1979

Illich'S "Learning Web Theory" and its Implications for Development: For the Rural Regions of Malaysia

Colette Frances Kung
Loyola University Chicago

ILLICH'S "LEARNING WEB THEORY" AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT FOR THE RURAL REGIONS OF MALAYSIA

by

Colette Frances Kung

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May

1979

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Rosemary V. Donatelli, my director, for her continued interest, close supervision and valuable suggestions in the writing of this dissertation; Dr. Gerald L. Gutek, my principal instructor, for his idea from the onset, and for his penetrating and valuable critique of this project; and Dr. John M. Wozniak, Dean of the School of Education of Loyola University, for serving as a consistent model and source of inspiration as well as for his moral support and encouragement during my entire student life at the University.

To my former professors, colleagues and staff of the School of Education, I wish to add a special note of thanks for their encouragement and service.

To the Graduate School of Loyola University, the Graduate Assistanship Committee Members, and in particular, Reverend Father Matthew Creighton, S.J., Dr. Jasper J. Valenti, Dr. Thomas J. Bennett and others; I wish to express my thanks for approval of my Assistantship and my very sincere appreciation for their assistance.

I would also like to mention my two very special friends--Sister Margaret Traxler, SND, for her continuous

encouragement and inspiration throughout my stay in Chicago; and Sister Mary Constantine, SSJ, (deceased) for her deep interest, maternal concern and encouragement during my initial years of student life and adjustment.

To my husband, John E. De Roule, for his interest and persistent urging that I complete this piece of writing, I would like to say a special word of thanks.

VITA

The author, Colette Frances Kung, is the daughter of Patrick Kung Poe Seng and Poh Guat Kooi. She is a native of Malaysia and of Chinese parentage. She was born August 28, 1935.

She completed her elementary and secondary education at St. Nicholas Convent and graduated with the Overseas Senior Cambridge Certificate in 1954.

From 1959-1961 she studied at Notre Dame College of Education, Liverpool, England, received the Teacher's Diploma in Education, majoring in Geography and Crafts. After returning to Malaysia, she taught eight years, served as Assistant Principal for four years and Principal for two years in the Secondary Schools of her country.

In 1969, she spent eight months at the East Asian Pastoral Institute, in Manila, Philippines, where she studied with missionaries from twenty-six countries.

In August 1972, she was granted an assistantship from Loyola University of Chicago where she graduated with a Master's degree in Guidance and Counseling in June, 1974. She continued her studies for the Ph.D., majoring in the History of Education and with a minor in Documentary Research. In May, 1979, she was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education.

PREFACE

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore Illich's "Learning Web" theory and its implications for development for the rural regions of Malaysia. This documentary research examines the practical application of the "networks of learning" proposed by Ivan Illich to the Malaysian situation. In his book, Deschooling Society, Illich devised four networks of learning which he calls the learning web theory, as alternative approaches to learning outside of the traditional school system.

Chapter I of this dissertation presents an overview of the life and works of Ivan Illich and the author's justification for selecting Illich's theory. The terms "development" and "under-development" are explainas as they relate to the process of development and modernization.

Chapter II gives the reader an insight into the socio-economic, political, and religious nature of the country. It describes the ethnic composition of the population and the occupational categories of the rural inhabitants of Malaysia.

The problems faced by the rural communities of Malaysia are depicted in Chapter III. It exposes the occupational hazards and other related problems encountered

by rural people. It also presents the goals and objectives of the national and international development programs and projects launched by the Government through the Five Year Plans.

In Chapter IV, the focus is on the "learning web" theory proposed by Illich in Deschooling Society. Illich categorizes the four approaches to learning as: reference services to educational objects, skill exchange, peer-matching, and reference services to educators-at-large. These categories of services and learning outcomes are explored for their practical application to alternatives to schooling, as they relate to the rural situation in Malaysia.

Chapter V examines the cultural and religious barriers to the process of development and modernization as they exist in rural Malaysia. It offers suggestions for the implementation of Illich's deschooling theory and considers how human development can be an asset to the modernization process.

Chapter VI briefly summarizes and concludes the different aspects treated in the study of Illich's proposal for non-formal education. It is hoped that Illich's theory of human development and his concept of learning would be practical and applicable to the rural communities of Malaysia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF IVAN ILLICH: AN OVERVIEW

Ivan Illich was born in Vienna, Austria, on September 4, 1926, of a Dalmantian father, who was a Catholic, and a Jewish mother, who was a German Lutheran. In 1945 Illich graduated from the Gregorian University in Rome, and by 1951 he obtained his doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Salzburg. After his ordination in 1951, Illich was assigned to the Puerto Rican Community in New York City.[1] With a written fluency in six languages and speaking double that number, Illich learned Spanish within two weeks. He served the Puerto Rican parish from 1951 to 1956, where he came face to face with the problems inherent in "Americanizing" the Puerto Rican immigrants whose cultural differences the Church had failed to take into account. In Celebration of Awareness,[2] Illich describes the problems these immigrants face in comparison with immigrants from other countries. Illich saw the effects of poverty and alienation of the immigrants.

---

[1] Who's Who in America, 39th ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1970), p. 1555.

[2] Ivan Illich, Celebration of Awareness (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 29-40.

Impressed by his work among the Puerto Ricans in New York, Cardinal Spellman appointed Illich as Vice Rector to the University of Santa Maria, Ponce, Puerto Rico, in 1956. From 1956 to 1960, Illich organized intensive programs of initiation for parish priests and social workers to the Puerto Ricans. Unfortunately, he was ordered to leave the Island by Bishop McManuas for not supporting the Catholic political party formed to oppose the birth control programs sponsored by the local government of Puerto Rico.[3]

Undaunted by the expulsion from the Island of Puerto Rico, Illich, with two supporters, Miss Foedora Srancoff and Brother Gerry Morris set up the Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexico. This Center, under the patronage of Mendex Areeo, one of Mexico's liberal bishops, was established for the formation of missionaries preparing themselves to work among the people of Latin America. It was supposed to be a secular, free university, but it evolved into a conference center for discussions between Catholics and Marxists on revolutionary strategy. It also published and taught Spanish efficiently.[4] Illich describes the aim of the Center as the "de-Yankification"[5] of North Americans.

---

[3]Christopher Price, "Illich, the Deschooler," New Statesman 82 (October 22, 1971): 539.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

His intent, once these missionaries were there to learn Spanish, was to persuade them to return home and work among the poor of North America. He felt that foreign missionaries would do more harm than good, despite their good intentions, and that the imposition of a foreign, institutionalized Church would hamper the autonomous, personal faith of Latin Americans.

The clash with the Church authorities came when Illich blankly refused to accept Pope Paul's encyclical on birth control, Humanae Vitae, in 1967. In the following year Illich was summoned to Rome to answer questions on his teaching, his attitude to the Church and even his friendship with the Mexican poet Octavio Paz. Illich then decided to abstain from priestly action and continue his work at Cuernavaca. When a ban was passed in January, 1969, forbidding priests and religious to attend CIDOC, Illich wrote to his friend, Mendez Atceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, reaffirming his commitment to work for the local com-unity and his belief in the humanistic role of the Church.[6]

Since its foundation in 1961, the Center for Intercultural Documentation had been a focal location where missionaries, engineers, professionals, and other students sttended seminars and learned Spanish. In 1970 a seminar,

---

[1]James Hamilton-Patterson, "How Does the Human Race?" Nova (March, 1975), pp. 36-39.

"Deschooling Society" was held which attracted a group of Americans; among them was Paulo Freire, Paul Goodman, Edgar Friendenberg, John Holt and Everett Reimer, who shared Illich's views that schools were responsible for spreading conformity and alienation through their stifling curricula and bureaucratic regimentation. But critics of Illich who observed how the Language School was conducted at CIDOC, with daily drills and memorization, were opposed to the Language Program. Despite this criticism, as many as one hundred Language Centers have been patterned after CIDOC's Language Program. To Illich, the Center was a meeting place where people of similar interests could exchange views, where seminars were structured encounters, where research materials were means to be used by those interested in particular projects, where language classes served those who wanted to learn Spanish speedily and correctly without being bothered with credit hours or examinations.

In its final seminar on economics, in mid-January, 1976, participants came from as far as Western Europe, the United States, Mexico, Iran, Australia and Indonesia. The general concludion was that modern institutions including schools, transportations, and health services were counter-productive. Modern man has been trapped by his dependence on schools, medical services, and high speed

transportation which rob him of his initiative and creativity.

Before it closed its doors, the Center for Intercultural Documentation had, by January 31, 1976, served 13,000 students from all walks of life. The earnings of the Language School were used for research, documentation and publication. All CIDOC's files, documentary collection on social change, the Catholic Church and Latin American culture were presented to El Colegio de Mexico. Illich's letter to the author of this dissertation, written on August 7, 1977, states:

> CIDOC has been closed two years ago, after having fulfilled its purposes. I never had a position in CIDOC, paid my $100 registration like any other participant from a rich country.[7]

Since the publication of Deschooling Society, in 1970, Illich's writings have drawn critics, commentators and scholars from many countries: England, France, Germany and the United States. In Celebration of Awareness, Illich questioned the church's stand regarding the demands of the future. Will the church continue to be an institution keeping guard over its tradition, preaching a type of religion which leaves the status quo unquestioned or will the Church join the vanguard of social change? This is a dilemma the leaders of the church will

---

[7]Ivan Illich to Frances Kung, letter, Cuernavaca, Mexico, August 7, 1977.

have to resolve. Illich does not want to see the church initiate direct social or political change. This is the task of the lay organizations for the church has no competence in this area:

> I believe that the specific task of the Church in the modern world is the Christian celebration of the experience of change. In order to fulfill this task the church will have to renounce progressively "the power to do good" she now has, and see this power pass into the hands of a new type of institution: the voluntary and ever contraversial embodiment of secular religion.[8]

The church is not to stand aside and not show its interest in the affairs of the world, but the church can "teach us to love change because it is enriching and joyful, and not just because it is useful."[9] In his view, Illich wants to see the Christian take responsibility for change and work towards the betterment of society, so as to share the benefits of change. Man has to be involved in change to intensify his insight into his reason for being alive and happy.

Both in Deschooling Society and in Celebration of Awareness, Illich speaks of the ill-effects of institutionalized schooling. Be they private or public, whether in rich or poor countries, schools are divisive, status-conferring and discriminatory. It is Illich's contention that schools do not help a person discover his abilities,

---

[8]Ivan Illich, Celebration of Awareness (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970), p. 98.

[9]Ibid., p. 101.

but allocate him to a fixed position in society by demanding that he passes examinations and be certified. There are more frustrated drop-outs in society than there are satisfied achievers. As a result, the sharply delineated educational pyramid is structured in which each person is categorized by his social status. The discriminatory classification of achievers and non-achievers in the educational ladder benefits relatively few in number.

In Tools For Conviviality, Illich questions the basic direction of modern technology, emphasizing that some kind of limits be placed on the production of commodities and a sequential scale be allocated to service deliveries. A convivial society is one in which the individual is allowed to be creative and autonomous in dealing with the environment. Illich believes that individual freedom is "an intrinsic value"[10] to be cherished and safe-guarded. Man must be the master of the tools he uses and not be subjugated to the demands of modern technological devices. Modern society has allocated power and decision making to specialists and professional elites, where the few govern and control the majority. Such tools as the automobile, mass production, compulsory schooling, and medicine can be more effectively utilized for the benefit of the individual, rather than have the individual

---

[10]Ivan Illich, Tools For Conviviality (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 11.

subjugated to them. It is understood that certain tools must be under the jurisdiction of professionals, but there has been an over-emphasis on the extent of control and its effects on the individual. In education, health, and even in architecture, the individual has little or no say except to comply to institutional demands. Priority of production and progress over individual or collective welfare can lead to destruction of modern society unless "a careful analysis of the structure of tools" is made on the basis of promoting conviviality--social relations, interdependence, individual freedom and creative use of energy.[11]

The next denunciation of modern society which Illich makes in Energy and Equity, concerns the way energy is squandered by those who have power and money at their command. Apart from increasing pollution and social inequality, modern man's search for speedier means of transportation is counter-productive in that it uses excessive time, energy and money getting to and from work by the extensive use of motor vehicles. Man is greatly immobilized by more cars and jet planes. Illich thinks it is more feasible and humane to move about at a less rapid speed, so that everyone gets a chance to go where he wants to.

---

[11]Barry Russel, "Ivan Illich: The Convivial Catholic Prophet," Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 81 (March, 1974): 6-7.

The use of the bicycle, it seems to Illich, is the best and least cumbersome vehicle on the road, especially in the rural areas. Illich criticizes the structure of modern society which allows the man with money to command the kind of transportation he wishes to use, regardless of inconvenience to others. A price tag is put on time, social status and the type of transportation a person can afford. As a result, the demand for more speed in transportation generates greater inequality.[12]

In December, 1974, Illich launched another harsh critique of the medical profession in Medical Nemesis. In this work he asserts that modern health services are counter to promoting good health. Increasing the number of hospital beds and health clinics will not improve healthy lives. Proper housing conditions and hygiene can lessen the threat of disease and improve health more than the use of any "miracle" drugs. In fact many unwarranted injuries are "doctor induced" as Illich points out by the term "iatrogenesis" which comes from two words "iatros" the Greek word for "physician" and "genesis" meaning origin. According to Illich, through the intervention of the doctor, the use of incorrect diagnosis, unnecessary surgery and dangerous drugs, the medical profession has

---

[12]Barry Russel, "Give us the tools . . . but give us the right ones: The convivial catholic prophet," Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 81 (March, 1974): 6-7.

reached epidemic proportions. It is a "sick-making enterprise."[13]

Illich believes that with the structure of most institutions, the medical profession has deprived man of autonomy over his own physical being. A person can no longer consider himself ill without being certified by the doctor. As a patient he is reduced to a mere object at the mercy of the doctor's diagnosis. People are divided into categories by the medical profession--those who may drive, those who should be exempt from work, those who must be confined and those who are equipped to do certain professions and those who are barred from some jobs because the medical experts say so. Illich is of the opinion that unless people have equal access to medical care, special expensive equipment which is costly should be heavily taxed; those who purchase such exclusive privileges should also be heavily taxed, since they are using doctors trained at public expense. Illich is very insistent on equality of opportunity and access to the use of material equipment.

Although Illich has encountered some critics, he also has some admirers. To some, Illich has a special ability for focusing on key issues and has entered deeply into different ways of thinking on schooling, the influ-

---

[13]Ivan Illich, Medical Nemesis (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976), p. 77.

ence of technology and science, the rapid modernization of life, and the effects of these on man. To some, Illich is a radical humanist, criticizing the bureaucracy of institutions that rob man of his freedom and creativity. Illich admired the work of Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator who could teach illiterate adults to ready within a few days by working with material of political significance to them. This gave rise to Illich's contention that much learning could be done by a less structured and less expensive method than that used by institutionalized schooling. Although Illich condemns schools as counter-productive, he does not say that to learn a foreign language or mathematics is not a laborious work or that one has no need to master the skill or that no one is going to need these skills.

The second section of this chapter will present the concept of development as it relates or applies to human and natural resources of the country. It will attempt to examine the term development, the motivation necessary for change and the processes involved in human development. It will present examples of government projects aimed at development. Finally, reference will be made of Illich's idea for the advancement of human growth.

In the September 15, 1975 issue of Newsweek is found a division of countries into First, Second, Third,

and Fourth World categories, which places Malaysia under the Third World nations. Third World nations are considered developing countries and Fourth World countries are the under-developed regions. To be classified as a developing country means to be in a situation where a nation is forced to rely on its natural and human resources to enable it to emerge from its economic instability. Moreover, it is put in "a position of having to beg for assistance," says a Sudanese economist, Abdul Rahim Dirar.[14] What stands in need is increasing the earning power and standard of living of its people.

Developing countries that have suddenly become rich due to the discovery of oil and those whose leaders have become more vocal in the United Nations Assemblies have made demands along the following guidelines presented in the two General Assembly meetings of United Nations of 1974:

> That the prices paid for Third World commodities be raised and that these prices be annexed to the cost of manufactured goods the less-developed countries must pay.
>
> That the Third World nations be granted preferential tariffs for any imported manufactured goods.
>
> That foreign companies and holdings be subject to nationalization or expropriation on any terms decided upon by the developing nations, despite international law.

---

[14]"To Have and Have Not," Newsweek, September 15, 1975, p. 38.

> That outstanding debts of the poorer Third World and Fouth World countries be sharply reduced or cancelled.
>
> That foreign aid be increased and more technology be provided to Third World nations at bargain prices.
>
> That Third World should be given a larger voice in decisions of World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and should receive a greater share of Special Drawing Rights--the "paper gold" that allows nations to buy hard currencies for business transactions.[15]

The industrial nations reacted by promising to uphold the demands of the Third World but these promises are not always kept. Only when the oil embargo hit the industrial countries, did they begin to make conciliatory proposals such as promising loans to help Third World countries sustain their development programs; they proposed for the poorer nations that these loans be converted to grants, suggested the establishment of an international trust to draw new investments to developing countries, and proposed the formation of an institute to assist developing countries with industrial technology research and a center for the exchange of technological information. All these suggestions and promises do not mean that the developing countries will suddenly become powerful policy makers. The First World still holds 80 percent of the world's supply of industrial raw materials. Except for oil, they trade mostly among themselves. The poor, especially the poorest of the developing nations, have not

---

[15]Ibid., p. 40.

benefited from the windfall of the oil producers. In fact oil prices have affected the poor countries severely. Added to inflation, internal warfare within some developing countries has devastated their human resources. The task of running the world economy and "the survival of the fittest" appear to be in the hands of the politicians.

Social scientists have classified the world into "advanced," "more or less developed," "developing," or "under-developed." Development in general is defined as any structural change in human society.[16] While some changes are visible, others go on unnoticed, with or without interruption. The theory of development deals with all aspects of structural changes taking place in society whether these changes are positive or negative. The advancement of a country from one stage of development to another depends on the amount of knowledge of science and technology and the application of such knowledge to the natural resources it has available within its grasp. Apart from geographical, geological and physical advantages, human resources and talents await stimulation and motivation for advancement.

If Malaysia has been considered as one of the developing countries, it is due to the historical process

---

[1]Thornton Kristenson, Development in Rich and Poor Countries: A General Theory with Statistical Analyses (New York: Praeger Publication, 1974), p. xv.

and in part to the intervention of the West. Malaysia has enjoyed some degree of prosperity because of the natural resources and its establishment as one of the leading exporters of natural rubber and tin among the countries of the British Commonwealth. Compared to the neighboring islands of Indonesia, West Malaysia has the advantage of good communication facilities, mail service, water supply and electricity, and a well established line of townships that arose due to mining and other industries. Although the principal natural resources of tin and rubber were exploited since the British colonial period, much of what still stands as signs of prosperity are partially the result of the opening up of the country for purposes of trade. The concentration of development was focused on the West Coast of the Peninsula while the East Coast and the greater part of Borneo, now divided into Sarawak and Sabah which have been part of Malaysia since September, 1963, while the rest of the Island belongs to Indonesia, except for the tiny sultanate of Brunei, an independent state, have been neglected. The eleven states of West Malaysia and the two states of East Malaysia are separated by 800 miles of water. On the Peninsula itself, only the West Coast can be said to be better developed while the rest of the area is dotted with villages (kampongs) and fishing stations.

Placed within the regions of South East Asia,

Malaysia, since its Independence in 1957, had made visible progress with its Five Year Plans launched by the Government to offset economic imbalance by vast and ambitious schemes of land utilization, agricultural and industrial development, and through its ideological objective of social integration, more equitable distribution of income and opportunities for national unity and progress.

The Second Malaysia Plan (1971-1975)[17] or the New Economic Policy has as its goals the following:

1. to eradicate poverty at all levels, irrespective of race;
2. to restructure the Malaysian society so as to correct racial and economic imbalance (to create a dynamic and just society);
3. to increase employment opportunities, reduce identification of race with economic function;
4. to bring modernization to the rural areas; to bring about rapid and balanced growth of urban activities by creating a Malay commercial and industrial community in all categories and at all levels of operation so that the Malays and other indigenous people will become full partners in all aspects of the economic life of the nation.[18]

At first glance the Economic Policy offers basic promises of equality of opportunities to everyone, but it is shaped by the over-riding need to promote national unity. It hopes to deal with the social and economic problems, to rectify past neglect and speed up development.

---

[17]Mohammad Daud Bin Abdul Rahman, Second Malaysia Plan (Kuala Kumpur: Government Press, 1971), p. 1.

[18]Ibid., pp. 1-6.

The Economic Policy is aimed principally at the Malays and the indigenous people so as to bring them up to the level of economic prosperity enjoyed by the other racial groups in the country, especially the urbanites. Although reports show some degree of achievement in the agricultural and industrial sectors, not all goals have been satisfactorily realized. What is needed is a deeper understanding of what the government plans are all about. The basis of achieving results will come about when the people are motivated to change. This leads to the next aspect of development--the motivation for change.

The degree to which development of natural and human resources can take place stems from the factors that motivate change and the desire for progress. Once the basic drive for food and survival needs of man are satisfied, then only will the aspirations to explore beyond the confines of his immediate surroundings begin to take on importance. Exposure to outside influences may make the individual seek the development of mental, physical and moral capacities and urge him to proceed beyond his immediate family's concern to that of society and the nation.[1] This process of growth and concern for the family, the community, to that of a nation of people takes time to emerge. Leaders and spokesmen for change have to

---

[1]Kristenson, Development in Rich and Poor Countries, pp. 3-5.

inspire such a concern. The success or failure of such an endeavor on the part of the leaders of the nation depends on the ability of these leaders to marshal sufficient support for what they believe are urgent needs for progress in a country.

As in the case in Malaysia, spokesmen for development, for national unity, for more equitable distribution of the wealth of the country, have endeavored to urge the citizens to cooperate in the implementation of the Economic policy which emphasizes rural development and equal distribution of economic resources among the disadvantaged sectors of the society. Expansion of land utilization projects have begun since the First Five-Year Plan (1956-1960)[20] which emphasized the agricultural production and increased facilities like the construction of roads and bridges from external financing--the United States Development Loan. At large, the objectives of the Plan are: to provide facilities and opportunities for rural people by raising their economic level by providing more employment, while increasing production in the agricultural sector and encouraging reasonable industrial expansion; to improve and expand social services in health and education by providing more health clinics, more accommoda-

---

[1] Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysian Plan, January, 1961 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1961), pp. 1-13.

tion for the increase in school age children; and to encourage the provision of more low-cost housing for the urban poor and better utilities for the rural people.

As the First Five-Year Plan phased out, the Second Five-Year Plan (1961-1965) was inaugurated which stressed more land development schemes. Under the Federal Land Development Authorities (FLDA), more reform projects went into operation. The main objective was still agriculture. Land settlement schemes were laid out in which families were encouraged to operate farms on the ratio of seven acres of either rubber or oil-palm to three acres of other crops. The Government provided assistance in the form of fertilizers and planting materials, as well as financial assistance to farmers. Another significant feature of the Second Five-Year Plan was the priority placed on developing the social services, particularly health and education. It is stated that the targets envisaged in the Plan have been framed in realistic terms with regard to the resources and capacity of the country. Despite some visible measurements of success, the development programs are planned according to national economic projections. The directives come from the top down; this requires popular support and participation from the grass-roots level. Illich would disagree with this method of operation.

The people participating in the development projects should not be looked upon

> as receivers of subsidies and aid nor as clientele of prescribed programs; rather they plan an active role which begins with self-awareness, a convincing process of knowing their potentials to remake the various dimensions of their own existence.[21]

For Government projects to be effectively implemented, there should be active participation of the masses who are the object of development. This is the area of human resource development. The Gross National Product (GNP) can no longer be the sole measure of the success of a country's economy, nor does it lead to greater political stability, more employment or better health services or greater human welfare. Human resource development has taken on or should be considered equal to the importance of the GNP as indices of development.[22] The expansion of benefits to the entire population, the eradication of poverty, the improvement of social services of health care and education opportunities, the invitation to participate meaningfully in civic and community affairs are very necessary ingredients of the development process.

What are the areas of human resource development?

---

[21]Antonio L. Ledesma, ed., "Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man," A Report of the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia Workshop (Philippines: Bureau of Asian Affairs, 1974), p. 45.

[22]Cole Brembeck and Timothy J. Thompson, New Strategies for Educational Development (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1974), p. xv.

Before launching into rapid modernization, the first factor to be considered is the development of human potential. The two aspects of human resource development are the acquisition of knowledge and skills through education, formal and non-formal and the growth of the dynamics of personality and the inherent qualities that give the individual a sense of dignity, self-esteem and other sociable traits for harmonious interactions. Granted that the initiative comes from the Government for a more equitable distribution of land and capital, there should be more accommodation given to allow village-level units or communities to determine their own priorities. The Report of the Workshops conducted in Thailand and sponsored by the Bureau of Asian Affairs in the Philippines[23] stresses the need for "rural self-help and self-reliance movements, community organizations, the structure of local leadership," and the mobilizing of grass-roots movements which are essential to the promotion of human dignity, justice and equality.

As in all developing countries, the search for technology and knowledge of applied sciences are crucial to development projects. Here is where education plays its role. But formal education with its rigid social structures, set attitudes towards schooling and the need

---

[23]Ledesma, Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man, pp. 21-44.

for certification are being challenged by the search for alternatives to schools. Formal schooling follows structured procedures, requiring full-time classroom attendance, programed instruction, grading, the passing of examinations and the granting of credentials. Non-formal schooling is unsystematic, under no control of any single group, is a continual process of self-discovery which leads the individual to recognize his dignity, his self-worth as a social being. This self-awareness leads further to social awareness which in turn may stimulate the desire to improve conditions of living for himself and others.[24] The process of human development is enhanced when the individual is constantly brought to the awareness of the reality around him--the cultural values, traditional customs and religious significance of different groups. The multi-ethnic composition of the population in Malaysia allows for such a variety of enriching interplay of customs, languages and religious practices.

Motivators of change have to be aware of the complexity of cultural norms and values that have been embedded in traditional societies. Change can be introduced in gradual stages, so that the impact of modernization can be made less threatening or devastating to the person and the society as a whole. It has been a feature

---

[24] Ibid.

of modernization that it creates marginality and the loss of identity.[25] The thrust of modernization brings about new trends, relative isolation, disintegration of communities, the break-up of family structures and the erosion of traditional beliefs. Change is not necessarily undesirable. It is beneficial but it demands the abandonment of set ways and familiar patterns of behavior. Modernization calls for the understanding and appreciation of one's social and cultural values. It also necessitates the discarding or preserving of whatever customs and values that either promote or hinder personal growth.

Another significant move towards personal growth is the willingness to learn or unlearn, the readiness to accept criticism, so as to improve and adapt to newer methods of operation (if these do not militate against human development), and the ability to adapt to new environments created by the process of modernization. Progress in human development builds the spirit of collaboration, cooperation, and mutual support for innovations and programs beneficial to human welfare and society. The presence of team-spirit among different racial groups can enhance the planning, decision-making and the implementation of common national goals. Finally, human

---

[25]C. E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 34-36.

development to be successfully realized, can take place only when the governing and the governed possess a certain amount of freedom, a certain measure of self-sufficiency, autonomy and self-determination which are the inalienable rights of individuals.[26] The ideal of progress or modernization is to free man from hunger, disease, ill-health, ignorance and exploitation, or it could lead to increased fears, greed and apathy. But progress cannot bring about an utopian society where everything desirable is achieved and the individual lives in perfect harmony with himself and nature.

The task of promoting human development lies in education. It is a never-ending process that influences the whole person--intellectual, social, physical, psychological and moral capacities. Education is not the sole responsibility of the school system, but a shared prerogative of all sectors of society. No particular group has a monopoly on exercising an over-powering control over society so as to destroy the "convivial" nature of that society, where "autonomous and creative" relationship can be allowed to function.[27]

As in all developing countries, the search for technology and knowledge of applied sciences are crucial

---

[26]Ledesma, Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man, pp. 65-78.

[27]Illich, Tools for Conviviality, pp. 20-25.

to development projects. Here again education plays its role. The task of education in generating knowledge and skills is being challenged by other alternatives to the existing, traditional method of imparting information. Attempts have been made but on a relatively small scale on learning activities outside of schools and universities. Continual experiments and research on out-of-school education are vital to developing countries. Investment in alternative schooling can be a substitute for, or an extension of conventional education.

Ivan Illich, in Deschooling Society, proposed alternatives to schooling in what he termed the "network of learning" involving four methods of acquiring knowledge and skills in a non-formal setting. Illich's "learning web" theory provides access to references to educational objects and resource persons, skills exchanges and peer-matching approaches to learning.[28] Illich strongly criticized the formal educational system with its rigid structures, set attitudes towards learning, full-time classroom attendance, programmed instruction, grading system, examinations, and certification requirements.[29] Illich's argument is that learning is more effective in a non-formal environment where the student is challenged by

---

[28]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 101-50.

[29]Ibid.

peers and adults with similar interests or skills to be exchanged. Out-of-school educational arrangements such as that suggested by Illich could be applied to developing countries that have limited financial, administrative, and educational resources.

In Malaysia, development in education varies vastly in rural and urban areas. Even in urban areas, dissatisfaction with conventional schooling is widespread. The conventional school system is not in harmony with the demand of absorbing youth into productive work nor is it conducive in preparing rural people to accept and implement the objectives and goals of National Five-Year Plans. There are substantial inequalities among rural and urban areas in school facilities and the quality of knowledge imparted in the classroom.

The author feels that the method of learning suggested by Illich's theory could be applied, with modification, to the existing situation in rural regions of Malaysia. The following chapters will further explore the socio-economic, political and religious nature of the people. Additional chapters will also deal with the problematic situation of rural people and Illich's model of learning and its application to alternative schooling.

CHAPTER II

MALAYSIA: THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

This chapter will acquaint the reader with the geographical, historical, socio-economic, political and religious nature of Malaysia and its people. It will attempt to inform the reader, in brief, about the country which has a unique history of colonization and a concentration of ethnic groups representative of all the Asian countries. It is a land of opportunity for the overpopulated regions of China and India. As it changed its name from the Malay Peninsula to Malaya and finally to Malaysia, it has undergone a series of power struggles between various religious sects, empires and European powers who came to conquer and to trade.

As this chapter unfolds, it will make the reader aware of the complexity of the religious practices of the ethnic groups and the cultural values inherent within the racial communities. The sequence of historical events and circumstances that make it difficult for the people whose allegiance was not rooted in the country to conceive of nationalism, is brought out in this chapter. In an attempt to present a background of historical, socio-economic

political and religious nature of the country, the reader may be made aware of the problems involved in rural development.

Malaysia (formerly Malaya) occupies about 130,000 square miles, comprising the Malay Peninsula, with its frontiers next to Thailand, covering 52,000 square miles and the States of Sabah and Sarawak, separated by 400 miles of sea and making up 78,000 square miles bordering the Kalimantan Borneo. Geographically, it lies in a crescent close to the equator between latitudes 1 to 7 degrees and 100 to 119 degrees longitude. To the south is the Republic of Singapore, and to the west, across the Straits of Malacca, lies the Indonesian island of Sumatra; to the northeast are the Philippine Islands. Malaysia is midway between the vast land mass of China and the subcontinent of India. It stands at a focal point between India and the Far Eastern countries.

Archaeological findings tend to place Malaysia's existence as far back as 2,000 B.C. to 1,500 B.C. Discoveries of metal artifacts show the existence of a culture dating back to 200 B.C.[30] The earliest settlers of historic records came from the Fu-nan empire at the mouth of the Mekong river and by 600 A.D. another empire was set up

---

[30]Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia Government Printing Press, 1975), p. 11.

by a Hindu prince, Sri Vijaya, with its capital at Palembang and later at Jambi, Sumatra. The third empire was established at Malacca by Parameswara, in the fourteenth century.

The conquest of empires by religious princes and the migration of people from the different islands to the Malay Peninsula, sets the historical and religious background to an understanding of how the natives of the country came to profess the Islamic faith and the claim to an ancestry of royal and princely blood. It was also recorded that between 1405-1433, a Chinese admiral Cheng Ho made several sea voyages and brought the Chinese into contact with the migrants to the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese influence was indirect, through trade and through tribute from emperor to ruler. The influence that came from India was greater and traces of Indian rites and customs can still be traced to the idea of the "god-king, religious art, literature, languages, writing and how to organize the rule of a country to the way a king was crowned and ordinary folk married."[31] It is also attributed to the Indian settlers that Islam was firmly embedded into Malayan soil. One fine example of Hindu influence is the generic term "raja" which means ruler, used side by side with the Muslim

---

[31]Horace Stone, From Malacca to Malaysia 1400-1965 (London: George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1966), pp. 12-18.

title "yang di-pertuan," in addressing a royal personage.[32]

The European influence began with the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese admiral, Alfonso d'Albuquerque in 1511. By 1580 Spain and Portugal had united to fortify their positions in the East; it did not last long, for Holland, another seafaring competitor, arrived on the scene in 1595. By 1601 the Dutch had dispatched a fleet of ships in separate voyages to the Indonesian islands. Better organized than the Portuguese and the Spanish, the Dutch played a major role in ruining the trading opportunities of their rival predecessors, and by 1619 the Dutch East India Company took over the Spice Trade. Meanwhile the third competitor, Great Britain was plying its ships in search of the same lucrative trade. Although they formed the English East India Company, the British proved seemingly less effective than the Dutch at that time. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, British commercial interests began to show substantial growth in the East. Diplomatically, the British acquired two strategic posts, Penang in 1786 and Singapore in 1819. Both ports, leased to the British by the Malay rulers, proved to be vital points along the sea routes between East and West.

After a series of battles and signing of treaties among the rivals of the trading positions in Southeast

---

[32]William R. Roff, The Origins of Malay Nationalism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 2.

Asia, the Dutch were outsted from the Malay Peninsula in 1824 and relegated to Indonesia; the Spanish sought the conquest of the Philippine Islands and the British held sway over the Malay Peninsula, while strengthening their power over India, Burma and Hong Kong. The British mercantile empire began to take shape in the Far East. By 1826, the three ports of Malacca, Penang and Singapore combined to form the Colony of the Straits Settlements which had its headquarters in India. In 1873 the Residential system was introduced in which British officers were appointed as Advisors to the Rulers in all matters except the Muslim religion and customs. Upon agreement with the rulers of the Malay states, the British began making radical administrative changes. The whole system of revenue collection and land administration was revolutionized. The legal system was inaugurated and the police force was introduced to maintain political stability in the Malay States. By 1895, a system of centralized government was formed--the Federation of Malaya--with a British Resident-General as the laison between the British Crown and the Malay Rulers.[33]

To secure the safety of the sea trading ventures, the British intervened in the Borneo territories in 1840. James Brooke, who helped subdue some insurgents, was

---

[33]Malaysia in Brief (Malaysia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Information, 1971), pp. 24-25.

crowned Rajah of Sarawak. North Borneo was gradually ceded to the British peicemeal until 1888. Together with Sarawak and Brunei, it became a British Protectorate.[34] This was the beginning of British influence shaping the future of Malaysia's economic, political and educational policies. Although the Portuguese stayed over a hundred years in Malacca, the Dutch for over fifty years, faint graces of their influence are left to this day. The British who occupied the Malay States for over eighty years, have left their stamp of political administration, legal policies, their language and educational system, and even their customs, that have become part of the life pattern of the majority of the Malaysian people.

At the outbreak of World War I, some political agitation began to surge in the form of anti-imperialist activities, seemingly initiated by the immigrants who were influenced by developments in China and India. A Malayan Communist Party was formed between 1930-1931. It was not until 1936-1937 that a radical political change was evident. The Malays too began to form political organizations to protect their interests. One such organization --the Kesatuan Malayu Muda (Union of Young Malays)--called for anti-British activities, but there was no unified

---

[34]Frances Wong Hoy Kee and Ee Tiang Hong, Education in Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books Asia Ltd., 1971), pp. 4-5.

action against the British.[35] The Sino-Japanese War of 1941 and the Japanese Occupation of Malaya from 1942-1945 dispelled the myth of British military power in the Far East. It sowed the seed of nationalism among the Malayan people. Those that went underground with the remaining British officers were in consort to form a resistence army. Their efforts did not materialize because of the surrender of Japan in August, 1945.

When peace was declared and the British returned to Malaya, the British Military Administration was set up to reorganize the country. Plans were made to unify the Malay States under a centralized Malayan Union, which would deprive the Malay Rulers of their power and jurisdiction. The proposal met with opposition and an alternative scheme was drawn up. The Federation of Malay Agreement was signed in 1948 in which a central government was formed and considerable authority was left to the State and local rulers. A form of common citizenship was offered to all who qualified either by right of birth or through applications. At about the same time a state of emergency was declared due to a persistent campaign of violence by underground insurgents whose targets were the British rubber planters and those who opposed the communists. Despite these disturbances, plans were being made for self-government for the Malayan people. Under the leadership of the first Prime

---

[35] Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook, pp. 14-15.

Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Alliance Party negotiated with the British Government for independence.

By early 1957, a new constitution was drawn up. The new constitution has the following features: the rulers of the Malay States select one among themselves to be the Paramount Ruler whose term of office lasts for a period of five years, after which he may be reelected or replaced; the federal parliament consists of a Senate and House of Representatives elected for a term not exceeding five years; the privilege of citizen ship is modified to admit more Chinese and Indians, and all those born after Independence are citizens; Malay is the national language and English the second official language up to ten years; and Islam is the state religion but freedom of worship is not interferred with for other creeds. Special Malay rights in land tenure, entry into the civil service, award of government scholarships, etc., continue without a time limit, but are subject to review by the Paramount Ruler. The common people accept what is decided upon by the leaders. ON August 31, 1957, the Independence of the Federation of Malaya was proclaimed, with the agreement that the new constitution would be operative until 1959 when the first election would be held.[36]

After four years, the idea of extending the na-

---

[36]Ibid., p. 74.

tional boundaries and the formation of Malaysia to include Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah (British North Borneo) seemed feasible. With the exception of Brunei which opted to be excluded, the two territories of Sarawak and Sabah and the Colony of Singapore joined to form Malaysia on September 16, 1963. But Singapore's inclusion did not last; for in August, 1965, due to fears of Chinese domination and the weakening of Malay political power and rights, Singapore was told to go its own way. Since then, Singapore remains a Republic.[37]

In May, 1969, an unforgetable internal disruption caused the government to set up a National Operations Council to take over control of the country. Further developments followed in which the Sedition Act of 1948 was amended, making it an offense to utter or print statements that questioned the rights of the Malay Rulers, the Malay people, Malay as the national language, the citizenship of any ethnic group and special privileges of the Malays and the indigenous groups. After the recall of Parliament in February, 1971, the National Operations Council was renamed the National Security Council which remained as a watch-dog institution and monitored political developments under the parliamentary system.

The struggle to unify the racial groups prompted the proclamation of the National Ideology which empha-

---

[37]Ibid., pp. 74-75.

sized Belief in God, Loyalty to the King and Country, Upholding the Constitution, Rule of Law, and Good Behavior and Morality. Added to it is the new economic policy, a feature of which is the Five Year Plan (1971-1975). The objectives of the Plan are to restructure the Malaysian society by creating a Malay commercial and industrial class and the eradication of poverty and unemployment among all Malaysians.[38] Idealistic as it sounds, the Plan was put into writing and attempts to implement it went on. This unity oriented drive seems to benefit some and create dissatisfaction among others. In retrospect, the Plan has achieved some measure of progress in the industrial and economic sectors.

The following section of this chapter will attempt to describe the demographic background of the population, their lands of origin and language, their socio-religious systems and beliefs, the socio-economic concentration or dispersion of racial groups. In such a pluralistic society as Malaysia, where the masses are being urged to strive towards a common national identity and language, there still remains the pride of adhering to individual racial and religious beliefs and practices.

The 1970 census shows Malaysia's population to be 10,452,309. Of this figure, 8,819,928 are in Peninsula

---

[38] Information Malaysia, 1975-1976 (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 1976), p. 75.

Malaysia, 654,943 in Sabah and 977,438 in Sarawak. It is stated that 53 percent are Malays, 35 percent Chinese and 11 percent Indians and the rest are comprised of Eurasians, Pakistanis and other minority groups. The composition of the population includes the indigenous people--Dayaks, Ibans, Kelanaus, Kadazana, Bjaus and other tribes mostly to be found in Sabah and Sarawak.[39]

The Malays, ethnically, linguistically, and anthropologically akin to the Indonesians and the Philippine natives, are believed to have originated in Yunnan in China. There are some immigrants of Malay origin who have come from the Indonesian island of Sumatra and the Celebes. The Malays are predominantly agricultural and riverine people. Most of their homes are situated near riverways which provide ease of transportation by boat, and means of irrigation and fishing. Since most Malays live in rural areas, in clusters of villages, their main occupations are rive growing, marketing gardening, fishing, fruit gathering and rubber tapping. In a typical village there is a central place of worship--the mosque--a village hall of meetings of village chiefs, an elementary school where the Koran is taught and where children learn the rubrics of basic education.

Another group called the indigenous people live on

---

[39] Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook, pp. 24-25.

the fringe of the junble, using primitive means of hunting and fishing. Some of them are remnants of the Aborigines, the most primitive race extant in Southeast Asia. Physically they look black, woolly-headed, of the same ethnic group as the Aetes of the Philippines and the Mincopies of the Adaman Islands, of striking resemblance to the African pygmies. Other indigenous groups are characterized by their habitats and customs. Some live in long houses in the interior while others live on the river banks. It would require an anthropological study to present a detailed account of their distinctive characteristics which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The social and religious systems of the Malays are closely interrelated. The customs and traditions--Adat Isti'adat--include the "Adat Resam" which dictates the practices that follow the individual from birth to death, and other major events of life. Children are brought up to pay respect and obedience to parents and adults in the community. Community attitudes of mutual cooperation and assistance, known as "begotong royong," the maintenance of law and order through cooperation, the deference paid to the chief (ketua) of the village are engendered as part of the "Adat Resam." The piercing of the ear-lobes of girls between ages five to ten and the circumcision of boys, the ceremonies of engagement and marriage and the numerous customary practices of childbirth are among the activities

of the Malay social and religious life. Ceremonies are accompanied by prayers in Arabic, and occasions of fasting and feasting are celebrated according to Islamic law; so are marriages and burials.[40]

Having been in contact with Hindu immigrants of the Braham caste, the Malay Muslim has absorbed its rituals into its court ceremonies on anointing and the naming of a child in the royal family.[41] In some States in Malaysia a Sultan in enthroned with ceremonies of anointing, the chanting of Brahman prayers, the wearing of ornaments of a Hindu god, the invoking of Hindu guardians; all point to the influence of the Brahman of the Deccan. The homage paid to the Sultan reaches the point of worship, for according to Hindu concept and belief he is the "shadow of god on earth." He is accepted as the protector of the faith; therefore, the supreme authority of the sultan in his state is fully recognized and accepted without questioning. This attitude contributed to the fact that when the British worked through the heads of state, little opposition came from the subjects, as long as the British did not interfere with the tenets of Islam.

As it happens with some religions, Islam is not completely devoid of taboos and superstitions. The

---

[40] Information Malaysia, 1975-1976, pp. 41-42.

[41] Malay society is stratified into classes--peasant and the aristocracy recruited by descent.

Malays observe the "Mandi Safar" which originated from the Hindu custom of bathing in the Ganges for the purposes of cleansing, of washing away bad luck or misfortune. Any object which seems to interfere with the life of a Muslim is termed "karamat," in which case a sacrifice is offered to appease the spirit abiding in an animal like the tiger or the crocodile. The female spirit or "pontianak" is a dreaded vampire that molests a villager who stays out too late in the night. This kind of spirit is not easily pacified and so it is advisable to stay indoors at dusk.

The mosque has played a prominent role in the life of the Muslim. The call to prayer is announced at the break of dawn. The loud siren and the chanting of the Koran through the loud speaker can be heard miles away. A devout Mislim awakens to the call of the siren and begins his day with prayer. Apart from prayer, the next most important manifestation of universal brotherhood in Islam, is the observance of Ramadan. It is a time of rigorous fasting that lasts for a month in anticipation of the New Year celebration. Adults, the adolescent at the age of puberty, with the exception of the sick, and those over sixty years are obliged to fast from sunrise to sunset.

An aspiration of an adult Muslim is to be capped a Haji or a Haj. Once a year a pilgrimage to Mecca is made possible for rich and poor. This is a time where Muslims of all classes fraternize as equals and brothers, discard-

ing titles and social ranks. The Haji on his return from Mecca is qualified to be an Iman or religious teacher. Sometimes a Muslim scholar returns with new ideas for change but these are not readily accepted by the conservatives. Modern ideas for innovation have set the pace. These may affect Muslim thinking on matters like fasting and abstinence. A Muslim youth whose education goes beyond the elementary level and those who have studied abroad have made changes to adapt to modern times.

As long as the British were in command of political affairs in Malaya, religion and state were separate. A Council on Religious matters was set up, fully responsible to the Ruler, but autonomy of making recommendations with regard to Muslim canon law are in the hands of the experts --the Kathi, or the Mufti and the Iman who are paid for their services in settling marital matters. Questions on property rights are usually settled by the civil courts, but the Khati is there to give guidance where needed. Since Independence, when Islam was declared the State religion, it has become the concern of the government on state and national levels to erect more mosques or places of worship in every Malay village, to organize Islamic education and provide teachers to all schools, so that the Muslim child can have religion on a daily basis. A council on Religion and Malay Customs--Maglis Ugama Dan

Adat isti "Adat Melayu--is set up to maintain the Adat" --customs and behavior of Islam. This institution authorizes licenses to qualified religion teachers and preachers and appoints them to schools and villages.

Islam as a religion can create an atmosphere of tranquility, contentment and brotherhood. It gives the believer a certain confidence and stability as long as a Muslim is left to his own pace in organizing his own sense of livelihood, for he has learnt to accept his state of life without much desire for material wealth. But times have changed and new offers for a more comfortable life and better amenities have won the day. The media, the Press, radio and television have made their impact and changes have been forthcoming in rural Malay.

Historical records mention the migration of the Chinese traders at about the fifteenth century. From 1405-1433, Admiral Cheng Ho made a series of sea voyages that brought the Chinese merchants to the shores of what is now known as Malaysia.[42] Merchant ships had been sailing the seas trading with the island peoples until a more lucrative reason made them decide to immigrate to the Malay Peninsula. From South China came merchants, businessmen, and skilled laborers who spoke half a dozen dialects--Canton-

---

[42]Norton Ginsburg and C. F. Roberts, Jr., Malay (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), p. 246.

ese, Hakka, Teochiew, Hailem, Hokkien, and so forth.

Making up 35 percent of Malaysia's 12.2 million population the Chinese left their homeland for the tin mines of Malaya in the late 1800's. More aggressive and with an unprecedented skill for business and unafraid of hard labor, the Chinese organized themselves and financially supported their own schools, offered scholarships to students in their community. Their objective was to retain the common language, Mandarin, and uphold the Chinese tradition and culture while away from their native land. With thrift and foresight the immigrants worked hard to build an economic power base, made trips home to Mainland China and brought relatives out of destitution and near starvation to a land which they felt they could call their home. Literally, they were and still are the economic power of Malaysia. Living in the urban areas, the Chinese are involved in every aspect of trade such as retail businesses, grocery store operation and all types of merchandizing.

The Chinese are mainly Buddhists or adherents of Taoism and/or Confucianism, while some have been converted to Christianity. Some of their most important festivals are the Chinese New Year commemorated on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth Moon; the feast of the Lanterns takes place on the fifteenth night of the First Moon. Food and paper money offerings are made to the deceased on Cheng

Beng or the Chinese All Souls' Day. Various other commemorations of ancestral worship are celebrated at other times of the year. There are the Dragon Boat Festival, the Festival of the Moon Cake and still other festivities observed by some in a more modified manner.

As important as other religious observances are among the Chinese, the burial services take on an elaborate display of grief and financial expense. Prayers are offered for the deceased, and a procession of mourners and attendents carrying banners, lanterns and paper flowers takes place, all accompanied by a funeral music band. The size of the procession depicts the wealth and status of the deceased.

While clannish, the Chinese are adaptable people. Some have braved tradition to marry outside their clans; others take on a new religion like Christianity against the wishes of their parents and relatives. Many have made their way through colleges and higher education to become professionals and carry on the family business. Some who cannot get into the universities in Malaysia due to lack of places, have gone abroad to Commonwealth countries like Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Some remain immigrants in their adopted countries.

The Indians in Malaysia make up about 11 percent of the population. The earliest arrivals in Malaysia ap-

peared to have come largely from Bengal, Orissa and the Coromandel coast of India, dating back to 4 A.D. They were traders and missionaries of Hinduism who brought with them religious beliefs and practices that influenced the court life and customs of the Malay ruling class.[43] The later Indian immigrants were recruited by the British around the nineteenth century to work as laborers on the rubber plantations.

While some Indians with more fortunate backgrounds are business managers and professionals, the generation of rubber plantation workers remains in their same occupation. They live on meager income on the plantation areas, where there is usually a one-room school for their children and a clinic for minor medical treatment. As a minority race, they are wedged in between the Chinese and the Malays. Unlike the Chinese they have little wealth and unlike the Malays they do not count among the privileged. As a people belonging to a cast, they are seemingly content with their lot as laborers.

The majority of Indians are Hindus who worship a plurality of gods.[44] Their main festivals are the Hindu New Year, Taipusam Deepavali and Ponggol. Thaipusam, the most outstanding festival is celebrated with religious

---

[43] Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook, p. 24.

[44] Ginsburg and Roberts, Malaya, pp. 132-35.

dedication. Devotees perform an act of penance to fulfill vows made or in gratitude for blessings received. The devotees are usually young men who go into a trance, carrying decorated arches on their shoulders. These are held in place by steel skewers attached to their skin across the shoulder and back. It is a fascinating orgy of self sacrifice. Spectators crowd in to watch and follow with the devotees and drummers who, with their rhythmic beats, help the devotees on their journey to the temple. Once atop the hill where the Hindu temple is usually built, the devotees are received by priests who apply holy ashes to their wounds. The devotees regain their normal selves within minutes, gratified with the fulfillment of their vows. Then feasting on food and cakes follows, with loud music blasting throughout the whole day and long into the night. This public manifestation of Hindu belief also attracts spectators from other racial groups. Deepavali, the festival of lights, symbolizes the victory of good over evil, and Ponggol is a three day harvest festival celebrated in January.

The population of Malaysia is pluralistic. Cultural and ethnic diversity are the outstanding features. It is a diversity of race, customs, traditions and religious beliefs that stem from India, China and other parts of Asia and the Middle East. The Malays which make up 53 percent of the population are united by language and

Islamic religion. The Chinese are mainly from South China and are sub-divided into different dialect groups. The Indians are mostly from South India and speak either Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam. There are also a good number of Gujeratis, Punjabis, Bengalis and others from northern India. The population of Peninsula Malaysia at the 1970 census show the following figures:[45]

Malays	4,689,379
Chinese	3,126,336
Indians and Pakistanis	934,030
Others	70,183

The population of Sarawak at the 1970 census comprise the following:[46]

Malays	183,218
Chinese	294,731
Sea Dayaks	303,118
Land Dayaks	83,288
Melanaus	53,304
Other Indigenous	49,961
Other	9,181

The 1970 Census shows the population of Sabah to be made up of:[47]

Kadazans	184,547
Muruts	31,299

---

[45] Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook, p. 24.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 25.

Bajaus	77,466
Malays	18,796
Indonesians	39,607
Chinese	139,909
Other Indigenous	125,633
Others	37,686

At a glance, the urban population of Peninsula Malaysia is made up of Chinese, while the Malays are emerging in larger numbers due to encouragement by the Government to participate in business. The majority of Malays are to be found in the kampongs (villages) where they tend to the rice fields, to fishing and fruit gathering. The Indians who live in the rural areas work on rubber plantations. Some Indians also work as laborers on road surfacing and other small businesses. The rural Chinese are tin miners, rubber tappers and farmers; they serve as the middlemen in transporting produce from the farm or plantations to the cities and townships.

Malaysia is a land of racial, cultural, linguistic and religious variety. With years of British rule, the Malay, Chinese, Indians and other inhabitants of the land are familiar and at ease with Western tourists or visitors. The English language is used throughout the urban areas. Western customs in attire prevail amid the fascinating ethnic elements of East and West.

Given the nature of the country and the ethnic

composition of its population broadly differentiated by racial and occupational activities, it is to be expected that the efforts at development must be directed to the natives and the poor of the rural areas with a historical past of neglect and exploitation by the colonial rulers. To state that modernization as a result of commercialization has taken place since the colonial days is true with respect to those parts of Malaysia which presently can boast of national and foreign investments and trade. The imbalance of development between the West Coast and the East Coast of Malaysia is evidenced by the existence of transportation, of schools, of modern facilities that the West Coast inhabitants are benefiting from, while large tracts of rural land along the East Coast and East Malaysia remain under-developed.

For development to be effective it must incorporate commercialization with the process of technical knowledge to utilize the natural resources and promote the advancement of people. According to Illich, any country seeking to industralize must be aware of such categories as "goods, the factories that make them, and service institutions--principally schools which make men into producers and consumers."[48] As it is, reviewing the national goals of development, the emphasis is on land

---

[48]Deschooling Society, p. 86.

utilization and increased production over human values and concerns.

As one of the themes of this study is Illich's concept of deschooling, it is apparent that in its efforts to accelerate national development, the government has apportioned a significant budget to schools. In its campaign to eradicate illiteracy by promulgating the existing school system, the government is promoting what Illich denounces as the "hidden curriculum of schooling," in order "to initiate the citizen to the myth that bureaucracies guided by scientifid knowledge are efficient and benevolent."[49] The emphasis on science and technology has carried such importance in the school curriculum that students who finish up in the science stream are considered valuable assets to the school system, while those who end up in the liberal arts are made to feel they belong to the second class of students, while the drop-outs are failures of society.

Illich's deschooling theory attacks such a system of differentiating between achievers and non-achievers through systematic screening out by grading and certification. As an alternative to institutionalized schooling, Illich offers the four channels of communication--the learning web theory,[50] which will be further elaborated in Chapter IV of this research.

---

[49]Ibid., p. 106.

[50]Ibid., pp. 103-50.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEMATIC SITUATION

This chapter will attempt to examine the background of the problematic situation which challenges a developing nation like Malaysia where the multi-racial population has been divided by economic function and geographical locations. Attention will focus on the programs the Government has attempted, and will continue to operate in an effort to offset the imbalance of economic opportunities and assis the rural people. The Five Year Plans seem at first glance to be idealistic, but some measure of progress has been achieved.

Colonialism as it appeared did not bridge the gap among the racial groups in Malaysia. It is being blamed for dividing the people by encouraging a multi-lingual school system. The Chinese community was allowed to run its own schools with Mandarin as the medium of instruction; the Malays had their own village schools and the Indians did also with Tamil as the medium of instruction. The Chinese dominated the urban locations "as merchants and intermediaries for the colonial power, while the Malays, with the exception of a handful of upperclass,

pampered civil servants remained rural, poor and neglected."[51] The Indians were recruited as laborers for the rubber plantations and remained isolated in the rural regions living on a meager income.

After World War II, the leaders of the Malay communities realized that their hope lay in securing independence from Britain. It was unfair, the Malay leaders thought that the majority of the Malays should slave in the rice fields. To the merchants and the intermediaries, the notion of independence was a threat to their security. But after weighing the pros and cons of being independent from the British Crown, both groups agreed that independence would benefit all.

Britain offered to the Malaysian people a type of self-government of democracy that was a transplant from the industrial country to a developing or emerging nation. Malaysia did not have a sufficient middle class composition capable of espousing the democracy fostered by Britain. The Malaysian society was non-cohesive due to racial differences. The economic foundation was weak because an integrated middle class was absent. To the Malays, it was not sufficient that "a native be a better farmer, a better fisherman than his father."[52] The eco-

---

[51]Tan Sri Dato'Muhammad Gahzali bin Shafie, Democracy: The Realities Malaysians Must Face. Speech by the Minister with Special Functions and Minister of Information (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Negora, March 5, 1971), p. 6.

[52]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

nomic self-interest of the non-natives was a thorn in the flesh for the natives.

To correct the economic inbalances, the Malaysian Government launched its first development plan--The Five Year Plan 1956-1960. Its objective was to provide the infrastructure for economic development. It is hoped to benefit the rural poor. As an agricultural country, Malaysia depends on its land-use and natural resources to support its economy. Rain provides the irrigation water necessary for rice planting. Hand dug canals conserve the rain water or channel it to the rice fields. It is either too much rain which overflows the canals and rivers, causing destruction of fields and homes, or drought which dries up the necessary moisture for the rice to ripen. In either case, the farmer has no control over nature's uncertainties. The slow process of ploughing is done by the use of oxen, the planting by women, and the harvesting by whole families and communities. If, for one reason or another, the harvests are late, the farmers are in debt. Money lenders exploit the farmers by demanding a large amount of the harvests in return or by insisting that the farmer sells his produce at a minimal price. When harvest time comes along, the farmer and his family spend all their year's labor in paying debts or purchasing clothes and other household items. In more emphatic terms they "live from hand to mouth."

In the interim period between the planting and the harvesting, the Malay farmer brings the produce of his garden, the fruits from the plantations, and any handicraft he had had the time to make to a weekly market place for sale. Small transactions take place and the haggling for reduction in the price gives the farmer some extra spending money which is soon used up. There are no banking systems where he can save for the future. Who benefits from that hard labor? The middleman who purchases the rice harvests and the rice-miller who operates the wholesale business. In fact, the Malay farmer goes out and buys the rice from the store, when what he holds back from the harvests runs out. The farmer's diet is simple and often lacks proper nutrition. He lives on rice and vegetables, some fish either dried or fresh from a nearby stream and little or no meat. There is no doubt that the infant mortality rate is high and medical facilities are non-existent or scarce or located too far from the village. This is the result of past neglect of rural areas which the government is attempting to remedy. In Illich's deschooled society, as will be elaborated in Chapter IV (p. 102) of this dissertation, it is envisaged that the provision of medical advice and assistance could be offered through the Service Center.

The plight of the Indian rubber tapper can be described in a similar manner. Rubber plantations on a

large scale were the domain of the British since the beginning of the twentieth century. Indian laborers were brought in from Southern India to live and work on the plantations. Again the British exploited cheap labor and amassed profits and extended more plantations. British planters managed and owned the acreage while the Indian laborers remain subservient to their entrepreneurs. Their salary is minimal. The rubber tappers are housed in barracks--like houses on the plantation; a small one-room house serves as the village school, where the school master is the teacher, the janitor and the disciplinarian. Children learn reading, writing, and arithmetic in Tamil and some English to get by. Within the estate is a clinic where minor ailments and first aid are attended to. If they are lucky, they may have a piece of land they can clear from the jungle where they grow some garden produce and rear chickens or goats for milk and meat.

The rubber tapper begins his day before sunrise, that is about 4:00-5:00 A.M. He makes the rounds of the trees, slicing a piece off the bark of each tree and makes a second round to collect the latex that has flowed into small earthenware cups attached to the trees. He is usually paid by the number of trees he taps or the amount of latex he collects for the day. If it rains, no tapping is possible; therefore he gets no pay or he gets a living allowance. Worse than the Malay farmer in some instances,

the rubber tapper is subject to a Master, his wages are low and his life is confined within the acreage of the plantation.

Since Independence, most of the rubber plantations have been nationalized and passed on to local owners. As a result large estates are fragmented and sold to individuals or to the Government. The change of hands makes the stuation still worse for the rubber tapper and his family. Wages remain low and the source of income is uncertain. There are no unions to fight for a wage increase. The hazards to health are greatly increased as distance from the hospital and lack of transportation leave the tapper helpless in cases of emergency. As with the rice farmer, occurences of epidemics of cholera, typhoid and dysentery are not uncommon. Due to the unsanitary conditions of the water supply and the accumulation of stagnant water in ponds where mosquitoes breed easily, the rural poor are often taken ill.

In some case, the rubber tappers leave the estate and become itinerant workers, gathering coconuts and selling the produce from the vegetable garden or milk from a small herd of cows or goats. Some go to the city to work on road repairs and are paid on the basis of job openings. The luckier ones are able to save and make trips home to visit India. Somehow they survive and fare better than their counterparts in their homeland.

The rural poor are the Malays, the Indians and Chinese as well as the indigenous people. The latter live a primitive way of life, free to roam the jungle, gathering fruits, hunting and, in some instances, clearing parts of the jungle for subsistence farming. They are nomadic people and live on the fringes of the jungle. In West Malaysia such nomadic groups are diminishing in numbers, but East Malaysia still has vast numbers who belong to tribal groups, who are distinguished by their manner of attire, of housing and dialects. They either live off the land by hunting, or off the sea by fishing or pearl diving.

The rest of the Chapter will be devoted to the role of the Malaysian Government in developing its economy, in laying the foundation for the unification of society and elimination of racial stratification. This was attempted through the First Five Year Plan (1956-1960)[53] which aimed at strengthening the economic foundation by assistance and incentives to increase production in agriculture, in particular the cash crops like rubber and oil palm, and by growing sufficient rice to cut down on imports.

The First Five Year Plan (1956-1960) had some set-backs and some successes. The world recession of 1957-1958 cut back on the export of the two most important

---

[53] Review of the Progress of the First Five Year Plan, 1956-1960 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1961), pp. 1-5.

commodities, tin and rubber. The first step undertaken was the replanting of rubber trees and the planting of new trees to procure better yields in the years ahead. The harvests were remarkably increased with irrigation supplies, double cropping, improved varieties, the use of fertilizers supplied through cooperatives.

The Second Five Year Plan (1961-1965) had the following objectives:

(1) to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population to improve its levels of economic and social well-being;

(2) to provide employment to the country's population of working age which is likely to increase by about 15 percent during the Plan period;

(3) to raise the per capita output of the economy and to protect per capita living standards against adverse effects of a possible decline in rubber prices;

(4) to widen the variety of Malayan production, emphasizing the development of other suitable agricultural products in addition to rubber, and giving every reasonable encouragement to industrial expansion which in the long term offers perhaps the greatest promise for sustained development and diversification of the Federation economy;

(5) finally, while stressing the importance of development which will meet production and employment

requirements, to improve and expand the social services needed to provide educational opportunities for the rapidly growing school-age population, to extend the public health services over a wider coverage of the rural as well as the urban population, to assist in large measure in the provision of housing and provide more adequately for rural and urban utilities.[54]

The Plan has achieved an overall improvement program in agriculture, in transportation, in industry, in utilities, communications and social services, including education, housing and health. Some physical aspects witness to the achievements, namely the building and replacement of bridges which were hazardous during the flood season; the completion of a major East-West road linking the capital, Kuala Lumpur to Kuantan, shortening the distance between the East Coast of Peninsula Malaysia by 75 miles; the construction of emergency roads; the improvement and surfacing of main thoroughfares and the improvement of inner city roads. The use of diesel for the railway was introduced, making up 55 percent of the total engine mileage using diesel locomotives.[55]

This increase in the construction of highways, according to Illich would benefit the rich and powerful business bureaucrats, the middleman who acts as the go-between

---

[54]Ibid., p. 16.

[55]Ibid., p. 10.

the farmer and the consumer. The additional mileage of road communication would usher in an increase in the use of automobiles. This set up would be contrary to Illich's vision of a convivial society where the use of bicycles would be preferable to motor driven vehicles. As Illich puts it: "People without cars have no access to planes, and people without tickets have no access to convention hotels."[56] Utilities were improved with the installation of hydro-electric stations at two major locations, one of these being a massive engineering project--the construction of a hydro-electric plant in Cameron Highlands, this construction has increased the supply of power by 50 percent.[57] Electricity is still a rare commodity in villages and habitations away from towns and cities. Some villages have replaced well water by pipe water but electricity is still scarce.

The Second Five Year Plan was a many-faceted campaign to raise the output of agricultural produce and income. Land allocation as an incentive for better land-use was made possible by the establishment of the Federal Land Development Authorities in 1956. The FLDA was put in charge of large scale development and settlement schemes. It has been actively providing assistance in clearing land,

---

[56] Tools for Conviviality, p. 24.

[57] Review of the Second Five Year Plan, 1961-1965 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1966), p. 30.

opening new roads and other utilities for settlement and extension of agricultural activieis. In conjection with the local state governments, the FLDA has for its program in rural areas, the allocation of seven acres of rubber or oil palm, three acres for rice, market gardening and other crops. For the first two years of settlement the FLDA also provides cash subsidies which could be recovered at the maturity of the cash crops. To assure that the project succeeds provisions are made to supply the rice planters with fertilizers, and planting materials. Rubber replanting was highly encouraged by the Government. Smallholders, who would not otherwise afford it, were offered subsidies for part of the cost of replanting. This would increase production and result in a higher yield of better quality natural rubber for the export market.[58]

The Agricultural Research and Extension Services was allocated a budget of $20 million to develop and expand Federal Padi (rice) and Dry Land Stations where research into double-cropping, off-season cropping and adaption of various crops can be intensified. Objectives are: to research into soil type as potential for various cropping practices, to promote the use of improved padi seeds, to ensure better cultivation practices and cropping patterns, and to control pests, insects and plant diseases.[59]

---

[58]Ibid., pp. 30-32.

[59]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

The Plan has as its aim, better medical and public health services for the rural areas. Provision is made for the expansion of health services and the modernization of hospital facilities. Efforts are placed on the eradication of tuberculosis; improvement of dental, psychiatric and leprosy services; and the establishment of a medical pharmaceutical (laboratory for processing drugs) store within reach of some major villages. It was the ultimate goal of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to establish a network of health units to service the entire rural population. These centers would provide both "preventive and curative services, with special emphasis on maternity and child care, environment sanitation and hygiene"[60] so as to improve the general health of the two million rural people and reduce the infant mortality rate. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has extended its plans to train more personnel in the health fields--nurses, midwives, hospital assistants and so forth. Illich would question the kind of personnel who would be trained in the aspects of modern medicine and sent out to the villages. Illich would not want to see much interference with the way village people look after their health. Illich believes that "people have a native capacity for healing, consoling, moving, learning, building their homes and

---

[60]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

burying their dead."[61] Moreover, in Medical Nemesis, Illich speaks about the harm done by medical experts in the treatment of ailments.[62]

It is estimated that the Social Welfare service, which has been catering to the physically handicapped and aged, spends 40 percent of its six million dollars on providing homes and training centers for the physically handicapped, while the rest of the funds are allocated to youth leadership training, homes for children, women and girls.

The provision of housing for personnel to live and work in the rural health centers is catered for and incorporated in the Plan which calls for the construction of accommodation, for offices, educational buildings, and so forth. The Government has committed itself to assist families with less than $300 per month income by providing facilities for low cost housing through the Housing Trust. It is estimated that funds would be available for the construction of about 9,000 housing units for rent or purchase with installment credits.[63]

A significant feature of the Plan is the priority placed on the development of education. The expansion of facilities to accommodate school-age children (6 plus) is

---

[61] Tools for Conviviality, p. 58.

[62] Medical Nemesis, p. 77.

[63] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

made possible by operating a double school session in the existing school facilities. Due to this orientation program, the enrollment figure in the primary level (ages 6 to 11 plus) is 95 percent of the estimated head count, while the secondary enrollment is 23 percent. To put into effect the double session, less than qualified teachers were recruited. In the meantime, four residential colleges and twelve day training centers were opened for the training of teachers. A correspondence course was also offered to existing non-qualified teachers.[64]

A new type of school was set up. It was called the Sekolah-Sekolah Pelajaran Lanjutan or Continuation School, a two year post primary school geared for those who are unable to gain entrance to the other secondary schools. The emphasis of the curriculum is on vocational training. Secondary education has been expanded to accommodate pupils from the primary school or those coming from the Continuation school. Pupils entering the secondary school may continue for at least three years before they are admitted into the upper forms of the secondary school, through a competitive examination.

From Illich's point of view a system of education where students are forced into competing for grades and promotion are destructive to effective learning. The

---

[64]Ibid., p. 12.

result of an examination oriented school system would appear to Illich, to instill in the learner guilt feelings if they did not succeed through grades and certification where they will be rewarded with a job category they are expected to enter.[65] Students are processed into the job market through some paper documentation of their academic achievement. If they did not succeed in such an endeavor, they are considered as failures of society.

As one of the main emphasis of the Plan is to provide education for rural children in vocational and technical education, eight Rural Trade Schools were constructed and two existing Junior Technical Trade Schools were raised to the level of Technical Institutes. Seeing the importance of the sciences, the University of Malaya added courses in engineering and agriculture to the Liberal Arts program. The Technical College was already offering diploma courses for students in engineering, mathematics and science. Those who benefit from the Trade Schools are kampong (village) boys who have completed nine years of schooling, including two years at the Continuation Schools.

Hostels provide accommodation for students from the rural areas. They have been encouraged by the government to attend schools in the city. In some instances, living

---

[65] Deschooling Society, p. 59.

quarters have been guilt in rural districts in order to upgrade the standard of education.[66] Some educators question such a move made by the government in attracting village boys to city living. The results of a change of environment have not been very encouraging for both parents and the uninitiated youth from the villages. There are criticisms on the behavior change of village boys by educators, who see this system of compulsory attendance at city schools, living in hostels as alienating the youth from their healthy village environment. This situation could be remedied through the structure of the four networks of learning proposed by Illich, which is treated in length in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

The Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysia Plan (1966-1970), with the addition of Sabah and Sarawak to the existing Malayan Territories, shows that more emphasis was placed on expansion of educational facilities throughout the nation. The objectives of the Plan were as follows:

(1) to consolidate further the national education system in order to promote social, cultural and political unity; (2) to provide educational facilities, particularly at the secondary level, to meet the needs of the increasing school-age population; (3) to improve the quality of education and

---

[66]Ibid., pp. 13-18.

to spread educational opportunities more evenly throughout the country so as to correct imbalances between urban and rural areas; (4) to diversify educational and training facilities by increasing such facilities in vital fields, especially those relating to agricultural and industrial science and technology; and (5) to accelerate teacher training in order to produce the necessary number of qualified and skilled teachers.[67]

The Malaysian Government has put such high priority on education that it allocated 10 percent of its total development expenditure on education and training. A total of 2,370 classrooms were constructed, including replacement of substandard schools and the construction of new classrooms chiefly in the rural areas. Added to the expansion of secondary schools were the furnishing of 265 science laboratories, 251 domestic science laboratories and 108 workshops.[68]

In East Malaysia remarkable probress was recorded during the 1966-1968 period. Since school fees were abolished in 1966, the enrollment in primary schools increased from 119,400 to 152,050 from 1965 to 1968. Enrollments in the secondary schools increased from 13,000 to 19,000 from 1965 to 1968. These figures account for

---

[67] Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysia Plan 1966-1970 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1969), p. 101.

[68] Ibid., pp. 102-3.

Sarawak alone which absorbed $5.2 million for aid to schools. In Sabah, primary and secondary enrollments likewise increased by 30 percent in the primary schools, while at the secondary level, 280 classrooms, 31 science laboratories, 91 teachers quarters and 15 hostels were constructed to cater to the needs of the expanding school system. The Malaysian Government obtained the assistance of the New Zealand Government in establishing a new Teacher Training College at Rejang in East Malaysia for the training of primary school teachers.[69]

The commitment by the Government to provide opportunities for the rural boys and girls to further their education is evidenced by the emphasis on vocational training and technical training. The MARA Institute of Technology has been designing courses in business, secretarial fields, statistics, economics, technology, banking and industrial management to prepare students for external degrees. MARA was designed to accelerate the attainment of the indigenous people in order to promote their participation in the technological, commercial and industrial fields. Vocational training workshops designed to train skilled craftsmen for industrial development are planned and operated by the Industrial Training Institute of the Ministry of Labor in the capital city. Further expansion

---

[69]Ibid., p. 103.

of the Institute is made possible from overseas assistance.

It is apparent that the vocational training workshops organized by MARA would run counter to Illich's skill networks where the exchange of skills among people on a local basis gives priority to the skill-master to share his skill at the request of the learner. In Illich's learning networks, there is no imposition from above.[70]

In order to prepare the Malays for participation in business, there are short-term management courses offered by the National Productivity Center. There are also in-service training programs in all fields of social service and job related knowledge. Government officials are encouraged to take courses to improve their competence and performance in the public service.[71]

The overall educational planning policy in Malaysia will continue to insure that the educational system meets the national, economic, and political objectives outlines in the Plan. The educational system is undergoing restructuring, with the aid of new educational technology to improve the curriculum and course content. General education at the upper secondary, college and university levels, will be replaced by vocational, scientific and

---

[70] Deschooling Society, pp. 125-26.

[71] Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysia Plan 1966-1970, pp. 101-5.

technical education. Priority will be given to "a more equitable distribution of educational opportunities at these levels between rural and urban children and between East and West Malaysia."[72]

With financial assistance from the World Bank, it was possible to establish three new general secondary schools, to extend two existing schools in Sabah and to expand a Vocational School in Sarawak. At the time this study was being prepared, the Malaysian Government was expecting assistance from the World Bank to establish six Vocational Schools, three Agricultural Schools and five Technical Schools. All the Sekolah-Sekolah Lanjutan Kampong (Continuation Village Schools) will be converted into Vocational or Agricultural Schools. The main problem in existence is the lack of trained staff to equip all these extension programs, so teachers from overseas have been recruited to fill in the gaps until the local teachers emerge from their training in Technical and Vocational Colleges.[73]

In the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975, further improvements in the quality of education continues to carry momentum. The Plan provides for a Science Education Center in Kuala Lumpur for the improvement in the curriculum and the teaching of science and mathematics. The Special Services Unit of the Center will concentrate on

---

[72]Ibid., pp. 105-6.

[73]Ibid., p. 106.

curriculum development, teaching methods, in-service training, seminars for teachers of mathematics and science. This center will work closely with the Regional Center for Science and Mathematics (RECSAM) in Penang and the Universities. The Educational Television Service (ETV) which was only an experiment in the previous Plan has been utilized since 1972 to provide programs to reach primary and secondary pupils in both urban and rural areas. The televised series are in civics, languages, science and mathematics.[74]

Although the Second Malaysia Plan continues to focus its program at the disadvantaged rural children and the poor, problems exist in attracting and retaining teachers for the rural schools. Another problem encountered is equipping rural schools to the high standards achieved in most urban schools. Further attempts are being made with ten pilot residential secondary science schools located at various districts to recruit mainly rural children who are selected on the basis of the Standard Five Assessment Test. Pupils are taught science, mathematics and technical subjects in preparation for the national examinations common to all schools.[75]

As it clearly states, the Second Malaysia Plan for

---

[74]Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975 (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1971), p. 238.

[75]Ibid., p. 237.

education follows through what has been outlined in the First Malaysia Plan. In addition the Second Malaysia Plan emphasizes that training program must be geared to the man power needs of the country; that the quality of education is the building of a progressive society oriented toward modern science and technology; that improvement in research, planning and implementation be at par with the stated objectives in the Plan. Furthermore in the interest of national integration, the National Language or Bahasa Malaysia will be implemented in stages, so that since 1975 all subjects, except the English and other languages, have been taught in Bahasa Malaysia at the primary level in all English medium primary schools and by 1982 secondary education, including Form Six, will be taught in the National Language. In terms of national integration and unity, the educational programs should bridge the gap among regions and races. Eventually the educational system in East Malaysia will follow the national system.[76]

As one of the objectives of the Plan is to prepare its citizens for the manpower needs of the country, MARA has undertaken to expand opportunities for on-the-job training for rural Malays and other indigenous people, for skilled employment in industry. The Training Service of the Manpower Department has undertaken a pilot in-plant

---

[76]Ibid., p. 232.

group training in collaboration with the private sector. The Government intends to continue in-plant training programs both in Malaysia and overseas with financial assistance and other incentives, to meet the demands for skilled and semi-skilled production workers.[77]

Leaving aside the educational programs in the Second Malaysia Plan, the following section will briefly state the background and the dynamic thrust of the political and economic parts of the Plan. On May 13, 1969, the political stability of the country was shaken by racial disputes that exploded in a violent bloodshed. The Government took measures and imposed a kind of martial law. Parliament was dissolved and the National Security Council took over the reins. A code of moral and civic behavior called the Rukunegera was proclaimed throughout the country. Every student in school had to learn and recite the verses contained in the Rukunegera at the assembly. Called the Pillars of the Nation, the Rukunegera is as follows

> OUR NATION, MALAYSIA, being dedicated
> to achieving a greater unity of all her peoples;
>
> to maintaining a democratic way of life;
> to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably shared;
> to ensuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse and cultural traditions;
> to building a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology;

---

[77] Ibid., pp. 240-41.

WE, her peoples, pledge our united efforts to attain these ends guided by these principles:

Belief in God (Keperchayaan kapada Tuhan)
Loyality to King and Country (Kesetiaan kapada Raja dan Negara)
Upholding the Constitution (Keluhoran Perlembagaan)
Rule of Law (Kedaulatan Undand-Undang)
Good Behavior and Morality (Kesopanan dan Kesusilaan).[78]

The Rukunegera defines the relationship between the citizen and the State, the commitment of the State toward the citizen and vice-versa. The interest of the nation must be placed before the interest of the individual. This should bring about stability and security for all citizens. The Rukunegera proclaims a set of beliefs--a democratic, just, liberal and progressive society that should result in a united nation. The state and its citizens should work toward the creation of nation in which all regard themselves as Malaysians, irrespective of race or creed. A democratic society can be maintained if the interest of a country is put before the interest of any sectional group. The constitution safeguards the liberties and rights of its citizens, but these rights should not be abused. A just society can exist if all members have an equal opportunity to enjoy the material well-being of the nation, where there is an equitable distribution of the nation's wealth and where there is no exploitation by any one group by another.

---

[78] Rukunegera, English Translation (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press), p. 6.

A liberal society ensures that its members are free to practice and profess their own religions, customs and cultures consistent with the requirements of national unity. A progressive society enables the nation to keep in step with scientific and technological advancement. This can be done without losing sight of spiritual values.[79]

The Rukunegera hinges on a set of principles. The nation has been founded on a firm belief in God. Islam is the state religion but no one is discriminated against because of his religion. It is imperative that a citizen be loyal to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (King) who is the sovereign Head of the State. Likewise such respect and loyalty should be given to all rulers of the respective states. Loyalty to King and Country should bind all races into one single, united nation. It is the duty of every citizen to uphold, respect and appreciate the letter, the spirit and the historical background of the Constitution. The Constitution proclaims that Islam is the State religion, that Malay is the official language, that the Malays and the other natives (aborigines) hold a special position in the country. The Rule of Law makes every citizen equal before the law. It guarantees liberty, equal protection, freedom of religion and rights of property. There is promise of freedom of speech, assembly and association which should be

---

[79]Ibid., pp. 7-10.

freely enjoyed, subject only to limitations imposed by law. Good behavior and morality should restrain the citizens from any behavior offensive to the sensitivities of any one group. No one should question the loyalty of another citizen on the ground that he belongs to a particular community. Good behavior requires a high standard of morality in both a citizen's public and private life.[80]

Since the incident of May 13, 1969, it is the aspiration of the leaders of Malaysia, that this set of civic and moral principles be impregnated in the mind of the citizens, in particular the youth of the country. It should instill in them a sense of belonging, of commitment to the notion of nationhood, and mould them into obedient subjects, law-abiding and well-behaved individuals. In thus keeping order and maintaining peace among the racial groups, the Malaysian Government continues on with its program and projects for economic and social development.

For the period 1971-1975, the Second Malaysia Plan was put into operation. The Plan has eight broad objectives bearing almost the same principles and policies of the previous Plans. The objectives are to be achieved through projects, programs and policies designed to:

1. generate employment opportunities;
2. increase the productivity and income of low productivity rural and urban occupations;

---

[80]Ibid., pp. 11-15.

3. expand opportunities for those engaged in low productivity activities;

4. reduce the existing inequitable distribution of income between income classes and races;

5. promote the creation of a commercial and industrial community among Malays and other indigenous people so that they will own at least 30 percent of the total commercial and industrial activities;

6. modernize rural life and improve the living conditions of the poor in the urban areas;

7. ensure that employment in the various sectors of the economy and employment levels will reflect racial composition; and

8. expand education and training facilities, social services and the physical infrastructure of the country.[81]

The objectives seem comprehensive and encompass all that relate to rural development, economic and social betterment, educational opportunities and social services. Within the core of the Second Malaysia Plan is the New Economic Policy, a bold and challenging declaration the Government puts before the nation. This declaration was made public on January 23, 1971 by the then Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak. It has two basic thrusts which are the eradication of poverty irrespective of race and the restructuring of society through modernization of rural life. The Second Malaysia Plan is not merely an extension of the former Five Year Plans, but a very definitive program of development in which greater emphasis is placed on the ideal

---

[81] Information Malaysia 1976-1977 (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Snd. Bhd., 1977), p. 143.

of correcting economic imbalances, to gradually eradicating identification of race with economic function. The Economic Policy will provide every opportunity to the less privileged to increase their chances for education, training, employment, and participation in the commercial and industrial community. It promises to favor the have-nots, the poor, the illiterate, and in particular the Malays and the other indigenous people, so that they will have their share of the wealth of the nation.[82]

Under the Second Malaysia Plan, the agricultural resources of the country are to be fully utilized to integrate the agricultural sector with the industrial sector, thus harmonizing the balance between rural and urban activities. Under-employment and low productivity are the two factors of rural life. To implement the programs of the New Economic Policy such Government institutions as the Council for Indigenous People (Majlis Amanah Ra'Ayat of MARA), the National Corporation (PERNAS), the Federal Industrial Development Authority (FIDA), the Malaysian Industrial Finance (MIDF), and the Urban Development Authority (UDA) are to provide the necessary technical and financial assistance for Malay commercial and industrial enterprises, either entirely owned by Malays or in joint venture with non-Malays.[83]

---

[82] Highlights of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975 (Government Printing Press, 1973), pp. 4-5

[83] Ibid., p. 7.

The Malaysian Government, working through the institutions mentioned above takes the initiative to set up commercial and industrial enterprises. The Government agencies hold these in trust and eventually transfer them to the Malays and the other indigenous people. The Government will attempt to create new growth centers and townships and encourage the dispersal of industries, thus urbanizing and modernizing existing and new areas of industrial activity. As it is often emphasized, Malays and the other indeigenous people wilo be given specialized training to equip them to be owners and managers of commercial and industrial ventures.[84]

Programs centering around agricultural development are to assist the farmer in being more productive through the use of modern equipment and methods in farming. The opening up of new land for agriculture, the diversification of crops such as sugar, cocoa, soya beans, maize, pepper, sorghum and so forth, will provide new and more employment for rural people. The Government is providing every kind of assistance by supplying improved seeds, fertilizers, modern equipment and techniques, cash subsidies, cooperative credits and technical expertise to the farmer. Through agencies as the Farmers' Association, Bank Pertanian (Agricultural Bank), and the Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority

---

[84]Ibid.

(FAMA), improved marketing arrangements and credit are provided for the farmer.[85]

Reports on the Malaysian economy indicate that though the agricultural sector has been relatively expanding, it accounts for a smaller share of the total output of the economy. Rubber and oil-palm, the second only to rubber as an export item, make up about 40 percent of the total agricultural production. The next most important factor is the increasing focus on manufacturing. It is projected that by 1990, manufacturing will account for 35 percent of the total output, supplying employment for about 22 percent of the population. Manufacturing will absorb more Malays and the other indigenous people into the industrial sector.[86]

A statistical survey made in 1970 showed the racial breakdown of share capital ownership of foreign interests accounted for 61 percent of the total share capital. Chinese ownership accounted for 22 percent of the total Malaysian share. Foreign investment is largest in agriculture and mining which accounted for 50 to 60 percent of the total in maufacturing, commerce and finance. While Chinese ownership of share capital in industries is between 40 and 50 percent, Malay interests and ownership of capital share is 2 percent. The target set by the Government is that within

---

[85] Ibid., p. 6.

[86] Information Malaysia 1976-1977, p. 154.

a period of twenty years, Malays and the other indigenous people will own and manage 30 percent of the total commercial and industrial activities of the country. In the process of restructuring the economy along such lines, the Government assures the non-Malays, that there

> should be no grounds for fear or anxiety on the part of the other Malaysians that government intervention in the private sector on behalf of the Malay community will lead to deprivation of the rights and prospect of non-Malays.[87]

The Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980) constitutes the second phase of the New Economic Policy. It will extend and build on the achievements of the previous Plan. It will continue its campaign to reduce poverty in the rural areas by expanding employment opposrtunities, opening up new lands and growth centers, increasing employment opportunities in manufacturing, construction, promotion of small scale industries, improving the real income of the rural people through low cost housing and other public services. It will raise the quality of life of all Malaysians, particularly the poor through the expansion of education programs, health services, family planning and housing. The Malays and the other indigenous people will continue to receive assistance in seeking employment in all aspects of agricultural, industrial and commercial activities. They will be encouraged and assisted to become entrepreneurs, so that by 1990, they

---

[87] Ibid., p. 144.

will own and manage 30 percent of the capital of the nation.[88]

To achieve the objects of the Third Malaysia Plan, the Government will encourage and support private investment, both domestic and foreign. All the abundant human and natural resources will be utilized effectively. Regional development will be given top priority, in particular the less developed states in the country, such as Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu, Malacca as well as Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia.[89]

The economic picture of the country during the Third Malaysia Plan seems bright. Experts account for 46.7 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP), and imports supply 47.8 percent of domestic requirements. This shows that the Malaysians are growing their own produce more abundantly for home consumption and that they have more cash to spend on the other necessities of life. The agricultural and manufacturing sectors are progressively contributing to the economy, providing more employment opportunities, and raising the income level of the poor. Mining for tin, which is in a stage of depletion, will be replaced by exploration for oil and natural gas. Deposits of oil and natural gas have been found in Sabah and Sarawak and the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia. Export earnings will increase with in-

---

[88] Ibid., p. 145.

[89] Ibid.

creasing prices and volume. It is anticipated that the price of natural rubber will rise by 5.8 percent, while oil palm and palm kernel oil will decrease due to the expansion of the world supply of fats and oil in relation to demand.

It is indisputable that social and economic imbalances have their roots in historical and cultural bases. The character of technological changes initiated by the government is aimed at eleiminating the disparities between the urban and rural sectors, between the racial groups. The external reforms of restructuring the economy may be praiseworthy and show statistical progress. Malaysia's village level programs are designed to accomplish national goals of economic development. If and when the rural people are involved in defining grassroots problems, their commitment to caary out government policies, projects and programs will apparently be greater. Government officials should in turn welcome constructive criticisms from the local people as part of the effort to be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people.

The themes in this study welcome the executives of government projects to consider alternative approaches to arrive at achieving the goals of development. Progress is not necessarily measured by production figures and the number of buildings and bridges that are built. In Illich's Tools for Conviviality he argues that most of the tools used

by industrialists are "carefully programmed to look at the world through the prisms of profit and power, most of its goals are set by the need for more power and efficiency."[90] Hopefully, government change agents do not fall into this trap. If development programs are meant to meet the needs of the rural people, it would be worthwhile to consider alternative approaches as suggested by Illich in the learning networks whereby village people are allowed to participate fully in the process of development and modernization.

---

[90] Tools for Conviviality, pp. 81-82.

CHAPTER IV

ILLICH'S "LEARNING WEB" THEORY

The first chapter has briefly treated Illich's view of education in the light of alternatives to schooling. The fourth chapter will deal more explicitly with Illich's theory of learning. Illich proposes four approaches to effective learning and gives his arguments for the elimination of traditional schooling. In Conscientization and Deschooling, John L. Elias mentions that Illich has to some extent modified his views on the deschooling of society, but the theory of learning on which Illich's argument rests remains unchanged.[91] The quote amplifies Illich's acknowledgement of the consequences of drastic change:

> I know that our criticism is destructive of one of the great creations of the last two generations. It pulls the rug out from under the only ritual which at this moment keeps stability. It calls for a radical alternative which we cannot imagine, because I do not know how imagines the sense of the future. It therefore opens the gates in a very much more subtle way than a politician would do to something as horrible as Jacobinism. The ideas which we profess about education are no less dangerous than the political ideas of the Enlightenment. I think the whole argument stands and falls on our unstanding of learning. If learning be the product of a

---

[91]Quoted in John L. Elias, ed., Conscientization and Deschooling (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), pp. 21-22.

> treatment, we would end up with the totally taught society, which almost necessarily leads to Vietnam.[92]

According to Illich, society is a chain of institutions that should not be allowed to function as they are. Some drastic reforms must be made to bring about a more humane life-style. Illich seems to blame the manipulators of society--industrialists, leaders of society and educators --for the way modern society functions and the ill effects of schooling. Illich believes that the poor, the children, the illiterate people of developing countries are the victims of instiutionalized schooling, of industrial exploitation and of expensive medical and social services. In Tools for Conviviality, Illich remarks that

> increasing manipulation of man becomes necessary to overcome the resistance of his vital equilibrium to the dynamic of growing industries; it takes the form of educational, medical, and administrative therapies. Education turns out competitive consumers; medicine keeps them alive in the engineered environment they have come to require; bureaucracy reflects the necessity of exercising social control over people to do meaningless work.[93]

Furthermore Illich warns the leaders of developing countries, who are seeking industrial advancement, of the traps highly industrialized nations have fallen into such as social polarization as a result of accelerated change. For example, he wrote

> Society can be destroyed when further growth of mass production renders the milieu hostile, when it extin-

---

[92] Ibid.

[93] Tools of Conviviality, p. 49.

> guishes the use of the natural abilities of societies' members, when it isolates people from each other and locks them into a man-made shell, when it undermines the texture of community by promoting extreme social polarization, or when cancerous acceleration enforces social change at a rate that rules out legal, cultural, and political precedents as formal guidelines to present behavior.[94]

In effect, Illich points out that the cost of industrialization weighs heavily on the fabric of human living. People lose control of their lives and are subject to the excessive demands of achieving the fruits of modernization.

Illich selects the school as one of the most pervasive influencing agents that have alienated man from true learning. Its traditional hidden curriculum demands compulsory attendance, age-grouping under an authoritarian teacher and a number of years of schooling to qualify for certification.[95] The school system, as it exists in many countries, is accepted for its itemized instructional commodities, its grading and its paper qualifications or certifications. According to Illich, "The hidden curriculum of school has been legislated in all the united nations, from Afghanistan to Zambia. It is common in the United States and the Soviet Union, to rich nations and poor, to electoral and dictatorial regimes."[96] It is Illich's contention that schools in developing countries tend to generate inequality

---

[94]Ibid., p. xi.

[95]Illich, Ivan D. et al., After Deschooling What? (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 6-10

[96]Ibid., p. 8.

by producing an elite class or minority who monopolize the schools and institutions to their own advantage while the common people are taxed to support the schools. In condemning schools, Illich observes:

> Obligatory schooling inevitably polarizes a society; it also grades the nations of the world according to an internaitonal caste system. Countries are rated like castes whose educational dignity is determined by the average years of schooling of its citizens, a rating which is closely related to per-capita gross national product, and much more painful.[97]

Illich believes that compulsory schooling is non-productive, isolating children from the real world and confining them within the walls of the institutions. Teachers in such a school system are custodians and task-masters who guide their students through a "drawn-out labyrinthine ritual"[98] and demand the observance of rules and regulations and the acquisition of skills. Teachers who combine the three functions of "judge, ideologue and doctor," aid in the "warping of the child much more than the laws which establish his legal or economic minority, or restrict his right to free assembly or abode."[99] Moreover, the curriculum is pre-designed, depriving children of the thrill of discovery and the use of their imagination. Illich is convinced that

> only participation constitutes socially valuable learning, a participation by the learner in every stage of the learning process, including not only a free choice of what is to be learned and how it is to be learned but

---

[97] Deschooling Society, p. 13.

[98] Ibid, pp. 44-46.

[99] Ibid., p. 46.

> also a free determination by each learner of his own reason for living and learning--the part that his knowledge is to play in his life.[100]

It is an educational process mainly for adults to pursue such a course of learning and not to accept what packaged information is offered. Illich assumes that a social structure with definite goals could be set up where people can search for facts, gain access to the tools and undertake the responsibility for the limits with which these tools could be used. "If a person is to grow up, he needs, in the first place, access to things, places, processes, events and records."[101]

Illich's idea of a deschooled society implies a new approach to learning--incidental or informal education. It does not necessarily mean reverting to village occupations where life was consistent with learning a skill or trade. It is Illich's contention that there could be "constructive technological alternatives to repressive education."[102] Modern society with its complex social, economic and political structure, including schools, is dependent on more specialized skills and intricate methods of imparting knowledge. Despite progress in technology, advanced industrialized countries are still confronted with communities where poverty, deterioration and inequality prevail. Illich's answer

---

[100] Ibid., p. 16.

[101] Ibid., p. 22.

[102] Ibid., p. 31.

to these situations is the proposal for "participatory, decentralized, and liberated learning technologies, and a radically altered vision of social relations in education."[103] It is through schools that the process of social transformation can take place. Therefore Illich recommends a radical theory of educational reform.

It seems that some of the observations and criticisms of Illich on the structure of the school system, its programmed instruction and the external rewards of grades, will remain with the educational system for a long time yet, but the alternative approaches to learning which Illich suggests could be made applicable in certain situations. Illich terms his proposal the four networks of learning indicated as follows:

1. Reference Services to Educational Objects.--which facilitate access to things or processes used for formal learning. Some of these things can be reserved for this purpose, stored in libraries, rental agencies, laboratories, and showrooms like museums and theaters; others can be in daily use in factories, airports, or on farms, but made available to students as apprentices or on off-hours.

2. Skill Exchanges.-- which permit persons to list their

---

[103]Ibid., p. 32.

skills, the conditions under which they are willing to serve as models for others who want to learn these skills, and the addresses at which they can be reached.

3. Peer Matching.--a communications network which permits persons to describe the learning activity which they wish to engage, in the hope of finding a partner for the inquiry.

4. Reference Services to Educators-at-Large.--who can be listed in a directory giving the addresses and self-description of professionals, para-professionals and free-lancers along with conditions of access to their services. Such educators, as we will see, could be chosen by polling or consulting their former clients.[104]

The four interrelated processes of learning, according to Illich, can function in an environment without compulsory schooling. It presupposes that self-motivated learning is possible to all students, irrespective of age groups. The first of these networks provides the necessary tools and aids to learning. It opens the door to all available resources at any time in the lives of students, without limiting them to classroom enrollment or age groups. The second calls for the exchange of skills among the skilled and the amateurs or unskilled. It affords everyone the autonomy to share what they know with those who want to

---

[104]Ibid., pp. 112-13.

learn from them. It assumes that each person is willing to share his knowledge and skills with another person and that the gap between the traditional teacher-lecturer and student is diminished. The third process invites persons who have similar interests, educational needs, or those with new ideas, to share, to meet and avail themselves of the opportunities to learn from each other. The fourth category of the "learning web" theory sets the stage for all educators to be made available to the learners through a directory indicating names, skills to offer, the place of meeting and the cost of services.

Using the four approaches to learning, it is to be expected that a new generation of self-motivated learners will emerge and that "personal, creative and autonomous inter-action"[105] will be revived between teachers and students in a liberal educational setting. However such stages of learning should not be initiated by goal setting procedures of administrators or educators, but should be based on the preliminary question: "What kinds of things or people might learners want to be in contact with in order to learn?"[106] Illich advocates the type of learning situation that promotes human freedom, equality and consent on the part of the learner. Learning is definitely more effective

---

[105]Eva Figes, "Reschooling Society," New Humanist 88 (July, 1972): 113.

[106]Ibid., p. 111.

when the learner can select what he wants to learn and from whom he desires to gain knowledge and skills. Illich does not deny that learning is frequently the result of instruction and that teaching contributes to certain kinds of learning under specific situations. He firther asserts that most learning takes place under casual cirdumstances, and that most intentional learning does not accrue from a planned program of instruction. It does not mean that learning does not occur from both methods--planned instruction and casual asquisition of knowledge and skills through an activity or leisure pursuits, but that both types of learning techniques need imporvement. Drill instruction which is the traditional way of imparting knowledge is scarce in the present system of instruction. For a highly motivated student who wants to master a complex skill, drill instruction is of prime importance. For example, adults who learn a second language frequently do so under more casual circumstances than classroom teaching. "Most people who learn a second language will do so as a result of odd circumstances and not of sequential teaching."[107] Children learn their first language from their parents under the most casual circumstances.

More productive learning could take place if the learner could be provided with access to essential tools and

---

[107]Ibid., p. 18

people who would promote an atmosphere of learning. Adults with specific skills could act as consultants or skill models who would impart their expertise to the young and amateurs. The elders in the community, with their store of knowledge and experience, are valuable resource persons for the young learner.[108]

Educational objects and aids could be stored in convenient places where the learners could get at them without too many obstacles. Illich admits that free access to tools or equipment could be abused. Some new arrangements should be set up and legal procedures put into operation so that services could be made accessible to those who wish to learn and to utilize educational objects and skill models.[109]

The following pages of this chapter will explore the possibilities of applying the proposed network of learning which Illich has formulated to the rural areas of Malayasia. Traditionally, the occupational activities of the rural people of Malayasia are marginally divided into such categories as the Malay rice-farmer, the Indian plantation worker and the Chinese Market-gardener, fisherman and small shop-owners. The main focus of this section of the chapter will be the rural native people who are the subject of most of the rural development projects for educational and training for skills.

---

[108] Ibid., pp. 108-9.

[109] Ibid., pp. 140-44.

As has been stated in Chapters I and III, the Malaysian Government has outlined national goals to remedy the imbalance of economic activities and provide opportunities for rural people to raise their standard of living. Among other programs is the education of rural youth. Under the jusrisdiction of the Ministry of Labor, an Institution called MARA[110] has been set up "to alleviate the plight of the bumiputras (indigenous peoples)."[111] The MARA Institute of Technology has been designed as a focal center for the training of bumiputra youth to achieve the national goal of restructuring society and providing economic growth. The Institute enlists only bumiputras in order to give priority to rural youth and "academically marginal students,"[112] in order "to rectify economic and social imbalances."[113] Rural youth and the underpriveleged are transferred from the rural areas to a city environment so that they may receive compensatory education, guidance, and tutoring to prepare such students to compete with youth from urban centers.

At the "Education and Human Resources Development Panel Seminar," held in 1973, the Director of MARA gave an "analysis and appraisal of this bold experiment in higher

---

[110] See Chapter III, p. 68.

[111] "Education and Human Resource Development Panel Seminar," Southeat Asia Development Advisory Group Reports, Singapore (September 24-26, 1973), p. 8

[112] Ibid., p. 9.

[113] Ibid.

education within the context of the general education goals and policies of Malaysia."[114] Many positive results were enumerated, such as the rise in enrollment, graduates securing employment in government and semi-government or private agencies, the greater earning power of MARA graduates as compared to parents or former classmates. Despite positive data on the feasibility of MARA, participants at the seminar questioned whether MARA graduates were expected to return to their rural homes, whether the curriculum was not too urbanized and whether or not agricultural and more rural related topics should be included in the curriculum. To these questions, the Director of MARA responded that the objective of MARA is to increase bumiputra (native) participation in commerce and industry and that it does not necessarily imply training personnel for rural areas. It is to be expected that MARA graduates would find employment or begin their own business in the rural sector.[115]

The report offered other views with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of MARA graduates. MARA certification has yet to gain popularity and acceptance in the labor market. In most instances, MARA graduates found employment in multi-national corporations because local enterprises were less willing to employ them. In most cases the degree students prefer white collar jobs and are unwilling

---

[114] Ibid., p. 8.

[115] Ibid., p. 9.

to work in rural areas. Furthermore, the participants at the seminar were of the opinion that MARA would best serve the local community if its branch campus could be located in less developed areas. It would also be less costly to operate if MARA, as a national educational institution, could be subsumed into the existing institutions of higher learning for MARA tended to duplicate university education and has been a positive factor in discriminating in favor of the bumiputras.[116] It is hoped tha "MARA could help boslster local educational capability instead of siphoning local talent to the urban centers."[117]

Following closely upon the four approaches of the learning web theory, Illich proposed, it seems appropriate to attempt to apply each of those channels of learning to the circumstances and situations in the rural areas of Malaysia. What do rural people need in the form of educational objects? Illich distinguishes two types of educational objects that are basic to learning. "Formal learning requires special access to ordinary things, on one hand, or on the other, easy access to special things made for educational purposes."[118] In the formal learning situation, a person may be given the special privilege of operating a machine and in the latter, the right to use "an abacus, a

---

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Deschooling Society, p. 114.

computer, a book, a botanical garden, or a machine withdrawn from production and placed at the full disposal of students."[119] Instead of being monopolized by professional educators, educational objects, Illich states, should be made available for "self-directed learning"[120] purposes. Educational objects should be on hand for inspection, for experimental learning, and for visual aid demonstration with instructions on how to operate them.

Educational objects relevant to the village people could be brought to village centers close to the mosque (place of worship for the Muslim), the village hall, and school building where children and households gather for community activities. Such centers could be the focal locations for the storage of educational objects, as well as meeting places for the exchange of skills, and peer-matching purposes and where directories on educators-at-large could be made available. Village centers could similarly serve as workshops for metal work or wood work for boys and domestic science facilities for girls. Adults as well as youth could utilize these centers at appropriate hours convenient to the workers and the students.

Relevant educational equipment such as that used in the rubber plantations, on the farms or related to village industries could be made available to apprentices on or off

---

[119] Ibid., p. 114.

[120] Ibid., p. 116.

work hours. Farm implements for rice planting, harvesting, threshing and so forth, could be on exhibit for students to ask questions about how they are made and used. The same could be applied to the equipment used in the rubber treatment centers and the Batik printing industries. New equipment to facilitate accuracy and speed could add to the familiar craftsmanship in batik printing, an old-time art of making colorful designs on cotton materials using natural vegetable dyes. Modern machinery such as boilers, presses, dryers could be introduced to improve the quality of the printed material and economize on the time taken up in producing quantity products desirable for income and profit.

As is traditionally done, rice farming and rubber tapping and processing and other village occupations are vital learning opportunities for students to observe how the equipment for all such activities are utilized. As batik printing is a prerogative of the native village people, the industry should be continued within sight of the village centers and not commercialized by large businesses in the urban areas. With village people managing the industry, it could increase employment for rural people and provide training for youth in the use of modern equipment, and in business and management oppostunities. Special instruments that are costly and intricate could be used by specific age groups, while manuals on how to operate and repair equipment

could be provided. If and when large factories are to be set up, Illich suggests that the plants and daily operations be made available to the public at specific hours for learning purposes. Such companies could be compensated for providing educational programs for the public.[121]

Other "educational artifacts" suggested by Illich include tool shops, libraries, laboratories and entertainment facilities. For entertainment purposes, the jukebox could supply classical and contemporary music; mobile libraries, circulating museums, film clubs and other activities could aslo be made available for the promotion of cultural and artistic talents. In line with Illich's suggested items for educational objects, the cost of providing such equipment as video tapes, film projectors and personnel should be decided upon by the village representatives. The program of operation of such centers, the hours for viewers and participants, the age groups that use the equipment require a team of trained personnel to conduct the programs. If such is the case, it takes time to train people in the planning and administration of educational centers. It is not impossible but is a desirable thing to introduce a few educational objects at a time and when the village people are ready for them. This all implies knowledge and accep-

---

[121]Ibid., p. 121.

tance of what is considered educational objects relevant to the jobs and living standards of the people.

Illich's second channel of learning is through the skill exchange method. The skill teacher or instructor is a person who pssesses a skill and in willing to demonstrate it to the learner. Illich believes that "a well-motivated student who does not labor under a specific handicap often needs no further assistance than can be provided by someone who can demonstrate on demand how to do what the learner wants to learn to do."[122] In a farming environment elders can initiate the art of rice-planting, harvesting and threshing usually carried out in the padi fields. The younger generation of village youth who have been helping their parents could continue to do so while they attend classes on the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Classes on the use of fertilizers, pest control and the use of new machinery for the processes of harvesting and threshing could be conducted at the skill centers where adults and youth alike could attend. At the same time knowledge and skills could be exchanged with mutual benefit. While the padi is in the process of growing, farmers could be occupied with other means of agriculture, such as market gardening and improving the fruit plants, or be employed in the canning industry. Some options should be allowed to the farmer

---

[122]Ibid., p. 127.

who wishes to engage in fishing or other village industries.

Whatever the farmer does, either in the fields or in village industries, the community of children and youth could participate in for a couple of hours per day. At workshops for wood work and metal work, farm implements could be made on a cooperative basis, the skill master demonstrating to the learner the stages of fashioning a piece of wood or metal to become a sickle, used in the harvesting of padi, and the wooden plough for use in churning up the earth before the planting season. Other useful household equipment could also be made as the need requires. Craftwork, weaving of baskets, mats, straw hats are basic village skills that could easily be lost if these skills were not passed on to the younger generation. Women and housewives could be called upon to share their skills in craftwork and culinary expertise in the domestic science classes that could be conducted in the homes or at the skill centers. In exchange, housewives could attend classes on child-care, health and nutrition given by medical personnel. Literacy classes could be taught to village women who may need to know how to read instructions on drugs and medical terminology on food, about illnesses and their causes, on first-aid and the rudiments of nursing a child. A mobile unit with visual aids could facilitate the understanding of health terms and preventive measures, thus reducing the incidence of accidents in the

home and at work. These units would also provide information which would show what to do in the case of a child who had been poisoned or burned.

At the skill centers, teachers could act as resource persons or guides in stimulating the interests of adults and children in using the mobile library for leisure reading on topics of interest. Similarly, career orientations could help develop young pupils and talents could be detected and cultivated. By the time the pupils reach the secondary stage of education, basic engineering courses could be introduced. Construction of houses, plumbing, drainage and irrigation skills could be applied directly within the community, utilizing the resources from the natural surrounding. Engineers, consultants, and technical assistance could be supplied, while labor could be provided by skilled or semi-skilled adults and youth in on-the-job training corps.

Illich suggests a "bank" for skill exchanges. "Each citizen would be given a basic credit with which to acquire fundamental skills. Beyond that minimum, further credits would go to those who earned them by teaching, whether they served as models in organized skill centers or did so privately at home or on the playground.[123] This method would benefit university or college students who could gain credits if they left the grounds of the university and

---

[123]Ibid., p. 130.

offered their services to the village skill centers.

The third approach to the network of learning is the peer-matching system. Illich considers it more desirable and mutually beneficial to both parties if similar interests could be shared among peers. In skill teaching, some incentive must be offered to the instructor; also people might be unwilling to teach a skill if the renumeration offered is too low. "A peer-matching system requires no such incentives, but only a communications network."[124] A simple way of operating a peer-matching system is for a person to give his name and address, then describe the activity for which he is looking for a peer. In large cities, a computer system could be utilized to solicit a peer with the same interest. Another method could be the use of bulletin boards and newspaper advertisements where a list of activities is published. Interested persons would then submit their names and addresses to the system. "The only way to retrieve a name and address from the computer would be to list an activity for which a peer is sought."[125]

In the villages or kampongs of Malaysia, the best method of peer-matching communications would be through the skill centers where bulletin boards with names and addresses of people within a radius of five to ten miles could be listed. Village people operate on a less complex system and

---

[124] Ibid., p. 133.

[125] Ibid., p. 134.

a computer would be unsuited to the retrieving of names or addresses. The village chief or Ketua who assembles the people for the Friday Muslim service or the announcer of Christian service could circulate a list of activities for which peers are needed. Youth groups or organizations that meet weekly could have the list of activities circulated through their leaders. In the meeting of village chiefs from various kampongs (villages) the peer-matching system could be ocmmunicated and groups from villages could assemble to meet their peers of similar interests at the time and day agreed upon.

The peer-matching system could be "abused for exploitative and immoral purposes as the telephones and the mails have been abused."[126] But if the system is operated through the network of the community of local chiefs and leaders the opportunity for abuse is lessened. Peer-matching allows people the right of free assembly. It should make it as feasible for individuals to call a group together as easily as the village siren called the villages to a council meeting. Illich thinks that a voucher system would serve the purpose of drawing "very young leaders and great educators"[127] into the peer-matching system. It would seem more profitable to use this approach with students in higher education. They could be using part of their educational

---

[126] Ibid., p. 136.

[127] Ibid.

vouchers in private tutorials with consultors and teachers of their choice, while some time could be put aside for the peer-matching network and apprenticeships.

How could this system of matching people of similar interests work in the village situation? It would seem that adults and youth within the villages and having similar interests would be encouraged to share and exchange. It could be in the areas of kite-making or the art of self-defence, providing recipes for special festival menus, performing traditional dancing or learning a new language. Village adults meet often for various activities of a religious and social nature. Peer-matching should encourage people in local communities to preserve their cultural and social life, as well as seek peers from other racial groups and communities in sharing experiences and knowledge. Illich believes that "there is an important sense in which people who have never lived together in a physical community may occasionally have far more experiences to share than those who have known each other from childhood."[128] Illich supports this statement by saying that great religions have recognized the need to call the faithful to council meetings and seminars, arranged pilgrimages and given financial support to temples and monasteries. This is significant in the Muslim, Buddhist and Christian groups in Malaysia. The sense

---

[128]Ibid., pp. 137-38.

of brotherhood among Muslim people is strong in the calling together of families and communities in the villages or cities throughout the country. The weekly Friday prayer service brings villages out to the mosques. Added to this are the village meetings of chiefs or Ketua.

Religious festivals and social events are numerous reasons for village assemblies and mutual interest groups could accrue without any obstacle. Women from cities would benefit from associating with village women and learn the art of batik printing. The latter would benefit from the modern techniques of design, color schemes and marketing of such products. For youth, the learning of a second language would mutually benefit the students from urban areas who would like to learn Malay and the village youth who would need to study the English language. This peer-matching system of language learning would facilitate understanding the nuances and folk-lore associated with the Malay language for urban students and the mastering of the English language for rural youth, who would need to study subjects in the sciences and technology of modern equipment for use in agriculture and village industries.

Peer-matching is far more significant, according to Illich, for people in urban areas where local communities are fast disappearing.

> Peer-matching should encourage the restoration of local life to cities from which it is now disappearing. A man

> who recovers his initiative to call his fellows into meaningful conversation may cease to settle for being separated from them by office protocol or suburban etiquette.[129]

Peer-matching would offer an outlet for "the many potential but suppressed communities of the city."[130] Moreover, urbanites using the peer-matching approach would lessen or break down their dependence on bureaucratic government services, and allow students to select their instructors, and the patients their physicians.[131]

The fourth alternative in the learning theory proposed by Illich is reference services to educators at large. For the operation of the network of learning, Illich suggests three categories of professional educators: the administrator who is capable of creating and operating the channels of educational exchanges outlined in his proposal, the student-parent counselor who can act as guide and advisor to students and parents on educational endeavors, and the initiator or leader who opens the paths to exploratory intellectual pursuits. As Illich states,

> To design and operate the networks I have been describing would not require many people, but it would require people with the most profound understanding of education and administration, in a perspective quite different from and even opposed to that of schools.[132]

The three categories of professional educators in Illich's framework of educational services must be different

---

[129] Ibid., p. 138.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., p. 139.

[132] Ibid., p. 141.

from the types that control the school system of the present day. Instead of being a puppet of the board of trustees or legislators, the educational administrator would have to be a person with the innate quality "of keeping themselves and others, out of people's way, at facilitating encounters among students, skill models, educational leaders, and educational objects."[133] The administrator, it would seem, would have to be a very effective public relations person, as well as an independent coordinator. The task calls for public trust and independent funding with no outside control.

The role of the student-parent counselor would have to be that of a vocational/technical career guidance pedagogue who would assist students in the wise choice of a course of studies leading to a career, in the selection of instructor, materials and methods "most suitable to their talents, character, and the time available for study."[134] As a professional educator, his task would be to serve as an educational resource person for students and to provide parents with information and advice on the educational goals of their children.

The educational leader or initiator would have to be a talented, intellectual master whose role would be to lead students in a progressive, intellectual exploration of academic as well as fruitful leisure pursuits. As Illich puts it,

---

[133]Ibid., p. 142.

[134]Ibid., p. 143.

> The relationship of master and disciple is not restricted to intellectual discipline. It has its counterpart in the arts, in physics, in religion, in psychoanalysis, and in pedagogy. It fits mountain-climbing, silverworking and politics, cabinetmaking and personnel administration.[135]

Moreover, the relationship between master and pupil would be that of a friendship with no ulterior motives, a discipleship of moral values, an absence of manipulation and a privilege desirable to both.

The application of the fourth approach to the network of learning would require specialists in administration and supervision, in subject fields and in career guidance. It would demand a team of educators with an intellectual calibre and training.

The administrator would perform tasks similar to that of a principal of a school system, except that he would be less burdened with desk and paper work, and could spend most of his time as a facilitator and supervisor of the networks of learning. He would have to meet with the chiefs of the villages, the Skill Center personnel, the instructors and counselors. The administrator would have three to five Skill Centers under his supervision. Each Skill Center could be serving about twenty to twenty-five families and a student population of 150 to 250 students. Assistant administrators could be appointed to assist the chief administrator in developing grass-roots personnel at the Skill Centers

---

[135]Ibid., p. 145.

and conducting community meetings to determine the needs of the local people.

The dual role of the career guidance counselor would have to be that of student-counselor and parent-advisor. The career counselor would have to conduct group sessions on the availability of educational objects, peer-matching systems, skill exchange possibilities and referrals to master-instructors. He would have to make orientation visits with groups of students to factory plants, rice mills, rubber processing stations, and so on, so that students could have the opportunity to better decide what training choices they could make. For the first month, students could spend a week each in observing three to four factories or plants. Students and counselor would then discuss a choice of a major course of studies and on-the-job training slots. This would afford students some direction in peer-matching and skill exchange schedules and selections. The guidance counselor, as parent-advisor, would have to call quarterly meetings of parents and acquaint them with their children's choice of courses and their progress at the Skill Center, or on-the-job training slots. He should also assign some time to contacting individual families of students.

The educational leader or initiator would have to be a well-informed person on the teaching staff. As his task would be to motivate students and stimulate interest in

academic as well as leisure pursuits, he should be aware of the facilities pertaining to job training opportunities, educational objects at the Skill Center, profitable peer-matching and skill exchange sessions. He would be in the curriculum and course development team dealing with such course offerings as English-as-Second-Language instruction; agricultural science, including animal husbandry; improved soil and land utilization, as well as pest control; engineering science, with special emphasis on irrigation and drainage to offset flooding disasters; electricity works and home construction; and subjects dealing with health and preventive measures and survival skills. Each educational leader or initiator would have about twenty-five students under his direction.

All personnel in the network of learning would have to be Malay/English bilingual in dealing with villages in the rice-growing areas, Tamil/English bilingual in the rubber estates, and Chinese/English bilingual in villages with Chinese settlers. Variations of dialects known would be a great asset, especially in dealing with farmers and rural people. Before setting up the network outlets, all personnel involved should constantly be aware of the human resource development goals as indicated in Chapter I of this study.

The alternative approaches to learning as proposed

by Illich would have to be functional at a minimal cost. Any supply of equipment would have to be related to production units in factories and village industries. Machinery used should be simple, not so complicated as to warrant special training to maintain and repair them.

In the advent of operating the four channels of learning, Illich outlines four goals to be observed:

1. To liberate access to things by abolishing the control which persons and institutions now exercise over their educational values.

2. To liberate the sharing of skills by guaranteeing freedom to teach or exercise them on request.

3. To liberate the critical and creative resources of people by returning to individual persons the ability to call and hold meetings--an ability now increasingly monopolized by institutions which claims to speak for the people.

4. To liberate the individual from the obligation to shape his expectations to the services offered by any extablished profession--by providing him with the opportunity to draw on the experience of his peers and to entrust himself to the teacher, guide, advisor, or healer of his choice.[136]

Illich's theory of alternative ways to learning is rooted in liberating people from being manipulated and subjected to increased dependence on institutional demands. It should offer the individual the freedom to learn, to share knowldedge and experience without being restrained by certification requirements or licencing from an accredited institution.

---

[136]Ibid., pp. 149-50.

CHAPTER V

IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPLICATIONS

In the implementation of the suggested network of learning, many factors have to be considered that could affect or be affected by the changes involved in rural Malaysian development. This chapter will consider the cultural, social and religious factors that might pose as barriers to human resource development. As indicated in Chapter I, the concept of development is not only based on the acquisition of technical expertise in terms of agricultural production, but also the basic advancement of a rural people's abilities to participate in the decisions and actions that affect their lives. In Chapter II, the socio-economic, political and religious nature of Malaysia and its inhabitants have been treated with a focus on the ethnic compostition of the population. As mentioned in Chapter III, the process of rural development has been initiated principally by the designated institutions created by the national government under the auspices of the Five Year Plans. The objectives and goals of achieving progress in economic growth through rural development projects and programs are praiseworthy in the statistical reports of invest-

ments and inputs on the part of the government. There are indications of physical input in all aspects of economic growth; the provision of more school buildings and classrooms, greater investment of physical aids in education and the training of teachers; the expansion of social and health services; and the concerted efforts of the national government in attempting to improve the living conditions of the bumiputras or natives of the country.

According to Illich's recommendation for the development of rural people, the goals and objectives of the Five Year Plans would run contrary to his idea of grassroots involvement in development programs. The provisons of more classrooms and equipment would not be the answer to the educational development programs since the kind of instruction media, learning situations, and programs generated are not suitable for rural people. The fact that government initiated programs that demand visible accomplishments for the sake of producing statistics to confirm its efforts at modernization would be opposed to Illich's concept of human development.

Despite the attempts by government schemes to speed up development in rural areas, there are many parts of rural Malaysia still untouched by national development programs. Such sore spots are visible sights of poor housing conditions, occasional flood and hazards and poor means of trans-

portation. What could be the reasons for such neglect? Some of the reasons might be lack of funds or that certain regions are given priority over others, or non-compliance from local leaders or the rejection of government projects by the rural community, due to insufficient motivation or other imbedded obstacles linked with religious and cultural values held by rural people. The rural inhabitants, having lived as they have done for years in their traditional structures of family and community life, of tilling the earth for their basic needs, sufficient to see them through the year without the threat of famine, do not readily perceive the necessity to grow two crops per year if they can do with one. Thus increased productivity is not an immediate incentive.

What would Illich conceive as a program of rural development that is relevant to the rural inhabitants of Malaysia? As elaborated in Chapter IV, the application of Illich's learning network could be emphasized again as it relates to a rural development program. The outline of such a program is conceivable, as follows:

1. Establish village centers for twenty to twenty-five families where the villagers meet for religious and social purposes. Since the majority of the farming families are Muslims, the existence of a mosque and a common meeting hall could provide meeting grounds for religious, social functions and group discussions.

2. Open weekly market places where rural people could sell their farm produce and with that income, purchase the necessary household equipment and farm implements.
3. Allow the villagers to elect their chief and representatives to run community services, to operate workshops and supervise programs in education and health.
4. Hold weekly meetings or emergency calls for villagers to meet, duscuss, offer suggestions and express the problems encountered at work or within the families.
5. Let the lines of communication be open between rural people and Government advisors or technical experts, so that any attempt at experimentation be first discussed, explained and accepted by the rural people for a period on a trial basis. If such an experiment is considered undesirable by the local people, it should be discontinued.
6. Encourage the use of educational programs of skill exchange and peer-matching among adults and youth, so that the adults feel that their skills and knowledge are not by-passed by modern technology, and that the younger generation be open to the introduction of new techniques, especially in the field of farming and manufacturing.
7. Initiate self-help programs among rural people, especially among the different racial and ethnic groups so as to promote stronger community consciousness.

8. Promote marketable skills among the women, so that the household income be raised to provide for better health and nutrition for the entire family.
9. Make available loans for farm equipment and development schemes to all ethnic groups, not as an obligation to repay the Government, but as an incentive for improving farm yields and better living conditions.
10. Allow the villagers to manage their own cooperatives and credit unions as they conceive of these as instrumental to their economic welfare.
11. Initiate decision-making process among the villagers on local issues and elicit participation and articulation on national development programs.
12. Encourage the use of a common language as a unifying force without compelling it as a prerequisite for entry-level jobs.
13. Open up more inter-village transportation paths to link villages within a radius of about ten to fifteen miles.

This outline of special directions for the development of rural people could be followed to the advantage of the people themselves. The Government representatives could act only as facilitators to national development and not as enforcers of national goals.

Before dealing with the cultural, social and reli-

gious obstacles to development, it would be helpful to review the terms modernization, industrialization and development as these apply to Malaysia. In his book, Asian Values and Modernization, Peter S. J. Chen selected six leading social scientists for their concept of the terms modernization, industrialization and development. According to S. N. Eisenstadt, modernization is the key concept which includes industrialization, education, economic development and rural development. Modernization, to Wilbert Moore, another social scientist, involves changes in political, social and economic spheres. It adopts the latest procedures in administration, mass communications, public health, education, career placement, urban transportation and village organization.[137] According to Reihard Bendix, development encompasses both industrialization and modernization. The first involves technical and economic changes and the latter refers to social and political changes due to industrialization, as has taken place in Western cultures. Modernization may not necessarily accompany industrialization. It may precede industrialization or lag behind. Marion Levy terms modernization as a process of westernization. If it is accomapanied by industrialization it leads to development. It places great emphasis on science, increased specialization,

---

[137]Seah Chee Meow, ed., Asian Values and Modernization (Singapore: University Press Pte Ltd., 1977), p. 25.

materialistic ethics, bureaucracy and so on.[138]

Modernization, as described by David Apter, is the result of commercialization and industrialization. In non-Western countries modernization can take place as a result of commercialization and not necessarily industrialization. Development, modernization and industrialization are three related concepts that can be placed in a descending order. Development, the most general, is alrgely due to the processes of modernization and insudtrialization. Modernization presupposes three conditions--a social system that can withstand innovation and provides the skills and knowledge necessary to function in a technically advanced society. Industrialization is a special process of modernization where manufacturing becomes an important factor. According to Apter, modernization can take place without much industry, but without modernization, industrialization cannot happen.[139]

As has happened in some Third World countries, a rush into modernization results in an uneven pattern of development. A class-and-status-conscious society is created in which the elite in power exploit the majority. Modern values and norms are imbibed unconditionally by the population and chaos often results to disrupt the political and social systems.[140] Despite interruptions caused by the

---

[138]Ibid., p. 26 [139]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[140]Ibid., p. 28.

demise or change of leaders, the Malaysian Government is proceeding quite steadily with its plans for rural devlopment. There are obstacles to surmount and there is plenty of room for improvement. Grass-roots cooperation has to be tapped more effectively for modernization to proceed without stagnation or interruption.

What kinds of changes are expected and how can such changes affect the fabric of rural life? The social and religious attitudes towards change and social institutions to which rural people belong are inevitably affected by external pressures exerted by Government plans for economic development and modernization. How do the people react to innovations and change exerted on them? This can be seen in their attitude and behavior towards government policies, their acceptance of and participation in development plans and projects. Consciously or unconsciously, held back by inhibitions, lack of education, cultural and religious values and so forth., the general attitude of rural people is to leave the socio-political decisions to the leaders of the nation. Reinforcing this attitude is the fact that legislation is made at the top level by the leaders and groups of politicians with little or no input from the grass-roots level.

The traditional attitude of respect for authority and acceptance of one's fate as belonging to a certain class

--the commoner--discourages participation or interest in political affairs and this engenders apathy toward national development. Illich would prefer local development on a grass-roots basis as the point of origin of national development. Whether any encouragement is being made to elicit the local people's participation in the process of decision-making affecting the lives of rural people is left to question. The idea of democracy as a feature of the political system is not readily understood or conceived by the majority of Malaysians. The Western concept of democracy where laws are legislated with the consent of the majority of its citizens is lacking in its application. Occasional disturbances from underground insurgents have caused disruption to government projects in some rural areas. These agents of disruption are those who are resistant to the present political system or are demanding to be heard and equally treated. Whenever rumors of a village being disturbed by an underground group reach the state security office, a curfew is imposed and people are fearful to leave their homes to work on the fields or plantations. This slows down progress at the project site and impedes production.

Another obstacle to modernization is the general philosophy of being content with one's lot in life. The rural man's life is characterized by a certain calmness, tranquility and lassitude. He is not time conscious and

lives a leisurely pace, rising with the sun, doing his job without being hurried and does not feel obligated to complete his task on time. He can procrastinate without feeling the loss of time, money and opportunity. He is quite content with the little possessions he has and is not ambitious to compete or exert more energy than is necessary to survive. The rural man's attitude toward nature is "not to conquer or subjugate it by science and technology but to try to adapt and fit it within the given scheme of things."[141] His cosmological view makes him respect nature and prevents him from upsetting the balance of nature by introducing foreign elements, like fertilizers, to increase the yield of crops. On the other hand, the characteristics that are seen as obstacles to development are the mainstay of the rural people. They can suffer want and toil hard at manual work that brings very little profit but a great sense of satisfaction. If well utilized, their endurance would be an asset in that they could be ready to make sacrifices for national cause, which would aid in national development.

Illich sees planned technology as an erosion of hope and the raising of expectations in man. Illich explains hope as "man's trusting faith in the goodness of nature" and expectations as "reliance on results which are planned and controlled by man."[142] The Promethian ideal which robs man

---

[141] Ibid., p. 11. [142] Deschooling Society, p. 152-53.

of hope and places man's reliance on institutions should, according to Illich give rebirth to the Epithemean man who values hope and "loves people more than products."[143] Illich is suspicious of planned technology as it reduces man into robots and undermines creativity, making man more dependent on institutions and less on nature and individuals.

The Malaysian peasant is usually a hard worker but he does not see the necessity of improving his work patterns. The Five Year Plans of the Government are incentives urging him to consider using fertilizers to upgrade production, and modern equipment for time and labor saving. Other assistance offered to farmers include capital loans, cooperative credits, and technical assistance to assure productivity but such offers have to be translated into a language understood and acceptable to the peasant farmers.

In order to initiate the social and attitudinal change, the village leaders would first have to be convinced that such innovations are desirable and that they would improve the quality of life. For Illich, such change should be grassroots in origin. To begin with, village chiefs are the main channels of communication in ushering change that facilitates development. Utilizing and engaging the village chiefs, who are already recognized community leaders, as catalysts of change is one positive approach to assure co-

---

[143]Ibid., p. 164.

ordinated local participation and mobilization of community resources and personnel. As was suggested in Chapter IV of this dissertaion, the Skill Center could be the focal meeting ground between change agents and Government agencies. At the Skill Center local people could voice their opinions, aspirations on the reality of rural life--the poverty, exploitation and resentment--with the hope that the conditions of life will be understood by the initiators of change. In order to emancipate rural man, it is essential to create an atmosphere of mutual trust where there is a continual dialogue between the leaders, the initiators of change, and the local participants.

In order to understand the plight of rural people, initiators of change should be aware of the traditional cultural, religious and philosophical factors that govern their lives. There are social modes of behavior that dictate how income is to be spent. Festive occasions, weddings and funerals usually done on an elaborate fashion consume the bulk of the peasant farmer's savings. It is customary to lavish expenses on social events as a "face-saving" factor. Weddings and funerals can be celebrated for days to which friends and acquaintances are invited. To tell rural people to save for old age or exchange cash reserves or jewelry in gold and silver for bonds, insurance policies, certificates

for stocks and bonds, is alien to their traditional mode of thinking.[144]

When the peasant farmer is forced into a situation where he has to purchase agricultural implements and seeds from a given source, he learns the value of banking. He begins to compare the rate of interest imposed by a money lender (privately owned) as exorbitantly higher when compared to Government loans or loans from an accredited bank or other approved agencies. It is to their best interest that the farmers deposit their earnings in the local bank. This is assuredly a sign of progress. It has been a common practice for farmers to borrow from the village usurer or money lender who happens also to be the village merchant who takes the harvests in exchange for cash. The usurer makes his income by collecting and selling the produce of his debtor. An example is the purchasing of crops before it is harvested. The price offered is much less than the market value. The money lender fixes the price and the farmer has no choice but to accept the deal. In some instances, a debt begun by the father is carried on to the son.[145] To minimize the usurer's oppression on the peasant farmer, the introduction of credit unions is an asset to the farmer.

---

[144]Ibid., p. 16.

[145]Michael B. Mansap, "The Social Attitude in Asia and the Pacific Toward a Widespread Form of Slavery-Usury," Educators' Social Action Workshop, Speech 11 (Kyoto, Japan: August, 1971), pp. 1-3.

Government loans and the Cooperative Movement are other forms of assistance to rural people.

How does the peasant farmer benefit from being a member of a credit union? A credit union is organized among a group of people already united by a common bond and who are fairly well known to each other. A credit union functions along cooperative principles by furnishing its members with a convenient and secure means of saving money and obtaining credits at reasonable rates of interest. A credit union enables the farmer "to save regularly, borrow wisely and repay promptly."[146] It aids the farmer in building up capital and serves as an incentive to generate resources and activities. A credit union

> creates self-respect and teaches independence, an independence that comes when a man stands on his own feet and not dependent on the charity of others. Only when a man is free financially can he know the greater freedoms of the mind and self-determination in his own life.[147]

When a man feels a sense of security, he can look forward to the future with hope. It helps the farmer with a small income to gain credibility by knowing he can save, borrow or be in debt without bing downtrodden by any one person. He need not be resigned to a lifetime of poverty, for with the mutual assistance of the credit union he is being helped, supported, and financially secure.

---

[146] Ibid., p. 10.

[147] Ibid.

Another form of assistance to farmers to be economically self-reliant is to be a member of the Cooperative Movement. The Cooperative Movement is an organization of people with limited income, but of common economic interest. A Cooperative assists its members in the marketing of food products, to purchase supplies for producers, to provide housing, to secure consumer goods and services, to provide various forms of protection like insurance or health services, or supply community services like electric power or the installation of the telephone. There is no end to the services a Cooperative can provide to the daily needs of a person.[148]

To be a member of a Cooperative Movement means that a peasant farmer will have his rights protected as a producer. He will be able to operate on a self-help basis. As a member, he will own and control its operation. He will get an even share of its savings and profits on the principal of patronage refund. For anyone who voluntarily becomes a member, there is no artificial restriction, or any social, political or religious discrimination. The Cooperative Movement operates along democratic principles. Members learn to be accountable to each other and stand a chance of being elected to run the movement and participate in deci-

---

[148]Im Jin Chang, "The Social Attitude in Asia and the Pacific Toward Cooperatives," Educators' Social Action Workshop, Speech 13 (Kyoto, Japan: August, 1971), pp. 3-5.

sion-making that affects the members of the movement.

To sum up, the Cooperative Movement aims to assist its members in economic improvement by preventing exploitation of the weaker members of society; to teach the proper use of money, to train its members in consumerism, that is what to buy and the true value of goods; to inculcate respect for the rights of individuals and to give opportunities for members to be officers, and leaders in the movement; to offer a common ground for members of all races, languages, religions and oocupations to work together mutually and reciprocally for social progress; and to promote human dignity, justice and international understanding by stopping exploitation of one country by another, or of one person by another.[149]

A significant objective of the Cooperative Movement is the education of its members. It does this by bringing the best out of each person, by offering him the opportunity to participate in the principles and techniques of cooperation, both economic and democratic. As a member, the peasant farmer can help himself by working together with his colleagues to remove the barriers in the way of a better life, of lifting himself up from the state of poverty and insecurity to a more humane life.

Furthermore in incorporating the operation of co-

---

[149]Ibid., pp. 7-9.

operatives and credit unions within the framework of Illich's prototype of the learning web, it is imperative that the leaders and officers of the associations are the village people. This should be a grass-roots operation that has no imposition from government agencies or manipulation from private and business sectors. The Service Center (suggested in Chapter IV of this dissertaion) where all the educational and social exchange of the villagers take place, could also serve for the organizing and operation of cooperatives and credit unions. It could function as an additional service for the ongoing process of skill-exchange and peer-matching.

The opportunity for leadership and business skills could emerge as the villagers and their chiefs meet to discuss and learn the principles and techniques involved in organizing cooperatives and credit unions; to be informed of the marketing and purchasing of produce and other supplies and how loans could be applied for without being in debt; to experiment on small business ventures and to be exposed to management skills. In the process of applying the network of learning suggested by Illich's model, this is the time and place for the exchange of skills and peer-matching for the adults and youth who would like to learn what business management and budgeting are all about, without having to attend a college course on business.

It is apparent that agricultural credits, coopera-

tives and credit unions are among some of the best means of organized assistance and training for the peasant farmer. The direct involvement of the farmer in the planning process and the acceptance by the community of the existence of cooperatives and credit unions should make it more beneficial to the development programs for rural areas. Grassroots participation and involvement would eliminate exploitation by private agencies, thus promoting the growth of viable agricultural communities within the framework of national development.

There are other areas to be considered, which present obstacles to the development process. These are the religious, cultural and philosophical attitudes and behavior of the majority of the rural population. The rural communities in Malaysia are generally grouped around racial or ethnic affinities, religious beliefs and occupational activities. Malays form the majority of the rice growers; Chinese are the small shop owners or fishermen and/or cultivators of market produce; the Indians are generally rubber plantation workers who are gradually being phased out due to the reduction of rubber trees for the more lucrative oil palm cultivation.

In religious beliefs, rural people are more inclined to be conservative adherents to their religion. The Malays belong to the Muslim religion, besides practicing animistic

beliefs. Due to lack of knowledge and fears of the unknown, the adherence to taboos and superstitions has retarded the process of development. Chapter II of this dissertation has dealt with briefly the religious and animistic practices of the Malays in the kanpongs or villages. This chapter will further elaborate on the obstacles to progress presented by the religious and philosophical beliefs and practices of the rural peasant farmer.

The peasant farmer is enamoured in the world of the spirits. All the calamities that befall a person or the unexplainable events of the reversals of nature are alluded to the workings of the evil spirits. There are good spirits and evil spirits. The evil spirits are to be feared and pacified, because they can bring about disastrous floods or cripple the harvests with the onset of prolonged drought. Should the evil spirits make their presence felt by the absence of rain during the planting season, or the occurence of floods, the peasant farmers have recourse to the village "bomoh" or prayer man who communicates with the evil spirits and implores them to leave the village in peace. Some evil spirits can be pacified with animal sacrifices and prayers. The "bomoh" is paid to drive away the evil spirits and to implore the influence of the good spirits to bring the needed rain should a drought persist. The "bomoh" is a highly sought after person if and when an epidemic invades

the village, or when an unwarranted death befalls a family. The other person whom the villagers seek is the "pawang" or medicine man. If and only when the "pawang's" prescriptions are of no avail would the peasant farmer go in search of the medical doctor in a clinic. Public clinics are scarce in rural areas. The peasant farmers have to travel distances to get to a clinic which might be open only at certain hours of the day. According to Illich this situation could be remedied by the provision of health services, staffed by para-medics and midwives with basic training. These para-medics could supplement and in many cases substitute for the physician. Illich believes that "arrangements could be made which permit modern man to engage in the activities of healing and health maintenance."[150]

Religious rituals and various forms of superstitious practices are used as means of coping with environmental hazards or phenomena. The use of rationality to explain the causes of such events as floods, droughts, epidemics and illnesses, could come about gradually and be accepted by the peasant farmer as he becomes aware of the scientific theory of cause and effect. How can this acceptance of rationalization take effect and replace resignation to the forces of nature? With the process of knowledge imparted through contact with enlightened educators and religious leaders,

---

[150]Ivan Illich and Etienne Verne, Imprisoned in the Global Classroom (London: Billing & Sons Ltd.), p. 29.

through the media of communication like the radio, the television and educational programs could attempts be made to instill the idea that the evil spirits are not the causes of calamities or disasters. The abandonment of age-old beliefs could not be realized without the gradual transformation that comes through an enlightened intellect, through exposure to the environment outside of the racial and religious adherence.

With the flow of communication through the mass media, the newspaper, radio broadcasts, and in some cases television and automobiles, social change is working its way into the fabric of family and community life of rural people. With village youth being sent to urban educational institutions, modern ways of behavior and thinking are gradually eroding the conservatism of religious practices and attitudes towards progress. For example, modern youth returning to the village, wears white collar attire, listens to transistors bringing modern pop and rock music to the homes. Another example is the resistance by villagers to consider family planning methods. The introduction of birth control is strongly opposed by believers of Islam. No matter from what religious background, rural people favor large families. The pattern of family life is to have as many children because children are a source of manpower, an insurance against old age, and a source of manual labor in the fields and plantations.

Rural people have been holding on to their values, traditions and customs which are seen as hindrances to development. Religious taboos, rituals and ceremonies about childbirth, in seeking remedies for illnesses, the recourse to the spirits to bring the occasional turbulence of nature's unpredictabilities under control, in child-rearing methods and agricultural practices, seem to retard the rural entrepreneur from achieving some degree of progress as compared to the urban entrepreneur.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study, the alternative approaches to learning proposed by Ivan Illich under the phrase "the learning web" theory, have been examined for application to the rural areas of Malaysia. It is suggested as a model for non-formal education for the rural youths and adults from an agricultural environment. It is explicit that conditions in rural Malaysia place this country under the categories of "underdeveloped" portions of the Third World countries. In the name of development, projects launched by the Malaysian government under the Five Year Plans have as their goal to accelerate economic progress, by maximizing the use of natural resources in the interest of Gross National Production. This research has been directed toward exploring the human resource development behind this march to progress.

From Illich's point of view, it is critical that the movement to industrialize could take on such precedence that material gains are given priority before human considerations. Illich's theory of deschooling was selected to highlight the fact that development and modernization should not be carried out without the active involvement at the grass-

roots level. Progress in economic advancement is too high a price to pay at the expense of the human element.

In order that the reader be informed about the nature of the country and its people, the writer has described the historical, economic and political nature of the country and the ethnic and religious composition of its inhabitants. Looking into the historical development of the political process of Malaysia, this study has given the reader a brief history of the pre-colonial period, the colonial era and the situation since its independence in 1957.

Having had British rule for over a century, Malaysia has adopted the parliamentary system of government which emphasizes loyalty and subservience to authority. These dominating influences, carried over from colonial days, have a debilitating effect on active participation in the political process, or in any other involvement in decision-making on the local or grass-roots level. It is significantly apparent the the population in Malaysia has grouped itself according to ethnic , linguistic and religious affinities. Each ethnic group concentrated on specific occupations that resulted in an economic imbalance in occupational and monetary sectors. An overwhelming majority of the natives seemed to be left out of the economic advancement of the country. This is what the national government has concen-

trated its energies on and now launched its Five Year Plans. It is to the highest interest of this rural peasant group that Illich's theory of development could be applied.

Added to the political and economic issues are further problems, where communities of ethnic groups pursue their own survival techniques. In addition the hazards of nature, with the loss of agricultural products, due to too much rain or drought, have made life in rural areas more difficult. Government efforts to provide assistance in flood control and the increase in agricultural yields have not been readily accepted or understood. Despite this problem, plan after plan from the national government has been launched and reviewed. Statistics have also been collected on development projects so far achieved.

In applying Illich's theory of development, it is envisaged that future development plans be pursued only and after they have been discussed, understood and decided upon at the grass-roots level before implementation. In so doing the objectives and goals of development would involve the people for whom they were designed. The peasants would not merely exist as producers but active participants in development projects for their own welfare and that of the country. Illich would prefer to see that government and business agencies bent on pursuing development projects, utilize decision-making and the planning process at the

grass-roots level. This process would diminish the power of manipulation of the labor force by business corporations.

Among other aspects of correcting the imbalance in occupational and economic issues, the question of bringing about a national identity is another problem to be handled. This is being accomplished through the service area--education, in particular. Having come from various countries in Asia and speaking different languages, the ideal of inculcating a national language has brought about deep sentiments of resentment from the ethnic groups who have carried on the tradition of educating their children in the vernacular. In urban areas, this problem has been taken up by the Ministry of Education throughout the country. In rural areas, the thrust is to bring out rural youth and educate them in urban schools and subject them to the curriculum designed for the urban population. The system of education, derived from the British method, is not suitable for rural youth. The writer of this study has selected Illich's theory of the four channels of learning as an alternative to the traditional school system.

Illich's theory of "the learning web" offers the learners flexible approaches to learning in a healthy environment where they would not be pressurized with compulsory attendance, examination fears and certification requirements. Illich's four channels of learning call for

services, skill instructors, peer-matching groups and reference materials and personnel designed at less cost and more funcitonal for rural people. Knowledge and skills could be taught and exchanged at a Service Center, centrally located among a cluster of villages. Personnel from the local communities would be involved in the learning process and the administration of the services. This method of imparting skills and knowledge would benefit both adults and youth in an environment where learners could select the skills they would want to learn, seek the instructors to teach them or meet with their peers to explore themes of common interest. This system of education would be a breakaway from the traditional setting and put into effect what Illich calls "a shared way of life through the proliferation of relevant personal experiences."[151] It offers a certain flexibility and freedon for both learners and instructors to receive and impart knowledge and skills.

There are other obstacles that challenge the process of development and modernization. These are inherent in the religious and cultural values of the rural people. Their suspicion of outside influences, their fear of the unknown and their adherence to set ways of behavior would make change a threat rather than an asset to their welfare. Religious beliefs and taboos have played such important roles

---

[151]Illich and Verne, Imprisoned in the Global Classroom, p. 20.

in their lives as to govern their activities and life-style. It is hoped that with the invitation to open discussion, and involvement in decision-making regarding their lives and occupations, the rural people would be gradually awakened to the consciousness of the need for change and modernization. In Illich's reconstructed society, when people are given a certain autonomy, they would be more creative, as contrasted with the conditioned response made on them by others. In his convivial society, Illich sees "individual freedom realized in mutual personal interdependence as an intrinsic ethical value."[152] It is imperative that agents of change examine the goals of modernization and their motives for achieving economic progress. As development plans proceed as they must, let it not take away or deplete the cultural and human values so intrinsic to the fabric of rural community life.

---

[152]Ibid., p. 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Alhady, Tuan Syed Alwi bin Sheikh. Malay Customs and Traditions. Singapore: Donald Moore Press, 1967.

Barrington, Kay. A Manifesto for Education in Malaya. Singapore: Donald Moore Press, 1975.

Brembeck, Cole S. and Timothy J. Thompson. New Strategies for Educational Development: The Cross-Cultural Search for Non-Alternatives. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1974.

Black, C. E. The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Chang, Paul. Educational Development in a Plural Society: A Malaysian Case-Study. Singapore: Academic Publication, 1973.

Cheeseman, H. R. Bibliography of Malaya. London: British Association of Malaya, 1959.

Clifford, Mary Louise. The Land and People of Malaysia. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968.

Elias, John L., ed. Conscientization and Deschooling. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976.

Frymier, J. R. A School for Tomorrow. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchen Publishing Corp., 1973.

_____. Fostering Educational Change. Columbus, O.: C. E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969.

Goodlad, John I., ed. Alternatives in Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

Ginsberg, Eli. The Development of Human Resources. New York: McGraw Hill, 1966.

Ginsberg, Norton and C. F. Roberts, Jr. Malaya. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958.

Howell, Barbara and Leon Howell. Southeast Asians Speak Out: Hope and Despair in Many Lands. New York: Friendship Press, 1975.

Illich, Ivan D. Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969.

_____. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

_____. Medical Nemesis. New York: Random House, 1976.

_____. Tools for Conviviality. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

_____ et al. After Deschooling, What? New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

Illich, Ivan and Etienne Verne. Imprisoned in the Global Classroom. London: Billing & Sons, Ltd., 1976.

Isenberg, Irwin, ed. The Developing Nations. New York: Wilson & Sons, Ltd., 1976.

Kennedy, J. L. A History of Malaya 1400-1959. Kuala Lumpur: Macmillan Co., 1962.

Khoo Kay Kim. The Western Malay States 1850-1873. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Kristenson, Thornton. Development in Rich and Poor Countries: A General Theory with Statistical Analyses. New York: Praeger Publications, 1974.

Lee, Eddy. Educational Planning in West Malaysia. Luala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Loh Fook Seng, Philip. The Malay States 1877-1895. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

McMeekin, Robert Jr. Educational Planning and Expenditure Decisions in Developing Countries: With a Malaysian Case Study. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Melady, Thomas P. and R. B. Suhartono. Development: Lessons for the Future. New York: Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1973.

Mills, L. A. British Malaya 1824-1867. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Milne, R. S. and K. J. Ratnam. Malaysia: New States in a New Nation: Political Development of Sarawak and Sabah in Malaysia. London: Cass, 1974.

Pincus, John A. ed. Reshaping the World Economy: Rich and Poor Nations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

Pulvier, Jan M. Southeast Asia from Colonialism to Independence. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Reimer, Everett W. School Is Dead: Alternatives for Education. New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Requa, E. G. The Developing Nations: A Guide to Information Concerning Economic, Technical and Social Problems. Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Co., 1965.

Roff, W. R. The Origins of Malay Nationalism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Roff, Margaret C. The Politics of Belonging. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Seah Chee Meor, ed. Asian Values and Modernization. Singapore: University Press Pte. Ltd., 1977.

Stone, Horace. From Malacca to Malaysia 1400-1965. London: George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1966.

Symonds, Richard, ed. International Targets for Development. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Ward, Barbara E. The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1962.

_____. Women in the New Asia. Paris: UNESCO, 1963.

Winstedt, R. O., ed. Malayam the Straits Settlements and the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1923.

Winstedt, R., Sir. Malay and Its History. New York: Hutchinson University Press, 1953.

Wolfgang, Kasper. Malaysia: A Study in Successful Economic Development. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1974.

Wong, Francis, ed. Teacher Education in ASEAN. Kuala Lumpur: Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1976.

_____. Comparative Studies in South East Asian Education. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1973.

Wong, Francis and Paul Chang. The Changing Pattern of Teacher Education in Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1975.

Wong, Francis and Gwee Yee Hean. Perspectives: The Development of Education in Malaysia and Singapore. Singapore: Heinemann, 1972.

Wong, Francis and Ee Tiang Hong. Education in Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann, 1971.

Wong, Hsiu Chin. Education in Malaysia: A Bibliography. Singapore: University of Singapore Press, 1974.

Zinkin, Maurice. Development for Free Asia. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Reports and Proceedings

Chang, Paul. "Comparative Analysis of Non-Formal Education in Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Member Countries." Paper, Penang, Malaysia, October, 1971.

"Education and Human Resource Development Panel Seminar." Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group Reports. Singapore, September 24-26, 1973, p. 8.

Im Jin Chang. "The Social Attitude in Asia and the Pacific toward Cooperatives." Educators' Social Action Workshop. Speech 13, Kyoto, Japan, August, 1971.

Ledesma, Antonio L., ed. Dialogue with Asia's Rural Man: A Report of the Development of Human Resources in Rural Asia Workshop, (DHRRAW). Thailand, August, 1974.

Malaysia, Department of Information. Malaysia in Brief. Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Central Printing, 1971.

Malaysia, Department of Ministry of Education. Report on the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Educational Review Committee. Kuala Lumpur, 1971.

_____. Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1973. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1976.

Malaysia, Department of State. Review of the Progress of the First Five Year Plan, 1956-1960. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1961.

_____. Second Five Year Plan 1961-1965. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1966.

_____. Review of the Second Five Year Plan, 1961-1965. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1966.

_____. Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysian Plan, 1966-1970. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1961.

_____. Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1971.

Malaysian Educators' Social Action Workshop Committee. Education for Civic Consciousness. Penang, Malaysia, April 2, 1973.

Mansap, M. B. "The Social Attitude in Asia and the Pacific toward a Widespread Form of Slavery-Usury." Educators' Social Action Workshop, Speech 11. Kyoto, Japan, August, 1971.

Yearbooks

Dyclos, Ronnie, ed. Information Malaysia: Incorporating Yearbook 1975-1976. Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 1977.

Haji Yusof Kasman, ed. Information Malaysia: Incorporating Malaysia Yearbook 1976-1977. Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 1978.

Hornik, R. C. et al. "Mass Media in Rural Education." World Yearbook Education, 1974, pp. 66-91.

Malaysia, Department of Information. Malaysia 1973: Official Yearbook. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press, 1975.

Periodicals

Abdul Razak. "A New Era of Prosperity and Happiness." New Commonwealth 51 (December, 1972): 9.

Behrstock, J. "The Problems of the Developing Countries." Times Literary Supplement, November 27, 1970, pp. 1380-81.

Booth, R. M. "Attitudes to the Third World." Times Educational Supplement 61 (February 14, 1975): 3116.

Butterworth, J. B. "Commonwealth Cooperation in Education." Royal Society of Arts Journal 117 (March, 1969): 280-91.

Chee, Stephen. "Malaysia and Singapore: The Political Economy of Multi-Racial Development." Asian Survey 15, No. 2 (February, 1974): 183-91.

Davy John. "Ivan Illich: Prophet of the Convicial Society." Observer, September, 1973, p. 15.

Evers, Hans-Dieter. "Urbanization and Urban Conflict in Southeast Asia." Asian Survey 15, No. 9 (September, 1975): 775-85.

Figes, Eva. "Reschooling Society." New Humanist 88 (July, 1972): 113.

Haddon, Paul. "Ivan Illich or One Foot in the Future." Month 6 (April, 1973): 143-46.

Hagen, Everett E. "Some Cultural and Personality Factors in Economic Development." Development Digest 3, No. 2 (July, 1965): 46-59.

Hamilton-Peterson, James. "How Does the Human Race." Nova, March, 1975, pp. 36-39.

Hanf. T. et al. "Education: An Obstacle to Development?" Comparative Educational Review 19 (February, 1975): 68-87.

Haughton, Rosemary. "Schools, De-Schooling and Education for the Future." New Blackfriars 53 (August, 1972): 340-48.

Herbert, Hugh. "The Illich Solution." Guardian, September 28, 1974, p. 9.

Hook, Sydney. "Illich's Deschooled Utopia." Encounter 38 (January, 1972): 53-57.

Jackson, Brian. "An Evening with Ivan Illich." New Statesman, October 26, 1973, p. 595.

Morgan, James. "New National Plan Aims at Fair Shares for All." Times, August 31, 1971, p. i.

Mills, Bart. "Malay Traits." Guardian, November 23, 1974, p. 9.

Price, C. "Illich the Deschooler." New Statesman 32 (October 22, 1971): 539-44.

Rajaratnam, S. "New Themes for Southeast Asia in Transition: Singapore Solution." Australian Outlook 27 (December, 1973): 243-61.

Russel, Harry. "Ivan Illich: The Convivial Catholic Prophet." Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 81 (March, 1974): 88-89.

_____. "Give Us the Tools . . . but Give Us the Right Ones: The Convivial Catholic Prophet." Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 81 (March, 1974): 6-7.

Taylor, Don. "New Deal in Malaysia." New Commonwealth 50 (January, 1971): 7.

"Sons of the Soil: Outgrowing Their Proverbs--The Bumis Can Do It." Far Eastern Economic Review, September 2, 1977, pp. 56-66.

"To Have and Have Not." Newsweek, September 15, 1975, pp. 10-15.

Toynbee, Philip. "Pilgrimage to a Modern Prophet." Observer, February 24, 1974, p. 29.

Walter, Nicholas. "Tool of Conviviality." New Humanist 90 (January, 1974): 589.

Dissertations

Ho Seng Ong. "Education for Unity in Malaya." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1949.

Nagle, Stewart J. "Educational Needs of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1946.

Correspondence

Cuernavaca, Mexico, August 7, 1977, letter from Ivan Illich to Frances Kung.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Colette Frances Kung has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Rosemary V. Donatelli, Director
Associate Professor, Foundations, Loyola

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek
Professor, Foundations, Loyola

Dr. John M. Wozniak
Professor, Foundations and
Dean, School of Education, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 9, 1979
Date

Rosemary V. Donatelli
Director's Signature