vernacular primary schools, it was claimed that students from these schools later had difficulties to understand the teaching and learning that took place in the secondary school. Although, this problem was also faced in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, the number of teachers who indicated such problems was smaller.

To a small number of teachers, the existence of vernacular primary schools was also affecting the process of unity and cause for the younger generations to be ethnically segregated. A non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school argued that ethnic segregation that had begun from an early age had not only led to lack of opportunity for different ethnic groups

to communicate but also led to lack of toleration among the different ethnic groups. Parallel to Raman and Sua (2010), some teachers in the four schools argued that students had been ethnically segregated since early age due to the existence of the primary vernacular schools in the education system. Moreover, as pointed out by another non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, the ethnic groups were also segregated at secondary level through the existence of Chinese private schools and Islamic religious schools (Raman and Sua, 2010). However, to a senior Chinese teacher in *Anggerik* school, '*preserving our own ethnic culture*' (*Anggerik 18*) was the reason for the continuous existence of the vernacular schools which echoed the analysis made by Collins (2006). Indeed, to some teachers, the existence of 'vernacular education system provides the language and idiom of opposition whether in official or daily contexts, and is the perfect breeding ground for different ethnic viewpoints and embedded interests' (Shamsul, 2008: 15). A senior *Dahlia* school CCE teacher for example, questioned the indoctrination that might be instilled in the Chinese Primary Schools students. This Malay CCE teacher claimed that the sense of dissatisfaction; '*sometimes from Chinese students we heard, these are all for Malays, not for Chinese*'; and '*the feeling of dislike towards the country has been sowed*' (*Dahlia 7*) in some of these vernacular schools' Chinese students. Moreover, a small number of Malay and Chinese teachers in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools; school over representative of Chinese students and school with mixed students; claimed that there were parents, particularly the Chinese who had '*indoctrinated*' (*Dahlia 1*) their children with negative perceptions on their own country. As informed by a CCE Chinese teacher in *Bakawali* school; '*I think parents (make face), always said bad thing about the country (Bakawali 2)*' and to another Chinese CCE Head of Humanities in *Dahlia School*;

'It is quite an unsafe topic to talk because I feel this is closely link to our politics because maybe students have been drum in by their parents, that work opportunity, education opportunity not so good in Malaysia' (*Dahlia 1*).

This dissatisfaction and claim of indoctrination that seemed to be more apparent in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools might be rooted in political, economic, social and education special privileges allocated to the *Bumiputera* and the Malay through the preferential policy (see Chapter Two). In fact, an Indian non-CCE teacher and a Chinese CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school voiced their students' dissatisfaction towards education quota allocated in this

policy. The resistance towards this preferential policy such as a public university and scholarship ethnic quota to further education was also voiced by the top-achieving Chinese secondary schoolgirls in Joseph's research (2006). Thus, as argued by Shamsul and Daud (2006 : 133), 'to most Malaysians, it is the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* ethnic divide that is perceived as significant...This has important wider implications in the social life of Malaysians'. Shamsul (2008) further argued that the vernacular school system is among the causes for 'the thickening of the barriers creating ethnic insulation and segregation at the individual personal level' (p. 13).

Moreover, in contrast to the other three schools, a high number of *Cempaka* school students were also incompetent in English language which until recently Mathematics and Science was taught. Indeed, teachers informed that some of these urban school students did not only prefer to communicate in English, but as claimed by some *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools teachers, there were students who preferred English to be the secondary school medium of instruction. Thus, to some students and perhaps reinforced by some of their teachers, English language was used as their 'identity marker that enhances the perception of their personal and social status' (Wong et al., 2012: 145). Likewise, to *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* school students who were located in 'the more urbanised...and middle-class sections of Malaysian society' (Tan, 2005: 60) proficiency in English language was also seen as becoming increasingly important in order to compete in the global knowledge economy. Indeed, in parallel with Lee et al.'s (2010) finding, some of these urban teachers related their students' preference towards English language to westernisation. Moreover, a small number of these urban school students even questioned the need to learn Malay language. Thus, despite this National Language, the '*language of unity*' (*Bakawali 4*) that is expected to unite the multiethnic society (Yaacob et al., 2011), in reality in some schools especially those in the urban areas, Malay language is '*increasingly left out in its own country*' (*Anggerik 12*). Similarly, there were also students in these urban schools who had similar views on History, a subject to develop and strengthen the spirit of patriotism and national identity among the Malaysian younger citizens (Ministry of Education, 2000). Thus, with students questioning the need of History in the school curriculum, despite it being an external National Examinations subject, it would not be a surprise if CCE teachers faced more difficulties in teaching CCE that carried a non-examination status. Indeed, as explained

by a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school, the low perceptions on some school subjects were due to the fact that different subjects brought different value to these different ethnic group students:

'For Indian students, History is important because they want to be a lawyer or judge, for Chinese, business and management so more towards Mathematics, English and Chinese Languages. For Malay, to them the requirement to get a place to study abroad is not based on Malay language' (Bakawali 12).

Lack of positive attitudes was another student characteristic brought up by teachers in the four schools visited. However, this was brought up more often in *Bakawali* school; a school over representative of Chinese students. To some *Bakawali* school Malay teachers, this was also attributed to students' primary school backgrounds. A senior Malay *Bakawali* school teacher who has more than twelve years teaching experience for example, claimed that any ethnic group students who came from National Primary schools had better attitudes compared to students from Chinese National Primary School. Meanwhile, to a Chinese senior teacher in the same school, this was due to the way Chinese students were brought up and their parents' emphasis on achievement. Thus, Chinese students were viewed by some *Bakawali* school Malay and non-Malay teachers as having different characteristics and cultures. As experienced by this young CCE teacher, *'from their parents, they have been taught to ask questions to their teachers to prove that they are more knowledgeable' (Bakawali 11)*. Meanwhile, to another young Malay teacher who had grown up and had her schooling in a state with a majority of Malay society, admitted having a problem teaching in *Bakawali* school. Despite it being a National Secondary School, she felt like she was in a *'Chinese school'* (*Bakawali 10*) as the sense of *'Chineseness'* was strongly felt in this school. A few *Bakawali* school Malay teachers also claimed that there were parents of Chinese students who had instilled in their children the perception that Malay teachers were not as excellent as the Chinese teachers. A senior Malay teacher in this school claimed that extra efforts need to be made by Malay teachers to prove, not only to some students, but to administrators too, their ability to teach Mathematics and Science subjects. Thus, teaching in *Bakawali* school, a school with over representation of Chinese students, seemed to be a bigger challenge to some teachers and this was especially to Malay teachers. However, it should be remembered that this research was not looking

at the influence of school administrators or leadership, but are used to further illustrate the different situated context that teachers, in this case *Bakawali* school teachers, had to deal with.

Bakawali school students' lack of personality was also personally witnessed and experienced in observing *Bakawali* school CCE classes. While waiting to enter the class to be observed, two students went out without informing the teacher who was teaching at the front of the class. Moreover, in the other three classes observed, the students just left me on my own in finding a seating place. Indeed, in one class, none of the students offered to help carry the chair to the back of the class. Besides lacking in respect, a CCE teacher who was also a Discipline Teacher and a non-CCE teacher in this school also brought up the issue of parents threatening to take legal action on *Bakawali* school teachers which was viewed as interrelated to parents' socioeconomic advantages. For some *Bakawali* school teachers, such parental advantage also led to students' lack of concern towards simple responsibilities, such as cleaning classrooms and school compounds, as most of their parents could afford to have maids to do such chores at their own home. As claimed by these teachers, besides pampering their children, to some parents '*the students come to school to learn, not to do anything else*' (*Bakawali 2*). The urban parents' socioeconomic advantages particularly those in *Bakawali* school also led some teachers to think their students had more knowledge about other countries as they were used to having holidays abroad.

It was not only Chinese students' attitudes that were commented on. Both in *Anggerik* and *Cempaka* schools, there were teachers who noted the Malay and Indian students' lack of behaviour and discipline. For example, similar to the young *Bakawali* school teacher, a *Bumiputera* teacher in *Cempaka* school admitted to having problems teaching in that school due to the Indian students' characters which was thought as different from her previous school students the majority of whom were *Bumiputera* and Malay. However, to a Chinese non-CCE teacher in *Anggerik* school who had experience teaching in *Dahlia* school, '*when I compared Malay students, they are more polite, that's what I see, maybe they have this manner also*' (*Anggerik 18*). Moreover, a Malay CCE teacher in the same school who had experience of teaching in a rural school with more

mixed ethnic students, found that it was much easier to teach the non-Malay students in *Anggerik* school, a school over represented with Malay students, as *'they are used to be brought up among the Malay community...they understand better'* (*Anggerik 5*).

There were also *Bakawali* school teachers who did not feel valued and appreciated by their students as a high number of their students could afford to have private tuition. With private tutoring heavily practiced in Malaysia (Bray, 2007), it was a norm for school students to go for private tuition and for schools to provide extra classes in order to attain excellent results in the National Examinations. Yet, different from the other three schools, *Bakawali* school did not provide extra classes for their students as due to the family socioeconomic background, parents not only could afford to pay for private tutors but they also preferred for their children to have extra classes from private tutors or private tuition centres. Although, there were *Anggerik* and *Dahlia* schools teachers who brought up the negative effects of private tuition, due to family socioeconomic and the Chinese culture that stressed on excellence, the negative effect of tuition was more strongly voiced by *Bakawali* school teachers. For example, as informed by a CCE female teacher *'sometimes they asked the tuition teacher to check the work marked by their school teachers; it's as if they trust their tuition teacher more'* (*Bakawali 4*). Thus, 'the spirit of hard work and *kiasu* attitudes in being selfish, competitive and afraid to lose in the schooling environment with the goal of obtaining high grades' (Joseph, 2006 : 45) could generally be found among *Bakawali* school students.

6.3 Materials Contexts

In this study, material contexts refer to schools' 'staffing, available technologies and surrounding infrastructure' that 'can have considerable impact on policy enactments on the ground' (Braun et al., 2011a: 592). *Anggerik* school, one of the Ministry of Education '*Projek Sinar*' school projects was established in 1997. Under this project, modern building designs with secondary and primary schools equipped with complete infrastructures are located in one spacious school compound. *Bakawali* school was built in 1993 and with the efforts of the previous and present head teachers, this school had been equipped with complete infrastructure and modern facilities. Every year this school has plans to improve the school infrastructure. Indeed, during my visit, *Bakawali* school teachers and students were busy

making preparations for a school carnival that aimed to finance a new students' lavatory that resembles the 'Rest&Relax' (R&R) lavatories found along Malaysia highways. Similarly, through the efforts of the present and previous headmasters, the infrastructures and facilities in *Dahlia* school, built in 1981, have been improved and upgraded. However, compared to the other schools, facilities in *Cempaka* school, established in 1963, could be considered as basic. This lack of facilities was brought up by a couple of teachers but as commented by a senior teacher in this school, the facilities provided would usually not last long as most students were incapable of taking care and appreciating them. With complete infrastructures provided in *Anggerik* school, the administrators' emphasis was on improving the school's management and students' academic performance and personality. However, for the other schools administrators, efforts were also being made to improve their school infrastructure and facilities.

The materials found in these schools reflected students' and surrounding society socioeconomic. For example, due to the fact that a high number of *Bakawali* school students could afford to spend in the school canteen, had allowed the canteen operator to sell varieties of food throughout the two school sessions. Indeed, as recorded in the field notes, the experience of eating in this school canteen was like eating in a food court due to the wide ranges of Malaysian food sold. In contrast to the other schools and especially in *Cempaka* school, not only less variety of food was sold, the teachers' eating area looked not much different from the students' eating area. A small talk with *Cempaka* school's canteen operator indicated that due to the students' socioeconomic background, generally students brought their own food or shared the food bought in the canteen.

In this study, schools located in the urban areas had the advantages of excellent internet access. Not only in the schools but generally in all students' houses, '*there is computer with internet access making it easier to access for information*' (*Anggerik 4*) which was also another reason for teachers to view their students had more knowledge on other countries. A young teacher in *Anggerik* school who was teaching CCE and History meanwhile shared that due to the information spread on the Internet, her students had questioned the reliability of the country's history taught in the History subject. In contrast to the urban schools, the slow internet connection in the rural area might be the main reason for

Cempaka school not having a school website. As mentioned by a senior non-CCE teacher in this school, not only were students in this low socioeconomic town provided with minimal social activities, they were also lacking in technology infrastructures which was viewed as a drawback to students' learning processes. Different from *Cempaka* school, information about the other three schools could easily be accessed through their school and interlink websites. Various reports and photos published in these schools' official websites and schools'-linked websites reflected their students' active participation and involvement in and out of classroom activities. In *Anggerik* school, for example, the Journalism & Broadcasting Club was responsible for updating the monthly news of their school in their club website which was news on the school's programs, achievement and school communities such as details about the teachers who were transferred from and to other schools, obituary of a student and the wedding of their school teachers and other school staffs. These not only reflected the urban school students' creativity and ability to manage their own websites, but in *Anggerik* school, the close relationship that this school tried to inculcate among the school communities. Moreover, every year all schools produced a school magazine for the school students which in *Anggerik* school, for example, was the responsibility of the Journalism & Broadcasting Club. Other than reporting on school achievements and programs, selected work by the students such as essays, articles and poems were also included in the school magazine throughout the four schools.

As Maguire et al. (2011a : 598) argued, 'in schools, education policy discourses are 'represented' and 'translated' in a variety of ways including the production of wide range of artefacts...that comprise some of the key discourses that are in circulation'. In accordance, in these four schools visited, these 'policy artefacts' (Braun et al., 2010 : 554) which include school magazines, school websites (Maguire et al., 2011b) and material contexts involving school buildings and compounds had been used as students' environment for learning (Braun et al., 2011a) and to circulate 'the good student's discourse' (Maguire et al., 2011a : 600) among the school communities. In *Anggerik* school, for example, the photos of students awarded with an 'Excellent Badge'; students who excelled in academic, co-curricular activities and personality and those who were chosen to be the monthly 'Exemplar Student' and 'Exemplar Leader' were displayed on one of the notice boards. Meanwhile, in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, students' achievement; names and trophies

won; were displayed at their hall of fame. Besides educational and general knowledge, these four schools' notice boards, walls, and compounds were also filled with information on the activities organised by their society and club, uniform bodies, and sports and games. Yet, the information displayed in *Cempaka* school was minimal compared to the other schools. Thus, in these schools visited, especially in the urban schools, school communities' achievement in academic and co-curricular activities were recognised and celebrated with the other school communities (Maguire et al., 2011a). The promotion of being a good student; a student who excels in the academic and co-curricular activities and in personality was 'being encoded, enacted and embedded in a vast range of visual cues and prompts' (Maguire et al., 2011a : 600).

In line with the notion of integration in the KBSM curriculum, the formal teaching and learning processes of all KBSM subjects should be integrated with co-curricular activities to provide opportunities for students to increase, reinforce and put into practice the knowledge, skills and values taught in the classrooms (Ministry of Education, 1989). Accordingly, schools are also responsible for providing opportunities for students to actively participate in co-curriculum activities. Besides recognising students' active participation in the school's Co-Curriculum Day, 10% of their participation marks is also one of the Public Higher Education (Ministry of Education, 2007) application criteria. These co-curricular activities consist of each school uniform bodies, club and society, and sports and games (see Appendix D) that need to be registered with the State Education Department and are usually based on school's needs, available facilities, and students' interest. Analysis of school documents showed that differences in co-curricular activities offered in these four schools were also due to different subject options offered and students' demand. Compared to the other three schools, *Bakawali* school offered the most number of co-curricular activities and co-academic (subject related) activities. Moreover, in contrast to *Anggerik* and *Cempaka* schools, the students in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools were more inclined towards community service and to some teachers 'more towards westernised activities' (*Bakawali 9*) such as Choir and Cheerleading. Indeed, Leo Club and Interact Club offered in these two schools were active internationally recognised clubs. In all schools, students were free to choose to be a member of most of the co-curricular activities offered. However, membership of the School Prefect and Resource Center Prefect, for example, were exclusive

to students who meet specified criteria and characteristics as these memberships came with bigger responsibilities. Subsequently, they needed to go through certain exercises such as 'interview and training before being elected as members' (*Dahlia 6*). In addition, in all society and club, uniform bodies, sports and games, a few students would be elected by the members to be committee members responsible for organising and carrying out the co-curricular activities.

Less co-curricular activities were offered in *Cempaka* school, which might reflect students' socioeconomic backgrounds. Although schools could not afford to offer and support all of the co-curricular activities that students were interested in, especially in terms of facilities, training and money, they were still allowed and encouraged to take part in activities that were not offered in their schools. This is especially an advantage to *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* school students as parents in these 'higher socioeconomic schools were also able to support more academic school programmes and a wider range of extracurricular activities' (Thrupp and Lupton, 2006: 309). Indeed, some of the students' involvements in some of these schools co-curricular activities such as golf, shooting and swimming in *Anggerik School* were based on parents' own support and initiative. Similarly, some of the competitions and tournaments that these urban students participated in were on parents' own expenses too. Nevertheless, from the school documents, parents in *Bakawali School* seemed to be more financially capable of financing some of the co-curricular activities. Indeed, compared to other schools, *Bakawali School* Parents Teachers Association (PTA) was also more involved in funding various co-curricular activities.

In addition, there were also activities organised by the subject departments or subject committees offered in these schools. These activities were not only organised by subject society or clubs such as English, Science and Mathematics and History club, but other organisations in this school such as the School Prefects Board, Disciplines Unit, Counselling and Guidance Unit, and Student Affairs. These activities (see Appendix E) could be divided into co-academic, aesthetic and cultural, religious, civics and citizenship, motivation, career and personal development, social service, technical, vocational and entrepreneurship skills, and field trip activities. In addition, schools also organised Sport Days, Co-Curriculum Day, Academic Day and Graduation Day as directed at the macro level.

During my visit for example, a 'Career Day' where students were given information on their career path and the opportunity to interact with representatives from public and private universities and colleges had been organised by *Bakawali School's* Guidance and Counselling Unit. Document analysis also showed that *Bakawali School* Prefect Board had not only organised activities for their school community but had also organised Interschool Prefect Games and Interschool Prefects Council Annual Dinner for all prefects in their school's district. Subsequently, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* school students also held campaigns in electing the Head School Prefect and the President of Leo Club. Indeed, there were students in the four schools and particularly in *Bakawali* school that had even participated at international level activities.

Staffing was also one of the school's assets (Braun et al., 2011a) and from these four schools visited, there were differences in terms of CCE teachers' teaching experiences and teachers' ethnic ratio. Generally in *Bakawali* and *Anggerik* schools, CCE teachers were teachers who had just started their teaching careers or who had just been transferred to these schools (see Chapter Eight). In contrast, there were more senior and experienced CCE teachers in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools who seemed to have some knowledge and ideas on CCE which had been previously introduced as Civics. While chit-chatting with a group of *Bakawali* school non-CCE senior teachers, for example, upon hearing that I was doing research in CCE, these teachers began recalling their Civics lessons in their primary schooling years. Unlike these teachers, the younger teachers generally had never been exposed to CCE and to a small number of these young teachers knowledge related to CCE was either from their higher education background or from active participation in higher education co-curricular activities. The analysis in Table 6.1 also showed that students' ethnic population did in a way influence the allocation of the schoolteacher especially in term of ethnicity, though it might be a coincidence that the highest numbers of Indian and Chinese teachers were in schools with over representation of Indian (*Cempaka* school) and Chinese students (*Bakawali* school).

6.4 External Contexts

External contexts meanwhile, refer to ‘pressures and expectations generated by wider local and national policy frameworks such as...league table positions’ (Ball et al., 2012: 36). In this research, it also refers to parents’ ‘support and relationships’ (Braun et al., 2011a: 594) with these schools. As regulated by the Ministry of Education, Education Regulations (Parents Teachers Association) 1998, it is compulsory for every school to have its own Parents Teachers Association (PTA) comprised of teachers in the school, parents of the students in the school and any application from interested Malaysian citizens. The main objectives of PTA are to enable parents and teachers to exchange ideas in improving the quality of students’ education and to assist in raising school funds for the purpose of upgrading school infrastructures and educational matters.

Analysis of school documents; school magazines and school websites; showed that PTA did play an important roles in providing external support to these four schools. Nevertheless, *Bakawali* school PTA was the most active and had even been chosen to represent Selangor in competing for the National Level Excellent PTA Award. Indeed, due to parents’ socioeconomic backgrounds, *Bakawali* school’s PTA could afford to assist in providing more and better quality academic and co-curricular activities and opportunities for the school communities. For instance, besides sponsoring coaches’ fees, gymnastic and cheerleader teams’ uniforms, Scout’s Bonfire and Prom Night, *Bakawali* school PTA had also brought a few teachers and the PTA committee members to visit a school in Indonesia and Thailand. Indeed, with the Ministry of Education’s new decision to discontinue the implementation of The Teaching and Learning of Science and Mathematics in English (PPSMI); *Bakawali* school’s PTA was working to gain its members’ support in ensuring the continuity of this policy particularly in its own school.

Similar to Ball et al. (2012), the pressure to produce excellent academic results was evident throughout the fieldwork. Schools’ academic excellence was viewed not only through the number of students who scored A in the external National Examinations, but also through the school key indicator allocated in the new National Key Indicator Result Area (NKRA) policy. This is achieved by accumulating school’s national examination results and school’s self-rating scores that would determine the school’s indicator ranged from

Band One to Band Seven (the best to lowest performances). Despite the objective of this key performance indicator being to assist Ministry of Education in determining the schools that need support in improving school performances, this action particularly to *Cempaka* school's teachers which during the visit was categorised as one of the low band schools, led to the state and district level authorities to view this school as a 'failing school' (Ball et al., 2012: 73). Thus, despite the fact that to some teachers, the education system has moved towards developing a wholesome person through subjects such as Moral Education and Physical Education and through more emphasis being put on co-curricular activities, to a high number of teachers interviewed, the education system still emphasised examination results. The pressure to produce academic excellence from the State Education Department, parents and society had led to the form of teaching and learning that were oriented to passing and scoring examinations. As claimed by many teachers, this had not only caused teachers to '*rush to finish syllabus*' (*Dahlia 12*) but also to '*spoon-fed*' (*Bakawali 17*) and '*memorisation to pass examination*' (*Bakawali 2*) rather than '*understanding and applying*' (*Anggerik 1*) knowledge taught. Indeed, 'these political and emotional responses to external pressures and changes become part of the way in which' teachers in this study, 'read and interpret' (Ball et al., 2012 : 37) CCE curriculum policy. For example, as indicated by a senior non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, school's society performances relied on students' external National Examinations achievement had led:

'school to put a small percentage of initiatives in developing the aspect of citizenship....because students' development in term of citizenship is abstract and less visible' (Cempaka 13).

In relation to this, rather than emphasising CCE, a subject that is not examined in the external National Examinations, from the interviews generally teachers in the four schools put more emphasis on external National Examination subjects that would bring visible performance indicators.

It was apparent that in this research, CCE 'has been challenged by the performativity discourse' (Jeffrey, 2002: 531) that 'prioritized the pursuit of excellence and accountability by focusing on the satisfaction to be gained from the achievement of goals and improvements in performance' (Jeffrey, 2002: 532). Despite the purpose of education, as envisaged by the National Education Philosophy which is to develop a wholesome person

in terms of physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual, to a high number of respondents, it is more towards 'human capital development' (*Cempaka 9*). In fact, 'raising the achievement levels of pupils in national tests to ensure a high position' (Jeffrey, 2002 : 531) in the state and national educational ranks was still the main focus of most teachers. Teachers in this study generally could be identified as 'performative' (Ball, 2003 : 226) as they placed more emphasis on examination subjects. This was influenced by the pressures not only from macro and meso levels but also from parents, whom according to a senior non-CCE Chinese teacher in *Bakawali* school would prioritise academic achievement in choosing the school for their children. Meanwhile, to a CCE teacher who was also the Afternoon Session Senior Assistant in *Anggerik*, the school's main agenda was to achieve excellent academic results, as this was the expectation of external school society. Thus, Ball et al., (2012: 72) emphasised that 'policies do not get enacted in isolation', the external pressures of performativity discourse could mediate the way CCE is translated and enacted at the micro level.

6.5 School Ethos and Cultures

Another aspect that influences the way curriculum policy is translated and enacted is the school's ethos and cultures. School ethos refers to 'observed practices and interactions of school members' (Donnelly, 2000: 134). However, Solvason (2005: 85) concluded that ethos is also 'the *product* of the culture of the school...the basis on which the day to day life at the school is built'. In this study, the *Anggerik* school emphasis was on developing an excellent individual who is devoted to God, knowledgeable and contributes to the development of the country through quality education. *Anggerik* school's mission, logo in the school badge, and school activities are influenced by Islamic values. With the majority of *Anggerik* school students being Malay and Muslim, Islamic values and practices were more stressed in this school. Different from the other three schools, specific time was allocated in the afternoon session official timetable for the students to have their *Dhuhr* and *Asr* prayers together in the school spacious *surau*. In addition, inculcating eastern values; the culture of love, loyalty, a spirit of togetherness and good moral behaviour are also stressed in this school. Similar to other schools, *Anggerik* school also organised various strategies and activities aiming to increase excellence in students' curriculum and

co-curriculum, human development, teachers' professionalisms and school management. Nevertheless, from the school's magazine and website most of *Anggerik* school co-curricular activities seemed to emphasise academic achievement and personality development.

The elements of '*Chineseness*' culture was evident in *Bakawali* school, a school over represented by Chinese students. In developing knowledgeable and good moral individuals *Bakawali* school stressed good relationships with parents and the local community. In addition to aiming to excel in academic, co-curricular activities and personality, it also aims to provide a world-class education with a conducive environment for the students to gain knowledge and experience and to promote critical inquiry in developing a productive individual with high self-esteem who could adapt to the world as technology changes. These are evident from the material contexts made available in this school and through the academic and co-curricular opportunities provided that were gained from the co-operation of the school communities, parents and the PTA.

Cempaka school also aims to produce individuals who excel in academic, co-curriculum and moral values. However, with a high number of students who were generally academically weak, to most teachers interviewed, generally their aims were to develop students who:

'would be able to get a job, to support their family, and to be good citizens who would not bring any harm to the society' (Cempaka 10).

In achieving the school's mission and vision, *Cempaka* school has identified nine challenges that include the need to develop knowledgeable, skilled, creative, and critical thinking students and to develop responsible students with good personality and self-esteem. This school also emphasised the need to develop unity among the school community and to develop sincere and friendly relationships with the outside community. As informed by a female CCE teacher, her school's involvement at any level would be represented by students from each ethnic group. As recorded in my field notes, while waiting in the teachers' room, a few teachers were discussing which students would represent the school in a district level competition, in which representatives from different ethnic groups were prioritised.

Dahlia school meanwhile aims to develop individuals who would work hard to be successful in their life and contribute to the country and society that is highlighted in the school motto and school song. Besides educating students with useful knowledge in the present and afterlife, the school also hopes to develop well cultured students with good moral values who actively participate in co-curricular activities. The elements of citizenship were also symbolised in the school badge, which represented loyalty, unity, Islam as the official religion and Rukunegara. *Dahlia* school is also proud of their recycle project, which promoted a sense of responsibility towards the environment among the school community. In this program, once a week all classes were required to bring old newspaper and the money gained from selling these newspapers had been used to build gazebos around the school. The class effort in donating the most newspaper was also recognised and rewarded at the end of each school year. Moreover, a Racial Integration and Malaysian Unity Program (RIMUP), one of the Ministry of Education programs was also organised in this school. In this program, the school was allocated a specific budget to organise programs that could instil a sense of cooperation, understanding, and toleration among their multiethnic students.

Being in a highly centralised education system, there are certain practices that need to be complied by schools. Throughout Monday to Thursday, the morning session across these four schools generally began at 7.30 a.m. and ended at 1.20 p.m. and the afternoon session generally began at 1.20 p.m. and ended at 6.40 p.m. On Friday, due to the Muslims' Friday prayer, for which male Muslims must attend the mosque, the morning school session ended at 12.30 p.m. while the afternoon session began at 2.20 p.m. In addition, as regulated, in all schools visited, an official assembly was organised once a week, which usually begins with singing the National Anthem and State Anthem, followed with Rukunegara pledge reading, '*Doa*' (Muslim short prayer) and the school administrators speech (Ministry of Education, 1984; 1975a; 1975b). In *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, a daily assembly was also held a few minutes before the official school timetable begins. School assemblies were viewed by some teachers in these schools visited as the venue to disseminate information and to inculcate the elements of CCE into their school students. However, in *Cempaka* school this was claimed by a senior Discipline teacher as ineffective as on the assembly day, '*truancy can go to as far as 25%*' (*Cempaka 9*).

All of these schools seemed to be active in conducting activities for their students, some of which were directives from the meso and macro levels. *Anggerik, Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools students were generally viewed as ‘able to organise and run activities with minimal supervision from the teachers’ (*Dahlia 3*). However, *Bakawali* school students seemed to be the most active in these activities. Indeed, as recorded in the field notes, the first impression that I had upon entering the school compound was that *Bakawali* school was active with activities organised and carried out by their own students. Having the experiences of conducting research on Chinese Secondary Schools, the scenario found in these Chinese schools visited also existed in *Bakawali* school (BPPDP, 2007). My perception was proven as throughout the fieldwork, students could be seen all around the school compound throughout the two school sessions doing all sorts of activities such as selling drama tickets, doing cheerleading practice, and waiting to go for school trips. This perception was further substantiated through the interviews and small talks with the teachers. Indeed, due to achievements in various co-academic activities, this school had been awarded with ‘Excellence School in Co-Curriculum’ both at the state and national levels.

Additionally, macro and meso authorities had awarded particularly *Anggerik, Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools with various awards for being excellent in academic achievements and school management. These schools had even been awarded with ‘School of Hope’ at the state level (*Anggerik, Dahlia* and *Bakawali* schools) and at the national level (*Bakawali* school). This title could be seen in one of the school buildings’ walls upon entering *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools’ compound. Nevertheless, these schools are still aiming for other school’s titles awarded at the state and national levels, which to some teachers had further increased their workload especially in terms of paperwork and had put more pressure on producing excellent examination results as ‘most of these competitions will look at school exam results’ (*Bakawali 11*). As informed by many teachers throughout the four schools besides teaching, teachers also had to carry out various other tasks depending upon the responsibilities assigned by the school administrators. For example, in one school year a senior CCE teacher was a ‘Head of Arts Subject, Inventory Committee, School Finance Committee, Society Teacher, and Class Teacher’ (*Dahlia 7*). This, to her, and

many other teachers in the four schools left them with less time to prepare for teaching and learning and to some others to educate their students to be better citizens.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, school contexts of the four schools visited had been provided in order (i) to better understand teachers' understanding of citizenship and their perception of citizenship education discussed in the next chapter and (ii) the way CCE curriculum policy was transferred into teaching and learning practices discussed in Chapter Eight. In this analysis, the school contexts had been grouped into four themes, which were:

- Situated : school locations, school intakes, students characteristics and socioeconomic background
- Material : school infrastructures, school artefacts, school activities and school staffing
- External support : parental support, pressure and expectation
- School ethos and school cultures

Analysis in this chapter illustrated that the school intake is influenced by the geographical school location. Compared to *Cempaka* school, *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools that are situated in the urban area are well equipped with facilities and infrastructures, for example a multipurpose hall and a computer laboratory with excellent internet access. This school location has also led to polarisation between ethnic groups in which Noor (2008) claimed led to disintegration in the multiethnic society. Moreover, in this study, the school intake is also interrelated with other students' characteristics. *Anggerik*, a school situated in a generally known as Malay housing estate is a school with over representation of Malay and Muslim students that put more emphasis on Islamic values and practices. Despite being located not far from *Bakawali* school, *Dahlia* school, is a school with a mixed ethnic student population. In contrast, *Bakawali* school, is a school with an over representation population of Chinese students, an ethnic group that is usually characterised as engaged 'hard working, clever and oriented towards turning a profit' (Daniels, 2005: 61). Due to the characteristics of the majority of the student population in *Bakawali* school led to the dominance of 'Chineseness' in the school culture. To some teachers and especially those from *Bakawali* school who come from different cultures and schooling experiences, it was claimed to be more of a challenge to teach different ethnic

group students due to differences in students' cultures and characteristics. In addition, although performative discourse was common and the pressure to produce excellent internal and external examination results was evident in all four schools, due to the students' characteristics and cultures, this pressure seemed to be more evident particularly among the teachers in *Bakawali* school.

Further analysis showed that there were differences in the situated, material and external support between the urban and the rural school. Students in the urban schools generally come from middle to high socioeconomic backgrounds and students in *Bakawali* school, with a majority of Chinese students seemed to have higher socioeconomic background compared to the other two urban schools. Analysis also showed that there were teachers who faced difficulties in teaching students from advantaged family backgrounds. Again, this was more visible in *Bakawali* school; as generally parents in this school were viewed by teachers as having the capability to 'purchase' the best activities and education for their children. Better facilities, PTA support and advantage in socioeconomic background has also allowed students in the urban schools particularly in *Bakawali* school to be offered more activities in their schools (see Appendix D). Students in the urban schools are also viewed by their teachers as active and as having the capabilities to handle the co-curricular and other school activities with minimal supervision from their teachers. However, from the interviews, observation and school documents, students in *Bakawali* school seemed to be more active than the other two urban schools. Besides participating in more school and co-curricular activities, and having better technological facilities available in the urban schools, students in these schools also have more opportunities to demonstrate their creativity and ability through their school and school's related websites. From *Bakawali* school Leo Club, Interact Club and History Club websites, for example, reports and photos on various activities such as community services, educational trips, and competitions organised by these clubs had been reported and uploaded to these websites. The urban schools students are also viewed as more westernised due to their preference towards English language, their knowledge gained from the Internet and experience holidaying in other countries. Students in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools are also provided with opportunities to participate in decision making through activities such as the election of their Head Student. Students in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools also had more preference

towards participating in Western type activities such as Choir. In this study, the urban schools also seem to be in advantageous position with regards to the quality of the students' intake particularly in terms of academic motivation and achievement compared to the rural school.

Different from the other three schools, *Cempaka*, a school with an over representative population of Indian students is situated in a rural area that lacks facilities and infrastructure such as a language or multimedia laboratory and excellent internet access. To teachers in this school, with a high number of their students coming from a low socioeconomic background, the school intake generally are viewed as academically weak and lacking in ambition and motivation. Moreover, in contrast to *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, incompetence in Malay language, the medium of instruction of most of the secondary school subjects was common among students. Similar to *Bakawali* school, *Cempaka* school teachers are also pressured to produce excellent external examinations results. However, different from *Bakawali* school, to most *Cempaka* school teachers, this was due to its students' characteristics that led to their school to be ranked as one of the low academic achievement schools in Selangor. This in turn had further pressured *Cempaka* school teachers to put greater emphasis on upgrading its external National Examinations performance. Despite having students who are generally weak in academic abilities, this school did make an effort to develop a citizen who could be a better person through the school's wider activities. However, the number and type of activities particularly the co-curricular activities (Appendix D) provided in *Cempaka* school are less compared to the other three schools. With many of these activities supported by the students' parents and PTA, this might be influenced by the socioeconomic of its students.

Analysis showed that differences also exist between schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students compared with schools with an over-representative population of Malay students. From the interviews, a small number of *Bumiputera* (as discussed in Chapter Two, the definition of *Bumiputera* is inclusive of Malay society) and non-*Bumiputera* teachers indicated their students' discontent towards the special right of the Malay which also hinted at their discontent towards the present government. This, as claimed by these teachers might be due to 'indoctrination'

(*Dahlia 1*) from their parents. Thus, the claim that Malaysian 'society is divided into different ethnic groups and ethnicity affects almost every dimension of life' (Verkuyten and Khan, 2012 : 132) which include the life of the school society which is separated by a small number of teachers in the *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools.

The following chapter presents the discussion of teachers' understanding of citizenship and their perception of citizenship education. This is then followed in Chapter Eight with the discussion on the way CCE was enacted at the four schools. CCE 'like other policies is enacted in particular and distinct institutional contexts' (Ball et al., 2011b: 7)'. Thus, this thesis attempted to illustrate that the enactment of CCE policy into school practices was a messy process that could also be mediated by school contexts that existed in each individual school.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING OF CITIZENSHIP AND CIVICS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

7.1 Introduction

The process of interpreting and enacting policy by micro level policy actors is not a direct process (Bowe et al., 1992; Trowler, 2003; Ball, 2006; Ball et al. 2012). Differences in teachers' experiences and skills for example, could lead to a multiplicity of interpretations and meanings of the policy as text (Ball, 1993). Moreover, professional contexts which refers to 'teachers' values and commitments and experiences' (Braun et al. 2011a : 591) that exist within schools could further mediate the way policy is enacted at the school level. Sim (2008) and Sim and Print (2009a) for example, argued that despite Singapore's highly centralised education system, at the school level, teachers in her study had different 'interpretation and practice of citizenship' (Sim and Print, 2009a : 396). Discussion in Chapter Three illustrated that contestation does not only exist on the concept of citizenship but also on the content that should be included in citizenship education. The variation between Canada's and England's teachers' understanding of the goals of educating for citizenship was to Evans (2006 : 428) for example, 'suggesting ambiguity and raising questions about what types of learning students might experience, and what types might be silenced or ignored'.

This chapter sets out to discuss research question two which is on the CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship and CCE in *Anggerik*; a school over representative of Malay students, *Bakawali*; a school over representative of Chinese students; *Cempaka*; a school over representative of Indian students; and *Dahlia*; a school with a more mixed ethnic group of students. It provides an analysis of the interview data that have been structured around different themes arising from the analysis. This analysis is to gain a wider perspective from teachers at the micro level on the introduction of CCE, a new subject in the school curriculum. However, the way CCE was enacted at the micro level will be discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, the intention of this chapter is to specifically discuss teachers' understandings of citizenship and CCE at the micro level compared to what was intended in CCE official documents (see Chapter Five). Moreover, it also intends to identify the relationship between their own understandings of citizenship with their perceptions of the aims and contents of CCE in the school curriculum. These understandings will then be compared with the way CCE is enacted at the four schools (see Chapter Eight).

7.2 Citizenship

As discussed in Chapter Three, the definition of citizenship is a complex notion and has been constructed and reconstructed over time and as circumstances change. To illustrate, for Marshall (1950), citizenship encompasses the civil, political, and social rights of western modern societies. However, this definition was criticised as it was seen as ignoring the cultural rights of diverse races and ethnicities (Pakulski, 1997). Moreover, Morrell (1991: 8) stated that in discussing citizenship, 'an immediate difficulty was that in our society the term 'citizenship' is an unfamiliar notion'. I tend to agree with Morrell (1991) as in the interviews that I had with both CCE and non-CCE teachers, there were teachers who would take a moment or who looked unsure and who giggled in responding to questions about their definition of citizenship. Indeed, one CCE teacher openly responded with; '*Alahai (Malay language expression for Oh my) what a difficult question (Cempaka 5)*' while another CCE teacher responded with; '*Actually, I do not really understand about this citizenship (Anggerik 5)*'. Moreover, a small number of CCE and non-CCE teachers openly expressed that they were unsure about what should be the focus of CCE. In response to the question on what should be taught in CCE, a CCE teacher for example honestly stated '*I don't know (Bakawali 4)*'. Teachers' lack of familiarity might be explained due to the fact that the majority of those assigned to teach CCE had no formal training. Moreover, in many cases they were first and foremost teachers of other subjects and their attachment to CCE was often temporary (see Chapter Eight). This general reticence regarding citizenship and CCE might also be linked to the prevailing cultural tradition in which it is uncommon to openly question what is, in effect, a government policy. Similarly, generally the whole question of citizenship is not one widely discussed but is accepted without question and often taken for granted. Although in my study, respondents' ethnicity and gender were

not among the criteria in choosing the sample, CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study were heavily weighted towards Malay and female teachers. Nevertheless, I am aware that different notions of citizenship and CCE might be derived if the ethnicity and gender of the respondents were more equal.

Thus, the challenge in defining teachers' notions of citizenship and CCE is that they seemed to be generally ignored by many teachers. Nonetheless, from the interview analysis, the themes that emerged from CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship attach importance to (i) a sense of patriotism and (ii) rights and responsibilities. However, these notions of citizenship do not stand on their own, as they are highly interrelated with one another.

Citizenship as a Sense of Patriotism

In contrast to the notion of citizenship in the West, such as in England that emphasises the concept of the liberal, in this study, across the four schools, most teachers interviewed emphasised citizenship as a sense of patriotism. Although only a small number of teachers directly related the definition of citizenship to '*the spirit of patriotism*' (Bakawali 10), to many teachers in the four schools, citizenship was regularly defined as the love towards their own country. Thus, the two most frequent responses that could be grouped into this sense of patriotism were to love their own country and to have a sense of belonging towards their own country. Generally, the definition of citizenship, grouped under the theme 'sense of patriotism' (arranged in order) are:

- love towards their own country;
- sense of belonging and membership;
- proud and knowledgeable of own country; and
- loyal and willing to defend own country.

To the respondents, their notion of citizenship was 'relationalistic' (Lee, 2009: 5) and should begin by loving themselves, which then extends to their family, community, society and country. Indeed, to a few teachers, citizens should love their own religion and ethnicity too. This sense of patriotism was also interrelated with having a sense of belonging and membership towards their own country. Citizenship to many CCE and non-CCE teachers was

defined as *'those born in this country'* (Anggerik 4, Anggerik 11, Anggerik 12, Bakawali 2, Bakawali 8, Dahlia 7, Cempaka 4, Cempaka 5, Cempaka 12, Cempaka 13). For example, as explained by a senior male teacher in *Cempaka* school:

'citizenship means Malaysia is their country, a treasure that belongs to them that they need to protect because if they don't have this country where are they going to be. Other country belongs to other people and it's not necessary for them to accept us' (Cempaka 13)

A female CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school defined citizenship as *'the native or citizen who lives in a governance state'* (Bakawali 12). To respondents like this CCE teacher, her definition of citizenship was linked to being a legal member in a political state (Smith, 2002). Thus, citizenship to these similarly minded respondents was also defined in relation to the legal acquisition of being a Malaysian citizen as defined in the Malaysian Constitution, discussed in Chapter Two. Indeed, a senior non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, defined citizenship as those born before and after Malaysia's Independence as allocated in Article 14(1)(a) and Article 14(1)(b) of the Malaysia Constitution. To some other teachers, this sense of belonging and membership was illustrated through possession of an *'identity card'* (Anggerik 11), the legal document provided only to Malaysian citizens. This definition of citizenship reveals a more conservative attitude which might be influenced by the state's history and the way citizenship was promulgated in the Constitution (see Chapter Two).

In *Cempaka* and *Dahlia*, both schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students, citizenship was also defined as *'semangat kekitaan'* (Cempaka 8) which literally means, spirit of togetherness. To these teachers, a sense of belonging will be developed if the multiethnic, multicultural, multireligious and multilanguage citizens were able to live together and to accept and respect each other's cultures and traditions, similarities and differences. In this sense, *'citizenship is essentially about belonging, about feeling secure and being in a position to exercise one's rights and responsibilities'* (Osler and Starkey, 2004 : 21). Indeed, Osler and Starkey (2005) argued that citizens' participation in the community and society would only be effective when the feeling of belonging was experienced which includes the right to practice their own ethnic culture and the responsibility to respect others. Subsequently, this spirit of togetherness, in which knowledge of other ethnic groups' culture, traditions and festivals was also promoted in the

official CCE curriculum. Thus, as suggested by Hashim and Tan (2009) Malaysia adopted a form of cultural pluralism that promoted 'the concept of ethnic-national hyphenated identity' (p. 46). In this identity, 'the government strives to foster national unity by instilling a common national identity that is based on ethnic diversity' (Hashim and Tan, 2009 : 48). This is not only evident in teachers' understandings of citizenship but also in the CCE intended curriculum, in which knowledge of other ethnic groups' customs, traditions and festivals were promoted. Yet, due to differences in schools' student ethnic group populations, dissatisfaction towards the affirmative or preferential policies that were voiced by the students in schools with over representation of non-Malay students (see Section 6.2 in Chapter Six) might weaken the sense of belonging of some students in these schools. As illustrated by a senior Chinese CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school, with the non-Malay not being offered scholarships to further their studies, had made these students feel '*not accepted by their country*' (*Dahlia 5*).

Some teachers further defined citizenship as proud of being Malaysian. In fact, a senior non-CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school highlighted that a citizen should not '*come to the stage of being ashamed to be a Malaysian*' (*Cempaka 11*). Teachers in all the four schools emphasised that the students should be proud and should appreciate what was made available and offered by the government and also with what the country has. As brought up by a senior Indian teacher in *Cempaka* school, the students should '*feel lucky*' that they are a citizen of Malaysia '*when compared with other countries*' (*Cempaka 4*). Thus, citizenship was often associated with pride of being Malaysian and with being knowledgeable about their country. This was seen as essential, as citizens were viewed as the ambassador of their country who carried the good name of their country and it was their responsibility not to bring their country into disrepute. Related to this, a senior Chinese female teacher who was the *Dahlia* school Head of Humanities Department specifically defined citizenship as being a Malaysian and for an individual to be considered as '*a true Malaysian*' (*Dahlia 1*) he or she must have a vast knowledge about the country such as in aspects of geography, history and governance. Moreover, other respondents like her also viewed the lack of appreciation and pride towards own country was due to lack of knowledge about their own country which might be due to the characteristics of their students (see Section 6.2 and 6.3 in Chapter Six).

As previously noted, many respondents in this study seemed to be conservative in defining citizenship. In fact, to a small number of respondents in these four schools, a citizen should be *'ready to sacrifice for their country'* (Cempaka 9, Cempaka 10) and *'must be prepared to defend your country from intrusion'* (Bakawali 4). With the country having the experience of being colonised, to these teachers, it was essential to sustain the independence gained. In relation to this, there were also teachers who felt that the spirit of patriotism was declining among the younger generation and was due to their ignorance of the difficulties that the older generation had to face in gaining independence. In this sense, there was not only a notion of citizenship drawing on patriotism and love of country, but also these notions drew on a nostalgic perspective.

The above discussions outline teachers' understandings of citizenship which could be categorised as a sense of patriotism. This indicates that the concept of citizenship to the respondents in this research differs from the prevailing Western concept of citizenship. Due to the state's history and teachers' own beliefs, knowledge, and experiences, citizenship was defined as sense of patriotism which did not only include love towards the country but also a sense of belonging and sense of pride and willingness to defend the state. In summary, citizenship was as defined by this senior Indian teacher in *Cempaka* school:

'To me, citizenship is I as a citizen, so I must love my country, have responsibilities towards my country, everything that I do is for the country. It's like the spirit of patriotism' (Dahlia 3)

This will bring us to the next understanding of citizenship, citizenship as rights and responsibilities, which in a way is interrelated with citizenship as a sense of patriotism.

Citizenship as Rights and Responsibilities

As discussed above, with citizenship defined as being a member of a governed country, it was not a surprise that, similar to the concept of citizenship in the West, respondents in this study too defined citizenship as a set of rights and responsibilities. However, different from the West, CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study tended to put more emphasis on citizens' responsibilities rather than on their rights. Nonetheless, teachers across the four schools did acknowledge their civil, political, and social rights as defined by Marshall (1950). Teachers in this study also stressed the rights of the legal

citizens of Malaysia as defined in the Malaysia Constitution, in contrast to non-citizens. In regard to this, a few teachers such as a female CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school linked citizenship to her political right to vote. As explained by this teacher, *'if you are not a Malaysian citizen, you cannot vote, it is one of the requirements'* (*Dahlia 3*). A few teachers also expressed their right to live in peace and harmony and the right to freedom of speech, exercised through appropriate ways. This acknowledgement of freedom of speech by CCE teachers might be influenced by this right being one of the topics in the CCE official textbooks. In addition, it might also be influenced by the changes in the social setting where in recent years there were more illegal street demonstrations being held in the country. Indeed, during the fieldwork, a street demonstration had been held at the heart of Kuala Lumpur city center that might influence some CCE teachers to relate citizenship with the right of the citizens to speak up in the right way and through appropriate channels. To put this into context, street demonstration has not been part of the accepted culture of many societies since independence, where the official view is that the tensions and many contradictions that existed in the multiethnic society have been managed and solved *'through a continuous process of consensus-seeking negotiations'* (Shamsul, 2008 : 10).

Despite that freedom of speech is one of the rights practiced in a democratic country, to Welsh (1996 : 884) *'democracy in Malaysia is narrow because it limits the practice of civil and political liberties through restrictions on communication, assembly, the strategic use of detention orders and other legal and emergency power'*. Thus, despite freedom of speech being granted in the Malaysian Constitution, there are still restrictions in debating certain issues especially the special position of the Malay, as granted in Article 153 of the Malaysia Constitution, which indicated that:

'It shall be the responsibility of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to safeguard the special position of the Malays and the natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of the other communities in accordance with the provisions of this Article (Malaysia, 1988 : 145).

Thus, with restrictions on speaking up on issues which could cause sensitivity among this multiethnic society such as The Internal Security Act 1960, repelled in 2012, for some teachers and perhaps to wider society, there seemed to be ignorance on the provision of freedom of speech as their right. However, there were teachers who argued that,

'this right has always been there in the Constitution' (Dahlia 3). In this sense, these teachers referred to the misperception that the state had allowed no space for citizens to discuss and advocate their opinions. Nevertheless, these teachers did stress that this right has to be exercised in the 'right way'. This was not only expressed by the Malay or Muslim teachers but by the non-Muslim too which indicated the Asian conservative view on the need to treat the government or the superior with respect. This also illustrates that in discussing the rights of Malaysian citizens, these teachers also tended to associate their rights as granted in the Malaysian Constitution.

Both age and experience seemed to have impacted on what teachers thought. For example, a young CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school suggested that only by knowing their rights, *'we won't be cheated and we will be able to live in peace' (Dahlia 10)*. Another young CCE teacher took this matter further by illustrating the issue of Islam as the official religion of Malaysia, which had been roused in the mass media during the fieldwork. To this teacher, the misperception of *'Malaysia as an Islamic country' (Anggerik 2)* was due to the ignorance of freedom of religion granted in the Constitution. This teacher further explained that:

'actually we are not an Islamic country but we are practicing Islam and Islam as official religion but the other ethnics can practice their religion too' (Anggerik 2).

Teachers' responses on the need to be knowledgeable about the rights of the citizen as constituted in the Constitution suggested that citizenship, as a sense of patriotism was to be practiced with knowledge and critical thinking and not merely practicing patriotism passively. In relation to this, some teachers argued that one of the responsibilities of Malaysian citizens was to understand the Malaysian Constitution as only by understanding it could a sense of patriotism be developed. As discussed in Chapter Six, with some students and perhaps in wider society, particularly with the non-*Bumiputera* having the feeling of detachment from their own country, might be a reason for a small number of *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* school teachers to view citizenship as being about having equal rights in a multiethnic society. Besides acknowledging the right to practice their own ethnic cultures, equal rights to some teachers in schools over representative of non-Malay students also referred to equality in the civil right such as equality in getting a place and scholarship to further education in higher education. Thus, responses from these respondents indicated that the

rights of the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* as granted in the Constitution are complex and could also be viewed as contradictory. On the one hand, equal rights of a multiethnic society are acknowledged and promoted, but on the other hand, special rights are advocated to the *Bumiputera*; the Malay and the natives of Sabah and Sarawak, and exercised through the affirmative or preferential action policies. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, the government argued that these policies were a necessary component of the nation-building project as, at the time of independence *Bumiputera* were economically disadvantaged compared to the non-*Bumiputera* (Brown, 2007).

In the interviews, both CCE and non-CCE teachers across the four schools visited seemed to put more weight on responsibilities of citizens. Indeed, a senior Indian teacher who was the Head of Humanities Department in *Bakawali*, a school over representative of Chinese students argued that:

'...instead of the children keep on asking what can the country give, for me they should be asking what can they do for the country. They are demanding more and more, but what and how can you contribute to the country' (Bakawali 1)

From the interviews, personal contribution or giving back to society was stressed as one of the citizens' responsibilities. Indeed, many respondents usually referred to this as *'how to help to develop your country'* (*Bakawali 2*) which was more apparent in the interviews with *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools teachers; those schools with a higher number of non-Malay students. This might be due to the schools situated contexts (see Section 6.2 in Chapter Six) and due to the influence of the special rights of the Malay, which the teachers claimed as leading those economic advantaged non-Malay in these schools to send their children to further their education overseas (Bunnell, 2002). Although, there were Malay students in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools who would further their education in other countries, a few teachers indicated that this action was more apparent among the non-Malays as the Malay had more opportunities to further their education in public higher education in their own country. As mentioned by these teachers, this action they would most likely thought cause these students to later on work and reside in other countries rather than contributing towards the development of their own country. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, a few CCE teachers claimed that there were parents who had indoctrinated their children with the feeling of dislike and detachment towards their own

country. Thus, there were students who since a young age had been planted with the idea that they would eventually leave their country to study and work in other countries. This was especially to the non-Malay economically advantaged students in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools and that might also be a reason for teachers in these schools to stress responsibility and contribution. To these teachers, the responsibility of a citizen to work in their own country and contribute towards the development of the society and country was viewed as an act of responsibility, one of the ways of *'showing their loyalty towards their own country'* (*Bakawali 4*). So, despite, transnational workers being one of the trends in the globalised world, this was viewed by some teachers as lacking in the spirit of patriotism. In relation to this, a CCE Malay teacher in *Cempaka* school who had a sister working in Japan, the decision to work in another country might not only be due to a better job offer, but was also viewed as not appreciating the government scholarship awarded and not recognising the responsibility that came with it.

With teachers emphasising citizenship as love towards their country, it was not a surprise that there were teachers in all four schools who thought that it was the responsibility of the citizen *'to be loyal to the country and leaders, to protect the country's sovereignty, to keep the country's secret (Bakawali 7); do not badmouth your country (Dahlia 5); in whatever situation you have to be ready to sacrifice for your country (Dahlia 12); we should not insult our country so that the other country will not look down on us' (Bakawali 13)*. This sense of national pride was expressed by Malay and non-Malay CCE and non-CCE teachers across the four schools and also by a *Bumiputera* CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school. However, it was more apparent in schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students which, once again, might be due to students' characteristics in these schools. In effect, teachers were making an assertion about how Asians ought to behave as, to these teachers, besides the need to be loyal and to defend their country, it was also the responsibility of the citizen to uphold the good name of their country. In addition, being in a multiethnic country that had gone through the process of independence, maintaining peace and harmony especially with other ethnic groups was another responsibility emphasised in the teachers' accounts. Besides the need to preserve own ethnic culture, the interviewees also asserted the responsibility of citizens to respect other ethnics' culture, language and religion. This signals the importance of recognising cultural diversity and

respect for different ethnics' sentiment which also indicates the understanding of cultural citizenship (Turner, 1997). Thus, in discussing citizenship in terms of rights and responsibilities, teachers had put more emphasis on responsibilities as the key idea behind their definition of citizenship, and to preserve peace and harmony and social cohesion among the multiethnic society, in a country that had gone through colonisation and independence.

The analysis in this section tends to agree with Lee (2004a) that, different from the Western concept of citizenship, which focused on democracy and the rights and responsibilities of the citizens, citizenship in Malaysia, at least to those involved in this study, tends to emphasise the good qualities of a citizen. To these teachers, citizenship was about patriotism; particularly showing their love towards their country, and knowing their rights and their roles and responsibilities as good citizens. Despite the notion of democracy seeming to be almost invisible, it does not mean that the respondents were not aware of the need for democracy. It was the case, however, that only a very small number of teachers who mentioned democracy indicated that democracy was not their main concern in defining citizenship. As Lee (2009 : 8) stated, 'the concept of democracy is elusive and means different things to different people'. He further added that to Asian people, 'this term does not seem to be particularly meaningful' (p. 8). Similarly, even though in the interviews the term democracy seemed to be missing, teachers in this study still acknowledged their political rights, for example, the right *'to vote the government that we choose to be responsible in developing the country'* (Bakawali 12). Moreover, teachers, who as Chia (2011 : 5) argued are the middle class of society 'did not create a precondition for greater democratisation'. Instead, their emphasis has been more on Asian values; good moral and patriotic citizens who would contribute not only to the development of the country but also in maintaining social cohesion among a multiethnic society. Thus, 'the advocates of Asian values argue that liberal democracy is not applicable to Asia' (Chia, 2011 : 5) which also seemed to apply to teachers in this study. In agreement with Lee (2010; 2009; 2004a), instead of emphasis being put on democracy, the concept of citizenship in this study resembled Lee's (2009 : 5) own interpretation of 'relationalistic', 'which begins with the relations with the self and the relation with the universe, then extended to one another in the society' (Lee, 2004a : 287).

7.3 Citizenship Education

The analysis of teachers' notions of citizenship earlier showed that their concept of citizenship differed from the concept promoted in Western countries and especially to that in England's curriculum (see Chapter Five). For the teachers in this study, citizenship was defined as a sense of patriotism and a set of citizens' rights and responsibilities. This section continues with discussion on teachers' perceptions of CCE; the reasons for CCE in the school curriculum and the contents perceived as necessary to be included in the curriculum. As indicated earlier, this section intends to identify the relationship between teachers' understanding of citizenship with their perception of citizenship education. Moreover, it also intends to compare teachers' understanding of CCE with the intended CCE. The analysis begins with perceptions of the reasons for introducing CCE and the main features of teachers' perceptions of CCE.

a) Citizenship Education – Why? What?

The analysis of CCE official documents showed that the intended goals of CCE are to develop citizens who are not only united and patriotic but who are able to contribute towards the development of the society and country (see Chapter Five). In addition, the aims of CCE in the school curriculum are to develop students' civics knowledge, skills, and values. Thus, CCE is supposedly to develop good moral students who are loyal to the states, able to live in peace and harmony in a multiethnic and multicultural society and able to participate actively in achieving the goal of national development. Similar to England, CCE in Malaysia was also seen as one of the ways to curb societal problems. However, from CCE and non-CCE teachers' interviews, there were different responses to the reasons for introducing CCE and on the aims that should be achieved. A small number of teachers openly argued that CCE was adding to teachers' and students' already heavy workload. This was especially evident given the situated context and school ethos and cultures of the four schools studied and the pressure of external context especially the emphasis put on performative discourses (see Chapter Six). In addition, similar to the argument made by Brown (2007), there were a very small number of teachers who perceived the introduction of CCE as a political agenda; a means for the state to indoctrinate citizens' loyalty towards

the present governance. For example, as indicated by a senior Indian non-CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school:

'Maybe because of political thing, you know with so many different parties coming up, all not being loyal to our UMNO (teacher laughed). So maybe they are finding CCE as stepping stone, tried to inculcate this love thing in the children so when they grow up, in the future their perspective about the government will change, so they won't have so many opposition parties, and all that...maybe when they are young you try to instil this in their heads, so that they will be more government oriented compared to now' (Dahlia 12)

On a more positive note, a high number of CCE and non-CCE teachers viewed the reasons for introducing CCE as to develop responsible and good moral citizens and to maintain social cohesion among the multiethnic society which were in line with the intended objectives of CCE. To these teachers, CCE was to do with the relationship between individual and society and on the relationship between individual and the state. Besides developing students' good personality, CCE was also seen as a means to have better knowledge and to instil love towards their own country. In summary, the reasons and aims of CCE that were apparent in the CCE and non-CCE teachers' interviews were to strengthen national unity, to develop patriotic and loyal citizens and to develop good moral citizens. Indeed, these objectives did match those set out in the official or intended CCE curriculum.

b) Key Features of CCE

Diverse responses were provided when discussing the content of CCE. A majority of CCE teachers had never received training in citizenship education and signalled that they do not have a clear idea on what the content of CCE should be. In addition, in line with the claim made by Ball (1994), those CCE teachers in this study who were responsible for implementing CCE policy also had never personally read the CCE policy documents. Indeed, except for a very small number of CCE teachers who had attended the CCE Introductory course organised by the State Education Department, for the other CCE teachers, the notion of CCE relied upon their own interpretation of the official CCE textbook and syllabus. Nonetheless, the apparent features that can be identified from the interviews were the importance attached to the development of personal quality and the development of a spirit of patriotism. Thus, teachers' perceptions of CCE reflected Lee's (2009 : 12)

argument that ‘many Asian countries would tend to focus on the development of individuality (as far as the self is concerned) and relations (as far as the society is concerned)’, reflecting teachers’ understandings of citizenship discussed earlier in this chapter.

Development of Personal Quality

The National Philosophy of Education (Ministry of Education, 2001) aims to develop a wholesome individual in the aspects of intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical development. Whereas the purpose of education was viewed by many teachers as stressing academic achievement (see Section 6.4 in Chapter Six), to many teachers interviewed, CCE was viewed as a subject responsible for students’ spiritual and emotional development. In accordance, to many teachers, one of the main purposes of CCE was to develop students’ moral and personal values. The link that these teachers made between the subject Moral Education and CCE had also been highlighted by Lee (2010, 2009, 2006) when discussing the concept of citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific. Indeed, Lee (2006 : 5) stated that ‘it is not difficult to find civics and moral education are basically a twin package being promoted’ in these countries. Similarly, teachers in my study indicated the need of CCE to instil values, particularly those related to moral and personal development that could develop a student to be a good and responsible individual and citizen. As hoped by a senior teacher who was the Head of Humanities in *Bakawali* school;

‘If given the choice, I want them (CCE) not to be content based but, more of values, values in life that students can use in their future life. For example honesty, responsibility, respect, these are the kinds of values that should be taught to them’ (Bakawali 1)

Similar to this teacher, the values that generally appeared in the interviews were love, loyalty, respect, responsibility, tolerance, appreciation of others, discipline, and obedience, the values that coincide with those listed in the Moral Education syllabus. Indeed, there were also CCE teachers who directly indicated that the values that need to be instilled in CCE were the ‘values in the Moral Education syllabus’ (*Cempaka 9*). Thus, teachers in this study regarded that the values that need to be instilled in CCE were Moral Education values that were also in accordance to the seventeen values in the KBSM curriculum derived from

the values that exist in Malaysian multiethnic society's religions, traditions, and customs (Ghafar et al., 2001; Puteh, 1994).

On the one hand, this points to the apparent lack of articulation between the curriculum as set out in the CCE syllabus and that set out for other parts of the school curriculum, such as Moral Education. It begins to raise questions about the need for a separated CCE syllabus and subject if, as it appears, CCE is narrowly defined in terms of personal qualities and patriotism. On the other hand, it appears that some teachers might implicitly be replicating the established values and norms of Malaysian society. In this sense, they see their role as reproducing dominant societal values. For example, it was the perception of many teachers that the school curriculum should inculcate values such as respect and loyalty to teachers, family, and government; responsibility and obedience towards elders and leaders; and politeness, courteousness, respect and toleration of others, all resembling Asian values embedded in the KBSM curriculum in order to maintain harmony in the multiethnic society. Asian values were proposed by Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia's Mahathir Prime Ministers in the 1980s and 1990s and were compatible to Confucianism and Islamic values (Chia, 2011). The promotion of Asian values by these two leaders however, were criticised as a means to instil loyalty towards rulers (Thompson, 2001). Nonetheless, despite this critique and despite that some teachers in this study did recognise that there were Western values that should be adopted, to most teachers, Asian values were those that should be emphasised and adopted by students in support of their national identity as explained by this senior female CCE teacher in *Dahlia School*:

'We are Asian so we have to retain our Asian identities, that is my opinion. We have to retain Asian values coz to me, we have better values than the Westerners' (Dahlia 8)

Thus, this teacher, not only sees a need to promulgate a view of national identity underpinned by Asian values, but uses her rejection of Western values as her justification.

In line with citizenship viewed as the rights and responsibilities of citizens to exercise and preserve their own ethnic cultures, the understanding of CCE was also associated to cultural citizenship (Delanty, 2000; Turner, 1997). However, due to the different school contexts (see Chapter Six), this was made more apparent by *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* school teachers who viewed some of their students as 'Westernised' and lacking in knowledge

of their own cultures, customs and heritages. However, teachers in this study did realise that the promotion of cultural and Asian values were less preferred by the younger generation as these values were viewed as '*less modern and obsolete*' (Dahlia 3). This indicates a tension between the importance attached to traditional Asian values versus global-oriented values. The inculcation of cultural and Asian values were seen as necessary by many teachers in order to retain an 'ethnic-national hyphenated identity' (Hashim and Tan, 2009 : 46) and that is, the promotion of one's own ethnic culture in developing a common national identity. This identity was perceived by these teachers as necessary in fostering unity and in developing a spirit of patriotism among multiethnic students. Nevertheless, teachers also acknowledged the need to develop more active and critical thinking students not only through CCE but through other subjects too.

Despite the fact that the values stressed across the four schools were quite similar, due to *Bakawali* school students' characteristics (see Section 6.2 in Chapter Six), *Bakawali* school teachers seemed to place more emphasis on the values of respecting others, which includes respecting teachers, family members, leaders and those from different ethnicities. Some teachers across the four schools also emphasised the need to inculcate civic values '*for example to keep the environment clean*' (*Bakawali* 3) in order to develop students who are more civic conscious and civic minded. To these teachers, these civic values were necessary to develop appropriate social values to allow for better interaction in society and to develop civic minded citizens. To a small number of teachers, religious values were also seen as essential in developing a good individual. This was emphasised not only by the Muslim respondents but by respondents from other religions too, who claimed that the rise of social problems were caused by lack of religious education and values no longer being prioritised in the modern family.

Thus, this study tends to support the argument made by Kennedy and Lee (2008) and Lee (2009, 2006, 2004a) that in Asian countries, there were contentions over the values that should be instilled through CCE. Teachers in my study tended towards the need to instil values that could develop students as loyal citizens. They also perceived the need of developing good personalities and students who would not lose their ethnic-national identity due to the effect of globalisation. Yet, some teachers also realised the need

to develop critical students who could actively participate in a globalised world. Moreover, different from citizenship education in England that gave emphasis to developing informed students who would participate in a democratic political system, CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study put more emphasis on developing students' moral and personal values, which was in line with the intended curriculum.

Development of a Spirit of Patriotism

Kennedy (2009) stated that despite the fact there is little discussion on patriotism in the citizenship education literature, this ideology should not be disregarded. This is especially important when the second most signalled feature of CCE for the teachers in my study was the development of a spirit of patriotism. However, there were also teachers who questioned the appropriate approach to be adopted in instilling this spirit of patriotism. A high number of CCE and non-CCE teachers in the four schools stressed that CCE should instil a feeling of love towards the country. They felt that students would only be able to carry out their responsibilities as good citizens if this love towards their country existed. For some teachers this also related to the promotion of a sense of pride and a need for students to appreciate what exists in their own country and to appreciate what was provided by the government. This includes appreciating and valuing the country's independence seen by some as an antidote for how some students at present were viewed as insensitive and ignorant towards the meaning of independence and the hardship that the older generations had to go through in gaining this. A senior Indian CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school even bemoaned that there were even younger generations who '*don't even know when is our Independence Day*' (*Cempaka 12*).

The emphasis on patriotism was not only in instilling a love towards the country but to these teachers interviewed, also related to the need to develop a sense of belonging by educating the students with knowledge of their own country. The situated and material contexts (see Chapter Six) in the schools visited had influenced teachers to assert a need to provide students with the right information in order for them to be able to make better judgements about their own country. This emphasis on patriotism was more apparent in the interviews with the CCE and non-CCE teachers in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools

in contrast to *Anggerik*, a school with an over representative population of Malay students. Indeed, to a small number of teachers in these schools with a higher number of non-Malay students, this sense of patriotism was perceived to be stronger in '*orang kita*' (our ethnic, which in this case referred to the Malay) in contrast to the non-Malays. Reasoned by one Malay CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school this was due to the perception that this country was their '*tanah tumpah darah*' (literally translated as, the country where my blood has spilled) in contrast to the non-Malays who were perceived as having other countries that they belong to. As informed by this Malay CCE teacher in a school over representative of Indian students:

'...what the people are saying if there is anything happened to the country the Indian can run to India, the Chinese to China, they still have a place to go. But to us, this is our place...'(Cempaka 7)

For this teacher, her perception came from personal experience of having an Indian friend who was willing for his daughter to reside in India in order to marry an Indian man from the same caste. She highlighted that:

'It means that because of their custom, their religion, in order to find someone from the same caste they are willing to separate with the daughter and send her back to India' (Cempaka 7).

This had led her to feel the need:

'because they (the students) are a citizen, born in this country, this is their homeland, so we want to instil the love towards this country like they love India' (Cempaka 7).

A Malay non-CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school further suggested that there seems to be '*a sense of detachment*' (*Dahlia 14*) among the non-Malays that was due; at least to the claims made by some *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools teachers; to parents indoctrinating their children with negative perceptions of their own country (see Chapter Six). These further strengthened teachers' perceptions, particularly in these two schools, of the need of CCE to educate students with knowledge of their own country. Indeed, using the issues of *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera*, a male *Bumiputera* teacher in *Bakawali* school stressed that through CCE, it is essential for the students to be '*exposed to the actual fact...They must have the knowledge, the picture of our country, how it was formed, developed*' in order to avoid the misconception that the present society had on '*the status of the Bumiputera*

and negative perceptions of our country' (Bakawali 3) which could be spread to the younger generations too.

Similar to the responses made by teachers in the UNICEF (2000) and Kennedy et al. (2002) study, there were CCE and non-CCE teachers in my study who viewed political literacy and political institutions as a low priority in the CCE curriculum. Besides thinking that students were too young to learn such topics, a CCE teacher even stated that the topic of *'law is very dry' (Dahlia 5)*. However, there were also CCE and non-CCE teachers who thought that knowledge on governance and the state was necessary in developing a patriotic citizen. Moreover, CCE to some CCE and non-CCE teachers' interviewed was also on educating about their rights and responsibilities as citizens. As stated by the Head of Humanities Department in *Dahlia* school, citizenship education was about educating *'their right as an individual, right as family, as community and as citizens' (Anggerik 1)*. To her and similarly minded, only by knowing their rights as the citizen would the students be able to carry out their responsibility to themselves, family, community, society and country.

The above discussion on the development of patriotism in citizenship education particularly in schools with over representative populations of non-Malays might be triggered by the sense of detachment, caused by the *Bumiputera* special rights allocated in the Constitution and practiced in the preferential policy. This, according to Fee (2009), had led to some of these non-Malays to view themselves as second-class citizens. The emphasis on a sense of patriotism by teachers in schools with higher numbers of non-Malay students might also be linked to the Malay teachers' perception that a spirit of patriotism was stronger among *'orang kita'* (the Malay) than among non-Malays. Discussion in this section further indicates that the notion of CCE in this analysis is reflected in CCE and non-CCE teachers' notions of citizenship which was to develop good moral and patriotic citizens who would be able to contribute towards the development of their own country. Moreover, citizenship education in this study, similar to Lee's (2009 : 11) argument is *'apolitical, focusing on self-enrichment which may or may not lead to political ends'*. This is different from the West which *'is political (in terms of rights) and bureaucratic (in terms of the political system)'* (Lee, 2009 : 11). Thus, to the respondents, citizenship education begins

with the development of good personality and as stated by a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school:

'when the students have shown their responsibilities at home, then it can be extended to school, to society, then to country' (Bakawali 5).

This was parallel to Asian educational leaders' perceptions of citizenship education in Lee's study (2004c) that expected good personal values developed in the individual would then be linked with and extended to social aspects and interpersonal relationships. The above discussion also indicates that despite a global dimension of citizenship was hardly mentioned by CCE and non-CCE teachers, some acknowledged the effect of globalisation on their students' notion of citizenship. Indeed, parallel to Kennedy and Lee (2008), most teachers in this study viewed the need to embed traditional values including patriotism and to strengthen national citizenship in order to face challenges and influences of globalisation.

7.4 Conclusion

The analysis has shown that teachers' understandings of citizenship and CCE was in line with the concepts stated in the official guidance of the CCE curriculum, which is to develop citizens who are patriotic, united and contribute towards the development of the country (see Chapter Five). Generally CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship in the four schools were quite similar and could be divided into citizenship as a sense of patriotism, and citizenship as a set of rights and responsibilities. However, within these two themes, CCE and non-CCE teachers in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia*; schools each with an over representative population of non-Malay students, understanding of citizenship extended to equal rights in a multiethnic society. Moreover, different from teachers in *Anggerik*, a school with an over representative population of Malay students, teachers who were teaching in a school with a higher population of non-Malay students seemed to put stronger emphasis on the importance of strengthening unity. Consequently, as highlighted in the interview with the Head of CCE Curriculum who was responsible for developing the CCE official documents, the emphasis on unity and love towards the country in the intended curriculum was due to the perceived need of the society.

This might be influenced by the situated context in these three schools in which dissatisfaction towards inequality of the rights of non-Malays in society as exercised through the preferential policy, as claimed by some teachers to be evident in these schools (see Chapter Six). To some teachers this led to a *'sense of detachment'* (*Dahlia 14*) particularly among the non-Malay students towards their own country, which echoed Joseph's (2006) finding. This further highlights the conflicts between *Bumiputera*, particularly the Malay, with the non-*Bumiputera*, particularly the Chinese, that has long existed in the society (Sua, 2012; Shamsul and Daud, 2006; Guan, 2000). Thus, although CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship and CCE was aligned with the concepts promoted in the official documents, due to wider school contexts, teachers in schools over representative of non-Malay students held slightly different understandings of citizenship.

Further analysis showed that CCE and non-CCE teachers' notions of CCE aligned not only with their notion of citizenship but also with the notion of CCE as intended at the macro level. Thus, to CCE and non-CCE teachers, CCE was supposed to develop good moral and patriotic citizens who would contribute towards the development of the country. In addition, maintaining peace and harmony among the multiethnic society was also emphasised by the respondents particularly by those in schools over representative of non-Malays students. Analysis showed that there was little difference between CCE and non-CCE teachers' perceptions of CCE. However, with the concept of citizenship seemingly ignored by many teachers in this study, there was no clear evidence whether teachers' understandings of citizenship was influenced by CCE official documents. Indeed, teachers' understanding might be influenced more by the main objective of *Kurikulum Bersatu Sekolah Menengah* (KBSM) that emphasised developing noble values and patriotism and in developing younger generations who are aware of their roles and responsibilities as knowledgeable citizens. As suggested by a senior teacher in *Dahlia* school, the introduction of CCE in the school curriculum might be due to the approach of integrating values in KBSM subjects and might be viewed by policy makers as a failure in developing the envisaged citizen.

Similar to findings from Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) and Lee (2004a, 2004c), CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study put more stress on moral and personal values in contrast to a Western view that put more stress on the political. Indeed, parallel to Lee's argument

(2010, 2009, 2004a), in this study too, CCE is being related to Moral Education, a separate subject in the secondary school curriculum. Although the concept of global citizenship was missing in the definition of citizenship and also the notion of citizenship education, teachers in this study did acknowledge the effect of globalisation on their students' national identity and notion of citizenship and to the ways it might erode it. This might explain why for some respondents in the four schools, they saw a need for students to be knowledgeable about their own country and about their rights and responsibilities and to take pride and appreciate what existed in their country and with what were provided by the state. For teachers in the urban schools, the perceived lack of knowledge and appreciation was also due to students' advantages in socio economic status and technologies (see Chapter 6). Moreover, CCE and non-CCE teachers' understanding of citizenship and their views on the aims of CCE and the content of this subject were influenced by the unique history, cultural and social traditions that existed in this country and are a similar conclusion to that made by Kerr (1999) in the case of teachers in England and what shaped their understanding. This also led to development of a personal quality and spirit of patriotism to be stressed in CCE in order to maintain harmony in the country and to form the base for the younger generations to fight against outside influences. Nevertheless, the Head of CCE Curriculum officer stated that with *'the instability in our politic, the aspect of democracy should be given more emphasis'* (Curriculum Officer) in the CCE intended curriculum.

Overall, this chapter illustrates that 'the concept of citizenship in Asia are a hybrid combination of Western and Asian concepts' (Lee, 2004a: 279; 2009). However, different from the concept of citizenship and citizenship education promoted in the West, such as in England, (discussed in Chapter Five) which emphasised developing informed and active citizens, at least in the four schools visited, teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education were based on patriotism that stressed a love towards the country. If citizenship education in the West is viewed as a tool for democratic education, citizenship education in this study is one of the means to develop good moral and united citizens who could contribute towards the development of the society and country. Moreover as since independence education in Malaysia is viewed as a tool for social cohesion (see Chapter Two), CCE to those at the macro and micro levels is seen as a subject that has a bigger role in realising this objective. Thus, the notion of citizenship and citizenship education in this

study is similar to what was termed by Lee (2004a, 2009, 2010) as relationalistic, which emphasises 'how one relates to self, others (such as family and friends), the state and Nature' (Lee, 2009: 5). Respondents' perceptions of CCE seemed to resemble the way the CCE themes in the official documents were developed in concentric circles which begin with the individual aspect and end with the nation and world aspect. This was because teachers in this study also viewed that 'the individual and the collectivity are considered to be inseparable, to be complementary, and to be mutually reinforcing' (Lee, 2004c: 142). Besides, developing harmonious relations between the individual and the collective, the perception of CCE content stressed the importance of developing a good student as 'one had to be a good person in order to be a good citizen' (Lee, 2009: 5).

The analysis also showed that generally CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study were supportive of the official understanding of citizenship and official key features of the CCE curriculum. Thus, teachers in my study similar to the teachers in Singapore were 'reluctant to question the meaning of citizenship in ways that were critical of the system. Consequently, teachers understood citizenship in relatively "safe" approaches within the status quo' (Sim, 2008: 264). This might be due to the Asian culture that is usually more obedient and respectful leaders. On the other hand, this might also be due to the issue of the special rights of the *Bumiputera* which in the Malaysian multiethnic society are considered to be a sensitive issue to be openly discussed.

The next chapter follows with looking at the way CCE was enacted at the school level and the challenges that CCE teachers faced in transferring CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices. Thus, this chapter has acted as a bridge between CCE as intended at the macro level (see Chapter Five) with CCE as interpreted by the micro policy enactors that will assist in understanding the way CCE was enacted at the micro level (Chapter Eight).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CIVIC AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

8.1 Introduction

Introduced in 2005, CCE is an example of what Goodson (1990) referred to as a prescribed curriculum and was seen as another remedy to develop Malaysia's multiethnic citizens into united and patriotic citizens, particularly among the younger generations. Despite this ambitious agenda, CCE was introduced as a compulsory subject to be taught in an already crowded school curriculum, but not as a subject to be assessed in the external National Examinations. However, in a centralised education system that places emphasis on examination performance (Lee, 1999), the status of a subject plays important roles in determining the success or failure of a new subject. This chapter therefore explores the status and early evolution of CCE as a new subject in Malaysia's secondary school curriculum and the 'battle' (Goodson, 1998: 45) over CCE as a non-examined subject with the other externally examined subjects. Thus, the intention of this chapter is to answer the research question and the sub-questions outline in Chapter One; the way CCE teachers as micro policy enactors transfer CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practices.

As 'policies work in and on schools in complex ways' (Perryman et al., 2011 : 192) different school contexts are likely to play a role 'in forming, framing and limiting interpretative and practical responses' (Braun et al., 2011b : 581) to CCE curriculum policy. In response, this chapter also looks at the ways in which the different school contexts, previously discussed in Chapter Six, mediates the way CCE was enacted in schools. In the broadest sense, the four case study schools are those over representative of (i) Malay students (*Anggerik School*); (ii) Chinese students (*Bakawali School*); (iii) Indian students (*Cempaka School*); and (iv) a school with a more mixed ethnic student population (*Dahlia School*). This chapter is divided into two main sections; i) the ways CCE was administered and ii) the ways CCE was transferred into teaching and learning practices. It will begin by discussing CCE administrative practices; CCE as enacted in the school timetable, characteristics of CCE administrators and teachers, support provided and follows with discussion on the way CCE was practiced at the four schools. Thus, this chapter intends

to provide a narrative on the construction of what Bernstein (2000: 5) termed 'pedagogic discourse' (what CCE is prescribed as) and 'pedagogic practice' (p. 5) (how CCE is practiced).

8.2 Administrative Practices

CCE Timetable

CCE document analysis provided in Chapter Five showed that the allocation of CCE in the school curriculum is strongly framed (Bernstein, 1975). Framing refers to the 'degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (Bernstein, 1975: 89). In CCE documents, schools are supposed to allocate two periods or 80 minutes of the secondary school timetable for the teaching and learning of CCE. In doing this, schools are provided with a Form One to Form Five curriculum, syllabus specifications and textbooks to be used in each school year. Thus, in CCE official documents, teachers and students appear to have little autonomy over the CCE contents that need to be learned as these contents and the way of enacting CCE in the school timetable is pre-determined by those at the macro level. Indeed, document analysis in Chapter Five had painted an ideal picture on the way CCE was supposedly to be enacted in the secondary school curriculum.

However, analysis showed that CCE was weakly framed at the school level (Bernstein, 2000; 1975). This was demonstrated through the way CCE timetabling was structured and arranged and the way this space was utilised by the micro level implementers. All four schools visited had two school sessions, and as Puteh's (1994) found make it impossible for these schools to comply with the Ministry's circular which allocated 40 minutes per period for all subjects and a maximum 1800 minutes teaching and learning time per week. In addition, schools also need to allocate time for other matters such as assemblies, students recess and Muslim prayer times. Thus, as discussed in Chapter Six, with different students' ethnic group populations and school practices, schools had to use their own ingenuity in arranging the timetable in order to as closely as possible meet the official schooling requirements, and in consequence, CCE was accommodated in different ways.

For example, whereas 80 minutes of the school timetable morning session had been allocated for CCE teaching and learning, due to the time constraints, for the afternoon session all subjects were allocated 35 instead of 40 minutes per period, and in turn CCE was allocated 70 instead of 80 minutes per week. In contrast to the other three schools' afternoon session timetables, for Form One and Form Two *Bakawali* school students, CCE was timetabled only once every fortnight as the CCE timetable was alternately shared with Information and Communication Technology Literacy (ICTL). The Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school reasoned that this was to give more space for ICT knowledge and skills to be utilised in and through CCE. However, further inquiry with other CCE teachers showed that in this ICTL lesson, students were only taught the ICT syllabus and there was no indication that the CCE syllabus was integrated into ICTL lessons. In the ICTL Guidelines provided by the Curriculum Development Department (CDC, 2007), for double session schools, it was suggested that ICTL be taught out of the official school session times. Yet, in *Bakawali* school, in order to comply with the needs to teach both CCE and ICTL in the school curriculum, these two subjects were alternately taught, perhaps in response to *Bakawali* school's context to accommodate the needs and interests of Chinese parents and students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Moreover, with *Bakawali* school students being more active in co-curricular activities and enrolled in private tuition, it might have caused more difficulties for this school to arrange ICTL time out of the school session.

The way the timetable is arranged and specifically the time allocated to a subject might indicate the subject status (Bernstein, 2000; 1975). For example, in preparing each class timetable, preferred teaching times might have been allocated to subjects that are viewed as more important. A number of CCE teachers also expressed their view that the way CCE teaching time was allocated could affect students' interest. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, with all schools visited active in conducting co-academic, co-curriculum and other school activities, these activities which sometimes were carried out during school timetable was viewed by some teachers as distracting their students' attention. Indeed, during the fieldwork, an appointment to observe a CCE class in *Anggerik* school had to be rescheduled as on the day of the visit, the first and second periods were used for '*The Isra and Mi'raj*' lecture for Muslim students. As noted in field notes, other than being allocated in the first and last period, there were also CCE classes allocated after students' break, and

Physical Education activities. From the CCE classes observed, students were found to take some time to be ready for their CCE lessons. In *Dahlia* school, it took nearly 10 minutes for all students to come back from their Physical Education activities, while in *Anggerik* school, nearly 10 minutes to come back from their 20 minutes break. This seemed to illustrate a lack of interest in CCE on the part of some students which was not as evident when they were moving to a more preferred subject. In observing the *Bakawali* school's Head of CCE class, her teaching and learning only began after nearly 30 minutes waiting for all students to come back from their Biology class. When the teacher enquired to a small group of students on their other classmates' whereabouts, she was informed that they were in the laboratory discussing their Biology mid-term examination paper. Thus, from these CCE classes observed, CCE sometimes took 'second place'.

Generally, most students in the observed classes seemed to leisurely take their time to settle down before they were ready for their CCE lesson. Indeed, a male *Bakawali* school CCE teacher who was also teaching Science to the same students informed me that there was a vast difference between his students' reactions towards his Science and CCE classes. In his CCE lesson, a small group of students sat at the back of the class neither with their textbooks nor paying much attention to his lesson. However, in his Science class, allocated directly after his CCE class, this same group of students quickly moved to the front seats, opened their textbooks and listened attentively to what was being taught. Thus, interview and observation data highlighted that CCE seemed to be treated in a relaxed way by the students which was most likely due to their lower perception towards CCE, and to the wider schools' contexts which include students' characteristics and performative pressures discussed in Chapter Six.

Taken together, the amount of time allocated to CCE and students' responses towards it indicate the low status put on CCE. As highlighted by Bernstein (2000; 1975), in the school curriculum there are subjects that are allocated with more time in contrast to other subjects. Accordingly, as illustrated in Table 8.1 and 8.2 despite CCE being one of the compulsory subjects in the secondary school curriculum, generally the amount of time allocated was less compared to other subjects for both lower and upper secondary students.

Table 8.2 : Amount of Periods and Minutes Allocated Per Week in Lower Secondary School Timetable

Subjects	Period	Minutes
Malay Language	6	240
English	5	200
Mathematics	5	200
Science	5	200
Islamic Religious Studies	4	160
Moral Education	3	120
History	3	120
Geography	3	120
Living Skills	3	120
Arts	2	80
Physical Education	2	80
Civics and Citizenship Education	2	80

(Ministry of Education, 1988)

From this table, at least 120 minutes per week are allocated for PMR examination subjects, compared to 80 minutes per week allocated for non-examined subjects. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter Five, one period of CCE was taken from Living Skills which was initially allocated with four periods per week. Thus, the contest between CCE and another subject for space in the school curriculum is opened up. To a senior teacher in *Bakawali* school who was teaching Living Skills, this allocation did in a way affect her teaching approach as teachers have to provide:

'less explanation because we have to sacrifice our teaching time for the students to do the Living Skill project' (Bakawali 17).

This view was reflected by a CCE teacher from *Anggerik* school who was also the Afternoon Session Senior Assistant who stated that:

'the period allocated for Living Skills was reduced but not the syllabuses...my teachers have to rush because this subject has coursework and folio with datelines to be met' (Anggerik 3)

Table 8.2, indicates the time allocated for the compulsory and elective subjects for the upper secondary students.

Table 8.2 : Amount of Periods and Minutes Allocated Per Week in Upper Secondary School Timetable

Subjects	Period	Minutes
Malay Language	6	240
English	5	200
Mathematics	5	200
Science	4	160
Islamic Religious Studies	4	160
Moral Education	3	120
History	3	120
Physical Education	2	80
Civics and Citizenship Education	2	80
Humanities Subjects (Electives)	3	120
Vocational & Technology (Electives)	4/3	160/120
Science (Electives)	4	160

(Ministry of Education , 1990)

Upper secondary students are offered three electives. The subjects under Humanities electives are allocated with 120 minutes per week, while those under Science electives subjects, are privileged with an allocation of 160 minutes per week. Basic Economy and Commerce in the Vocational and Technology Electives are allocated with 120 minutes whereas the other subjects in these electives such as Additional Maths, Technical Drawing and Accounts are also privileged with 160 minutes. Parallel to Table 8.1, more periods are allocated for the external National Examination subjects compared to subjects such as CCE and Physical Education, which further illustrated the lower degree of subject status and importance put on CCE.

Interviews with CCE teachers in the four schools further revealed the way CCE space was utilised and the importance that both CCE and non-CCE teachers put on CCE timetabling. These interviews pointed that generally as National Examinations approached, CCE time was usually used to prepare for examination subjects. Thus, due to the external pressure to produce excellent examination performance (see Chapter Six), schools were willing to sacrifice CCE time for other examination oriented activities such as *'drilling practices in answering questions and mock examinations'* (Anggerik 7). The Head of CCE in *Dahlia* school stated that usually she did not even manage to teach all CCE themes as on many occasions CCE time was given away for examination subjects. Due to the low expectation put on CCE, some CCE teachers suggested that many non-CCE teachers often

had the idea that CCE time could be 'borrowed' (*Bakawali 2*) or 'taken' (*Anggerik 12*) in order to complete their own syllabus. Indeed, a senior teacher in *Cempaka* school admitted of using her own CCE time to teach Mathematics, her own teaching subject. This scenario did not only apply to students taking external National Examinations but to other students too. As students also sit for monthly, mid-term and end of the year internal examinations, there were also CCE teachers who sacrificed CCE time to be used by their students or by other teachers to prepare for these examinations. Moreover, although CCE was still examined in middle and final internal school examinations, as claimed by some teachers, the time that students spent on preparing for CCE examinations was less compared to the time spent on other subjects which further indicated some students' low perception towards CCE.

In the prescribed CCE curriculum, students are also required to carry out ten hours of community project outside the school timetable based on the themes assigned and activities suggested in the intended CCE curriculum. Interestingly, in talking about CCE community projects, teachers seemed not to put any emphasis on this time requirement. Throughout the fieldwork, only one CCE teacher in *Anggerik* school brought out the difficulties in complying with this requirement. For the other CCE teachers, this requirement seemed to be ignored. Across the four schools, for some community projects where students visited orphanages or historical places, this ten hours requirement might be complied with in contrast to other smaller community projects conducted within the school compound such as students' engagement in cleaning teachers' rooms or a furniture storage. The possibility of complying with this requirement was further complicated with CCE teachers facing difficulties in arranging the time to carry out these community projects. This in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools was due to students' involvement in school activities and private tuition. In addition, in *Bakawali* school this difficulty was also due to their larger number of students. With no clear guideline provided on this matter, CCE teachers were free to decide on the time to conduct the community project. Consequently, in the four schools, there were projects that were conducted either out of school hours or during CCE time itself. Nevertheless, the allocation of time as intended at the macro level was not prioritised at these four schools. In fact, it appeared to be based on the convenience of CCE teachers and their students.

The analysis in this section indicates that there is a substantial gap between CCE teaching time as accorded in CCE curriculum policy documents and the way it was structured and utilised in actual school practice. The two periods accorded to CCE was supposed to award CCE with strong framing (Bernstein, 1975) in the school curriculum. However, the allocation of CCE was not fully utilised and was poorly perceived by a large number of CCE and non-CCE teachers in the four schools indicating that CCE was weakly framed in the school practices. This was due to the external pressure that placed heavy emphasis on external National Examinations performance. Besides, CCE being a non-external examined subject, particularly in *Bakawali* school, this was also due to the characteristics of the students and the elements of '*Chineseness*' school culture discussed in Chapter Six.

'Every teacher can teach CCE'

As stated by Keating et al., (2009), Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004), and Kerr (1999), the success or failure of citizenship education relies on the teachers who teach and administer the subject at the micro level. Braun et al. (2011a) argued that staffing is one of the school assets that could mediate policy enactment. Subsequently, the analysis continues by looking at the characteristics of teachers chosen to administer and teach CCE.

a) CCE Administrators

CCE in the school curriculum is under the responsibilities of the Head of Humanities Department who is also responsible for the coordination and supervision of History, Geography, Moral Education, Islamic Education, Visual Arts and Physical and Health Education subjects. In all schools visited, none of these Heads of Humanities who were senior teachers with more than 25 years of teaching experience was assigned to teach CCE. Except for the Head of Humanities in *Anggerik* school who had just been transferred to that school and taught English, the other Heads of Humanities had been teaching in the same schools for many years and each taught a humanities subject.

Teachers responsible for the teaching of CCE are put under the control of a CCE Committee with one of the teachers appointed as Head of the CCE Committee or Head

of CCE Subject. As shown in Table 8.3 in *Anggerik* and *Dahlia* schools, there were also CCE afternoon teachers appointed to assist these Heads of CCE in managing the afternoon session CCE teachers.

Table 8.3 : Characteristics of Heads of CCE and Assistants of Head of CCE

School	Post	Teaching Experience (Years)	CCE Teaching Experience (Years)	Teaching Options	Other Subjects Taught
Anggerik	Head of CCE (<i>Anggerik 2</i>)	One	One	CCE	Malay Language Physical Education
	Assistant (<i>Anggerik 10</i>)	Four	Three	Mathematics	Mathematics Geography
Bakawali	Head of CCE (<i>Bakawali 2</i>)	Four	Two	Geography Arts	Arts
Cempaka	Head of CCE (<i>Cempaka 2</i>)	Fourteen	Five	Islamic Education History	Islamic Education
Dahlia	Head of CCE (<i>Dahlia 2</i>)	Twenty six	Four	Arts	Arts Malay Language
	Assistant (<i>Dahlia 3</i>)	Sixteen	Six	English	English

The above table illustrates that only *Anggerik School's* Head of CCE had CCE as her teaching option. Indeed, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, new and young teachers, those who had less than five years of teaching experience were given the responsibility of administering CCE. Thus, besides lacking experience in teaching CCE, these Heads of CCE were also lacking in wider teaching experiences. For the Head of CCE in *Anggerik* school who was appointed just after a few months starting her teaching career, her designation was due to having CCE as her teaching option. She not only found out about her designation in the first school year staff meeting, but the news also came with the responsibility of chairing the first CCE Committee meeting. Meanwhile for the Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school the allocation of teaching CCE came along with the responsibility of being the Head of CCE. To her, her designation was to replace the retired Head of CCE. With no experience

in teaching CCE and in managing a subject committee, responsibilities in carrying out these tasks were basically *'learned by myself'* (*Bakawali 2*).

The ways teachers were designated as Head of CCE indicate the low priority accorded by their managers to this subject. Indeed, despite that Heads of CCE in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools were both teachers with more than ten years teaching experience, they too were not certain of the reasons for their designation. For example, to the Head of CCE in *Cempaka* school who was previously the Head of Islamic Education, his designation was to replace the retired Head of CCE. To him, with CCE more towards doing community work, he thought his designation might be due to his ability to organise and manage these Community Projects, which in *Cempaka* school were usually conducted out of the school compound.

These interviews with the Heads of CCE illustrated that there were no specific criteria in allocating the teacher to hold the post of Head of CCE and in different schools different criteria were brought into play. Knowledge of CCE was not the main criteria but it was more towards the personality, ability and availability of the teachers that led them to be selected to carry out this responsibility. Moreover, as these Heads of CCE had little knowledge on what was expected from CCE, it made it harder for them to properly manage and assist their CCE teachers in the teaching and learning of CCE. Indeed, it was more difficult for the new teachers in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools as they not only had to struggle to have a better understanding of CCE but at the same time struggled to manage and support their CCE teachers. However, different from *Anggerik* school, in *Bakawali* school the designation of Head of CCE to a young teacher might also be due to the school context; the *'Chineseness'* school culture that put more emphasise on utilitarian subjects (see Chapter Six).

b) CCE Teachers

Document analysis in Chapter Five highlighted that CCE was not only to be allocated with specific spaces, but also with specific teachers to be responsible for the teaching and learning of CCE. However, analysis from CCE teachers' interviews pointed out that any teacher in the schools visited was seen as capable to carry out this responsibility. Indeed,

among the forty-five CCE teachers interviewed, only the young Head of CCE in *Anggerik* school had CCE as her teaching option and was considered a CCE teacher specialist by the other teachers in her school. Meanwhile, for the other CCE teachers in the four schools, generally, their teaching options varied from Arts to Chemistry. Analysis also showed that although CCE, similar to Physical Education, Arts and Moral Education is a non-examination subject, there were more specialist teachers in these subjects options compared to CCE. In addition, with Moral Education being a SPM (Malaysian Education Certificate) compulsory subject for non-Malay students and Arts being a SPM elective subject, as indicated by the Head of Humanities in *Bakawali* school these subjects were viewed as more important by upper secondary students.

Many teachers thought that, as Goodson (1998) found in the case of the non-examined and non academic subjects in the English school curriculum, specific teacher training was not required for CCE. Indeed, with a performative discourse emphasised in the four schools, there were CCE teachers, particularly those in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, who informed that there were non-CCE teachers who viewed those teaching CCE as having an easy task compared to those teaching external National Examinations subjects. This further strengthened teachers' perceptions that CCE is a subject that '*everyone*' (*Cempaka 2*) and '*anyone can teach*' (*Anggerik 7*). As viewed by the Head of Humanities in *Dahlia* school different from '*Biology or Chemistry subject...Everybody by right should be able to teach civics*' (*Dahlia 1*). Indeed, a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school stated that CCE was among '*the last subjects to be allocated with teachers*' (*Bakawali 5*).

The perception that any teacher could teach CCE was underpinned by the low number of teachers trained in CCE. This did not come as a surprise as in the interview with the Head of the CCE Curriculum Unit in the Curriculum Development Department, she stated that teachers from all sorts of teaching options were sent to the CCE teachers' facilitator course conducted by her department despite the instruction by the Education States Division to send teachers with Social Science subjects as their teaching option. To her, this action was however, well understood as the introduction of CCE in the school curriculum did not come with teachers trained in CCE as their teaching options. This almost non-existence of trained CCE teachers was further acknowledged by this officer

as throughout the courses and monitoring conducted by her unit, she had only met two teachers with CCE teaching options.

Teachers' experience in teaching CCE in these four schools also varied. Despite CCE having been introduced in 2005, only two teachers in *Dahlia* school had been teaching CCE continuously since it was introduced. Almost half of other CCE teachers in this school and in the other three schools, had only been teaching for less than a year. Indeed, due to the external contexts; the pressure of producing excellent examination results, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, generally it was new teachers, those who had just started their teaching career or those who had just been transferred from other schools who were assigned with CCE. The reasons for more experienced teachers teaching CCE in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools were simply because there were more senior teachers in these two schools. However, despite that there were also many senior teachers in *Bakawali* school, as informed by a young CCE teacher in this school, these senior teachers were not interested in teaching CCE due to its low status and the '*difficulties in teaching non-examined subject to students in their school*' (*Bakawali 10*). This might be due to lack of reward and promotional (Paetcher, 1993) opportunities afforded by CCE. Resistance to teaching CCE was not only from senior teachers in *Bakawali* school but also from some CCE teachers in all four schools who admitted that they preferred not to be teaching CCE. However, with *Bakawali* school's students' characteristics and culture that put stronger emphasis on examination subjects, the resistance towards CCE seemed to be more evident in this school compared to the other three schools.

CCE in the four schools was also viewed as '*a filler subject*' (*Dahlia 1*) so that another reason for teachers to be assigned with CCE was to fill up their personal teaching time. As expressed by the Head of Humanities in *Anggerik* school:

'In school, in reality, Civics is always filling up when these teachers do not have enough teaching periods coz usually a teacher has to teach 25 to 28 periods. Like English 5 periods per class, 5 classes so 25 periods, so we need 2 more periods, we take Civics' (*Anggerik 1*)

This had further led to the problem of CCE teachers constantly being inter-changed with different teachers. Indeed, as indicated by the Head of Humanities in *Dahlia* school, '*there are cases where teachers only teach for one to two months then they are changed again*'

(*Dahlia 1*). Thus, despite official CCE documents asserting that CCE was supposed to be allocated with a specific teacher, in the real school practice the way these teachers were allocated was more towards 'convenience' (Keating et al., 2009: 42) of the school administrators. At the micro level, the allocation of CCE was not due to teachers' capabilities in instilling the elements of CCE but was more towards completing teachers' personal teaching timetables. This constant changing was also a reason why my attempts to do field work in the first few schools approached were declined.

Consequently, there were Heads of Humanities Departments and Heads of CCE who commented on the difficulties in tracking their own teachers due to these frequent changes. Although frequent changes in school timetables affected teachers teaching other subjects too, but the effect was less compared to teachers teaching CCE. As commented by the Head of Humanities in *Anggerik* school:

'In a year the timetable will be changed 2 or 3 times, and when it happened, the teachers changed too...if you are teaching English, your classes might be changed but you are still teaching English. But in Civics that's not how it works. In the end, you will be surprised that from January until November I have nearly 30 CCE teachers and sometimes I don't even recognise my teachers' (Anggerik 1)

The difficulties in identifying CCE teachers were also experienced in doing the fieldwork. In the first meeting with Heads of Humanities or Heads of CCE, these teachers would usually find it difficult to give accurate numbers of CCE teachers under their own administration. For example, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools where the first appointment was made right before the school timetable was changed again, the identification as to whether the same teachers would be teaching CCE in the new timetable could only be done after this new timetable was released. As explained by the Head of Humanities in *Anggerik* school in the above extract, whenever there were changes in the timetable, teachers whose teaching option and teaching subject were national examination subjects, would generally continue teaching these subjects, in contrast to teachers teaching CCE who most probably would be assigned with a different subject.

CCE was also assigned to ease teachers' teaching workloads. For example, to a senior English teacher in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools, the reason for teaching CCE was to allow them to spend more time for their own specialist subject. As explained by an English teacher

in *Dahlia* school, by teaching CCE, she could have less students' English work to mark and spend more time marking them. This was also voiced by a CCE teacher in *Cempaka* school, who was also teaching English to the students who were going to sit for PMR and SPM examinations:

'I am given 4 classes of English. 4 classes mean all exam classes, 3 form 5, 1 form 3. Marking a lot, they write a lot also, 4 classes... I think CCE supposed to be more relaxed' (Cempaka 4)

Thus, in some cases, a teacher's own teaching subject was seen as a 'heavy workload' subject, so they were assigned with CCE which was viewed as requiring less time in preparing, teaching and marking. Low expectations reinforced the low status of CCE. Indeed, CCE was not only assigned to teachers teaching more important and 'heavy workload' subjects such as English, Science and Mathematics, but also to teachers with heavy responsibilities such as to a Head of Islamic Education and to the Student Affairs Senior Assistant in *Cempaka* school, a Resource Centre Teacher in *Dahlia* school, an Evening Session Senior Assistant in *Anggerik* school, and a Discipline Teacher in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools.

As noted in my field notes, in a passing talk with the Headteacher of one school, he shared his views of the heavy responsibilities that the school administrators had to handle which included going to various meetings conducted in and out of school and attending to matters required and directed by District Office, State Office and various departments in the Ministry of Education. In his own case, these administrative works had quite often caused this Headteacher to not be able to teach the subject to the classes he was assigned to teach. According to the Ministry Circular 5/22 June 1998, a Headteacher is supposed to teach for at least five periods per week while for Headteacher's Senior Assistants, it is between ten to twelve periods per week. This Headteacher further commented that instead of teaching the subject he was at present teaching, in future he should opt for non-examination subjects such as CCE. Thus, allocating those with high administrative loads to teach CCE was seen as not bringing much negative effect to the students.

Analysis in this section pointed that the characteristics of teachers chosen to carry out the responsibilities of administrating and the responsibilities of transferring the

intended CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices was influenced by the situated and external contexts such as school cultures and ethos. Indeed, emphasis put on a performative discourse led to CCE in all four schools to be viewed as a low status subject that could be taught by any subject teacher. The selection of Head of CCE was based on loose criteria, and the reasons for teaching CCE were also generally to fill up teachers' personal teaching timetables and for some teachers to ease their workloads. Indeed, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, this also led to new and/or young teachers being assigned with CCE. Thus, similar to citizenship education in England, CCE in this study was also conveniently assigned to teachers (Keating et al., 2009) who were lacking in CCE knowledge and training (Kerr et al., 2007). This chapter continues by looking at the support provided for CCE teachers.

CCE Support

Discussion in Chapter Three indicted that for citizenship to become embedded in the school curriculum, CCE teachers should be provided with knowledge, guidance, and support in order to better equip them in carrying out the responsibilities of instilling CCE elements in the specific spaces provided (Evans, 2006; Crick et al., 2004; Davies et al., 1999). Accordingly, this section will explore the types of support provided to CCE teachers in teaching and administrating CCE.

a) External Courses

Analysis in all four schools showed that a majority of CCE teachers had never attended a CCE course conducted either at the macro or meso levels and those who had attended a CCE course were usually teachers who had been teaching CCE since it was introduced. As CCE was implemented in stages, the '*four days, three nights*' (*Dahlia 3*) courses provided to CCE teachers were also conducted in stages. For example, as explained by the Head of CCE's Assistant in *Dahlia* school, before the implementation of CCE to Form One students in 2005, a course for teachers assigned with CCE was conducted in 2004 just before the beginning of the Form One school year. All secondary schools were instructed to send one teacher to attend this CCE introductory course and would then be expected to cascade in-house training to the other CCE teachers in their schools. Accordingly, not only

was she the first teacher in her school who attended the CCE course, she was also designated as the first Head of CCE in her school. Meanwhile, a CCE teacher who had just been transferred to *Cempaka* school had also attended a few other courses organised by her District Education Office when she was teaching CCE in another school located in the same district. Subsequently, although in each school generally there were teachers who had been sent to these CCE introductory courses, with many teachers transferred to other schools, only a small number of these teachers remained to teach CCE. However, in *Bakawali* school, the only teacher who had attended this introductory course was neither assigned to teach nor to administer CCE anymore. Due to external pressure this senior teacher was given the privilege to concentrate on her own teaching option which is also an external examination subject.

Those teachers who attended the CCE courses conducted by the Selangor State Education Division drew attention to the lack of support provided for CCE teachers especially by those at the macro and meso levels. Not only were small numbers of teachers provided with a short CCE course, which introduced them to this new subject, it was also generally the one and only course attended. Moreover, the Head of CCE in *Dahlia* school and her assistant who had attended these courses revealed that during these courses, it was impressed on teachers that they should not make CCE a burden to students. Indeed, as indicated by the Head of CCE's Assistant not only in the course but in the District Level meeting too, '*they told us again and again, it's a non examination subject so we must not put a pressure on the students*' (*Anggerik 3*). As noted, this claim was also evident at the CCE district level meeting minutes, as found in *Dahlia*, *Bakawali* and *Anggerik* schools.

The Head of CCE in *Dahlia* school commented that the course was conducted by facilitators who did not have adequate knowledge about CCE. This again did not come as a surprise as these facilitators were teachers of other subjects who had been selected to be CCE facilitators by the Education State Division. As informed by the Head of CCE Curriculum Unit in the Curriculum Development Division, a number of teachers in each state were selected by each Education State Division to attend a CCE course organised by her unit. Upon receiving this short course, these teachers would then be responsible to facilitate CCE introductory courses to CCE teachers in their own state. Consequently, it would be difficult

for other CCE teachers to acquire knowledge and information on CCE as these CCE facilitators themselves were given inadequate knowledge and training on CCE.

For other CCE teachers, the only CCE courses attended were the internal courses or in-house training organised by CCE administrators at the school level. Given that the Heads of CCE in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools had attended the CCE introductory course organised by the State Education Division, it was expected that CCE teachers in these schools might have better knowledge on CCE compared to the other two schools. However, despite fieldwork in these two schools being carried out at the second quarter of the school year, teachers who were teaching CCE during the year of my visit were yet to have any internal CCE courses. CCE teachers in *Anggerik*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools were only provided with a CCE yearly teaching plan, syllabus and a textbook upon being assigned to teach CCE. Thus, in these schools, the enactment of the CCE intended curriculum into teaching and learning practices might basically be based on teachers' own interpretation. Moreover, without specific information provided to these CCE teachers, they had to personally find their own ways in teaching this subject. As highlighted by the Head of Humanities Department in *Anggerik* school:

'The rule is once you are given a subject, teach it. So you either swim or you sink. So those who strive they tried to understand the syllabus and everything. But those who, well it's not going to be tested, so just take a book, and the heart is not there. And for the Head of Subject to give exposure or what, she herself is not given any coaching' (Anggerik 1)

The sorts of difficulties faced are well illustrated in *Bakawali* school, where in-house training was conducted by the Head of CCE, who not only had less than four years of teaching experience but who also had never attended any CCE courses. Due to this, a lot of effort was made by this young teacher not only in preparing for CCE teaching and learning but in assisting and managing her CCE teachers too. Moreover, as CCE teachers kept on being changed, *Bakawali* school's in-house training was not only organised once a year but as informed by the Head of CCE, *'every time the school timetable change'* (*Bakawali 2*). The need to continuously conduct CCE in-house training was also brought out by the Heads of Humanities Department in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools.

The young Head of CCE in *Anggerik* school thought that her teacher training in CCE did help a lot in teaching CCE, and admitted lacking in confidence and still needing time to learn the administrative work and the responsibilities as the Head of CCE. Thus, despite her plan of organising CCE courses for her CCE teachers, these courses could only be organised when she could get hold of appropriate individuals to facilitate the courses. However, for the young Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school, the Curriculum Committee meetings in her school helped her to be a better CCE teacher and Head of Subject. Additionally, she also requested the help of two other CCE teachers who were seen as more experienced and knowledgeable on the elements of CCE to facilitate in-house training. These two young Heads of CCE also asked for the advice of the previous Head of CCE, Head of Humanities, the other Head of Subjects and Senior Assistants. Moreover, CCE teachers in these four schools usually, formally and informally, discussed CCE matters with other CCE teachers or with their Head of CCE and the assistant.

Overall, it seems that although support from those at the macro and meso levels was lacking, CCE teachers did receive some support from their administrators and colleagues. Nevertheless, due to the emphasis put on a performative discourse (see Chapter Six) which caused CCE to be lowly viewed, support from administrators was minimal especially when compared with the support provided for other examined subjects. As questioned by Head of Humanities in *Anggerik* school:

'If there is a choice between organising a one day Biology course and a Civics course, you tell me which one the administrator will choose?'
(*Anggerik 1*)

Moreover, with only one CCE teacher with CCE as a teaching option and with hardly any courses provided for these CCE teachers, it also brought out the question of teachers' training and continuing professional development provided for CCE. Indeed, although educational officers and teachers are provided with opportunities to apply for study leave, from the 2012 list of courses or fields offered by the Ministry of Education either at Master or Doctorate levels, with or without scholarship in various fields and subjects, CCE was not one of the options offered (Bahagian Tajaan, 2010). Thus, different from other non-examination subjects such as Physical Education, continuing professional development programmes and academic degrees specialising in CCE is not one of the options offered.

b) District Level Meetings

As indicated earlier, the implementation of CCE was done in stages, starting with the teaching of CCE to Form One students in 2005 and concluded with Form Five students in 2009. Accordingly, CCE courses, which introduced this new subject to teachers that would be assigned with CCE began in 2004 and ended in 2008. Interviews with the CCE teachers who had attended these courses showed that there were no more courses organised after the full circle of the implementation was completed. Indeed, these teachers further claimed that for the past two years, they were yet to be called for any district level meetings. In the earlier stages of implementation, besides courses, there were also district level meetings organised for Heads of CCE. From the interviewees and the minutes of CCE District Meetings, CCE meetings at the District level were usually held in the first quarter of the year between January to March. However, despite the fieldwork being conducted from April to July, none of the Heads of CCE in the sample had attended any CCE District Level Meetings. Similar to CCE courses, these yearly district level meetings seemed to be disappearing from the meso agenda.

From the interviews and the minutes of meetings in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, it was apparent that in the first few years following the introduction of CCE, their District Level CCE Committee (these schools are situated in the same district) was an active committee with annual meetings to discuss CCE matters and activities to be organised at the district level with the cooperation of all CCE teachers in this district. Indeed, there were also Headteachers and other CCE teachers elected to be the District Level CCE Committee Members. Among the activities organised were 'CCE District Level Days', 'Welfare Activities with Nearby Schools', 'Chinese Calligraphy', 'Diwali Rice Decoration' and 'An Islamic Calligraphy Competition'.

In all four schools, the CCE Committee Meeting was organised at least once in each school semester as regulated in the School Division Ministry Education Circular No 4/1986. From the analysis of the files in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, and from an interview with *Cempaka* school Head of CCE, the first yearly meeting would usually discuss the CCE syllabus, examination format, community projects, teaching aids and activities that would be organised during the co-academic week. Among the activities that had been

conducted in *Anggerik* and *Dahlia* schools' co-academic week were a traditional games competition, a poster competition and a folktale storytelling competition. The CCE Committee Meetings in these schools also discussed and allocated CCE teachers who would be responsible in setting the middle and final term CCE internal examination questions.

From the CCE Committee files held in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, the number of meetings conducted by their District Education Office was very low. The meeting minutes and activities reports in these three schools' files generally came from the meetings and activities conducted at the school level. The inspection of these files showed that there were no reports from the School Inspectorate as this inspection generally would only involve 'the core subjects' (*Dahlia 3*). From the interview with the Head of CCE Curriculum in the Curriculum Development Division, despite courses and inspections having been conducted by her unit together with the cooperation of School Inspectorates, Education States Division and District Education Officers, these only covered a small number of schools in Malaysia. However, comparison could not be made with *Cempaka* school as during my visits to this school, all of the Subject Committee Files had to be prepared and kept for the inspection of the Education State Division officers and a visit from another department in the Ministry of Education. As noted, these visits were due to *Cempaka* school being ranked as one of the low band schools (see Chapter Six). The analysis will now turn to teaching aids, another form of support provided for CCE.

c) Teaching Aids

Similar to the other school subjects, all students were provided with a CCE textbook. Moreover, as shown in Chapter Five, CCE is also allocated with per capita financial aid based on the enrolment of students in each school. Based on the Finance Division, Ministry of Education Circular 2005, this allocation which ranged from RM1,000 to RM7,000 per year (see Table 5.1 in Chapter Five) should be used in purchasing teaching resources and equipment that could assist CCE teaching and learning and to organise and run CCE Community Projects.

In the four schools sampled, this allocation had been used as regulated in the circular. Besides using the allocation for the community project, the Heads of CCE had used

this allocation to purchase teaching aids and materials to be used by their teachers and students which among them were traditional Malaysian games such as *Congkak*, *Dam*, Chinese Chess and Marble, educational CDs, charts and posters. Additionally, stationery like drawing blocks, coloured paper, crayons and permanent markers to be used for CCE teaching and learning activities were also bought. Other than these, in order to attract students' interest and to assist in teachers teaching, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, a few CCE modules consisted of learning notes, exercises and CDs produced by private suppliers had also been purchased. Although CCE is not examined in the external National Examinations, similar with the other subjects, reference books were another common resource found in these four schools. This was used by CCE teachers to get more information on the topics to be taught and in *Cempaka* school, due to their students' characteristics were usually used for students' note taking and exercises. In the two classes observed in *Cempaka* school for example, a set of reference books were loaned to the students to be used in CCE teaching and learning sessions.

Different from other subjects that were generally provided with teaching aids by departments in the Ministry of Education, CCE teaching aids in all schools visited were mainly purchased by the Heads of CCE from private salespersons or suppliers who usually came to their schools, using the allocation provided. In contrast to CCE, the Curriculum Development Division, had for example, developed and provided The Teaching and Learning of Science and Mathematics in English (PPSMI) Software for Science, Mathematics, English, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Additional Mathematics, and ICT. The Educational Technological Division had developed and provided PPSMI Software for Science, English and Mathematics and e-materials teaching software for Islamic Education, Malay Language, English, Biology, Chemistry and Additional Mathematics. However, for CCE there was no comparable provision.

Consequently, there were some CCE teachers who came up with their own teaching aids. The Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school for example, came up with a set of exercise questions while Head of CCE in *Anggerik* school prepared power points to be used in their own classes and to be shared with their CCE teachers. Moreover, for many CCE teachers, especially to those in the urban schools, who claimed that inadequate information was

provided in CCE textbooks, the internet was a favourite way in finding information and teaching ideas. This was especially due to the material contexts; the advantage of ICT in these urban schools. Different from Citizenship Education in England (see Chapter Five), in Malaysia other than the thirteen learning CCE videos on the Eduwebtv.com; ([http://eduwebtv.com /v2/](http://eduwebtv.com/v2/)) the official WebTV developed by the Technological Division, Ministry of Education, there was no other official websites developed for CCE teachers in Malaysia. However, none of the CCE teachers interviewed seemed to be aware of the existence of this website.

Analysis in this section has shown that compared to other subjects in the school curriculum, support especially in terms of courses, meetings and teaching aids for CCE from the macro and meso levels was minimal and lacking. Moreover, due to the external pressure in producing excellent academic results, support from school administrators and from other teachers was minimal too. Thus, without courses provided for CCE teachers, these CCE teachers had to come up with other initiatives in order to carry out their responsibilities. However, with the material contexts available in the urban schools (see Chapter Six), teachers in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools were more advantaged compared to those in *Cempaka* school. The analysis will now move to the way CCE was practiced in the classrooms.

8.3 Teaching and Learning Practices

This section discusses the ways CCE curriculum was translated into teaching and learning practices, within the four schools. It aims to identify i) whether the way CCE was transferred into teaching and learning practices parallels teachers' conceptions of citizenship and CCE discussed in Chapter Seven and ii) whether the way CCE, as practiced at the school level, parallels teaching and learning of CCE as intended in the curriculum. Discussion in this section begins with CCE subject themes and contents that were perceived as primary and secondary which is then followed with teaching and learning and assessment approaches adopted by CCE teachers in the four schools studied.

Subject Content

Analysis in Chapter Five highlighted that in the CCE curriculum, there are six recurring themes that should be covered in the secondary school syllabus. These themes are repeated from Form One to Form Five with different topics and subtopics allocated for each theme. Accordingly these themes are:

- vii) Self-achievement
- viii) Family relations
- ix) Living in society
- x) Malaysian diverse cultural heritage
- xi) Malaysian sovereignty
- xii) Future challenges

Generally, CCE teachers in this study did agree with the structured themes, which was in line with their perceptions of CCE which begin with development of personal attributes and extended to family, school, community, society and country. However, there were also CCE teachers who believed that the CCE official curriculum and syllabus put more emphasis on the elements of civics than on citizenship. This was also highlighted in an interview with the Head of CCE Curriculum who informed that changes were being made to the present curriculum as at the time of the interview, a new CCE curriculum was in the early stage of planning.

Additionally, the analysis of the CCE and non-CCE teachers' interviews, the KBSM subjects' syllabus and curriculum specification, illustrated that the elements of CCE had been taught and integrated in other subjects. Analysis on KBSM subjects' curriculum further showed that with patriotism values added in the revised KBSM curriculum (CDC, 2000), the emphasis on noble and patriotic values could be seen in the 'Preface' section in all revised KBSM academic subjects' syllabuses and curriculum specifications. Moreover, analysis of the Moral Education curriculum and syllabus showed that similarities between this subject and CCE existed in these two subjects' objectives, themes, topics and values. Indeed, the list of citizenship values emphasised in the History syllabus is similar to the values emphasised in Moral Education and CCE syllabuses. Closer examination of other subjects' syllabuses and curriculum specifications also showed that there were also themes that are integrated and

taught across the KBSM subjects. The theme on 'Environment' for example, which is supposed to inculcate the values of appreciation and love towards the environment is not only taught in CCE, but also in Moral Education, Malay Language, English and Geography. Teachers, particularly in those schools over representative of non-Malay students, further stressed that the elements of CCE in CCE official documents were '*overlapped*' (Dahlia 13), '*redundant*' (Dahlia 2) and '*duplicating*' (Bakawali 1) of the knowledge, skills and values already present in many subjects in the school curriculum. Indeed, in the interview with the Head of CCE Curriculum at the Curriculum Development Division who was responsible for developing the CCE curriculum admitted that '*there is redundancy in CCE curriculum with Moral Education*' (Officer 1). This relates to another aspect of classification in which the content of CCE was weakly insulated or bounded (Bernstein, 1975) with the content of other subjects in the school curriculum. It is this weak boundary that creates the space for contestation.

The analysis showed that in these four schools, Form One to Form Five CCE yearly teaching plans had been designed to guide CCE teachers in their teaching which included the themes and topics to be covered, and suggested teaching activities which almost mirrored the prescribed CCE curriculum and syllabus. From the interviews, CCE teachers in these four schools seemed to make an attempt to cover all aspects in the teaching plan. However, different from other examination subjects, the need to complete the CCE syllabus was a lower priority. Moreover, a lack of guidance and support had provided the space for teachers to creatively interpret these syllabuses. Indeed, due to wider school contexts particularly students' characteristics and socioeconomic background, there were themes that some teachers, particularly those in schools over representative of non-Malay students, faced difficulties in teaching. For example, some CCE teachers in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools had the perception that it was easier to teach CCE to Malay students compared to non-Malays, particularly to Chinese students. A *Dahlia* school Malay CCE teacher proposed that in teaching CCE, '*we want to cater all ethnics but sometimes it is quite difficult for other ethnics to accept*' (Dahlia 6). This view was voiced not only by *Bumiputera* and Malay teachers but also by Chinese and Indian teachers; the non-*Bumiputera* or non-Malays. As explained by this young Malay CCE teacher:

'Because sometimes there are barriers where we can explain and can't explain because misunderstanding might occur, so it is quite difficult. Even if we talk about scholarship with our non-Malay colleague, they will say the Malay are lucky, there is scholarship, the government help etc, etc. whereas the non-Malay have to find on our own. It is more difficult to explain to students as it involves ethnic sensitivity' (Dahlia 11)

Moreover, despite the fact that all four schools were National Secondary Schools, there were students who were ethnically segregated in their primary schooling and continued to be so in their living location (see Chapter Six). This and wider school contexts had led to different teacher discourses as their values, their prior experiences, and sometimes their prejudices on what different ethnic students will and will not do. This had also led teachers to either limit or extend their horizons in enacting CCE in the school curriculum. Indeed, in enacting CCE into teaching and learning practices, there were CCE topics that were 'ignored, or underplayed or sidelined, they can be spaces of delay or neglect or creative repackaging' (Ball et al., 2011a: 615). This had led CCE teachers across the four schools to either consciously or subconsciously put stronger emphasis on certain themes and topics underlined in the CCE syllabus. Accordingly, the following discussion will be divided into primary and secondary themes; themes that were favoured and less favoured by these CCE teachers.

a) Primary Themes

Many CCE teachers indicated that attracting students' attention was the main challenge faced in teaching CCE. This was especially apparent given the low status of CCE due to the emphasis on a performative discourse evident in all schools studied, similar to that identified by Kennedy and Fairborth (2004), Osler and Starkey (2004) and Davies and Evans (2002). However, due to individual school contexts (see Chapter Six), this challenge was more apparent in *Bakawali* school, a school with a dominance of a '*Chineseness*' school culture. Indeed, these school contexts also influenced the themes that teachers in all schools favoured to deliver.

'Family Relations' seemed to be the theme favoured by almost all CCE teachers particularly by *Cempaka* school CCE teachers which was influenced by their students' academic ability and personal need. For example, *Cempaka* school CCE teachers tended

to favour this theme owing to a high number of their students being academically weak (see Chapter 6). Similarly, despite *Dahlia* school having a much better academic performance than *Cempaka* school, a CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school who was teaching academically weak and less motivated students favoured this theme as she viewed her sixteen years old students as immature and less interested in themes and topics that were not related to their own lives.

This theme was also viewed by a CCE teacher in *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools as enabling them to have better relevance to their students' family backgrounds. The topics under this theme such as, 'Unity in Family', 'Responsibilities Towards Family' and 'Family Needs' were also favoured by CCE teachers across four schools as these topics were not only closer to students' own lives but were also much easier to teach and to attract students' attention and interest. In relation to this view, perhaps as a *Bakawali* school CCE teacher suggested:

'when I tell them stories about marriages, the students enjoy it because they are 16 years old, at the stage where they like to talk about love' (Bakawali 5).

Other favoured themes especially by *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools CCE teachers were 'Self-Achievement', 'Living in Society' and 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage'. Similar to 'Family Relations', to these urban schools teachers, these three themes were also viewed as relevant to the situated contexts; their students' academic ability, personal lives and interests. To some CCE teachers, topics taught under these themes were *'something that the students had experiences in' (Anggerik 2)* and *'something that they go through in their daily life' (Bakawali 7)*. Moreover, teachers' own knowledge was another reason for these preferences as these themes were *'general knowledge'* and teachers *'already have experiences related to the themes so it is easier to relate them to the students' (Anggerik 4)*. Many CCE teachers also found that the values stressed in their own understanding of citizenship and the moral virtues and personal values that they perceived as necessary in CCE coincided with the values stressed in the CCE official curriculum and were much easier to be inculcated through these themes.

Nevertheless, among these themes, the theme 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' was the theme most frequently indicated as the favoured theme by the CCE urban schools

teachers. Besides, attracting students' attention, topics under this theme such as 'Malaysia's Multiethnic Heritage, Custom and Festival' and 'The Importance of Certain Practices in Celebrating Various Ethnic Festivals' was also viewed as providing their students with the opportunity to have better knowledge of their own and other ethnics' cultures, customs and heritage. As discussed in Chapter Six, due to the urban students' characteristics and socioeconomic background, these students were perceived as lacking in information on their own and on other ethnics' cultures. A Chinese Head of Humanities and a Malay CCE teacher in *Dahlia* school, for example, commented that their students do not even know '*kuih ketayap*', (a Malay dessert which is quite similar to pancake) '*but they know, pancake*' (*Anggerik 1, Anggerik 3*). In addition, through this theme, this senior CCE teacher informed that she could show her students, '*how to wear a sari, sampung (Indian and Malay traditional clothes (Anggerik 3)*'. To these urban school CCE teachers particularly those in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, it was important to expose their students to their own and to the other ethnics' traditional culture. Besides helping the students to develop and preserve their own culture and ethnic identity, knowledge on other ethnics' cultures, customs, traditions and heritages as suggested by some CCE and non-CCE teachers in all four schools, were essential in order '*to instil unity*' (*Dahlia 10*) and to avoid misunderstanding and '*suspicious feeling*' (*Cempaka 13*) towards other ethnicities. Teachers favouring to deliver the theme on 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' was also consistent with their perception of the notion of cultural citizenship. This also signals teachers' efforts in realising one of the CCE objectives which is to develop social cohesion among multiethnic society. Through this theme too, the existence of diversity in a multiethnic society was acknowledged and promoted as these CCE teachers were not only emphasising a specific ethnicity but attempted to educate their students with information on other ethnicities too.

The analysis from the interview and lesson observations also illustrated that the preference towards the theme on 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' was also due to school students' ethnic population. As suggested by a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school, '*being in class with mixed ethnic students, maybe one ethnic wants to know about the other ethnic and vice versa*' (*Bakawali 10*). Moreover, as commented by a CCE teacher in *Anggerik*, a school with an over representative population of Malay students, this theme was more interesting if it was taught in a class with more multiethnic students as the activities and the

information *'could be exchanged and shared with students from different ethnics'* (Anggerik 5). Similarly, from observation made on the Malay teacher in *Dahlia* school's CCE lesson, there were more students asking and requesting further information on Malay weddings as there were more mixed ethnic student populations in her classroom, compared to the *Anggerik* school's Head of CCE class observed that had only one Chinese and one Indian student.

Different from teachers in the urban schools, the theme 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' was less favoured by *Cempaka* school CCE teachers who viewed themselves as lacking in confidence in teaching this theme as they felt that they lacked the knowledge of other ethnics' cultures, customs, heritage and religions. Moreover, these teachers expressed the need to be more cautious in delivering this theme as it could be a sensitive issue to multiethnic students. CCE teachers across the four schools claimed that the information provided in CCE textbooks, including this theme, was minimal and inadequate, and they had to rely on other sources. To *Cempaka* school teachers, due to being disadvantaged in their material context including ICT (see Chapter Six), they also had to rely on their own students. However, many teachers claimed that students did not have much knowledge of their own ethnic cultures. As explained by the Head of CCE in *Cempaka* school:

'When we teach Diverse Culture, we also have to know the sensitivity of the culture because it involves custom, religion and many more. All three ethnics are in one class, so we have to know about Islam, Indian and Chinese, their customs and other things. We cannot refer to textbook only, it's not much and sometimes when I asked students, they also don't know' (Cempaka 2)

Interviews with CCE teachers also confirmed the analysis of CCE textbooks that put more weight on the Malay (see Chapter Five) whereas there were CCE teachers who expressed a need to include more information on other ethnicities into the textbooks. Indeed, a Malay CCE teacher shared her student's question concerning this matter:

'Actually the textbook is more towards the Malay. Indeed, my student asked me; 'Why in the textbooks, the story is not equally divided among the Malay, Chinese and Indian or the ethnic of Sabah and Sarawak? So I as a Malay, I realised it too so I have to give an answer that could defend myself and the country, I have to (teacher laughed)' (Bakawali 12)

Thus, teachers suggested that the information in CCE textbooks should be equally divided among the different ethnicities. A *Bumiputera* CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school added that it should also cover the information on the natives of Sabah and Sarawak. For these teachers, this would not only assist them in their teaching but indirectly would also promote unity among the multiethnic student population.

These discussions indicate that besides students' characteristics and socioeconomic backgrounds and school infrastructures, similar to Kennedy et al. (2002), in my study, teachers' own personalities, interests, experiences, initiative, commitment, and judgement played a role in the themes that they perceived as primary. As discussed earlier, throughout the four schools, only one CCE teacher was trained in CCE. Due to this, generally CCE teachers in this study tended to emphasise those themes that they had prior knowledge and experiences in and the themes that they perceived as much easier to relate to their students lives. Osler (2011 : 11) too in her research highlighted that 'one reason teachers emphasize the local is because they see local concerns as most relevant to students' lives and interest'. Additionally, given that teachers were generally not adequately prepared to teach CCE, they tended to prefer teaching the themes that they were more confident to teach. Themes favoured were also influenced by teachers' own interest. For example, for CCE teachers, who were concerned with environmental issues, preferred the theme 'Living in Society' as in this theme there were topics related to 'Preservation and Conservation of Environment'. The analysis will now turn to the themes that teachers viewed as secondary or less favoured.

b) Secondary Themes

Although as discussed in Chapter Seven, CCE and non-CCE teachers perceived that developing a spirit of patriotism as one of the key features of CCE, delivering themes related to these elements were found to be less favoured by CCE teachers across the four schools. Accordingly, the themes 'Malaysia Sovereignty' and 'Future Challenges', were the themes perceived as secondary by almost all CCE teachers. Under the theme 'Malaysia Sovereignty', teachers were supposed to teach topics related to the state's governance and political matters and under the theme 'Future Challenges' included responsibilities to society and contributions to the country and world peace. As discussed in Chapter Seven, there were

teachers who put a low priority on the need for political literacy and political institutions in the CCE curriculum. Accordingly, many CCE teachers in this study, similar to teachers in other research (Kerr et al., 2007; Davies, 2006; Torney-Putra et al., 2005; Osler and Starkey, 2004; Oulton et al., 2004) had less preference in teaching themes on politics and governance. Moreover, parallel to Keating et al. (2009), there were also CCE teachers in my study who perceived that political literacy and political institutions as dry and not relevant to students' own lives. Additionally, similar to Kerr et al. (2007), there were also some CCE teachers in my study who felt that topics on the Constitution were more suitable to be included in the teaching of History as a subject. A young CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school who was also a History teacher, however, had a different view. To this teacher, the content and approach in teaching Constitutions in these two subjects differed as in the CCE syllabus these topics were explained in depth in contrast to the History syllabus which only touched on the history of the Constitution.

Parallel to Keating et al. (2009), another reason for these themes to be less favoured by CCE teachers was due to a perceived lack in their own political knowledge and confidence. Moreover, there were also CCE teachers who viewed themselves as lacking in experience and interest in matters related to politics and governance. As many CCE teachers reported, these topics required them to have vast knowledge on political and current issues. Although preparation could be made before teaching these themes, they thought that they would need to be constantly prepared to answer questions that might be asked by their students. Given students' characteristics, particularly those in the urban schools where the students were viewed as more Westernised, open minded, bold and vocal in voicing their opinions, it was felt that there were greater possibilities for these students to question or request more information in their CCE lessons. This led to CCE teachers stressing the need to always be prepared with adequate knowledge, especially as many CCE teachers in this study generally viewed themselves as transmitters of knowledge and 'disliked the prospect of being challenged and questioned by students...as these would threaten their authority and role, and also possibly diminish their students' respect for them' (Chia, 2011 : 11).

As discussed in Chapter Seven, due to dissatisfaction towards the special rights of the Malay, teachers in schools with higher populations of non-Malay students put more emphasis on educating students on their own country's knowledge including the rights of citizens. However, almost all CCE teachers interviewed pointed to lack of favour in teaching the theme 'Malaysian Sovereignty' owing to the difficulties in teaching controversial and sensitive issues particularly in teaching topics related to the 'Malaysia Constitution'. To these teachers, topics under this theme, especially those related to the rights of citizens, needed to be handled carefully as sensitive issues could arise. Nevertheless, this was more apparent with CCE teachers in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia*; schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students. Indeed, due to the school contexts, particularly the Chinese students' characteristics, the tension in teaching topics on the Constitution seemed to be stronger in *Bakawali* school and as commented by a Chinese CCE teacher who was also the Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school:

'Civics topics are easy to teach, but some topics are quite sensitive. For example, in Constitution, they will ask about your right, your right, your right, until you say aaah (teacher sighed). This year they are asking about the right of the government servants, 3 positions allocated to the Malay, 2 for other ethnics. The students asked why? I also don't know how to answer' (teacher laughed) (Bakawali 2)

A similar scenario was shared by a Malay *Bakawali* school CCE teacher:

'In teaching on Constitution, there will be lots of questions especially from the Chinese students, they like to ask why. As a teacher we always have to be ready with answers' (Bakawali 11)

A Malay *Bakawali* school CCE teacher further illustrated her students' questions which were generally considered as sensitive in this society; *'they asked why the Constitution prioritise the Malay? Why they must give priority to the Malay?' (Bakawali 11)*. The tension in teaching the rights of citizens as granted in the Constitution, especially to non-Malay students, was also expressed by Head of CCE in *Cempaka* school;

'Those rights were difficult to teach because the non-Malays do not acknowledge the Constitution. They are not satisfied, they don't agree on Constitution coz they feel they are the losing party. So when there is dissatisfaction, it is difficult for us to teach, to explain' (Cempaka 2)

Thus, some teachers suggested that despite the perception that CCE could be taught by any subject teacher, CCE teachers still needed to have the skills to discuss controversial and

sensitive topics without invoking sensitive sentiments or causing dissatisfaction among multiethnic students. In fact, a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school shared that in her school a fight among the multiethnic students had transpired in another CCE teacher's class due to the teacher's inability to handle the sensitive issues brought up during her lesson. Moreover, these CCE teachers agreed that in reality, delivering topics on the Constitution to multiethnic students, especially to non-Malay students, was actually tense and challenging especially with teachers not being adequately prepared to handle such situations. For some teachers in urban schools, difficulties in teaching the themes 'Malaysia Sovereignty' and 'Future Challenges' were also due to the claim that the students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds were more knowledgeable about other countries. This led to these students to keep on comparing Malaysia with the other countries such as on '*the democracy system practice*' (*Bakawali 12*).

Similar to Mellor (2003 : 8), discussions on primary and secondary themes signal that CCE teachers in this study preferred 'playing safe' and favoured those themes they had stronger confidence in. As indicated by most CCE teachers, familiarity with topics that '*relate to their life (Anggerik 4)* or '*something that they have already know*' (*Dahlia 7*) helped them to attract students' interest in learning a subject which was poorly perceived by most students. Thus, contradictory to CCE and non-CCE teachers' understanding of citizenship and CCE (see Chapter Seven), and due to the wider school contexts in each school (see Chapter Six), especially in schools with high populations of non-Malay students, themes related to the elements of patriotism and the rights of citizens as granted in the Constitution were less favoured. Analysis on primary and secondary themes illustrate that CCE and non-CCE teachers in this study came to understand this new CCE curriculum policy 'through the lens of their pre-existing knowledge and practices, often interpreting, adapting, or transforming policy messages as they put them in place in a process that is influenced by the social and structural conditions of teachers' workplaces' (Coburn, 2005 : 477). Thus, in a multiethnic country like Malaysia, the way CCE was enacted was not only mediated by students' characteristics but also mediated by teachers' own ethnicity, cultures, and backgrounds. Hence, in this research, there are interdependencies between teachers' values, schools intake, and what and how CCE curriculum policy was pursued in each school.

Discussion in this section will now move to the teaching and learning approaches adopted by CCE teachers.

Teaching and Learning Approaches

In the interviews with the CCE and non-CCE teachers, where teachers were asked their opinion on the importance of having specific teaching time for CCE, many indicated that the allocation of two periods of the school timetable for the teaching of CCE was not the preferred approach. This perception parallels the perceptions of teachers in 28 countries that participated in a teachers' questionnaire in the second phase of *The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* (IEA) (Losito and Mintrop, 2001). Despite that in my study and parallel to Kerr et al.'s (2007) findings, there were teachers who thought that having CCE as a subject would help students to recognise its elements, a higher number of teachers still preferred for CCE to be taught through other approaches. Indeed, in the interviews, a small number of non-CCE and CCE teachers indicated that the allocation of CCE as a separate subject is '*a waste of time*' (Cempaka 8) and this allocation '*should be used for other subject*' (Dahlia 13).

Subsequently, despite awarded with a statutory status, as discussed earlier, CCE teachers were instructed to treat CCE as a relaxed subject. If more teaching effort and better examination results were expected from examination subjects, in CCE, teachers were expected to approach CCE in a relaxed manner. The idea of CCE as a relaxed subject by those at the macro and meso levels was well perceived and further influenced CCE teaching and learning approaches. Moreover, at the micro level CCE was a subject in which students, teachers, and administrators pay less attention to, and led to the main challenge in teaching CCE, that is, in attracting students' interest. However, due to wider school contexts, this challenge seemed to be more apparent in *Bakawali*, a school with an over representative population of Chinese students. Indeed, a CCE teacher who used to be the *Bakawali* school Head of CCE bemoaned that '*no matter what approach you used, the students are not interested*' (Bakawali 8).

In order to attract students' interest, CCE teachers across the four schools pointed towards adapting activities involving students' active participation in and out of classrooms.

This further explained the reasons for teachers to favour 'Self-achievement', 'Family Relations', 'Living in Society', and 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' themes as according to many CCE teachers, it was much easier to come up with activities in teaching topics that the students and they themselves were familiar with. As acknowledged by a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school, it was much easier to teach 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' as in this theme 'I also have my own idea, I can put in some stories so the students will not be bored' (*Bakawali* 10). This was in line with Osler's (2011) study of teachers in the north of England which found that teachers' interpretations of citizenship education stressed local rather than the cosmopolitan, as students' familiarity with local topics 'allows them to adopt pedagogical approaches where students are collaborating with teachers, to a certain degree' (p. 11). Moreover, CCE teachers in the urban schools asserted that their students were more interested in their CCE lesson when active and interactive forms of learning were adopted. Thus, in teaching CCE, *Anggerik*, *Bakawali*, and *Dahlia* schools' CCE teachers seemed to adopt a more student centred approach which was consistent with the approach promoted in the CCE official documents. Indeed, the analysis illustrates that due to wider school contexts particularly students' characteristics and internet advantages, CCE teachers' approaches in delivering CCE, particularly in the urban schools, were towards 'democratic teaching approaches' (Osler and Starkey, 2004) that allowed students not only to actively participate in CCE learning but also to provide space for their voices to be heard. Accordingly, activities that were usually adopted were:

- group discussion
- group work
- presentation
- debate
- role play
- acting
- playing traditional games
- library searches
- internet searches
- creativity – making posters, greeting cards, creating songs and poems

Thus, asking the students to do group work and group discussion before presenting their opinion or work to the class were the teaching and learning activities that were mostly adopted in the CCE classes observed in these urban schools. In observing a lesson by the Head of CCE in *Anggerik* school, for example, it was carried out in an Audio Visual room, as the lesson was delivered through power point presentations. Parallel to Kerr et al. (2007), in all of these CCE classes, the students seemed to enjoy the active and interactive forms of CCE learning adopted by their teachers.

Further analysis showed that *Cempaka* school CCE teachers seemed to adopt different pedagogic approaches which were influenced particularly by this school's students' characteristics and materials contexts (see Chapter Six). To illustrate, besides the activities listed above, CCE teachers in the urban schools also promoted research and ICT skills. In doing activities such as group discussion, group work, presentation and debate, students were usually asked to find information in the library and with the internet advantage in these schools and their own homes there were also CCE teachers who would ask their students to carry out internet searches on CCE topics. However, due to lacking in material context, these activities and skills could not be carried out and promoted in *Cempaka* school. The pedagogic approaches adopted by *Cempaka* school CCE teachers were also influenced by the characteristics of their students. Thus, due to the claim that many of *Cempaka* school students not being proficient in Malay language and generally of low academic ability; telling stories, copying notes and doing exercises seemed to be the activities that were generally adopted in this school CCE teaching and learning classes.

In two CCE classes observed in *Cempaka* school, these CCE teachers used a set of CCE workbooks bought by the CCE subject committee to be used by their students during CCE lessons. In an Indian CCE teacher's classroom, as the CCE internal mid-term examination was just around the corner, the students were asked to copy down and answer the situation-based questions in the workbook into their exercise book, while in a Malay CCE teacher's class, the workbooks were used for her students to copy down notes. In these classes observed, there were times when teachers' questions had to be translated by another Indian or Chinese student as the students that were called on could not understand the questions that were asked in the Malay language. Accordingly, these students' answers

were also translated by their friends as these students could not provide their answers in Malay. Meanwhile, in the Indian teacher's CCE class, there were times when this teacher had to speak in Tamil to the Indian students. As explained by the Malay CCE teacher, in many subjects copying notes and doing exercises from workbooks or textbooks was generally the approach adopted in *Cempaka* school as by doing these, their students would not only be less noisy but their discipline could also be better controlled. Though many *Cempaka* school CCE teachers said they preferred CCE pedagogies which encouraged students' active participation, this usually could not be done due to their perceived students' characteristics. As commented by this senior teacher who had a short experience in teaching CCE:

'I prefer to ask students to go to the front and tell stories...But it was still a problem coz the students have problems to produce proper sentences. You see one student talked, another student translated. But at least they were involved in the lesson rather than sitting in their place coz they didn't even understand what they read' (Cempaka 13)

Relaxed approaches in CCE teaching and learning were also illustrated in CCE classes observed in all four schools. For example, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools classes, towards the end of lessons, there were students who were cleaning their class. Teachers and students did not seem to hesitate in doing this task during CCE classes especially when a *Bakawali* school CCE teacher commented on the rubbish in their class. However, in the interview with the Head of CCE in *Cempaka* school, he stated that his CCE classes began by asking students to clean their classroom, as the objective of doing this was to instil values into the students. In contrast, in teaching examination subjects, his teaching and learning was more focused as the objective was to ensure knowledge was delivered and understood to enable students to answer the examination questions. Accordingly, the relationship between CCE teachers and their students and the environment of the observed CCE classes were more relaxed and open with students freely interacting with their friends and teacher. In *the Bakawali* school CCE teacher's class observed, for example, she chit-chatted with her students about the School Carnival that was going to be held in the school.

Across the four schools, CCE teaching and learning approaches also varied between an assumption about the so called 'good' and 'weak' students. However, in the urban schools, the differences were less as generally these CCE teachers still preferred active

participation. Nevertheless, the activities carried out with 'good' students' classes were usually more towards academic activities such as debate and presentation. The activities for 'weak' students were usually modified to suit their ability and interest compared to good students who were given more freedom and space to voice their own opinions. As, a senior teacher who was teaching CCE to weak students in *Dahlia* school revealed, there were activities suggested in the CCE textbook that needed to be adapted due to her students' interest and maturity level. For example, rather than discussing National Heroes, the teacher resorted to international celebrities that the students admired such as Justin Bieber. This teacher reasoned that by allowing her students to do this, the objective of motivating the students to be a successful person could be achieved. However, to some other CCE teachers, students' requests to replace national figures with other international figures was criticised as this was viewed as undermining the objective of instilling national pride among the students. Similarly, there were CCE teachers who stressed that Malay language was to be used in their CCE lessons as this was the national language and language of unity. Nonetheless, due to students' characteristics, particularly those in the urban schools (see Chapter Six), there were CCE teachers who allowed English to be used in their CCE teaching and learning lessons. Thus, in CCE pedagogic practices, there were tensions between teaching CCE for the national interest versus individual interest.

CCE teachers across the four schools also preferred to share their own experiences or to tell stories to both the good and weak students. This approach was favoured where students were viewed as lacking in general knowledge, especially related to their own county (see Chapter Six) and also argued as not only able to attract students' interest but also to provide and inculcate knowledge and values. This was especially the case in teaching the themes 'Self-achievement', 'Family Relations', 'Living in Society', and 'Malaysian Diverse Cultural Heritage' as CCE teachers were usually more familiar and had more experiences in these four themes. With CCE delivered in a relaxed manner, for some teachers this provided them with the opportunity to know their students better and was also viewed as helping students to ease the pressure found in other subjects.

Due to an education system that emphasises not only academic achievement but is also a '*rigid system*' (*Bakawali 17*) that looks for pre-specified answers to questions led to

claims that students are *'spoon-fed with information'* (Dahlia 1) and required to *'memorise information'* (Dahlia 12). Thus, with teachers claiming that a minimal opportunity was provided for students to learn through active participation and experiences, CCE was viewed as providing more of these opportunities compared to other subjects. Moreover, these approaches were also viewed by many teachers as more effective in inculcating CCE elements and values. Indeed, a senior Indian teacher in *Cempaka* school stressed that CCE lessons could not be learnt in the classroom and the teachers:

'must take the students out, attend program, participate in community projects. Only then will they understand the meaning of citizenship and unity' (Cempaka 9).

This further explained the reason for many CCE teachers, especially those in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Cempaka* schools, who viewed the CCE community project as providing the spaces for students to actively participate in and outside the school community, and also as a more effective means of instilling CCE skills and values. Indeed, the promotion of community projects was in line with many teachers' notions of citizenship and CCE that defined the need for citizens to contribute to their society and country. Generally, this community project was also thought to provide the opportunity for experiential learning, especially for projects that involved study visits and volunteering work. In *Bakawali* school, due to students' higher socioeconomic backgrounds that *'since young age have been holidaying overseas rather than in Malaysia'* (Bakawali 7), a visit to a historical place for example, was viewed as providing students with knowledge of their own country as well as the opportunity to mix with other ethnicities. Moreover, as explained by a *Bakawali* school non-CCE teacher who used to teach CCE:

'Civics should be more towards practical, visit to charity homes so that at least the students know the real situations. Like the students here with their family background, they don't know at all. Last two years, when I taught CCE, I organised a trip to orphanage homes. The students were shocked coz it never crossed their mind that there were children who lived in such home, who had to sleep in double-decker bed, no air-conditioned. There were students who cried so I feel it is really beneficial, effective' (Bakawali 14)

In *Anggerik* school, which also catered for special needs students, the sports day organised by one of the CCE teacher's students as their CCE community project was also seen as providing the opportunity to strengthen the relationship among the school

community. This CCE teacher stated that this had made these special needs students feel appreciated and a part of the school community. In this sense, through CCE community projects, CCE teachers particularly in *Anggerik*, *Bakawali* and *Cempaka* schools had provided the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging, not only within the school community, but with those outside the school community too, thus contributing to the general school ethos.

However, as discussed earlier, the emphasis put on CCE community projects in these schools differed despite that in the guidelines, ten hours were supposed to be allocated for this project. In all four schools, generally students were asked to prepare a research paper which was usually referred as a folio based on the suggested themes in the official CCE curriculum as their community project. Besides this, in *Dahlia* school, the school recycle project (see Chapter Six) was also adapted as a CCE community project. From the interviews and school document analysis, since CCE was introduced, *Dahlia* school had only brought one group of students to visit the *Karyaneka Craft Center*. Meanwhile, in the other three schools besides doing folios, CCE teachers had also organised various community projects such as '*gotong-royong*' (cleaning allocated places together), mural painting, a visit to an orphanage, and a visit to an old folks home. However, the Head of CCE in *Bakawali* school claimed that despite her plans to conduct activities such as '*going to the village, to stay at homestay, to clean river*' these could not be carried out '*because many parents do not encourage...only one child maaa (Chinese slang)*' (*Bakawali 2*). Thus, students' culture and socioeconomic background was another factor that limited the type of community project that could be carried out in *Bakawali* school. Nevertheless, *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools' students were usually given the opportunity to discuss and suggest the topics for community projects that they favoured based on the official themes. Meanwhile, in *Cempaka* school, despite that CCE teachers were aware of the need for CCE community projects, the responsibility for organising these projects was on the Head of CCE while the other CCE teachers usually would only assist in supervising the students during the projects.

There were some CCE teachers who complained about the amount of workload and time that was needed to be spent before permission in conducting community projects outside the school compound was granted by the district education authority. For a small number of CCE teachers this had put them off from doing other out of school compound

projects. Yet, to other CCE teachers, upon seeing the benefits of these community projects, ways to get easier permission were suggested, together with suggestions for more diverse activities that should be included. Although schools were allocated with grants to organise these community projects, due to the amount of work involved in arranging out of school projects, in all schools, only a small number of students had the privilege to experience this type of activity. Moreover, due to resemblances that exist between History's folios themes and CCE community project themes, it was also causing more difficulties for CCE teachers to choose topics for their students' community project. Despite that the themes for the CCE community project had been predetermined in the syllabus and syllabus specification, CCE teachers sometimes needed *'to change the chosen topic as it was similar'* (Bakawali 12) to other subjects.

Indeed, with schools in Malaysia responsible for providing opportunities for students to actively participate in co-curriculum activities, analysis also showed that there were CCE and non-CCE teachers who viewed that this element of CCE had *'directly or indirectly inculcated to our students'* (Anggerik 13) in everyday school practice and, in the case of co-curriculum and co-academic activities, organised by the school community. This is in line with another KBSM principle that emphasises the need to provide a positive school culture that promotes and provides students with opportunities to practice the knowledge, skills, and values gained in the classroom through co-curricular activities. Although apparent in all schools, *Bakawali* school seemed to be the most active in organising various activities for their students (see Chapter Six). Indeed, a senior *Bakawali* school teacher who used to be the Head of CCE strongly believed that CCE should be *'scraped off'* (Bakawali 8) not only as indicated earlier because of redundancy with other subjects but also with values and skills instilled in co-curricular activities. Thus, stronger resistance by *Bakawali* school teachers towards CCE was also due to the material context; the more active participation in co-curricular activities. As argued by Braun et al. (2010 : 558), *'policy practices are specific and contextualised. They are framed by the ethos and history of each school and by the positioning and personalities of the key policy actors involved'*. Each of the four schools visited had their own school practices in developing their own school citizens. It was therefore not a surprise to come across those who questioned the need for CCE especially

when these policy actors believed that their schools had already fulfilled their role in instilling the necessary elements of citizenship into their students.

Analysis further illustrates that some urban school CCE teachers did provide opportunities for their students to discuss the approaches to be adopted in learning the topics in CCE textbooks. Nevertheless, as stated by Osler and Starkey (2004 : 29); 'a conservative and traditional approach may be adopted by teachers when they feel insecure about teaching citizenship, for instance where they have not been adequately trained or prepared'. Similarly, in this research, many CCE teachers seemed to adopt a more traditional approach particularly in teaching the secondary themes in contrast to the favoured themes. In teaching, the themes 'Malaysian Sovereignty' and 'Future Challenges', due to lack in knowledge and confidence, many CCE teachers stated that they relied more on CCE textbooks and that their teaching was more towards a lecturing didactic approach. From the classes observed, in CCE, there were opportunities to engage in discussion and debate, but CCE teachers generally avoided these opportunities.

Discussion on teachers' approaches in delivering CCE indicates that with little guidance and support provided left these CCE teachers with spaces in which they could interpret and enact the official CCE curriculum. Accordingly, this left them with the power to stress those themes that they were comfortable and confident to teach and to avoid those they were lacking in knowledge and confidence. Despite that in the official documents, CCE was strongly framed (Bernstein, 1975), due to an emphasis put on performative discourse, CCE was weakly framed by those responsible in transferring CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices. The analysis also showed that schools' contexts (see Chapter Six) not only influenced the themes favoured by CCE teachers but also influenced CCE teachers' teaching approaches. In contrast to the urban schools, due to lacking in material context and students' characteristics, a more teacher-centered approach was adopted in *Cempaka* school. Moreover, wider school contexts especially in schools with over representative populations of non-Malay students further led to teachers' perceptions of citizenship education that contradicted their own CCE teaching and learning practices. Despite viewing the need to better educate students on their rights and the need to instil the spirit of patriotism, in the actual classroom practices, topics related to these elements

were less evident and in some circumstances were avoided especially in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia* schools; schools with more non-Malay students. Moreover, CCE teachers' approaches particularly in delivering topics on 'Constitutions' draws on the way Bernstein's (2000) code theory works, in which CCE teachers contribute to the reproduction of passive citizens.

Subsequently, teachers' resistance towards the introduction of CCE as a subject was due to the elements of CCE being viewed as having already been taught in other subjects and in schools' daily curricular and co-curricular activities. Indeed, the resistance towards CCE as a subject both by teachers were stronger in schools with more non-Malay students who stressed that the elements of CCE have already been taught in Moral Education. However, due to school contexts, teachers' resistance towards CCE, which further mediated the enactment of CCE, seemed to be stronger in *Bakawali* school. Teachers in this school seemed to face more challenges in teaching their students, and there were also more teachers in this school who seemed to be lacking in interest towards CCE.

Assessment

Assessment is another contested area in the enactment of CCE. With the schools being provided with limited guidelines on the way to assess the teaching and learning of CCE, various internal forms of assessment had been adopted in the four schools. This was especially when in the official documents, and in the introductory CCE courses conducted, CCE teachers were given the freedom to decide on the appropriate internal assessments to be adopted in their individual schools. As indicated earlier, the relaxed approach stressed by the meso level applied not only in CCE teaching and learning but also in assessing students in CCE. However, in an education system that stresses examination performance, similar to other traditional subjects, formal examinations were not only the preferred form of assessment but were also adopted in all four schools. This emphasis on formal examinations seems questionable given the opportunities for participative learning afforded by CCE, and in which case projects and coursework might have been more appropriate forms of assessment, and therefore, be given a higher weighting. In all four schools, for those sitting for National Examinations, CCE examinations were only held for internal mid-term examinations in contrast to the other students who had to sit for internal middle and final

term examinations. Even though throughout the school year, two monthly examinations were held in all schools studied, CCE monthly internal examinations were only held in *Anggerik* school.

The usual forms of questions adopted across these four schools were multiple choice questions, filling in the blanks and short answer and, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools short essays were adopted too. In addition, CCE community projects which could be in the form of a folio either prepared individually or in small groups, and/or volunteering group work was another form of assessment adopted in all four schools. In *Dahlia* school, marks were also allocated for students' attributes and their participation in the recycle project. Nevertheless, the ways whole assessment marks were accumulated differed across these four schools. In *Anggerik* school, for example, 80% of total marks was from a summative examination while the other 20% from CCE teachers' assessment on students' attributes. Meanwhile, for *Bakawali* school, 90% of total marks for the middle examination came from a summative examination and 10% from students' folios. This allocation of marks also differed between middle and final examinations as in *Bakawali* school, for example, 100% of the CCE final examination marks came from a summative examination. As schools were given the freedom to decide on the way to evaluate their students, in *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* schools, the assessment components changed almost every year, possibly because of the frequent change of the Head of CCE in these schools. The analysis further showed that, despite in the official assessment guidance teachers were supposed to assess students' knowledge, values and skills, in the actual school practices, more weight was put on assessing students' CCE knowledge. Although these four schools did attempt to assess values and skills, there was no uniformity in the types of assessment as the criteria in assessing CCE values and skills were usually left to CCE teachers' own judgements. In assessing students' folios for example, a CCE teacher in *Bakawali* school revealed that she had to come up with her own criteria as she was only informed of the percentage allocated for folio marks but not on the assessment criteria.

From the interviews, there were mixed views on the most appropriate way to assess CCE. Given that CCE was not accorded examination status in the external National Examinations, many CCE teachers, particularly those in the urban schools, did agree that as

presently practiced students needed to be assessed through formal examinations. These teachers suggested that by having middle and final examinations, their students would pay more attention to this subject and it would raise the status of CCE. A young *Bakawali* school CCE teacher even indicated that *'sometimes I had to threaten my students with examination marks, only then they would listen to me'* (*Bakawali 10*). Moreover, there were also students who would only commit to do a folio or participate in a community project if an assessment mark was allocated.

Indeed, parallel to Leighton's (2004) study, many *Anggerik* and *Bakawali* school teachers viewed the need for CCE to be an external National Examination subject in order to uplift the status of CCE. By awarding examination status, these CCE teachers hoped that more attention would be paid to this subject, not only by students but by others in the school community too. As stressed by *Anggerik* school's Head of Humanities, *'at the end of the day there must be something for the students'* (*Anggerik 1*) which could be in the form of examination marks or certification in order for the students to value CCE. There were teachers who thought that CCE should not only be assessed through examinations, but also assessing students' attributes and learning experiences were viewed as essential as CCE was not only about imparting knowledge but also about developing personal attributes. *Bakawali* school's Head of Humanities Department also suggested that CCE should be assessed through, *'participation, their attitude, a long process evaluation on how they become part of the society, rather than on exam'* (*Bakawali 1*). There were also teachers who suggested that a higher percentage of marks should be allocated to assessing students' attributes as this subject was more towards developing a good citizen. To some CCE teachers, particularly those in *Cempaka* school who were teaching *'students who could not even form proper sentences'* (*Cempaka 13*), different forms of evaluation such as assessing students' attributes and effort were viewed as more suitable for these weak students. Yet, these CCE teachers did realise that these forms of assessments were subjective and quite difficult to be carried out. Indeed, assessing students' attributes was not favoured by *Dahlia* school's Head of CCE who viewed this as *'ridiculous, it can be very biased coz maybe to me the student was not a good student, it's very subjective'* (*Dahlia 2*). Thus, similar to Kerr et al. (2007), teachers in my study too felt that CCE was not an easy subject to measure.

Moreover, wider school contexts; particularly students' characteristics and the emphasis put on a performative discourse did influence the way CCE was assessed in these four schools.

Discussion on the way CCE was internally assessed further highlights the power that CCE teachers have in determining the interactions, boundaries, timing, place, pacing, selection and organization of CCE elements not only in CCE curriculum and pedagogy but in assessing CCE too (Bernstein, 2000; 1975). Moreover, to the students, the reward that they gained from CCE, a non-examination subject was invisible too. This was especially so when the assessment criteria for folios and participation in community projects was not communicated clearly to the students or to CCE teachers. Therefore, assessment in the form of retrieving the knowledge learnt was still favoured by CCE teachers as they felt that this form of assessment provided visible rewards to the students. Nevertheless, in line with the objective of CCE to develop a good citizen and due to students' characteristics and academic abilities, there were CCE teachers who viewed the need for other forms of assessment.

8.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to tell the story of the reality of CCE as prescribed and intended at the macro level compared to CCE as interpreted and enacted at the four secondary schools. It also explored the status and early evolution of a new subject in Malaysia's secondary school curriculum termed CCE; a subject labelled as 'non-school knowledge' (Paechter, 1998: 162), and viewed as 'not subject-specified' (Whitty et al. 1994a : 178). The different contexts that existed in each school (see Chapter Six) have been shown to influence and mediate the way CCE curriculum policy is interpreted and enacted. As indicated by Trowler (1998: 49), 'policy implementers selectively interpret policy and make decisions about how to put it into practice in their context'. Moreover, in more recent work of Ball et al. (2012) and Braun et al. (2011b), different contexts that existed in school were found to play a role 'in limiting, distorting or facilitating responses to policy' (Braun et al., 2011b: 582).

As discussed in Chapter Five, different from Citizenship Education in England, CCE in Malaysia is a compulsory subject apparently awarded with specific spaces in the school official teaching timetable and with a specific curriculum, syllabus and textbooks. At the

micro level, these do not however guarantee CCE to be equally treated like other established subjects. Indeed, a closer examination in each school visited showed that due to different school contexts, a different 'battle' (Goodson, 1998a: 45) needed to be faced by CCE, still a relatively new subject in the school curriculum. As discussed in Chapter Six, being in an education system that emphasises a performative discourse had led to non-examined subjects such as CCE to be lowly viewed in the four schools visited. Indeed, this external pressure had further influenced the space provided for CCE, the characteristics and disposition of CCE teachers, support received and means of assessing.

Thus, at the micro level, despite the allocation of specific timetables, the teaching workforce, one of the main criteria in ensuring the success of CCE enactment was taken for granted and not properly addressed. Indeed, there were times when CCE was expected to unquestionably make way its' teaching and learning time for other more high status subjects. The analysis further highlighted that with many CCE teachers never attending courses organised by those at the macro or meso levels, the responsibility for transferring the CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices were practically left to their own interpretation. Indeed, with no more courses and meetings organised, communication with the macro and meso levels seemed to be deteriorating too. Despite being allocated with specific yearly financial allocations, support in terms of teaching materials were lacking too. Strong individuals or teacher 'champions' (Forsyth and Tudball, online) who wished to see CCE properly implemented struggled to find ways of teaching CCE and also in managing and supporting others under their wings. Parallel to Fairbrother (2010), lacking of will to properly enact CCE and insufficient resources provided by those at the macro levels were evident in my research too.

Hence, regardless of differences in students' ethnic populations, in the four schools visited CCE was perceived and viewed as 'non-school knowledge' (Paechter's, 1998: 162) and 'not subject-specified' (Whitty et al. 1994a: 178). The emphasis on examination subjects rather than non-examined subjects such as CCE is not new in the literature (see Osler and Starkey, 2004; Whitty et al., 1994a; 1994b; Goodson, 1993). Fairbrother (2010) in his study on Citizenship Education in Hong Kong too revealed that there were teachers in Hong Kong who paid little attention to Citizenship Education, as their main concern was to prepare

students for examinations in their own teaching subjects. Accordingly, this affected the students who also viewed and treated this non-examined subject as unimportant. Indeed, there are various literatures on the challenges that teachers face in teaching low status subjects (Davies and Evans, 2002) and on the pressure of accommodating such subjects into the school timetable (Keating et al., 2009; Ker et al., 2007; Davies et. al., 1999). As suggested in such literature, despite that in Malaysia CCE is a statutory subject, due to its' status as a non-examined subject, it is poorly perceived by the school community, including school administrators, teachers and students. Thus, the struggle for survival and acceptance of CCE was viewed as a non-subject (Whitty et al. 1994a, 1994b) among the statutory subjects in the school curriculum was illustrated in this research too. It is illustrative of the contest particularly between the subjects examined in the National Examinations that are 'strongly classified and strongly framed' with CCE, the 'weakly classified and weakly framed' (Bernstein, 1975) subject in the school curriculum. In contrast to the other examined subjects, not only the boundaries between contents of CCE subjects with these other subjects weak or blurred, teachers also have the control on which CCE contents may or may not be transmitted to their students.

The perception of CCE as a relaxed subject painted by those at the meso levels at the beginning of the implementation of CCE, had further affected CCE's status and the way it was enacted in the school curriculum. Moreover with students too putting low emphasis and who seemed to be unenthusiastic for their CCE lessons, the challenges in transferring CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices were faced in different ways by all four schools. So, due to the school contexts discussed in Chapter Six, the challenges and resistances towards CCE seemed to be more evident in *Bakawali* school in contrast to the other three schools. The difficulties in attracting students in this school with a higher population of Chinese students, placed more emphasis on academic achievement (Alfan and Othman, 2005; Cooper, 2004) and seemed to lead some CCE teachers in this school to also resist the implementation of CCE in the school curriculum. In addition, with a high number of *Bakawali* school students being active in many co-curricular activities provided in this school, the elements of CCE were also seen as having been delivered through these activities. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, there were CCE and non-CCE teachers who faced difficulties in teaching students from different ethnicities and also in teaching

students from advantaged family backgrounds which in *Bakawali* school had further mediated the way CCE was enacted.

Different from the other three schools, resistance towards CCE in *Cempaka* school was also influenced by the wider school contexts. Being ranked as one of the low academic achievement schools in Selangor had led the teachers to put greater emphasis on the external National Examination subjects. Situated in a small rural area town, *Cempaka* school is lacking in facilities and infrastructure especially when compared with the other three schools visited. With most of the students coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds and not being fluent in Malay language, the problem did not fall only on CCE but in the teaching and learning of the other subjects too. Moreover, students' characteristics and lack of internet facilities for example, led teachers in *Cempaka* school to adopt different teaching and learning approaches compared to the other three schools that were more towards democratic teaching approaches. Thus, due to the situated, external and material contexts in this school, CCE was viewed as just another subject in the school curriculum that needed to be included in the school timetable.

By contrast, resistance towards CCE was more moderate in *Dahlia* school. Despite situated in the same area as *Bakawali* school, the pressure that teachers faced from their students and parents seemed to be less evident which might be due to the characteristics of the more equally mixed ethnic groups students. Yet, similar to the other three schools, there were CCE and non-CCE teachers in *Dahlia* school who preferred for CCE to be taught across the curriculum and/or to be integrated in the school co-curriculum activities. There were also *Dahlia* school teachers who suggested the irrelevancy of allocating CCE with specific space in the school curriculum.

Different from the other three schools, a high number of CCE and non-CCE teachers in *Anggerik* school perceived that CCE should be taught as a specific subject. Even though this school provided various co-curricular activities and other activities for the students, the teaching and learning of CCE as a specific subject was viewed as essential by most teachers. This might be because, different from *Bakawali* and *Dahlia* schools, the values that this school aims to develop are more towards eastern values which are in line with the values emphasised in CCE. In addition, with a minimal number of non-Muslim students in *Anggerik*

school, the duplication that existed in Moral Education subject is less apparent to the teachers and students in this school. It appeared that, differences that existed in the type of co-curricular and other school activities offered in this school might have led to the teachers and students in this school to value the benefits gained from the CCE community projects.

Analysis in this chapter shows that resistance towards CCE was due to the content and scope of CCE, was closely related with the position of other subjects in the school curriculum, and was also due to the different school contexts that exist in each school. As indicated by Braun et al. (2010 : 547), 'schools produce their own 'take' on policy, drawing on aspects of their culture or ethos, as well as on the situated necessities'. Thus as illustrated in this research, the area where the school is situated, students' different cultures, socioeconomic backgrounds, academic abilities and advantages in ICT are among the factors that affected the way CCE policy was interpreted and enacted in these four schools.

This chapter also illustrates the challenges that arose in transferring CCE curriculum into teaching and learning practices. With few teachers specifically trained and assigned to teach CCE, it contributed to significant spaces for teachers at the micro level to creatively interpret how CCE should be enacted in CCE teaching and learning. Subsequently, due to wider school contexts, particularly the situated context, opened up space for teachers to differently emphasise the themes that should be covered in the CCE curriculum and syllabus. Thus, in reality, space is opened up between the intention underpinning the prescribed curriculum and actual pedagogic practice. Lack of training and lack of confidence, added to the cultural dispositions of many teachers, created a reluctance to deal with sensitive and controversial issues.

Despite that Malaysia's education system is highly centralised and the content of CCE has been prescribed at the macro level, as reminded by Ball (1994) the power in shaping and bringing change through policy did not rely on the state. Indeed, the success of achieving the aims of CCE relied on those at the micro level too as CCE 'is a multifaceted concept, constructed, negotiated and renegotiated at a variety of levels, and in a variety of arenas' (Goodson, 1994: 111). As illustrated in this research, some ideas in the CCE official curriculum and syllabus were promoted and included, while others were ignored. Thus, CCE

knowledge and experiences relayed to the students was ultimately not in the hands of those at the macro level but in the control of CCE teachers through what was made visible and invisible (Bernstein, 2000; 1975) in CCE pedagogy and assessment. Hence, the process of interpreting CCE curriculum policy by the policy actors at the micro levels was not a direct process (Ball, 2006; Trowler, 2003). Due to the contestation that existed between the examination and non-examination subjects, and the contexts that existed in each school, CCE curriculum policy had been recontextualised by teachers at these four schools. Thus, despite that this policy at the macro level had been written with good intention, this intention might be lost as this policy worked its way through conflict and compromise within and between meso and micro levels. Moreover, Walford (2002) in using Bernstein's classification and framing in studying the ways the evangelical Christian and Muslim schools deal with religious education stated that 'by omitting from consideration the worldviews and unstated assumptions under which schools operate...we may be missing much that is important for understanding the reproductive power of schooling (p. 417).

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

Different from the West, the development of citizenship education in Malaysia has yet to be accompanied with extensive research. In relation to this, this study aimed to explore the way CCE was enacted at the micro level. For this purpose, four schools with different students' ethnic group populations were selected for a closer examination of the development of CCE, a new subject in the school curriculum. Moreover, in contrast to many studies in Malaysia that put more emphasis on generating data from standardised questionnaires, this study drew together data from documentary analysis, interviews, lesson observations and field notes. The use of a semi-structured interview allowed both CCE and non-CCE teachers in the four selected schools to provide a much more detailed and elaborate explanation about the ways CCE was enacted at the school level (Legard et al., 2003; Mason, 2002). In this study, CCE has been used as a 'lens' in understanding the process of interpreting, implementing and enacting education policy by those at the micro level and is not a direct process (Ball et al. 2012; Ball, 2006; Trowler, 2003; Ozga, 2000).

The main concerns of this study have been discussed in the last four chapters. Chapter Five looked at the notion of citizenship and citizenship education as spelled out in official documents and as intended at the macro level. Chapter Six focused on the different contexts that exist in secondary schools that might mediate the way CCE was enacted. In Chapter Seven, teachers' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education as micro policy enactors at the four schools selected were explored. Finally, Chapter Eight looked at the way CCE curriculum policy was translated and transferred into teaching and learning practices. Subsequently, this chapter will look at the key findings of the study and draw attention to some challenges faced by the CCE teachers in transferring CCE into teaching and learning practices and, then, what this might mean for future policy. Although the findings of this small study were not meant to be generalised to all Malaysian secondary schools, it has provided an insight into the way CCE is likely to be enacted in schools with similar students' ethnic group populations. Moreover, the findings generated in this study

contribute more widely to the discussion by those interested in citizenship education, and to the study of school subject histories.

9.2 Key Conclusions

This research aimed to look at how CCE as intended at the macro level was enacted by the secondary school teachers at the four selected schools. The evidence from interviews, lesson observations and field notes suggested that seven years after the introduction of CCE, it was yet to develop its own 'subject identity' (Goodson, 1984: 32). Indeed, CCE was introduced into an already established and crowded school curriculum that put more emphasis on academic achievement. Not surprisingly, therefore, findings point to a gap between the objectives of CCE as intended at the macro level with the way CCE was enacted at the micro level.

Document analysis showed that in contrast to citizenship education in England that promoted political literacy and active participation in democratic society, the notion of citizenship education in Malaysia both at the macro (see Chapter Five) and micro level (see Chapter Seven) was characterised more towards the development of personal and moral virtues. Parallel to Lee (2004a, 2004b) and Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004), CCE in Malaysia focused on instilling patriotism, promoting unity among the multiethnic society and emphasising responsibility rather than rights. The official documents analysed further suggested that the CCE curriculum design in Malaysia was similar to citizenship education in Japan, Taiwan and Thailand (Morris and Cogan, 2001) which all seemed to be strongly framed and strongly classified (Bernstein, 2000; 1975; 1971). In contrast to citizenship education in England that adopted a flexible and light touch approach, CCE in the Malaysian secondary school curriculum is accorded compulsory subject status and specific teaching time in the official school timetables. Specific curriculum, syllabus specifications and textbooks were also prescribed for CCE by those at the macro level. However, despite this statutory status, in the official documents teachers are given little guidance and the freedom in deciding the means of assessing students' CCE knowledge, skills and values.

Although CCE and non-CCE teachers' understandings of citizenship and CCE in the four schools generally resembled the official statements, those who were teaching

in schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students put more emphasis on equal rights and the importance of strengthening unity (see Chapter Seven). This might be influenced by the conflicts that have long existed in this multiethnic society, particularly among the Malay and the Chinese (Sua, 2012; Shamsul and Daud, 2006) and which seemed to be more apparent in *Bakawali*, *Cempaka* and *Dahlia Schools*. Nevertheless, even though there were CCE teachers who viewed CCE to be more about civics rather than citizenship, generally CCE and non-CCE teachers' perceptions of CCE coincide with CCE themes, beginning with personal values and extended to wider society. Thus, similar to other Asian countries (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004; Lee, 2004a, 2004b) CCE and non-CCE teachers in my study not only put more stress on the development of "good citizens" but also relate CCE to Moral Education, an already existing statutory subject in the school curriculum. Analysis in Chapter Seven also demonstrates that teachers' interpretations of citizenship and CCE were largely derived from their own interpretation of the official syllabus and textbooks designed and provided by the macro policy makers. As analysed in Chapter Five, different from teachers in England, guidelines in transferring CCE policy into teaching and learning practices were spelled out more clearly to the Malaysian teachers. However, none of these CCE and non-CCE teachers 'were passive recipients of policy. They attempted to contribute to and inform it, and each had a key role in its mediation and implementation' (Jephcote, and Davies, 2004: 556) (see Chapter Eight). In the case of Malaysian teachers, in the main this was evident in the lack of enthusiasm for CCE. Thus, some CCE teachers were enthusiastic and made various attempts in developing and enacting CCE into teaching and learning practices. However, to many others, besides being obstructive towards CCE, lack of support and training were also used to legitimise their non-enthusiasm towards CCE. In fact, as shown in Chapter Seven, the way teachers interpreted and translated citizenship and the CCE curriculum was also 'inflected by (teachers') existing values and interests, personal and institutional, by context, and by necessity' (Ball et al., 2011c: 635).

Analysis in the four schools further illustrated that despite the highly ambitious aims of CCE intended at the macro level (see Chapter Five), evidence showed that the seriousness and willingness of those at the macro level in properly managing and enacting CCE at the school level was minimal and lacking (see Chapter Eight). CCE seemed not to be regarded

as an important subject by those at the macro and meso levels as exemplified by an apparent lack of support for in-service CCE teacher development and lack of support for teaching and learning of CCE in the school curriculum. Indeed, the supply of qualified CCE teachers was evidently missing in the four schools visited; only one out of the 45 CCE teachers interviewed majored in CCE, and teachers were 'conveniently' assigned (Keating et al., 2009) with responsibility. Thus, it was not a surprise that there were some CCE teachers interviewed who were not really interested in teaching CCE as they were not adequately prepared with the knowledge and skills to deliver CCE to students. Moreover, similar to teachers in other research (Yamashita, 2006; Leighton, 2004), there were also teachers in my study who viewed themselves as lacking in confidence particularly in teaching political and controversial topics. Added to this, evidence further showed that the number of experienced CCE teachers in the schools visited was minimal as throughout the school year, they were constantly being replaced with different teachers.

The reality on the ground highlighted the ways teachers and students treated CCE and viewed CCE as a non-subject in the school curriculum despite its status as a statutory subject (Goodson, 1998a, 1998b; Paechter's, 1998; Whitty et al., 1994) illustrative of the battle and contestation between CCE as a low status subject compared with the established academic subjects (Goodson, 1998a; Goodson and Marsh, 1996). Indeed, at a CCE introductory course and in a district meeting attention was drawn to the fact that CCE was a non-external National Examination subject and, '*we must not put pressure on the students*' (Anggerik 3). Thus, despite the accordance of 80 minutes teaching time in CCE official documents was supposed to award CCE with strong framing, its low status had led to CCE to be weakly framed in the school timetable. Indeed, there were occasions when CCE time was used to prepare for external National Examination subjects which were viewed as more important by the school communities. Moreover, the CCE official curriculum was also viewed by many teachers as weakly classified (see Chapter Eight). Even though CCE was prescribed with its own curriculum and syllabus, to many teachers, the 'degree of boundary maintenance' (Bernstein, 1975 : 88) between CCE with other subjects' contents, particularly Moral Education, are weakly insulated. To these teachers, the boundaries between CCE with this subject are blurred, which further led to this new subject not able to defend its own position.

Closer examination in the four schools visited indicated that school contexts did mediate the way CCE was enacted in each school. Thus, in this research, the challenges in delivering CCE to students from different ethnic groups did arise not so much because of the ethnicity of the students but because of the situated, material and external contexts and because of the differing ethos and culture apparent in each school. As illustrated in Chapter Six, the school contexts had been grouped into four themes, which were:

- Situated : school locations, school intakes, students characteristics and socioeconomic background
- Material : school infrastructures, school artefacts, school activities provided and school staffing
- External support : parents support, pressure and expectation
- School ethos and school culture

The analysis showed that these differences in contexts in schools led to CCE to be differently enacted and the effect of CCE curriculum policy enactment might not be similar across all schools. From the interviews, it seemed to be easier to promote CCE in *Anggerik*, the school dominated with students from Malay backgrounds. In the other three schools, dissatisfaction towards the rights of the *Bumiputera*, particularly the Malay, seemed to be among the reasons for teachers to face difficulties especially in delivering on political literacy and the rights of the citizens as laid out in the Constitutions. Even though the low perception and low treatment towards CCE was due to its status as non-subject, closer examination in each school indicated that situated context which include differences in students' ethnic group proportion did mediate the way CCE was enacted in each school. Thus, in this research, challenges in delivering CCE to students from different ethnic groups did arise. This further indicated that tensions between the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* and especially between the Malay and non-Malays (Sua, 2012; Shamsul and Daud, 2006; Guan, 2000) also existed among the students.

Differences in students' socioeconomic background were also another factor that mediated the enactment of CCE. In this study, social capital and cultural capital of students in urban schools both hindered and facilitated the teaching of CCE. These urban schools' students generally came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, and for example, led

to claims that students in these schools had more knowledge on other countries. Differences in the enactment of CCE were also caused by differences in parental practices that not only existed according to social class but also ethnicity. Thus, the 'family cultural capital practices' (Weininger and Lareau, 2007 : 892) towards success typically stressed in the advantaged families, particularly by the Chinese in *Bakawali* school, and the elements of 'Chineseness' school culture in this school, seemed to cause CCE to be more difficult to be promoted. Moreover, due to the challenges that CCE teachers faced in teaching their students, teachers' resistance towards CCE, which further mediated the way CCE was enacted, seemed to be stronger in *Bakawali* school. The material context provided in the urban school, meanwhile, was also among the factors that facilitated the delivery of CCE in these schools. Compared to the rural school, facilities available in the urban school, such as the better Internet facilities, led to CCE teachers in these schools to adopt more democratic teaching approaches (Osler and Starkey, 2004). Moreover, besides lacking in material context, with claims that many of the *Cempaka* school students were not fluent in the Malay language, the medium of instruction of most of the secondary school subjects including teaching CCE and claims that students were lacking in academic ability, led to a more passive approach to be adopted in teaching CCE.

Analysis also indicated that due to the school contexts, many CCE and non-CCE teachers would have preferred for CCE to be delivered differently from what was presently practiced. This was particularly so in *Bakawali* and *Dahlia*, both schools with high populations of non-Malay students, who noted the resemblance between CCE and Moral Education. To these teachers, the elements of CCE are already located in other subjects such as History in the KBSM curriculum and particularly a subject termed Moral Education, taught only to the non-Muslim or non-Malay students. Moreover, with schools being active in co-curricular and other school activities, (another material context provided) particularly in *Bakawali* school, some elements of citizenship education was also viewed as having been practiced in these activities. Indeed, these resemblances should be expected as the aim of CCE in developing a united and patriotic individual who could contribute towards social cohesion and the economic development of the country are also those values that are embedded in KBSM. For example, as one of the principles of KBSM is to integrate the noble and patriotism values across all KBSM subjects, not only are all subject teachers expected

to inculcate these values in their teaching and learning, but the formal teaching and learning processes of these subjects should also be integrated with co-curriculum activities that provide opportunities for students to increase, reinforce and put into practice the knowledge, skills and values acquired in the classroom. In addition, in KBSM, a school's culture, which refers to both the physical and non-physical environment of the school that could promote a positive learning culture and the development of good behaviour and personality, should be provided too. Consequently, it is acknowledged that enacting CCE policy was not a direct process but there were existing contextual factors that could mediate the way policy was enacted at the micro level (Ball et. al, 2012; Braun et al., 2011a; Maguire et al., 2010; Ball, 2006; 1994).

Further analysis of the teaching and learning of CCE at the school level (see Chapter Eight) showed that emphasising a performative discourse was evident in all four schools and due to the characteristics of each school context caused CCE to be weakly classified and weakly framed in the school curriculum and teaching and learning practices, and had further contributed to significant spaces for those at the micro level to creatively interpret the way CCE was understood and enacted (see Chapter Eight). As indicated earlier, this creativity was not only applied in developing CCE but in some cases in marginalising it. Thus, in contrast to the main objective of CCE commonly understood both at the macro and micro levels to be about developing a united and patriotic citizen, CCE themes and topics which were related to political institutions and which might cause sensitive sentiments among the schools' multiethnic communities were generally lightly touched or avoided by CCE teachers, particularly those in schools with a lower population of Malay students. Thus, in enacting CCE in the school curriculum, teachers were the key players as the way CCE curriculum policy was practiced and translated was based on their various interpretations and meanings in relation to 'their history, experiences, skills, resources and context (Ball, 2006 : 44).

In relation to this, this study identifies the control that CCE teachers operating in the official recontextualising field had over what, when and how CCE knowledge was to be delivered to their students (Bernstein, 2000). Thus, in recontextualising CCE into pedagogic practice, CCE teachers have the power to determine the interactions, boundaries, timing,

place, pacing, selection and organization of elements within the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment of CCE (Bernstein, 2000; 1975). This was especially the case with schools and those at the macro level who emphasised academic achievements, in turn causing CCE teachers who generally were also teachers of established subjects in the school curriculum, to view preparing students for examinations as their primary role. Compounding this, there were teachers inadequately prepared with knowledge and skills, and with the different contexts that existed in each school, there were some CCE themes that were made visible and others made invisible by the teachers (see Chapter Eight). In delivering rights of citizens, for example, instead of exploring them, students were usually led to passively accept the knowledge delivered. In addition, in *Dahlia* school, CCE themes were arranged in such a way that in the CCE teaching plans, topics related to constitutions and political matters were usually scheduled to be taught to coincide with the time when the school is busy making preparations for students who are sitting for external national examinations.

This thesis has demonstrated the low status of CCE in the Selangor secondary school curriculum, one of the states in Malaysia, and indicated the gap between CCE as intended at the macro level with CCE as implemented and enacted at the micro level. So far, the story of CCE as a school subject in Malaysia seems to be a missed opportunity. The existence of CCE in the school curriculum seems to have been forgotten and overlooked especially by policy makers despite during its birth, it was celebrated with official curriculum and statutory subject status, space in the timetable, official text books and financial resources. Evidence also shows that CCE could also make a positive contribution particularly through the CCE community projects which are viewed as providing opportunities for students to give their services to the community and to develop a sense of belonging thus contributing to students' CCE through the development of the school ethos and culture. However, for CCE to achieve its objectives and for CCE to be one of the established subjects in the school curriculum, as discussed in the next section, there is still room for improvement. Subsequently, the argument in Chapter Three that citizenship education is highly contested is further illustrated in this study as contestation did not only exist on the way CCE should be introduced in the school curriculum but also on the appropriate approach in delivering and assessing this subject.

Before moving to the way CCE could move forwards, I will reflect on the initial research questions that have been set out in Chapter One (page six). In summary I could conclude that:

- CCE in Malaysia is aimed more towards development of personal and moral virtues and patriotic citizens while citizenship education in England put more emphasis on political literacy and active participation in democratic society. Although there was a hybrid combination of Western and Malaysian concepts of citizenship, CCE as intended and as perceived by teachers at the micro level was viewed as one of the means to develop good moral, patriotic and united citizens who could contribute towards social cohesion and towards the development of society and the country. Thus, the purpose of education as a potential tool of social cohesion and economic growth is further illustrated through this subject.
- The analysis also showed that generally CCE and non-CCE teachers in the four schools were supportive of the official understanding of citizenship and official key features of the CCE curriculum. Nevertheless, due to the school contexts, particularly students' ethnicity, the understanding of teachers in schools with an over representative population of non-Malay students extended to equal rights in a multiethnic society and put more stress on the importance of strengthening unity.
- At the micro level, the transmission of CCE intended policy is not a simple and direct process as differences in students' ethnic population and school contexts; situated, material, external and school ethos and culture led to CCE to be quite differently enacted in the four schools. Besides lacking in support and teachers trained in CCE, the battle between CCE, a subject viewed as non-subject with the other traditional and academic subjects is another challenge faced by CCE teachers. Moreover, a gap existed not only between CCE official curriculum but also between teachers' perceptions of CCE and their teaching practices as there were some CCE themes that were made visible and others invisible by CCE teachers.

9.3 Citizenship Education in Malaysia – The Way Forward

Ten years on and with the benefit of hindsight, if we were now to decide on the most appropriate way of delivering citizenship education in an already crowded school curriculum, in the light of this study's findings I would suggest that the introduction of CCE in the school curriculum be thoroughly thought through. According to a statement made by a Curriculum Development Division officer responsible for designing this curriculum, it '*was done ad-hoc*' (*Officer One*). Due to the limited time provided in preparing for the enactment of CCE at the school level, the possibility of enacting CCE in a different way and the possibility that elements of citizenship could have been inculcated in other subjects or other school daily practices seemed to be ignored.

In Asian society known as more obedient to superiors, the teachers' expected role as micro policy implementers was to produce excellent external national examinations results, to obediently follow the prescribed CCE curriculum and utilise the prescribed CCE textbooks and suggested teaching and learning approaches. However, the analysis in the four schools showed that in reality, even in a society known to be compliant, there were a number of mediating factors and constraints, evident, for example, in school contexts together with the teachers' own opinions and experiences that led to CCE to be quite differently enacted in schools. This illustrates that at the school level, teachers have active roles in mediating the enactment of CCE. This further indicates that in a centralised education system that adopted a top down approach in designing CCE curriculum policy, this seemed to be an inappropriate approach and could be improved by allowing more decision making and participation at the meso and micro levels; that is those responsible in enacting the CCE curriculum. Thus, for CCE to be accepted by micro policy implementers, head teacher and teachers' opinions and recent experiences need to be more fully taken into consideration also.

As indicated earlier, a high number of CCE and non-CCE teachers preferred for the elements of CCE to be taught differently from the way it was taught at present. Subsequently, this led them to question the need to mandate CCE as a compulsory, separate subject in the school curriculum. The prescription of CCE in the secondary school timetable, as indicated in Chapter Five, seemed not to recognise the possibilities of the elements

of CCE to be linked or delivered through other subjects. Indeed, this prescription also seemed not to recognise the possibility that elements of CCE had been intentionally or unintentionally delivered in other KBSM subjects or through other ways in the everyday schooling process. In addition, many other CCE and non-CCE teachers suggested that CCE be delivered through permeation, in which relevant elements of CCE could be incorporated into the teaching of other subjects in the KBSM curriculum and through active participation in school activities.

Nevertheless, contestation on approaches to CCE persist as a small number of teachers prefer that CCE be taught as its own subject in order for students to recognise the elements taught in the subject. Moreover, these teachers also indicated that permeation of values, as emphasised in KBSM, might not be adopted by teachers due to them giving more emphasis to delivering the content of their own subject. These echoed Whitty et al.'s (2002, 1994b, 1994a) argument that in the attempt to include cross-curricular themes in other subjects, difficulties would be encountered by the teachers which among them were i) the themes seen as getting in their way of teaching their own subject and ii) students were incapable of recognising the invisible themes that the teachers were trying to inculcate through the subject taught. Indeed, in the longitudinal research on the impact of citizenship education in England, in the final report, due to the present 'light touch' and 'flexible approach' (QCA, 2001 : 3), it was suggested that more than 45 minutes of the teaching timetable be allocated to this subject (Keating et al. 2010). Moreover, in Fairbrother's (2010) study, the permeation approach accorded to Hong Kong secondary school level citizenship education was 'described as diluted, perfunctory, piecemeal, unsystematic, ridiculous, laughable, infrequent, fragmented, and limited' (p. 84). This suggests that permeation might not be the best solution. Nevertheless, whatever approach is adopted in delivering CCE, for a centrally planned curriculum to be well accepted by the micro policy implementers, it must take into account the opinions of teachers. Moreover, as illustrated in this study, it must also take into account the different contexts that exist in each school such as school intakes, students' characteristics, school infrastructures and support.

Interview analysis also revealed that there were weaknesses in the enactment of CCE at the school level which some teachers claimed were due to the government's overall

management of CCE. If policy makers are serious about achieving the aims of CCE, the enactment of this subject in the school curriculum first of all needs to be regarded as important by the government. Thus, the government needs to properly implement CCE and provide additional support and resources to CCE parallel to those provided to other KBSM subjects. First, professional development programmes which include teacher training programmes, short term courses, workshops and seminars should be provided particularly to CCE teachers. Second, besides teachers' support, teaching and learning materials and online resources to assist teachers in delivering CCE should be developed. Third, various activities organised in schools such as volunteering and careers talks should be acknowledged as citizenship related activities. Fourth, the bureaucracy in gaining permission to organise out of school CCE community projects should be reduced.

As illustrated in this study and other studies (Wong, 2001; Puteh, 1994), 'the primary goal of schooling in Malaysia has been the preparation of students for national examinations...on prescribed syllabus' (Puteh, 1994: 403). In the four schools visited this led to external pressure and lack of motivation and interest towards CCE due to its status as a non-examined subject. In relation to this, parallel to Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) and Leighton (2004), some teachers suggested for CCE to be one of the external national examinations subjects in order for the status to be uplifted. Yet, literature has also shown that this might also be an inappropriate approach as this approach led to the objective of studying was to pass exams rather than 'for its non-cognitive objectives' (Sim, 2001: 79). Nevertheless, as indicated by Bernstein (1975: 85) 'evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught'. Thus, appropriate ways of evaluation or assessment need to be provided in order for CCE to be recognised and valued by school communities including pupils. This could be in the form of awarding certificates which allocate specific percentage to be accorded in applying for higher education as presently practiced for students' participation in co-curricular activities.

In addition, the CCE curriculum, syllabus specification and textbooks need to be looked into in order to avoid resemblances with other subjects in the school curriculum. In accordance, the notions of citizenship in CCE, similar to those found in the History curriculum (Ahmad, 2004) should not only be confined to the elements of patriotism. Thus,

the CCE curriculum could be improved by having a good balance among different concepts and elements of citizenship education which include democratic, political and global issues rather than placing too much emphasis on civics and local matters. Moreover, despite some attempt having been made to adopt a less didactic approach, CCE prescribed documents are still more towards imparting and acquisition of factual knowledge of citizenship education. This prescribed curriculum and the emphasis on a performative discourse had further influenced teachers' teaching and assessment approaches which focused on transference and acquisition of facts and contents of textbooks. Thus, if the objective of CCE is to develop citizens who actively participate in democratic decision making, the prescribed curriculum and suggested teaching and learning approaches need to be improved and should be participative in their orientation. Indeed, with Puteh's (1994: 404) claim that 'this established syllabus and examination-orientation conflicts with the high aspirations of KBSM', the focus of CCE needs to be clearly explained and teachers need to be properly trained on the appropriate ways of delivering CCE, which for many, is different from their daily practice. Moreover, this study tends to agree with Hashim (2010) that although opportunities to discuss controversial and sensitive issues could be provided in CCE, this however did not materialised due to the way these issues were taught. The need for critical inquiry and deliberation on controversial and sensitive issues including those related to ethnic issues in the curriculum as suggested by Hashim and Tan (2009) should be seriously carried out. In relation to this, it might be the time for the state to realise that tensions between the *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* and especially between the Malay and non-Malays do exist even at the school levels. If the objective of CCE was to be taken seriously, the authorities might need to provide guidance to teachers on how controversial and sensitive issues might be rationally discussed among multiethnic students.

CCE and non-CCE teachers, especially in *Bakawali* school, indicated that one of the challenges of delivering CCE was due to students' lack of interest. However, this claim could not be justified as students were not involved in the study other than observing their general dispositions towards CCE as part of lesson observations. In relation to this, students in England indicated that citizenship education in the school curriculum would be more effective if it was 'taught by skilled specialists, or those with enthusiasm for the subject' (Kerr et al., 2007: 69). Thus, future research is needed to explore students' perceptions

on the enactment of CCE at the secondary school level. In other words, there is a need to explore what the students perceived and what they received from the teaching and learning of CCE. Besides gaining students' perceptions on appropriate ways of delivering the elements of citizenship education in the school curriculum, it will be beneficial to gain their perceptions on how the enactment of CCE could be improved. Indeed, it would be interesting to explore whether the lack of interest towards CCE was due to its status as a non-subject or more towards teachers' lack of capability in facilitating active participation and democratic learning, and in handling discussions on controversial and sensitive issues.

This study was not designed to make a comparison between urban and rural schools. Nevertheless, with the selection of the four schools based on the students' ethnic groups, one of the selected schools was a school over representative of Indian students and was located in a rural area. This further highlighted that in my study, school location especially between urban and rural areas did play a role in mediating the enactment of CCE. Besides material contexts, differences in students' characteristics in these two areas were also among the factors that led to CCE to be differently enacted between the urban and rural schools. This calls for a more robust sample from these two areas (the urban and rural) in order to more systematically explore the distinctive differences of this matter.

9.4 Concluding Remark

This study of the perceptions and practices related to citizenship education in the Malaysian school curriculum is yet to be extensively researched. With the introduction of the new primary school curriculum; Kurikulum Standard Sekolah Rendah (KSSR) to replace Kurikulum Bersatu Sekolah Rendah (KBSR) in 2011, the introduction of a new secondary school curriculum; Kurikulum Standard Sekolah Menengah (KSSM) will follow in 2017. From this study it is suggested that CCE, one of the subjects in the Malaysia school curriculum will continue to be contested, negotiated and re-negotiated (Goodson, 1993; Ball and Goodson, 1984). Indeed, this is more evident in the Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013 – 2025 (Preschool to Post-Secondary Education) (Ministry of Education, 2012) introduced in September 2012, in which in KSSM, CCE will only exist in the Lower Secondary curriculum. Not only will CCE not be retained in the primary and upper secondary school curriculum, but this subject will now be termed 'Civic and Citizenship' (CC). Nevertheless, more research

is needed in order for it to be better enacted in the school curriculum and to minimize the likely gap between CC as intended with CC as enacted as illustrated in this study. Subsequently, in designing any policy, it is worth remembering that at the meso and micro levels, 'what is prescribed is not necessarily what is undertaken, and what is planned is not necessarily what happens' (Goodson, 1994 : 118).

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Research Project:

**Civics and Citizenship Education in Malaysia :
The Voice of Micro Policy Implementers**

Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish.

What is the purpose of the research?

The research intends to explore Civics and Citizenship (CCE) teachers' understanding of the concept of citizenship in the Malaysian context and the way this understanding affects their teaching practice. This research also aims to analyse and understand the issues of secondary schools teachers as policy implementers at the micro level in transferring the new CCE curriculum policy into teaching and learning practice.

Who is the researcher?

My name is Haniza Mahmood and I am undertaking this educational research as part of my PhD study under Malaysia Ministry of Education scholarship at Cardiff University, United Kingdom. I am supervised by two senior researches in the Cardiff School of Social Sciences and the research has been approved by the Cardiff University School of Social Sciences Ethics Committee and also by Ministry of Education, Malaysia.

Why have I been chosen?

I am asking for secondary school teachers who have three years experienced in teaching Civics and Citizenship Education as they have first hand experience in transferring this new subject policy into teaching and learning practice.

What do I have to do?

I would like you to take part in an interview. I will talk to you about your education and teaching experience, your view on the implementation of CCE, your experience in teaching CCE and the challenges that you faced in teaching this new subject. The interview will be audiotaped so that I have a record of what was said. I might also observe one or more of your CCE lessons and have another interview based on the lesson observed.

When will the research take place?

The research will take place in your school for about two to three weeks. However, interviews will only be conducted during the teachers' free period or at any time which is convenient to them.

What will happen to the information that I give?

The transcript of the interview and any questionnaires will only be accessible to me, and will be kept securely, in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act. They will not be used for

any other purpose. An analysis of the information will form part of my report at the end of the study and will be published in an academic thesis. You are welcome to see a copy of the thesis subsequent to publication.

Will my taking part be confidential?

You can give as much or as little information as you wish. No one will be named or identifiable in any way in the reports of the study. In addition, neither individuals' names nor names of schools will be revealed.

What if I wish to withdraw?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time you wish, without giving a reason. However, if you withdraw I would reserve the right to include any information that you give prior to withdrawing.

Contact Information

If you would like further information about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me at the following:

Researcher: Haniza Mahmood
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**Consent for Participation in Interview Research and
Classroom Observation**

Please Initial

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have also had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

I agree to take part in the study, and for the information provided to be anonymized and used in the above mentioned study.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

Note : Two copies: 1 for participant and 1 for research file.

Interview Schedule

A. Interview with Civics and Citizenship Head of Department/Coordinator

Name : _____ **Position :** _____
Date : _____ **Time :** _____

Introduction

- Introduce self, express gratitude and thanks for agreeing to participate in the research.
- Explain on the study, aims and objectives of the study.
- Assurance of confidentiality in participating.
- Obtain consent from the participation.

a) Teacher's background

- 1) First of all, can you please tell me about your teaching qualification and teaching experience?
- 2) May I know how long have you become Head of Humanities Department/CCE Coordinator? How were you chosen to hold this position?
- 3) Have you hold any other position besides this? Thinking about your previous position, what differences did you see/experience holding that position with position at present?

b) Training and support

- 1) Can you please tell me about the training/support that you have had since you hold this position? Who provide them? How often do you go through training or receive any support? What kind of support do you get from Headteacher, teachers and other sources?
- 2) Do you think you have received adequate training and support to maintain/coordinate/teaching CCE? What additional support would you like to receive? (If insufficient, how do you cope with this?)
- 3) Can you please describe to me the materials provided to support the teaching and learning of CCE? Who provided these support materials? How would you rate the qualities of these materials?
- 4) Do your department conduct any courses or produce any materials to support teaching and learning? Do the teachers develop their own materials? Are they encouraged to share their teaching materials/ideas?

c) Teaching, learning and assessment

- 1) As a Head of Humanities Department/Coordinator of CCE, what would you ideally like to achieve in managing/coordinating/teaching this subject? (Aims and goals)
- 2) How do you/CCE teachers usually teach CCE? What are usually the teaching and

learning approaches/activities adopted? Why? What is the ethnic population in your school? Imagine that you are teaching students with mixed ethnic population, how would you teach CCE to them?

- 3) What are the themes included in the CCE curriculum? Among these themes, are there any themes that you/the teachers preferred to teach the most? Why? What about other themes? How do you feel teaching the other themes? Is there any other topic that you think is important but not included in the curriculum? What are they? Why?
- 4) Please share with me the community service projects that have been conducted? What projects have been done so far? How do you feel about the need to organise community service project? Why? What other activities would you like to be included in the community service project? What are other out of classroom activities that your department have done in relation to the teaching of CCE/citizenship?
- 5) How is CCE assessed in your school? What is being assessed? Why is this approach adopted? In your opinion, what do you think is the best way to assess CCE? Why?

d) View on civics and citizenship education

- 1) How is CCE introduced in the school curriculum? Why do you think CCE is introduced? In your opinion, is it important to teach CCE? Why/why not? Can you tell me what is the aim of CCE as stated in the curriculum? What would you personally like the aim of CCE to be?
- 2) Can you tell me some information about the school blue-print such as the aims, objectives and strategies in implementing CCE in your school? What are the characteristics of the citizens that your school intend to develop? What the type of citizenship would you like CCE to promote to the school students?
- 3) How do you think CCE should be taught? (own subject, integrated, through co-curriculum) Why? Do you think the element of civic and citizenship have been taught in other subjects/school activities? Could you give some examples?

e) Challenges and recommendations for actions

- 1) What, if any, are the challenges that you faced in managing/coordinating/teaching CCE? (timetabling, resources management, support, teachers, assessment, others) How were you constrained? How would you suggest in solving this problem/these problems?
- 2) Looking at CCE teaching and learning practice in your school, do you think the objectives of CCE as you mentioned earlier could be achieved? Why? Why not?
- 3) What would you like to see changes in the CCE curriculum/education system with regard to develop a united and patriotic citizen?

Thank you for your informative answers to my questions. Is there anything about the topic we have discussed that you would like to make some further comments on?

B. Interview with Civics and Citizenship Teachers (Interview 1)

Name :

School :

Date :

Time :

Introduction

- Introduce self, express gratitude and thanks for agreeing to participate in the research.
- Explain on the study, aims and objectives of the study.
- Assurance of confidentiality in participating.
- Obtain consent from the participation.

a) Teacher's background

- 1) First of all, can you please tell me about your teaching qualification and teaching experience?
- 2) May I know how long have you been teaching CCE? Why do you think you are chosen to teach this subject?
- 3) What other subjects are you teaching besides CCE? Thinking about your previous teaching experience, what differences did you see/experience in teaching CCE compared to teaching other subjects?

b) Training and support

- 1) Can you please tell me about the training/support that you have had since you teach this subject? Who provide them? How often do you go through training or receive any support? What kind of support do you get from Headteacher, teachers and other sources?
- 2) Do you think you have received adequate training and support to teach CCE? What additional support would you like to receive? (If insufficient, how do you cope with this?)
- 3) Can you please describe to me the materials provided to support the teaching and learning of CCE? Who provided these support materials? How would you rate the qualities of these materials?
- 4) Do your department conduct any courses or produce any materials to support teaching and learning? Do you develop your own materials? Are you encouraged to share you teaching materials/ideas?

c) Teaching, learning and assessment

- 1) What would you like to achieve in teaching this subject? (Aims and goals)
- 2) How do you usually teach CCE? What are usually the teaching and learning approaches/activities adopted? Why?
- 3) What are the themes included in the CCE curriculum? Among these themes, are there any themes that you/the teachers preferred to teach the most? Why? What about other themes? How do you feel teaching the other themes? Is there any other topic that you think is important but not included in the curriculum? What

are they? Why they need to be included?

- 4) Please share with me the community service projects that have been conducted? What projects have been done so far? How do you feel about the need to organise community service project? Why? What other activities would you like to be included in the community service project? What are other out of classroom activities that your department have done in relation to the teaching of CCE/citizenship?
- 5) How is CCE assessed in your school? What is being assessed? Why is this approach adopted? In your opinion, what do you think is the best way to assess CCE? Why?

d) View on civics and citizenship education

- 4) How is CCE introduced in the school curriculum? Why do you think CCE is introduced? In your opinion, is it important to teach CCE? Why/why not? Can you tell me what is the aim of CCE as stated in the curriculum? What would you personally like the aim of CCE to be?
- 5) Can you tell me some information about the school blue-print such as the aims, objectives and strategies in implementing CCE in your school? What are the characteristics of the citizens that your school intend to develop? What the type of citizenship would you like CCE to promote to the school students?
- 6) How do you think CCE should be taught? (own subject, integrated, through co-curriculum) Why? Do you think the element of civic and citizenship have been taught in other subjects/school activities? Could you give some examples?

e) Challenges and recommendations

- 1) What, if any, are the challenges that you faced in managing/coordinating/teaching CCE? (timetabling, resources management, support, teachers, assessment, others) How were you constrained? How would you suggest in solving this problem/these problems?
- 2) Looking at CCE teaching and learning practice in your school, do you think the objectives of CCE as you mentioned earlier could be achieved? Why? Why not?
- 3) What would you like to see changes in the CCE curriculum/education system with regard to develop a united and patriotic citizen?

Thank you for your informative answers to my questions. Is there anything about the topic we have discussed that you would like to make some further comments on?

Interview with Civics and Citizenship Teacher (Interview 2 – after lesson observation)

Name :

School :

Class observed :

Observed time :

Date :

Time :

*** This is just a basic idea on the semi-structured interview questions that are going to be asked. A more specific question will be formed after the lesson based on the observed lesson.**

- 1) Could you tell me what is the objective of the observed lesson? What are the civics knowledge, skill and values that you intend to deliver?
- 2) Overall, how do you feel about the lesson? Why? What difficulties were encountered? Do you think the students enjoy the activities in the lesson observed/CCE lesson?
- 3) Could you tell me more about the activities/teaching aids used in the lesson? Why do you choose to use these teaching activities/teaching aids in teaching this topic?
- 4) Imagine that you are teaching students with different ethnic population, would you adopt the same approach in teaching this topic? If not, how would you teach this topic to them?
- 5) Do you think you would have problem teaching any theme, topic or subtopic if/when you are teaching students from different ethnics' composition? What about in conducting community service project with students from different ethnic's composition? What theme/topic/subtopic that you think is important but not included in the curriculum? Why should they be included?
- 6) If you are given the choice, would you like to continue teaching CCE? Why? Why not?

Thank you for your informative answers to my questions. Is there anything about the topic we have discussed that you would like to make some further comments on?

Co-Curricular Activities Provided In School *Anggerik* School

Society & Club	Uniform Bodies	Games & Sports
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture, Arts & Heritage Club • Young Entrepreneurs • Peer Group • Journalism & Broadcasting • Cooperative Club • Textbook Loan Scheme Club • Robotic Club • Quarter Master Club • Consumers Club • Environmentalist & Recreation • Resource Center Club • Website Club • Photography & Editorship Club • Malay Language Society • English Language Society • Japanese Language Society • Maths & Science Society • History & Geography Society • Islamic Religious Society • Citizenship & Moral Education Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scouts • Girls Guide • School Cadet • Police Cadet • Fire & Rescue Cadet • Red Crescent • Silat Gayong Malaysia (Malaysia Arts of Self Defense) • Puteri Islam (Islamic Uniform Body for Female Students) • Tae kwan do • School Prefect • Resource Center Prefect • Special Education Integration Program • School Cooperative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equine • Football • Bowling • Indoor games • Softball • Netball • Fencing • Handball • Ping Pong • Badminton • Shooting • Swimming • Golf • 4 sports houses (divided among all students)

Co-curricular Activities Provided in School *Bakawali* School

Society/Club	Uniform Bodies	Games/Sports
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malay Language & Literature Society • English Language & Drama Society • Chinese Language Society • Living Skills Society • Arts & Landscaping Society • Geography (Eco-Rangers) Society • History Society • Science & Mathematics Society • Islamic Religious Society • Buddha Society • Hindu Religious Society • Christian Fellowship • Computer/Robotic • Skim Lencana Anti Dadah (SLAD) (Anti Drug Badge) • Welfare Club • Career Club • Interact Club • Rukun Negara/Setia Club • Leo Club • Choir • Photography • Young Entrepreneur/Consumer • Guidance & Counselling • Cultural/Arts • Textbook Loan Scheme Club • Form 6 Club 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police Cadet • Girls Guide • Scouts • St John Ambulances • Puteri Islam (Islamic Uniform Body for Female Students) • School Cadet • Fire & Rescue Cadet • Silat (Malaysia Arts of Self Defense) • Tae kwan do • Ninjitsu • Brass band • Wudo • School Prefect • Resource Center Prefect • School Cooperative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football • Bowling • Badminton • Ping Pong • Handball • Netball • Basketball • Chess/Scrabble/Sudoku • Cheerleading • Gymnastic • Athletics • Golf • 5 sports houses (divided among all students)

Co-Curricular Activities Provided In School *Cempaka* School

Society & Club	Uniform Bodies	Games & Sports
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malay Language • English Language • Chinese Language • Tamil Language • Living Skills Society • Arts & Landscaping Society • Geography/History Society • Science & Mathematics Society • PERSIS (Islamic Religious Society) • Agricultural Science Club • Visual Arts Club • Designs Club • Environmentalist Club • Consumer Club • Rukun Negara Club • Finance Club • School Cooperative Club • Anti Drug Badge Scheme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police Cadet • Girls Guide • Scouts • Puteri Islam (Islamic Uniform Body for Female Students) • School Cadet • Red Crescents • School Prefects • Resource Center Prefect • School Cooperative • Editorship Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football • Badminton • Handball • Netball • Basketball • Athletics/Cross-country • Sepak Takraw • Softball • Ping Pong • 4 sports houses (divided among all students)

Co-Curricular Activities Provided In *Dahlia* School

Society & Club	Uniform Bodies	Games & Sports
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malay Language • English Language • Mathematics, Science and Design • Tamil Language • Chinese Language • Vocational/Home Science • Environmentalist/Arts • Islamic Students Society • Christian Fellowship • Buddha • Computer/ICT • Choir Club • LEO Club • Interact Club • Rukun Negara Club/Setia • Arts & Cultural • Loan Book Scheme Club • Young Entrepreneurs Club • Peer Mentoring Club/Career Club • Anti Drug Badge Scheme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police Cadet • Girls Renjer • Scouts • Puteri Islam (Islamic Uniform Body for Female Students) • School Cadet • Red Crescent • Tae Kwan do • Wushu • Karate • KITS Committee • School Prefects • Resource Center Committee • School Cooperative • School Librarians • Editorship Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football • Tennis • Squash • Chess • Badminton • Handball • Netball • Basketball • Athletics • Bowling • Swimming/Rhythmic Gymnastics • Softball • Ping Pong • 4 sports houses (divided among all students)

Examples of Activities Organised By the Four Schools

Types of Activities	<i>Anggerik School</i>	<i>Bakawali School</i>	<i>Cempaka School</i>	<i>Dahlia School</i>
Co-academic	Crossword Puzzle Singing Competition Essay Writing Drama Competition Choral Speaking Water Rocket Launching Competition Solar Oven Competition Physics Phenomenon In Everyday Life Situation – Power Point Competition Malay Language Week Science Carnival	Essay Competition Crossword Puzzle Competition Public Speaking Competition Spelling Bee Literacy Week Math Magic Competition Science & Mathematics Exhibition Solar Car Design Competition Chemistry Quiz “Biology Wrap” Competition	English Debates Malay Language Week A word a week ‘Air Car Race’ Science Competition Drawing and Labelling Map History Scrap Book	Science & Mathematics Week English Week Malay Language Week Drama Competition Public Speaking Parliamentary Style Debate
Aesthetic and cultural	Drawing Comic Competition Logo Design Competition Frame Design Competition Soap Carving Sculpture Competition Batik Creation Exhibition Malay Dance	Friendly network with schools from Thailand and Indonesia Leadership and Study Trip to Negeri Sembilan Study Trip to National Museum Watching Theatre	Mural Drawing Mini Park Landscape Wasted Materials Craft Origami Logo Design	Chinese Calligraphy Ponggal Festival Kolam Competition Kabadi Competition Tamil Dance Competition Gazebo Painting

Types of Activities	<i>Anggerik School</i>	<i>Bakawali School</i>	<i>Cempaka School</i>	<i>Dahlia School</i>
		Traditional Dance Practice Learning about Malaysian Ethnic Customs and Culture Kompang (Traditional Music Instrument) Practice Congkak Competition (Traditional Game) Flower Arrangement Competition Workmanship Competition Kolam Competition Ponggal Celebration		
Religious activities	Maal Hijrah Talk Maulidur Rasul Talk Maulidur Rasul March Israk dan Mikraj Talk Yassin Weekly Reading (A chapter from Al-Quran) Examination Special Prayer Nasheed, Jawi and Islamic's History Competition	Maulidur Rasul Celebration Nuzul Al-Quran Court Case Teachers' Day Gifts Bible Knowledge Quiz	Tadarus Quran (Ambang Ramadan) Maulidur Rasul Talk Qiamulail Solat Fardhu Jamaah Tazkirah	Solat Hajat (Special Prayer) MY Program (Moral Talk & Yassin Reading) Tadarus Al Quran Program Ihya' Ramadhan Program
Civics and citizenship	Patriotism week History Sketch Competition History Quiz Royal Selangor Scout	Patriotism Week Patriotism Singing Competition 1Malaysia Mural	Patriotic Month Program Police Visit to School Zero Rubbish School Safe School Program	Patriotism Month Muhibbah Camping (Strengthening ethnics relations)

Types of Activities	<i>Anggerik School</i>	<i>Bakawali School</i>	<i>Cempaka School</i>	<i>Dahlia School</i>
	Bestowal	Independence Day Quiz Designing Historical Building Competition Campaign Activity for Head Prefect Election Royal Selangor Scout Bestowal	Patriotic Poem Competition Police Cadet Matching Practice Police Cadet Shooting Practice Royal Selangor Scout Bestowal	Zero Misconduct Campaign Saving The Planet Eco Talk Caring Teenagers Campaign My Student My Beloved Child Zero Rubbish School International Understanding Day Royal Selangor Scout Bestowal
Motivation, Career and Personal Development	Self-Development Program Personality Development Program Class of Excellent Personality Competition Schools Regulation Quiz Health & Fitness Program Cancer Prevention Talk Courtesy As Our Culture Program Thank You Teacher Program Anti Drug Week Career Talk Career Program Social and Science Stream Career Program	Form 1 Orientation Day Career Week Bon Fire Night Campfire Night Noble Values Talk Prefect Leadership Course Resource Center Leadership Camp Anti-Smoking Program Anti-Drug and Safe School Program My Student, My Beloved Child Program St John Ambulance Cadet Camp Anti Drug Week	Form 1 & Form 4 Orientation Day Career Carnival Prefect Leadership Anti-vandalism Program Dialogue with Parents and Teachers Leadership and Motivation Program Zero Truancy Campaign Self Development Program Camping Anti Drug Week	Career Day Career Carnival Open Day Anti Drug Week Curriculum Excellence Day Award Co-curriculum Quality Award Prefect Installation KITS Recycle Program Active and Healthy Month Program Character Building Program LEO Installation Interact Club Installation Anti Drug Week

Types of Activities	<i>Anggerik School</i>	<i>Bakawali School</i>	<i>Cempaka School</i>	<i>Dahlia School</i>
	Graduation Day Open Day Safe School Program Prefect Leadership Program Campus Tour Focused Counselling			
Social service	Gotong-royong (the tradition of working together to clean up assigned area Community Service with special students class	Orphanage Trip Gotong-royong Donating money to School Charity Body (School Cooperative) Donating drinks for district and state level sport events and co-curriculum camp (School Cooperative)	Visit to Orphanage Visit to Old Folk Homes PERSIS Social Work Resource Center Gotong-royong School Gotong royong	Orphanage Trip Interact Club Charity Work Blood Donation Drive Trip to PAWS (Animal Center)
Technical, vocational and entrepreneurship skills	Underwater Remotely Operated Vehicle Model design competition Power point presentation competition Logo design competition School Cooperative Day Canteen Day Selling	Robotic Workshop Graphic Design Workshop Video Shooting and Editing Workshop Cybergame Counterstrike Games Virtual Trading The Apprentice Cooking Competition 'I Love xxxx (name of	Mini Park Competition Green House Effect Recycle Program Car Racing Competition Canteen Day Selling Sports Day Selingl School Cooperative Day	Canteen Day Cooperative Day Muffin Sell Rocket Competition Eco Bottle Sell Entrepreneur Day Fund Raising Project

Types of Activities	<i>Anggerik School</i>	<i>Bakawali School</i>	<i>Cempaka School</i>	<i>Dahlia School</i>
		school)' t-shirt selling Carnival Day Cooperative Day School Carnival Blog Competition		
Field trip	Visit interesting places around Kuala Lumpur Exploring Forest Research Institute of Malaysia Visit to Petrosains and Aquatic Museum	Visit to Book Exhibition Visit to State Museum and State Library Visit to KLCC, Aquaria and Police Museum	Expedition to Tempurung Cave Expedition to Kelam Cave Visual Art Field Trip Trip to Puncak Holding Holdings Berhad Open Day Field Trip to Cameron Highlands National Book Fair Trip to Dewan Bahasa Pustaka Trip to Pangkor Island (1Malaysia Concept)	Expedition to Tempurung Cave Visit to Handcraft Center
Others	Sports Day Co-curriculum Carnival Excellence Curriculum Award Canteen Day Teachers Day	Sport Days Teacher Day Academic Excellent Day Co-curriculum Day Graduation Day	Sports Day Cross-country Teachers Day Academic Achievement Day Co-curriculum Day	Sports Day Teachers Day Academic Achievement Day Co-curriculum Day Graduation Day Road Run

