

Chapter 8

Universalization of Primary Education in the Context of Multi-Ethnic Society: The Case of Malaysia

Miki SUGIMURA

Summary

The development of primary education in Malaysia is described as dynamic processes in which Malay, Chinese and Indian peoples were integrated into the national education system employing the framework of the developmental task model in Chapter 3. Before World War II, during the “initial system introduction” stage, Malay people went to Malay medium schools established by the British colonial government. The enrolment grew. In the meantime, Chinese and Indian peoples founded their own primary and secondary schools. The “first intermediate system-expansion” stage continued to the 1953 Independence. During it the subsidized schools, which employed the Malay language as the medium of instruction, also offered opportunities for learning English, thus they came to connect to the upper level schools in which English was the medium of instruction and, thus, required. English, as a suzerain language, had value in the labor market. It was also expected to serve as the national common language after the coming national independence. In 1957 when independence was achieved, Malay medium schools were created; they received governmental subsidies as “standard schools”. At the same time English medium schools, Chinese medium schools and Indian medium schools were founded as “standard-type schools”, which enjoyed no subsidies. The “second intermediate system-expansion” stage began in 1971 when the Education Act was promulgated. It provided the change of “standard schools” to “national schools” and that of “standard-type schools” to “national-type schools”. Along with these changes, all schools were awarded subsidies and fees were abolished. In 1965, the system of auto-promotion to the secondary schools was adopted. At the same time, Malay medium secondary schools and English medium secondary schools, which had received subsidies, became non-fee schools. The racial conflicts between Malay and Chinese peoples culminated in a riot at the end of the 1960s. This led the government to the adoption of the Bumiputera (Malayanization) policy. Thus, in the “third intermediate system-expansion” stage, which corresponded to the 1970s, a phase-out of English medium schools was seen: in 1975 for primary level and in 1983 for secondary level. The “final system completion” stage began in 1980s. Enrolment in 2000 was 96.8%. The government intended to strengthen Bumiputera policies through curriculum control and selective budget distribution to Malay schools. Recently, however, monotonous Malayization is not the case. New dynamics of the confronting relations among ethnic groups are generated in the globalization of the economy.

Key words

Malaysia, primary education, multi-ethnic society

[Yonemura, Akio ed. *Universalization of Primary Education in the Historical and Developmental perspective*, Research Report (Chousakenkyu-Houkokusho), Institute of Development Economics, 2007]

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the process of universalization of primary education with its historical development and to point out some factors and issues with respect to universalization in a developing country using the case of Malaysia.

Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country which has three main ethnic groups: Malay, Chinese and Indian, and national integration has been one of the most important national political issues since it gained independence in 1957. On the other hand, human resource development for the development of the national economy has also been regarded as a national subject, and national education has been a very important policy to solve those two national issues. Primary education in Malaysia is also one of the national education policies, and it has two roles: one of universalizing education for the various ethnic groups and the other of human resource development for economic growth. In order to realize these two goals, we should consider what kind of primary educational policies the government of Malaysia has implemented and what kind of issues have arisen.

In this paper, after surveying some characteristics of Malaysian society briefly, the universalization of Malaysian primary education will be analyzed through a basic research framework of three stages as mentioned in Chapter 3, i.e. (a)the initial system introduction stage, (b)the intermediate expansion stage, and (c)the final completion stage. This framework was formulated by a comparative analysis between Mexico and Japan, and its efficiency will be discussed here through the case of Malaysia. Universalization of primary education has been often discussed focusing on quantity expansion; however, at the same time, the problem of the quality of education must not be overlooked. In the case of Malaysia, the quantitative expansion of primary education had been going well, and it is said that universalization was achieved in the 1980's. However, there have also been some issues with conflicts between ethnic groups up to the present, because the Malaysian universalization based on Malayization sometimes repelled the other non-Malay ethnic groups. In this sense, the achievement of universalization should be judged not by quantity only but also by quality.

1. Multi-Ethnic Society of Malaysia and Its Characteristics

Malaysia is situated in Southeast Asia and is 330,000 square kilometers with a population of about 23 million as of 2003. It is a federation consisting of 13 states. Two of them, Sabah and Sarawak, are situated in the Borneo island called East Malaysia, and the others in the Malay Peninsular are called West Malaysia. It gained independence from Great Britain in 1957. Malaysia's GNI is 86 billion US\$ and the GNI per capita is 3,540 US\$ as of 2002. 18.4 percent of the work force is in the primary industry, 31.7 percent in secondary and 50.0 percent in tertiary. It is expected that the tertiary population will increase, so human resource development is regarded as a very crucial matter.

There are three main ethnic groups, i.e., Bumiputera¹ including Malays and aborigines (65.1 percent), Chinese (26.0 percent) and Indians (7.7 percent)². Malays believe in Islam and speak Malay. On the other hand, Chinese believe in Buddhism, Confucianism or Taoism and speak Mandarin³, while the Indians believe in Hinduism and speak Tamil. The different ethnic groups often use English, which has been used since the British colonial era, to talk to each other. However, English is not an official language nor a common language. Malaysia's only national language is Malay, which is regulated in the Constitution of Malaysia, and the National Language Act prescribes the predominance of Malay as the national language over the other languages.

Education has been regarded as an important tool in order to diffuse the national language, and the medium of instruction of public schools has been regulated as Malay. As Figure 1 shows, the national education system in Malaysia is 6-3-2-2; primary for 2 years, lower-secondary for 3 years, upper-secondary for 2 years, and pre-university for 2 years. There are three types of national primary schools. The main stream is called "the Malay-medium national schools", which means that the medium of instruction is Malay. Therefore, graduates of Malay-medium schools can go to lower secondary school straight away. On the other hand, Chinese and Tamil-medium schools are called graduates of "the national-type schools" which means that the medium of

¹ The meaning of "Bumiputera" is "sons of soil", and it includes the various minorities who are not of the main ethnic group, or Malays.

² Jabatan Pernagkaan Malaysia (Department of Statistics Malaysia) 2002, p.1.

³ Mandarin is a dialect of Chinese, and is used as a common language in the Chinese community of Southeast Asia, because there are many dialects of Chinese which are so different that the speakers cannot communicate with each other. Mandarin is almost the same as the standard Chinese language of mainland China and the national language of Taiwan.

instruction is Chinese or Tamil. In these national-type schools, every subject except Malay and English language are taught in Mandarin and Tamil. As for the secondary level, only the main stream Malay national secondary school is available. Therefore, students from Chinese and Tamil primary schools must go to "Remove Class" in order to study the Malay language for a year before going to the national secondary schools unless they receive standard scores on an achievement test in the 6th grade.

As for secondary education, national secondary schools are Malay-medium schools, and if someone prefers the other languages, they usually choose private schools at which the medium of instruction is English or Chinese. For example, some Chinese people who attach a great importance on Chinese-medium instruction established the Chinese Independent Secondary Schools (CISS). These schools are private, and they receive no government aid. Furthermore, their certification has not been recognized officially, so graduates of CISS cannot go straight to a national university if they cannot get an official certificate by passing the national certificate examination. For this reason, CISS students often go abroad, which causes a brain drain problem. Nowadays, even in the higher educational institutions, the main medium of instruction is Malay.

The characteristic of Malaysia's national education system is that these primary and secondary schools are free, but not compulsory. This is quite different from other countries. The reason why primary education has not been compulsory in Malaysia seems to be related to the ethnic problem when it comes to national integration. This paper focuses on the relationship between the universalization of Primary Education and national integration.

2. The Development of Primary Education

According to Yonemura's period division of the universalizing primary education process (Chapter 3), the process of universalization of Malaysian Primary Education can be divided into three parts; i.e. (a) the initial system introduction stage (before World War II), (b) the intermediate system-expansion stage (after World War II—1970's) and (c) the final system-completion stage (1980's— present). Among these stages, in case of Malaysia, the second part (b) consists of three stages: (b-1) After World War II—Independence (1957) , (b-2) Independence—1960's and (b-3) 1970's.

2-1 The Initial System Introduction Stage (Before World War II)

The "initial system-establishment stage" aims to create a foundation for the

national public primary education system⁴. In the case of an old colony, an educational system and customs formulated at this stage are easily affected by the system of its suzerain state. In the case of Malaysia, this stage corresponds to British Malaya before World War II, when the British colonial government set up vernacular education for the Malay people at the primary education level from the end of the 19th century to World War II. The educational policy of the British colonial government had two targets: one was education with English instruction for western children of the government's bureaucrats, the Malay royalty and the aristocracy. The other was a vernacular free education with instruction in Malay for Malay peasants' children, and after the first Malay school was established in 1918, this Malay vernacular primary education became widespread in local areas though there were still some prejudice and negative responses to education for girls.

There was also a difference between English-medium schools and Malay-medium schools in purpose and curriculum. The former English-medium schools were expected to produce the lower echelon personnel for the colonial administrative service and the private sector, and its curriculum was transplanted from foreign models. On the other hand, Malay-medium primary education was for Malay peasants, and its curriculum included arts and crafts, gardening and the basic 3R's of Malay.

Besides these English and Malay-medium schools, there were also Chinese-medium schools and Tamil-medium schools which were established by Chinese people and Indian people; however, the British colonial government let those schools run their own courses and followed a noninterference policy regarding Chinese and Tamil schools. It was in the latter half of the 1910's that the government started to control them. As a result, Chinese and Indian people could establish their schools not only at the primary level, but also at the secondary level, and some of them could acquire English education if they had the money required.

This educational policy in the British colonial era has been called 'divide and rule', and it can be evaluated as contributing to the expansion of free primary education to the Malay people on the one hand, but on the other it also can be regarded as a cause of social-economic difference between Malays and non-Malays, i.e. Chinese and Indians. The Malay people were "protected" by the British colonial government by receiving a chance at free primary education; however, it meant that the Malay people that were not members of the royalty and aristocracy could have no chance at secondary

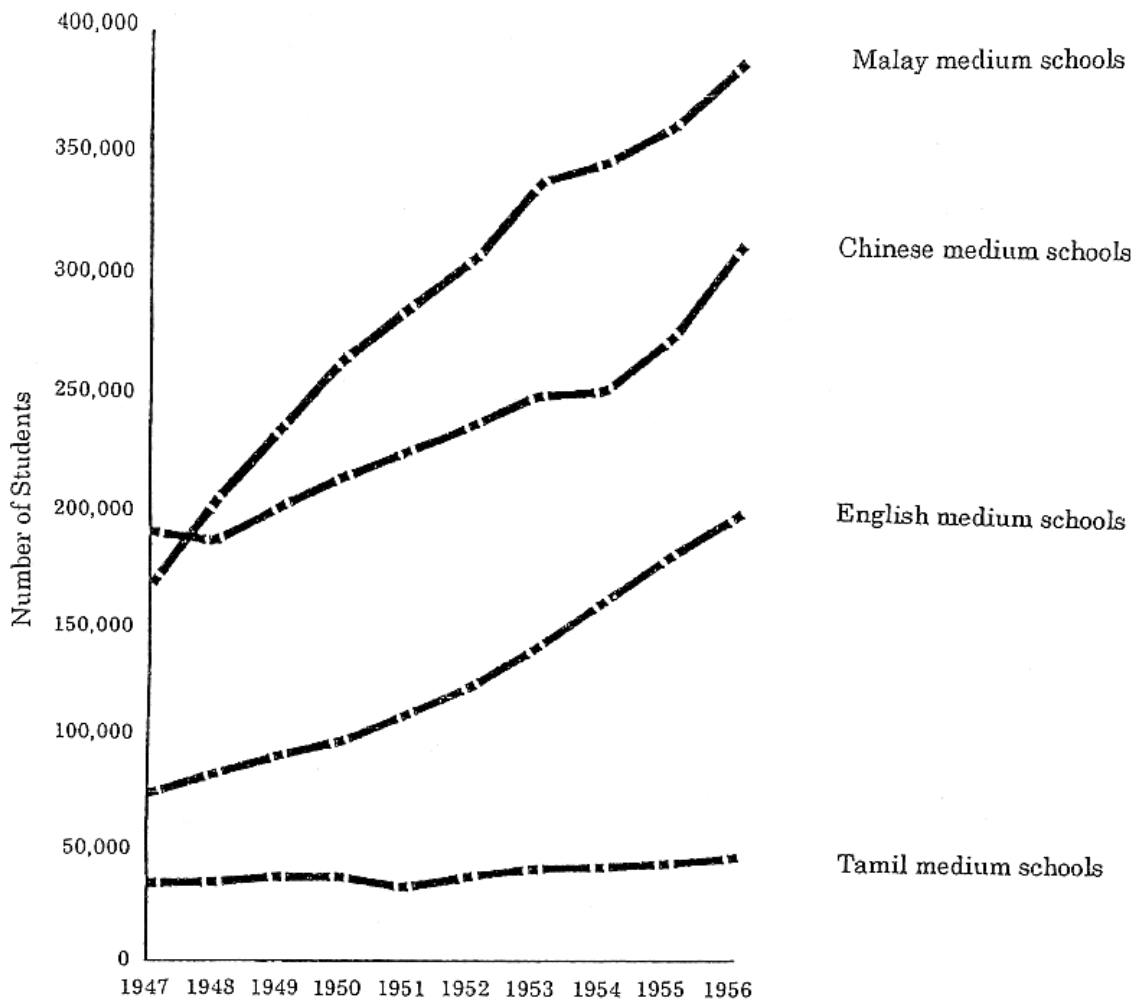
⁴ This first stage is also called "educational expansion in the early stage" by Kaneko (Chapter 2).

education.

2-2 The Intermediate System-Expansion Stage (1) (after World War II —Independence (1957)

After World War II, the expansion of Malay-medium schools was remarkable because there was an increasing tendency for Malay people to choose to advance. As Figure 2 shows, the number of Malay-medium school students has been increasing.

Figure 2 Students Enrolment of different language medium public School in the West Malaysia (1947-1956)



Source: Ministry of Education, 'Educational Statistics of Malaysia, 1938-1967', Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1968.

At the same time, the number of English-medium school students has also been increasing. English as a language of the suzerain state had been an indispensable condition for becoming a member of the elite; however, opportunities for learning English had been limited up unto that point. After the War, there were more opportunities open to the various ethnic groups through the increase in the number of Malay and English-medium schools. There was also a social background behind this trend in which English has taken on a role of national integration in a multi-ethnic society. English was the common language among Malays, Chinese, and Indians, and it was used to make a common tool for communication and political integration among the different ethnic groups.

The government of the Federation of Malaya attached great importance to the role of education for national integration, and they made a plan for a national education system after independence. “Report of the Committee on Malay Education, 1951” (Barnes Report) was one of the plans at an early stage. The Barnes Report proposed “National Schools” for primary education by introducing bilingual education for Malays and English instead of the traditional four language schools: Malay, English, Chinese and Tamil-medium schools. It also proposed six years of free primary education where some high-achieving students would have the opportunity to go to English-medium secondary schools⁵.

However, “Report of a Mission invited the Federation Government to study the problems of the Education of Chinese in Malaya, 1951”(Fenn-Woo Report) which was presented in the same year, 1951, as well as the Barnes Report proposed a different plan. This Fenn-Woo Report attached great importance to vernacular education of each ethnic group, in particular Chinese education, and it asserted that trilingual education comprised of Malay, English and Chinese would be needed in Malaya. The report said that while it was very important to try to maintain harmonious relations among ethnic groups by taking Malay and English as mediums of instruction, Chinese language, culture and tradition should be also kept in educational curriculums and as a medium of instruction because Chinese education had an important role to conserve Chinese culture and tradition. The report seemed to call for a formation of an original national education system in Malaya instead of an imported education system from English

⁵ Government of the Federation of Malaya 1951a, Chapter. XII. The chairperson of this committee was Professor L.J.Barnes of Oxford University.

speaking countries⁶.

Based on proposals from these two reports, 'Education Ordinance, 1952' was established. This Ordinance introduced a national education system of Malay and English-medium "National Schools" which was proposed in the Barnes Report. On the other hand, as for Chinese and Tamil education, they were included in a curriculum as the third language of education; however, Chinese and Tamil vernacular education were excluded from the national education system. As a matter of fact, this national education system by the Education Ordinance 1952 was not realized because for one, there was a financial problem in that there was not enough finances available for the spread of English-medium national schools, and secondly, there was a strong opposition from non-Malays, in particular from the Chinese community because of the exclusion of Chinese-medium schools. This shows that the Intermediate Expansion Stage (1) of Malaysia primary education faced two main issues, that is the first being the political relationship between national education and vernacular education, and the other a financial problem in creating a national education system.

Considering these two problems, another Education Committee discussed another education system and presented "Report of the Education Committee, 1956" (Razak Report). In this report, the four different language medium schools were resumed in primary and secondary education, and the Malay-medium schools were defined as "Standard Schools", while the other English, Chinese and Tamil-medium schools were referred to as "Standard-type Schools". At the same time, Malay and English came to be compulsory subjects in all the primary and secondary schools, and bilingual education for Malays and trilingual education for non-Malays were proposed. Moreover, the introduction of a national common syllabus was proposed for obtaining Malay citizenship⁷. This plan was from the Razak Report formulated as the Education Ordinance of 1957, which came to be the first education law after independence.

Thus, this period in Malaysia exhibits a typical characteristic of the model for universalizing primary education by Yonemura, which means that the expansion of this stage was based on the standard schools of the national education system. In the case of Malaysia, the "standard school" with Malay-medium classes was situated as a symbolic

⁶ Government of the Federation of Malaya 1951b, Chapter □. The British Colonial Government asked an educationist Dr.W.P.Fenn and a UN officer, Dr.Wu The-Yao to investigate the situation of Chinese education in Malaya at that time.

⁷ Government of the Federation of Malaya 1956. This report was named after a chairperson of the Committee, Dato Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein.

core of the national education system by differentiation from the “standard-type schools” with non-Malay-medium classes.

2-3 The Intermediate System-Expansion Stage (2) (Independence (1957—1960’s)

After gaining independence from Britain, the national education system based on the four mediums of instruction was reviewed again and another report and educational law were enacted. The Malayan government organized the Education Review Committee, and the Committee proposed the Report (Rahman Talib Report) in 1960⁸. The characteristic of this Rahman Talib Report was that it made a generalization of some subjects on a national education system and proposed a new system for educational expansion for national integration. The Rahman Talib Report recommended that primary education in all fully government-assisted schools should be free to all. As a result, all the schools for primary education, regardless of the medium of instruction, came to be free, while only Malay-medium schools had been free until then. This policy was based on the target in the Karachi Plan. The Plan was presented by representatives of 17 Asian member states of UNESCO in Karachi (December 1959 to January 1960), and it proposed an international goal of realizing the objective of free and compulsory education of at least seven years duration by 1980⁹.

On the other hand, for secondary education, the Rahman Talib Report recommended that the government-assisted schools should be Malay or English-medium schools only, and insisted Chinese and Tamil-medium schools should be abolished and converted to Malay or English ones. This was the opposite direction from the Razak Report’s recommendation in 1956, and it tried to reinforce the role of national education in national integration. This was reflected in the names of government assisted schools, and while Malay-medium schools were called “national schools”, non-Malay-medium schools, i.e. English, Chinese, or Tamil-medium schools were called “national-type schools”.

These recommendations of the Rahman Talib Report were enacted as the Education Act of 1961. As a result, the primary level came to be divided into four types of fully assisted schools, i.e. Malay national primary schools and schools in the other three languages: English, Chinese and Tamil-medium national-type primary schools. On the other hand, at the secondary level, there came to be two types of secondary schools,

⁸ Government of the Federation of Malaya 1960.

⁹ Wong, Hoy Kee Francis and EeTieng Hong 1971, p.99.

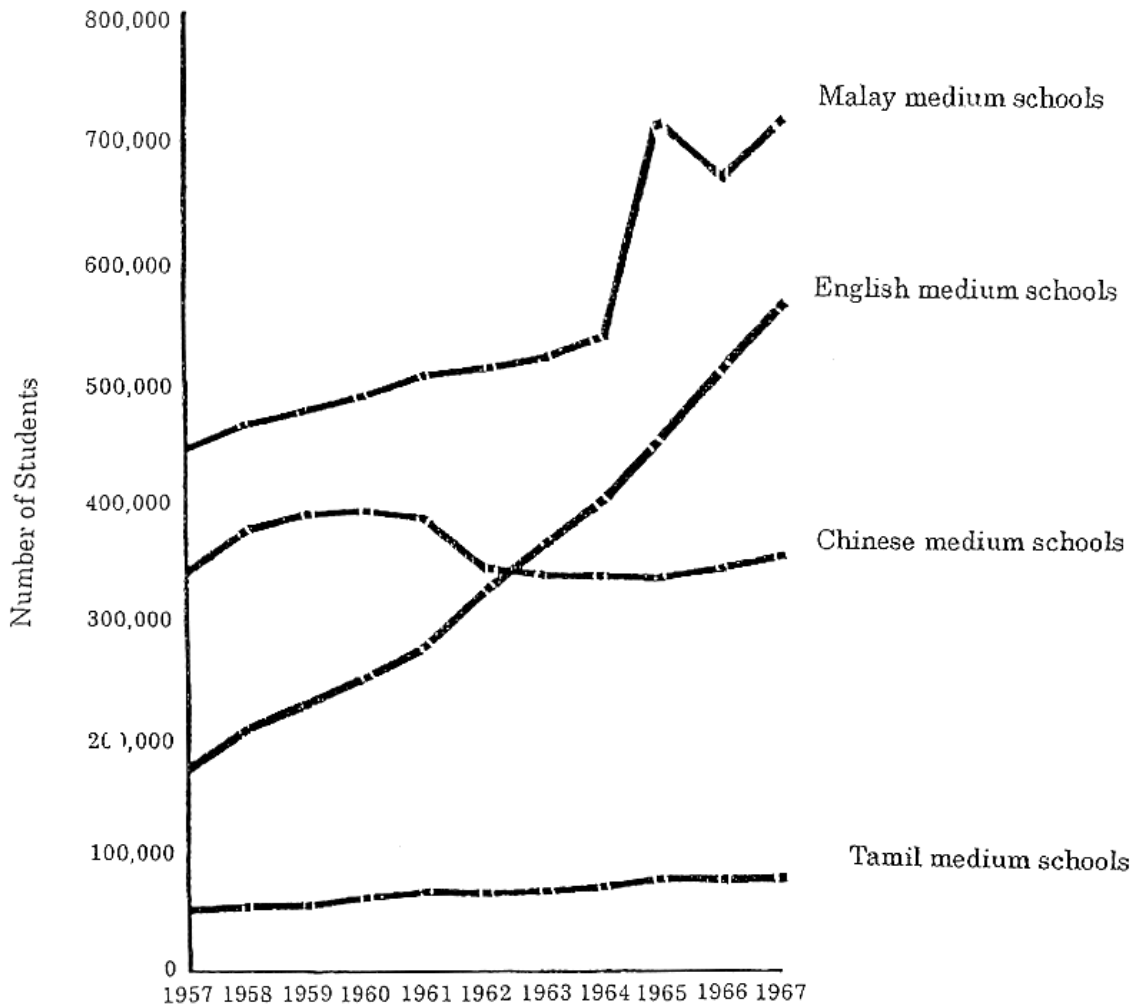
i.e. Malay national secondary schools and English national-type secondary schools, and Chinese and Tamil assisted secondary schools which had existed until then had to be converted to Malay or English national-type secondary schools.

This new system needed a transition class from primary to secondary called “Remove Class”. When students go on to the secondary stage, if they come from Malay or English primary schools, there would no problem because there were Malay and English secondary schools. However, if students who were from Chinese or Tamil primary schools wished to go on to the assisted secondary schools, they needed to study Malay or English. For these students, a “Remove Class” of mainly studying Malay for one year was established between the primary and secondary levels. Thus, the national education system in Malaysia was finally formed as shown in Figure 1.

Under the Education Act of 1961, Malaysian national education expanded in the 1960's. Figure 3 shows the change in the number of students in the government assisted primary and secondary schools from 1957 to 1967. Two points should be noted, i.e., the big increase of students at Malay-medium schools in 1965 and the increase of English-medium school students. The reason why students of Malay schools increased rapidly in 1965 was that ‘the Malayan Secondary School Entrance Examination’ (MSSEE) was abolished in 1964, and an automatic promotion system to secondary schools was introduced in 1965. The abolishment of MSSEE was recommended by the Education Committee in 1963 and was approved by the Malaysian Cabinet in 1964. This policy's purpose was to integrate all the students into the regular secondary school system and to create free universal basic education for nine years, comprising six years of primary and three years of secondary comprehensive education in fully assisted schools. In other words, the students would have an opportunity for comprehensive and pre-vocational education¹⁰.

¹⁰ Lee, Meow Fatt 1984, p.118.

**Figure 3 Student Enrolment different languages medium public schools
in the West Malaysia (1957-1967)**



Source: Ministry of Education, 'Educational Statistics of Malaysia, 1938-1967', Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1968, p

The reason for the increase in English-medium school students was that most Chinese and Tamil students who had to choose Malay or English assisted secondary schools preferred English schools, because they attached importance to practical English and urged them to go on to English secondary schools. Because of these two changes in Malay and English-medium schools, the number of students from the

primary to secondary stage increased rapidly. As Table 4 shows, the total number of students of primary education increased from 1,078,615 to 1,679,798 from the 1960's to the 1970's. On the other hand, the number of students of lower secondary education increased from 88,982 to 432,703¹¹.

Table 4 Students Enrolment of different educational levels in Public schools in the West Malaysia (1960-2000)

Educational Level	Enrolment					Average Annual Increase (%)			
	1960 ^b	1970	1980	1990	2000	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1990-2000
Primary	1,078,615	1,679,798	2,008,587	2,447,206	2,945,906	5.6	2.0	2.2	2.0
Lower secondary	88,982	432,703	812,065	942,801	1,245,523	38.6	8.8	1.6	3.2
Upper secondary	25,733	99,637	247,889	361,411	697,223	28.7	14.9	4.6	9.3
Post-secondary ^c	1,556	13,635	31,498	72,125	76,755	77.6	13.1	12.9	0.6
Tertiary ^d	8,071	14,291	50,056	124,463	336,189	7.7	25.0	14.9	17.0
Total	1,202,957	2,240,064	3,150,095	3,948,006	5,301,596	8.6	4.1	2.5	3.4

Notes: ^a – Enrolment in public and government aided institutions only.

^b – Enrolment in Peninsular Malaysia only.

^c – Includes enrolment in pre-university and matriculation programmes.

^d – Includes enrolment in teacher training colleges, polytechnics and Tunku Abdul Rahman College.

Sources: Malaysia (1976), *Third Malaysia Plan, 1976–1980*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer; Malaysia (1981), *Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981–1985*, Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department; Malaysia (1991a), *Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991–1995*, Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department; Malaysia (1996), *Seventh Malaysia Plan, 1996–2000*, Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Nasional Malaysia; Malaysia, Ministry of Education (1997), *Educational Statistics of Malaysia, 1995*, Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education; Malaysia (2000), *Malaysian Educational Statistics 2000*, Ministry of Education, Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Nasional Malaysia; Malaysia (2001a), *Eighth Malaysia Plan, 2001–2005*, Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Nasional Malaysia.

Source: Lee Kiong Hock et al., 'Education and Work: The State of Transition', Faculty of Education, University of Malaya, 2001, p.5.

2-4 The Intermediate System-Expansion Stage (3) (1970's)

In the early 1970's, the average enrollment rate of government assisted schools was 88.2 percent at the primary level and 52.2 percent at the lower secondary level, and in the early 1980's, the primary level came to be 93.6 percent and the lower secondary

¹¹ Lee, Kiong Hock et.al 2001, p.5.

came to be 81.9 percent as shown in Table 5¹². Kaneko (Chapter 2) explained this stage through the case of Japan as follows: when an enrollment rate of primary education comes to be about 90 percent, it means that “a shift to universalization” has started; however, there are still some subjects in particular in the term of a completion rate in spite of a high enrollment rate, and The government of Malaysia needs to urge people to send their children to schools by requiring them to finish compulsory education. Even if the enrollment rate is very high, if the completion rate is not high, universalization will not be attained. Compulsory education has been regulated by an international trend for Education for All and the educational policy of each country (Chapter 2).

Table 5 Students Enrolment Ratio of Different Educational Levels in Public School in the West Malaysia (1970-2000)

	Proportion Enrolled						
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Primary (6-11)	88.2	96.0	93.6	95.4	99.8	96.7	96.8
Lower secondary (12-14)	52.2	66.8	81.9	84.6	83.0	82.5	85.0
Upper secondary (15-16)	20.1	32.7	40.8	47.7	49.1	55.8	72.6
Post secondary (17-18)	3.1	8.3	9.7	13.8	18.9	23.2	16.2
Tertiary (19-24)	0.6	1.5	1.8	2.2	2.9	3.7	8.1

Notes: ^a – Enrolment in public and government-aided institutions only.

^b – Data refer to Peninsular Malaysia only.

Sources: Malaysia, Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education (various issues).

Source: Lee Kiong Hock et al, 'Education and Work: The State of Transition', Faculty of Education, University of Malaya, 2001, p.6.

In terms of the idea of compulsory education, the education system in Malaysia has been a very unique one, which is to say that primary and lower secondary came to be free as mentioned before; however, compulsory education has not yet been introduced. In the early 1970's when its enrollment rate reached a rather high level, it would have been a very good point to universalize primary and lower secondary education, but the Malaysian government did not adopt a compulsory system. On the contrary, the government decided to abolish the English-medium schools both at the

¹² Ibid. p.6.

primary and lower secondary level which were very popular among the people.

There was another internal situation behind this, which was a racial riot that happened in May 1969. National integration had been a very crucial and difficult political matter until then, and after the racial riot, the government came to be more sensitive to the issue of national integration and adopted the Bumiputera policy which gives priority to only Bumiputera including Malay and aborigines through affirmative action. English was very popular at that time; however, the Malaysian government tried to exclude the impact of English and put Malays as the only national language at the center of its national integration policy.

The conversion of English-medium schools to Malay-medium schools started from the 1st grade of primary schools in 1970. As a result, all the government-assisted English-medium primary schools were changed to Malay schools by 1975, and at the lower and upper level, all the English secondary schools were converted by 1983 one grade at a time. As a result, all the English government-aided medium schools disappeared from the Malaysian national education system in 1983 except Sarawak of East Malaysia as mentioned later.

Moreover, with the conversion of English-medium schools, the official examinations for certifications had to be changed. These official certifications were held at the end of each educational level and they were certifications of graduation and admission to a higher stage. This policy of official certifications has not been changed up to this day as Figure 1 shows. However, the medium of examinations were changed in the 1970's from Malay or English to only Malay. Because the English-medium schools disappeared from the national education system, there was no more need of English-medium examinations. The popularity of English was very great, so the government tried to make people realize the use and importance of Malay in the national education system. Their reasoning was that if the medium of examinations was Malay, people would not be able to help but study Malay to pass the examinations. From this point, all the public examinations except language subjects came to be held in Malay. This educational policy was based on Malayanization.

These Malaysian educational strategies brought a positive expansion of secondary education, which Table 5 shows. In reality, non-Malay people, i.e. Chinese and Indians complained about this change, because their mother tongues were neglected in the national education system. These educational reforms deprived them of the opportunity to take public examinations in their mother tongue and study in English-medium schools. When the Chinese and Tamil-medium secondary schools were

converted in the early 1960's, most of their secondary schools were converted to English secondary schools. However, those English secondary schools were converted to Malay secondary schools again after the 1970's. In that sense, Chinese and Tamil faced a bigger change to their secondary education compared to Malays.

In spite of this change based Malayanization in the early 1970's, the enrollment of lower secondary was at 52.2 percent, and it was brought up to 66.8 percent in 1975, to finally reach 81.9 percent in 1980. As for the upper secondary, the enrollment ratio was only 20.1 percent in 1970, but came to be 32.7 percent in 1975 and 40.8 percent in 1980¹³. This shows that there was a bigger change in the lower secondary level while the primary level went from 88.2 percent (1970) to 93.6 percent (1980).

While there was a very big increase in the enrollment rate at both the primary and the lower secondary stage, the important point that cannot be overlooked in terms of universalization is the continuation rate of students. Table 6 shows the continuation rates at the primary schools of children in Peninsular Malaysia for 1969 to 1980. According to the analysis by Lee Meow Fatt(1984), "the average drop-out rate ranged from 3.7 percent per annum in 1969 to 0.6 percent per annum in 1980, which means that about 83 percent of children over six years of age enrolled in grade 1 for the years 1967, 1968 and 1969 were still in school in the sixth year, while 17 percent had dropped out before the age of twelve. For example, 248,444 children (6 and over) were enrolled in first grade in 1967. In 1972, 214,279 of these were enrolled in sixth grade. Thus, 34,165 students had dropped out of the school system"¹⁴.

The "drop out" problem is a very crucial point when discussing the universalization of primary education. Amano (1967) discussed the systematization of compulsory education at the primary level in terms of "wastage" which consists of dropping out or staying in the same grade. Amano regarded the wastage problem as a hidden subject in the development of compulsory primary education, and it was pointed out that the wastage problem was regulated by two kinds of elements: 1) variables of an educational policy and 2) prerequisites of an educational policy, i.e., a standard of national income, an industrial structure and the nation's sense of the value of education, the type of political system, etc.¹⁵ Using these two elements, Amano clarified that there had been a wastage problem behind a remarkable increase in the enrollment rate

¹³ Lee, Kiong Hock et.al 2001.

¹⁴ Lee, Meow Fatt. 1984, pp127-128.

¹⁵ Amano 1967, pp.8-9.

and the attainment of high standards by almost all the peoples in Japan¹⁶.

Malaysia's situation in the 1970's was similar to the Japanese situation, which Amano pointed out when he stated that the problem of drop-outs among primary school children had been regarded as a small matter because of the high enrollment ratios. In Malaysia, while the enlargement of primary education in the 1970's was very big, at the same time, there was also a dropout problem, and it affected the transition between the primary and the secondary levels of education. As Table 7 shows, only 62.1 percent of children enrolled in sixth grade in 1968 were enrolled in seventh grade in 1969. This represents a drop-out rate of 37.8 percent for children 11 years old and above for that year.

This drop-out problem had been especially serious among the rural poor people but was unnoticed for the most part. The Federal Inspectorate's Report 1968 highlighted the gross inadequacies of rural Malay Primary Schools in Peninsular Malaysia and focused on the following points as factors related to dropping out: 1) under-enrollment and economic sized schools, 2) children attending those schools were from poor families, 3) poor quality school administrators and teachers, 4) higher incidence of multiple class teaching, 5) poor physical facilities and teaching aids, 6) poor supporting services in supervision and inadequate inputs of expert professional advice and guidance, and 7) the low morale of the teaching staff. The same thing was pointed out in the report of the Educational Planning and Research Division (EPRD) of the Ministry of Education in 1971, and the EPRD carried out a comprehensive study of educational wastage focusing the rural poor¹⁷.

In 1973, the Committee on the Study of School and Society presented another report on the drop-out problem in Malaysia. Based on the 1973 Drop-out Study, some characteristics were pointed out. Among them, some points which should be noticed as related to primary education are as follows:¹⁸

- 1) About one fifth of an age-group drops out at the end of primary school.
- 2) Total enrollment rates among Malay and Chinese youths were virtually the same; drop-out rates are higher among Indian youths.
- 3) In urban areas, a far higher proportion of Malays enrolled in school than

¹⁶ Ibid.p.60.

¹⁷ Lee, Meow Fatt 1984, pp.131-132.

¹⁸ Lee, Meow Fatt 1984, pp.132-135. Lee cited some points on the drop-out problem in Malaysia from 'Report of the Committee on the Study of School and Society(Drop-out Study)1973'. pp.68-74.

either Chinese or Indians; among the rural poor a slightly higher proportion of Chinese are enrolled.

- 4) Malay youths are, on the average, more highly motivated to succeed in school than either Chinese or Indian youths. Chinese youths, on the average, enjoy higher socio-economic status and urban residence, which are conducive to school retention. The higher motivation of the Malays off-sets the more favored backgrounds of the Chinese, resulting in comparable total rates of enrollment for the two communities. Indian youths are less motivated than Malays and the poorest of the three communities. Their rate of enrollment is the lowest.
- 5) Youths who have unfavorable attitudes towards science, secular education and innovation, and youths who have little interest in national and world affairs, are most likely to drop out of school.
- 6) Over three-fourths of Malaysian children enroll in a vernacular primary school. 83 percent of Malays, 75 percent of Chinese, and 51 percent of Indians enroll in vernacular primary schools.
- 7) Most of the children of the poor attend vernacular schools. The wealthy each community, particularly in urban areas, are more likely to send their children to English-medium schools.
- 8) Larger educational investments are made in the English-medium than in the vernacular media primary schools. On the average, as contrasted with all three vernacular media primary schools, English-medium schools are larger, have more of every type of educational facility, have more qualified and younger teachers who have higher morale, and make higher non-teaching expenditures per pupil per year.
- 9) In mid-1972, among age youths 11 years old and above, the enrollment rate in English-medium primary schools was 97 percent, in Malay-medium it was 88 percent, in Chinese-medium it was 87 percent, and in Tamil-medium it was 66 percent. Within the English-medium primary schools, slightly more Malays than Chinese, and more Chinese than Indians, were still enrolled.
- 10) Six percent of children completing English-medium primary schools fail to enter secondary school. Over one-fourth of the children completing vernacular primary schools terminate their schooling at that point while 91 percent of the children who start Standard I in English-medium primary

schools enter secondary school. 58 percent of those who start in a vernacular primary school enter secondary school.

- 11) Academic achievement levels and average daily attendance are higher in English-medium than vernacular media primary schools. Truancy is lower in English-medium schools.
- 12) Much of the verbal and intellectual development of children, upon which school success depends, occurs during pre-school years; poor and illiterate parents, and isolated rural environments, create an educational disadvantage prior to school entry.

These points explain well that there were three factors, namely, the difference between rural and urban areas, different mediums of instruction, and different ethnic groups which created the drop-out problems of Malaysia in the early 1970's. Among these three factors, only the difference between rural and urban areas was taken into primary consideration by the government. The Malaysian Cabinet appointed a Committee of Officials to examine the Drop-out Report 1973 and presented some recommendations. They were on 1) reallocation of educational resources, 2) compensatory educational services, 3) the role of examinations, and 4) educational complexes for small towns and rural areas¹⁹. This policy considered the difficulty of ethnic relationships in Malaysian society. At the same time, the Bumiputera policy for giving special privileges to Malays had just started in the early 1970's, and as mentioned above, after the racial riot occurred in May 1969, ethnic relationships was one of the sensitive issues which was not to be argued in public.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the conversion of English-medium schools to Malay schools started in 1971. As reported by the Drop-out Study 1973, the English-medium schools seemed to be more attractive to students. However, the Malaysian government tried to make those people's interests in English-medium schools switch to Malay schools through the conversion. This can be said to be an adroit educational strategy for the drop-out problem.

2-5 The Final System-Completion Stage (1980's up to the present)

In the 1980's, the enrollment rate of primary education in Malaysia exceeded 90 percent, and it was nearly in the final completion stage. In 1980, the enrollment rate

¹⁹ Lee, Meow Fatt 1984, pp.136-140.

was 93.6 percent and increased to 95.4 percent (1985), 99.8 percent (1990) and finally 96.8 percent in 2000. On the other hand, the Malaysian government reinforced Malayization more than before, which had been a key point in the national education policy for national integration.

As mentioned above, after the English-medium schools were completely converted to Malay-medium schools in 1983, the new curriculum of primary education was introduced into the all government assisted primary schools in the same year. As the Razak Report 1956 proposed, there had been a national common curriculum in primary and secondary education in spite of the differences of medium of language. There were two characteristics of this new curriculum. First, it attached great importance to reading and writing of Malay and arithmetic (3R's). Malay had been a compulsory subject as well as English up to that point; however, more attention was now placed on Malay as the only national language and subject. Secondly, Islamic Study came to be a compulsory subject for Muslim students and ethics for non-Muslim students. As a result, the number of Malay and arithmetic classes increased, and Islamic Study or ethics was introduced into the curriculum. This affected Chinese and Tamil-medium schools more than Malay-medium schools because they had to study Chinese or Tamil languages besides those new compulsory subjects. It is said that in order to add those subjects, Chinese and Tamil schools cut the number of English classes, which was protested by the Chinese and Indian community.

In 1985, another new primary school plan was proposed by the government, which combined three kinds of assisted primary schools in an area into one as "Integrated Schools" in order to encourage student exchange or a linkage among the different type of schools. This plan was also opposed by the non-Malay people, Chinese and Tamil because they were afraid that each school's characteristics might fade away, and in the future they might be integrated into another new school. Their opinion was that schools of each language medium should be preserved for intercultural exchange and mutual understanding because they were very important factors for social development.

In particular, the Chinese community had been very sensitive to a change in plans regarding Chinese-medium primary schools. For example, in 1987 the government tried to send a new principal who could not understand Mandarin to a Chinese-medium primary school, and the Chinese community opposed this policy strongly, because they thought that it neglected Chinese tradition and custom and were afraid that Chinese-medium primary schools would be changed to Malay-medium

schools in the near future.

The financial distribution has been another problem because the primary education finances were distributed concentrating on Malay-medium primary schools, which has been often the point at issue. For example, at the end of 1990's, 75.3 percent of all primary school students were in Malay-medium primary schools, while on the other hand 21.07 percent were in Chinese-medium primary schools, and 3.63 percent in Tamil-medium primary schools. However, looking at the distribution of educational finances in the seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000), only 2.44 percent was distributed to Chinese schools and 1.02 percent to Tamil schools, while 96.54 percent was given to Malay schools. Non-Malays have placed many objections to this unbalanced situation²⁰.

The reason why non-Malay people, in particular Chinese, have been worried about a change of non-Malay schools is that there had been an article in the Education Act 1961 on conversion of non-Malay-medium schools to Malay-medium schools. This can be done at the Minister's discretion. Nowadays, under the new Education Act 1996 by an amendment of the Education Act 1961, private educational institutions have been finally recognized officially by the government, and pre-school education came to be considered as a part of national education.

As a result, the Chinese Independent Secondary Schools (CISS)²¹ finally came to be regarded as part of the national education system. CISS had been managed by the Chinese community independently without government aids since 1962, when all the Chinese and Tamil-medium secondary schools were converted to Malay or English secondary schools. However, the certificates of CISS were not considered as official certificates by the Malaysian government, because CISS were a 6-6 system and used Chinese as their main medium of instruction while the national secondary system was a 3-2-2 system and the medium of instruction Malay. If the graduates of CISS desired to go to national universities, they had to take official certificates examinations in Malay to get official certificates. That is one reason why more than 80 percent of the Chinese students choose Chinese-medium primary schools; however about 80 percent of Chinese graduates of those primary schools choose Malay-medium national secondary schools. Most of these Chinese students go to Malay secondary schools from Chinese primary schools through Remove Class for one year. This shows that the Chinese

²⁰ Dong Jiao Zong News, February 2003.

²¹ The history and development of Chinese Independent Secondary Schools(CISS) was explained in detail in SUGIMURA, Miki, 2000.. '*Educational Policy and Minority in Malaysia: Chinese Schools under National Integration Policy*'. University of Tokyo Press.

community still attaches importance to Chinese primary schools, but are also interested in advancing to secondary and higher education. They have considered which educational route is more advantageous to satisfy their educational needs, while the government uses their desire to rise in society in order to urge them to choose the Malay government schools through national education policy.

On the other hand, it should be noted that a number of Malay people have come to be interested in Chinese primary schools, and the number of Malay students who choose Chinese primary schools instead of Malay primary schools has been increasing, though little by little. There are two main reasons why some Malay people prefer Chinese education at primary level. First, the Chinese primary schools have better records in mathematics and science compared to Malay primary schools. Secondly, Chinese has come to be a crucial and international language particularly in business accompanying a betterment of relations between China and Malaysia, and some Malay parents want their children to acquire Chinese language as well as mathematics and science. This shows that Malay people seek the efficiency and educational effects of Chinese education. On the other hand, Chinese people attach importance to Chinese education as a system for transmitting Chinese language, culture and history. Considering these two different intentions of different ethnic groups, it can be pointed out that the process of universalization at the primary level should be interpreted under consideration of those educational needs of the people to be joined there. In the case of Malaysia as a multiethnic society, the educational needs of each ethnic group are very important factors there and it should be noted that the significances of different language medium schools can be decided by those educational intentions of ethnic groups.

This seems to be a different direction from Malayanization, and nowadays, there can be seen another mobility on primary education, which is a change in the policy towards the medium of instruction by introduction of English at the primary level. As mentioned earlier, the Malaysian government has adopted a national education system based on Malayanization, and the main medium of instruction of public schools has been Malay. However, the government decided to change the medium of instruction in mathematics and science at primary schools from Malay to English in 2003, which was implemented in order to improve students' proficiency in English. The English-medium schools used to be from the primary to higher level in Malaysia, however as mentioned above, they were converted to Malay schools from 1971.

The main reason for this revival of English as a medium of instruction can be

analyzed as follows: First, the usefulness and importance of English as a universal language, in particular in mathematics and science. Secondly, English is also very useful to develop Malaysia's international strategy through educational and cultural exchanges by reforming higher education.

As for this new policy for the medium of instruction, it seems to be useful to universalization because the general usefulness of English is recognized widely. The Indian community has consented to it, but the Chinese community's response has been very sensitive. One of the Chinese community members, the United Chinese Schools Committees Association of Malaysia (UCSCAM: Dong Zong in Chinese) said that the teaching of science and mathematics in English has weakened the role of Chinese schools in the vernacular education system. They have been worried about this change which might cause yet another conversion of Chinese-medium primary schools to English-medium primary schools. The Chinese people also recognize the usefulness and importance of English; however, they assert that the significance of different language-medium schools can be realized only when they can protect their vernacular languages, history and cultural heritage through education. Another conflict can be seen also due to the national education policy. For these reasons, UCSCAM endorsed a four-point resolution: 1) intensify English lessons in schools, 2) review the negative effects of teaching science and mathematics in English, 3) revert to teaching science and mathematics in the student's mother tongue, and 4) urge all political parties and groups to support mother tongue education²².

3. Universalization of Primary Education in East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak)

As mentioned above, the universalization of primary education in Malaysia has been developing in a close relationship with Malaysianization, which has been essential for national integration. In that sense, the different situations in Borneo Island called East Malaysia where Sabah and Sarawak states are situated should be noted. Sabah and Sarawak states have different development processes from the other eleven states in West Malaysia situated in the Malay Peninsula. They used to be British Borneo, not

²²<http://www.malaysiakini.com>, Dec 10, 2005. According to this site, the Chinese community has worried so much about this mobility to convert Chinese-medium schools to English-mediumEnglish-mediumEnglish-medium schools that they got together all the Chinese members of the "600 groups" and over 4,000 individuals to ask the Malaysian government to review this policy on December 10, 2005.

British Malaya, and they were incorporated into the formation of Malaysia in 1963. They are known for various minority groups called Orang Asli, and in the case of Sabah, the proportion of Bumiputera is 80.5 percent, but 65.3 percent of them are not Malays. In the case of Sarawak, Bumiputera is 72.9 percent and 49.8 percent of them are minorities, who have different languages and religions from Malay and Islam²³.

For that reason, the government of Malaysia has implemented the national education policy differently there. For example, the Education Act 1961, which had been based on national education system up to the mid- 1990's, was extended to the states of Sabah and Sarawak in 1976. In 1962, as mentioned earlier, school fees were abolished in primary schools and universal free education was made available to all children, and the entrance examination into the secondary school was also abolished in 1964, so universal education was extended from six to nine years in West Malaysia. However, in East Malaysia, nine years of universal education was finally realized in Sarawak in 1974 and in Sabah in 1977 by the abolishment of the examinations. Moreover, the conversion of medium of instruction from English to Malay was implemented differently. In West Malaysia and Sabah, English ceased to be the main medium of instruction at the primary level in 1975, at the secondary level in 1982 and in university in 1983. However, in Sarawak, the conversion of the medium of instruction was implemented in 1977²⁴. It was in 1992 in Sarawak and in 1997 in Sabah when Universiti Malaysia Sarawak and Universiti Malaysia Sabah were established, while the University of Malaya became a separate autonomous university in 1962 in West Malaysia.

The change of student enrollment in primary education in Sarawak and Sabah is as shown in Fig.8, and the secondary education in Fig.9. Comparing these two figures, one should focus on the expansion in the period between 1977 and 1987. A big expansion can be seen in both the primary and secondary stages in Sabah and Sarawak. This can be seen as a result of the introduction of nine-year universal education by connecting primary and lower secondary education.

In spite of this educational development in East Malaysia, the attendance rate of primary education has been lower than West Malaysia. For example, the percentage of the population aged 6 and over who never attended schools including the pre-school category in 1980 was 37 percent in Sarawak and 39 percent in Sabah, compared to the Malaysian average of 23 percent. Ten years later in 1991 the situation was better, i.e.,

²³ Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department of Statistics Malaysia) 2002, p.1.

²⁴ Educational Planning and Research Division, Ministry of Education Malaysia 2001, pp.8-13.

Sarawak was 24 percent and Sabah was 29 percent compared to Malaysian average of 16 percent²⁵.

The same situation can be seen in the literacy rate. In 1991, the average literacy rate of Malaysia among those 10 years of age and over who had ever attended schools was 85 percent. On the other hand, Sabah indicated 72 percent and Sarawak 76 percent as Table 10 shows²⁶. However, as for Sarawak's case, comparing the literacy rate in 1970 of 38 percent to its 55 percent rate in 1980, it can be said that there was a big development²⁷. Also, the literacy rate came to be 81.6 percent in 2000 in Sarawak, which consists of urban area 91.7 percent and local area 72.1 percent²⁸. Sabah and Sarawak are still behind West Malaysia, however its educational development can be seen and it can not be overlooked for national integration and development.

4. Some Factors of Universalization of Primary Education in Malaysia

It follows from what has been said thus far that the universalization of Malaysia primary education can be analyzed by a framework consisting of three main stages, i.e., an initial system introduction stage, an intermediate system-expansion stage and a final system-completion stage. At the same time, it can be pointed out that there are some factors which have affected the process of universalization as follows.

First, the educational policy before World War II at the initial system introduction stage has affected the process of forming a national education system after independence, and it also has influenced the different educational needs of ethnic groups. There were two branches of the educational system, one for Malay people and the other for the various ethnic groups such as Chinese and Indian people under the British colonial government. While Malay people were given educational opportunities at the primary level only, Chinese and Indian people were not subject to national educational policies, so they were free to develop their own educational activities independently. This dual educational policy of the British colonial government urged the Malay people to go to Malay-medium vernacular schools, but at the same time, it also produced a social difference between the Malay people and other Chinese and Indians who had their own education not only at the primary but also the secondary

²⁵ Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department. of Statistics Malaysia) 1995, p.119.

²⁶ *ibid.* p.113.

²⁷ Jabatan Perangkaan (Department. of Statistics Malaysia) 1986, p.190.

²⁸ Jabatan Perangkaan (Department of Statistics Malaysia) 2004, p.274.

level, which urged the Chinese and Indians' to advance. This difference has been noted in particular by the Malay people after independence in formulating the national education system.

Secondly, due to the social differences among the ethnic groups caused by the colonial policy, the necessity of national integration has always been a focus, and Malayazation based on the Malay language and the religion of Islam came to be a pillar of the national education system in order to make up the differences between the Malay people and the others. This direction had been already oriented from before achieving independence in the 1950's when the intermediate system-expansion stage started, and it was fixed by the Educational Act 1961, which basically regulated Malaysian national education after that point and up to the present. In the 1970's, Malayanization was strengthened as a policy issue by the priority policy for Malay people (Bumiputera Policy). As a result, the universalization of primary education in Malaysia was characterized by Malayanization, though the public primary schools that were taught in different mediums continued to exist.

Thirdly, it can be noted that the universalization of education in Malaysia has a very distinct orientation as mentioned and a free education system, which was introduced in the early 1960's during the early stage of universalization, had promoted an educational expansion. As for the Malay schools, free education was introduced by the British colonial government and the other language schools came to be free at the primary and lower secondary level in the 1960's. In particular, the realization of nine-years of free education by the introduction of an automatic promotion system from the primary level to lower secondary level in 1965 spurred the educational expansion in not only the primary but also the lower secondary level. This free education policy was implemented in combination with Malayanization in the national education system, and this linkage came to be a very effective strategy to promote universalization in Malaysia.

On the other hand, the Malaysian government has not adopted compulsory education. This is a unique and different point from the other cases of universalization. The Malaysian government has permitted parents and students to choose a primary school in the language medium that they wish. This characteristic can be interpreted as a means of promoting voluntary educational needs according to the people's initiative without forcing them to enter schools. This is also a strategy to avoid some conflicts which can be caused by Malayanization in education.

However, fourthly, there is still public criticism towards the national

educational policy, in particular regarding Malayanization and the promotion of multiculturalism among the non-Malay people. Chinese people have been very sensitive to changes at Chinese-medium primary schools and cautious about the introduction of new curriculums for primary schools and the “Integrated Schools” plan of primary schools because they are worried that Chinese schools may be converted to Malay schools according to an article in the Education Act 1961. This shows that there is still some disagreement about which primary education systems should be adopted in the multi-ethnic society of Malaysia, though the enrollment rate of primary education has risen to more than 96 percent.

Conclusion

As for the final completion of universalization at the primary level, Kaneko (Chapter 2) said that it is indeed a long-term complicated process. As mentioned above, the process of universalization in Malaysia is in the same process with a final completion close at hand. In Malaysia there is not unanimous agreement that Malayanization, which has been the foundation of universalization, ought to be promoted. In this sense, while Malaysia has a very high enrollment rate at the primary level, it has suffered from a dilemma arising between universalization and Malayanization. That is one reason why it has nearly completed achievement of universalization, and yet no end is in sight.

Thus, it can be pointed out that universalization has two meanings. One is the goal of “Education for All”, which is very common subject for every nation’s development. The other meaning is as a strategic tool of national integration in a multi-ethnic country. The former one is a universal scale, while the latter is on a national scale. Considering the case of Malaysia, if the former one is given great importance through Malayanization, it might cause an ethnic conflict between Malays and the other ethnic groups. In that sense, it is very important to make a balance between universalization and the national integration problem.

For the reasons above, when universalization is being discussed as a policy issue, not only the quantity but also the quality of education should be taken into consideration. In case of Malaysia, there are some conflicts among ethnic groups on national integration affairs besides economic and political conditions, which has regulated a primary education system. The point to be discussed there is that the

educational system, curriculum and contents should meet the educational needs of each ethnic group.

This point reflects the wastage problem of drop outs in the 1970's, the local characteristics of Sabah and Sarawak , the non-Malay people's needs for vernacular education, and the changing policy on English-medium instruction in primary education since 2003 while Malayanization has continued to be promoted through universalization. These cases show that even if universalization in educational quantity has been achieved, there is still a possibility that a new conflict may arise if educational needs and a curriculum to protect cultures and languages are not guaranteed.

From what has been discussed above, it can be concluded that in a multi-ethnic society, universalization of primary education as a part of national education should reflect each ethnic group's educational needs, which in turn should be a policy issue.

References

- Amano, Ikuo (1967). "A study on Wastage of Compulsory Primary Education in modern Japan" in *'Education and Modernization'*. The University of Tokyo Press. 1997. (reprinted) pp.7-90.
- Dong Jiao Zong News. February, 2003. 'Malaysian Education System'. Educational Planning and Research Division, Ministry of Education Malaysia(2001). *'Education in Malaysia: A Journey to Excellence'*.
- Government of the Federation of Malaya(1951a). *'Report of the Committee on Malay Education. 1951 (Barnes Report)'*. Council Paper No.23 of 1951. Kuala Lumpur.
- Government of the Federation of Malaya(1951b). *'Report of a Mission invited by the Federation Government to Study the Problems of the Education of Chinese in Malaya . 1951 (Fenn-Wu Report)'*. Kuala Lumpur.
- Government of the Federation of Malaya(1956). *'Report of the Education Committee of 1956 (Razak Report)'*. Kuala Lumpur. Government Press.
- Government of the Federation of Malaya(1960) *'Report of the Education Review Committee 1960 (Rahman Talib Report)'*. Kuala Lumpur. Government Press.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department of Statistic Malaysia)(1986). *'Siaran Perangkaan Tahunan(Annual Statistical Bulletin) Sarawak 1985'*. Kuching. Sarawak.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department. of Statistics Malaysia) (1995). *'Laporan am Banci Penduduk 1991(General Report of the Population Census). Vo.1'*. Kuala Lumpur.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department of Statistics Malaysia) (2002).*'Banci Penduduk dan Prumahan Malaysia (Population and Housing Census of Malaysia) 2000; Ciri-Ciri Pendidikan dan Sosial Penduduk (Education and Social Characteristics of the Population)'*. Kuala Lumpur.
- Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia (Department of Statistic Malaysia) (2004). *'Sarawak Buku Tahunan Perangkaan (Yearbook of Statistics 2004'*. Negri Sarawak.
- Lee, Meow Fatt(1984). *'The Drop-out Problem in Primary Education: Peninsular Malaysia'* In UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific. *'The Drop-out Problem in Primary Education: Some Case Studies'*. Bangkok. pp.118-161.
- Lee, Kiong Hock et.al.(2001). *'Education and Work: The State of Transition'*. Faculty of Education. University of Malaya.

- Ministry of Education Malaysia(1968). '*Educational Statistics of Malaysia. 1938 to 1967*'. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Ministry of Education Malaysia (1978). '*Educational Statistics of Malaysia. 1974-1975*'. The Educational Plannning and Research Division
- Ministry of Education Malaysia (1982). '*Educational Statistics of Malaysia. 1976-1979*'. The Educational Plannning and Research Division
- Ministry of Education Malaysia(1989) '*Education in Malaysia*'. Educational Planning and Research Division.
- Ministry of Education Malaysia (2001). '*Education in Malaysia: A Journey to Excellence*'. Educational Planning and Research Division.
- Sugimura, Miki(2000). '*Educational Policy and Minority in Malaysia: Chinese Schools under National Integration Policy*'. University of Tokyo Press.
- WONG, Hoy Kee Francis and EeTiang Hong(1971). '*Education in Malaysia*'. Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd.