

LEADING LEARNING AMONG ORANG ASLI STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to explore and understand how learning is led among Orang Asli students that contributed to their successful schooling progress despite the deficit theorising of past research. Using Glaser's Classic Grounded Theory method, the researcher explored the learning process of Orang Asli students systemically, drawing upon their individual's views of realities of the process. Data are gathered from fieldwork, in-depth interviews with 16 participants, group interview, the relevant substantive literatures and documents. The findings highlight an emerging theory of leading learning among Orang Asli students encompassing five main strands of contributing leading learning roles involving parents, learners, kindergartens, schools, and significant others. In conclusion, each strand reflects the concerns and resolutions that lead to sustainable learning process of Orang Asli students. Implications from the study includes for Orang Asli parents to understand that to lead learning, it is not about what they do not have; rather it must be about what they can do despite the lack. Learners can take aspirational lift from the success of others who have gone through similar or more difficult path. The underpinning strengths of the successful Orang Asli students leading their own learning are indicated by their hope, motivation, self-concept, self-efficacy, agency and continuous improvement. A key concept arising from this study is related to accepting and accommodating students' cultural strengths, implying teachers' roles in reflecting upon any deficit theorising that underpins their practice, and to establish effective educational relations that is culturally responsive. Community self-concept is linked to a community's social, economic and cultural capitals. In this context, the Government through its relevant agencies has the opportunity to elevate the community's self-concept to be at par with the mainstream population.





MENERAJU PEMBELAJARAN DALAM KALANGAN PELAJAR ORANG ASLI

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk meneroka dan memahami bagaimana pembelajaran diteraju dalam kalangan pelajar Orang Asli yang menyumbang kepada kejayaan pelajar di sebalik teori defisit kajian lepas. Kaedah Teori Asas Klasik Glaser telah digunakan untuk mengkaji proses pembelajaran yang dilalui pelajar Orang Asli secara sistemik. Data dikumpulkan dari kerja lapangan, temuduga mendalam dengan 16 peserta kajian, temuduga berkumpulan, literatur substantif dan dokumen yang berkaitan. Penemuan menonjolkan teori meneraju pembelajaran dalam kalangan pelajar Orang Asli yang merangkumi lima uraian peranan utama: ibu bapa, pelajar, tadika, sekolah dan lain-lain yang berkepentingan. Kesimpulannya, setiap urai mencerminkan kepedulian setiap peranan dan resolusinya yang menghasilkan pembelajaran berterusan. Implikasi daripada kajian ini termasuk untuk ibu bapa Orang Asli memahami bahawa untuk meneraju pembelajaran, ia bukanlah tentang apa yang mereka tidak ada dan tidak boleh lakukan, malahan ia mestilah mengenai apa yang mereka boleh lakukan walaupun dalam keadaan kekurangan atau defisit. Pelajar dapat mengambil lonjakan aspirasi daripada kejayaan orang lain yang telah menelusuri laluan yang sama atau lebih sukar. Kekuatan dasar bagi pelajar Orang Asli yang berjaya meneraju pembelajaran mereka sendiri dapat dilihat dalam harapan dan motivasi mereka, konsep sendiri, efikasi sendiri, agensi dan penambahbaikan yang berterusan. Konsep utama yang timbul daripada kajian ini adalah berkaitan dengan menerima dan menampung kekuatan budaya pelajar. Ini menunjukkan keperluan guru dalam membuat refleksi amalan dan sebarang pemikiran teori defisit yang mendasari amalan mereka, dan seterusnya mewujudkan hubungan pendidikan yang berkesan dan responsif budaya. Konsep sendiri komuniti berkait rapat dengan modal sosial, ekonomi dan kebudayaan komuniti. Dalam konteks ini, kerajaan melalui agensi yang berkaitan mempunyai peluang untuk meningkatkan konsep sendiri masyarakat Orang Asli setanding dengan penduduk arus perdana.





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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCMOE	British Columbia Ministry of Education
BM	Bahasa Melayu
CALLA	Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach
CDP	Continuous Professional Development
CGT	Classic Grounded Theory
CLA	Canada Library Associations
CoEP	Cluster of Excellence Policy
DPM	Deputy Prime Minister Malaysia
EFA	Education for All
ELLs	English Language Learners
EPRD	The Education Planning and Research Department, Ministry of Education Malaysia
FB	Facebook
FN	Fieldnote
GT	Grounded Theory
IAB	Institut Aminuddin Baki
IPG	Institut Pendidikan Guru (Institute of Teacher Education)
IPTA	Institut Pengajian Tinggi Awam
ITE	Institute of Teacher Education
JAKOA	Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (The Department of Orang Asli Development)
JKKOA	Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Orang Asli
JHEOA	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli



JPNIN	Jabatan Perpaduan Negara dan Integrasi Nasional
KEMAS	Jabatan Kemajuan Masyarakat
KFC	Kentucky Fried Chicken
KLCC	Kuala Lumpur City Centre
KPM	Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia (Ministry of Education Malaysia). See also MOE
LHF	Legacy of Hope Foundation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education Malaysia
NIPCE	National Indigenous Pedagogy Centre of Excellence
NPQEL	National Professional Qualification for Education Leaders
NST	New Straits Times
NSW	New South Wales
OA	Orang Asli
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PI	Parental Involvement
PKPPK	Pusat Kecemerlangan Pedagogi Peribumi Kebangsaan (The National Centre of Pedagogical Excellence for the Indigenous)
PPD	Pejabat Pendidikan Daerah (District Education Office)
PPRT	Projek Perumahan Rakyat Termiskin
RMT	Rancangan Makanan Tambahan (Supplemental Food Plan Programme)
RPS	Rancangan Pengumpulan Semula
SK	Sekolah Kebangsaan
SMS	Short Messages Service
SPM	Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia



SUHAKAM	Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia, Malaysia (The Human Rights Commission of Malaysia)
TABIKA	Taman Bimbingan Kanak-Kanak
TASKA	Taman Asuhan Kanak-Kanak
TC (TCs)	Theoretical Coding (Theoretical Codes)
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TV	Television
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPSR	Ujian Pencapaian Sekolah Rendah
VVIP	Very Very Important Person
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction



The body of research on Orang Asli education in Malaysia arises from a concern about the achievement gap between Orang Asli students and those of the mainstream. Generally, findings highlight the difficulties and challenges of Orang Asli students in surviving the educational process through poverty and marginalisation (Mohamad Johdi Salleh & Abdul Razak Ahmad, 2009; Nazariah, 2014). Notably, some research explains that the achievement gap is due to poor attitude, culture, and lack of parents' involvement. The present study questions such deficit theorising by exploring how some Orang Asli students have survived and successfully beat the deficit game.

This chapter introduces the background of the study and presents statement of the problem. An overview of the theoretical framework is included to indicate the perspectives that have influenced the researcher in her endeavour to understand who





are involved and how their involvement impact on Orang Asli students' schooling success. The study was completed using Glaser's Classic Grounded Theory (CGT) method. Pre-reading and initial literature review guided the selection of research method and provided the starting point for a novice CGT researcher as well as increasing her theoretical sensitivity in the substantive area.

This chapter continues with a detailed description of the purpose and objectives of the study, and the corresponding research questions that set the initial direction of the research. The chapter ends with an explanation of the significance of the study, limitations of the research and initial operational definitions.



1.2 Background of the Study

The background takes into account perspectives for educating children that forms the general rationale of the study and issues surrounding the education of indigenous community of Orang Asli children in Malaysia that provides the study's contextual rationale.

1.2.1 Perspectives for Education

In general, education worldwide is oriented either towards the need of society positioned as a nation (the human capital approach) or the need of an individual and its





rights (the human rights approach) (Al-Attas, 1993; Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, 2005; Oliva, 2005; SUHAKAM, 2006; Winch & Gingell, 2008; Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Whilst acknowledging the two dominant approaches to education Tikly and Barrett (2011) also offer an alternative. Tikly and Barrett argue for an approach for understanding the quality of education in low income countries from a social justice perspective. This perspective provides a quality education framework that incorporates dimensions of inclusion, relevance and democratic participation of public dialogue at the local, national and global level to foster development of key capabilities valued by the individual, communities and the society. It differs from the two earlier perspectives by making explicit the aspect of education quality in context as well as in relation to development.



In the eastern Islamic tradition, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (Al-Attas 1993) and Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud (2005) explain that the purpose of education is to elevate the self within the context of the individual as a created being. Al-Attas states:

The aim of education in Islam is therefore to produce a good man. What is meant by 'good' in our concept of 'good man'? The fundamental element inherent in the Islamic concept of education is the inculcation of *adab*, for it is *adab* in all-inclusive sense here meant as encompassing the spiritual and material life of man that instills the quality of goodness that is sought after. (Al-Attas, 1993, p.150)

Thus, education in the Islamic context enables an individual to understand his or her roles and responsibilities in relation to the Creator, society and the environment. Education is thus tailored to fulfil these roles and responsibilities. This Islamic education framework essentially covers the aspects of knowledge of what and how in core knowledge of *fardu ain* (knowledge of prerequisites) and *fardu kifayah*





(knowledge of sciences) that promote the well being of an individual as self and in context with societal obligations and needs.

In the Malaysian context, SUHAKAM (2006) concurs with the two dominant perspectives for education, to develop the nation's human capital and to uphold the human rights to education. From a development perspective, education is a means to enhance earning capacity, to reduce poverty, and to produce human capital for the country. From this perspective, educational achievement is an important indicator of the country's progress. OECD (2004) argues that, "the prosperity of countries now derives to a large extent from their human capital, and to succeed in a rapidly changing world, individuals need to advance their knowledge and skills throughout their lives" (p.3). This implies the need for a nation to seriously ensure that its population has facilitated equal access to quality education in order for them to be part of the human capital of the challenging world scene.

Whilst from the human rights perspective, education is above and beyond that for economics and social uplifting. In this context, education is about obtaining knowledge as a goal to uplift the individual rather than just a tool for employment (SUHAKAM, 2006). This means education is the right of all children irrespective of position and location, and that the provisions and opportunity for education are expected to be equal among them. From this perspective, the Malaysian Government is committed to "Education for All (EFA)" enshrined in the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (KPM, 2008; (Sharifah, Samsilah, Aminuddin, Kamaruddin, Mohamad Azhar & Jaimah, 2011). Thus, in contrast to the human





development capital perspective, EFA as the human rights' approach, insists that education is the right of every child born (UNICEF, 2011; SUHAKAM, 2011).

The United Nations (2011) highlights Malaysia's achievement in children's basic education as assessed against its millennium development goals (MDGs). In primary education, Malaysia's goal is to achieve universal primary education and complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015. As at 2010, the MDGs report indicates that at the nation's level, 99% pupils starting grade 1 reached last grade of primary schooling (United Nations, 2011). Although the indicator provides evidence of national achievement in universal primary education; the report also highlights the need for the country to take into account the pockets of underachievers among the smaller communities, including that of Orang Asli children. SUHAKAM (2014) also reports concern with respect to Orang Asli education and achievement gap. In this context SUHAKAM through its Chairman reaffirms and highlights the human rights value of education for these communities as indicated in the following excerpt:

Education creates awareness and understanding of the universal principles and norms of human rights, as well as builds zero tolerance of abuse of any kind. (Tan Sri Hasmy Agam, Chairman of the Human Rights Commission, SUHAKAM, 2014, p.28)

In regard to the nation, the Ministry of Education (MOE) Malaysia adopts an approach that considers education as a process for holistic development of an individual with the intent to produce a productive good citizen. This approach is reflected in MOE's statement of the National Education Philosophy (NEP) cited below:

Education in Malaysia is an on-going effort towards further developing the potential of individuals in a holistic and integrated manner, so as to produce





individuals who are intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically balanced and harmonious, based on a firm belief in and devotion to God. Such an effort is designed to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable and competent, who possess high moral standards, and who are responsible and capable of achieving high level of personal well-being as well as being able to contribute to the harmony and betterment of the family, the society and the nation at large. (MOE NEP, 2017)

In contrast to the varied perspectives discussed above, Nicholas (2006) maintains that for Orang Asli, learning is a process to be a good Orang Asli. The traditional Orang Asli education is a life learning process of internalising knowledge and acquiring skills transmitted and gained from the elders who teach children to be polite, considerate and amicable, as well as environmentally resourceful while caring for its sustainability.

In conclusion, the above discussion offers a brief examination of the purpose of education. Two dominant arguments for education are derived from the human capital approach and human rights approach. Tikly and Barrett (2011) extended an alternative approach that considers education from a social justice perspective. In context with the Muslim majority environment of the present research, the Islamic perspective is also highlighted. However, the value of education to Orang Asli is simply to become good Orang Asli in the context of their environment.

1.2.2 Orang Asli Community

Orang Asli is the official name of the Peninsular Malaysia Indigenous Aboriginal community. This official identity is defined by the Malaysian Aboriginal Act 1954 (Act 134) (JAKOA, 2017b) described in further details in Appendix K. The name ‘Orang





Asli' is a collective term introduced by anthropologists and administrators of 18 ethnic sub-groups, shown in Figure 1.1, for official purposes. The term is in Bahasa Melayu which transliterates as 'original peoples' or 'first peoples' (Benjamin & Chou, 2002; Tarmiji, Fujimaki & Norhasimah, 2013). Although some authors noted instances of the use of 'Orang Asal' in lieu of Orang Asli, Nicholas (2002) records the preferred term Orang Asli by the community as evident from the establishment of the Peninsular Malaysia Orang Asli Association (POASM). According to Nicholas (2002), POASM was mooted mainly in response to deal with the Government's attempt at renaming them. He adds that the term 'Orang Asli' was still preferred as it correctly reflected their historical niche and identity.

JAKOA (2017b) records an Orang Asli population of 178,197 as at Year 2012, shown in Table 1.1. This represents about 0.6% of the total population of 32.0 million (DOSM, 2017). An earlier Malaysia's National Census 2006 indicates that about 62.4% of the communities live mainly in the more accessible fringe or the rural outskirts (JAKOA, 2011b). About 36.9% live in the hinterland, whilst an estimated 0.75% resides among the urban population. Data from JAKOA (2010) shows Orang Asli sub-groups distribution in Malaysia as at Year 2010 (Table 1.2). The table shows three Orang Asli major groups, the Negrito, the Senoi and the Aboriginal Malay. Each major group has six sub-groups as shown in the table. The state of Pahang has the largest Orang Asli population (Table 1.1) whilst the Semai forms the largest Orang Asli sub-group (30%).



Although referred to collectively as Orang Asli, as diverse groups of 18 indigenous ethnic tribes, they are distinguished by their respective ethnic languages and social-cultural identities (Lye, 2011; Tarmiji, Fujimaki & Norhasimah, 2013; JAKOA, 2017b). Mohd Asri (2012) reports that their social and economic position situates them among the disadvantaged minorities; the majority living beneath the poverty line, whilst Johari and Nazri (2007) and Tarmiji, Fujimaki and Norhasimah (2013) identify the Orang Asli community as marginalised.

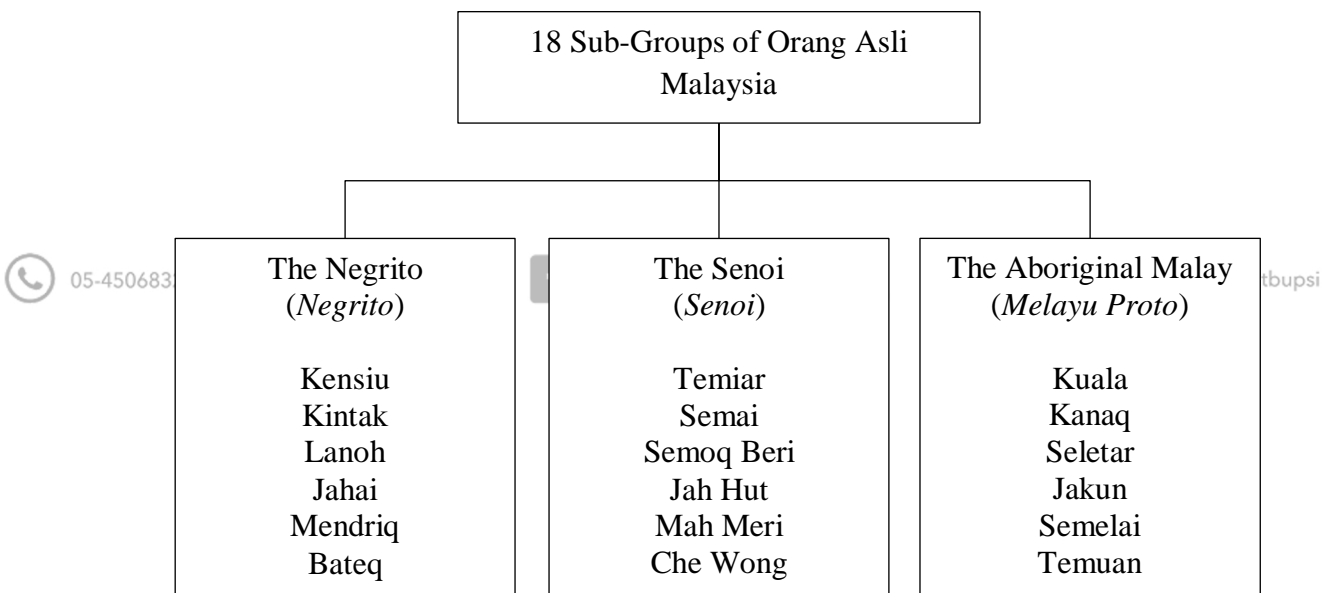


Figure 1.1. 18 Sub-Groups of Orang Asli Malaysia (JAKOA, 2017b)

Table 1.1

Orang Asli Population by State as at Year 2012 (JAKOA, 2017b)

State	Orang Asli Ethnic Groups			Total
	Senoi	Aboriginal (Proto) Malay	Negrito	
Pahang	29,439	37,142	925	67,506
Perak	50,281	605	2,413	53,299
Selangor	5,073	12,511	3	17,587
Kelantan	12,047	29	1,381	13,457
Johor	55	13,083	1	13,139
N. Sembilan	96	10,435	-	10,531
Melaka	28	1,486	1	1,515
Terengganu	818	41	34	893
Kedah	19	-	251	270
Total	97,856	75,332	5,009	178,197

Table 1.2

Orang Asli Sub-Groups Distribution in Malaysia as at Year 2010 (JAKOA, 2010)

Subgroup	Location	Population	%
The Negrito			
Kensiu	Kedah, Malacca, Perak	237	0.13
Kintak	Kedah, Kelantan, Perak	194	0.11
Lanoh	Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak	382	0.21
Jahai	Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak	2387	1.34
Mendriq	Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	362	0.20
Bateq	Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, Terengganu	1447	0.81
	Sub Total	5009	2.80

(Continue)

Table 1.2 (Continued)

Subgroup	Location	Population	%
The Senoi			
Temiar	Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	31,038	17.42
Semai	Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Terengganu	51,437	28.87
Semoq Beri	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Terengganu	5313	2.98
Che Wong	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Terengganu	651	0.37
Jah Hut	Johor, Kelantan, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	5618	3.15
Mah Meri	Johor, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	3799	2.13
	Sub Total	97856	54.92
The Aboriginal Malay			
Temuan	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Terengganu	27590	15.48
Semelai	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	7727	4.34
Jakun	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Terengganu	34722	19.49
Orang Kanaq	Johor, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak	148	0.08
Orang Kuala	Johor, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	3525	1.98
Orang Seletar	Johor, Kelantan, Melaka, N. Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor	1620	0.91
	Sub Total	75332	42.28
	Total	178197	100

Historically, Orang Asli education has gone through varied stages of experience. The Orang Asli education was formalised in 1952 (Edo, 2012). Since then, educating the community has been one of the Government's priorities (MOE, 2013). The education



of the community was initially under the purview of *Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli* (JHEOA) now renamed as The Orang Asli Development Department of Malaysia or *Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli* (JAKOA), Malaysia. Following concerns of dropouts and achievement gap, the Ministry of Education (MOE) took over the function in 1995, and streamlined the national education agenda (Mohd Asri, 2012).

Meanwhile JAKOA remains as the Government's vehicle that implements housing, infrastructure and socio-economics development initiatives. The main aims of these initiatives are to ensure the well-being and security of Orang Asli, and the integration of this community into the mainstream population (JAKOA, 2011b). In addition, JAKOA is entrusted with special provision for Orang Asli educational support that includes education allowance and scholarships, school uniforms, food in school and school transport.



1.2.3 Learning Disengagement among Orang Asli Children

Orang Asli education has had considerable progress since its formal establishment in 1952 (Edo, 2012). However, studies have also found that Orang Asli educational achievement has not been at par with the national progress (Sharifah et al., 2011; MOE, 2017). Despite close support from JAKOA, and MOE, there are concerns that Orang Asli students are prone to dropping out and are underperforming in primary school (Nicholas, 2006; Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Adnan & Saad, 2010; Renganathan, Chong & Valenzuela, 2011; Sharifah et al., 2011;





SUHAKAM, 2011, 2014; DPM, 2012; Mohd Asri, 2012). Among the reasons that have been highlighted are school accessibility and Orang Asli students' difficulties in adjusting to the formal process of schooling. Although reducing, non-attendance is the main concern at primary. MOE (2017, p.3-15) indicates non-attendance of 76.7% (2013), 78.8% (2014), 79.1% (2015) and 86.3% (2016). Whilst dropping out remains high at transition from primary to secondary (MOE, 2017). This means significant percentage of students who have completed the Year 6 of primary school did not continue on to Form 1. Statistics from MOE (2017, p.3-15) compare Orang Asli students dropouts through eight years (2008-2016). Dropouts was 36% (2008) and reducing annually to 17% (2016). In terms of enrolment in Form 1, these represent 64% (2008) enrolment of 4266 students who completed Year 6, and 83% (2016) enrolment of 4372 students who completed the earlier Year 6.



Following the above historical concerns, the Government established special Orang Asli schools in selected locations throughout the country (MOE, 2017). As at 2016, MOE (2017) reported a total of 98 Orang Asli primary schools established throughout Peninsular Malaysia with enrolment of 40,257 students in Year 2016. These schools enable students to adjust better and experience the schooling process in context with their community. Sited within Orang Asli villages, the schools increase ease of access as well as enable better community involvement.

Upon completion of the primary years, the students continue their schooling in mainstream secondary schools since there is no secondary school (Form 1 to Form 5) specifically established to cater for the specific requirements of Orang Asli students





(Sharifah et al., 2011). However, the Government expanded the role of a few Orang Asli primary schools in response to an ongoing concern of Orang Asli students dropping out after Year 6 (MOE, 2017). These schools are comprehensive special model school referred to as K9 schools that provide schooling for Orang Asli students from the kindergarten right up to Form Three (aged 15 years) all under one roof with hostels provided. The first of such Orang Asli K9 school was launched in 2007 (The Star, 2007). Since then MOE (2017) reported a total of seven K9 schools in operation in 2016 with a total of 3295 students and 269 teachers (MOE, 2017). The same report however, indicates a decline in academic achievement of Orang Asli and K9 schools in Year 2016 compared with that of Year 2015. Although no statistics are presented, MOE (2017) states that, dropouts among Orang Asli students although reducing, are still high compared with the national average. Learning disengagement is still a major concern, especially with respect to non-attendance.



At this juncture, an understanding of the term ‘learning disengagement’ may be derived from Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris (2004) definition of ‘engagement’ from their statement as cited below:

The multifaceted nature of engagement is also reflected in the research literature, which defines engagement in three ways. *Behavioural engagement* draws on the idea of participation; it includes involvement in academic and social or extracurricular activities and is considered crucial for achieving positive academic outcomes and preventing dropping out. *Emotional engagement* encompasses positive and negative reactions to teachers, classmates, academics, and school and is presumed to create ties to an institution and influence willingness to do the work. Finally, *cognitive engagement* draws on the idea of investment; it incorporates thoughtfulness and willingness to exert the effort necessary to comprehend complex ideas and master difficult skills. (Emphasis original) (Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris, 2004, p.3)





The above definition indicates the extent of learning engagement. It is a multi-dimensional concept within the context of behaviour, emotion and cognition. However, Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris (2004) also emphasise that the three domains overlap in that the impact of one flow into the other. They further argue that, “Engagement is associated with positive academic outcomes, including achievement and persistence in school; and it is higher in classrooms with supportive teachers and peers, challenging and authentic tasks, opportunities for choice, and sufficient structure” (p.3).

Following the above elaboration, the concept ‘learning disengagement’ can be understood as the opposite end of the engagement spectrum. Learning disengagement includes the idea of non-participation, non-involvement and non-commitment in aspects that promote learning whether in the physical, emotional, cognition or all of them. Non-participation, non-involvement in the physical sense includes absenteeism or truancy, and dropping-out. Similar perspective was forwarded by Murray, Mitchell, Gale, Edwards and Zyngier (2004), who state that, “At primary school level, indicators of disengagement include: not paying attention, not completing school work, disruptive behaviour, withdrawal, underachievement, truancy and school refusal” (p.7).

In the case of Orang Asli students, research has attributed their underachievement to the problem of learning disengagement with a focus on absenteeism and dropouts. Sharifah et al. (2011) highlight issues of disengagement and disenchantment among the children, and the Government’s initiatives to alleviate them. Despite these initiatives, Sharifah et al. (2011) reported dropout rates of 47.23% for year 2000 cohort at primary level. This means 47.23% of children registered for





Primary 1 but did not complete Primary 6 (in 2005). While according to Mohd Asri (2012), dropout rate was 39.1% in 2008, reducing to 29% in 2010 and 26% in 2011. Although improving, the primary education completion rate is still below that of the above cited national performance of 99% (United Nations, 2011).

In another illustration of learning disengagement, Mohd Asri (2012) reports a case study on the implementation of Cluster of Excellence Policy (CoEP) in an Orang Asli school in Johor. The author highlights issues of absenteeism and pupils' dissatisfaction despite the extensive effort allocated to the pioneering initiative. In this study, he narrated an interesting 'pass-it-on' blame game, played out in the following excerpt:

Pupil absenteeism is another obstacle to the implementation of the initiative. Throughout the site visit period, it was observed that about 5 to 6 pupils were absent during the morning roll call. Every day, the on-duty teacher would have to seek these pupils at their homes. Sometimes, the teacher would have to wake the pupils and wait for them to get ready to go to school. Teachers believe lack of interest among parents and pupils means it is impossible to maintain high standards at the school. The same lack of commitment was observed during English night classes and cultural performance training sessions. Some parents blame their children's attitude saying that they have tried everything to make them go to school. While others, especially the parents of female pupils believe that education will not take them anywhere. Pupils, on the other hand, cite too much homework, strict teachers, uninteresting activities and tiredness as some of the reasons for staying away from school. (Mohd Asri, 2012, p.8)

The above observation shows teachers attributing the cause of the problem to parents and pupils; while parents passed it on to their children (the pupils); followed by an interesting finale of pupils throwing the ball back to their teachers. The scene of this vicious circle was sited at an Orang Asli school that was part of the CoEP initiatives. The case highlights the complex nature of the situation that warrants a more deliberate





examination of how education as the nation envisioned it can be accepted and adopted as part of the community's daily routine.

At the global level, while noting that no specific mention is made with respect to Orang Asli, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) highlights underachievement and high school dropout rate among indigenous children. In its online news release on 28 April 2011, UNICEF states that Malaysia's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2010 report underlines inequalities despite national progress. It states:

School attendance in Primary Education has increased rapidly for both boys and girls and is now above 95%. However, certain indigenous groups and children living in remote areas are still lagging behind and a percentage figure on attendance does not say anything about the quality of education which can differ vastly between schools and geographical areas. (UNICEF, 2011, On-line Press Release)

To conclude, the above discussion indicates that learning disengagement is a prevalent issue among Orang Asli students. Learning disengagement can be non-attendance as well as dropping out. Reasons for this disengagement are discussed below.

1.2.4 Reasons for Disengagement

Several reasons have been forwarded by past studies on learning disengagement among Orang Asli students. Mahmud, Amat and Yaacob (2008) argue that Orang Asli educational issues are influenced by family mindset, location and teacher preparation. They conclude that, for learning to happen among the Orang Asli children, the extent





and quality of learning support and provision must be greatly improved, particularly in situation where the supportive learning environment beyond that of school hours is very limited.

In a study on the issues and problems in the implementation of educational policy and opportunities for Orang Asli, Kamaruddin and Jusoh (2008), conclude that there was a dismal failure in implementing the educational programmes for Orang Asli, as indicated by the extremely high dropout rate. They added that education progress of these children at all levels still lags far behind and emphasized the need to recognize that the single most reason for the dropout is poverty. As Professor Juli Edo also explained in a symposium on Orang Asli educational need and issues, for most Orang Asli families, sending children to school competed with other pressing modern economic needs (FN: 28.03.2017).

Mohamad Johdi Salleh and Abdul Razak Ahmad (2009) believe that awareness about the importance of education exists among the Orang Asli children, but cultural influence constricts their mindset to explore change in lifestyle for better standards of living. The authors also found that Orang Asli parents understood the value of education. Nevertheless, their own lack of education limits their ability to be directly involved with their children's learning.

A study of Orang Asli literacy was conducted by Renganathan, Chong and Valenzuela (2011). As part of the research they started a literacy program for Orang Asli children living close to their university. The surprising note in the study is the





unawareness of many in the university community, of the presence of this Orang Asli population living practically next to them. This indicates that the Orang Asli minority community is far removed from the mainstream awareness.

Sharifah et al. (2011) provide an extensive overview and evaluation of the Government's initiatives to help overcome dropout problems of Orang Asli children. They argue that the high dropout rates are attributed to many factors, among them: fear of public examinations because of low academic achievement, lack of interest in schooling, poverty and logistic issues. Sharifah et al. (2011) conclude:

The educational problems of the OA children come in a package. Teachers and their pedagogical skills, the curriculum, the quality of leadership of school administrators, the climate of the school, the school facilities, infrastructures, parental involvement and the socio-cultural milieu of the OA society are all in this package. (Sharifah et al., 2011, p.52)



Following their findings Sharifah et al. (2011) recommend that the problems be alleviated by improving the delivery system that must start with school leadership, accessibility and partnerships with parents. Additionally, there must be emphasis on the teachers' and school's role in increasing students' attachment to school and engagement towards learning. Among the latest research, Nazariah and Abd Rahman (2013), Nazariah (2014), Mohamad Anwaruddin, Norhamizah, Nurfarhana, Siti Aina, Siti Nur and Mohammad Nasir (2014) concluded in their respective studies that Orang Asli in Malaysia were still lacking in the level of attitude towards education.

Thus, what is known from past studies indicates that there is a real problem of Orang Asli students being prone to learning disengagement, leading to underachieving



(Nicholas, 2006; Johari & Nazri, 2007, SUHAKAM 2006, Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008, Sharifah, et al. 2011; Nurasyikin, Mustaffa, Sharina & Nor Haidanadia, 2017). Table 1.3 summarises key factors leading to learning disengagement that have been identified by previous research.

Table 1.3

Factors Leading to Learning Disengagement among Orang Asli Students

Factors attributed to disengagement	Source
Lack of interest in schooling; attitude	Nicholas (2006); Kamaruddin & Jusoh (2008); Sharifah et al. (2011); Nazariah (2014)
Poverty	Kamaruddin & Jusoh (2008); Sharifah et al. (2011)
Fear of public examinations because of low achievement	Sharifah et al. (2011)
Curriculum	Nicholas (2006); Sharifah et al. (2011)
Implementation failure	Kamaruddin & Jusoh (2008); Sharifah, et al. (2011)
Logistic issues – location; accessibility	Nicholas (2006); Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob (2008); Kamaruddin & Jusoh (2008); Sharifah et al. (2011); SUHAKAM (2014)
Home and community support; family values and mindset; parental involvement	Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob (2008); Kamaruddin & Jusoh (2008); Sharifah et al. (2011); Mohamad Anwaruddin et al. (2014); Mohamad Azmi (2016); Nurasyikin, Mustaffa, Sharina & Nor Haidanadia (2017).

Continue

Table 1.3 (*Continued*)

Factors attributed to disengagement	Source
Lack of teachers; Teacher's role and preparation; pedagogical skills	Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob (2008); Sharifah et al. (2011), SUHAKAM (2014).
School's role; the quality of leadership of school administrators; school physical and non-physical factors; the school climate	Sharifah et al. (2011); Norwaliza, Ramlee & Abdul Razaq (2016).
Social cultural environment of the Orang Asli society	Abdul Razaq & Zalizan (2009); Md Nasir, Ramlah, Suppiah, Abd Aziz & Roslinda (2010); Sharifah et al. (2011); UNESCO (2015c)

The above table shows findings from past studies (among others, Nicholas, 2006; Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; Mohd Asri, 2012; SUHAKAM 2014; Mohamad Azmi, 2016) that contributing factors linked to the school (accessibility, curriculum, teachers' role and pedagogical skills, leadership, and school climate), the learner (attributes and attitudes); the family (poverty, support and involvement) and the community (social cultural milieu) are the reasons for Orang Asli learning disengagement. These findings are from the earlier as well current studies, spanning over a decade (2006-2017) of investigation. Notably, key issues related to Orang Asli learning disengagement appear to remain the same.

Undoubtedly, findings from past research concerning Orang Asli's educational issues have contributed towards better provision for the Orang Asli students. In connection with this, the Government through MOE and, in collaboration with the Institutes of Teacher Education (ITE) realized that there was a need to safe keep and



make available valuable knowledge and understanding gained from the implementation of Orang Asli programs and initiatives (Sharifah et al. 2011). This realization has resulted in the establishment of a National Indigenous Pedagogy Centre of Excellence (NIPCE) in an ITE in the state of Pahang. Its main purpose is to document, showcase, and share the research findings and knowledge of Orang Asli and indigenous education, upon which continuous improvement may be subsequently considered, strategized and implemented. The availability of past knowledge is the key to sustainable improvement.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The review and discussion in Sections 1.2.1 to 1.2.4 above form the backdrop to the following concluding statement of the problem for the present study. As stated earlier, although Orang Asli community has achieved considerable progress in education (KPM, 2008), research indicates that the educational attainment of the Orang Asli children has been problematic (Wan Afizi, Shaharuddin & Noraziah, 2014; SUHAKAM, 2015; Norwaliza, Ramlee & Abdul Razaq, 2016). Prevalent issues include learning disengagement and low achievement. Despite the myriad improvement initiatives implemented by the Government, it is evident that the academic achievements of Orang Asli students have not been at par with the national progress (Nicholas, 2006; Sharifah et al., 2011; United Nations, 2011); DPM, 2012; Mohamad Azmi, 2016; Hamidah, Norasibah, Khoo, Mahaliza & Maryam, 2017). For instance, whilst Sharifah et al. (2011) indicate a dropout rate of 47.23% in 2005 for Year 2000 cohort at primary level, Mohd Asri (2012) cites a dropout rate of 39.1% in 2008,



reducing to 29% in 2010 and 26% in 2011. However, the dropout problem appears to disappear in JAKOA (2015b) that reports a dropout rate of -21.05% in 2014 due to extensive campaign for primary enrolment by the relevant Government agencies. The negative percent indicates a surplus resulting from flexible enrolment at various ages and year levels for a particular cohort. Dropouts after Year 6, though, remain high (22.09% in 2014). This dropout rate refers to students who were enrolled in Year 6 in 2010 but did not continue to Form 1 at the secondary level (JAKOA, 2015b).

In contrast, the country report on EFA review for Malaysia submitted to UNESCO (2015c) indicates that nationwide the percentage of children who reach Year 6 has improved from 99.2 percent in 2000 to 99.2 percent in 2013, whilst the transition rate from primary education to lower secondary education has risen from 90 percent to 97 percent between 2000 and 2013. The report emphasises that the outcomes of programmes for the Orang Asli children depend on the degree to which teachers have the flexibility of adjusting the curriculum content to suit the children's needs, whilst simultaneously pointing out that:

The challenges facing the Orang Asli are multidimensional which require attention to both the curriculum, pedagogical skills of teachers, the social cultural environment, and how to reduce the risk factors associated with them dropping out, particularly how to increase the Orang Asli's attitude towards schools and their exposure to the outside world. (UNESCO, 2015c, p.53)

To conclude, learning disengagement and underachievement of the Orang Asli children is a complex and multivariate issue. Orang Asli students' disengagement and disenchantment at primary level, indicated by dropouts, absentees and low academic achievement have triggered many initiatives to help alleviate the problems. Education

is the right of every child born (UNESCO, 2015b), but despite support from the Government and other agencies, why there are still Orang Asli children who are underachieving and remain disengaged from school.

From the preceding discussion, it can be concluded that past studies have focussed on identifying factors leading to the problem. As at the start of this study, in year 2012, there is less known research that has delved into how others among the same community have progressed successfully through the same challenges. The experience of the successful students is worth investigating, with the aim that the findings will contribute to the body of knowledge about how successful Orang Asli students overcome the multi-dimensional deficits that surround them.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework and conceptual model are based upon the minor literature review described in Chapter 2. The initial theoretical framework guides in the determination of research method and provides a starting point for a novice GT researcher. The framework draws upon theoretical considerations and good practice in learning from varied disciplines, namely: quality management, learning organization, language learning, indigenous education, and learning in managing change. The multi-substantives approach gleans shared meanings of the ‘learning’ concept, approaches and practices across the various disciplines. The result is a high level conceptual model of leading learning illustrated in Figure 1.2. The conceptual model incorporates elements of learning embedded in continuous improvement process, systemic learning,

good practices in indigenous education, language learning and managing change process. In the final Chapter 5, the researcher discusses in details reflections on her preconceptions, the minor literature review, pre-conceived and emerging definitions. At this juncture, the researcher highlights the simple model initially drawn from an understanding of Deming (1986), Senge (1990), Jawaid (1998) and (Burnes, 2000), that broadly defines how the individual can lead their own learning and that of others through the competencies of:

- Initialising learning: how the individual starts the process and seeks help to start the learning process;
- Facilitating learning: how the individual creates the means to ease continuity of learning;
- Accommodating learning: how the individual adapts, adjusts and reconciles differences of the old and the new, learning for survival or survival learning, applying learning; and
- Generating learning: how the individual expands the ability to produce the results, he or she truly wants; learning for generating the new and the novel; the generative learning.

Figure 1.2 illustrates the conceptual leading learning model. It is a general depiction of how the individuals (students, teachers, head of schools and parents) lead their own learning and that of others and the extent to which they can initialise, facilitate, accommodate and generate learning. As stated earlier, this model is a guiding framework containing initial concepts that enable the researcher to generate the much

needed thoughts for the next stage of the research process, which is the identification of the research methodology.

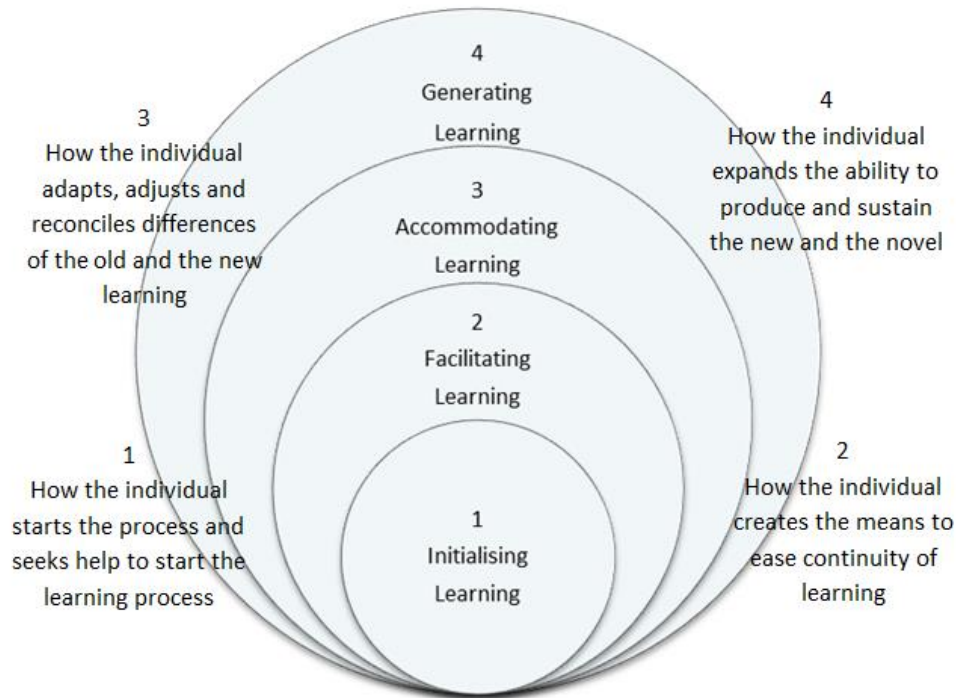


Figure 1.2. Conceptual Leading Learning Model

To initiate the research process, the researcher has adopted a simple conceptual definition of leading learning as gleaned from the Webster’s dictionary (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1994). Webster defines leading as the action of one that leads, whilst learning as the acquiring of knowledge or skill. Hence, for a start, leading learning in this study is defined as the action of one that leads the acquiring of knowledge or skill and other relevant learning competencies for self or for others. In other words, leading learning refers to the role involved, what it is about and how learning is led within a particular context. Leading learning as the final emerging concept is defined in Chapter 5.



1.5 Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to explore, understand and generate propositions that can explain how the learning process is led among successful Orang Asli students. To this end, the broad objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To explore and understand the process of Orang Asli students leading their own learning.
2. To explore and understand the process of Orang Asli parents leading their children in learning.
3. To explore and understand the process of teachers leading the learning of Orang Asli students.
4. To explore and understand the process of school heads leading the learning of Orang Asli students.

In pursuing the above objectives, the study is expected to reveal how the different roles collectively contribute to the leading learning process.

1.6 Research Questions

Based upon the above purpose and objectives, the research is driven by the following research questions:





1. How Orang Asli students lead themselves in learning?
2. How Orang Asli parents lead their children in learning?
3. How teachers lead learning of Orang Asli children?
4. How school heads lead learning of Orang Asli children?

Among the questions to be posed within the specific research question are: What were their challenges and concerns? How they overcome those challenges and concerns? Who were involved in the process of overcoming those challenges and concerns?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Sections 1.2.3, 1.2.4 and 1.3 have surfaced out issues related to Orang Asli students' learning disengagement. Several contributing deficit factors have been identified. Past initiatives to address the deficits have also been implemented by the Government. This study follows through the continuous improvement tradition, discussed in Section 1.4, and investigates other aspects of the issues that have not been explored in depth as yet; stated in Sections 1.5 and 1.6. It focusses on those who have achieved, and documents lessons learned from their achievement. Thus, its primary value is intended for the Orang Asli community, both parents and children and others within the community who are involved in the education of the children. Understanding how others have successfully progressed through the schooling system will enable them to ponder and harness lessons learned for their own strategies at overcoming learning issues and challenges. Practical value to the policy makers includes drawing on the findings to





develop strategies for the continuous improvement of the Orang Asli education. Finally, the study is significant in the innovative methodology used with respect to indigenous research in Malaysia, and the emerging grounded theory adds to the current body of knowledge arising from Orang Asli study. A detailed discussion of the aforementioned significance is presented in Chapter 5, Sections 5.4 (Contributions to the Body of Knowledge) and 5.5 (Implications for Practice).

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to exploring the leading learning process of Orang Asli students who have agreed to participate in the research. Through their narratives, and subsequent constant comparative analysis of the data gathered, this study provides one plausible explanation about how the various roles involved in the participants' education resolved the issues and challenges of prevalent learning disengagement among Orang Asli students. From a grounded theory research perspective, the limit is not about the particulars that cannot be generalised. Rather, the limit is in how one draws lessons from such documentation. Such is the case of the one whose biography benefits unknown numbers of readers directly or indirectly. Further discussion on the limitation of the study is presented upon completion of the study in the final Chapter 5.





1.9 Operational Definitions

Grounded theory: The substantive theory generated through constant comparative analysis of data in the substantive area. Substantive theory can be elevated to formal theory when it is relevant and fit in other substantive areas.

Grounded theory method: A research method that is based upon the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The main aim of the method is to generate theory that is grounded in data.

Learning disengagement: Learning disengagement includes the idea of non-participation, non-involvement, non-commitment in the aspect that promotes learning whether in the physical, emotional, or cognitive perspective. The concept learning disengagement can be understood as the opposite end of the engagement spectrum as defined by Fredricks, Blumenfeld and Paris (2004):

The multifaceted nature of engagement is also reflected in the research literature, which defines engagement in three ways. *Behavioural engagement* draws on the idea of participation; it includes involvement in academic and social or extracurricular activities and is considered crucial for achieving positive academic outcomes and preventing dropping out. *Emotional engagement* encompasses positive and negative reactions to teachers, classmates, academics, and school and is presumed to create ties to an institution and influence willingness to do the work. Finally, *cognitive engagement* draws on the idea of investment; it incorporates thoughtfulness and willingness to exert the effort necessary to comprehend complex ideas and master difficult skills. (Emphasis original) (Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris, 2004, p.3)

The following are pre-conceived definitions of the initial theoretical concepts that guide this research. For comparison the final emerging definitions are presented in Chapter 5.





Leading learning: Leading learning in this study is defined as the action of one that leads the acquiring of knowledge or skill and other relevant learning competencies for self or for others. In other words, key aspects pertaining to leading the learning process, of own or of the students depending on the context. The ability to lead learning contributes towards sustained learning engagement. The final definition is in Chapter 5.

Initialising learning: Initialising learning is about how the individual starts the process and seeks help to start the learning process.

Facilitating learning: Facilitating learning is about how the individual creates the means, to ease continuity of learning.



Accommodating learning: Accommodating learning is about how the individual adapts, adjusts and reconciles differences of the old and the new, learning for survival or survival learning, applying learning. This process is based upon an analogy of the concept ‘accommodate’ as defined in the Webster’s New World Dictionary (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1994), “to become adjusted, as the lens of the eyes, in focusing on objects at various distances” (p.8).

Generating learning: Generating learning is about how the individual expands the ability to produce the results, he or she truly wants; learning for generating the new and the novel; the generative learning.





Other conceptual definitions are elaborated in Appendix A.

1.10 Conclusion

There appears to be an unabated issue of learning disengagement among the Orang Asli community's children despite the Government initiatives for improvement. The focus to date has been improving learning provisions with respect to infrastructure development including access and better learning facility, human resource provisions, and financial assistance. This study takes the position that there is a need to understand how Orang Asli students can progress through the schooling process despite the often cited barriers and challenges, by listening to the voices of successful learners. In the following Chapter 2, the researcher presents the results from an initial literature review that underpins the subsequent research approach.





CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction



The review of literature in conventional research allows a better understanding of the problem at hand, including its context and what have been done to alleviate the problem. Such review also helps the researcher to position or embed her research within the wider research community literature: pointing her towards where new knowledge could be discovered and generated. In contrast, a grounded theory researcher is advised against intensive prior literature review in the substantive area. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The main reason is to avoid pre-conceived notions and theories creeping into the constant comparative analysis. It is argued that prior literature review will result in the analyst forcing data to fit his or her framework instead of allowing theory to emerge from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Detailed discussion on the role of literature review in GT method is presented in Chapter 3 as part of the rationale for the present researcher's methodological choice.





Following Hoda (2011), the literature review in this study occurred at two stages referred to as the minor literature review and major literature review. The initial minor literature search comprises three strands of reviews. The first strand covers past Orang Asli research for issues and context. The second strand surfaces the researcher's pre-conceived biases and background as described in this Chapter 2. The final third strand is a review of the grounded theory method. The grounded theory review was a process of constant comparative analysis of the grounded theory method and its variants (as discussed in Chapter 3), as well as to get a tighter grasp on grounded theory concepts and terminologies.

To alleviate the concern about pre-conceived notions during the initial minor literature review, the readings are across varieties of substantive areas as recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The subsequent major literature review is in the substantive area and this occurs during theory development and write-up in which data from literature is constantly compared and weaved in with the emerging propositions or theories emerging from empirical data. This is accomplished in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

This chapter covers the minor literature review, focusses on areas that reflect the researcher's initial perspective and assumptions as she entered the study. The first part of the review represents her background knowledge and training during the late 1990's and early 2000s in quality, learning and teaching. The chapter thus surfaces her theoretical considerations and presents educational good practice gleaned across the disciplines of quality management, learning organization, language learning, and





managing change. The second part is a review of global research in indigenous education drawing their good practice therein. This multi-substantive approach enabled the researcher to extract shared meanings of learning concepts, approaches and practices across various disciplines that resulted in a high level conceptual model of leading learning. The reviews and considerations are further discussed below.

2.2 Learning in Quality Management

The discipline of quality management is built upon the premise that everything can be better. In this discipline the concepts of quality, customer and continuous improvement are the obsession. Several perspectives are available to pursue and understand the idea of quality. The practical thinkers who have elaborated on this subject include leading quality gurus in 1980's such as Deming (1982, 1986), Crosby (1984) and Juran (1988). They are quality thinkers as well as practitioners who have agreed that quality is about focusing on customer, effective leadership, involving people, understanding process, systems thinking, data-based decision making, continuous improvement and maintaining effective supplier relationship.

The history of quality and how to manage quality was rooted in the military, subsequently adopted by the business world (Manley & Manley 1996; West-Burnham 1997; Martinez-Lorente, Dewhurst & Dale 1998). In education, the concern for quality filtered through the governments, through their respective agencies that deal with the education of their nations, and the various stakeholders - parents included - who insisted





that schools provide the most relevant and appropriate level of education for the learners. Doherty (1994), Tribus (1994), Sallis (1996), and Jawaid (1998), for instance, have recorded how the concept of quality has seeped and entrenched itself into education via the quality movement in education since the 1990s.

Tribus (1994), explains how Deming's approach for quality improvement has been extended to education, where schools have successfully exploited Deming's philosophy that all people are educable, that they want to do a good job and that they deserve respect (Deming, 1982, 1986). It is based on the philosophy that values the self-esteem of those who learn and those who teach (Tribus, 1994). Concerns for quality in education led Sallis (1996) to state that, "Quality is an idea whose time has come" (Sallis, 1996, p.2), while West-Burnham adds, "However quality is defined, it has always been at the centre of the debate about education" (West-Burnham, 1997, p.5).

In a comprehensive study of how quality perspective can be exploited for better learning and teaching in primary education, Jawaid (1998) developed a TESOL quality audit framework, an instrument for quality process improvement. TESOL refers to Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages. The quality framework is built upon the premise that good TESOL practice is also good primary teaching and learning practice.

Following the September 2015 United Nations Summit, 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development officially came into force on 1 January 2016 (United Nations, 2017a). The SDGs, year ending 2030,





build on the success of the earlier Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), year ending 2015. Therein the concept of quality in education is now thoroughly embedded in United Nation's sustainable development goal (SDG 4: Quality Education) (United Nations, 2017b). The aim of SDG 4 is to ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning. The aim is underpinned by the rationale that obtaining a quality education is the foundation to improving people's lives and sustainable development. Despite major progress made in access to education and improved basic literacy skills, bolder efforts are needed for greater strides in achieving the universal primary education goal of the earlier MDGs (United Nations, 2017a).

The above review highlights the importance of quality not only in the traditional activities of business management, but also in education. In the global context, the present research is cognisance of the aims of both the MDG 2: to achieve universal primary education and SDG 4: to ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning. In the local context, this study aims to bridge a gap in Orang Asli research that has not explored thoroughly the success stories of Orang Asli students, and to examine what quality indicators that could be harnessed from their success. Quality indicators are lessons shared and learned that can be used to enhance Orang Asli students learning engagement and academic achievement, thus contributing to the realization of the SDG 4.





2.3 Learning in Learning Organisation

What makes the learning organisation perspective relevant in this study is the manner in which it can be applied to any organisation; schools included. Senge (1990), in his breakthrough work on the art and practice of the learning organisation, argues that learning organisations are made up of learning individuals who have mastered the arts of systems thinking, personal mastery, awareness of own mental model, building shared vision and team learning. In Senge's learning model, 'systems thinking' is defined as the ability to view events and processes in inter-related contexts. It enables us to see patterns in a process, event, and situation, and develop meaning from the patterns. It enables us to see a part as a component of an inter-related whole. In the context of this research, the systems approach enables the researcher to consider the problem of Orang Asli children's learning disengagement and achievement in context with the whole school, and its environment.

In the context of this study, an organisation can be a school or a community. Senge's learning model is especially useful in understanding how any school or Orang Asli community can aspire to be a learning organisation and the individuals within it aspire to be learning individuals. As Senge puts it:

Real learning gets to the heart of what it means to be human. Through learning we "re-create" ourselves. Through learning we become able to do something we never were able to do. Through learning we re-perceive the world and our relationship to it. Through learning we extend our capacity to create, to be part of the generative process of life. (Senge, 1990, p.14)





From the above, it can be concluded that learning makes an individual. Learning elevates the individuals and subsequently the whole community. It provides us with the opportunity to contribute to our own well-being as well as that of others. Learning is in fact 'life'; because as Senge again emphasises, learning is about expanding our ability to produce results we truly want in life – a concept that he refers to as 'generative learning' (Senge, 1990).

In addition to systems thinking, Senge's argument on personal mastery, mental model, building shared vision, and team building points to the entirety of his learning approach along with the needs to understand the thread that binds them together. Personal mastery is grounded in competence and skills, but goes beyond competence and skills (Senge 1990, p.141). It is about two underlying movements – continually clarifying what is important to us, and continually learning how to see current reality more clearly. In this context, Senge has been very accommodative through the use of the term 'continually' rather than 'continuously'. He appears to give us time, pauses for mistakes and make corrections.

Senge cited Argyris and Schon (1978) who developed a body of theory and method that includes 'reflection in action' for reflection and enquiry on the rationale that underlies our actions. In their work, Argyris and Schon lead in the skills of engaging difficult issues so that everyone learned. This is particularly useful in examining our mental models; how we perceive the world around us, because how we perceive and make sense of the world determines how we take action. Hence, it is an important aspect in developing the skill of how to understand our problem. The





discipline of managing our mental models will enable us to surface, test and improve our internal pictures of how the world works. Although as Senge says, “all models are simplifications” (Senge, 1990, p.176); certainly they will provide the starting point for us to take the right action towards improvement.

From the learning perspectives of Senge (1990) and Deming (1982, 1986, 1994), it can be concluded that, to move, to activate ourselves, and to improve, we must believe that there is a future. We must have a vision of the future. The energy and synergy will come when the individual’s future matches that of the group future; or as Senge argues, “a shared vision is a common caring – a force in people’s heart” (Senge, 1990, p. 206).



In the context of the present research, would it make a difference if the school, its community of teachers, administrators, children, parents, Orang Asli communities and other stakeholders open up their mental models, rework their assumptions and share a vision that will activate them towards a shared future? A rhetorical question indeed, but certainly we can learn from Senge who states, “Experience suggests that visions that are genuinely shared require on-going conversation where individuals not only feel free to express their dreams; but learn how to listen to each other’s dreams” (Senge 1990, p.218).

Building shared vision means being able to see both “the forest and the trees”, and this requires learning as a team. As Senge (1990) argues, team learning is the discipline that will enable us to share the language for understanding complexity.



Through teams we learn how to unravel complex issues and develop fluency in a common language to explore possibilities within the systems approach. Only through such common understanding, will a team and the individuals within it be able to savour the sweetness of generative learning; the learning that expands our ability to produce the results we truly want.

2.4 Learning in Second Language and Minority Education

The educator, Vygotsky (1978, p.86) defines zone of proximal development (ZPD) as, “The distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Also in Vygotsky, 2005, p.105). This approach to helping learners clearly advocates the scaffolding of learning through effective interactions between learner and teacher in a highly supportive environment. Teacher can be any adult or a more capable peer who helps clarify problems and seeks resolutions during learning. Scaffolding is particularly critical for students whose home learning environment differs considerably from that of in school. This is true for Orang Asli students whose home language and home provisions may not be able to support school’s expectation.

Vygotsky’s approach, frequently referred to as the social-constructivist approach to learning, has been supported by other educators, including Bruner (1986) and Cummins (2005); and applied successfully in real learning situations of minority



second language learners (Jawaid, 1998, 2000). Scaffolding is central to better learning: scaffolding here refers to every aspect that initiates, facilitates, accommodates, and generates learning: including scaffolding of the cognitive, language, physical, socio-emotional and spiritual development process. Scaffolding also means taking into account that every learner has prior experience and knowledge and given the right context and high expectations, upon which new knowledge may be extended. Scaffolding is particularly relevant and important in the education of Orang Asli children who have been documented in past research to be shy, lacking in confidence, lack home learning support and lack the mainstream learning environment (Nicholas, 2006; Nazariah, 2014).

Consequently, a supportive learning environment must consider the cultural strengths of Orang Asli children; scaffolding on the one hand, whilst exploiting the communities' inherent positive cultural attributes. Nicholas (2006) states several positive cultural attributes of the Orang Asli children: Among others, he states, "Through their indigenous language, a child is taught to be polite, considerate and amicable," (Nicholas, 2006, p.7). Clearly, with these attributes, lacking discipline would not be a teacher's complaints. From this baseline, teachers can easily develop a specific version of the learner-centred approach to lead learning in the classroom of Orang Asli children; with clear understanding and consideration of the children's shyness and lack of confidence while building upon their polite, considerate and amicable attributes. "A good teacher is not defined by one's characteristics, but the ability to manage and adapt learning techniques to overcome the challenges", (Nazariah & Abd Rahman, 2013, p.61).





Academic achievement goes hand in hand with language performance. In this context, Professor Chamot of The George Washington University makes an important proposition to increased articulation between language and content instruction. In her model – Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) - she looks into the problem of how English Language Learners (ELLs) are often unprepared for the academic and cognitive demands across the subject areas (Chamot, 2005).

ELLs refers to those learners whose mother tongue is not English. Drawing a parallel: In this Orang Asli study, neither the national language Bahasa Melayu, nor English is the mother tongue of these children. We would expect that the Orang Asli children are going through a more challenging task of acquiring academic competence in the present schooling system; where Bahasa Melayu and English are the main languages for classroom interactions and the acquisition of learning.

Incorporating the mother-tongue in language minority students learning has been a contentious issue between those that support assimilation and the proponents of acculturation (Igoa, 2005). However, Jawaid (1998), in his comprehensive study of how language minority children learn found that, the use of mother tongue in scaffolding learning has considerable impact on the self-esteem of the children and contributes greatly to their learning.

Adopting a quality approach, Jawaid (1998) developed an extensive model for leading learning in a TESOL environment. The model provides a comprehensive framework of good practice for the primary classroom, where goals of language and





academic competence go hand in hand. Using a novel benchmarking approach, Jawaid identifies desirable standards of provision and performance indicators for quality improvement in teaching and learning. Jawaid's model provides the conceptual framework to examine how teachers can lead learning. In this model, four key underlying principles: proximal development, teacher-pupil involvement, realistic learning experience and active language practice give rise to the following six quality characteristics for whole school approach to leading learning and learners: planning, management of teaching and learning, learner-centred approaches, use of resources, assessment of learning, and monitoring and evaluation.

The six quality characteristics provided the main frame for the subsequent generation of quality standards and key performance indicators of whole school leading and learning. Jawaid's model provides an extensive 'how' teachers can be expert leaders to their learners. It provides the extent of provisions and teachers' competencies that must be in place to scaffold second language learners and minority children appropriate at primary level (Jawaid, 1998, 2000, 2014b; Jawaid & Rabahi, 1999; Moreland, Jawaid & Dhillon, 2000). The TESOL framework is significant in this study as it provides benchmarks that help to make sense of what happens in Orang Asli students' classrooms.





2.5 Learning in Managing Change

Our apparent need for change is inevitably linked with improvement and progress. For instance, common sense tells us that we can have better health with better diet and a more active lifestyle. In turn, the concept of change is intimately linked to the idea of learning in context (Fullan, 2006; Smith, 2008) as well as leading in context (Harris & Jones, 2017). This suggests that change requires knowledge of how to do it and when to do it, as well as understanding its limits.

Change theorists generally agreed that some changes are planned while some are emergent (Mintzberg & Westley, 1992; Burnes, 2000). This categorizing has impact on how change should be conceived, and managed, as planned change essentially is suitable for relatively stable environment, while emergent change is more applicable in turbulent environment. As Burnes (2000) states that, “Organisations are social systems, change is not a rational process, emotions come into play as well. Therefore, persuasion and leadership play a key role in changing organisations” (Burnes, 2000, p.145). It can be argued then, that change involves both the emotional and rational process, in which both attitude and aptitude for change are important key success factors.

Attitude conceptualises our predisposition to respond positively or negatively towards a certain idea, object, person or situation, in other words, the matter at hand. It influences our choice of action, and responses to challenges, incentives and rewards (Perloff, 2016). In essence, our attitude about anything is reflected in our reactive emotions or feelings to the matter at hand, influenced by our consciously held belief or





opinions about the matter, indicated by our inclination for action on the matter, either positively or negatively. Pre-millennium authors such as Jenkins (1997), Bowring-Carr & West-Burnham (1997) and Senge (1990) argue that to improve, an organization and the individuals in it must want to embrace change. In this context, want is clearly an attitude, a precursor to change.

On the other hand, aptitude conceptualises our ability, either acquired or natural, for learning and proficiency in the said matter. In educational context, Fullan (2006) refers to the need for change knowledge in managing change. Fullan (2016) asserts that to enable change, school leaders and teachers must embrace leading and learning in equal measure and to see students as change agents. This suggests that schools need to lead while constantly reflecting upon and acquiring feedback on its effectiveness.

Embracing the mutually encompassing concepts of 'lead and learn' is imperative for school administrators and teachers that are expected to manage changing expectations. Moreover, in managing change, inclusive leadership takes into considerations the voices of all stakeholders including students who Fullan (2016) refers to as agents of change for school improvement. In this educational context, as change agents, students make contribution to change knowledge that underpins how schools lead.

The motivation for change is growth and accountability. On the one hand, for Orang Asli students, learning in managing change is a critical part of their growth, as they find themselves deposited in new cultural context, in school. On the other hand, school leaders and teachers are accountable in this change process and play the leading facilitating and accomodating role in the often times traumatic change process. It





follows, in the context of this research that to improve learning, the school community, and the individuals involved as a whole, must want change, and continuous improvement. Effective leading and learning at all the levels – parents, learners, teachers and school leaders - is the key to the continuous improvement process. In managing change, school administrators must be the learning champion of whole school improvement and needed change, whilst parents provide the home-based scaffolding (SUHAKAM, 2014). Thus, the entire setting is a learning system. Schon (1973) argues that:

A learning system ... must be one in which dynamic conservatism operates at such a level and in such a way as to permit change of state without intolerable threat to the essential functions the system fulfils for the self. Our systems need to maintain their identity, and their ability to support the self-identity of those who belong to them, but they must at the same time be capable of transforming themselves. (Schon 1973, p57)



Schon's statement above implies that a learning change has the elements of both continuity and stability. And that a learning change occurs within the context of the stable self. Mintzberg (2014) reemphasises this when he argues in his, 'We live in times of great continuity', and that we must manage both. In conclusion, while change is required for growth, schools, learners and parents also need to manage the cultural context that provides the stability of continuity. A learning model in managing change honours the importance and the contributions of each role.





2.6 Learning Model of Deficit

Generally, the deficit model in education forwards the idea that learning disengagement is due to the lack of many things from the student's side of the divide (Valencia, 2010). This model sees diversity in lifestyle, language, ways of learning, as problematic and views the deficiencies of poor, and minority group students, their families and communities as the main causes of students' school problems and academic failure (Valencia, 1997; 2010).

Valencia (2010) explains that deficit thinking is a social construction that is flavoured by three contemporary discourses: the genetic pathology model, the culture of poverty model and the 'at-risk model'. These discourses related to deficit thinking may be best explained by some real life examples:

- Example 1: As experienced by the researcher, an agricultural engineering graduate, she was told by the human resources director that she was not suitable for the post that she had applied (Agricultural Engineer) because the public agency wanted a male. According to him, ladies would not be able to fulfil their field duties when they are married and pregnant.
- Example 2: As concluded in past research described earlier in Section 1.2.4: Reasons For Disengagement, Orang Asli students failed in school because they were poor, lazy, parents are not involved, and had attitude problem.





- Example 3: As shared by Nour Soubani and Tesneem Alkiek (2017), women should not be encouraged to memorise the the Holy Quran because when they get married and be busied by their children they will not have the time to review. And they would forget. Below is an excerpt from the article when Tesneem was jolted by what her teacher said:

“... and that’s why women shouldn’t memorize the Quran”. *What did he just say?* I had just finished memorizing the Quran myself that year, so I sat up in my seat. “My sister memorized the Quran,” he continued, “but she’s been so busy with her newborn baby that she never has time to review it, and now she’s forgotten it all. So it’s better for women not to memorize because they won’t be able to retain it while raising children.” (Nour Soubani & Tesneem Alkiek, 2017, para 1).

To put the above examples in context with the deficit thinking discourses, first in the genetic pathology model, the belief is that we are naturally disadvantaged by who we are genetically. As for example above, being a female one cannot be as good an engineer. An additional example, a black is less intelligent than a white, a prevalent implicit as well as explicit belief in the United States of America as discussed in great details by Valencia (2010). The black people deficit thinking of J. P. Rushton (2000) is a case in Valencia’s study.

Second, the culture of poverty model conceptualises the belief that failure is due to being poor. As shown in the above illustrations, about research claims that shows Orang Asli students’ learning disengagement and achievement gaps are linked to family’s poverty. Finally, third, the 'at-risk' model explains the belief that some individuals are culturally to be more at-risk to fail than others, as in the case of a married woman is at risk of forgetting what she had memorized when unmarried, because she





will have no time to review her memorisation of the Holy Quran. An additional example is when students are lumped into at-risk category because of where they are located such as in rural or estate school versus urban school.

In essence, the key idea in deficit thinking gives rise to 'blame the victim' culture. It is your fault that you can't get the job because you are female. It is your fault that you failed because your family is poor and could not afford tuition, while your parents are too busy eking out a living to teach you at home. It is your fault that you risk failing because you speak 'Greek' at home, and you can't follow the lessons taught in the 'Martian' language in class. Beresford (2003) explains the categorization of indigenous peoples in deficit paradigm:

A deficit perspective has its foundation in a conservative worldview that Aboriginal people lack the cognitive capacity or environmental stimulation to succeed at school. Although discredited for several decades among informed educationalists, the view persists among some conservative teachers who continue to believe that a lack of adequate preparation for schooling in the home, poor language and literacy skills, and problems of attendance, health and nutrition explain the failure of many Aboriginal children to thrive in school. (Beresford, 2003, p.27)

Similarly, the deficit perspective is also prevalent in the extant literature explaining why Orang Asli students were not engaged or achieving. Among others, lack of interest in schooling, attitude, family mindset, parental involvement, and the social cultural perspectives of the Orang Asli society have been identified in the continuing educational problems of Orang Asli students, reflecting a key feature in the deficit theory (model) of education (Nicholas, 2006; Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; Nazariah, 2014). Undoubtedly this perspective has triggered many initiatives for on-going improvement, but it also



indicates that there are lessons yet to be learned in regard with the deficit thinking, thus offering us the opportunity to explore a new approach in examining the issue or concern. Triggered by similar deficit thinking concern in Australian Aboriginal education, Vass (2012) also argues that it is time to move away from the deficit paradigm. He asserts that deficit thinking potentially leads to lowered expectations of Indigenous students in the classroom.

2.7 Learning Model of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy of Relations

The emergence of culturally responsive pedagogy is in response to school setting that fails to accommodate students' cultural context that is different from the school Brown-Jeffry and Cooper (2011). According to Brown-Jeffry and Cooper (2011), Castagno and Brayboy (2008) and Bishop, Ladwig and Berryman (2014), early advocates encapsulate this educational philosophy in variety of ways including *culturally appropriate, culturally congruent, mitigating cultural discontinuity, culturally responsive and culturally compatible, and culturally in context with education, schooling, curriculum, classroom, pedagogy or teaching*. Guenther (2015) contributes the concept *culturally and contextually responsive schools* to reflect the significance of context in aboriginal education.

Ladson-Billings (1995) coined the term culturally relevant pedagogy (Brown-Jeffry & Cooper, 2011). Ladson-Billings makes explicit the idea that teaching should not make students feel that they are culturally inferior. This suggests that a culturally

relevant pedagogy invokes the need for the connection between school and the learners' culture.

In contrast to the deficit thinking learning model, anti-deficit thinking in education honours the cultural context of indigenous, minoritised and disadvantaged people (Howard, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995); Nelson, 2002; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007, 2011a; Bishop, Ladwig & Berryman, 2014). Similar perspective has been discussed in different contexts including in Cummins (1995) with respect to second language learning, culturally responsive teaching of Gay (2000, 2010), pedagogy of relation of Sidorkin (2002), and culturally responsive teacher of Villegas and Lucas (2002a, 2002b). In explaining his pedagogy of relation, in which learning is a function of relation, Sidorkin (2002) argues that:

An underlying reality of human relations constitutes the crucial context of education. What teachers, administrators, and students do and say could only have meaning and be understood against this invisible but very real matrix of intersecting relations ... the relational reality in education ... Learning is a function of relation; therefore, educators should pay close attention to it. Relations shape everything teachers do and say to such an extent that very "wrong" actions and words would be okay or even beneficial when a relationship is good. At the same time, the best practices and most effective words would become meaningless or harmful against the background of an unhealthy relationship. Therefore, educators should really concentrate on establishing effective educational relations and only then worry about what to do. (Sidorkin, 2002, p.2)

Sidorkin's emphasis on learning relations is picked up by Bishop et al. (2007, 2011a). Bishop et al. (2007, 2011a) describe a decade long research (Years 2001-2010) for the Government of New Zealand, that has its main aim to improve the Maori students' education. In the final report (Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, Peter & Clapham (2011b) contend that it is for effective teachers to: first, "understand the need to

explicitly reject deficit theorizing as a way of explaining Maori students' educational achievement levels," and second, "to take an agentic position in their theorizing about their practice," (Bishop et al., 2011b, p.13). In an agentic position, "teachers have more agency ... meaning more freedom to act," (Bishop, 2006), in resolving key classroom issues that include how teachers identify and challenge existing belief about their students, embrace the opportunity to effect change, believe that they can and know how to make a difference, and build relationship with and build self-belief in the students.

At the conclusion of the research project, Bishop et al. (2011b) argue for teachers to embrace a *culturally responsive pedagogy of relations* that honours power sharing, culture, interactive dialogic, spiral learning, and commitment to common vision for excellence in educational outcomes. In Bishop, Berryman, Wearmouth, Peter and Clapham (2011a), the authors summarise the daily atmosphere expected in effective teachers' classrooms. The effective teachers:

Care for the students as culturally located individuals, have high expectations for students' learning, are able to manage their classrooms and curriculum so as to promote learning, are able to engage in a range of discursive learning interactions with students, know a range of strategies that can facilitate learning interactions, collaboratively promote, monitor and reflect upon students' learning outcomes so as to modify their instructional practices in ways that lead to improvements in Māori students' achievement, and they share this knowledge with the students. (Bishop et al., 2011a, p.4)

Thus, according to Bishop et al. (2011a), together the above elements promote a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations.

However, implementing culturally responsive education has its challenges. For instance, despite its long history Castagno and Brayboy (2008) found that culturally



responsive schools serving indigenous people in the USA “has had little impact on what teachers do because it is too easily reduced to essentializations, meaningless generalizations, or trivial anecdotes - none of which result in systemic, institutional, or lasting changes to schools” (p.941). This suggests that although more schools serving indigenous, minoritised and disadvantaged students are culturally responsive, its implementation remains problematic. Thus, the challenge is for school leaders and teachers to adopt reflective practice that can enable them to connect with diverse students and their families. Reflective practitioners set time to assess and evaluate their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in their progress with respect to students’ well being and achievement.



The review on educational problems of Orang Asli children provides pertinent information on its contributing factors. It is noted that past initiatives and programs have focused primarily on improving factors and provisions related to accessibility, infrastructure, facilities and teachers’ teaching skill, along with attempts to provide a more meaningful curriculum for indigenous children. Less focus is noted on the learning process of the children and the children as learners. Scholtes (1998) argues that education is about leading learning. Hence, the entire community of individuals associated with the education of Orang Asli children and students can be envisaged as comprising individuals leading their own learning and that of others.





The Orang Asli educational issue is a phenomenon that the researcher views and examines from quality management perspective with broader considerations of other associated disciplines. This multi-disciplinary approach assists in the development of shared meanings of the concepts, approaches and practices across similar meaningful concerns. The initial learning model draws upon examination of the meaning of learning in the context of the following theoretical perspectives: quality management, learning organisation, and language learning and minority education.

First, the discipline of quality management is built upon the theory that everything can be better. Within this perspective the prominent Deming's theory of management is rooted in the belief that everyone is educable (Deming, 1986, 1994; Tribus, 1994). Deming (1986) inculcates the passion for learning through the well-known Plan-Do-Study-Act (PDSA) continuous improvement cycle. In addition, Doherty (1994), UNICEF (2000a), OECD (2004), Hallinger and Heck (2010a,2010b), Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom and Anderson (2010), and Tikly (2010) explain the emphasis in quality management; that quality is about customer focus, leadership, people involvement, understanding process, systems approach and continuous improvement. Taking cue from this perspective, quality in learning must focus on continuous improvement, in which leadership is a major driver of quality education and management.

Second, what makes the learning organization model relevant in this study is the systems approach to learning. From Senge (1990) and his mentors (Argyris, 1982; Argyris & Schon, 1978), it is clear that real learning is generative learning, beyond that





of adaptive learning. And generative learning is only possible when one learns how to learn and lead one's own learning. Thus, in the context of this research, the systems approach will enable the researcher to see the problem of Orang Asli students in inter-related contexts - with the whole school and its community environment as a learning entity.

Third, models of educational best practices at primary level are effectively linked with language learning theories (Vygotsky, 1978, 2005; Jawaid, 1998, 2014b; Cummins, 2005; Richard-Amato & Snow, 2005). Moreover, the language learning process provides a fascinating view into how children can learn to manage and lead their own learning; and particularly interesting is how language learning is very much linked with minoritised children's learning and teaching process. Vygotsky (1978, 2005) and Jawaid (1998, 2014b) argued that learning of the children is invariably linked to how the learning is scaffolded by teachers, parents, schools and the community as whole. Also among others, scaffolding learners has been described by Desforges and Abouchaar (2003), Peters, Seeds, Goldstein and Coleman (2008), Vesely, Brown & Mahatmya (2013) who provide perspective of parental and family involvement in children's education, whilst Vosniadou (2001), Cole (2008) and Saravia-Shore (2008) explain how to provide scaffolding by understanding how children and diverse learners learn.

Thus, the proposed study incorporates key concepts gleaned and developed from the review of various learning models. These are models pertaining to improvement process, systemic learning, good practice for better learning, and good



practice from indigenous research. This preliminary leading learning model comprises the following stages of learning:

- Initialising learning: how the individual starts the process and seeks help to start the learning process;
- Facilitating learning: how the individual creates the means to ease continuity of learning;
- Accommodating learning: how the individual adapts, adjusts and reconciles differences of the old and the new, learning for survival or survival learning, and applying learning; and
- Generating learning: how the individual expands the ability to produce the results, he or she truly wants; learning for generating the new and the novel; the generative learning.

The initial conceptual model is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

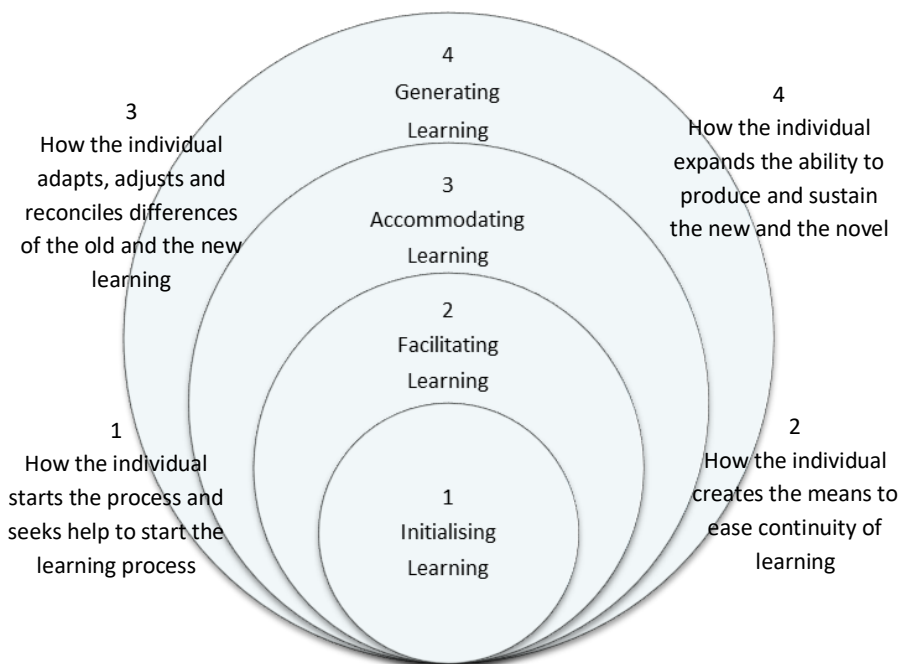


Figure 2.1. Conceptual Model of Hope: Leading Learning

At this juncture, it has to be emphasized that the above model is a preliminary tool for thinking about the process of leading learning with respect to Orang Asli children, whilst the indicators are based upon good practice that are gleaned from the literature, familiarisation case and fieldwork. Consistent within the grounded theory approach, I have used the literature as data towards a better understanding of the issue, a concept referred to as theoretical sensitivity in grounded theory research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This model envisioned as a conceptual model of hope in leading learning has been presented in Misnaton, Hamidah and Marinah (2013a). Further elaboration and usability of the model is presented in Chapter 5 within the perspective of grounded theory method of ‘not forcing the data’ into any preconceived framework or models.



2.9 Conclusion

Theoretical considerations for this study are based upon initial minor review of the literature across several substantive areas with relevance to real life learning and continuous improvement; the purpose of which is to enhance theoretical sensitivity in the area of interest and to provide starting points for the initial data collection. The literature reveals several perspectives of learning, and particularly relevant is how learning perspectives of the minorities and indigenous population has been flooded with deficit thinking. However, the learning approaches of ‘culturally responsive pedagogy of relations’ provided the basis for contrasting perspective. This minor literature review leads to the development of a learning model of hope – a conceptual model of leading learning, an emerging concept to be further explored in relation to Orang Asli students’ schooling experience. Meanwhile noting these words of Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007):

Out go the simplistic views of linear causality, the ability to predict, control and manipulate, and in come uncertainty, networks and connection, self-organisation, emergence over time through feedback and the relationships of the internal and externals, and survival and development through adaptation and change. (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 33)

The following Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used to explore and explain the experience of successful Orang Asli students.





CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction



This chapter presents the research design, in which the researcher discusses her understanding and rationale for pursuing a qualitative grounded theory research to explore the area of interest. Subsequent to this, the philosophical underpinnings, assumptions and the grounded theory research process are elaborated. As described in Birks and Mills (2011), methods and methodology follow a researcher's philosophical position and assumption.

3.2 Research Design

How an enquiry will be pursued depends not only on the nature of the problem but also the philosophical orientation and perspective of the researcher. The following Sections



3.2.1 to 3.2.2 explain this aspect of the research, whilst Section 3.2.3 clarifies the position of the present researcher.

3.2.1 Philosophical Underpinnings

A researcher's philosophical underpinnings are represented by several assumptions and philosophical perspectives. Philosophical belief underpins the researcher's approach to data collection and analysis. This includes that of ontological, epistemological, methodological, axiological and rhetorical belief. For instance, Merriam (2009) argues that research positions and assumptions are influenced by our ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives of an issue or problem. Similar views are held by Creswell (2007), Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011), Punch (2009) and Birks and Mills (2011). This means, we plunge into a particular research with prior position on: first, what we believe as the nature of reality and truth (ontological); second, what we believe should be our relationship with the respondents and informants in order to understand reality or truth (epistemological); and third, what we believe our inquiry method should be in order to get the answers closest to the truth (methodological). To these philosophical underpinnings, Creswell (2007) adds that, our axiological and rhetorical positions will reflect the way we interpret meanings from data and the way we write to make explicit the entire research process in our writing. Creswell states that axiological position reflects the role of the researcher's values and how it will impact the research practice. Creswell explains that whether our data is value-free or value-laden will depend on whether we follow the quantitative or the

qualitative research route. In addition, our rhetorical position reflects the way we write: distant and objective when writing in the quantitative mode, but close, personal and interpretive in the qualitative mode.

3.2.2 Research Approach

Research approaches in educational research can be described as quantitative or qualitative, with variations based upon them. A quantitative approach is adopted for research to test hypotheses and examine the relationship among variables of a problem (Creswell, 2009). Thus, in a quantitative research where the intent is to verify or test a theory or hypothesis, data will be collected, subjected to statistical analysis and interpreted accordingly (Anderson, 1998; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Creswell 2007, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Golafshani, 2003; Zaidah, 2007). The research process is deductive whereby a hypothesis is tested based upon available data.

On the other hand, a qualitative research approach is undertaken when the aim is to explain and understand a phenomenon, or to generate theories or hypotheses (theory generation), or to elaborate and further existing data-based theory (Creswell 2007; Glaser, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this case, data which is usually in the form of texts collected through interviews, conversations, observations or document analysis are collated, coded, categorised and subjected to interpretive analysis, for the purpose of either to understand and explain a phenomenon or towards theory development or elaboration.



According to Merriam (2009), a qualitative research enables us to understand a network of complex, interrelated process in its natural setting and generate models and theories to describe the process. In other words, qualitative researchers are interested in what happened in the real world; they want to understand how “things” happened and how people describe and interpret their experiences; how they construct their world; and what meanings they attributed to their experiences (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Creswell 2007, 2009; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011; Merriam, 2009). Additionally, a qualitative research is for studies that aspire to explore and examine in-depth the complexities and processes, of little known phenomena, and for which relevant variables have not been clearly established (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state, a “Qualitative research is for searching meaningful relationships and the discovery of their consequences for action” (p.10). A qualitative method seeks to represent reality for purposes of comparison, and analysing language and its meaning. In other words, a qualitative research is about meaning making from data mainly obtained through interviews, observations and other text artefacts. Thus, a text based qualitative research process is often considered as subjective as opposed to the perceived objectivity of the statistically based quantitative research process. The main reason for the subjectivity is due to the researcher being the main instrument in data collection and interpretation (Creswell, 2007, 2009; Merriam, 2009).

To summarise, a qualitative research is used to explore and understand the meaning, individuals ascribe to a problem or a phenomenon. The researcher than





reports his or her understanding of the phenomenon through narratives or conceptual theorizing, based upon his or her qualitative methodological choice. However, an issue or area of interest may also be studied using both quantitative and the qualitative methods, one to support the other (Creswell, 2009). Simply stated, an educational research may be pursued through three distinct paths or methods: quantitative, qualitative or combination of the two, also known as mixed methods.

3.2.3 The Present Study

The present study seeks to explore and understand the little known phenomenon of leading learning among Orang Asli students, in particular with respect to: who, what and how learning is led that impact upon their successful progress through the formal education process. The researcher wishes to discover the meaningful relationships and interactions, and their consequences to the learning process of the Orang Asli students. Hence, based upon the above discussion on the contextual applications of quantitative and qualitative research, and the objectives of this research, a qualitative research approach is considered to be the most appropriate path. As stated in Creswell (2007):

A qualitative research is an enquiry process of understanding based on a distinct methodological tradition of inquiry that explores a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. (Creswell, 2007, p.249)

In addition to the above, the philosophical assumptions that underpin my research approach are as follows:



That an incident or setting can be described or understood variously depending upon from which perspective it is being viewed. Hence ontologically, an incident or setting may represent multiple realities; each to his or her own conception of reality or truth. Epistemologically, in the construction of knowledge, my study accepts reality as presented by the data as in Glaser's dictum "all is data" (2007), whether they are from interactions (interviews and conversations), observations or documents, both formal and informal.

However, a decision on which research approach to pursue, which is qualitative in this case, is just a precursor to the next question: Which strategy of enquiry (enquiry or research method) will be most appropriate for a systematic investigation of the process? Whereas, Creswell (2007; 2009) describes in detail five main enquiry strategies within the qualitative tradition: Ethnography, Grounded Theory, Case Studies, Phenomenological Research and Narrative Research. Merriam (2009) best summarises these research strategies or methods as follow:

A phenomenological study seeks understanding about the essence and the underlying structure of the phenomenon. Ethnography strives to understand the interactions of individuals not just with others, but also with the culture of the society in which they live. A grounded theory study seeks not just to understand, but also to build a substantive theory about the phenomenon of interest. Narrative analysis uses the stories people tell, analysing them in various ways, to understand the meaning of the experiences as revealed in the story. (Merriam 2009, p.23)

In addition to the above strategies, there is also the case study. Creswell (2007, 2009), Merriam (2009) and Yin (2012) states that case studies are used for in-depth study of bounded systems.

To summarise, methodological considerations to explore a phenomenon include those forwarded by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), Creswell (1998, 2009), Yin (2012), Merriam (2009), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Corbin and Strauss (2008),



Charmaz (2006) and Berg (1998). These scholars suggest that a qualitative research approach is the appropriate strategy for an empirical in-depth investigation into a singular phenomenon within its real life context. And within this qualitative context, the grounded theory research method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) has the potential to provide the present researcher with the general approach and framework for exploring and conceptualising the leading learning process among Orang Asli students.

The grounded theory method allows the researcher to examine the complex learning process of Orang Asli students systemically, drawing upon the individuals' multiple views of realities of the process, through the use of open-ended interviews, field visits, conversations and observations. These interactions provide opportunities for discovering meaning and conceptualizing in context. Moreover, Birks and Mills (2011) also argue that grounded theory is indicated when little is known about the area of study.

3.3 Understanding Grounded Theory

The grounded theory methodology was founded and developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The methodology is one way of thinking about and studying social reality (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this methodology, the focus is on theory generation, in contrast to that of theory verification. However, Corbin and Strauss (2008) accept that a grounded theory research need not end with theory development, rather the researcher can finalise the research at in-depth analysis at thematic level.





The founders themselves define a grounded “theory” as theory discovered from and grounded in data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). They explain a grounded theory simply as, “theory from data – systematically obtained and analysed in social research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.1). The research ‘method’ itself is referred to as ‘Grounded Theory’ method, whilst a theory emerging from the method is referred to as a Grounded Theory. Glaser and Strauss argue that substantive theory can be developed through constant comparison analysis, wherein data collection and analysis is carried out simultaneously. Data collection is based upon theoretical sampling in which decisions about which data should be collected next is determined by the theory that is being constructed (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz 2006; Suddaby, 2006).

A substantive theory refers to theory in the area of interest, or in other words in the topic or ‘substance’ of interest. Merriam states, “What differentiates grounded theory from other types of research is its focus on building theory,” (Merriam, 2009, p.30). Thus, theory generated in this manner is referred to as substantive theory, because it arises from real life situations and interactions. Corbin and Strauss (2008), subsequently use grounded theory in a more generic sense to denote theoretical constructs or concepts derived from qualitative analysis of data.

Charmaz (2006), who trained with both the founders, Glaser and Strauss, however argues that in grounded theory method, theory is ‘constructed’ rather than discovered. Thus, she went on to elaborate her theory generation position as constructivism - a social scientific position or perspective that assumes people, including researchers, construct the realities in which they participate. Constructivists





acknowledge that their interpretation of the studied phenomenon is itself a construction (Charmaz, 2006, p.187).

Initially, grounded theory method as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) provides a high level conceptual overview of how the method is to be applied. The emphasis is to understand grounded theory as a research strategy with focus on methodological concepts of how theory may be generated from data. The method was heavily criticised by other scholars for lacking in detailed framework and procedural rigour of a scientific research (Suddaby, 2006; Thomas & James, 2006). Allen (2010) for instance states that, “Although *Discovery* is well organised and logically written, it is somewhat lacking in specific practical applications,” (p.1608). To counteract their peers’ criticisms, Corbin and Strauss (1990) subsequently elaborated grounded theory research procedures, canons and evaluative criteria. They include practical aspects of: data collection and analysis, unit of analysis (concept), codes, concepts, categories and theory development, sampling, memoing, verifying, criteria for evaluating the research process and empirical grounding of findings. Subsequently, the authors’ peer, Creswell describes grounded theory as follows:

Grounded theory is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher derives a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants. This process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Two primary characteristics of this design are the constant comparison of data with emerging categories and theoretical sampling of different groups to maximise the similarities and the differences of information. (Creswell, 2009, p.13)

Creswell (2007) also said that a “Grounded theory is a qualitative research design in which the enquirer generates a general explanation (a theory) of a process, action, or





interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants (Creswell, 2007, p.63). However, in contrary, Glaser (2006) emphasises that a grounded theory maybe abstracted from qualitative, as well as quantitative data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) also explain that to generate a proposition or theory, one does not need extensive evidence as proof (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Based upon the preceding review and discussion, the researcher concludes that the grounded theory method is an appropriate strategy to delve into a relatively uncharted research area, as is the case with her present proposed area of study. As indicated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the method has the potential to enable us to make relevant explanations, interpretations and applications, in this context with respect to the leading learning process among Orang Asli students. The method however has evolved considerably since its inception in 1967. The following is a brief overview of the mainstream grounded theory methods that have been variously promoted by the original as well as succeeding scholars. From this point on GT denotes 'Grounded Theory'.

3.3.1 Classic GT

Classic GT refers to the method that was originally 'discovered' by Glaser and Straus (1967). It was based upon their work on the phenomenon of dying which resulted in the promulgation of their theory of the dying process. Theirs was a research with a focus: generating theory from data, in contrast to the then widely expected and accepted focus





of verifying hypothesis using data. It was a new approach from a qualitative worldview that starts with data collection in a substantive area (from qualitative research perspective this is referred to as purposive sampling) and simultaneous data analysis with no theory in its initial conception. They coded and looked for patterns or themes in the data and defined these patterns as concepts. Next, they examined patterns in the concepts and moved them to a higher level of abstractions which were referred to as categories. Finally, several categories explaining a core pattern contributed to a core category. Subsequent data collection was a continuous process based upon 'Theoretical Sampling'. In theoretical sampling further data is collected to establish the properties and variations of a concept or category. Data analysis was carried out using the 'Constant Comparative Method' and 'Memoing', the hallmarks of grounded theory method. The joint data collection and data analysis process was terminated upon saturation of concepts or categories.



3.3.2 Straussian GT

Subsequent to its discovery, there were issues with grounded theory as a research method. First, according to Creswell (2007), despite the initial collaboration of Glaser and Strauss "the two authors ultimately disagreed about the meaning and procedures of grounded theory." (p.63). Strauss and his student, Corbin worked towards structuring the method to meet the requirements of the ferocious scientific research community of their time. In response to peers' criticisms, Strauss and Corbin explain how the grounded theory research process may be conducted within the context of qualitative





research. In their latest work, Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain that, “Grounded theory is used in a more generic sense to denote theoretical constructs derived from qualitative analysis of data”, (p.1). Their focus was on techniques and procedures for gathering and analysing data, plus data-based examples of how to carry out some of the unique GT processes of ‘coding’, iterative analysis through ‘constant comparison’, ‘memoing’, and further ‘theoretical sampling’, and when to stop and complete the write-up. For the novice researcher trying to make sense of GT as a method, Strauss and Corbin’s contribute a great deal to understanding the original work of the founders, Glaser and Strauss. Due to Glaser and Strauss’s subsequent difference, some new concepts such as ‘axial coding’ were added into the work of Strauss and Corbin. As a result, these new concepts can bewilder a new researcher, but this does not invalidate the contribution of their detailed methodological and analytical examples to those embarking on a GT research.



Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) detailed explication of GT method brought on Glaser’s criticism, that Strauss’s approach to grounded theory is too prescribed and structured. Glaser himself celebrates and espouses the autonomy, originality, contribution and power of grounded theory methodology: such that a researcher can explore potentials and possibilities on her or his own pacing, give birth to originality of ideas and methods, contributes innovative solutions, and feels the power of discovering and conceptualising latent patterns in a substantive area (Glaser, 2006). Thus, whilst Glaser emphasises immersion, induction and emergence, Strauss is concerned with systematic procedure of the methodology towards validity of the approach and the resulting theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).





3.3.3 Constructivist GT

Subsequent generation of leading GT researchers, such as Charmaz (2006) who was trained in the methodology by both Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, have moved onto a new conceptualisation of the grounded theory method. Charmaz argues for the constructivist grounded theory, in which she stressed that theory in grounded strategy is constructed rather than discovered. For Charmaz, neither data nor theory is discovered; rather both are constructed by the researcher and her or his research participants-informants during interactions, observations and fieldwork. In contrast to Glaser, who refused to be drawn into the philosophical labelling or positioning of grounded theory method (Breckenridge, Jones, Elliot & Nicol, 2012) her worldview is that of social constructivism which is meaning-making arising from social interactions and the pragmatics - what works and relevant that best meets one's research needs and purposes (Creswell, 2009). According to Breckenridge, Jones, Elliot and Nicol (2012), "A central tenet of constructivist grounded theory is to give voice to participants ..., to incorporate the multiple voices, views and visions of participants in rendering their lived experiences" (p.1). The method as proffered by Charmaz, focuses on the story owners, constructing and re-constructing the meaning of their stories. This is in contrast to Glaser's intent for the method which essentially is about discovering latent patterns of behaviour and moving them into concepts beyond the story owners' realm. For classic GT, Breckenridge, Jones, Elliot and Nicol (2012) add, "Essentially, the 'findings' of a grounded theory study are not about people, but about the patterns of behaviour in which people engage" (p.1).



Charmaz's research process and use of key terminologies are essentially similar to that of the originators. However, she adds the strategy of 'diagramming' in the research process which essentially is use of, "various types of diagrams – including maps, charts, and figures – to tease out relationships while constructing their analyses and to demonstrate these relationships while constructing their analyses and to demonstrate these relationships in their completed works," (Charmaz, 2006, p. 117).

To conclude, what clearly differentiates the constructive grounded theory from that of Glaser's is Charmaz's output that focuses on interpretive understandings and reporting of participants meaning. Whilst Glaser is emphatic about grounded theory aims for a conceptual understanding and theorising of social process or behaviour. Breckenridge, Jones, Elliot and Nicol (2012) summarise the key points of differences in Charmaz are due to: "the interpretive understanding of subject's meanings, the co-construction of data, the notion of relativism, and the predetermined lens through which data is processed" (p.1).

3.3.4 Issues in GT Method

The first issue is the subsequent variations in grounded theory method as discussed in previous section, which are basically due to the openness and flexibility of the method in its original form. This fluidity results in others such as Strauss and Corbin (1990), Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Charmaz (2006) trying to make the method more explicit and mechanic with 'procedures, canons and evaluative criteria' (Corbin & Strauss,



1990). Newcomers to grounded theory method find the original work (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) extremely tedious and high level. Strauss and Corbin brought the method down to a more practical level; and this was in fact the experience of the present researcher who gained insight into original work through works of subsequent authors, particularly Corbin and Strauss (2008), GT reviewers and other multi-disciplinary grounded theory users. But as one gains better understanding of the method, one is drawn more and more towards the original method as espoused by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This is because one feels the power, autonomy and flexibility despite its analytical rigour. In addition, Glaser and his team have continuously updated and clarified points, where clarifications are needed, both online and in their seminal texts.

Second is the issue of prior knowledge and concepts in grounded theory methodology. Glaser has always maintained the need to avoid doing in-depth literature review in the substantive area, that is, the area where the process, problem or issue is to be studied. He argues for data-led theory generation, rather than literature led conceptualisation of theory. This issue has been eloquently discussed by McCallin (2003, 2006a), in her paper, "Grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study". She subsequently argues that, critical analysis of existing literature, regardless of timing, opens up the mind to the strengths and limitations in received writing, and for consideration in relation to the developing theory" (McCallin 2006b, p.56). In addition, Birks and Mills (2011) also agree that, "through the comparison of theoretical concepts with coded data, the literature can potentially become a source of data in itself, if it earns its way into the developing grounded theory," (p.61).





The current researcher maintains that Glaser and Strauss (1967) have clearly stated that, “Of course, the researcher does not approach reality as a tabula rasa. He must have a perspective that will help him see relevant data and abstract significant categories from his scrutiny of the data,” (p.3). Glaser in fact recommended that the researcher reads vociferously in other substantive areas and fields while doing grounded theory in order to increase theoretical sensitivity (Birks & Mills, 2011). Meaning when doing literature review, read or review works in other substantive areas as much as possible, “substantive areas that are frequently reflected in given daily reality” (Suddaby, 2006, p.635).

Corbin and Strauss (2008) points to the literature as one source to increasing theoretical sensitivity during the process of concept making and identifying core categories for theory generation. According to them, “Sensitivity means having insight, being tuned in to, being able to pick up relevant issues, events, and happenings in data,” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.32). The authors elaborate:

When we speak about what we bring to the research process, we are not talking about forcing our ideas on the data. Rather, what we are saying is that our backgrounds and past experiences provide the mental capacity to respond to and receive the messages contained in data – all the while keeping in mind that our findings are a product of data plus what the researcher brings to the analysis. (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.33)

Hoda (2011) in her doctoral work has succinctly modelled her grounded theory research process by identifying two stages of literature reviews: minor and major. Minor review referred to the initial review pertaining to methodology and readings for context in the substantive area and related area, with particular aim towards theoretical sensitivity, so that one knows what questions to ask during data collection. Whilst major review was





part of the later stage of the research process as theory starts to emerge to see how literature in the field relates to the emerging theory.

To conclude, Glaser (1978) advises researchers to minimise issue of ‘received theory’ meaning preconceived notions in the substantive area by keeping a critical stance of extant literature in the substantive area. He suggests researchers “establish and state the assumptions they absorbed from the literature, so they become part of the data to be constantly compared with what is really going on” (Glaser, 1998, p.120). In other words, for Glaser, extant literature is also data that must be treated in the same manner as other data during constant comparison process, “Although the reality of grounded theory research is always one of trying to achieve a practical middle ground between a theory-laden view of the world and an unfettered empiricism” (Suddaby, 2006, p.635).



3.3.5 GT Research Examples

GT research method has been applied across varied substantive areas. Examples of how they are done in doctoral studies are varied. What is evident, grounded theory research being prominent in nursing education probably is due to its originators historical research contribution in that field that led to the discovery of grounded theory method. However, examples are discussed below in order to understand how grounded theory study was carried out for a doctoral study in varying substantive areas. These examples



illustrate the enabling characteristic of a GT method, allowing the researchers to explore its use innovatively.

Griffiths (2013) conducted a study using grounded theory method to analyse qualitative observational data that is obtained by video recording. In this study the author transcribed all verbal and non-verbal interactions captured in the video, between carer and people with profound intellectual and multiple disabilities as texts narratives. The texts narratives formed the basis for subsequent data analysis and conceptualisation. The author's study provides an innovative process of grounded study theorising using video recording to obtain observational data. His grounded theory method was that of the classic Glaser GT used to uncover a pattern in video-recorded data.

In another field, Hoda (2011) completed a doctoral research in software engineering using the classical GT method and highlighted the importance of a systematic research process within the method. Based upon her experience she documented her GT research working model which provides a positive start and succinct workflow to a beginner GT researcher in any substantive area where the focus is on understanding how human manages a problem. She has smartly gotten around and clarified the problem of pre-research literature review by categorising it as a two-part review: the minor and major review, conducted respectively in the beginning and during the major constant comparative analysis phase of the research. The minor review was to understand the GT method itself and to provide minimum background understanding



of the substantive area in order to enable her to ask the right questions during data collection interviews.

In contrast to Griffiths (2013) and Hoda (2011), Aponte, in his doctoral study applied the pragmatic approach of Charmaz (2006) in his grounded theory research (Aponte, 2011) on strategic planning in higher education. Aponte applied a ten stage process model devised from multiple methodologists in grounded theory in particular and qualitative research in general, shown in the following figure. It is of interest to note his use of literature as secondary data subjected to his ten stage process of data analysis that contributes to his main findings. This is reflected in the title of his thesis that highlights the use of both literature and interview with participants as his data source.



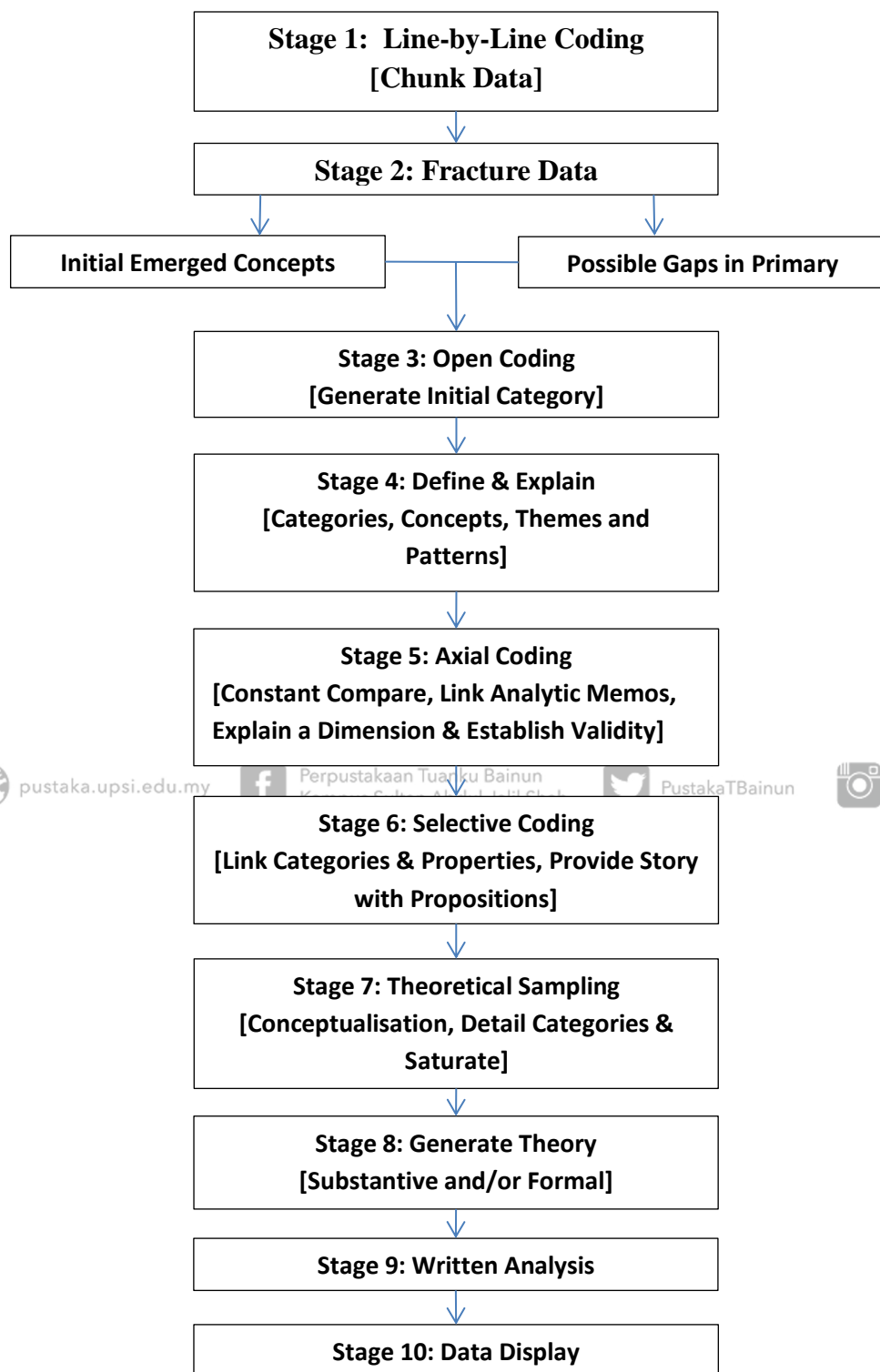


Figure 3.1. The Ten Stage Process Model of GT Analysis (Aponete, 2011)



Aponte's GT analytical model, although appears linear, is an evolving process, adapted as new data emerges, while stages may overlap.

3.4 GT Research Process

The present research takes its cue from the doctoral work of Hoda (2011), described above. An extract of Hoda's Grounded Theory Lifecycle is shown in the following Figure 3.2.



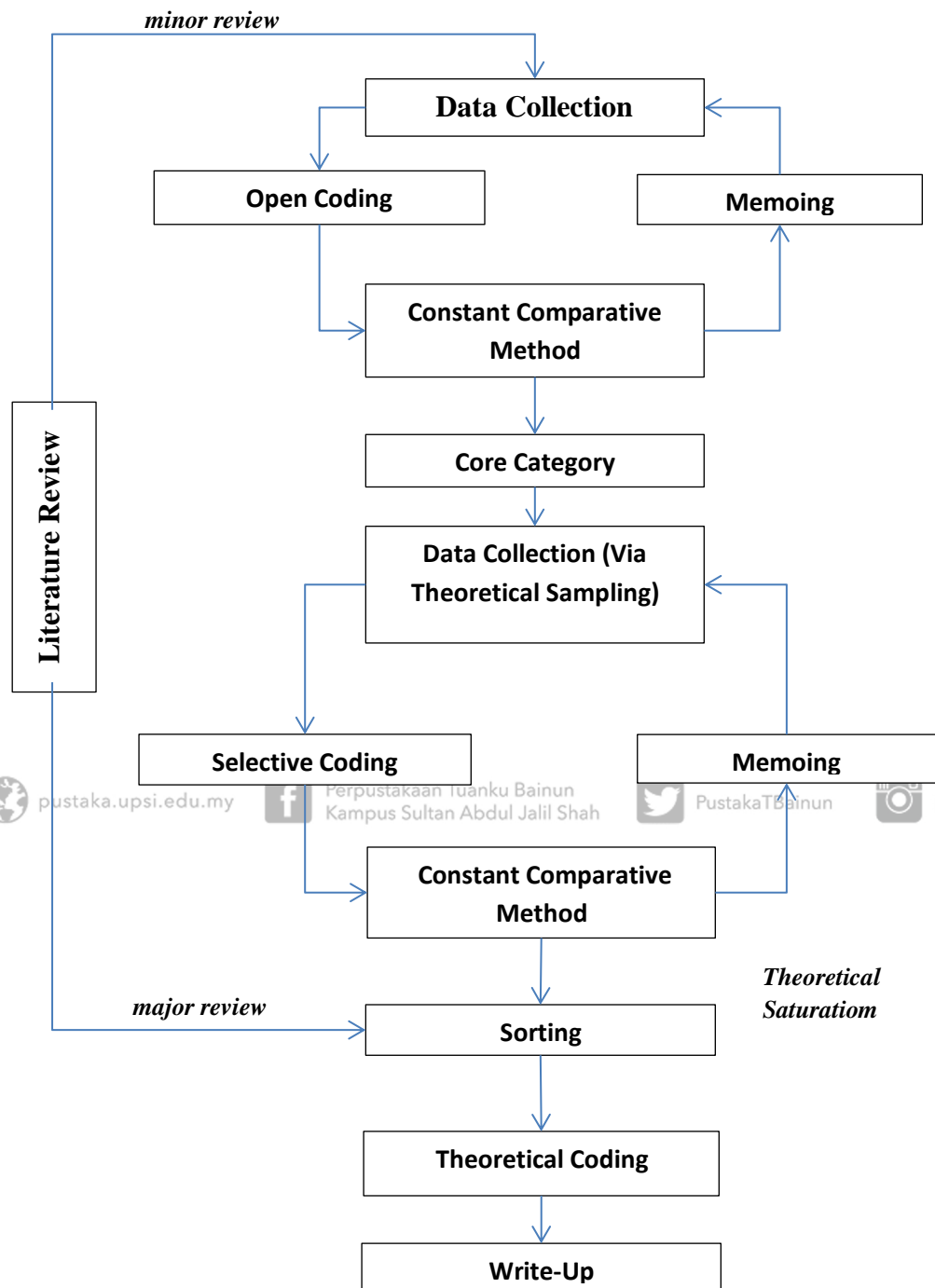


Figure 3.2. Grounded Theory Lifecycle (Hoda, 2011)

Hoda’s GT research workflow is based upon her own experience which resonates well with Glaser’s Classical GT method. Its nature tells us that a GT research process will



not be finalised till it ends, meaning in true GT research, living it out is the only means of clarifying the process. Hoda's easy to follow workflow provides a sound foundation for my own research process, described in detail below. First, I will explain the rationale for my interest in the substantive area.

3.4.1 Research Substantive Area

In broad terms, this research is about minority education. My last foray into research was in the area of Quality Management with particular focus on Quality in independent Islamic Schools in the United Kingdom (Misnaton, 2001). This interest into minority education was reignited after glancing through the literature highlighting issues of learning disengagement and dropouts among Orang Asli students (Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; SUHAKAM, 2011).

At the surface level we are informed that students left the formal learning room, commonly referred to as classroom, due to various reasons; deficits in many areas notwithstanding. These deficits have been discussed in detail earlier in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. However, upon delving through the issue, I noticed that the problem was not abating in cases where the so-called deficits have been addressed, as illustrated by Sharifah et al. (2011), Mohd Asri (2012,) and Mohd Asri and Crossley (2013).

As someone who has been trained in engineering and quality management, I recognise my bias towards these disciplines. From a quality management perspective,





all issues can be resolved. Some issues may need a complete overhaul to resolve, or what is referred to in quality management as the revolutionary re-engineering process, whereas others can be resolved through evolutionary small steps of continuous improvement or kaizen. Among other things, we learned how to resolve issues by learning through others, benchmarking their good practice and experience. Consequently, the quality management perspective pervades this Orang Asli educational issue. I believe there is a need to look beyond rationales for failing, and instead discover the good practice of surviving, succeeding and thriving in learning - hence this research.

3.4.2 Minor Literature Review



Although Glaser consistently advised against having intense review in the substantive area to avoid preconceived theories, he suggested that we read widely across other substantive areas to increase theoretical sensitivity. In this case, firstly, my initial variety of readings was intended to give background context of indigenous education to enable me to locate a starting point for the research. Readings in other substantive areas of learning include initial reading in learning organisation, quality management in education, language learning and change management. These readings resulted in a high level conceptual model of leading learning (described in Chapter 2). I use this conceptual model as guide to explore the learning context and process of each participant during data collection interviews. Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated that “The sociologist may begin the research with a partial framework of “local” concepts,





designating a few principal or gross features of the structure and processes in the situations that he will study” (p.45).

Secondly, a final decision on which research method to adopt required me to read widely and in depth the different shades of grounded theory methods by different proponents, while grappling with different grounded theory nomenclatures. For example, coding alone has variations in open coding, selective coding, axial coding, used by different grounded theory authors. As a newcomer into this fascinating research method I was floundering in a ‘flotsam’ of concepts, further made extremely challenging by the fact that English is my second language. My readings across unlikely substantive but real life issues (such as oceanography) after the April 8, 2014: MH370 tragedy (The Star, 2014) saved me from drowning. For instance, it took me a long time and readings of different authors just to internalise the concept of ‘substantive area and theory’. My experience indicates that the original Glaser and Strauss (1967) must be read with the work of a few others. These others include Corbin and Strauss (2008) who detailed out the techniques and procedures, but unfortunately added new perplexing concepts that bewildered instead of explaining the originators work (axial coding is an example), Merriam (2009) who simplified and defined some concepts, and Charmaz (2006) who defined and gave a different perspective to the original concepts of the founders. Other authors, critiques, reviews and examples help finally pulled me out of the bewildering ‘flotsam’ into a pacific of calm.

And thirdly, reviewing works of other grounded theory researchers both academics and doctoral candidates in various disciplines provided insights and a better





understanding on how to conduct the proposed research. For example, although not a GT study, a study of learning among indigenous Maori students of New Zealand was reported by Bishop, et al. (2007, 20011a). In this research, the researchers used an iterative research process in various phases, whereby each phase provided theoretical and methodological input to the next phase. This approach has the flavour of theoretical sampling of GT. The present research draws upon this practice in which an initial familiarisation study was used to inform subsequent data collection process and analysis, within the context of grounded theory methodology. And, finally the doctoral work of Hoda (2011) clarified and reaffirmed my commitment to the classic GT method.



3.4.3 Data Collection

Data collection covers decision on data sources, sampling method and how data is gathered. Unlike other research method, data collection in grounded theory is a continuous process within the process of joint data collection, coding and analysis till theoretical saturation is reached. However, the initial exploratory data is based upon purposive sampling (Merriam, 2009), because we have to decide where to start. Sbaraini, Carter, Evans and Blinkhorn (2011) state, “Grounded theory studies are characterised by theoretical sampling, but this requires some data to be collected and analysed; sampling must thus begin purposively, as in any qualitative study” (p.1). A short elaboration of theoretical sampling is provided below.





3.4.3.1 Theoretical Sampling

Data collection in GT method is guided by theoretical sampling. This means, where to sample, where to go to obtain the data necessary to further the development of the evolving theory is directed by what further is needed to elaborate and solidify a concept (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006). This is a technique that differentiates grounded theory method from that of conventional sampling methods. Theoretical sampling is defined as, “the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 45). In simpler terms, theoretical sampling is “sampling on the basis of concepts derived from data,” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.65) and data collections are based on concepts that appear to be relevant to the evolving story line (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), “controlled by the emerging theory” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.45). Thus, in theoretical sampling, the researcher is not sampling persons but *concepts* – in other words the researcher is purposely looking for incidents or data as *indicators of those concepts*.

Charmaz (2006) explained theoretical sampling “as a type of grounded theory sampling in which the researcher aims to develop the properties of his or her developing categories or theory; the researcher seeks people, events, or information to illuminate and define the boundaries and relevance of the categories” (p.189). What it means, in grounded theory study, researchers sample theoretically (or conceptually); and as Corbin and Strauss (2008) said, “they go to places, persons, and situations that will



provide information about the concepts they want to learn more about” (p.144). But how do we begin? Of course, the researcher begins a study with a general target population and continues to sample from that group (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.145).

Thus, based upon the above guideline, this research started with Orang Asli students as the general target population. The initial issues of dropouts and learning disengagement among primary school children led to minor literature review (as described in Section 3.4.2: Minor Literature Review) from which emerged the broad theoretical concepts of leading learning. The concepts arose from delving and analysing literature in quality, learning organisation, language learning and minority education, managing change. This is in accord with Glaser and Strauss (1967), who concurred that, “research can start with a partial framework of concepts representing the structure and processes in the situation in which the study will be conducted” (p.45).

The second step was exploratory fieldwork comprising visits, observations and conversations with personnel in-charge of the Orang Asli affair and the administrator of an Orang Asli primary school, in order to get a glimpse of how an Orang Asli school functions. The third step was an attempt to understand how learning was led in the case of a student who has progressed successfully through the schooling system. By this stage I was sufficiently theoretically sensitive, so that I could conceptualize and formulate my next sampling groups. Groups that have been identified include Orang Asli graduates and other groups of students who have successfully completed the primary education. Elaboration on research participants and informants are provided in Sections 3.4.3.4 to 3.4.3.9). Finally, seminars and conferences with a focus on Orang



Asli education also provided additional data derived from experts' research and Orang Asli leaders' narratives.

When to stop? Theoretical sampling stops when we reach theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation, also referred to as conceptual saturation, “refers to the point at which gathering more data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the emerging grounded theory” (Charmaz, 2006, p.189). Similarly, Corbin and Strauss (2008) who refer to this limiting stage as ‘conceptual saturation’, defined it as “the process of acquiring sufficient data to develop each category or theme fully in terms of its properties and dimensions and to account for variation” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195). In other words, theoretical sampling stops, when new data do not result in further elaboration of a concept, or category (also referred to as theme).

3.4.3.2 Language

Interviews with research participants were in Bahasa Melayu. It was the language that the participants were most comfortable with, enabling them to express themselves freely. Participants' mother tongues vary according to community: Jakun, Semai, Jah Hut or Temuan. Thus raw interview data is in Bahasa Melayu, but during analysis, key points reflecting the data, conceptualising and memoing are in English.





3.4.3.3 Permissions and Ethical Issues

Ethical issues pertinent to qualitative research include that of informed consent procedures, the researcher-participant relationship, risks and benefits, confidentiality and the role of researcher as instrument (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bassey, 1990; Behi & Nolan, 1995; Punch 2009; Creswell, 2009). An important ethical consideration identifying a research problem is that its study will benefit individuals being studied, meaningful to others besides the researcher. In this context, research involving participants and data collection from Orang Asli community requires the official permission of the relevant Government agencies for access. The agencies were the *Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA)*, Headquarters and States and the Education Planning and Research Department (EPRD), and the District Education Office) PPD for access to schools and higher institutions. Letter of application to JAKOA is attached as Appendix B, whilst official permissions are attached as Appendices C and D. The following paragraphs highlight three main concerns in doing indigenous research and elaboration on how these concerns were resolved in this study.

The close human interactions in qualitative study generally, and CGT specifically, raise concerns for researcher-participant relationship, risks and benefits. Birks and Mills (2011) assert that “with the use of grounded theory comes enormous potential for the conduct of rich research, but also the need for responsible conduct” (p.27). University of Technology Curtin (2009) points that historically, research was carried out on Aboriginal people not with them. Research did not appear to have best





interest of Aboriginal people, putting them always in negative light as is the case with deficit thinking as discussed in Chapter 2.

The resolutions of these concerns in this study can be discerned through Participants' trust and consideration for the worthiness of this research. My study was triggered by my concern about the above-noted deficit thinking. However, I observed the success stories among this deficit theorizing. I was confident that there must be lesson learned from among the success stories that could be unveiled for Orang Asli and others who are involved in educating them.

Thus, led to my search for participants who have successfully progressed through the critical early schooling. Orang Asli students who volunteered to be participants were established through two pathways. The lead participant was P1. She was introduced to me by a friend. When contacted P1 readily agreed to share her experience. This first interaction was crucial to me in understanding Orang Asli life in the village and the participant as a student. This interaction led to others who were introduced to me by P1. This formed the first of voluntary participation.

The second group of participants was connected through online interactions, the Facebook. Encouraged by his own experience of participating in the research, I was invited by a Participant from the first group into an Orang Asli Students Facebook group, so I might post an open invitation to others to participate, which I did. Positive responses to my posting was indirect, through Facebook 'Likes'. Encouraged by these I contacted via private Facebook messages the owners of the 'Likes'. These interactions





led me to more voluntary participants that formed the second group. During these initial interactions I clarified the purpose of the study and my requirements. I offered them my personal number should they wish to contact me, either through telephone messages or missed calls, to offer their participations. Once telephone connectivity was enabled, I called the potential participants, thanking them for responding, introduced myself, explained further about the research and answered their queries. I informed them that participants signed consent would include the rights to withdraw at any time during the data collection process, the rights to ask questions and the right to view the results.

The above initial interactions both in private messages and telephone build the initial trust and participant's consideration of the worthiness of the research for Orang Asli. The trust and worthiness of the research was also indicated in three cases in which Participants' families were also involved, sending the participants to meet me for interviews. In addition, a sample fieldnote attached in Appendix I showed an example of participant-researcher interaction at ease that was indicative of trust and worthiness. Unstructured interviews paved the way for informal, warm yet focused interactions, that posed no threat to Participants. This is evident from data excerpts attached in Appendices O to S.

Mohd Asri (2013) raised safety concerns for both Participants and Researcher when visiting remote sites. In this study my initial field visit to an Orang Asli village was facilitated by a State JAKOA officer who introduced me to an Orang Asli liaison worker from the village. We met at the JAKOA state office. She was in the office for official matters related to her role. When completed I offered to send her back to her





village about 11 kilometers in the outskirts of the town. She showed me the village, a kindergarten where she was also employed, and an Orang Asli primary school adjacent to the kindergarten. Finally, she invited me to visit her family. This first field visit unveiled new insights to the researcher who since then felt much at ease when visiting on her own. Images captured during these visits are shared earlier in section describing the fieldwork (Section 3.4.3.5).

Researcher as a human instrument is susceptible to assert influence such that Participants' voices are skewed towards either pleasing the Researcher, exaggerated as well as subdued sharing. As the instrument that captured the learners' voices I learned to pause, to allow them space for old memory, for the 'hmmm' and the 'hu uh', to rephrase for confirmation, to question for clarification, and to prod along with "tell me more about it" probe.

Finally, on the issue of personal data use, the Personal Data Protection Act (Government of Malaysia, 2010) states "A data user shall, when processing personal data, take practical steps to protect the personal data from any loss, misuse, modification, unauthorized or accidental access or disclosure, alteration or destruction" (p.22). Thus, concern for Participants' confidentiality and anonymity is resolved through care taken during data collection, storage and management. Participants were identified by pseudonyms and codes, and data were safely stored in external drives kept in the Researcher's personal safe.





The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, AIATSIS (2012) developed the Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies to address similar concerns. AIATSIS state:

At every stage, research with and about Indigenous peoples must be founded on a process of meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researcher and Indigenous people. It should also be recognised that there is no sharp distinction between researchers and Indigenous people. Indigenous people are also researchers, and all participants must be regarded as equal partners in a research engagement (AIATSIS, 2012, p.3).

In the above elaboration, the researcher has carefully considered the concerns raised by AIATSIS.

3.4.3.4 Data Sources



The primary data source was from 16 research participants. Other supporting data was from fieldwork that included visits to an Orang Asli School and villages, visits to the District, State, JAKOA and Federal JAKOA offices, as well as conversations with the JAKOA officials via the telephone as well as face-to-face meetings (JAKOA, 2011a; JAKOA NS, 2011; FN: 15.03.2012; FN: 01.11.2013; FN: 22.08.2017). Documents made available to the researcher during the various visits included school attendance, JAKOA reports and statistics. Finally, the major literature review conducted concurrently during the constant comparative analysis provided additional data and is integrated into the analysis and discussion in Chapter 4. Tabulated summaries of Participants' Details and Interview Dates are provided in Appendices M and N.



3.4.3.5 Fieldwork

The main aim of the fieldwork was to gain familiarity with the Orang Asli and their life setting in the village. For this purpose, I initially sought help of the State JAKOA office. The fieldwork comprised visits to one Orang Asli school in Negeri Sembilan, one Orang Asli village in Negeri Sembilan and two Orang Asli villages in Perak. The first visit to an Orang Asli village was arranged by a district level JAKOA office in Negeri Sembilan on 15 March 2012. The researcher was accompanied by an Orang Asli liaison worker, who lived in the village. The first visit provided the researcher with her first glimpse of an Orang Asli community set up. The researcher's second visit to the same village was to meet with the administrator of an Orang Asli primary school established in the village (FN: 01.11.2013). Figure 3.3 shows a glimpse of an Orang Asli house as the researcher drove to enter the village, whilst Figure 3.4 illustrates the access road to the village through an oil palm estate.



Figure 3.3. Entry to an Orang Asli Village, Negeri Sembilan (FN: 01.11.2013)



Figure 3.4. An Access Road to an Orang Asli Village, Negeri Sembilan (FN:01.11.2013)

Figure 3.5 shows the researcher's chanced encounter with an Orang Asli youth and his younger brother returning from a 'Petai' harvest in a Negeri Sembilan Orang Asli

village. 'Petai' is the edible fruit of a tropical tree found in the Malaysian jungle that provides a source of income for the Orang Asli community. A short conversation with them revealed that the younger brother dropped out after completing primary school (FN: 01.11.2013).



Figure 3.5. A ‘Petai’ Harvest

Thus, the initial fieldwork was my immersion process. Being in an unfamiliar territory, I needed to understand and transport myself into their context.



Figure 3.6. An Orang Asli Village Nestled Among the Mountains, Perak (FN:28.10.2014)

While on a trip to meet a research participant in Perak, the researcher had another opportunity to visit an Orang Asli village. Figure 3.6 showed an Orang Asli village

nestled a few kilometres off the main road among the mountains in Perak, whilst Figure 3.7 showed the same village at closer view.



Figure 3.7. An Orang Asli Village, Perak (FN: 28.10.2014)

On the way home, after completing my meeting with the research participant, I observed temporary Orang Asli shelters by the road side. Figure 3.8 shows an Orang Asli mother with her son, daughter and the researcher in Perak. I approached the mother who was selling wild flowering plants by the road side. On enquiring about the children's age, the mother proudly said about her son, "*He is in Year 5. He is a prefect*".



Figure 3.8. A School Prefect, Mother, Sister and the Researcher. “He is a prefect” said the proud mother (FN: 28.10.2014).

Figure 3.9 shows the school prefect, his sister, and three friends at an Orang Asli house

in Perak. “I am also a prefect” said a primary Year 6 friend. After taking this photograph the friends quickly slipped back into the house and closed the door. “See you tomorrow” the ‘Also-prefect’ said out aloud from behind the door. And the researcher, taken aback promptly answered, “Yes! See you tomorrow” – which was not true indeed when the researcher was on her journey home, away from them.



Figure 3.9. Orang Asli Children and House, Orang Asli Village, Perak (FN:28.10.2014)



Figure 3.10. A School Prefect and His Sister “I am number one!” (FN: 28.10.2014)

Before saying farewell, the researcher took another photograph of the siblings, raising their hands strong and high (Figure 3.10).



3.4.3.6 Participants

The main data for this study was contributed by the individual participants, participants in group, and other informants. Research participants were Orang Asli graduates and students of local institutes of higher education also referred to as IPTA (*Institut Pengajian Tinggi Awam*). Details of participants acquired during face to face interview include: Community & State, Gender, Age, Education, Parents' Occupation, Number of Siblings, Position Among Siblings, Siblings' Education and Current Employment (Appendix N: Participants' Details).

3.4.3.7 Interviews



Interviews were unstructured and tape-recorded with permission, transcribed and printed. Informed consent form for participation is attached in the appendix (Appendix E). Unstructured interviews were preferred to allow free flow conversations through open questions, easing participants to talk and choose their own response. Tape-recording enabled a smoother conversation to take place, giving the researcher the opportunity to focus on elaborating questions. In addition, interview notes, guides, queries and illustrations to clarify points were recorded in field notebooks. Each interview session was about one hour. When longer, the interview was broken into two sessions with breaks. Some interviews were extended into other days as agreed by both the participant and researcher. Interview dates are noted in Appendix M: Interview Dates.



Interview probes revolved around roles and interactions that contributed to the process of the participant’s process of learning as a student. The aim was to discover how different roles and provisions contributed to the process of learning based upon the narratives obtained from the research participants. Interview guide and thinking map to guide the conversations are attached as Appendices F and G. Interviews were guided with a focus on roles and learning provisions that resolved Participants’ concerns as learners, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 3.1

Roles and Provisions in the Leading Learning Process

Home	School	Community	Significant Others
Self	Self	Self	JAKOA
Father	Teachers	Role Models	Others
Mother	School Head	Community Leaders	
Grandfather	Learning Provisions	Friends	
Grandmother	Hostel	Others	
Siblings	Carers/Wardens		
Learning Provisions	Friends		
Others	Others		

3.4.3.8 Individual Participants

The main research participants comprised sixteen Orang Asli students (P1 to P16) that have reached the tertiary level of education, their ages ranging from 18 to 25 years old. Their ethnic tribes were Jakun (4), Semai (3), Jah Hut (6), and Temuan (3), whilst their highest educational qualifications were bachelor’s degree (3), diploma (1), bachelor’s degree-in-progress (8), and diploma-in-progress (4), in various disciplines of science



and technology (12), and arts and humanities (4). They were students and former students from a total of eight (8) public higher education institutions in the country.

Participation was voluntary, following the researcher's request through direct telephone calls, or through online messages. The first individual participant (P1) was connected through a research colleague. P1 led to P2, P3, P4 and P5. The remaining individual participants were the results of online direct invitation through the social media, the 'Facebook®' (FB). The FB provided opportunities to be with different online Orang Asli community groups. Through a contact who was a non-participant, the researcher was invited into an Orang Asli university students' online FB group. The researcher posted her invitation for research participants and subsequently was rewarded by a small number of readers and 'Likes'. She contacted, through private messages, the owners of these 'Likes' and the participants started to snow-ball in through further personal references. The participants were from various Orang Asli villages in Johor, Negeri Sembilan, Perak and Pahang. The interviews were conducted at various venues in the state of Negeri Sembilan, Selangor and Perak.

3.4.3.9 Group Participants

Two group interviews were held. The first was a group informal discussion with Participants P1, P2 and P3. This discussion helped clarify and confirm data collected during the individual interviews with the respective participants. The second group interview was held with three (3) participants comprising a young father and two young



mothers, all under the age of thirty, who were close relatives of an individual participant from Perak. They had completed their secondary schooling and achieved the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM). These participants extended the researcher's understanding on issues of learning disengagement among the Orang Asli students, based upon their real life experiences.

3.4.3.10 Other Informants

Face to face and telephone conversations with a few JAKOA officers at the State and Federal level provided the initial background understanding of the Orang Asli education and provisions in Malaysia. Other informants included an administrator of an Orang Asli school, who provided an overview of the school and its classes, as well as the school attendance record for the year (FN: 01.11.2013).

A conversation with a lecturer from a Teachers Training Institute (IPG) provided an example of the prevalent perception that nothing further can be done for the Orang Asli students if they refused to accept education (FN: 29.11.2013). Her conclusion arose from her involvement with an extensive Orang Asli educational research for the EPRD (Thah, Din, Muhammad, Bidin, & Ishak, 2010). Another informant was a secondary school leaver from Johor, who shared her experience during her primary school years (FN: 30.10.2013 & FN: 02.11.2013). The final informants were parents of a participant from Negeri Sembilan (FN: 05.09.2015), who shared their own incomplete schooling experience.



3.4.3.11 Seminars and Conferences

Seminars and conferences with a focus on Orang Asli educational issues, concerns and resolutions also contributed to the thesis elaboration. (FN: 01.12.2015; FN: 28.03.2017; FN: 25.09.2017). Presentations by experts in Orang Asli related research, Orang Asli academics, and Orang Asli professionals as well as experiences shared by Orang Asli village leaders gave authentic as well as current voices to Orang Asli educational issues, concerns and resolutions.

3.4.4 Constant Comparative Analysis

Data analysis in grounded theory is structured by the constant comparative method comprising: open coding of raw data, selective (also referred to as axial or analytical) coding and memo writing. Glaser and Strauss (1967) provide the conceptual elaboration and the logic of the method, but Corbin's project detailing in Corbin and Strauss (2008) provides procedural clarity. Whereas, Corbin and Strauss (2008) show this novice grounded theory researcher the art of GT research; step-by-step, from initiation to theory integration, Hoda (2011) confirmed the practicalities. Constant comparative method is a "method of analysis that generates successively more abstract concepts and theories through inductive processes of comparing data with data, data with category, and category with concept" (Charmaz, 2006, p.187). It is also referred to as comparative analysis and described as comparing incident against incident for similarities and differences. Incidents that are found to be conceptually similar to previously coded





incidents are given the same conceptual label and put under the same code. Each new incident that is coded under a code adds to the general properties and dimensions of that code, elaborating it and bringing in variation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195). The entire process of constant comparative method has been described in detail by Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp.105-113) as comprising of four stages, an excerpt of which is included in Appendix A.

Within the context of the present research, the constant comparative analysis was a back and forth process of data collection, coding, and memoing until the theory solidified, which meant the joint process of the data collection and analysis was terminated upon saturation of concepts and categories, and further data did not produce any new incident. The data was analysed and coded in several back and forth stages, from raw to refined, as theoretical sensitivity increased. Memo on a piece or fragment of data, and further memos on memos clarified and elaborated the conceptualization process, explaining the abstraction throughout the entire data analysis process. The final writing-up involved the sorting, shuffling and ordering of memos into a comprehensible output. Further elaboration on the process of coding and memoing are given in the following sections.

3.4.5 Coding

The process of coding occurs at two levels: open and selective (also known as axial, analytical) and both happen during comparative analysis. Coding itself is the analytic





processes through which data is “fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.3). Open coding involves breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data; at the same time, one is qualifying those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195). Whilst, axial coding is “cross-cutting or relating concepts to each other” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195), such as when two concepts derived from open-coding are discussed in an analytical memo, “a major purpose is to bring the data back together again into a coherent whole after the researcher has fractured them through line-by-line coding” (Charmaz, 2006, p.186).

Merriam (2009, p.179) explains coding and axial coding as follows: “Assigning codes to pieces of data is the way you begin to construct categories. After working through the entire transcript in this manner, you go back over your marginal notes and comments (codes) and try to group those comments and notes that seem to go together”. Thus, coding moves raw data into the next level of abstraction. Open coding results in low level concepts whilst selective or axial coding groups low level concepts to higher level abstraction, designated as categories or themes. As a new GT researcher, I learned that the GT processes smoothed considerably, once I recognised the different labels for the same process given by different authors and GT practitioners.

In more practical terms, coding is the process of extracting key points from pieces of data and conceptually labelling them. As Hoda (2011) experienced, the use of key points made it easy to focus while examining the data. For me, coding is a process of looking at and beyond the lines, and giving meanings to the lines uttered by the





participants. Two examples are given below with raw data from an interview of a research participant in Bahasa Melayu.

Box 3.1

Examples of Data, Key Points and Concepts

Example 1:

P: *Saya ingat diorang tak nak pergi sekolah pun ... ayah ... macam orang kata macam pahat dengan pemukul. (IP5.p22)*

Key points: Chisel and hammer situation – likening it to a chiselling task – one hit at time.

Concept: Chiselling and hammering (Father leading learning)

Example 2:

P: *Abang-abang pun sama jugak. Diorang sebab dulu kawasan tu dekat dengan kebun kan, diorang pagi ayah dah bangun tengok diorang dah lari dah ke kebun. (IP5.p.22)*

Key points: Avoiding school – escaping school – rising early and escaping to the “kebun” to avoid school. Keeping in mind that father woke up early enough to prepare for work, yet the children had risen earlier and disappeared into the dark, cold morning woods. In my mind I am seeing how agile they were, keeping in mind these were primary school children.

Concept: Two considerations here - Avoiding school or Escaping from school. I think avoiding school reflects the data better. Escaping from school connotes that they have gone to school but out before school ends.

(After a couple of days mulling about this, another concept came to mind: Learning disengagement - Avoidance strategy)

Next Question: But why you went to school, unlike them who ran and disappeared into the woods?

Based upon the above elaboration, the recorded interviews with research participants were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts formed the main data. The data is then coded and analysed according to ‘roles and their contributions’. Figure 3.11 illustrates the



simplified processes of open coding, selective coding, and memoing. To summarise, the first step was the open coding (role, incident and concept) on each piece of transcript. The second step was selective coding across participants, based upon an identified role. For instance, shown in the illustration the selective coding is ‘Parent’. The third step was consolidating the codes from each case participant, illustrated as codes C1, C2 and C3 in the Figure. The fourth step was sorting and collating similar codes from different case participants and this gave rise to the next level of conceptual category illustrated in the Figure under ‘Sorting’. At the same time memos were written on the codes, briefly during open coding but more elaborate during selective coding and sorting.

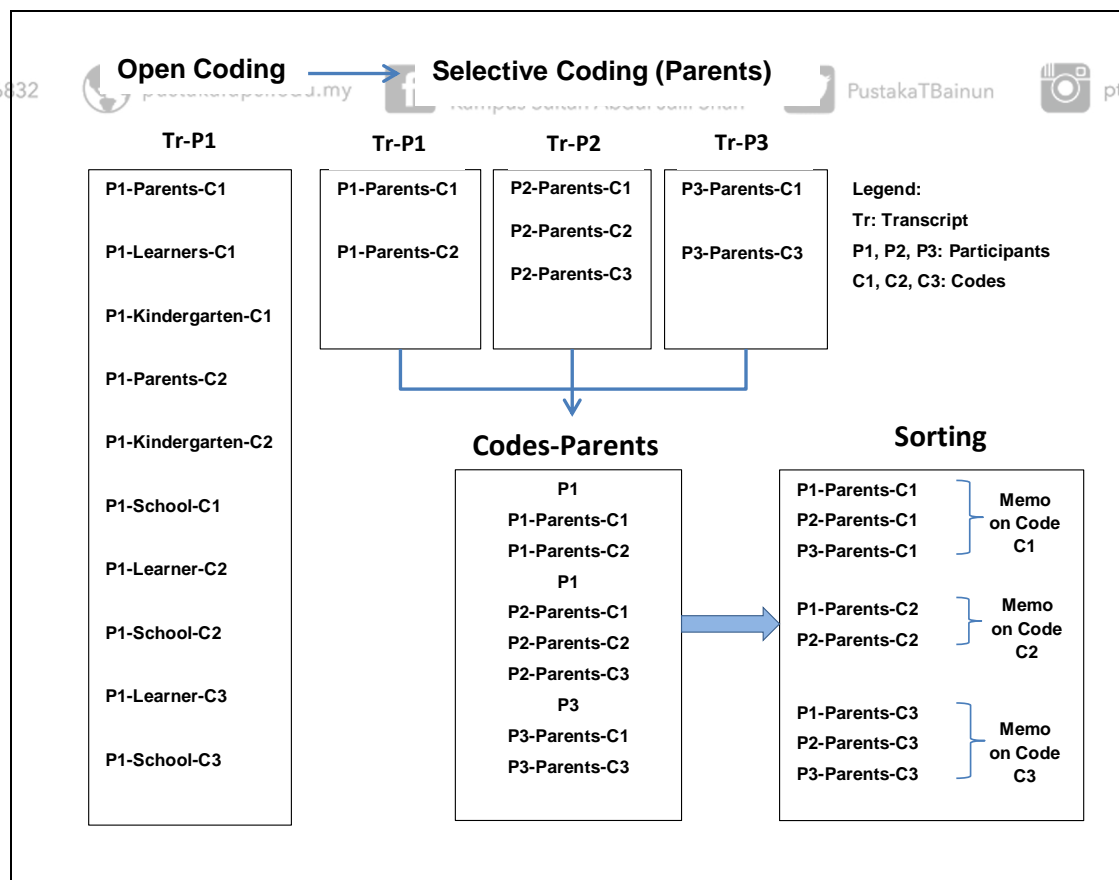


Figure 3.11. Illustration of a Coding, Memoing and Sorting Process

Codes or concepts that emerge from data must be captured and stored immediately. Otherwise, as easily as it floats into the mind, it also floats away rather quickly. Mechanism of storing could be simple if coding using available software for this purpose, but I am inclined towards mechanical pen and paper as advised by Glaser, as well as memos directly typed while going through the transcripts. Although software for qualitative data analysis are available, Hoda (2011) found the structural framework of the coding software limited the way data could be organised, and that the “process of coding with pen along paper margins was found most effective. The codes, concepts, and categories were then stored into electronic spreadsheets, along with a list of the interviews or observation they were derived from”, (p.68). In the present research all analytical processes were carried with the aid of electronic word processor, along with a systematic file management of the constant comparative analysis. A summary of the

coding process is as follow:

data – key points (the gist of the data) – conceptual codes (concepts as codes which become the properties of category or sub-category) – categories (reduction of terminology towards higher level of conceptual abstraction that clusters inter-related conceptual codes in the substantive area) – core category (the substance of the theory)

Notice that there is no arrow in the interpretation above because the process was essentially an iterative, back and forth, mulling action. Meaningful connectivity between concepts resulted in a sub-category, whilst meaningful connectivity between sub-categories resulted in a core category. Connectivity can only emerge through memoing which is writing analytical notes, both short and elaborate.



3.4.6 Sorting

This is the process of getting ready for write up. Grouping memos of related categories and ordering them that will result in a structure for the emerging substantive theory. I can relate to Hoda (2011) who shared her experience,

The challenge involved in sorting the memos is that while it is easy to group together related memos, the ordering of the memos may not be immediately obvious. It takes some shuffling around of memos and thinking out the relationships between the different topics, to find an order that makes most sense. Modelling relationships between the different categories with pen and paper was found to be useful. Once the relationships were established in a diagram (using lines to connect categories), it was easier to spot how the memos (covering different categories and concepts) were related. (Hoda, 2011, p.72)

3.4.7 Memoing



Although discussed at this later stage, in reality, memoing or memo-writing in GT method links every intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts. As Charmaz states, “it is a crucial method in grounded theory because it prompts researchers to analyse their data and to develop their codes into categories early in the research process; and writing successive memos keeps researchers involved in the analysis and, helps them to increase the level of abstraction of their ideas” (Charmaz, 2006, p.188). Birks and Mills (2011) also emphasise that, “Memos are records of thoughts, feeling, insights, and ideas in relation to a research; memoing is not optional, as it is fundamental to the development of grounded theory” (p.40).





Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain that “memos are a specialised type of written records – those that contain the products of our analysis” (p.117). The authors provide step-by-step examples of memoing from research initiation to finalisation. The authors also distinguish two kinds of memos. Memos on method are referred to as methodological memos, whilst memos on coding, categorising or conceptualising, and theorizing are analytical or theoretical memos. Field notes may contain what is appropriately referred to as observational notes plus simpler memos of thoughts and clarifications written while in the field. Memos are sometimes clarified with diagrams where necessary in order to illustrate connectivity and interactions among concepts or emerging categories.

My own memos were written in field notebooks, or A4 size papers folded into quarters easily tucked in texts, the contents of which I would later transfer to the computer. However, most thoughts on concepts emerging from the study, I would type directly as memo and stored in the computer. Below is an example of simple analytical memo at the start of this research:

Box 3.2

A Simple Analytical Memo

MEMO: 25.05.2014

Data analysis-questions and reflections while looking at the data:

I was looking at a Participant’s data. It is tough to abstract concepts or substantive codes from these data. And I as mulled over the problem these came to mind. This is what I should keep in mind as I examined the data.

1. What contributes to the successful progress of OA students from their perspectives?



2. What leads the learning process of these students . Who leads the learning process of these students ... How (if it is clearly identified) the learning process of these students is led?
3. What is the incident (piece of data) concern with ... and how is the concern resolved?

Memoing “is designed to tap the initial freshness of the analyst’s theoretical notions and to relieve the conflict in his thoughts” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.107). The above table illustrates a simple example of the various notions and conflicts in my mind that I exploited to further the direction of my data collection.

Another illustration shown below is a memo comparing a piece of data or an incident to a concept. For the researcher, memoing was about having a dialogue with each piece of data and searching for its meaning with the simple question, “What does this mean?” In this illustration, the memo explained how the researcher tried to make sense of a piece of conversation, comparing incidents narrated by the Participant, P15, with an emerging concept (in this case a context) of ‘Managing Life without Parents’ that led to an understanding of how various roles facilitated the Participant’s continuity of schooling.

Box 3.3

Memo Comparing Incident to Concept

MEMO: 8.10.15 – Constant Comparative Analysis – Comparing Incident (a piece of data) to Concept (Managing Life Without Parents).

I was looking at the data. I realized that this piece of data is about Managing Life Without Parents. The dialogue I had with myself while reading the data was - How the children organized their life without parents? Who woke them up for school? I went over the data again and summarized the key points emerging from it and realized that this was about - Facilitating Learning - Circumstances that kept the

momentum of school going included: afternoon session school, neighbour helping out, and mother checking (through telephone) on the children for school, and arranging alternative transport when they missed the JAKOA provided school van.

The emerging Roles involved in Facilitating Learning: School, Neighbour, Mother, JAKOA.

The Data (that resolved the researcher’s questions during analysis):

HOW the children organized their life without parents? Who woke them up for school?

“Nobody woke us up. It was lucky that we were assigned the afternoon session. School started at 1:30pm. The van (JAKOA provision) came at 12:30pm. And we were not ready sometimes. There were times we missed school because we overslept; sleeping late due to watching the television at night”.

WHAT happened when they were late and missed the school van?

“P15: Ada kadang kalau saya dan kakak lewat, emak dan ayah ada upah orang hantar pergi ke sekolah R: Ya? Ada lah maknanya pick up and upah orang lain? P15: Ya. “Anak aku tak sekolah baru bangun ni, tolong hantar.” Ada lah makcik itu, “Siap, siap, siap ada orang hantar”.

(Translation: Sometimes when my sister and I were late, mother and father paid someone to send [us] to school. R: Oh yes? Meaning there was [a] pick-up and [parents] paid someone. P15: Yes. [Mother or Father would call the neighbour and said] My children are not going to school. They have just awakened please send them [to school]. So there was this aunt and she would call out to us, get ready, get ready, get ready, someone will be sending you [to school])”

However, towards the end of the analysis and writing up process most of my analytical memos were typed directly on the transcripts as studied through the data.

3.4.8 Major Literature Review

Grounded theory method is particularly unique about intensive prior literature review in research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) advised against preconceived notions that will



damp emerging theory from data. Their concern is more due to the possibility of preconceived ideas and notions limiting the researcher to “generating theory within the framework of existing theory” (p.256), instead of transcending it. Keeping this in mind, the issue is not about prior reviews rather how we relegate them into the background till the time they are needed during theory development and write-up.

To avoid being grounded in prior knowledge and readings, Suddaby (2006) recommends reading and reviewing works in other substantive areas as much as possible, “in substantive areas that are frequently reflected in given daily reality” (p.635). Glaser also suggests reading “vociferously in other areas and fields while doing grounded theory in order to keep up theoretical sensitivity” (Glaser, 1998, p.73, cited in Birks & Mills, 2011, p.61). Theoretical sensitivity helps the analyst in the coding process in developing conceptual codes and categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967) state theoretical sensitivity is developed over many years “as the sociologist thinks in theoretical terms about what he knows, as he queries many different theories” (p.46). However, in the case of the present researcher, prior readings is a process of ‘fast-tracking theoretical sensitivity’, initially to provide background context of substantive area and subsequently to increase my ability for conceptualization and moving the analysis to ever higher level of abstraction. It is important nevertheless to heed the “caution on forcing data analysis” as in the case of Vicky Drury, described in Birks and Mills (2011, p.60). Based upon Drury’s experience, it can be concluded that the greatest peril of forcing data into preconceived framework is that, one may be stuck in a limbo of disconnects during the final write-up.



As I progressed and understood the methodology better, I realised that literature review is intrinsically woven into the ‘constant comparative method’ as reflected in the following simple memo:

Box 3.4

Example of Methodological Memo

MEMO

16-04-2014: Wednesday-1457hrs.

Methodology: Constant Comparative Method

I was thinking while taking a break from chap 3 (methodology data analysis) that I could now see the process of “constant comparative method” is utilised at several stages of this GT research:

1. Constant comparative analysis of GT methods as propounded by the originators and subsequent user-authors, critiques for and against, and doctoral candidates.
2. Constant comparative analysis of learning process and learning perspectives in different substantive areas in literature review.
3. Constant comparative analysis of data sampled in the substantive area of study.
4. Constant comparison of emerging categories and their properties with literature during write-up.

That last point (4) was added while thinking and writing about major literature review Chap 3, Sunday 20.04.2014-1147hrs.

In accord with Glaser (2009), Birks and Mills (2011) treat published literature and existing theory as data “they are data and should be treated the same as data from any other source that has relevance to your developing theory” (p.80). The founders agree that the final theory can be a mix of ‘preconceived’ concepts and categories that fit and concepts or categories that emerge from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Indeed, the literature provided additional data to help pinned an emerging concept that sometimes appeared too simplistic in my mind. An example of how a conflict is resolved through literature data is illustrated below.

Box 3.5

Use of Literature in Constant Comparative Analysis

MEMO: 28.09.2014

My initial thoughts on yesterday's interview: I can't seem to nail it. I can't nail what is the most prominent feature from my interview with the participant (P270914). She insisted that friends were the reason for her feeling good about going to school. I could not digest how serious this assertion is. I was a bit depressed, demotivated thinking about this***. That it could not be this simple. This is too simple an answer. Is it? I turned to the literature and found this:

Gutman, L. M. & Feinstein, L. (2008). Children's well-being in primary school: pupil and school effects. London: Centre for Research on the Wider benefits of Learning, Institute of Education. Retrieved on 28 September, 2014 from, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/WBL25.pdf>

Indeed, satisfying friendship contributes immensely to the sense of a student's well-being and continuity of learning.

*** As an indication of how serious my conflict was, I discussed my concern with a graduate student friend. She assured me with no uncertainties, that as an only child that was her main reason for going to school.

In summary, literature in this study included journal articles, proceedings, theses, and newspapers. The literature was consulted for two distinct reasons. The first was at the initial stage of the research a minor literature review provided context of the Orang Asli educational issues, stakeholders' concerns and resolutions, as well as the still lingering issues. The literature also provided data from the experience of other international indigenous or aboriginal studies. Additionally, the minor literature review dealt with methodological issues and the experience of other researchers using the GT method.



The second reason was the use of literary data to give meaning or to make sense of field and participants' data during the constant comparative analysis. An example was how the literature was used to understand a concept or key point emerging from a piece of data describing children's play. Consulting the literature led to the role of traditional games in children's learning. Consulting the literature during the constant comparative analysis also led to enhanced conceptual sensitivity that gave meaning to the emerging concepts, such as agency and resilience in the emerging category of learners leading learning.

3.4.9 Theoretical Coding



A GT study ends with a substantive theory based upon the integration of substantive codes. Substantive codes are grounded in data, whilst theoretical codes are abstract models emerging from the integration of substantive codes. They emerge during “the sorting of mature memos into a potential substantive theory” (Glaser, 2013, p.1).

Theoretical coding summarises a substantive grounded theory, making the theory more explicit and applicable for consideration beyond the substantive area of study. In this study, substantive codes explain “Roles” (Self and others), “Interactions” (between and among roles in context) and “Consequences” (impacts of those interactions in leading learning). As an illustration, a Mother waking up her children for school may be substantively coded as ‘waking up children’. Subsequent abstraction led to a higher level theoretical code, ‘ensuring attendance’ which is a property of





Parents Facilitating Learning. The substantive grounded theory emerging as roles, interactions and consequences coalesced.

3.4.10 Write-up

Glaser and Strauss (1967) incorporate the process of write-up within the constant comparative analysis. As stated earlier writing up the grounded theory starts with sorting and collating mature memos on each category, summarising them, and re-analysing when required. Glaser and Strauss (1967) advise that as we write we can return to the coded data to “validate a suggested point, pinpoint data behind a hypothesis, or gaps in the theory, and provide illustrations” (p.113). The final GT write-up integrated memos of substantive codes and identified emerging categories or themes.

Several categories coalesced to give rise to the substantive theory of leading learning.

3.5 Evaluating a Grounded Theory

Scientific research is evaluated by the concepts of reliability and validity. Reliability is about the trustworthiness of the instrument used to collect the data – whether the instrument measures what it purports to measure, whilst validity is about the trustworthiness of the findings, whether findings are interpretation of the appropriate data. In grounded theory method the emphasis is on the worthiness and credibility of the research and the resulting theory and this has been discussed by Glaser and Strauss



(1967), Glaser (1978, 1992), Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998), Corbin and Strauss (2008), Charmaz (2006), and Birks and Mills (2011).

Corbin in Corbin and Strauss (2008), “does not feel comfortable using the terms validity and reliability” and prefer to use “credibility”, which indicates that “findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants’, researchers’, and readers’ experiences with a phenomena, but at the same time the explanation is only one of many possible “plausible” interpretations possible from data” (p.302). Furthermore, a very important condition for credibility is methodological consistency. A summary of the worthiness criteria is shown in the following table, extracted from Birks and Mills (2011, p.149).

Table 3.2

Evaluating Grounded Theory Research

Evaluating Grounded Theory Research (Extract from Birks & Mills, 2011, p.149)			
Glaser & Strauss (1967): Fit Understandable General Control	Glaser (1978): Fit Work Relevant Modifiable	Strauss & Corbin (1990): Data quality Research process Empirical grounding	Charmaz (2006): Credibility Originality Resonance Usefulness
	Glaser (1992): Fit Work Relevant Modifiable Parsimony Scope	Strauss & Corbin (1998): Data quality Theory quality Research process Empirical grounding	
		Corbin & Strauss (2008): 10 Basic criteria 13 Additional criteria	

Morrow (2005) states “criteria for trustworthiness in qualitative research are closely tied to the paradigmatic underpinnings of the particular discipline in which a particular investigation is conducted” (p.251). Thus, in accord with Morrow, in the present study, this study adopts Glaser’s set of criteria to evaluate GT research credibility: fit, work, relevant, modifiable, parsimony and scope (Glaser, 1992, 2002; Flint, 2005). Briefly they mean as follows:

- Fit: The theory fits the realities under study in the eyes of the subjects, practitioners and researchers in the area.
- Work: The theory explains, predicts, and interprets what is happening in the studied phenomenon of the substantive area, “if a grounded theory works, it will explain the major variations in behaviour in the area with respect to the processing of the main concerns of the subjects” (Glaser 1992, p.15).
- Relevant: The theory is relevant if it fits and works. It offers explanations of the problems or the basic process in the substantive area under study.
- Modifiable: The theory “should be readily modifiable when new data present variations in emergent properties and categories. The theory is neither verified nor thrown out, it is modified to accommodate by integration of the new concepts” (Glaser 1992, p.15). “This modifiability as new data emerges means that the theory continues to fit, work, and be relevant as time passes and conditions change” (Flint, 2005).
- Parsimony: Parsimony is the idea that the simplest explanation of a set of data is preferred. In other words, adopt the simplest explanation from a possible set of explanations. “The researcher achieves parsimony of categories through

careful comparison of each category to all others to verify that each category is unique. The researcher achieves parsimony of theory through integrating categories into cohesive conceptual clusters. Integrating categories is a natural by-product of the constant comparison of categories” (Reddy & Bradner, 2005, p.67).

- Scope: “The researcher achieves scope when she delineates the boundaries of the categories” (Reddy & Bradner, 2005, p.67). Scope is the natural outcome of the constant comparative method when delimiting occurs at both the level of concepts and categories, as theoretical saturation sets in.

From the above it can be concluded that Glaser’s approach to credibility and worthiness of the grounded theory is “grounded” in the consistency and rigour of the method that is open to the evaluation of research participants, practitioners and researchers involved in the same area. Credibility and worthiness are achieved through the rigour of constant comparative method. The findings of this study have been presented in national and international conferences, shared in seminars and papers published in peer-reviewed journals (described in Section 3.4.3.10: Seminars and Conferences), thus adding to the credibility and worthiness of the research and its findings.

3.6 Conclusion

The present research area was directed initially by issues in Orang Asli education, in particular issues of learning disengagement: dropouts and absenteeism in primary



school. The explorative nature of the study lent support towards a qualitative enquiry. The final methodology adopted was that of Glaser's classic grounded theory, mainly because the method offers an innovative path towards generating an understanding and discovering theory of how Orang Asli students survived the deficit theorising surrounding them. The grounded theory process is elaborated using framework based upon the doctoral work of Hoda (2011) because it is simple, clear and practical; explicating rather than deviating from the original Glaser and Strauss (1967) work.

Finally, the literature review, a contentious issue in GT method, occurs at two stages: minor literature review at the initial stages of the study and major literature review during constant comparative analysis, memoing, sorting and writing up. Although, the study started with conceptual model, described in Chapter 2, in the final analysis, best practice in a GT study is a constant return to a reminder for credibility of a GT research as stated below:

A previously identified theoretical framework can provide insight, direction and useful list of initial concepts. However, a researcher should open to new ideas and concepts and be willing to let go if he or she discovers that certain 'imported' concepts do not fit the data. 'Remaining open' is essential ... initial framework can also help the researcher determine the methodology to be used. (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.40)

The following Chapter 4 presents and discusses detailed findings of the study.





CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction



How data was collected and analysed has been described in the preceding Chapter 3. This chapter presents findings from the constant comparative analysis. The findings reflect the researcher's conceptualisation of the empirical data that have been gathered through individual in-depth interviews, group interviews, field visits and conversations during the visits as well as telephone and online conversations with informants and JAKOA officials. In accordance with the CGT research process, data from the literature is weaved into the findings. This chapter is organised into sections covering notes on publications, language and terminologies, and emerging roles, concerns and resolutions. Following this, the main findings are described in parents leading learning, learners leading learning, schools leading learning and significant others leading learning.





4.1.1 Notes on Publications

Sections 4.4 and 4.5 of this Chapter are based on jointly-authored publications (Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2015a; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2017). The researcher was lead author whilst the co-authors acted in an advisory capacity, providing supervision and review. All original contributions presented here are the researcher's.

4.1.2 Language and Terminologies

This thesis celebrates the multilingual context of the study and the participants' voices through authentic texts. The analysis made reference to excerpts selected from the participants' data to illustrate emerging concepts. However, some texts used as illustrations have been retained in the conversational language of the participants to reflect their authentic voices. More detailed excerpts of original conversations cited in the analysis are included in Appendices N to R.

In the analysis, in lieu of their real names, the following terms are used as proper names with respect to each participant: Father, Mother, Grandfather, Grandmother, Brother, Sister, Uncle, Aunt and Cousin; hence the use of the upper-case letter for these terms, where relevant. The term 'student' is used as a concept to represent children as learners in the kindergartens and schools. Names of places and people where mentioned



in dialogues and interview excerpts have been changed to protect Participants' confidentiality.

4.1.3 Emerging Roles, Concerns and Resolutions

Data gathered from the participants reflects the concerns of parents, students, schools and significant others in the participants' schooling process. These concerns are discerned through the incidents narrated during the in-depth interviews, field visits and the literature. Through their actions and provisions, it can be concluded that parents were concerned about their real life economic deficits and the future of their children.

Their concerns were resolved through efforts to communicate the value of education to the children, and within their means and abilities, they provided the home support, provisions and routines that sustained the schooling of their children.

The students were concerned about their parents' difficulties and hardships, and how the difficult life delimited their provisions. In addition, they were concerned about meeting the expectations of their parents and schools. The data revealed actions that reflect the resolutions of their concerns. Their actions showed academic valuing; sharing their parents' belief and values that education is the means to pull them out of their dire life situation. When they were not meeting the expectations of their parents and teachers, they accepted punishments as part of the learning process. They envisioned their future self through their aims and ambitions. Their changing aspirations indicate an awareness of their achievement, interest and potentials.



The role labelled as ‘Schools’ represent the formal learning experience of the Participants which covers their experience in both the Kindergartens and Primary Schools. The data indicates that schools were concerned about sustaining the students’ learning engagement and improving the academic achievement. Indicators reflecting their resolutions included creative lessons, intensive coaching for major examinations, organising special prayers of ‘Solat Hajat’ for parents, students and teachers, before the major examinations, rewards for achievement and punishments for academic lags and misbehaviours.

Significant others are the Government represented by the Department of Orang Asli Development or Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA) and the Ministry of Education (MOE). Data from the literature indicates that the Government is concerned about learning disengagement and poor academic performance among the Orang Asli students (NST, 2013; Edo, 2012; Nazariah, 2014). The Government, being a party to the declaration to provide ‘Education for All’, must uphold its commitment to achieve universal primary education and for all children to complete the full course of primary schooling by 2015. Various initiatives and provisions indicate the Government’s effort to resolve these concerns. Sharifah et al. (2011) for example, discuss dropout prevention initiatives by the Malaysian Government, highlighting the roles of the MOE and the Institutes of Teacher Educations (ITEs) to improve the quality of education at the primary level for the Orang Asli children as well as to provide outreach programs for Orang Asli parents.





The Government's concern is also reflected in the 2016 national budget, in which the total provisions for the Orang Asli development amount to Ringgit Malaysia RM300 million (The Prime Minister, 2015; Zulkifli Jalil, 2015). The provisions include an amount of RM45 million for students' food, pocket allowance and transport allowance (Kementerian Kewangan Malaysia, 2015). The Significant Others also included Friends and the Community, described in Section 4.7.

The following sections elaborate the emerging findings of how parents, students, schools and significant others resolved their concerns as explained through the emerging initial concept of leading learning.



4.2 Parents Leading Learning

This section describes the emerging theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning based upon the data shared by the participants. Additional data from the global literature explains the importance of parental involvement in the successful education of their children. Whilst the local extant literature highlights Orang Asli parents' involvement in the education of their children.





4.2.1 Introduction

Research has shown that parental involvement sustains their children's learning engagement and improves academic achievement. As noted by Hornby and Lafaele (2011), the importance of parental involvement in the education of their children has been in focus for over 40 years. However, Rosenberg (1996) earlier revealed that the idea of parent's involvement has been in place and recorded since 1919 by the proponents of progressive education, that include the educator John Dewey (Hall-Quest, n.d.), emphasising school-home cooperation, "Cooperation etween school and home to meet the needs of child life" (Perry, 1931, p.116, cited in Rosenberg, 1996).

Among the leading research on parental involvement, Epstein (1995) highlights the role of parents in education, through six types of involvement for parents-school-community partnerships. Her study has been extensively referred to in promoting the benefits of PI (examples spanning more than a decade of interval include Hara & Burke, 1998; Ingram, Wolfe, & Lieberman, 2007; Stevens & Patel, 2015). Subsequently, in 1997, England set out strategies for securing parental involvement that include (a) providing parents with information, (b) giving parents a voice, and (c) encouraging parental partnerships with school (Desforges & Abouchar, 2003). These national strategic directives formalised the importance of parental involvement in the school. Since, the landmark study of Epstein (1995), other studies have been conducted to explore and elaborate on how best parental involvement can be incorporated in formal education (Hornby, 2000; Redding, 2000;



Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001; Desforges & Abouchar, 2003; Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Goodall & Montgomery, 2014; Stevens & Patel, 2015).

Along with its importance, parental involvement as a concept has evolved to emphasise the different aspects of parents' involvement in the school and at home. Thus far research is consistent with the use of parental involvement to cover forms of parent involvement both at home and in the school. However, Goodall and Montgomery (2014) argued for a separate concept of parental engagement to reflect the true nature of parental involvement at home. According to them, "engagement would seem to encompass more than just activity – there is some feeling of ownership of that activity which is greater than is present with simple involvement. This means that "parental engagement will involve a greater commitment, a greater ownership of action, than will parental involvement with schools"; (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014, p.399-400). In

simpler terms, from the authors' perspective, parental engagement is about what parents do at home for their children, whilst parental involvement is about what parents do in the school for the children. However, for ease of analysis, this study retains the concept 'parental involvement' to describe the involvement of parents in both the environments, taking into consideration that each involvement is valuable in its own right, and not as "tension between the school's agency for teaching and the parent's agency for engagement in their children's learning" (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014, p.407).

The review of past studies also indicates that parental involvement is influenced by several underlying factors. These include parents' sense of efficacy, resources, and specific invitations from teachers (Anderson & Minke 2007), parent's belief of its value



and that their involvement would make a difference (Hoover-Dempsey, et al., 2001), and the child's level of attainment (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003). In addition, Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) found that, "The extent and form of parental involvement is strongly influenced by family social class, maternal level of education, material deprivation, maternal psycho-social health and single parent status and, to a lesser degree, by family ethnicity" (p.4). The influence of ethnicity on parental involvement is not immediately obvious in the literature (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Murray, McFarland-Piazza & Harrison, 2015). Nevertheless, studies on the benefits of minority ethnic's parental involvement have been reported in which parents and elders in the community were involved in the development of culture-based curriculum that contributed to better student's engagement in the school (Johansson, 2009; Galindo & Medina, 2009; Rethinasamy et al., 2013).



To conclude, research has established that the core benefit of parental involvement is in facilitating students' academic achievement. Additionally, parental involvement "improved parent-teacher relationship, teacher morale, and school climate; improved school attendance, attitudes, behaviour and mental health of children; and, increased parental confidence, satisfaction and interest in their own learning" (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011, p.37). Based upon an extensive parental involvement seminal review, Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) concluded that good parenting is the most important form of parental involvement which include provision of a secure and stable environment, intellectual stimulation, good models and high aspirations: "In essence, parenting has its influence indirectly through shaping the child's self-concept as a learner and through setting high aspirations," (p.5).





In the context of the present study, the Orang Asli parental involvement with their children's learning has been reported by many researchers as less than satisfactory (Edo, 2012; Hamidah, Abdul Rahman & Khalip, 2013; Nur Bahiyah et al., 2013). Generally, the extant literature laments the lack of Orang Asli parents' involvement in their children's education. For instance, Edo (2012) highlights the plight of Orang Asli and their education situation. The questions that have been bandied about in many discussions are why parents of Orang Asli children lack awareness of the importance of education, and why Orang Asli parents are not interested in the schooling of their children. In another instance, Nazariah (2014) describes the challenges faced by teachers and attributed the Orang Asli students' problems to the parents' low academic, awareness, attitude and background socio-economic status. In addition, the researcher's conversation with the head teacher of an Orang Asli school appeared to support this perception (Fieldwork: 01.11.2013).



4.2.1.1 Emerging Parental Roles

The participants' voice revealed the Orang Asli parents' concern about their children's education, as reflected by their words, actions or behaviours. Contrary to the researcher's initial and common perception of parents, the data tells her that parents in this context cover all carers that contributed to the learning process and progress of a student. The concept of parents within the Orang Asli community extended beyond that of the fathers and mothers; consequently, the concept 'parents' in this analysis covers the fathers, mothers, grandparents, older siblings, parents' siblings (aunts and uncles),





and older relatives. These other family members took on the conceptual role of parents to fill up the parental involvement gaps. These family members, especially the older siblings, contributed to the schooling progress and strong level of learning engagement of the research participants.

The emerging concept of parents reflects that of carers, in a context that encompasses the children's social-cultural, economic and emotional dimension. They included fathers who were generally the heads of the household, providing the basic needs of food and shelter for the family, and setting the direction that value education. The main role of mothers as carers was in the house, setting the home environment, with a few exceptions when mothers had to work to support the financial need of the family (For examples, P1, P2, and P15). In addition, grandparents and older siblings provided supportive, caring and supervisory role in the absence of parents (P1, P2, P7, P14), whilst employed older siblings contributed to the financial requirements of their younger siblings' education (P1, P5, P7). Others, including the parents' siblings contributed to the supervisory and financial support (P1, P2, P5, P13), and the presence of older relatives lent emotional support that eased the transition of students in the school and the hostel (P1, P9, P15). For instance, in the absence of Mother, an aunt was the homework supervisor, despite being illiterate, she made sure P1 and her cousins completed their school homework.

In the main, older siblings were an important part of the participants' learning process. For instance, on motorbike, older siblings sent P5 to the kindergarten and ensured that he was safely in class before they left. In addition, older daughters in the



family (P5) helped managed the household when mothers were sick or away. A participant's experience, P2 depicted a unique case of a child-headed household of four, where the learner, P2, had to assume the role of parent during her primary years to cover for her parents who had to find employment in distant townships.

There is less indication of parental involvement in the school after the initial involvement during enrolment, except for attending school events to support their children during year-end prize giving for achieving students, attending the school sports day, and for the Muslim Orang Asli parents, attending special prayers organised by the school prior to the major examination weeks. Fathers were more involved in the school, when they were also community leaders, such as a JAKOA liaison person, and a *Tok Batin* (the Village Head).

In essence, this study revealed that Orang Asli parental involvement is about the process of parents leading learning, encompassing the categories of how parents were involved in the processes of initialising learning, facilitating learning, accommodating learning, and generating learning. The parental roles and processes emerged from constant comparative analysis of the data that reflected the experience of the participants – before and during the kindergarten, and primary school years.

The following sections present the findings of the Orang Asli parental involvement with their children's learning. They are elaborated within the emerging categories and properties of Orang Asli parents' initialising, facilitating, accommodating, and generating learning.



4.2.2 Initialising Learning

The concept ‘initialising’ is similar to that use in computing, which is to set the value or put in the condition appropriate to the start of an operation; although in the context of parental involvement, the concept ‘value’ takes on a different shade. In this case, value is belief and aspiration for a better future. Hence, based upon the findings, the category of initialising learning is defined by the belief, aspirations and the conditions that exist to initiate learning. The extent of initialising learning is indicated by the home learning environment and routine comprising: (a) communicating belief and aspiration, (b) providing learning space and learning resources, (c) setting learning routine and, (d) having learning initiators.



4.2.2.1 Communicating Belief and Aspirations

Parents indicated their belief on the importance of education, and subsequently communicated their high aspiration through actions such as relocating to be near the education provider, waking the children up in time for bath and getting them ready for school, telling the children to be good in school while combing the children’s hair, showing care for how their children appeared in school, giving them breakfast, even when it was just a simple hot drink, and in one child-headed household, leaving and trusting the children to manage while Father and Mother sought the much needed employment away from home. Participants’ recalled incidents that exemplified their parents’ belief and aspirations. For instance, Father sent the older siblings of P3 to the





Grandparents who lived in a distant town to enable them to go to school. The action indicates Father's belief in the importance of education and thus was willing to relocate his children for this purpose as described in the following excerpt:

P3: My sister didn't live with us. She lived with Grandfather in a village in Penang; because during their time, the school was far so Father sent my two [older] sisters to stay at the village in Penang, because the school was near to the village during that time.

P1 and P2 recalled their Mother's aspirations that illustrate the deficit modelling, which means being poor was the very reason to go to school, to have an education. Education was deemed as an instrument to bridge the deficit gap. Mother had high expectation of P1. She was emphatic about P1 going to school despite their life difficulties and challenges. Mother insisted that these concerns should not stop P1 from going to school. She indicated her valuing education by relocating and working near the kindergarten and school. P1 recalled:

P1: If you can continue your studies, continue she [Mother] said. So I can have a better life, with education I can support my own life. She said she couldn't give us prosperity.

P15 also shared her mother's similar belief:

P15: If we're in hardships and we quit, it'll make our life harder. Like that. My mum said it. She said if our life is hard, make it easy and not make it harder.

As Desforges and Abouchar (2003) indicate, good parental involvement includes shaping the child's self-concept as a learner and through setting high aspirations. The above conversation highlights Orang Asli parents' setting high aspirations that shaped



their children's belief in education as the mean to extract themselves out of difficult life.

4.2.2.2 Providing Learning Space and Learning Resources

Learning or study space at home was usually the floor; even when parents did provide study table, children still preferred the comfort of lying on the floor. In most cases, economic and structural constraints did not allow for the provision of a separate learning space. Learning resources were limited to stationery that could include colouring pencils; books were notebooks and textbooks from the school. Children role-played 'teacher and students' using pieces of leaves upon which they pretended to write, and twigs as pencils. In reality, the entire forest was at their disposal, as extended learning space and resources. Television, when available, was a learning tool. For instance, P1 was influenced by the 'Sesame Street' English series for children, sparking her interest in the English language. Some others were influenced by smart characters in uniforms and aspired to be like them. In the following excerpts Participants (P14, P1 & P6) shared the learning space and resources that shaped their early interest in school. When asked what he had at home that had impact towards his interest prior to starting school, P14 recalled his learning space at home:

P14: Nothing except Father provided a place for study, for all the siblings. R: Desks and chairs? P14: Yes. Father made the table and chairs himself; other than those nothing else. R: Have you started school then? P14: No. Not yet.

P1 described Mother's learning space and provisions for her at home:



P1: At home mother provided colouring pencils and pencils for writing. Book, no [Mother did not buy books]. Exercise books were from the school. Books for reading were plentiful in school. I read in the school. [Mother did not buy books for reading at home], Mother could not afford them. [Describing her home environment] We had one room, a kitchen space within a living area. We all slept in that one open area.

For some, the floor was still the best place to study. P6 shared:

P6: My father bought us a table and so we shared, but I preferred to work on the floor, hahaha, best. I only used the table to keep my books. To work I liked to do it lying down on the floor.

4.2.2.3 Setting the Learning Routine

Early morning routine ensured the child went to school. Mothers woke up children, ensured that they took their bath, and teeth brushed. Mothers combed the children's hair and gave them breakfast which could be just a cup of tea and sweetened condensed milk. A memo in Box 4.1 on P1 illustrates her home learning environment and learning routine.

Box 4.1

A Memo on Home Learning Environment and Learning Routine

MEMO: P1 - Home Learning Environment - The house built by mother on a farm, to be near the Kindergarten was a simple living space; no physical wall or partition separating the functional areas. Thus learning together took place within the common living space. There was no television. For recreation, Mother took the children next door to her sister's place to watch the television, and that too for a short while before sleeping time. Mother had daily routine to prepare P1 for kindergarten and the initial school years – early to sleep and early to rise, Mother ensured P1 took her bath and brushed her teeth, took her breakfast then to kindergarten, and subsequently to school.





P10 remembered his Mother combing his hair, although he would try to show his independence by wanting to comb his own. This routine was etched in the memory of the participants because during this seemingly simple routine, Mothers chatted and motivated the children about behaving in school, and to study well (P5). In the village, cold bath was always outside. Mothers supervised school morning routine; assisted by older siblings, especially sisters. Kindergartners were awakened and prepared last, to allow for the senior siblings to get ready for their earlier school time. P5 and P10 recalled their morning routine with their mothers:

P5: In the morning, Mother [woke me up]. Since I was a kid I slept with my father and mother. Then I woke up. Before 7 I would be out. 6:45, 6:40. That was the school schedule then. 6 a.m. I would be up. 6:45 I would already be out. Mother, during my school days would be at home. Meaning my father would be out to work early in the morning so my mother managed everything else for me; waking me up, ironing my clothes. Then if I didn't go to school, it would be a problem, because Mother would be angry. Mother always said to study diligently, we should not follow others. What bad things other people do, do not follow. Let them be, do not follow, do not follow the bad ways of others. We take what good things other people do. That's what she said. People should view us having knowledge. R: That's what you remember? P5: Yes I hold on to those words.

P10 shared his school morning routine:

P10: In the morning Mother woke me up. Always. About 6:30. School is about 7. I took bath ... with cold water. Outside [the house]. Mother combed my hair. Although sometimes I wanted to comb on my own.

The after-school routine included asking about homework to be completed, monitoring the child on homework completion, and helping the child when they could. P11 recalled her Father's involvement whilst P13 described his family's involvement with homework:



P11: Yes ... my father helped me with homework if I don't know how to do something I'd ask him.

P13: Sometimes father, sometimes my second sister [helped with my homework at home]. Mother... sometimes.

4.2.2.4 Having Learning Initiators

Parental involvement includes having learning initiators telling stories, sharing experiences, role playing, and playing traditional games. Among others, learning initiators were Grandmothers narrating folklores; parents and older siblings teaching and singing the alphabet song, and Father guiding tourists during forest walks, whilst the accompanying child listened, experiencing the forest and wondering, how Father could speak the language of the foreign visitors. Learning initiators also included older friends role-playing as teachers, conducting 'classes' for the younger children (Further explained in Section 4.3.2.4: Learning Games). Thus, learning initiators could be grandparents, older siblings, parents and friends. P1 narrated experience with her grandmother:

P1: I used to ask [Grandmother] for stories. I liked ghost stories. She told me about this ghost who ran only using her knees. Despite that the ghost could run very fast. R: Why did she tell you about the ghost? P1: So that we should know how to behave when in the forest, the taboos of the forest for our guidance. Grandmother said if get lost in the jungle, you follow the river.

Having schooling older siblings increased the participants' enthusiasm for school. P15 shared:



P15: I liked going to school. R: Why? P15: I don't know. My sister went to school, why I should not be going. Also [I go to school] for mother, she was having hard times.

P5 shared experience of older siblings teaching him the alphabet:

P5: Sometimes my older sisters taught me. My second sister; sometimes my third sister. They taught me a, b, c.

P14 recalled his enthusiasm for school triggered by his studying siblings:

R: So did you disturb your siblings when you saw them studying? P14: Sometimes yes. When I saw them studying I felt like studying too. R: Did your siblings give time to teach you? Scribbling or drawing? P14: Yes. R: Gave you papers? P14: Hu'uh. R: This was before you started school? P14: Hu'uh, before starting school.

Besides older siblings, parents were also important learning initiators. P3 remember



how her father started her into formal education:

P3: Before I started kindergarten, my father, although he was blind, provided me with the alphabet blocks for me to arrange. When I was four and five year old, he made me arranged the ABC blocks. So when I entered the kindergarten, I already knew the alphabet. He bought books, [taught me] how to read. He was more into the English language. How to greet, good morning, good night, good evening, during my 5 to 6 year of age.

To summarise, the process of initialising learning illustrates the actions and provisions of Orang Asli parents within the context of and despite the deficit. The actions and provisions are conceptualised as communicating their belief and aspiration, providing home learning environment, and setting learning routine. Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) and Fan, Williams and Wolters (2012) found that parental high aspiration for children's education promotes schooling motivation, and shaped children's self-concept as learners. In addition, learning initiators provided input that helped start the



children's formal learning journey. The properties of Orang Asli parents initialising learning are illustrated in the following figure.

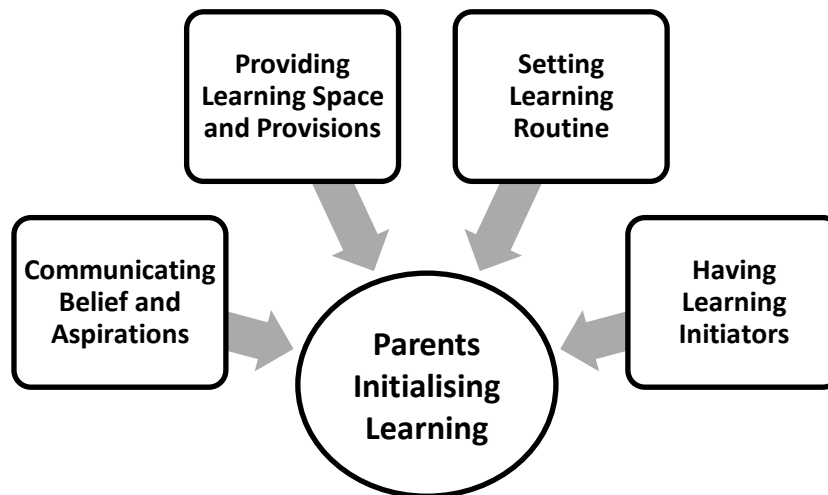


Figure 4.1. Orang Asli Parents Initialising Learning

4.2.3 Facilitating Learning

The process of facilitating connotes promoting, assisting and supporting (Robinson, Molenda & Rezabek, 2008). Facilitating learning in this study involves creating the means and conditions to promote, assist and support the continuity of learning. As facilitators, parents listened to their children concern, and responded to their learning 'antics', as in the case of P2 who read loudly from the textbook, loving the sound of her own voice, while mother listened indulgently. P2 shared her mother's indulgence:

P2: I was very hard working during primary school. I don't know why but I was very interested in study, books, I have said I love reading. At home I like to read



[what we had done in school]. I did my my homework. Then I would read English books. I love English. Daily I would read [English] story book loudly. The whole house could hear me. The neighbour also heard me. Wah ... I was very noisy. I would read while my mother was cooking, and she would watch. And I would ask her, "Am I correct". And she would answer, "Ntah kamu [I don't know]". I don't care. I would go in front of the mirror, and I read.

Other instances include Mother giving company, bringing lunches to school, eating at the school canteen with her son and his siblings. P8 recalled:

P8: We have extra class in the afternoon. The normal classes ended at 1:00. My mother would bring lunch and my siblings and I would eat at the canteen and then went on to the afternoon class.

A mother stayed in the classroom until the child was familiar with her new surrounding.

P1 shared her Mother's in-class supportive presence:

P1: [During kindergarten] Mother helped me sometimes. She helped me to hold the pencil, taught me ABC. [Although she had never been to school] she could ... because she stayed with me in class during the initial week of the kindergarten and she also learned.

P10 shared his memory of Mother in school, receiving her child's academic progress report, and quietly enquiring about her son's progress:

P10: Sometimes Father, sometimes Mother [would come to accept the Student Record Book at year end]. Mother would ask "how was my son in class". And the teacher would answer "sometimes he is okay, sometimes he slept in the class".

The above excerpts briefly illustrate how parents facilitated their children's learning.

The process of Orang Asli parents facilitating learning has the following properties: (a) providing support by being in school, (b) showing pride, giving praise and simple reward for achievement, (c) school language at home, (d) ensuring school attendance,



(e) providing financial support, (f) sharing positive experience, and (g) punishing children. Further details are as follows.

4.2.3.1 Providing Support to Children in School (Parents in School)

Orang Asli parents visited school for various events and reasons. These included accompanying children for enrolment during registration day, visiting child at the hostel, receiving the student's academic progress report; attending scheduled events such as the parents-teachers meeting, prize-giving day, sports day and special prayer prior to scheduled examinations, the '*Solat Hajat*'; and staying in the classroom to comfort a child new to school. Parents and extended family members also provided the comfort of a familiar face in school, such as an uncle as a subject teacher, mothers as teachers in the kindergarten, and an aunt as a hostel warden. Although limited, parental involvement in school provided emotional and motivational support that facilitated learning. Otherwise, parents kept themselves out of school, hence the common perception of Orang Asli parents' lack of involvement, except in cases where parents were community heads and representatives. The following excerpts are examples of how the parents were involved in school. P7 shared her excitement as Mother accompanied her on the first day of kindergarten:

P7: Yes [my mother sent me on the first day of kindergarten]. When my mum was sending me I was already excited to go to the kindergarten.

P10 recalled incidents when his parents were in school:



P10: No [my parents were not actively involved in school], only when there were programs such as meetings and all. Yes [I received prize for best in science] when I was in Standard 2. R: When you were in the top 5 for best in science? P10: Yes

P3 had Mother for comfort during her initial days in school:

P3: During that time [I went to school] by bus. Sometimes I asked my mother to take the bus with me, waited for me at Jalan Tas. Mother waited for me at the canteen, only then I wouldn't cry. And then for quite sometime after 3-4 months Mother stopped accompanying me. But my heart felt uneasy hehe.

And P3 also recalled her happiness at having her parents at the front seats watching her walked the stage to receive the excellent student award:

P3: At the end of the year I received an award for... if I am not mistaken for Excellence. They had the end of the year ceremony, like that. During that time they had the ceremony in a hall at Chemor. They announced the best student, and then I was called to the stage and my parents were there sitting at the front [seats], that's what I remember.

4.2.3.2 Showing Pride, Giving Praise and Reward for Achievement

Orang Asli parents showed pride and happiness when children shared their school achievement. Students shared the excitement of winning competitions, getting prizes for the wins and being first in the class. Responses to such announcements included simple congratulatory gifts of stationery and treats at the town's restaurant from working siblings (P5). In the case of P1, Mother was happy when P1 achieved the first position in class, but her pride was low-key. As P1 stated, her mother was a simple person. However, there was no compulsion for others among the siblings to compete with the achievement of the achiever (P1). Each child was allowed their own learning



path. Parents motivated their children to do well, “*They could not help me much with the subjects, but that did not stop them from encouraging me to study well*” (P9), thus keeping learning in focus.

The following excerpts illustrate how parents and siblings showed pride and happiness for the participants’ achievement. P5 reflected on his sibling’s reward to his achievement:

P5: My siblings they had impact on me because they were like this “Dik kau dapat no 1 akak gi bawak makan KFC. Macam tu lah [If you got first, I will take you for a treat in KFC. Something like that]. That was one of my older sisters. Although they did not give me gifts, they were happy for me “Eh Adik dapat nombor satu kan”. I received prizes in school. My mother, sister and father would attend [the prize giving event].

P1 remembered her low-keyed Mother:

P1: My mother would be very happy ... but she is the steady type ... she doesn’t show her pride ... she would act normal ... that’s what I love about my mother, because she is simple. R: Did she make you a model for your younger siblings? P1: Yes, but she did not like to compare, but sometimes other people would ask my siblings “why your sister can study to such high level [but you don’t want to go to school]”.

P6 shared her excitement with Mother when she won in a competition:

P6: During kindergarten I always joined competitions organised by outside organisations. For example, the Mathematic Quiz and when I received any prize, I would be so excited to show my mother.



4.2.3.3 School Language at Home

Differing mother tongues (ethnic languages) and school languages (*Bahasa Melayu* and English) has been known to place the Orang Asli children at a disadvantaged in school, where teachers were not familiar with the local ethnic language (Mohamad Johdi et al., 2009; Abdull Sukor et al., 2011; Ramle et al., 2013). This study found that television at home provided access to the languages use in school, English and Bahasa Melayu, such as through watching children's educational programmes in English (P1), and watching recorded popular *Bahasa Melayu* movies, the nationally well-known 'P. Ramlee movies' (P7). In addition, *Bahasa Melayu* was also the language used to communicate with other ethnic groups, and outside communities, as in the case of P9 who had the opportunity to listen to Father communicating in English when guiding international tourists visiting the highlands where they lived. These various experiences are illustrated below. P1 shared how her interest in the English language started:

P1: My interest in English started when I watched the Sesame Street on TV [during her kindergarten years]. The story was fun. It got me interested to learn because for me English was very exciting ... knowing another language. It made me want to learn more.

P7 recalled the Bahasa Melayu movies she watched at home:

P7: [At home we watched] a variety of Malay films [such as the P. Ramlee movies].

P9 listened and wondered how her Father could speak in English with the tourists he guided:





P9: I remembered my father speaking [in English]. [I wondered] how he could speak English. He interacted with the outsiders [the foreign tourists]. He also liked to learn ... he was not trained to use the language, but he liked to learn. I followed my father into the jungle, tracking [guiding the tourists].

Although their mother tongue was the Temuan language, parents and family could speak in Bahasa Melayu, so the language was not a problem for P5:

P5: [At home] we speak Temuan. My parents can speak Bahasa Melayu. [The whole family] can speak Bahasa Melayu. No problem.

4.2.3.4 Ensuring School Attendance

An important role of mothers was to ensure the children's attendance in school. Waking them up, getting them ready and giving them breakfast was an important routine that facilitated their fresh presence in school. The opposite would be non-attendance, as in the case of parents who would not force their children to get up (Mohd Asri, 2012; 2013), or children who would get up earlier than their fathers and disappeared into the woods with friends to avoid school (P5). When asked the reason for his own consistent attendance despite others who could miss school easily, P5 explained it was due to fear of his parents' anger and punishment.

P5: I think I was afraid of my parents. If I didn't go I would be scolded. R: Did you ever get the cane? P5: Yes, yes.

And so was P12 who kept his absences to a minimum because he feared his parents' cane. He explained why he did not miss many classes:





P12: Not too many, hehe. Father said “if you don’t go to school, you’ll get the cane” hehe. And I would straight away go to school.

How parents ensure that their children did not miss school is reflected in the experience of P15. Despite living away the parents monitored the children and their schooling through telephone and through their neighbour. When they came to visit the children, their questions included concerns about school, as illustrated in the following conversation.

R: Your sister was 9 years old. You were 8 years old. For two years there were only the two of you [living with the parents away]. Did your mother or father come back every week? What did they say to you? P15: Sometimes they come back. They would ask “Is school okay? Did you go to school? Or sleeping? And sometimes when my sister and I were late, Mother or Father would pay someone to send us to school. They would call someone, “my kids have just gotten up, please help to send them to school” and then there was this aunty [a neighbour] would call out to us “get ready, get ready, someone is coming to send you to school”.



P1 reflected on the dedication of her mother, when her mother moved from their village to facilitate her attending school. When asked to confirm that Mother’s move was because she needed to attend school, P1 answered:

P1: Yes, that time I needed to go to school. Come to think of it, I feel my Mother was very dedicated.

P16 shared her mother’s dedication in preparing her daily for school:

P16: My mother [woke me up daily]. My mother woke me until [I was] in Form 5. I never got up on my own. For sure I would miss school [if she didn’t wake me up] l. She also ironed my clothes. I never did.



From the above conversations, ensuring school attendance is an important process of facilitating learning. Parents ensured this by waking the children up, in time for school, enforcing through scolding, and supporting their attending needs.

4.2.3.5 Providing Financial Support

The income of the Participants' families in this study was derived from selling forest and agricultural products, tapping rubbers, and from employment as private tour guide, JAKOA employee, policemen, construction worker, and factory as well as farm workers. Parental financial provision for education was limited, with cases of students who had to work (P2) and to 'pend' primary schooling due to financial distress (P14).

This study found that older siblings, grandparents, and parents' siblings (uncles and aunts) helped support the financial needs of the students, easing distress, thus enabling the continuity of formal schooling.

To earn their living, some parents worked and lived away from home, returning to visit their children every two or three weeks, such as in the case of P2:

P2: Mother was in Ipoh. She worked as a clerk in a factory, Yeoh Hup Seng. She would come home every two weeks. When she could, she would try to come home every week. Father [who worked as a contract worker] would come home every two or three weeks. He followed the contractor who built houses. He was never at anyone place.

P14 attended two different primary schools. The first was a mainstream primary school, where he missed the JAKOA financial assistance. Due to his father's financial distress,



P14 left school during the mid-year of Year 4. P14 and his siblings were sent back to live in the parents' Orang Asli village, where he resumed his schooling at the Orang Asli village school. P14 recalled:

P14: I stopped going to school during mid-year of Standard 4. I had financial difficulties. I have a lot of brothers and sisters. I am the sixth [of 11 children]. When I was at the first school, there was no financial assistance, neither [from] JAKOA nor others.

On the other hand, P16 recalled that her parents' provisions for her school needs were adequate, and she did not encounter any financial hardship.

P16: I didn't have any financial problem because my parents tapped rubber. [So] there was always some cash coming in from tapping rubber.

The Orang Asli peoples are among the poorest of the nation (Tarmiji, Fujimaki & Norhasimah, 2013). As the above data shows, the income of the participants' families was limited, and often times, sacrifice had to be made, as exemplified by P15 and her sibling who were living without their parents' presence.

4.2.3.6 Sharing Positive Experience

Older siblings' or other relatives' positive experience in school helped the participants to have an informed perception, minimising fear of school and teachers. For example, older siblings' positive experience with a teacher helped P6 to have an informed perception, despite the teacher's reputation of being a fierce teacher who was in charge



of school discipline. Her older sister and brother assured her that the teacher was not as fierce as she was purported to be. P6 recalled:

P6: My sister and my brother attended the same [primary] school. They were taught by this same teacher. So, they told me “that teacher is actually a kind teacher [Only people perceived her wrongly].

In the absence of their parents, P15 and her older sister did their homework independently. The older sister helped her when needed. P15 perceived her older sister as naturally clever and more organized. Without her, it would have been more difficult.

P15: No one checked my homework when I have completed them. My sister helped. She was clever. I just followed her. If she was not there, it would have been difficult for me.

For some participants, positive school experience was shared by their older relatives, cousins, uncles or aunts. P9 remembered her uncle's role in school as her motivation.

P9: I always observed my uncle [Mother's youngest brother]. In school [I observed him], it's just the way he carried himself, the way he spoke, and he looked clever. He spoke with confidence, and I wanted to be like him.

Positive sharing and modelling by older siblings and older relatives positively contributed to the Participants' learning engagement. The influence has been described in past studies such as in McHale, Updegraff, and Whiteman (2012), Pajoluk (2013), and Charalambous (2016).



4.2.3.7 Punishing Children

Parents punished their children to ensure that they attended school and to ensure that they did their homework. Punishment methods included direct caning with rattan, cloth hanger, or any object that was available at hand. Quick dunking in bath water to force the children to bathe in the morning before going to school was another method. Some children learned the art of avoiding parents' punishment by waking up earlier than parents and escaping into the woods, or running out of the house, before the parents could do anything to stop them, to go and play with friends. 'Rotan' is a *Bahasa Melayu* term for cane. The data indicates that the term was used invariably for any form of smacking, using cane or any other available similar objects such as ruler, cloth-hanger, and sticks (P5, P6, P8, P12, and P13). Parents, especially fathers would not hesitate to cane the children, for offences related to schooling, such as refusing to go to school, lying about not having homework, and misbehaviours. Father of P8 for instance, gave a piece of cane to the teacher, with the specific instruction to 'rotan' the child if the need arose. The threat of getting caned was an incentive for going school. As P12 recalled:

P12: Father said "If you don't go to school, you'll get the rattan". [Following the threat of rattan] and I would go to school. Mother would also give me the rattan threat. Both of them had the same mind.

When asked whether they had experienced the rattan treatment, P5 and P6 separately recalled:

P5: Yes, yes, when I didn't want to go to school. My Father or Mother would cane me. But for my sister, the cane had no effect on her. She would not go.





P6: Those days my parents were fierce. If I don't go to school I would be smacked. With whatever was at hand, even with the cloth hanger.

Although his own parents did not use the cane on him and his siblings, P8 described the rattan that he brought to school for his teacher from his father with the permission to use it on him should the situation arose.

P8: My teacher knew that my father had a rattan business. That time I brought a rattan [for the teacher]. I got caned with that same rattan (laughed). I think I deserved that caning ... because of the caning, I had more interest in the teacher. Chinese or Orang Asli, were used to getting the cane. It became painful when you are not used to it. [However] at home, my parents never caned me. All my siblings, we were never caned [by them].

P13 was caned for being stubborn and lying about his homework. However, he accepted the punishment as part of his personal improvement process. He recalled:



P13: My parents used to cane me. Father caned me for being stubborn, not doing my homework, and lying about not having homework. Father would ask me if I have homework and I answered none, and it was not true. [Later] when he asked about homework, he would ask twice. The third time he asked I would not dare to lie. The first time I was caned for lying, I dared not lie after that. He would ask whenever I came home from school and watching me relaxing [as if I had no school work to do].

Another father had various sizes of cane for different offences, applied to his older siblings. P14 remembered:

P14: Father was very strict. He would cane if [my siblings] did not complete their school work. He had specific cane. He had small cane and big cane. That time I had not gone to school yet. I saw [the caning happened] to my oldest sister down to my third brother. [However] since standard one I was never cane.





For P15, Father not only caned her for being naughty and for having too many failing 'reds' in her exercise books, he also supported her teacher's action when she informed him that her teacher had caned her in school.

P15: When I reached home I told my father [that I was caned by the teacher]. He scolded me "next time do your homework, don't ignore it". Father caned me when I was naughty, and when I did not do my homework. Whenever I obtained a lot of reds in my exercise book, he would cane me, all over [the cane landing all over my body]. I would be running trying to escape him, and crying, all at the same time.

In terms of punishing children to resolve disciplinary and educational concerns, there were three categories of parents: the ones who caned their children, the ones who did not cane but accepted and supported caning by the teachers, and the ones who caned their older children but not the later younger ones. The rationale was to reform the children. The participants' experience indicates that they accepted punishment as part of their learning process, and believed that they were the better for it, as exemplified by their continuous achievement in school and beyond. However, participants also recalled where the cane had no impact on some children and they subsequently dropped out of school.

To summarise, Orang Asli parents facilitating learning promoted, assisted and sustained the continuity of learning through limited involvement in the school. Rewards were used to reinforce achievement, while caning was common to control misbehaviour, indicating a behaviourist approach to facilitate sustained learning (Anderman, 2010). The mainstream local culture appears to accept mild caning to control and prevent misbehaviours and extract obedience (Lau, 2015; Nik Rahim, 2015). Older children sharing positive experience and exposure to school languages at



home provided the beneficial home-school link. The properties of Orang Asli parents facilitating learning are illustrated in the following figure.

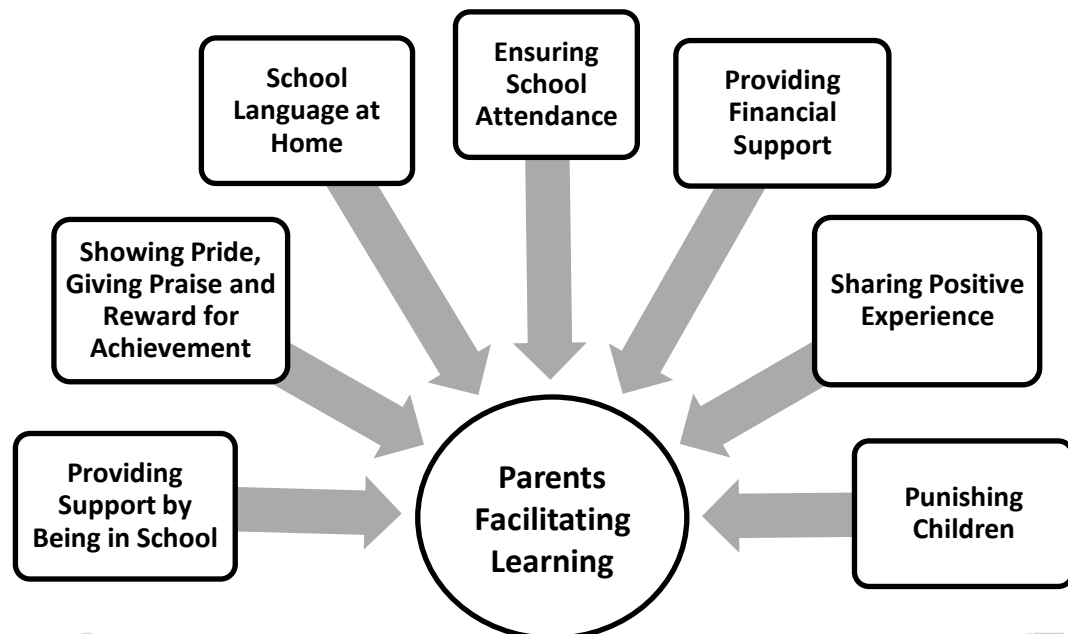


Figure 4.2. Orang Asli Parents Facilitating Learning

4.2.4 Accommodating Learning

The concept of accommodation is analogous to that used in describing the adjustment of the lens of the eyes, at various distances, so as to keep the object in focus. In this context, the process of accommodating involves adapting, adjusting, reconciling, and the willingness to do favours or services, to keep learning in focus. The process of Orang Asli parents accommodating learning has the following properties: (a) multiplicity of roles, (b) decision making, and (c) making change.



4.2.4.1 Multiplicity of Roles

The findings indicate a multi-dimensional concept of parents. In this community, parental roles extended to the grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles and older cousins who took on the conceptual role to fill in parental gaps. Roles of others as parents included Aunt providing the comfort of a familiar face in new situation such as beginning kindergarten and school, or settling in the hostel; Grandparents, Older Siblings and Aunts providing financial support; Older Siblings giving time to send and fetch students to and from school. Examples of the extended family support included Aunt monitoring and supervising homework completion, and Grandmother caring for grandchildren when parents were away at work. The following excerpts illustrate the multiplicity of roles of the conceptual parent. P1 recalled the presence of her aunt in the



kindergarten.

P1: When I was six year old my Mother would sometimes wait for me [at the kindergarten]. There was also an aunt who lived with us, she also [came] to wait for her child. She worked as a kitchen helper at the hostel.

P1 also remembered her Grandmother as carer, when her Mother went to collect forest products.

P1: The rest of my mother's siblings were married, and they lived separately with their families. Only my Mother and my Aunt were there to help my Grandfather [to collect forest products], especially my Mother. My Grandmother remained at home to look after us, her grandchildren.

Data also indicates instances of parents' siblings contributing to students' financial requirements. P13 recalled:





P13: My aunt, my Father's sister helped to pay my school fees, for both my younger sibling and I, since primary school. She looked after my late Grandfather's rubber smallholding.

Siblings, especially daughters, regularly assumed the parental roles, helping with household care and chores. P5 and P14 shared their respective sibling's roles as parents:

P5: Because I have many older sisters, they took care [of the household chores when my mother was ill].

R: That means there were only [you] and the siblings living [together in the village] and your 26 year old sister looked after the younger siblings? P14: Yes.

When parents were living away at work, the children managed themselves, as in the case of P2, who headed the household during her parents' absence. P2 recalled how she coped with her absent parents:



P2: About 10 or 11 [years old], I took over the care of my younger siblings. At the time, I learned to be self-sufficient, I learnt how to cook, look for edible plants around the house, for our meals. Mother and Father gave us cash to buy our kitchen requirements [The dry items]. That time I knew how to cook and keep house. There were 4 [of us then].

Similarly, the parents of P15 had to leave their then two children, P15 and her older sister, on their own, while they stayed in another village to tap rubber. In the absence of the parents, the older sibling and their neighbour took up the parental role. P15 recalled:

P15: Yes, that was difficult time [for us]. Our parents were tapping rubber [and living in another village], and the two of us were left on our own. I was in Year 2 or Year 3. Our neighbour cooked our meals.





In an exceptional case, Teachers' role as parent was exemplified in the case of P2 who was drawn to school daily by caring teachers who filled in the gaps of her absent parents. She shared:

P2: This teacher was close to me. During primary school, I received full encouragement from my teachers. I and my parents were not very close. You know my chronology [my history].

Further discussion of teacher as parent is covered in schools leading learning wherein teachers accommodated learners through multiplicity of roles (Section 4.4.3.3.1).

4.2.4.2 Decision Making

Parental considerations in decision making included whether to allow children to join visits organised by the school, participation in sporting activities, attending and missing classes, boarding children in the hostel and choosing which school to enroll for post-primary. Parental decision making was influenced by their belief on the value and the impact of school activities and school requirements on their children's well-being. Thus, based upon this belief, some parents made considerable effort to ensure and sustain their children's attendance in school, whilst some others adhered to their children's wish to skip classes, and to drop-out of school. Contradictory messages, about attending school, in the family led to the children getting their ways. Contradictory messages appeared in this study in cases of changing life situations (P1, P14), leading to learning disengagement of some siblings in the respective participants' families.



Parents concern for the safety of their children influenced their decision making process. As an illustration, a parent made decision to limit his son's involvement in sports based upon perceived risk to his son. P10 recalled how he missed a school sports trip to Sarawak due his Father's concern with perceived potential injury involving a school activity:

P10: At that time I was selected to go to Sarawak [as part of the school sports team], but my Father didn't give his permission. He thought I was going to play football and I might break my legs. Earlier I was selected to play rugby. His friend advised him that it was dangerous, that it could lead to broken legs.

Additionally, differences in aspirations led to contradiction in decisions. P1 shared an example of the difficult situation arising from differing beliefs on the value of schooling:

P1: For example, my Mother would tell that my younger brother to go to school, but someone else [who had more authority] would say never mind. No need. We have prepared to enrol him to school, but in the end, he did not go.

In another case of decision making, a seemingly hopeless situation caused parents to make decision that set back their children's education. P14 shared that phase of his schooling and his father's response to the school actions:

P14: [The school] terminated my schooling because I was absent for quite awhile [because Father could not pay the school fees]. Initially, we received the first letter of warning. But Father was already giving up about us going to school, feeling hopeless because earlier my older sister also gave up. She [the fifth sibling] was my Father's hope and to us all she appeared to be the most beloved child. Anything she wanted she got it. Then when she quit [because of shame due to teacher's demand for unpaid school fees], my Father also appeared to lose his motivation. His children were working hard in school, but when he received those letters, he was not too bothered anymore. It was the same when we received the second letter, then we received the third letter of termination, Father did not see it because I took the letter, crumpled it and threw it into the waste bin. [Following this incident, Father packed P14 and his

younger siblings back to live in the village with their Mother. Subsequently P14 resumed school the following year, in an Orang Asli primary school in the village whilst his older sister dropped out].

In conclusion, various considerations contributed to parental decision making. Among them were parents' belief on the value of schooling and school activities, and how they responded to school actions.

4.2.4.3 Making Change

Making change to accommodate learning includes relocating and moving out of the comfort zone that enabled children to access better educational facility. The process of making change was linked to how parents made decision as discussed in Section 4.4.4.2 above, influenced by their belief that led them to accept and make the change. For instance, a village was so far inland that schooling was a novelty, a unique opportunity for a small number of children. This was the situation that saw Mother of P1 missing the opportunity to go to school, because Grandfather had given priority for education to the male children. Subsequently Mother made the change and moved from the village in order to make school more accessible to her daughter, P1.

Change was also triggered by changing life situation due to extreme financial constraint (P14). In this case moving back to their village, gave P14 and his siblings a second chance in school. Making change was also about giving time for study and to prepare for examinations (P2). Giving children time for study is meaningful for students from disadvantaged families due to the multiple roles of children at home. They are not



just children-students, but they are also older siblings that need to contribute to caring for the younger children and helping with the household chores.

The excerpts below illustrate the changes parents made to accommodate their children's education. P1 shared her mother's move to be nearer to the kindergarten:

P1: To make it easy [to send her to go to school], Mother moved. She set a second house [in the village where the kindergarten and primary school were located].

During a financially difficult phase, a Father decided that relocating some of the children back to their home village would ease the problem. Subsequently, the decision enabled P14 to resume his halted primary education. P14 recalled:

P14: Father sent me and my younger siblings [back to the village]. My older siblings stayed with him.

When there was a need to give the children time for critical study time, parents were willing to make the necessary change to accommodate the need. P2 whose working parents had left her and her siblings on their own recalled:

P2: Mother stopped working [away from home] after the adoption of the youngest brother. We [my twin sister and I] had to prepare for the SPM. There were four of us [siblings], then five when we had the adopted brother.

Parents made decision to relocate when there was a better opportunity. The act contributed to their children having access to better educational provision, as was the case of P7:

P7: [We moved] because my grandmother [maternal] received housing aid, the PPRT, but she was not using the house. Since my Mother needed a house, we





moved in instead. [For job] my Father still went to the forest to collect 'kayu gaharu [the agarwood]'.

In conclusion, in accommodating learning, the multiplicity of roles shows various others adopting the parental roles, taking up responsibility, accommodating the educational commitment by giving the space, time and financial aid to sustain a student's learning. This shared parental role is also reported by Lea et al. (2011a). How parents make decisions and the choices to accommodate learning is influenced by their self-belief and values; a belief whether their actions and considerations can make a difference to their children's learning and well-being, thus the willingness to make the adjustments to keep learning in focus. Finally, 'making change' includes taking the steps to relocate, moving out of the comfort zone, and giving the time for children to study. As in parents making decision, taking the steps to change is linked to parental aspiration for the children and the belief that education could a make difference. The properties of Orang Asli parents accommodating learning are illustrated in the following figure.



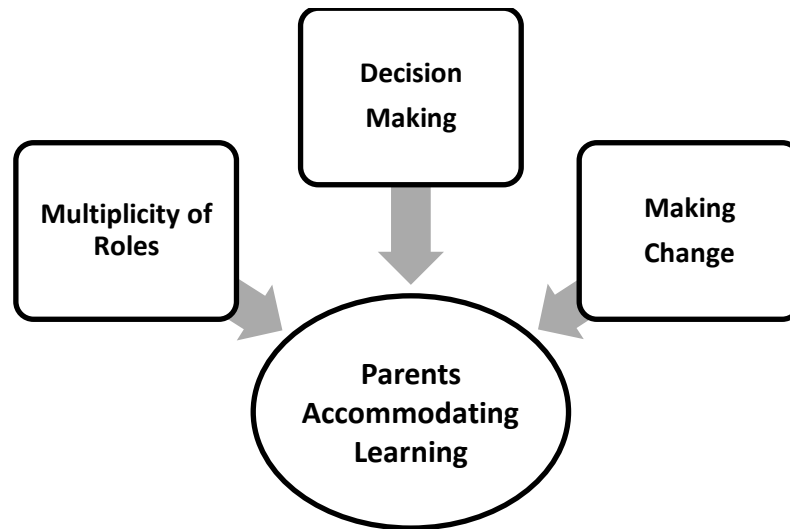


Figure 4.3. Orang Asli Parents Accommodating Learning

4.2.5 Generating Learning

The category ‘generating learning’ is influenced by the concept as used by Wittrock (1992, 2010) and Senge (1990). Wittrock (2010) explains his fundamental premise of generative learning, “People tend to generate perceptions and meanings that are consistent with their prior learning’ (p.41). Wittrock argues thus that learning is a function of the abstract and distinctive, concrete associations which the learner generates between his or her prior experience and the present stimuli; a learning with understanding that enables transfer to conceptually related problems. Meanwhile, Senge (1990) describes it as a special level of proficiency that enables individuals to expand the ability to produce the results they truly want, to achieve a vision.



Generating learning in the context of Orang Asli parents leading learning is defined as parents making meaning and making sense of real life experience and employing that understanding to realise their vision. It involves the process of extending learning through predicting and knowledge transfer, which is the ability to apply real life experience and prior learning to new and future situations. Two properties of Orang Asli parents generating learning emerging from this study are: (a) reversed deficit modelling, and (b) transmission of indigenous knowledge.

4.2.5.1 Reversed Deficit Modelling

This concept refers to instances when parents transferred the learned implications of real life challenges and deficits; and acknowledging the role of education in overcoming the challenges and lack. In this context, parents transformed real life routine into learning examples of situational awareness. Situational awareness, a concept elaborated by Endsley (1995), could be as simple as being aware of the deficit condition, being poor, and talking about it to convey its implication to the future of their children, and how education could help pull them out of the situation. Although some mothers had no schooling opportunity (Examples include Mothers of P1, P5, and P11), they contributed to their children's learning engagement through reversed deficit modelling, generating vision from real life situations and routine.

For instance, to motivate her to study, P11 recalled Mother generating vision of getting lost to P11, if she could not read the road signs. P11 recalled:



P11: What I remembered most during my childhood days, my Mother repeatedly saying ... if you don't study, you don't know how to read, then when you are on the bus, how you would know when to press the bell for stop.

The ability of P11 to recall such long term embedded memory indicates the impact of that seemingly simple statement. Wittrock (1992) argued that selective attention is a primary cognitive process in generative learning. Strategies in generating learning include summarising, asking questions, clarifying and predicting (Anderman, 2010). In this study, parents generated learning through predicting, making associations of real life experience, the deficit and its consequence.

In another example, P15 felt the absence of her Mother during the Progress Report Collection Day, when other parents came to collect their children's Progress Report. The teacher would ask about her absence parents, and she would answer that they were at work, and this brought her to tears of sadness. However, she was not demotivated because of her mother's constant reminder of trying to overcome their life hardships.

P15: [My Mother said] If we are in hardships, and we quit school, we will be in more difficult situation. She said, 'kalau susah bagi la senang, jangan bagi susah lagi'.

Another example illustrates how parents' action indirectly generated learning, when P2 reflected and contrasted her life situation and that of her younger siblings. Left on their own due parents' working circumstances for a large part of their schooling phase P2 learned to resolve the many challenges that came her way. Her resolve and aspiration were based upon the experience of deficit. Recalling her experience, she said:



P2: Childhood was a difficult experience for me, compared to that of my younger siblings'. My twin sister and I, [there's a line separating] the hardships that we [the older ones] went through.

Another form of reversed deficit modelling is illustrated in the case of P5. Achievement deficit of his older siblings had a significant impact on P5. His siblings' deficit burdened his soul, and fuelled his own motivation and commitment:

P5: Emotionally, I felt I was forced to go to school, because my parents were very strict about me completing school. Not many of my siblings completed school. Most dropped out after primary. So as the youngest child, I was my parents [only] hope that I would succeed. Thus, during primary school, I felt a heavy burden on my shoulder; my parents had not seen any of my siblings reaching the university level. So, since my primary school I have carried this burden of trying to fulfil my parents' wish and give them the opportunity to see their child enter [study in] the university.

P16 reflected on her Mother's role that was more obvious in advising her in contrast to Father. She felt that Mother's unsuccessful aspiration for continued schooling contributed towards commitment to her children's education.

P16: [I received] More advice from Mother. My Father usually was quiet. Mother did not continue her study [after completing Standard 6]. Maybe because she studied in a Chinese medium school, so it was difficult. Not sure exactly what was the problem, she wanted to continue, but she did not have the opportunity.

From the preceding illustrations and discussion, it can be concluded that Orang Asli parents exploited their deficit situation in reversed deficit modelling, motivating their children directly and indirectly towards a better education.





4.2.5.2 Transmitting Indigenous Knowledge

Orang Asli grandparents, parents, and elders generated knowledge from the physical environment in which they experienced life, as well as the social and cultural activities of the community. Grandparents and parents transmitted indigenous knowledge through stories, and involving children in experiencing real life activities as in these various examples: Grandmother telling P1, how to behave when in the forest, and what to do if lost “*just follow the river [Grandmother said]*”; P7 learning real life skills helping Grandmother to collect firewood, clear land, and plant vegetables, tapioca and sweet potatoes as well as learning community values through ‘*gotong royong*’ a cooperative community activity to plant hill rice; and P9 experiencing the forest with Father. The following excerpts illustrate how parents and elders generated learning through sharing of indigenous knowledge. P1 shared her Grandmother’s knowledge:

P1: [Grandmother told us about how to behave when in the jungle], for us to be aware of taboos when in the jungle. For example, guidance about what we should do if we got lost in the jungle. If we are lost, we should follow the river. That was what Grandmother used to tell me.

P7 learned the community real life skills from her Grandmother:

P7: That time my Grandfather has passed away. I [regularly] followed my Grandmother to collect firewoods. Then we went to clean up the farm, the ‘kebun’ to plant vegetables, sweet potatoes and things like that.

P2 and friends practised the transmitted art of maneuvering in the jungle on their return from school:

P2: It was not really a short cut when we followed the jungle route. That was a bit of an adventure. We could hear the sounds from the highway. We followed



the tunnel that ran underneath the highway. It was like an adventure, coming back from the school. For me that was really fun. We were afraid [of walking along the main road]. Our parents in the village always reminded us to beware of strangers. If we see strangers, run into the 'semak' (underbrush). They taught us so that we won't follow strangers. They taught us not to use the main road; instead use the jungle route. That is why I am used to the jungle. So when we walk in the jungle, we learn how to 'redah semak' (walk through the underbrush), and we could still find our way home. When tired we would take a rest.

Anderman (2010) argues that, “motivation to engage in future behaviour is intricately tied to prior knowledge and experiences” (p. 55). Thus, traditional knowledge was elders’ generated learning communicated through traditional advice and real life experiences. The properties of Orang Asli parents generating learning are illustrated in the following figure.

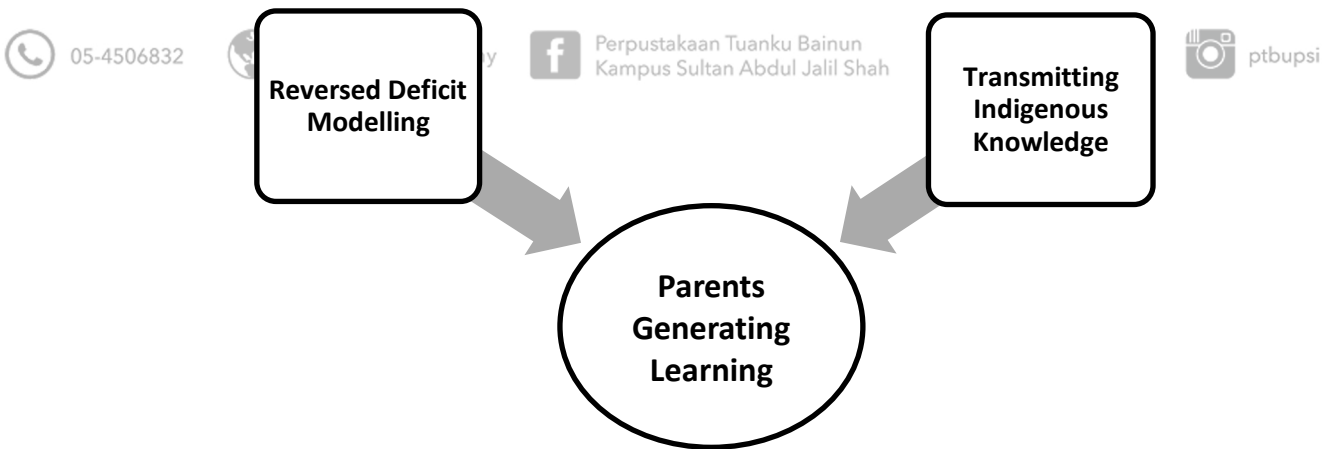


Figure 4.4. Orang Asli Parents Generating Learning

4.2.6 Conclusion

The extant Orang Asli literature suggests lack of Orang Asli parents' involvement in their children's education due to several reasons. Among others, Nazariah (2014) attributes the challenges faced by teachers to parents' low academic, awareness, attitude, and socio-economic status. The present study however shows that despite their low economic and academic background, parents contributed to their children's education in a variety of ways. Their involvement has been explained through the processes of parents initialising, facilitating, accommodating and generating learning.

The emerging theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning is consistent with the argument that, "Many parents, particularly those from ethnic minorities or those facing economic challenge, find engagement with schools difficult, but still have a strong desire to be involved in their children's learning and educations" (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014, p.400). Similarly, in this study, despite the deficit, Orang Asli parents' desire to be involved is translated into behaviours and actions at home that are not visible to educators. Moreover, in congruence with Lea et al. (2011a, 2011b), the role of parents in the learning system of the Orang Asli households is a shared responsibility. The emerging conceptual role of parents includes mothers, grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles and older relatives. To conclude, the emerging theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning has made explicit the systemic processes of the Orang Asli parental involvement before and during the process of institutionalized schooling. The theory is illustrated in the following figure.

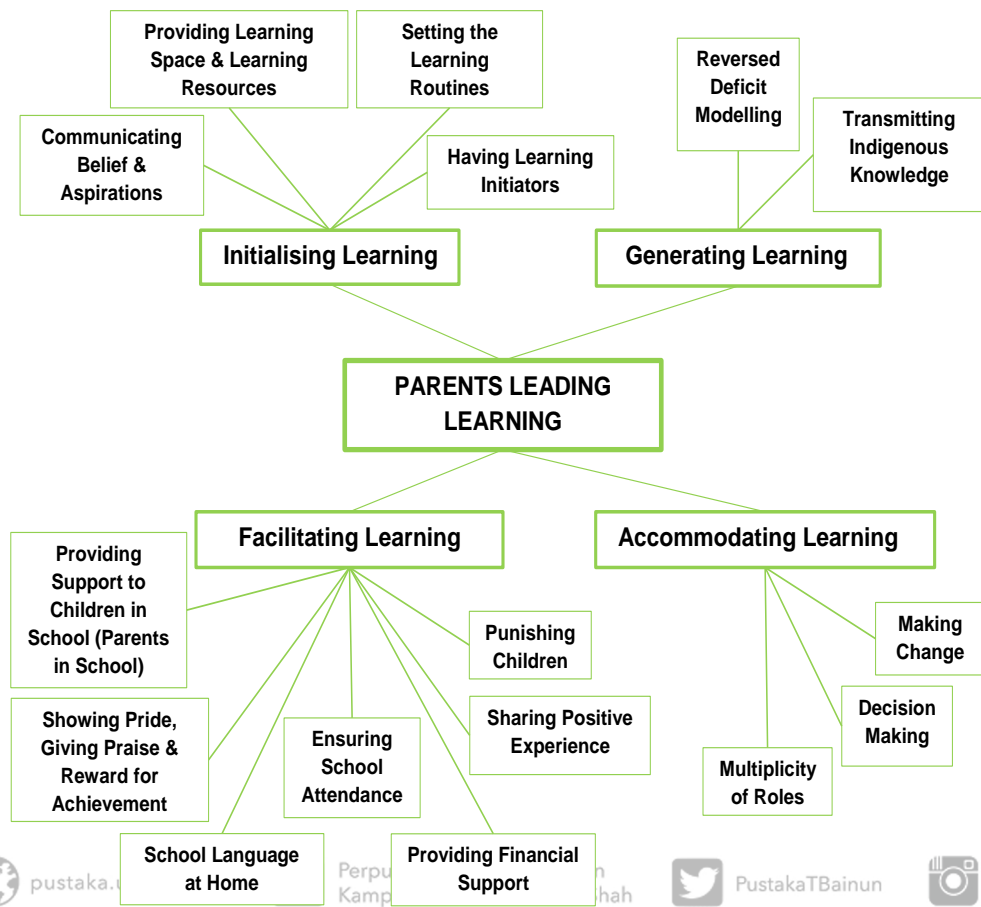


Figure 4.5. Orang Asli Parents Leading Learning

Next section elaborates the emerging findings of what concerns the students and how these concerns were resolved through the process of learners leading learning.

4.3 Learners Leading Learning

The constant comparative analysis of the participants' data revealed incidents and behaviours reflecting Orang Asli students taking agency of their learning process. The emerging theory of Orang Asli learners leading learning reflects the abstraction of the

said incidents and behaviours. As in the case of Orang Asli parents leading learning, the theory of Orang Asli learners leading learning is elaborated through the categories of learners initialising learning, facilitating learning, accommodating learning and generating learning.

4.3.1 Introduction

The findings indicate that students were concerned about their parents' difficulties and hardships, and how the difficult life delimited their provisions. In addition, they were concerned about meeting the expectations of their parents and schools. The data revealed actions and behaviours that reflect the resolutions of their concerns. Their actions showed academic valuing, sharing their parents' belief and values of education as the means to pull them out of their dire life situation. They accepted punishments as part of the learning process, when they were not meeting the expectations of their parents and teachers. They envisioned their future individual self through their aims and ambitions; whilst, their changing aspirations indicate an awareness of their achievement, interest and potentials.

Learner leading learning describes the emergent theory of Orang Asli students taking ownership of their learning process, before and during kindergarten, and through their primary schooling. It describes what contributed to the sustained learning engagement of the students based upon the abstraction of their experiences, conceptualized as initialising learning, facilitating learning, accommodating learning



and generating learning. The process is about the learners playing a part in their self-development, adaptation and self-renewal within the limits of their community's social, economic and cultural capitals.

4.3.2 Initialising Learning

The initialising 'values' that triggered the eagerness for school arose from the students' interactions and observations of their parents' adversities at home and real life routine of family and friends. Bezzina (2012) refers to values as concepts that have motivating force and capacity to shape behaviours. Initialising learning is indicated in the data through: experiencing hardships and poverty, parental aspirations, simple starts at home, and learning games.



4.3.2.1 Experiencing Hardships and Poverty

Experiencing hardships and poverty was a powerful motivator for education, and parents transferred visions of options to their children, the option of whether to have a better future or to remain in hardships. Observing parents' hardships seeded the resolve for educating self to help the family pulled out of dire poverty, as described by P11 who recalled her mother's tears upon returning from a neighbour's house. In this incident, Mother went to request for some oil to light the night lamps; the request was granted but along with some harsh words. P11 recalled:





P11: [My Mother] was the most in need among her siblings. I saw the differences. There were times when Mother cried, probably because my aunties insulted her. For light, we used the lamp and [sometimes] we borrowed from my uncle next door, a cousin actually. Then, I heard the uncle said, “You are always asking from people” so I was like “why is it like this”. [So] whether I could do it or not [in school] I still had to do it for my family, for my Mother.

In another case, a memo written on the researcher’s conversation with P15 shows how family hardships and troubles shaped her value for education:

There was a period of turmoil in the household and P15 was affected by it. She wanted to quit school during Year 6 and did not want to continue to the secondary school. “I was feeling hopeless, because of so many problems” she said. She was giving up and so was her chief motivator, her older sister. But why she did not drop out finally? Initially her older sister was also demotivated. However, she then pulled herself up and insisted that they should not give up. Mother, despite her own trouble and turmoils, was also pushing them. P15 remembered her Mother’s insistence: “Janganlah begitu, masuklah sekolah. Apa pun terjadi, pelajaran itu nombor satu” (No, don’t be like that. Go to school. Whatever happens, education is important). Mother and sister, together, was her tower of strength, providing the external dimension that supported her learning continuity. She felt that her own internal strength was not dependable, constantly wavering between hope and hopeless due to their difficult situation. However, she also believed that without her mother and sister’s resolve she would not have survived that critical period of family dissonance.

The findings also indicate that despite their hardships, some children learnt how to cope.

For instance, in the absence of parents, P2 shared her experience of being left to fend for her and younger siblings and earning to tide over difficult times.

P2: Like we waited for money from our parents, sometimes we ran out of cash, [so] I collected empty cans to sell and also I went to work on someone’s farm. We planted [oil] palm trees. I followed the people. I was 11. I started to work when I was 9, 10, 11, and above. No school on Saturdays and Sundays so I did all that stuff. After school I ran to the waterfall because a lot of people threw their empty cans.

The poverty literature has raised awareness of how poverty negatively affects parents and children’s focus on education (Katz, Corlyon, La Placa & Hunter, 2007). Professor



Juli Edo shared his perspective during a workshop on 28 March 2017 held in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia on ‘Education and the Future of Orang Asli’ on the same issue that held back Malaysian Orang Asli community. Edo explained:

Serba kekurangan, baru sahaja masuk alam kemodenan, masih struggling nak memenuhi keperluan, jadi anak pergi sekolah tak penting. Yang penting kita kena cari makan, cari duit, bayar bil (Lacking in everything, and just arriving at the corridor of the modern world, still struggling to fulfill basic needs, hence children going to school is less important. More important is to acquire food, acquire cash, pay the bills) (FN: 28.03.2017).

The case with the participants, however, indicates that poverty and hardships motivate. In a sense, for these students, poverty and hardships provide the impetus for their spirited educational journey. As Jensen (2009) reflects, “If life experiences can change poor kids for the worse, can’t life experiences also change them for the better?” (Jensen,

2009, p.1).

4.3.2.2 Parental Expectations

Incident in the data indicates that the students reacted to their parents’ indirect and direct expectations to educate themselves. Parental expectation was delivered in various forms. P11 shared her Mother’s expectation, indirectly through the following dialogue:

P11: When I was a kid what I remember the most was Mother always saying this “If we don’t know how to read, then how can we go out and take the bus? If we don’t know how to read, we want to stop anywhere, we don’t know how to push the bell, when we want the bus to stop”.



In another case, when the family situation turned for the worst, Mother's expectation kept P15 on her path. She shared:

P15: I wanted to quit during Year 6. But my Mother said "Don't be like that, go to school. Whatever happened, education is number one." [Myself] I tried to be strong, but sometimes I lost hope. I was lucky that my Sister and my Mother were there. They made me strong.

In the case of P5, his parents' expectation was a heavy burden on his shoulder that he was able to carry successfully. P5 shared:

P5: As the youngest [and the only chance left], my parents had [high] expectation of me. It was a load on my shoulder. A big burden that I had to carry, during primary school, to fulfil their aspirations, that I enter [study at] a university.

Thus, directly or indirectly, parents' expectation is an initialising value in learners leading learning. Froiland, Peterson and Davison (2012) state that parental expectation is a strong predictor of children's expectation, and it is the children's expectation for success that directly affect achievement.

4.3.2.3 Simple Starts at Home

Participating in simple educational activities at home, such as reciting the alphabet song and interactions with older schooling siblings and friends prepared the students for kindergarten. Although learning engagement among siblings varied in this study, going to school was part of the family's and community's life routine. Parents, older siblings or friends set the eagerness in the children to experience kindergarten and school. A



participant, P10, for instance, insisted to go to the kindergarten although he was under aged, because his friend who was a year older was going:

P10: At first, I don't know, because there was also my cousin, a male. He was a year older. When he enrolled in the kindergarten, I also followed.

Before their kindergarten experience, P11 and P12 also had simple starts at home. P11 and P12 recalled:

P11: [Before kindergarten] I knew A, B, C [the alphabet].

P12: I knew how to count, also to read A, B, C [up to Z]. I could write them.

Due to financial constraint, P2 missed the opportunity of experiencing kindergarten. However, she had her Mother who was able to provide the simple start at home. P2

recalled:

P2: My Mother taught me at home. She taught me to recognise the alphabet. At 7 years old, I was sent to school. It took me awhile to feel at ease with the others because I was never out of the house. Only with my Mother who taught me.

Simple starts at home underpinned students' motivation of going to school. Simple starts are parents' active involvement in learning activities that stimulate children's interest in school (Emerson, Fear, Fox & Sanders, 2012).

4.3.2.4 Learning Games

Learning initiators has been discussed in Orang Asli parents leading learning (Section 4.2.2.4). Interactions with learning initiators occurred during traditional outdoor games

played with siblings and friends. These interactions provided opportunities to learn by imitation. Through these games, children conceptualized ‘school’ through ‘*Main Cikgu-cikgu*’ (Playing Teacher), and ‘family’ through ‘*Main Abah-Emak-Anak*’ (Playing Father-Mother-Child), ‘*Main Masak-masak*’ (Mock Cooking) and ‘*Main Kawin-kawin*’ (Mock Wedding). Other traditional outdoor games provided experience of numeracy as in ‘*Main Batu Seremban*’, team working in ‘*Main Tarik Nipah*’ (Tobogganing using palm fronds) and ‘*Main Bola*’ (Football), resourcing (of materials and space) and problem-solving (using leaves for papers and twigs for pencils in ‘*Main Cikgu-cikgu*’), how to build a ‘*pelamin*’ (wedding dais) for ‘*Main Kawin-kawin*’ and strategizing in ‘*Main Sorok-sorok*’ (Playing Hide and Seek).

Playing ‘*Batu Seremban*’ introduced P12 to counting scores. An excerpt of the conversation below:

R: Playing ‘Batu Seremban’ helped you to learn how to count? P12: I don’t believe so, ha ha. R: So, who helped you to count [the scores? P12: I just counted. R: Did you count correctly? P12: Yes.

Tarik Nipah Game enabled friends to learn taking turn skill. P12 explained:

P12: We played ‘tarik nipah’. We used palm fronds [one sitting, the other pulling].

Traditional outdoor games played with friends provided many scenes that initiated learning. In this context friends were learning initiators to simple skills such as learning how to count, cooperating, developing organising skills, resourcing, and accepting limits. P16 shared her traditional games experience:



P16: We played 'rumah-rumah', 'kahwin-kahwin', 'batu seremban'. Playing 'batu seremban' enabled us to learn how to count, from not knowing to knowing how to count. When playing 'rumah-rumah', we have mock cooking. We set up family; we had father, mother, and siblings. It taught us how to live as family. Sometimes boys would join us. We also had disagreement, for example, when some did not tidy up, because we played outside [the house]. We had pan and mugs to use for playing. We use palm fronds to set up the mock wedding dais. We learned to build it from observing how they did it during actual wedding. Then together with friends we built ours. We use leaves, the soil and fronds, and anything that can be used. We were not allowed to use real fire.

Thus, taking part in traditional games initiated by older siblings and friends provided the opportunities for cognitive, social and emotional learning as well as contributing to the physical development of children. Rosenberg (1996), Fraser (2005) and Gill (2012) assert that traditional outdoor games provide children the opportunities for language development, thinking, problem solving, negotiating and a developing sense of fair play, along with children's developing resourcefulness in building technology skills.



To conclude, home real life settings, parental aspirations, and real life activities with friends, set and shaped the students' starting self-concept as learners as they learned to accept adults' expectations in their context as individuals as well as social beings. The setting provided the initialising process towards formal institutionalised learning in kindergarten or pre-school, and primary school. The following figure illustrates the emerging category of learners initialising learning.



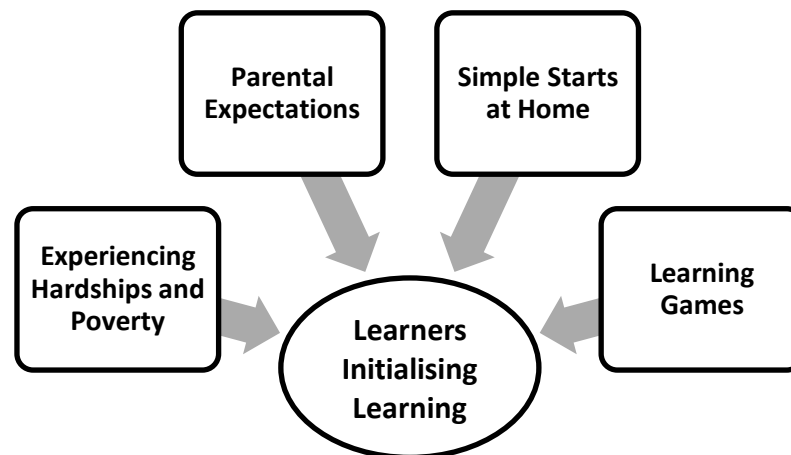


Figure 4.6. Learners Initialising Learning

4.3.3 Facilitating Learning

In the context of this study, learners facilitating learning is about them creating the means and conditions that promote, assist and support the continuity of own learning and maintaining their learning engagement. In other words, it reflects indicators that make ease their learning. The data revealed that the students' learning process is facilitated by incidents involving students creating the means and conditions that kept them engaged in the learning process. The emerging properties that facilitated learning include: experiencing kindergarten, cultivating social capital, having ambition, renewal of expectations and aspirations, getting enticed and developing learning strategies.



4.3.3.1 Experiencing Kindergarten

Experiencing kindergarten or pre-school refers to learners' immersion in and enjoyment of their first formal learning environment in kindergarten or pre-school. This immersion and enjoyment is made possible by supportive elements which are elaborated in Section 4.4.2.3.2 kindergarten enticing children.

The importance of experiencing kindergarten is succinctly reflected in one negative case in which a participant (P2) narrated her initial fear of going to school because she had not the chance to experience this process. She recalled that everyone except her appeared to know some friends from their kindergarten years, and that gave rise to her 'short fear', a feeling of apprehension that lasted for a few days. The feeling quickly vanished when she perceived herself to be ahead of her class in ability. The role of kindergartens or pre-school in preparing children for formal schooling is captured in more details in the emerging theory of kindergartens leading learning (Section 4.4.2). Of the 16 participants, only two participants (P2, P14) did not have the opportunity to experience kindergartens due to financial constraints.

4.3.3.2 Cultivating Social Capital

Cultivating social capital included making friends easily as exemplified by a participant (P1) who made friends easily, enjoyed going to the kindergarten and school because there were many friends. She had no best friend, because as she said she, "*could get*





along with everybody". Cultivating social capital also involved having good relationship with the teachers by being helpful and not afraid or shy to initiate conversation with them (P2). These activities young students engaged in enabled them to feel good about being in school. The concept of social capital is not commonly applied in children's context. However, Leonard (2005) asserts that social networks and trust are important in promoting a sense of belonging and well-being. Albrecht (2004) argued that one of the indicators of social intelligence among children is the ability to interact successfully with others in various contexts.

P15 shared how she was an active and interactive student during her primary schooling, her ability to interact confidently with teachers, and how other students promoted her as their spokesperson.



P15: I was an active student I guess. If I meet my teacher I would say "This class is like this, like this. The fan is broken, please fix it. The others put their complaints to me [and she in turn forwarded them to the teacher]."

The warm acceptance by P2 of her English teacher's banter gave P2 the sense of caring that she missed at home due to her absent parents. The happy notes in her voice as she recalled her experience was a testimony to her fondness for her teacher and school. P2 shared:

P2: She [teacher] liked to call me in class. Opah, she called me Opah. My glamour name with Teacher A. [She would say] "Opah, stand up." [She taught us] English, she'd ask me to read from the text book. So, I would read. I liked that. I liked to stand up. I would read, loudly. [I told you that] so I liked to read, to read loudly in class. When others didn't know the answer, she'd say "Opah do you know the answer, Opah?" Then I would raise my hand and said "I know, I know the answer" I liked to answer questions.



In another context that revealed a close rapport between teacher and student, P2 said, “*Cikgu dengan saya sporting mesti lah saya cakapkan (Teacher and I were sporting, surely I must be up front with her)*”.

To conclude, the findings indicate that students developed relationships that enabled them to maneuver the world of schooling happily, thus facilitating their learning process. These relationships formed part of their social capitals that raised the level of their learning from that of followers to leaders.

4.3.3.3 Having Ambition

Regardless of the level, having an ambition reflects the presence of a target, the desire to achieve it, and a desire to shape one’s own future. Often, a student’s initial ambition is based upon his or her environment, perception of different jobs or professions, and his or her self-efficacy belief. As an example, a kindergarten teacher shared online (FN: T1, 29.04.2017) about one of her Orang Asli student’s ambition, “*to be a grasscutter*”, a job that he was familiar with, and that he felt he could achieve. One could argue that this might not meet the general expectation of an ambition. However, as basic as it might appear, the student has put a mark or target on his future. This in turn would shape his actions to achieve that target. This would be also the baseline upon which his teacher could extend the student’s zone of proximal development.



An ambition is a goal, a dream; and how it motivates action towards it has been discussed extensively in the literature (Bandura, 2001; Pajares, 2006; Anderman, 2010). Participants in this study described their initial ambitions that were based upon their immediate role models, incidents in their lives and professions that appeared as television characters. For instance, initially P1 wanted to be a teacher because she liked her teacher (role model), P15 a lawyer because she wanted to help her father (incident) whilst P16, a police with no reason given.

Here is how a participant (P13) described the role model that was the reason for his ambition:

R: Who influenced your interest in becoming a teacher? P13: Teacher Mai. R: What's so special about Teacher Mai that attracted you to be a teacher? P13: The way she taught, her personality made me feel comfortable. From then on I thought more about why I wanted to become a teacher.



Some students were firm in their aspired goal, but some others would change according to their changing interests and perceived capability. Students' changing ambitions is discussed further in Learners Accommodating learning: Changing Vision of Future Self.

4.3.3.4 Renewal of Expectations and Aspirations

Renewal of expectations and aspirations arose from either adverse or motivating incidents, at home or in the school, that resulted in increased determination to make it through the learning process, as exemplified by this turn around conversation when a





participant (P15) wanted to drop out of school due to a family turmoil. She shared her Mother's expectation that renewed her aspiration:

P15: My mother said if we are in hardships, make [effort] for ease and not make it more difficult.

Bandura (2001) explains, "By being represented cognitively in the present, foreseeable future events are converted into current motivators and regulators of behaviour," (Bandura, 2001, p.7). In the case of P15, a discussion on the difficult situation of the present was transformed into a motivation to avoid a similar hardship in the future. Vision of a better life's situation in contrast to the present state of disadvantaged, kept the student motivated for school. Thus, hope for a better future was renewed regularly by incidents, adverse or otherwise, that facilitated school progress. The opposite response to hardships would be hopelessness, when fog descended on a vision much as depicted in these succinct words of Freire (1992), "hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings" (p.8).

Some participants experienced punishment that triggered renewed determination and renewal of effort that led to better results and renewal of aspiration.

P11 shared her renewed determination to walk the miles after getting a slap on the face:

P11: I had to attend the [afternoon extra] class. [Then I thought] who would pick up. Father couldn't. [So I missed the class] that was how I was slapped [by the teacher]. Then, [I made up my mind to just] walk back after class. I walked along the main road, then through a village, reaching home in the late evening.

Participant, P12, recalled how punishment triggered renewal of effort leading to better results and stronger engagement to complete his school work:





P12: [I was caned] for failing [English] and not completing homework. [I wanted to run away] during the entire Year 4 [I felt like running away]. The at year end I passed. I felt better. R: How did you pass? P12: I did my revision on my own. Before that I didn't. R: What made you change? P12: Because if I didn't pass, the teacher would cane me.

In conclusion, the findings indicate that students' renewal of expectations and aspirations were linked to critical incidents of hardships and punishment. In addition to critical incidents of hardships and punishment, Section 4.5.4.3: Changing Vision of Future Self discusses students' changing ambitions that also reflects a constant renewal of expectations and aspirations. This emerging concept of 'changing ambitions' is further elaborated in learners accommodating learning. Whereas this section describes a renewal based upon critical unique incidents, Section 4.5.4.3 describes a continuous learning process that accommodates new understandings of the various professions and their own potentials to achieve.



4.3.3.5 Getting Enticed

The emerging concept of getting enticed refers to what drew the students to school and kept the interest of going to school alive. These include getting enticed by the library due to serious reading habit such as the case of a participant (P5) who rushed out during recess, to the library instead of the school canteen, to continue reading from where he left off the previous day, *"I folded the corner of the page, to mark, and I continued reading the next day"* (P5).





The following excerpts illustrate indicators of getting enticed due to self-directed reading habit and achievement in class. Participants P1 and P5 described their respective reading habit. P1 shared her habit of daily borrowing:

P1: Daily I would borrow a book, returned and borrowed another. [I like reading] Everyday I borrowed and returned a book.

P5 explained how he would miss recess in order to continue reading:

P5: About 10 to 10:20 [during recess], I would eat, but sometimes I did not. I went to the library and read, and if I could not finish the book, I would mark it. The next day, again during recess, I would continue reading. To me, it [the story] was exciting.

Getting enticed also arose from wanting to be with friends in the school and caring favourite teachers, achieving in favourite subjects, simple rewards from family or teachers, such as a treat in a favourite fast-food restaurant for academic achievement (P5), praise and acknowledgement of achievement which increased the students' self-esteem and self-worth (Brown & Marshall, 2006; McLeod, 2008), and school appointments as class monitor, prefect or librarian (Examples: P13, P15, P7, P5). An Australian education online site notes that, "Primary schools report that involving students in leadership activities is one of the most practical and helpful strategies for gaining the cooperation of students and increasing the value that they and their families place on schooling," (NSW Government, 2016, online). This was also evident from the researcher's chanced meeting with an Orang Asli mother and her ten-year old son who proudly revealed that son was a school prefect, and another girl in the vicinity proclaiming without prompt, "I am also [a] prefect!" Appointment as monitor or prefect not only cultivated student leadership skills, it is also about enticement.





Students kept going to school because of the increased social standing among teachers and friends, as recalled by a participant (P15) who was always put in the limelight in class by her friends, “*Hmm, selalu mereka kata ... Azizah lah jadi, Azizah lah jadi [Hmm, always they would say ... Azizah, Azizah to become [class monitor] ”*. This appointment in turn motivated her to be on top of the class, “*Ya. Suka [jadi ketua kelas]. Kalau ketua kelas, mesti lah dia lebih baik daripada rakan sekelas yang lain, takkan lah dia nak lebih bawah [Yes, I liked. As a class monitor, I must be better than my classmates, surely I can't be at the bottom]*”. Being the class monitor made her feel appreciated by teachers, increased her good feeling and made her aware of the need to be better and be more responsible, and increasing her social standing among both friends and teachers. This suggests that getting enticed through school appointments facilitated students learning engagement. Pajares (2006), Brown and Marshall (2006), and Anderman (2010), among others, have elaborated on the role of praise and acknowledgement of achievement in increasing self-esteem and self-worth, that helps to strengthen self-efficacy belief, a belief in one’s own potential and ability to achieve a goal, proximal as well as distal.

The achievement motivation literature asserts that achievement increases confidence and motivate self to the next level (Anderman, 2010; Martin & Dowson, 2009). An example was reflected in the experience of P15 whose continuous improvement culminated in her being in the top three during year 5 and Year 6. She was in the top ten during her initial primary years.

P15: [By Year 5 and Year 6] I was already in the top three.



In addition to the above facilitating properties, food provided in the kindergarten, “*We do not have fried noodles at home*” (P10), and in school, ‘*supplementary meals for students*’ (P14), sports (P16: ‘*Saya aktif bersukan*’), and special events such as visits and camps also contributed to this enticement.

To conclude, the concept of getting enticed explains the ability of the students to create and appreciate joy in going to school: among others, the joy of reading, food, being with friends, having leadership responsibilities, and expectation of rewards for achieving.

4.3.3.6 Developing Learning Strategies

Students developed learning strategies to support their own learning requirements. In this study, participants shared indicators of how they used various learning strategies that reflect developing self-directed and self-regulated learning as described by Zimmerman (1989) and VanBriesen (2010). The strategies included revising. P12 remembered how he started revising his English lessons after failing and getting caned by his teacher.

P12: Then at year end I passed. I felt better. [After] I did my revision, on my own. Before that I didn't.

Another strategy was asking questions. P7 shared how she actively sought clarifications by asking questions during lessons: “*Tapi macam saya ni saya tak pandai sangat*



matematik. Jadi saya akan banyak tanya lah (But me, I am not very good in mathematics. So I asked a lot of questions)”, she said.

P16’s approach to solving problems and resolving her learning concerns was also by asking questions, actively seeking help from various teachers, finding time and creating her own learning moments during recess, and having a learning partner. She recalled that her confidence to seek help was more obvious during her senior primary years, Year 5 and Year 6, less during the earlier years of Year 1 to Year 4. When asked how she resolved her problems in school, P16 explained:

P16: I asked the teacher to teach me. If I didn’t understand, I’d ask the teacher to teach me. I’d ask. If there was any other teacher, I’d ask that teacher too, [I did this during] Standard 5 and 6. [Before that] I didn’t ask many questions. During recess if I didn’t have anything to do, I’d go and see the teachers with my cousin.



Besides teachers, parents, siblings and friends were also targets for seeking help. For instance, P13 sought Father’s assistance to help him with his mathematics homework but sought his older siblings for other subjects. Friends from his village as well as from other Orang Asli villages were his learning partners. P13 recalled:

P13: Father helped me a lot for mathematics homework. [Other subjects] I would do them myself, and when I couldn’t I would ask my sister or brother. I studied with my friends. My close friends during primary school were mostly girls. We studied and played together. They were not my relatives. Some of them were from my village whilst some others were from other villages.

Other learning strategies included reading out loud (P2), completing homework (P1), teaching friends and be taught by friends (P16), deciding to stay in the hostel, and





observing senior students on how they studied and maintained their learning routines in the hostel (P5).

When asked about his study habit, P5 explained that he only studied at school, focussed while in class, completed his homework at home, and early to bed.

P15: I studied only in school, not so much in the house. During the primary years I was focussed in class. At home I didn't really study, very less. I completed my homework, and by nine I would be asleep. Everyday I slept early.

Moving into the right environment such as boarding in the school hostel was a common strategy to prepare for important examinations such as the UPSR. P12 discussed his experience:

P12: Nothing special during Year 5, just about going and coming back from school, I did not board in the hostel. For me, boarding in the hostel was important when there was major examination such as the UPSR. [So I] lived in the hostel [during Year 6].

Hostels also provided opportunities to develop learning strategies by imitating the seniors' perceived good practice such as setting up a study time-table whilst in the hostel.

Participant P5 tried to emulate a senior who was perceived to have good study habit.

He recalled:

P5: In the hostel I lived with students from the secondary school, and I would try to emulate their study method. There was a brother who I thought was good, not because he was clever, rather I observed his diligence, how he studied. So I tried to follow his ways, but it was quite difficult for me, because he was really good. I saw him, he was disciplined. He came from school, he would take shower and ate. In the evening he would take a short walk, then he would take a nap, after dinner he would open his book until midnight. I saw he had time-table so I also tried to make my own time-table.



Another example was a participant (P11), who finally understood the subtraction process in mathematics by closely observing how her friend did it. She learned by applying the process and finally ‘getting it’. That moment was important to her because it contributed to the turning point of her perception from ‘mathematics was difficult’, to liking it instead.

To summarise, the emerging category of learners facilitating learning is about actions and behaviours that promotes, supports and assists students in acquiring the skills and knowledge that ease the learning process and sustain learning progress. The category is conceptualized through experiencing kindergarten, cultivating social capital, having ambition, renewal of expectations and aspirations, getting enticed and developing learning strategies. The following figure illustrates how learners facilitated

their learning.

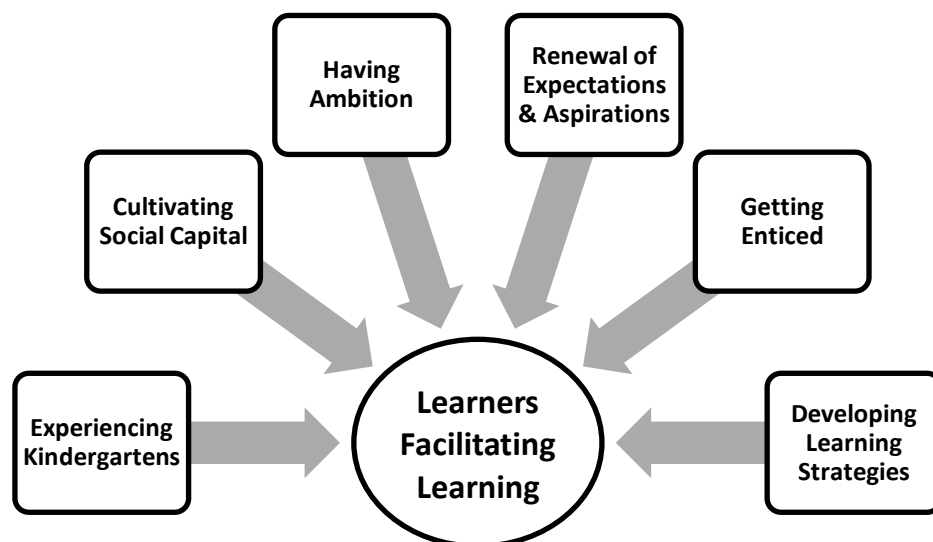


Figure 4.7. Learners Facilitating Learning

4.3.4 Accommodating Learning

In this context, the process of accommodating involves learners adapting, adjusting, or reconciling to changing circumstances, and the willingness to make the necessary changes, thus keeping schooling and learning on track. The category of learners accommodating learning is represented through multiplicity of roles, accepting separation, changing vision of future self, accepting punishment, and making change.

4.3.4.1 Multiplicity of Roles

The concept 'multiplicity of roles' reflects the reality in which the students lived life within the multi-dimensional roles as child, sibling, and student. Each role had its attendant responsibilities that were accommodated within the context of educating self. One participant (P5), for instance, repeatedly recalled the feeling of '*a heavy burden on his shoulder*', to fulfill the aspiration of his father who was a well-regarded Orang Asli community leader as well as an active parent in the school. Moreover, the participant being the youngest of eleven children accorded an only chance for the parents to see a child achieved the highest level of education. P5 described the burden of expectation that he felt as the youngest child of the family:

P5: Emotionally, I think I was forced to go to school. Because my parents were very strict, I was forced to go to school because I don't have many siblings who completed their schooling, only at primary school level and then they quit. Since I am the youngest my parents expected me to succeed. I felt this heavy load on my shoulders, to fulfil their hope, the expectation was heavy on me, because none of my siblings has gone to the university.



In other situations, as older siblings, daughters helped in household chores and care of younger children that in many cases limited the learning time opportunities for them. However, the engaged student learned how to adjust their learning moments, ‘stealing times’ between other roles and responsibilities, and not letting the roles derailed them from achieving their aspiration and commitment.

For instance, Participant P2, at ten-year old, learned how to accommodate her schooling needs and the responsibility of looking after her younger siblings as the head of the household during her parents’ long absences due to jobs requirement. P2 recalled the burden of taking over as the head of the household and coping with her absent parents, learning the art of housekeeping and caring for her younger siblings, and learning to be independent:



P2: When I was in Year 3, my Mother stopped teaching me. My Father was also not [directly] involved with my study. The both of them left it entirely to me. That was the start of my parents leaving the village, leaving me to look after my younger siblings. I was 10. They left us at that house, my older sister [her twin] and my two younger siblings. So I took over. I was about 10 or 11. So I took the responsibility caring for the younger ones. I learnt to be independent, to cook meals, foraging for edible plants around the house. Our parents left us cash for ‘barang dapur’. I learnt to be independent, cleaning up the house. There were four of us.

In another similar situation, Participant P15 narrated how her older sibling as the temporary head of the household, was the source of her aspiration and strength that contributed strongly to her learning engagement. Her sibling, one year older than P15, was left to care for her when their parents had to leave for work and lived outside the village. Both the children were then in the early years of primary schooling, and during this research interview, P15 explained that both had reached the tertiary level of





education. In this case, a neighbour also provided support to cook meals and to ensure that the children went to school.

P15: [There were] two of us, my sister and I. R: It was a difficult time? P15: Yes, it was a difficult time. During the school year, Mother and Father went to tap rubber in Village B. My sister and I were left at home. That was in standard 2 or 3. Our neighbour, she cooked for us. Sometimes when my sister and I were late, mother and father paid someone to send [us] to school. [Mother or Father would call the neighbour and said] My children are not going to school. They have just woken up please send them [to school]. So there was this aunt and she would call out to us, get ready, get ready, get ready, someone is coming to send you [to school].

The above findings and discussion highlight the multiplicity of roles weighing upon the Orang Asli students. Their multi-dimensional roles as child, sibling and student taught them to manage their learning process within the limit of the expected responsibilities.

Concerns emerging from these expected responsibilities include that of a youngest child feeling emburdened by parents' expectation and older daughters taking up adult responsibility helping with the household chores, caring for the younger siblings and managing the household in case of absence parents. The students' current level of success indicates their ability to persevere despite these multifaceted roles and responsibilities.

4.3.4.2 Accepting Separation

The emerging concept 'accepting separation' refers to the ability to accept being left by or away from the parents and be on their own. The need for this ability to accommodate learning started early, when students had to leave the comfort of home for





kindergartens. In this context, the transition to independence was moderated by other close family members such as grandparents (P1, P3, P7), aunts and older siblings (P1, P14), or community members such as neighbours (P15).

An early lesson in separation occurred when as a child, Participant P1 was left in the care of her grandmother, when her mother went to collect forest products. Later, due to the school distance, she was sent to live with an aunt for easy access to her primary school. Thereafter, from primary Year 3 to Year 6, she and her older sister were boarded at the school hostel thus making the separation from parents an essential element in their learning process.

P1: I didn't have any problem [being separated from Mother] maybe because I'm the type that [was] used to be left behind because my mother had to go to the forest [to collect forest products]. When she went to work, I stayed with grandmother. Also, I was the type that enjoyed making friends, so I didn't mind. I understood, and I was accustomed to being poor as a kid.



However, P1 also related her first week kindergarten experience with her mother 'on board', staying in the classroom until her child accepted and adjusted herself to the new atmosphere. P1 recalled that it took her about a week to be comfortable separated from her Mother at the kindergarten. This was significant for the fact that the kindergarten was a few villages away from home:

P1: Yes, my mother sent me, and waited for me there. I asked her to wait for me for a week, she waited and then she gently told me that she had to go to work.

Early experience of separation from parents could start as a simple trip with another carer. P7 recalled how she used to go to the farm with her grandmother:





P7: My grandfather has passed away, so I accompanied my grandmother [when] searching for firewoods. And then I went [with grandmother] to clear the farm, to plant vegetables, potatoes, and things like that.

In an effort to attenuate the family financial difficulties, P14 endured separation from his parents when he and his siblings were relocated back to their Orang Asli village.

P14 shared the experience during this conversation:

R: Who sent you back to the village? P14: Father. R: How many of you were sent back? P14: From me to my younger siblings. R: Until the youngest? P14: Yes. R: So your Father lived with whom? P14: Father was left with my elder sisters and brothers. [When Mother later returned to join Father P14 and his siblings were cared for by his older sister. The Grandparents had died, so there was no relative within the community that could oversee their wellbeing].

In the above case, separation was moderated by the presence of older siblings caring for him. This separation subsequently enabled P14 and his sibling to resume their



schooling in the village.

The extent to which the Orang Asli children were able to accept separation was illustrated by the respective experience of Participants P2 and P15. In both the cases, the Participants and their siblings were left to fend for themselves while their parents were away earning their living. In their parents' absence, P2 assumed the role of the head of the household, whilst P15 was cared for by her older sister. In addition, teachers (in the case of P2) and neighbours (in the case P15) partially filled up the parental gaps.

To conclude, accepting separation and learning to be independent was part of the accommodating process, in which students learned to adapt to new situation, accept changes and to make adjustments. This ability to accept the process of separation





contributed to the sustained learning process as students adapted, adjusted and reconciled themselves to change and new situations, rather than be derailed by them. Accepting separation involves the process of developing emotional independence, with the presence of moderating roles minimising the impact of separation. In this study, moderating roles include grandmothers, older siblings, relatives, friends, teachers and neighbours.

4.3.4.3 Changing Vision of Future Self

Changing vision of future self reflects the changing ambitions of the students as they progressed through their schooling years. Whereas having ambition is having a vision of the future self that facilitates learning (as discussed in Learners Facilitating Learning), changing ambitions arise from new interests and awareness of professions and better understanding of own capabilities. Changing ambitions were revealed throughout the participants' data and were influenced by varied incidents. For instance, P15 shared how her changing ambitions were influenced by the real and virtual world, developing varying visions from an active future self to an educated future self. The following excerpts from our conversations describe the continuous renewal of P15's aspirations. She described how as early as Year 4 of her primary schooling, she wanted to be lawyer. When asked, what she knew about being a lawyer, she explained that she was influenced by her father's stories and helplessness at the state of the Orang Asli affair, in particular about the loss of their earning land to a township development project. She perceived that being a lawyer would enable her to help defend and claim





the rights of her father and the community. This is also another example of real life disturbance contributing to the development of the student's internal resolve to challenge the adversity of life. Father's talk about the community's real life issues helped shaped the student's vision of her future active self. P15 shared:

P15: I knew [about being a lawyer] because I heard Father talked about the [Orang Asli] land taken from the people, so I wanted to defend them, and in order to do that I have to be a lawyer. Yes, because I watched my Father going in and out of court several times to defend the land. My Father said "If my land was taken, you defend me. I will pay you [to defend me]"

Subsequently, her changing ambition could be traced to the influence of a popular television show. During her primary Year 6 she wanted to be a police, influenced by a popular local Bahasa Melayu serial police drama 'Gerak Khas', shown on television.

The new ambition also indicated her vision of an active future self. P15 recalled:



P15: Year 6, I wanted to become a police. I am not sure [why], probably because I was influenced by the TV. I liked to watch 'Gerak Khas' on TV.

However, by Year 6 she envisioned herself going to the university. Her motivation to study up to the highest level was triggered after listening to several motivation programs organized by the school. Listening to motivational talks about education and studying in the university contributed to her developing vision of educated future self. P15 explained:

P15: In Year 6, because there were a lot of courses and motivational programs so I had a feeling of wanting to go to the University.

In addition to the various influence to her changing ambitions, it must also be considered against P15's academic achievement and involvement as class monitor and





school prefect. Her achievement and leadership roles probably enhanced her self efficacy belief, to the extent that she finally considered the university as a worthy goal.

Another Participant, P16, shared her constant renewal of expectations and aspiration throughout her primary years. Her changing ambitions accommodated her changing awareness of the professions influenced by real life experience, the television and the realisation of her capability. The following data traced the changing ambitions of P16, from wanting to be a police, to a doctor, a nurse and an accountant. It started during Year 1 when she wanted to be a police, although she did not know why. Then in Year 2 she wanted to be a doctor, influenced by her regular visits to the doctor for jaundice treatment. In between, her interest shifted to the navy, influenced by what she watched on the television and her real life environment, the proximity of her community to the naval base. Next, from a doctor she wanted to be a nurse, as she became aware of the profession's lengthy requirement. She rationalised that it would take less years to qualify as a nurse. Finally, in Year 6 she wanted to be an accountant, after realising that she liked mathematics and was good with numbers. She thus mapped her vision of future self based upon her emerging understanding of her capability and affinity. Below is an excerpt from our conversation:

P16: In Standard 1 I wanted to be a police but I don't know why. In Standard 2, I wanted to be a doctor. I followed my friends. Also I suffered from jaundice. Initially I went to the doctor for treatment. Then I wanted to be a navy [in the navy] because I liked the uniform. I saw them on TV. That was Year 4 to Year 5. Also the Naval Base is in Perak. Then in Year 6 I wanted to be a doctor or nurse. R: Why from doctor to nurse? P16: I don't know. Maybe because it is easier to be a nurse compared to doctor because they [doctors] have to struggle in studies only then they can become doctors. Nursing only takes about 3 years. [Then I] wanted to be an accountant because I liked numbers.





On the other hand, real life issues cemented the ambition of P14, who unwaveringly wanted to be a custom officer. Living close to the officers gave him the impression that the profession had a lot of financial rewards. P14 explained:

P14: In primary school I wanted to be a custom officer. Because people said they would get more salary, more money, because my family was poor so I felt ... People said custom officers are rich. [This was in] Pengkalan Hulu. [They have] big luxurious cars. [Throughout my primary years I did not change my ambition] because I only thought about the financial [gains].

The above findings and discussion show the changing vision of future self as reflected by participants' changing ambitions due to various reasons. Whereas having ambition is a property of facilitating learning, changing ambitions is a process of accommodating learning based upon a more mature understanding and reflection of one's interest and capability, or perceived self-efficacy.



4.3.4.4 Accepting Punishment

In accommodating learning, accepting punishment is indicated throughout the narratives of these participants, both at home and in the school. The most common method of punishment administered by both parents and teachers was 'rotan (caning)' for various reasons such as incomplete homework and not able to recite the multiplication tables, as well as misbehaving in school. The ability of the students to accept punishment in their strides, rationalizing it as part of the learning process, and taking the necessary steps to remedy their shortcomings, highlights the accommodative ability of these students. The opposite would be learning disengagement, missing





school or extended absence leading to dropping out. The extreme inability to accept punishment was as exemplified by the tragic incident involving the students at Sg Tohoi Primary School (News, 2015b; SUHAKAM, 2016). In the incident, fear of perceived punishment due to breaking the hostel rule, resulted in 23 of 25 students who lived in the hostel running away. The tragic end of this inability to accept punishment was the death of five of the runaway students, after over 40 days of intensive search and rescue effort in the rainforest.

Students who were able to accept punishment, whether just or otherwise, could successfully ride the emotional and physical pain that came with harsh punishment. This was exemplified in the case of Participant P11 who was slapped on the face by a teacher because she missed the extra class conducted in the afternoon for the Year 5 students due to the lack of return transport. “*Was it painful?*” asked the researcher. “*Yes. The teacher had a ring on her finger*”, P11 answered. Following the punishment, P11 stayed back for the afternoon classes, and walked back alone for the 5 kilometer journey home, through lonely estate road, reaching home at dusk. She managed the requirement to attend the afternoon classes in similar manner throughout her primary Year 6. P11 recalled the painful slap:

P11: Once I did not attend the afternoon extra class, and I was slapped by the BM teacher. The reason because I didn't know how to go back if I stayed back. My father didn't have motorbike then. It was painful. The teacher had a ring on her finger.

The above incident exemplifies Orang Asli's resilience. In ecological context, the concept 'resilience' is used to describe an environment that has the capacity to absorb disturbances, for self organization, and for learning and adaptation (Brand & Jax, 2007).





In similar manner, accepting punishment, not succumbing, and moving forward are indicators of accommodating learning, as this poignant statement of Participant (P5) shows when he described his feeling after getting punished, “*Semua budak macam saya [tidak menangis bila dirotan]. Dia orang ni keraslah. Terima je. Orang kampung kan (All the children were like me [did not cry when caned]. We were tough people. Just accept it. [We are] village people)*” (P5). When asked whether the caning was painful and whether he cried, P5 responded, “*It was [painful]. This teacher when he caned, it was a 180-degree turn, with anger. No [I did not cry]*”.

P12 remembered that feeling of wanting to run away due to the caning he received from his teacher for failing in tests:

P12: [I was caned] for failing [English] and not completing homework [I wanted to run away] during the entire Year 4. Then at year end I passed. I felt better.

As Hunter (2012) asserts, resilience involves children displaying competent functioning despite exposure to high levels of risk or adversity. In being resilience, the students developed the ability to spring back from the pain of punishment.

4.3.4.5 Making Change

Making change is another property of the accommodating process. In this context it refers to the moves students were willing to consider and do in order to keep them on track towards their learning goal. For example, despite her young age Participant P1



moved to the hostel for better access to school and its educational provisions. Due to the distance, P1 started staying in the hostel during her primary Year 3. She could accommodate the need to be away from her mother, due to the presence of her older sister, friends from the same village, and an aunt who was employed as a cook in the hostel. P1 recalled the experience:

P1: I missed my mother. But I have friends, so I was less missing her. Then there was an aunt. She also stayed at the hostel, to be with her child. She was also the cook. After class at the hostel, I would do my homework then we spent the time playing.

Moving to school hostel enabled participants to attend intensive preparation program for major examination, the UPSR. P5 recalled that staying in the hostel was encouraged in order to attend the extra night classes conducted for UPSR.

P5: I stayed in the hostel during Year 5, Year 6, Form 1 and Form 2 because I thought it would be easy for me to study. Starting Year 5 and Year 6, the school encouraged us to stay in the hostel, more or less compulsory in fact, because of the intensive classes [for revisions] at night.

P13 shared a similar reason for staying in the hostel although his house was about five minutes walk away.

P13: [I stayed in the hostel] during Year 5, Year 6. Food provided. I only went home during school holidays. R: Although your house was only about 5 minutes away? P13: We were not allowed to go home. It was the school regulation. The house, if I looked out of the top floor window, I could see my house. My parents did not come to visit because it was very near, within the village. They would come during school-organised activities like sports day and appreciation day (for good school attendance).

Thus, making change entailed leaving the familiarity of home and accepting the need to adjust life in unfamiliar situations. Boarding in the hostel enabled the students to

have a better learning environment through guided and scheduled routines that included study hours and preparation, and extra tuition hours by subject teachers. Students could only avail themselves this guided learning opportunity if they decided to stay in the hostel. Some students were boarded early by necessity (P1) to be near school, whilst some others chose to stay in, during the last one or two years of their primary schooling, for UPSR support and preparation. Hostels that provided boarding for secondary school students also gave younger primary students glimpses of the secondary school life and its expectation. In addition, the senior students were also role models, paving the path for the primary juniors to follow their lead.

Making change for the better could also be due to fear of punishment. P12 recalled how he started doing revision for his failed subject after getting caned by his teacher.

P12: At year end I passed. I felt better. R: How did you pass? P12: I did my revision, on my own. Before that I didn't. R: What made you change? P12: Because if I didn't pass, the teacher would cane me.

To conclude, the concept of making change includes relocating and moving out of the comfort zone, thus giving better access to educational facility. The process of making change was linked to how parents made decision, influenced by their belief of its importance that in turn led the students to accept and make the change. However, Canada noted the detrimental effects of the residential school system, which in addition to low-economic factors and societal racism, collectively contributed to poor achievement of the nation's aboriginal students and their falling behind (Gallagher-Hayashi, 2004). In the case Orang Asli education, SUHAKAM (2014) also voices

concern on young children’s placement in hostels at school and highlighting the importance of the family nucleus to the Orang Asli community, since by tradition and culture, parents prefer their children to stay close to them.

The preceding findings and discussion illustrate the category of learners accommodating learning. The category reflects Orang Asli students’ multiplicity of roles, making time for learning within the need to fulfill the obligations and expectations of their other roles, supported by vision of their future selves. Along the way, they accepted separation, adjusted vision of their future selves, accepted punishment and developing resilience in the process, and made the change that were necessary to keep their focus and maintain their learning progress. The following figure illustrates the properties of learners accommodating learning.

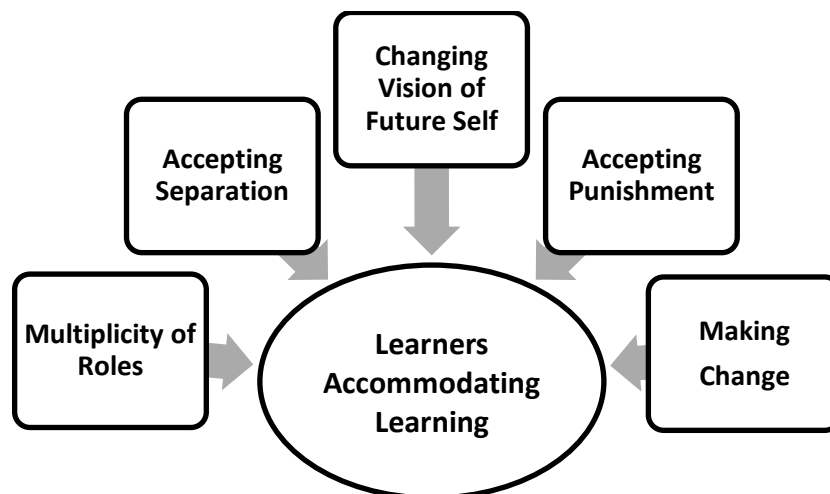


Figure 4.8. Learners Accommodating Learning



4.3.5 Generating Learning

The category learners generating learning is defined as learners making meaning and making sense of real life experience. It involves predicting and knowledge transfer, which is the ability to apply real life experience and prior learning to new situations. Wittrock (2010) explains that generating learning is about the abstract and the distinctive, concrete associations which the learner generates between his or her prior experience and the stimuli. The abstract refers to what is stored in the mind or past learning, whilst the distinctive refers to what is observed or required in the present state. The data revealed four properties of the students' generating learning process: Observing and making sense of real life adversities and success, associating self with role models, problem solving, and challenging boundaries and extending independence.



4.3.5.1 Observing and Making Sense of Real Life Adversities and Successes

Observing and making sense of real life adversities and successes is a property that contributes to the students' generating learning process. Whereas, the state of being poor provides the setting for initiation of learning, the realization that being poor is a problem and thinking that poverty can be alleviated through better education and better job is generative learning. In making sense of their parents' word, participants were forced to think about the consequences of not having education. In this context, the parents' perspective of generative learning (as described in Section 4.4.5) was about transferring their real life observation and experience to their children, whilst the



children's perspective was making sense and making connections about the authenticity of their parents' statement. An example is the mother and daughter (P11) conversation as discussed in Section 4.4.5.1.

Some students associated what they wanted as their future profession (abstract) with what they observed in the real life (concrete) of that profession. An example was Participant P14 who talked about wanting to be a custom officer because of the financial reward that he thought was attached to it. Another example was Participant P15 who wanted to be a lawyer to help Father and her Orang Asli community protect their indigenous rights. In both the cases, previously described in Section 4.5.4.3, the students' respective ambitions illustrate how they generated understanding from their current life situation and environment.

Thoughtful students despite their need would try to hide their difficulties from their parents, thinking that informing them would worry them, knowing their parents would not be able to fulfil their requirements. For example, P2 recalled how she preferred to take up the burden herself rather than to disturb her mother.

P2: Like me, if I wanted something (such as play items) I would not get it. Even if I asked my Mother for it, it's not easy. So, I didn't want my younger sibling to feel the same thing. So, when she asked (for a toy) I would buy it for her using my earning. Sometimes when we ran out of cash I would also use my earning to buy salted fish or egg to cook. When mother asked whether we had enough I would say yes, yes. I didn't want her to worry because I know she was also having difficulties.

Similarly, P5 shared how he learned to save his pocket allowance in order to buy play items and game equipment that he wanted.

P5: Even if I didn't spend my pocket allowance it was okay. Since Year 1 I liked to save, because my parents did not buy me toys. When I saw my friends playing [with for example toy cars] I saved my money.

The above examples on Participants P2 and P5 illustrate the ability of the students to generate solutions to resolve their concerns and needs. In conclusion, in observing and making sense of real life adversities and successes, students map their future and resolve their concerns against their understanding of the present.

4.3.5.2 Associating Self with Role Models

Role models provide the stimulus for generative learning. Findings show that hostels provided opportunities for junior students to observe and learn from their seniors, especially in situation where the hostel housed students from the secondary as well as primary schools. P5 remembered his attempt to emulate a senior who he referred to as his role model

P5: In the hostel I lived with seniors from the secondary school. I tried to follow the way they studied. There was this one brother and I thought he was good. He was good not because he was clever, but he was studious. I tried to follow his way, although it was difficult for me because he was really hardworking, very disciplined. He had specific routine after school for bath, lunch, walk, nap and dinner. After dinner he would start to open his book, until midnight. I saw in his book, he had a time-table then I made one for myself.

On the hand, Participant P11 described earlier in Section 4.5.5.1, used the deficit model – her mother not knowing how to read – to generate her commitment to education. Teachers are role models to many students (Examples: P13, P6). Teachers' personality,



teaching style and how they interacted gave students ideas that being a teacher was a worthy goal. P13 and P6 shared their thoughts:

P13: [I wanted to be a teacher] because I wanted to educate my people. I like it when I saw how teachers teach. R: Which teacher made you feel that you really wanted to be a teacher? P13: Teacher Mai because of the way she taught and her personality made me feel at ease. Since then I thought I wanted to a teacher.

Similarly, P6 shared:

P6: During primary school I wanted to be a teacher. That was in Year 3. I wanted to be a BM teacher, because I thought BM was fun. I observed the teacher; the teaching was enjoyable.

Whilst some students' ambitions were based upon teachers as role models, others took up characters in television programs as models for their ambitions. Thus, the findings show that students associated self with their role models both real and virtual, and mapped the perceived good practice of the role models onto their present and potential life. Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 2001) helps to understand this process of observational learning through modeling. Modeling in this context refers to making others as models, either in adversities (deficit model) or success (positive model).

4.3.5.3 Problem Solving

The process of solving problems involves seeking information, generating options and making decisions. Problem solving as a property of learners generating learning is indicated by incidents of participants resolving their concerns and needs when in and



out of school. For example, when P16 had problems with her school work, she would take the initiative to seek help from various teachers in the staff room during recess. In other words, she created her own learning moments to resolve her concerns regarding school work as indicated in the excerpt below:

P16: When I did not understand I would request the teacher to teach me. I asked questions. If there were other teachers, I would also ask those teachers, especially during Year 5 and Year 6. It was less before that. With my cousin [friend] I would consult teachers during recess.

As a young boy Participant P5 had wishes for toys and playing equipment. His parents could not afford them but that did not stop him from saving his pocket allowance to acquire the items that he desired. P5 shared how he resolved the problem of cash to buy toy cars and a badminton racket:

P5: I didn't spend my money in school [because we were provided food through the RMT programme]. I saved my money. Since Year 1 I liked to save because my parents couldn't buy the play items [that I wanted]. I saw my friends playing with theirs, so I save my money until it was enough then I would buy for example the 'dash' toy cars. Then in Year 4 or 5, I bought a badminton racket. I saw the villagers playing, and I wanted to join them, so I save to buy a racket of my own.

In another case, during her parents' absence, Participant P2 solved her cash problem by collecting and selling empty cans. Taking the role of the household head during the parents' absence, she collected empty cans from a tourist site near her village and sold them to tide the family over days when cash was short. While waiting for their parents' next trip home, she worked after school and during the weekends to meet the immediate needs for food and her younger siblings' simple requirements. P2 recalled:

P2: Sometimes while waiting for Mother to give us cash, and we ran out of money, I would go to [at a waterfall tourist site] to collect empty cans, and sold them. I also went to work at a palm plantation. I followed others. I was about 9,



10, 11, and above then. I did this on Saturdays, Sundays. But the cans I collected in the afternoon. After school I would rush to the waterfall where a lot of people would be throwing them around.

The experience of Participant P11 illustrates an example of how Orang Asli primary schooler had to deal with the pervasive problem of transportation. She recalled a painful slap on her face that she received for not attending the afternoon extra class for the UPSR preparation. She thought about the problem of how there was no return bus for the extended class hours, and how her father who had no transport would not be able to fetch her after school. She could skip class and bear the consequence. Instead she decided that she would just foot the distance, walking the long distance alone and reaching home late in the evening. P11 shared:

P11: After I received a slap from the teacher, I decided to attend the class. My father didn't have a motorbike. I was thinking, and I was sure he wouldn't be able to pick me up, so I decided to just walk back home, first through the main road then through a village road, an estate, finally my village. It was a long way; it was dark when I reached home. To me it was very far.

Another important facet of problem solving is anticipating problem. This involves acquiring skills for situation awareness and scenario thinking. Situation awareness is ability to perceive elements in the environment, understanding the significance of those elements and how they influence one's decision within that same or similar environment (Endsley, 1995). In addition, scenario thinking is the ability to interpret signals in the environment and reframing them into meaningful images of and paths into the future (Lindgren & Bandhold, 2003). The following analysis illustrates how children learned the skills from their elders.





As a child, Participant P1 learned how to solve real life problems from listening to traditional narratives of her community's cultural belief and practice. Generating her own learning moments, P1 recalled, "*Sebelum tidur tu saya suka duduk dengan neneklah (Before going to sleep, I liked to sit with Grandmother)*". She narrated how routinely she sought her grandmother at night for stories before going to sleep. Fuelled by curiosity she had many questions as she listened intently to her Grandmother's ghostly tales dealing with real life issues and traditional concerns. Through her Grandmother's sharing she acquired understanding of real life problems within the cultural context of the community, and how to resolve them, such as how to behave when in the forest, respecting taboos, and how to find her way out of the forest if lost. She remembered those nights with her Grandmother:



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P1: When I was a child, I liked to go and sit with my Grandmother before bedtime. I asked her to tell me stories, horror stories. She would tell me ghost running around in the forest. She told me to be careful when going into the forest. Be aware of the taboos whilst in the jungle. And she told me what I should do in case I am lost in the jungle, I should just follow the river.

In another example, Participant P2 described what the elders in the community taught their children about avoiding strangers. Using this knowledge, P2 and her friends navigate their school journey so as to avoid strangers and potential danger. P2 recalled:

P2: Our parents taught us to always avoid people. They told us not to follow certain route, and if we see any stranger, we should quickly hide in the bush. So, we were trained not to use the main road, instead to use the jungle route. That's why I am used to being in the jungle. When we used the jungle route, we learnt to walk through the underbrush ['redah semak' and] somehow, we could always find our way back to the village. We would reach home late evening. We would sit to rest whenever we were tired.





The above illustrations show how Orang Asli students solved real life problems involving school work concern, financial issues, and transport problem through a variety of independent decision making and strategies. In addition, elders in the Orang Asli households are holders of indigenous traditional knowledge. Through them the young students learned to anticipate problems that require them to be situation aware and think in scenarios. Thus, generating learning is reflected through problem solving process in which learners read situations, consider options and make decisions.

4.3.5.4 Challenging Boundaries and Extending Independence

The final emerging concept in learners generating learning is indicated by how students challenged and extended the boundaries set by adults. For instance, when Participant P2 and her friends observed and suspected that the school van driver was abusing drug, they decided to avoid taking the van; instead they walked the more tenuous route home through the thicket after school. P2 recalled:

P2: [The distance was] about 1 kilometer, almost, but we would follow that route, to avoid the drug addict [driver] because we were afraid of him. We used a route that ran through an oil palm estate, crossed a small stream, then only we reached our village. It took quite long because we were children, we were in Year 6, then we had to cross the stream, we would tie the laces of our shoes and hang the shoes over our neck, we pulled up our school sarong, and carried our bags, along with the boy.

Another participant (P10) had his own mind with respect to his learning routine and boundaries. He recalled how he avoided the scoldings of his parents by disappearing





quickly to be with his playmates after school, and how he slipped out of the kindergarten during recess.

P10: During primary school, I studied only in school. [My parents] would advise me, sometimes they would scold, but me when I reached home I would throw my bags and immediately ran out to play [laughed]. [In kindergarten] I used to slip out of school. At about 10 [during recess] when I saw the school gate was open, I would slip out and went home. Mother would ask why I was early, and I would give her various excuses.

When P14 was sent back to live in the village along with his siblings, he re-enrolled in a new school after the termination from his first school. To ease matter, he applied to stay in the hostel, after a challenge from his older sibling.

P14: When we returned to live in the village, my first sister could not believe that I would be alright staying in the hostel, thinking that I would be missing home. She said that even if I stayed in the hostel it would not be for long, I would come back home. That was a challenge, and I took it as a challenge. Then I told my Mother that I wanted to apply for hostel.

The above illustrations are among the incidents that reflect the capability of the students to make decision without adults' consultation, challenging the boundaries and extending their independence.

To conclude, students generated learning by observing and making sense of real life adversities and successes, observing and emulating role models, solving own problems, and challenging boundaries and extending their independence. The following figure illustrates the properties of learners generating learning.



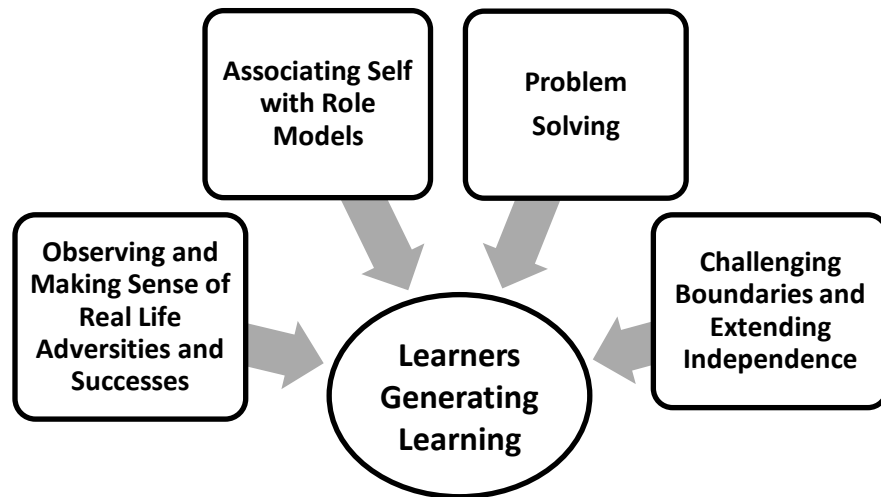


Figure 4.9. Learners Generating Learning

4.3.6 Conclusion

The data revealed an emerging theory of how Orang Asli students survived the deficit theorising that surrounded them. Leadership of the student in their learning process, conceptualised as leading learning, is the essence of the emerging theory. Personal agency results in students taking ownership of their learning process and decision making enables leadership to happen. The process of learners leading learning is realised through the sub-processes of initialising, facilitating, accommodating and generating learning. The following figure illustrates the emerging theory of Orang Asli learners leading learning.

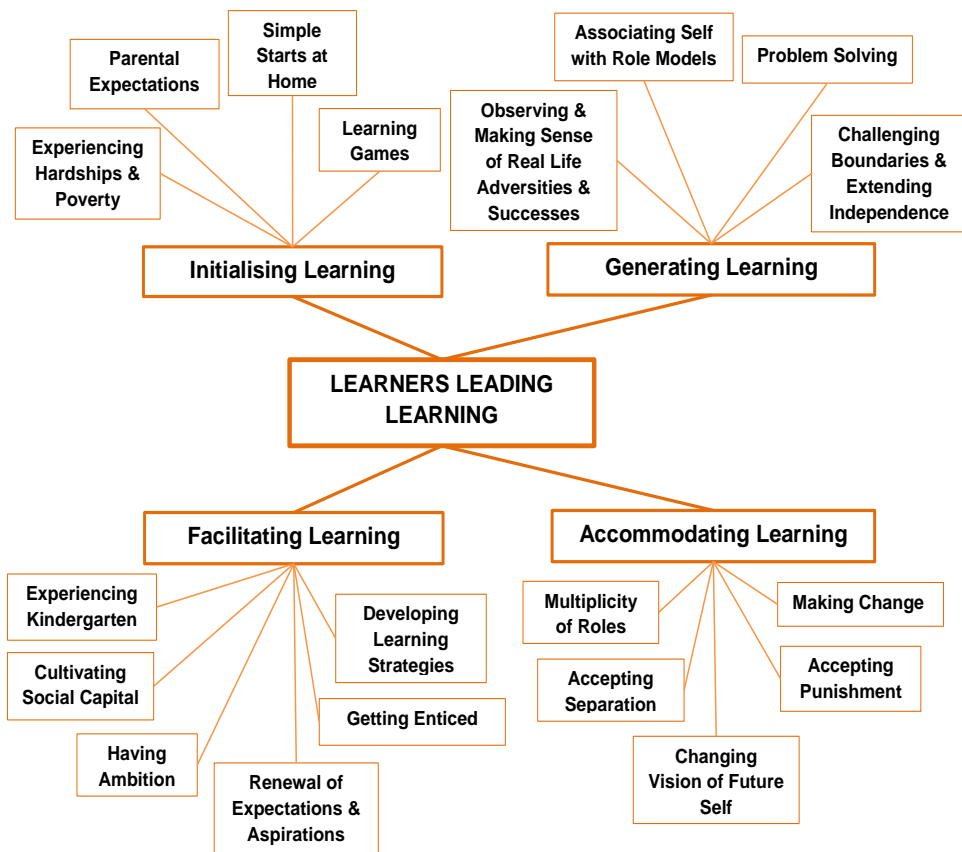


Figure 4.10. Learners Leading Learning

4.4 Schools Leading Learning

The emerging theory of schools leading learning explains (a) how kindergartens lead the transition of children into becoming students and (b) how primary schools lead students through the initial formal learning years. The emerging findings are roles and spaces situated in the school that are intertwined and integrated to support Orang Asli students' learning process.



4.4.1 Introduction

A school in this study comprises the individuals and entities that contributed to the formal education of Orang Asli students at the kindergarten and primary school levels. They included teachers, school administrators, and hostel caretakers or wardens, within the context of their respective roles and responsibilities. One emerging non-living entity that played a significant role in the students' engagement to school and learning was the library.

How schools led learning is gleaned through the incidents inside and outside the classrooms as shared by the participants. These incidents were glimpses of what matters to the students and thus are indicative of their importance as part of Orang Asli students' learning experiences. The emerging theory of how schools lead learning is discussed below, within their respective context in the kindergartens and primary schools. First the kindergartens and how they led learning.





4.4.2 Kindergartens

Kindergartens leading learning describes the emergent theory that explains how kindergartens helped Orang Asli students transit the home to school journey. During this transition, varied roles contributed to the children kindergarten experience. These include firstly, the Government that established the facility within access of Orang Asli communities, secondly, the parents who decided that kindergarten experience was part of their children's real life needs thus ensuring their children's attendance, thirdly, the children who were enticed to the kindergartens by friends, familiar faces, food and fun, and finally, the teachers who put the show together providing the children with a memorable kindergarten experience, positive as well as negative.



Kindergarten or preschool education in Malaysia is delivered by four main agencies: the pre-schools of the Ministry of Education, the kindergartens or *Taman Bimbingan Kanak-Kanak (Tabika KEMAS*, generally referred to as KEMAS by the participants in this study) of the Community Development Department (KEMAS) in the Ministry of Rural and Regional Development, the *Perpaduan* kindergartens of the Department of National Unity and Integration in the Prime Minister's Department, and private kindergartens. The main purpose of the kindergarten's establishment was to ensure that children in the country are provided with the facility and opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills appropriate for their ages of between four to six years old (KEMAS, 2016; JPNIN, 2016).





Kindergartens for the Orang Asli community were established by the Government within the Orang Asli villages and managed by KEMAS. KEMAS (2016) states its kindergarten concept as ‘Learning through Play’, accommodating the children’s natural inclination to play, whilst simultaneously exploiting their curiosity and willingness to try. From this starting point, the kindergarten curriculum is extended to mastering the four basic skills of reading, writing, counting and reasoning to prepare the children for school, within the guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education, Malaysia. The Ministry has set out national curriculum for kindergartens or pre-schools to incorporate six main components: Language and Communication, Cognitive Development, Spiritual and Moral, Socio-Emotional Development, Physical Development, and Creativity and Aesthetics (MOE, 2016).



A kindergarten provides the transition for children becoming students, not unlike the base camp for acclimatizing set up for the climbers at the Mount Everest; only in this case the climb is up the ladder of learning. It prepares children with early numeracy, literacy and social skills to facilitate their entrance to subsequent formal education. It is particularly advantageous for children that are constrained by their social and economic situation as indicated in Barnett (2008). Barnett (2008) reviewed the research regarding the short- and long-term effects of preschool education on young children’s learning and development and found that although all children benefited from kindergarten experience, the strongest evidence suggests that “economically disadvantaged children reap the most long-term benefits from pre-school” (p.1). Most importantly, kindergartens provide the environment for children to develop the





motivational and social-emotional qualities needed to be successful in a school setting (Whitted, 2011).

Indeed, the impact of the kindergarten experience varies according to the quality of programs and how they are implemented. Barnett's review indicates that, "Well-designed preschool education programs produce long-term improvements in school success, including higher achievement test scores, lower rates of grade repetition and special education, and higher educational attainment. Some preschool programs are also associated with reduced delinquency and crime in childhood and adulthood" (Barnett, 2008, p.1). Within the context of the Orang Asli education, Nazariah (2014) found in her study that the lack of kindergarten experience contributed to the 'shock' of being in school, and subsequent low literacy achievement. This suggests that kindergartens provide valuable transitional experience to Orang Asli children.

Emerging findings from the present study illuminate how kindergartens led the learning of the research participants. These findings are elaborated below.

4.4.2.1 Experiencing Kindergarten

The concept of experiencing kindergarten or pre-school refers to the familiarization towards formal environment of learning that the students gained during pre-school years. Its importance is succinctly reflected in Participant P2's recollection of her initial fear of going to school because she had not the chance to experience kindergarten.



Although most participants insisted that they could not recall much of their kindergarten experience, they narrated incidents that provide the researcher with glimpses of what the experience was like for these students. Thus, despite their claim of not remembering much, the data indicates that kindergartens formed part of the students' important and exciting learning experience, as illustrated by P7 reaction on her first day of the kindergarten experience:

P7: Yes, I was very excited to go when my mother sent me to the kindergarten.

As for the researcher, the interview process highlights the value and importance of the unstructured interview method for data collection, especially in this context, trying to trigger recollection of experiences of a decade past. The process allows memorable moments to emerge at its own pace.

All except two participants (P2, P14) attended the kindergartens. One participant attended a private kindergarten, whilst the remaining 13 participants experienced their pre-school education at the Government established kindergartens, Tabika KEMAS. Although enrolment may start at 4 years old, most children started their kindergarten years at 5 or 6 years old. The majority of the participants experienced kindergarten for two years, an exception, P10, for three years when he insisted on attending kindergarten at 4 years old to be with his close friend, a cousin, who was a year older.

Some parents provided the start at home. For instance, P3 started kindergarten at 6 years old, but was thoroughly prepared for school by her father at home. Her blind



father who was a fluent English speaker taught her the language at home (P3: *Sebab dia memang speaking sejak sekolah rendah lagi, sebab dia diambil oleh Orang Putih. [Because he speaks English since he was in the primary school because he was raised by the “White People”]*). At home, he provided her with plenty of learning resources including tapes of children’s songs both in English and Bahasa Melayu, the children’s encyclopaedias, books and alphabet blocks. Together, P3 enjoyed singing in English with her father while following the songs aired on the radio. Being the youngest and only child at home, she had her father’s sole focus and support.

Overall, experiencing kindergartens provided most participants with the confidence to step onto the threshold of school. The impact of the lack this experience was succinctly highlighted by P2. Although Mother taught her at home prior to her primary schooling, P2 reflected on the anxiety, the impact of her missing the kindergarten experience:

P2: I didn’t attend the kindergarten. When I was 7 I went straight to standard one. Because of financial constraint my parents couldn’t send me to kindergarten. My mother taught me at home. She taught me to recognise the alphabet. Only when I reached seven I was sent to school. I felt strange initially. This is why kindergarten is important to kids because we have never been to school. When we were sent to school, the fear level was very strong, and we felt alien because everyone else knew the things we didn’t know. Other friends knew each other since kindergarten. When they entered standard one, it was easier to associate themselves with each other. It took me a while to interact with others because I had never been outside, and since my mother taught me at home.

Others spoke of their joy during the kindergarten years, and how they looked forward to attending the primary school. For example, P6 recalled:





P6: Yes, I had fun with my friends. I made friends on my third day. It was enjoyable, I felt like going to school every day.

On the other hand, a painful kindergarten experience could also result in a students' apprehension of going to school, as in the case of P3's response to getting caned during kindergarten.

P3: Yes, I hated it [going to the kindergarten] until Standard One. I still cried when I was in Standard One. R: So, your mother forced you, otherwise you wouldn't go to school? P3: Hehehe.

Notwithstanding the varied kindergarten experience of the participants, starting kindergarten was the first milestone of the students' formal learning journey. This was true even for those participants (P2, P14) who did not have the opportunity to experience kindergartens. Realising that their children would be handicapped by the missed kindergarten years, their parents made effort to prepare the children at home.

Kindergartens thus provided the transition for parents and students to reduce the anxious anticipation of formal schooling. The following table shows data of the participants and their kindergarten experience.



Table 4.1

Participants and Kindergarten Experience

Participant	Kindergarten	Years in the Kindergarten (Age in Years)
P1	KEMAS (OA Majority)	2 years (5, 6)
P2	Did not attend kindergarten due to financial constraint.	
P3	Perpaduan (Mainstream)	1 year (6)
P4	KEMAS (OA Majority)	At least 1 year (Note: Although the experience was narrated by the participant, the number of years was not indicated in the data).
P5	KEMAS (OA Majority)	2 years (5, 6)
P6	KEMAS (OA Majority)	1 year (6)
P7	KEMAS (OA Majority)	2 years (5, 6)
P8	Private (OA, Malay, Chinese, Punjabi)	2 years (5, 6)
P9	KEMAS (OA)	1 year (6)
P10	KEMAS (OA)	3 years (4, 5, 6)
P11	KEMAS (OA)	2 years (5, 6)
P12	KEMAS (OA)	2 years (5, 6)
P13	1. TASKA 2. KEMAS (OA Majority)	1 year (4) 2 years (5, 6)
P14	Did not attend kindergarten due to financial constraint.	
P15	KEMAS (OA Majority)	2 years
P16	KEMAS (OA Majority)	2 years (5, 6)

The following account describes the categories and properties of the emerging theory of kindergarten leading learning.

4.4.2.2 Initialising Learning

As defined earlier, initialising is about setting the values or putting in the condition appropriate to the start of an operation. Initialising learning in the context of participants' kindergarten experience is represented by accessibility, class size, ethnicity, classroom physical environment, facilities, learning resources, curriculum, and familiar faces.

4.4.2.2.1 Accessibility

Accessibility is about both the ease and hazards of going to and from kindergartens as will illustrated in the following findings and discussion. The establishment of kindergartens within the Orang Asli scattered communities has enabled easy access to this crucial early years' education. The majority of participants attended kindergartens located within or next to their respective Orang Asli villages, thus facilitating ease of attendance. Whilst most students enjoyed the short distance walk with friends (Examples: P7, P9, P10), a few participants were sent by bicycle or motorbike by their family members (Examples: P1, P5). For instance, P5 stated that there were two access roads to the kindergarten and primary school. The first was the main bus route and the second was an alternative inner road, up and down a hill, about five minutes journey travelled by motorbike. His older siblings took turn to send him to the kindergarten. "*Kakak then kadang-kadang abang [hantar] (my sister, or otherwise my brother [would send me])*", P5 said.



P1 attended a kindergarten sited a few Orang Asli villages away, about 30 kilometers (FN: P1). Her Mother, a single parent, sent her to the kindergarten and her older sibling to school using a motorbike. While her child was in class, Mother went to work in a nearby farm. Finally, due the distance, P1's mother made the decision to move to the village where both the kindergarten and primary school were located. P1 narrated:

P1: Meaning very early in the morning we have to go to the kindergarten. At the time the Kindergarten was at Village (B). Then Mother moved to a house in Village (B) [which is closer to the kindergarten]. During that time my kindergarten was quite far from our village (A). Mother would send me. She sat there for a while, waiting for me. For a week she waited for me and then she talked to me saying she had to go to work. There was a Chinese man who planted the chillie crop. He rented the land from an Orang Asli and planted chillie crop. [Later on] I know how to go back from the kindergarten on my own. I searched and looked for my mother. I went to look for my mother straight after the kindergarten.



On the other hand, easy access could also lead to children's occasional escape from the kindergarten as narrated gleefully by P10. He recalled taking the opportunity to go home during the short recess when students were allowed to play outside.

P10: The kindergarten time [hours] was short. I would go, attended the kindergarten but sometimes I would go back. My Mother would send me back to the kindergarten. At 10 a.m. whenever I saw the [kindergarten] gate was open I would go straight home.

The above findings indicate that ease of access was crucial to children's attending kindergarten. For short distances, participants walked to the kindergarten accompanied by their parents, usually the mother, or with friends. For longer distances, parents or siblings contributed to ensure the participants' presence in the kindergarten.





4.4.2.2.2 Class Size, Composition and Ethnicity

The data indicates that kindergartens' class sizes varied. Generally, however, participants attended kindergartens with class size ranging from 20 to 30 children. The higher number of children was when a kindergarten catered for the educational needs of several Orang Asli villages as in the case described by Participant P5. He recalled a class of about 30 children comprising a mixed aged of five and six years old.

Some kindergartens were attended wholly by children from the local Orang Asli community, whilst others had Orang Asli children as the majority along with a few children from other ethnic groups such as Malay, Chinese, Indian and Punjabi. Mixed age class was the norm, in which different ages of four, five and six were placed in one



classroom.

On class size, Barnett, Schulman and Shore (2004) found that small class size increases educational effectiveness and offer health and safety benefits. They also found that disadvantaged children gain most benefits from small class size of less than 20 children. Barnett et al. add:

It seems likely that child behaviour is directly affected by class size. In smaller classes, children are more likely to be engaged in learning activities and less likely to disrupt class. Children's behaviour may be affected this way because smaller classes make it harder for them to escape the teachers notice. (Barnett, Schulman & Shore, 2004, p.6).

In conclusion, the data indicates that the majority of participants were initiated into formal education in kindergartens of class sizes of about 20 to 30 children, in mixed





age groups, where Orang Asli was the majority ethnic group. The exceptions were P2 and P14 who did not attend kindergarten, and P8 who attended a privately managed Chinese kindergarten.

Notwithstanding the varied class size, kindergarten experience provided the research participants with the initial opportunity to interact with others, both familiar and non-familiar, as well as to interact with those who were ‘different’, in age and ethnicity in a formal learning environment.

4.4.2.2.3 Classroom Physical Environment

Whilst kindergartens physical setting varied according establishments, KEMAS has essentially standardised the internal environment of its kindergartens’ classrooms. Participants described themselves seated at shared low kindergarten tables, as well as finding comfort seated or lying on carpeted areas for either child or teacher directed activities. P13 recalled his classroom physical environment in this conversation:

P13: There were tables. R: So, you sat on the floor? P13: Yes. R: When you were writing, did you write while on the floor or seated at the table? P13: It’s up to us. Those who preferred to write while sitting on the floor, they could sit on the floor. How did the table look like? P13: It was round-shaped. R: How many for a table P13: One table for 5 students. R: Most of you like to use the table or just sit on the floor? P13: On the floor. R: While lying down or sitting on the floor? P13: Both, while lying down and sitting on the floor. R: Was there any carpet? P13: Yes. R: You think that was much more fun than writing on the table? P13: Yes it was more fun.



The above conversation suggests that the learning provision in the kindergarten contributed to a flexible learning environment. The students could sit at the table, sit or lie down on the floor, according to their preference and comfort.

4.4.2.2.4 Facilities

Among the kindergarten facilities available were shared housing facilities for the teachers of the kindergarten and primary school (P1), a small playing area (P5) and playing field (P10). P1 and P5 recalled:

P1: Yes, there were teachers' quarters. Probably the primary school teachers also lived there together with the kindergarten teachers, because the kindergarten was situated near the primary school. There were Malay teachers at the primary school.

P5: During my time there was no field, just an empty area [for playing].

In many cases, such as described by P10, a football field was available at the primary school usually situated adjacent to the kindergarten.

Provision for teachers' accommodation ensures teachers' on-time presence in class, especially for the teachers who are from outside the community travelling to kindergartens via poor access route. Playing field provides students the space for physical activities, which for Orang Asli students emulate the free environment of the community. An added benefit of facilities such as teachers' accommodation and playing field is they provide opportunities for community interaction that can positively impact on enhanced home school link as well as opportunities to promote awareness on

the importance of education. In real life, teachers' accommodation could mean teachers' presence and opportunity for involvement in Orang Asli community and playing field means friendly games and space for celebrations with the community.

4.4.2.2.5 Learning Resources

Learning resources for kindergartens are those artefacts that can be exploited for teaching and learning. They include living (animals, plants and human) and non-living objects (such as models and toys), consumables (food, coloured pencils, glue) and non-consumables (non-food items, books), and information and communication technology (television, computer) (Jawaid, 2014b). Participants' data indicates that kindergarten learning resources inside Orang Asli students' classroom include memorable items such a *sempoa* for mathematics, "*Saya ingat ada sempoa besar*" "*I remember there was a big [stand alone] sampoa*", P5 recalled.

Participant P5 also recalled mats for meals, models of animals, whilst others remembered building blocks (P12, P13), puzzles, books about animals, pencils and colouring pencils, story books, rulers, pictures and names of fruits on the walls, (P7, P13), television (P10), musical instruments (P3), living plants (P5), and rattan (P8, P13). These resources contributed to the students' interest in attending kindergartens. The following excerpts indicate the learning resources as described above, available during the participants' days in their respective kindergartens:



P13: Books, colouring pencils, pencils, long ruler and rattan. Books about animals, colouring books, notebook, and a lot more that I couldn't recall. On the walls we had alphabet and numbers, [among others] a picture of an apple and how to spell it.

P10: The kindergarten had TV. I always turned on the TV.

P12: We played with building blocks in kindergarten

P7: Emmm... the alphabet, picture of fruits on the wall.

P5: A dining area ... the dining area was near to the kitchen. During that time we didn't eat at the table, we sat on a mat together seated in a circle. There was an area for playing. Next to the 'sempoa' there were puzzles and building blocks. We had stuffed animals. Plants were outside in front of the kindergarten.

Learning resources could also be discovered in students' school bags. When asked what he had in his school bag Participant P13 shared:

P13: Just stationeries. Some were from home and some were given by the teacher. Stationeries and the homeworks the teacher gave.



In effect, anything that can be exploited for teaching and learning inside and out the classroom is deemed as learning resources. That includes food served during food time and the natural outside environment.

The above findings and discuss indicate that participants experienced formal lessons that were interspersed with informal learning opportunities during meals and play time. As indicated by Jawaid (2014b), good practice in kindergarten education encourages teachers to exploit the food, play time, and friends, to initiate conversations that could focus on physical, language, social, emotional and spiritual development.





4.4.2.2.6 Curriculum

Most students' recollection of the kindergartens curriculum was limited to teachers teaching the alphabet, spelling, counting, colouring, copying and reading (Examples: P1, P9, P10). Some recalled music lessons in which they were actively involved in singing and playing a musical instrument (P1, P3). P1 and P3 recalled their kindergarten experience:

P1: When we were in KEMAS, they taught us to sing and the song, I remember. Singing children's songs, and playing the instrument. Spelling and doing exercises; during that time the Moral subject had not been introduced so they taught us 'alif', 'ba', 'ta'. I went home and write 'alif', 'ba', 'ta' back. We learned how to write Jawi. Doing the alphabet and making stories ... that was the start of learning to write. I remembered all those, I liked making circles.

P3: I don't remember the name of the musical instrument but... it's like... tambourine or the sound of being struck. And then there was another instrument.

Yet others remembered only their play times, “*Kindergarten hehe saya ingat main je kut. Hehehe ... saya lupa yang saya buat kerja ke apa ke, saya dah lupa (Hehehe ... I remember only playing during kindergarten, I couldn't remember whether I did my work or not)*” (P4). For Participant P10, play time also provided him with the opportunity to walk the short distance to return home.

Generally though, most students remembered learning the alphabet in the kindergartens (P3, P5), as stated by these participants “*Semua sama belajar ABC semua (We learned the alphabet)*” (P3) and “*Belajar ABC semua lah, mengira. Saya belajar mengira, membaca, bermain biasa lah. Macam di tadika dia ada provide macam-macam permainan untuk mengembangkan minda kanak-kanak kan (I learned the*



ABC's and how to calculate. In kindergartens they provided a lot of games to extend the mind of the kids)" (P5).

P5 shared a day in his kindergarten, reflecting a day of teacher's managing learning and teaching: singing the national anthem, breakfast of chocolate drink and vitamin supplement, the lessons, and more food during recess – fried noodles, fried rice or nasi lemak – which was the local menu.

P5: We had to queue up first and sang the national anthem. And then when the teacher arrived she would serve us breakfast with Milo [a chocolate drink] and some vitamin C. Yes, vitamin. In the morning we drank Milo and took the vitamin, just Milo and vitamin. The Milo was prepared with canned condensed milk. And then around 8 we started our lesson. Later we had recess from 9:30 to 9:45 for us to eat. Sometimes they gave us noodles, nasi lemak, fried rice and so on ... the menu changed daily.

Thus, the extent of initialising learning includes kindergartens having a curriculum appropriate for the children's age, physical ability and interest. The Australian Government (2016) in developing its 'Early Years Learning Framework' put a strong emphasis on play-based learning, recognising the importance of communication and language (including early literacy and numeracy) as well as social and emotional development. Its focus is on successful transition to formal schooling. It also incorporates commitments to improve outcomes for the aboriginal children of Australia (The Australian Government, 2009). Data from this Orang Asli study indicates that participants experienced kindergartens with a curriculum that exploited the children's love of singing, playing musical instruments, having food and play-time to provide learning opportunities for communication and language, in addition to the more organised lesson time.



4.4.2.2.7 Familiar Faces

Familiar faces helped with the transition of children from home becoming students in kindergartens. Kindergartens that allowed the presence of comforting familiar faces such as parents, siblings, relatives and friends helped students settled easily in their new environment. For instance, P1 had her mother in the class with her for about a week in the kindergarten. In addition, she also had friends from the same village and an older cousin who served as teaching assistant in the kindergarten, “*Pembantunya kakak saudara saya juga (The assistant was my relative)*” (P1).

Participant P5 had a familiar relative, a cousin, for a teacher, “*Kira Cikgu tu pun sedara jugak. Dua pupu kan, dua pupu atau pun macam tu lah (The teacher was also a relative, a second cousin or something like that)*” (P5). So was Participant P10 who had an older male cousin as best friend in kindergarten.

P7 recalled Mother sending her on the first day of kindergarten. However, on the second day she went with the many friends from the same village for company to the kindergarten. “*Emmm ... masa saya masuk tu, hari pertama mak saya hantar, hari ke-2 tu saya dah boleh pergi sendiri ... ramai [kawan] satu kampung. (Emmm ... my mother sent me on my first day, but on the second day I already went to school by myself ... many [friends] from the same village (P7).*

Familiar faces also meant no tears, “*R: Jadi tak takut. Menangis tak? P7: Tak (So you were not afraid? Did you cry? P7: No)*”. Also, in the case of P9, familiar faces



included Orang Asli teachers who were mothers of some of the children attending the kindergarten.

To summarise, kindergartens initialising learning is about kindergartens' settings that initiated the decision for parents to send their children to the kindergartens, and the learning environment that helps the transition of children becoming students. The following diagram illustrates the process and its properties.

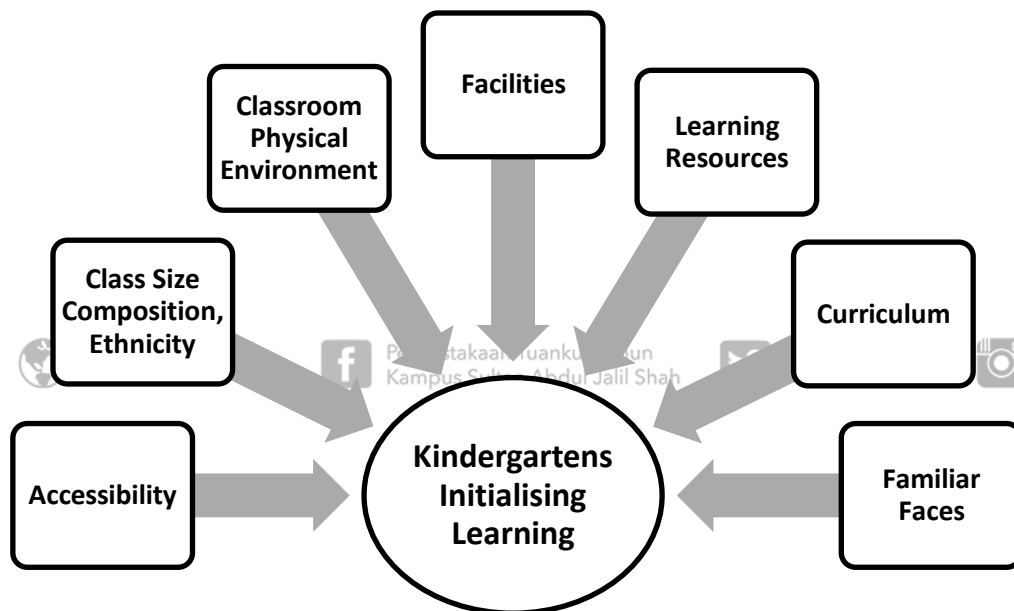


Figure 4.11. Kindergartens Initialising Learning

4.4.2.3 Facilitating Learning

Kindergartens facilitate learning by providing the means and conditions to promote, assist and support Orang Asli children to remain engaged during their kindergarten

years. The means and conditions that contribute to the process of kindergartens facilitating learning are elaborated through its properties: sustaining attendance and enticing children.

4.4.2.3.1 Sustaining Attendance

The participants' data shows that sustaining attendance is influenced by parents, proximity to kindergarten, convenience, and fear of strict teachers. Parents' influence on sustaining attendance has been covered in the emerging category of parents leading learning (ensuring attendance). Kindergarten's proximity also contributed to sustaining attendance. P10 said:

P10: The kindergarten was nearby. R: About how many steps? P10: About 30 to 40 steps. R: Less than 5 minutes? P10: Less ... About 5 minutes.

From the perspective of kindergartens, sustaining attendance is related to the added value that kindergartens have to sustain the students' presence in the classroom. For instance, P3 and P4 felt that they had to go to the kindergartens because they had no choice since parents were at work. On the other hand, P11 said she did not miss class due to fear of her fierce teacher. The following conversations with P3, P4, and P11 illustrate the afore-mentioned points:

P3: My mum. Yes she sent me everyday. She would send me no matter what otherwise no one would take care of me [because Mother had to go for work].

R: Why did you go to kindergarten? P4: First it's probably because I thought during that time my parent were working so no one could take care of me, so that was why my mother sent me to the kindergarten.

R: What made you feel that you have to go to the kindergarten? P11: [The teacher] was fierce. Hehe.

P13, however, appeared to have a natural inclination towards both the kindergarten and school. He stated that he never missed his kindergarten and school days:

R: What did you do when you skipped school? P13: I never skipped school. From kindergarten till primary school I had never skipped school.

Sustaining attendance is important to promote the process of learning. As indicated by Jorgensen (2012) learning engagement and academic performance is linked to regular attendance. Inarguably, parents contributed significantly to ensure students' attendance, and this has been discussed in the context of parents leading learning.

The second property of kindergartens facilitating learning is enticing children.

Enticing factors that contributed to the joy of being in the kindergartens include friends, special events, food, and feeling clever – incidents that made students feel clever. These are described in the following sections.

4.4.2.3.2 Enticing Children

The property 'enticing children' emerged from interrogating the data with the question: What made the students want to be in the kindergarten? The findings indicate that kindergartens enticed children by having the environment, provisions, activities and opportunities that enabled them to experience the joys of being in class. These included having friends, food and fun, as well as opportunities that gave rise to children feeling

clever and feeling special. Some participants were enticed by the available learning resources such as television and building blocks. The following description illustrates the atmosphere that made the participants wanted to be in the kindergarten as well as enjoying the kindergarten experience. The variety of experience is captured under friends, food, fun, feeling clever, school events, visits and trips.

4.4.2.3.2.1 Friends

Participant P5 shared the joy of being in kindergarten, playing, having friends from different Orang Asli ethnic groups and learning other Orang Asli ethnic's language.

When asked what made learning in the kindergarten fun, P5 explained:

P5: Playing. We had two tribes in the kindergarten, Temuan and Semelai so it was fun to learn their languages when we were kids. We learned different languages. In school when we were having class, we used Bahasa Melayu but when we talked with friends, we used Temuan language because the Semelai students could understand Temuan language too, so it was not a problem to speak in Temuan language in that class. But I too learned their language.

Participant P6 started kindergarten tearful but the tears soon dried after making new friends:

P6: And then I had fun with friends, and then I cried again. It was okay after 3 days. R: You still remember this? P6: Yes because I had fun with my friends, after 3 days I already had friends. It was fun, felt like everyday I want go to school. R: These friends came from the same camp? P6: Yes. R: So you knew them from outside? P6: Yes.

Other participants also shared their experience with friends. Having friends to play kept

P7 happy:



P7: Because I met a lot of friends, I didn't feel too much stress because it was fun with a lot of playing.

Participants had both male and female friends, but Participant P3 highlighted her preference to be with male friends:

P3: During kindergarten I preferred to befriend the boys than the girls.

Although most students enjoyed having the same friends at home and in school, a few did not have the same opportunity due to parents's restriction (P2, P4, and P8) or due to the absence of community children of similar age (P5). For instance, P4 recalled his limitation:

When we were in the village my father didn't allow me to interact with others that much, I only talked with friends while in the kindergarten. At home, we only stayed at home. The furthest would be talking to my neighbours. But even that only for a short time because Father was afraid that we would wander around here and there, knowing the Orang Asli life which is inclined to wander in the jungle, and here and there.

Thus, friends were among the pull factors that drew children to the kindergarten. This was clearly indicated by a participant (P10) who was four years old but insisted to attend kindergarten in order to be with his close five year old friend. Carter and Nutbrown (2016) raised the beneficial impact of friends in children's all round learning and development and suggest, "that there is a need to raise the profile of children's friendships in early childhood education and generate an educational perspective on friendship" (p.1). In conclusion, both real experience and research indicate the importance of friends in the learning process.





4.4.2.3.2.2 Food

Food time was an important part of the kindergarten schedule as highlighted by the participants (P5, P8 & P10). P5 described the breakfast of chocolate drink ‘milo’ and the vitamin supplement for breakfast and a changing menu of fried noodles, fried rice and ‘nasi lemak’ for recess.

P5: Breakfast... they gave us Milo and vitamin C. Around 9:30 to 9:45 for us to eat. Sometimes they gave us noodles, nasi lemak, fried rice and so on ... the menu changed daily.

And P8 remembered about having food only.

P8: In pre-school [kindergarten] I only remember that I played a lot with my friends. I remember about having food only. I remember about participating in performance.



P10 stayed for food during recess and gleefully recalled how he sneaked out of kindergarten during play-time immediately following the food-time.

P10: After I finished eating ... after food we went out to play. That's the time [I went home] when the Teacher left [us on our own].

Undoubtedly, students recalled having food as an important part of kindergarten experience. Food in kindergarten served during breakfast and recess gave them physical readiness to start and to sustain the learning process. Johari and Nazri (2007) argues that hunger due to poverty as among the many factors of Orang Asli students' learning disengagement and failing, describing the students in his study as looking listless ‘*tidak bermaya*’ and inactive. Thus, supplementary meals provided by kindergartens helped promote and sustain attendance of needy students.





4.4.2.3.2.3 Fun

The concept ‘fun’ is related to playful interactions with friends and teachers creating enjoyable learning moments. Although, according to P5 it was fun because the kindergarten was not a place where one has to really study. P5 shared:

P5: It was fun. It was fun because ... the kindergarten wasn't a place ... a place where you have to really study. [In the morning] when I arrived, my friends had also arrived so we played first, running around the school. Outside, [yes] even outside of the school [while waiting for the teacher to come].

P3 recalled the joy of playing a few musical instruments, although she could not name the instruments. She described them cheerfully in this conversation when asked what she liked the most while in the kindergarten:

P3: Playing the musical instrument. I can't remember [the name] the one that has this sound "shoowshhh" sound... but I think it was tambourine, the one that you have to knock. Then there was the one with skin, not sure what skin, the one that we hit and hit. It was red in colour. What it was I am not sure. Hehehe.

On the other hand, P10 and P13 had fun disturbing others in the classroom. P10 recalled how naughty he was during his kindergarten years, in his words “bullying” a Malay boy, who was among a few non-Orang Asli students in the class. In the following excerpts, P10 and P13 described their naughty selfs:

P10: During kindergarten I was really naughty. Haha truly I was naughty then. Everyone was bullied hehe. The students were mixed with those from the nearby villages. There was a Malay boy. His Mother came to school [to complain] but I pretended as if nothing had happened. Hehe.

P13: When playing I liked to disturb the others. [But] when friends disturbed me back, I would cry.



Thus, fun in its various shades provides the students reason for enjoying the kindergarten experience. They include playful moments with friends, notwithstanding the joy of disturbing others. The perception that study was not a serious business in the kindergarten also contributed to the feeling of fun.

4.4.2.3.2.4 Feeling Clever and Learning New Things

Participants shared about their feeling clever and learning new things in kindergartens.

P9 shared her feeling of being clever:

P9: I felt that when I was in kindergarten, I became cleverer. Haha. The teacher would ask us to read ABC till Z, until we know the alphabet. Haha. I think that was the reason [that I enjoyed kindergarten]. R: So you feel smart, how about other friends? Are they smart too? P9: Erm they were okay, they were more into playing R: So, they didn't memorise as much as you did? P9: Ha no, they didn't. They were passive. [...] I think I was outstanding.

Again, when asked if she was forced to go to the kindergarten, P9 replied without hesitation:

P9: No, I really liked [to go to kindergarten]. R: Why did you like to be in the kindergarten? P9: I like the learning environment. R: Really? P9: Yes. R: Was it the learning environment, or was it because of friends or the teacher? P9: Learning, like how we can know about new things. R: You still remember that? P9: Yes, I still remember.

P6 felt clever when she finally was able to pronounce a difficult word:

P6: Erm ... the first time I can spell the word 'sungai'. Haha, because for me, the word 'sungai' has N, G, A and I. So I had trouble to pronounce the word because the pronunciation is a bit 'strong'. For kindergarten kids the pronunciation was a bit ... that 'NGA', the sound of 'NGAI' at the back was



hard to pronounce. So, when I managed to pronounce for the first time I was really happy. Hahaha.

Horgan (2007) reported that, “Younger children (four to six-year olds) all saw school as a place to learn for learning’s sake or, as many of them put it, to get smarter” (p.10). The participants’ experience and the literature thus suggest that kindergartens can entice students by availing opportunities for students to achieve and according to P9 to “*menyerlah*” which means to shine; in other words, feeling smart in class.

4.4.2.3.2.5 School Events

Students looked forward to participating in special events and functions organised by the kindergartens such as sports day or ‘*sukaneka*’, graduation and prize giving day, quizzes and competitions. Participant P9 recalled feeling special during one such event because she was the bouquet girl, to present a bouquet to the guest of honour.

P9: Erm at the time someone came to visit. A Datuk or Datin. I had to take part in ... what is it called ... R: To give flowers? P9: Ha yes to give flowers. R: Bouquet girl? P9: Yup, haha. I was flustered, and very happy.

Students looked forward to the ‘*sukaneka*’ or sports day. P1 recalled the ‘*sukaneka*’ held jointly by her kindergarten and the adjacent primary school.

P1: During kindergarten, I remember sports day the most ... I liked it, the Sports Day.

P6 reflected on her happy experience receiving the certificate on her graduation day and participating in the graduation day performance. She also remembered looking





forward to attending the primary school, after kindergarten. When asked whether she enjoyed her kindergarten experience, P6 replied:

P6: I was really happy. Yes. Because at the end of the session there will be ceremonies. Prize-giving ceremony, Kindergarten Graduation Ceremony, and then there will be performance. I performed too and then arr ... I was excited too to begin Standard One.

P8 also recalled his participation in performance, as among his prominent kindergarten recollections:

P8: In pre-school [kindergarten] I only remember that I played a lot with my friends. I remember about having food only. I remember about participating in performance.

Students also recalled the joy in participating and getting prizes in quiz competitions

such mathematics quiz. P6 shared her memorable participation:

P6: Erm ... I always participated in competitions in... erm like mathematic quiz competition, during kindergarten. I participated in a mathematic quiz competition and I got a prize, even if it was only consolation prize. Ha ha and then I received a prize. At home I was excited to show it to Mother. Haha.

In conclusion, school events such as sports day, graduation and prize giving ceremony, performance, quizzes and competitions and other special events are among the experience that students enjoyed in kindergartens. These events gave students the joy of participating in friendly competitions and winning, and being appreciated; activities that could increase students' self-esteem and self-efficacy.



4.4.2.3.2.6 Visits and Trips

Visits and trips contributed to enjoyable kindergarten experience. P5 and P7 recalled:

P7: Then there was [an event like] receiving awards held [at a venue] somewhere else.

When asked any event that he enjoyed while in the kindergarten, P5 recalled the visits and trips to other kindergartens to attend colouring competition, and to outside venue to participate in jointly held sports day:

P5: Sometimes the kindergarten took us out, to another kindergarten, such as for colouring competitions. KEMAS held kindergarten sports day, so we went also. It was held at a field located at Batu 6.

Visits and trips for a variety of purposes are treats for Orang Asli students, especially for those whose family lack the means for mobility. More importantly, visits and trips enable Orang Asli students to experience outside environment and interactions, and to extend their worldview.

4.4.2.3.2.7 Not Enjoying

Despite the variety of positive recollections, one participant however, recalled not enjoying her kindergarten experience. Participant P3 recalled the initial distress of being away from her parents and later getting caned for not doing her homework. Following the caning, she did not feel like going to the kindergarten for the entire year



but parental involvement sustained her attendance. P3 recalled her initial days at the kindergarten:

P3: I still remember when I started school [the kindergarten], when I was about to enter the class I cried wanting to go home. Hahaha ... only after 3 months I managed to adapt, because I was really close [to my parents].

P3 also recalled how getting caned increased her discomfort at the kindergarten. She described the incident:

P3: She [the teacher] called my name, and I went up front and then she asked why I did that (messing her notebook with circles and lines). Then she showed me other students' books. She asked why everyone else could do it nicely but you could not. I was caned. Ha ... for that one year I really didn't want to go to the kindergarten. Hehehe ... but even if I didn't want to I'd still go. Mother sent me everyday. She would send me no matter what otherwise no one would take care of me.



The above participant's experience suggests the impact of teachers' action during the teaching and learning process. It highlights a potential for student's disengagement, but for the parents intervening in the process.

In conclusion, kindergartens facilitating learning explains what sustained the students' attendance and how they were enticed into the classroom. Findings suggest that proximity to kindergartens, convenience, and fear of teachers sustained students' attendance, whilst friends, food and fun enticed students. In addition, feeling clever or feeling smart, awards, prizes and participating in performance during special events or functions as well as visits and trips formed part of the joy in attending kindergartens. The following diagram illustrates the properties that contribute to the process of kindergartens facilitating learning.



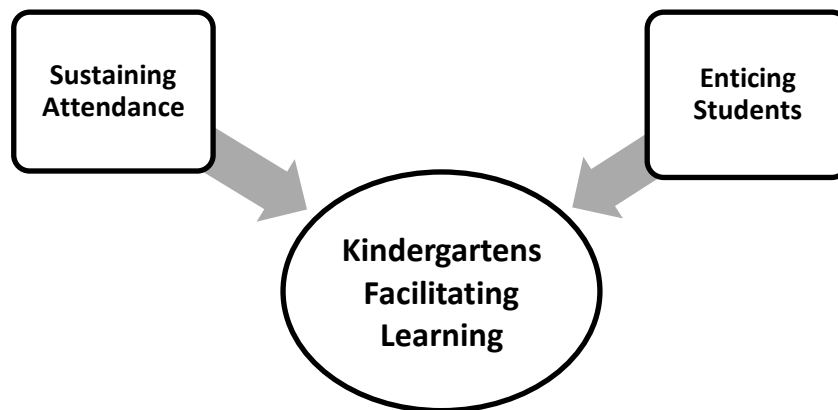


Figure 4.12. Kindergartens Facilitating Learning

4.4.2.4 Accommodating Learning

Kindergartens accommodating learning is represented by how kindergarten teachers adapted and made the necessary changes in leading students. Accommodating learning is indicated by teachers: being flexible, adapting into the community, creating safe and secure environment, appreciating accomplishment, and managing teaching and learning.

4.4.2.4.1 Being Flexible

An incident in a classroom gave rise to the concept ‘being flexible’. As described in Section 4.4.2.2.7, familiar faces enable students to overcome fear of separation when



students start kindergarten. But Participant P1 described the comforting presence of her mother in the initial days of her kindergarten.

P1: Mmm ... [while in class accompanying me] she also learned [along with me]. R: For the one week? P1: Ha.

The above incident indicates the flexibility of the kindergarten teacher in allowing parents to sit in class and provided the familiar face that calmed her daughter.

Being flexible also means allowing students the freedom of exploring their own learning space as described by P13 about how students found their own comfort either at the desks or on the floor.

P13: We have desks. It's up to us. Those who preferred to write while on the floor they would sit on the floor. R: What did most do - seated at the desks or on the floor? P13: On the floor. R: While lying down or sitting on the floor? P13: Both, while lying down and sitting on the floor. R: Was there any carpet? P13: Yes. R: You think that way was more fun than writing at the desks? P13: Yes it was more fun.

Thus, being flexible is about teacher accommodating parents into classroom and allowing students their space for learning in comfort, emulating the home environment of students.

4.4.2.4.2 Adapting into the Community

In addition to local Orang Asli teachers, there were also non-Orang Asli teachers who came from the outside community as described by P1 and P13 below.





P1: [The kindergarten] teacher was from outside. A Malay teacher, a Malay.

P13: He [the teacher] was Malay. He's from outside, commuting from outside.

In this context, accommodating learning for Non-Orang Asli teachers means the need either to move into Orang Asli community, adapting and making the necessary changes, or to commute daily, to enable them to fulfil their roles and responsibilities. Non-Orang Asli teachers have to accommodate within the context of their roles, the new environment and unfamiliar community culture.

Being able to adapt into the community is crucial for Non-Orang Asli teachers, who are not familiar with living in an environment that may lack basic as well as communicative facilities, as well as culturally different. Isolated, Wan Afizi, Shaharuddin & Noraziah (2014) highlight the difficulty of teachers from outside the Orang Asli community to adapt and adjust to the lack basic necessities in the village. Thus, the authors argue that a teacher from outside the community must have a strong self-identity '*jatidiri*' and agency in order to provide impact in the Orang Asli education.

4.4.2.4.3 Creating Safe and Secure Environment

Safe and secure environment covers two aspects, the physical and the emotional. Kindergartens through teachers need to provide an environment where risk to physical harm is removed or minimised and emotionally, students need to feel that they are cared



for and can take the risks of being wrong, thus enabling them to enjoy the learning experience.

Learning from experience, a teacher who always left the school gate open during play time realised she had to make the necessary change to create a safer and more secure environment. Narrating an incident that led to this, P10 said that he was able to go home during play time because the school gate was open. The teacher responding to the incident locked the gate then after, "*Pastu sejak daripada itu pagar kena tutup lah pulak, (Following the incident, the gate was locked)*" (P10).

Emotionally, students felt safe and secure when teachers were caring and approachable. This is despite some participants describing their teachers as strict and fierce as well. P1, P5, P13 and P6 shared the experience of caring teachers.

P1: The teacher was really nice. I remember the most, my kindergarten teacher, Cikgu Ji ... she was nice ... really nice... caring with the kids... she was nice with everyone.

P5: [I] consider myself as close [with my teacher]. R: How close? P5: Even after school, if I met [her] I could still chat [with her].

P13: Sometimes she was strict. Sometimes she was normal. She helped a lot and was also friendly.

P6: Fierce but at the same time loving. R: What was the effect on you? P6: Fierce caused us to do our work otherwise we would get her wrath (laughed) ... that's all. R: And loving? P6: Loving made us feel comfortable, as kids, they were new and wanting their Mothers, then the teacher would console them. Teaching and consoling all at the same time. When teaching she was fierce, but when students cried, she would console them.

P8 however could only recall fierce kindergarten teachers.

P8: I remember the teachers but I don't remember their names. They were female teachers. One was a bit hefty, another one was slim. [They were] fierce. R: You remember they were fierce, but not anything else? P8: Yes.

Participants' experience indicates that teachers adapted and adjusted their approaches to provide physically and emotionally safe and secure learning environment for children. Caring was what most students described as the feeling of being with a good teacher. Approachable was when students felt comfortable with their teachers both inside and outside the classroom. Silver, Measelle, Armstrong and Essex (2010) state that, quality of the kindergarten teacher-child relationship contributes to school adjustment. On the other hand, the authors argue that adverse quality is associated with aggression and behaviour issues in the kindergarten and later grades. In creating safe and secure environment teachers accommodate the emotional needs of the students, even when they were also perceived as fierce by them. Creating safe and secure environment also includes accommodating changes to the physical environment, so that students are protected from harm.

4.4.2.4.4 Appreciating Accomplishment

In appreciating accomplishment, teachers accommodated children's achievement, such as completing a task successfully, into the learning environment. For instance, a teacher posted children's work on the wall, "*Hasil kerja mewarna diletakkan di dinding (The children's colouring work would be posted on the wall)*" (P13). Although less data was available to indicate the presence of this concept in Orang Asli kindergartens, studies such as Jawaid (2014b) and BCMOE (2015) highlight the benefits of celebrating



and displaying students' work in the classroom. Displaying and talking about their work send message to students that their work and their learning is important.

4.4.2.4.5 Managing Teaching and Learning

Kindergartens accommodate learning by adapting the teaching and learning process to cater for the physical, social, emotional and cognitive needs of students. Physical consideration includes provision for food such as when P5 described the meals and vitamin supplement given to the students to ensure that they were physically fit and ready for class.



P5: And then when the teacher arrived she'd served us breakfast with Milo and some vitamin C, every day. And then at 8 we started our lessons. Around 9:30 or 9:45 we had [another break]. We had noodles ... or nasi lemak ... fried rice and so on.

Wan Afizi, Shaharuddin & Noraziah (2014) and Nazariah (2014) state that due to poverty, hunger and malnutrition is one factor why the Orang Asli children could not sustain their education. Thus, accommodating meals and supplements into the daily kindergarten routine help alleviate the problem.

In addition, teachers accommodated the cultural capital of the community into their classroom, thus contributing to the students' social and emotional well-being. For instance, P5 recalled his teacher's use of the students' home language. The teacher occasionally used students' mother tongue to explain new concept, but in the main, maintained the use of Bahasa Melayu.



P5: With my teacher [I speak in] Bahasa Melayu. R: Did the teachers use the Orang Asli language? P5: Sometimes but ... when they had to explain things.

Non-accommodation in managing teaching and learning was reflected by teachers who punished by caning students who made mistakes, failed to complete homework or given tasks and misbehaved in class. Although the aim of a kindergarten experience was to prepare children for formal schooling in safe and secure environment, P3 and P16 recalled the dreaded ‘rotan’ treatment of that time. In this context, for some teachers the cane was a ‘teaching aid’ to manage the teaching and learning process. P3 and P16 recalled:

R: Did you ever feel not wanting to go to kindergarten? P3: Yes, yes, yes I did because I was caned in that kindergarten. R: Why did the teacher cane you? P13: If I didn't listen to her words I'd get caned. R: Where did she cane you? P13: On my [the palm of] hands only.

Another participant (P16) recalled the experience of being caned by her teacher:

P16: The teacher asked us to write, sometimes I did it, and sometimes I didn't. R: Was that why you were caned? P16: Yes, because we were kids right. R: Was it painful? P16: Yes, to the extent that I cried.

However, on retrospective, P16 rationalised the possibility of the kindergarten teacher being emotionally unwell because for some reasons during the year the teacher stopped teaching. Subsequently, the teaching duties were taken over by the classroom assistant. The teacher was later transferred out. When asked to elaborate on the incident, P16 shared:

P16: When I was 5 she was okay but when I was 6 she was not okay. She stopped taking interest. We learned from her assistant, only the class assistant taught us.



Managing teaching and learning is about managing classroom climate in tandem with student centred learning. How well students learn depends on how well teachers are able to manage their classroom climate (Ziegler, 2017). Teachers need to be able to balance freedom and discipline. Thus, in accommodating learning teachers adapt and change the classroom environment (seating arrangement, classroom layout, space utilisation i.e. use of walls, ceiling, and floor) and pedagogical approach to provide safe and secure environment, inclusion, behaviour control whilst extending potentials.

In conclusion, the above findings indicate that kindergartens accommodating learning involve teachers being flexible to the students' needs, adapting to new contexts, creating a safe and secure environment, appreciating students' accomplishment, and student-centred approach to managing teaching and learning.

Non-accommodative process is reflected in teachers that could not exploit students' cultural capital such as accommodating the use of home language as an enabler in managing teaching and learning. Nemeth (2009), Palviainen and Mard-Miettinen (2015), and Haukas (2016) state that research indicates the benefits of home language to enhance students' engagement. Nemeth (2009) state:

Once teachers, administrators, and staff feel confident about supporting each child's culture, language, and individual development, all domains can develop naturally. Children will feel safe and accepted. Language and literacy skills can flourish. Preschoolers who bring the gift of bilingualism to a program should be cherished and supported. Preschool should be a place of wonder, discovery, joy, friendship, comfort, and enchantment. (Nemeth, 2009, p.42)

Another example of non-accommodation is punitive reaction, the 'rotan' treatment, to punish misbehaviours and students' failure to complete homework and given tasks.

Such non-accommodative pedagogical approach could lead to learning disengagement,



except for those children who have learned to accept punishment as part of the learning process (as discussed in Section 4.5.4: Accepting Punishment). These non-accomodative actions also punished students based upon what they could not do. Jorgensen (2012) argue that, ‘Too frequently, assessment tasks are used to identify what students cannot do as opposed to what they can do’ (p.26). This suggests the need for educators to highlight achievements, what the students can do, whilst simultaneously scaffolding failures. The following figure illustrates the process of kindergartens accommodating learning.

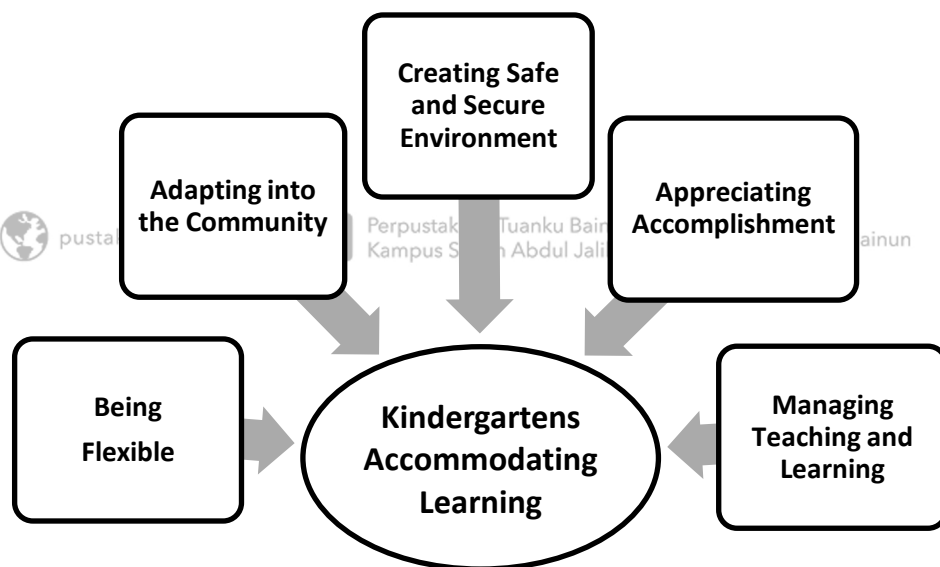


Figure 4.13. Kindergartens Accommodating Learning



4.4.2.5 Generating Learning

Kindergartens give students the opportunity to experience and make sense of life beyond home; and prepare them for the next level of learning in primary school. In this context, kindergartens provide the climate and interactions that generate learning that would be the baseline for subsequent primary education covering the academics, social and emotional skills. The generating learning process is explained by the following sub-processes: Acclimatising for school, teachers developing potentials, and showing vision of the future.

4.4.2.5.1 Acclimatising for School



Kindergartens provide the ground for acclimatising. The process of acclimatising is to become accustomed to new conditions. In this context, kindergartens are not unlike camps set up for mountaineers to acclimatise on the way to the peak of, for instance, Mount Everest (The Climbers, 2016). In the case of kindergartens, they are also akin to camps that provide the facilities and conditions for children to acclimatise prior to their climb up the ladder of formal learning, the primary school.

Transition management is crucial in managing sustainable change (Loorbach, 2010) and this is also true for children who experience life changing conditions from home to school. Kindergartens are therefore akin to transition management leaders that assist children to experience new environment and generate new learning from this new





environment; new learning that was founded upon and extended from their home experience. Acclimatising in the kindergarten occurred through experiencing outside community, interacting with similar and non-similar others, and emerging self beyond home in extending identity.

4.4.2.5.1.1 Experiencing Outside Community

How kindergartens helped transition students to the outside communities and school was highlighted by Participant P6 who described the ease in her initial days of primary school due to having familiar friends in the kindergarten.



P6: It wasn't that hard [in Primary School] because in terms of environment I was used to have friends with those who were not Orang Asli during kindergarten. So it wasn't a problem for me to interact and have a discussion with them [other Non-Orang Asli students].

In contrast, P2 who did not have any kindergarten experience recalled her apprehension on the first day of attending primary school, having the perception that she lacked the preparation that others must have had.

4.4.2.5.1.2 Interacting with Similar and Non-similar Others

Kindergartens learning environment provided Orang Asli children with the opportunities to interact with similar as well as non-similar others. Similar others were children from the same community using similar home language; whilst non-similar





others were those from other communities such as other Orang Asli tribes, Malays, Indians, and Chinese, as well as interacting with non-familiar adults. Within the context of the Orang Asli majority kindergartens, Participant P10 recalled how he enjoyed the kindergarten experience, highlighting with no malice in his voice, the memory of him as per his word, ‘bullying’ the minority Malay children.

P10: Sometimes I bit them [the Malay boys]. R: Did they cry? P10: Yes they did. R: Why did you bite them? P10: I didn’t even know why I did that.

For P10 then, he was in the majority context. He displayed the confidence arising from being in the dominant group when interacting with the other minority Malay children. However later, beyond kindergarten, P10 learned to befriend the same student he used to disturb during kindergarten. Opportunities to interact with non-similar others were also availed through the presence of multi-ethnic teachers from the Malay, Indian and Punjabi communities, among others. These opportunities bred familiarity with others who were not part of the Orang Asli community.

4.4.2.5.1.3 Extending Identity

What students think about themselves – what they ‘can do’ and what they ‘cannot do’ – is illustrated by Participant P10 in 4.4.2.5.1.2: Interacting with Similar and Non-similar Others above, whose concept of himself during the kindergarten years was that of a naughty boy who liked to ‘bully’ his friends especially children from the minority Malays who were enrolled in the Orang Asli majority kindergarten, due to its proximity. Also, despite his younger age, he insisted on going to the kindergarten, in order to be



with his friends. Moreover, when the opportunity arose during outside play-time, he had no hesitancy to take off for home which was a short distance away immediately after food time. Extending identity is thus about kindergarten providing the environment for students to test the limits imposed upon them.

4.4.2.5.2 Developing Potentials

Developing potentials is a generative process. Kindergartens do this by providing the ground and climate for students to cultivate leadership, develop self-esteem, cultivate team learning, and extend learning.

4.4.2.5.2.1 Cultivating Leadership and Cooperative Learning

Offering to lead when others would not is illustrated by Participant P11:

P11: In every game or anything, I'd usually be the first to volunteer. R: And why is that so? P11: I don't know, because everyone else didn't seem interested. Ermm ... [for instance] to play this certain game, and then, err, when everyone else kept quiet, I said, "teacher, just let me do it", something like that.

Incidents shared by P11 during our conversation suggest a student that took the lead when others would not, who could resolve issues independently, was resilient and had strong filial commitment. During this conduct of the present study, P11 was a final year student in a leading national university. She was also a student leader of Orang Asli



students in the university. Her current self reflects how parents, kindergarten, school as well as her community shape her academic progress and involvement.

4.4.2.5.2.2 Developing Self-Esteem

In kindergartens, developing self esteem is linked to feeling clever, feeling special, winning competition, receiving prizes and gifts for achievement, and graduating.

Participant P6 shared:

P6: Entered the math quiz competition and got a prize even just consolation prize haha. During that time teacher helped a lot. R: Your parents didn't help? P6: No they didn't.



P3 recalled the momentous occasion when she walked on the stage to receive the best student award while her parents watched from the front seats.

P3: At the end of the year I got an award for... if I'm not mistaken for excellence. They had the end of the year ceremony, like that. During that time they had the ceremony in a hall at Chemor. They announced the best student, and then I was called to the stage and my parents were there, [seated] in front, I remember that.

Strong self esteem prepares students for the next leg of their learning journey beyond kindergarten, in the primary school. Simply defined, self-esteem is ability to appreciate self and, "It allows you to *fail* without feeling bad about yourself", (Brown & Marshall, 2006, p.4) (Emphasis Original).





4.4.2.5.2.3 Extending Learning

Without doubt, kindergarten experience added to the students' prior learning. As children, the students entered kindergartens with prior learning that they acquired at home. For instance, prior to kindergarten, P6 could read and write the letters of the alphabet and her name, read simple words in Bahasa Melayu because her mother insisted that her older brothers should teach her.

P6: My mum always said that she forced my older brothers to teach [me] the ABC's first. R: Then before kindergarten, you can read a bit? P6: I knew the alphabet. R: How about writing your own name? P6: Writing my own name ... ha yes I could. R: How about writing sentences? P6: Writing sentences... R: Not yet ... So only words? P6: Yes. R: Reading names of objects? P6: With a lot of effort. Ha ha ha.

So was the case with P5 whose older siblings started his familiarity with the letters of the alphabet. Thus, family involvement provided children with varied baseline knowledge and skills as they started their kindergarten experience. Kindergartens extending learning is illustrated by P7, P11 and P13 who shared the beginning and ending of their kindergarten experience.

P7: [Before kindergarten could spell] my short name. After kindergarten I could spell, maybe some reading too I can't remember but not fluent. Writing... I am not sure because I barely did any writing. I just read a lot, and spelling like that. R: How about numbers? P7: 1 to 20.

P11: [Before kindergarten I knew] ABC ... [at the end of kindergarten I could read] Just one book.

P13: [Before kindergarten] I only knew how to count and read the alphabet and identify objects only. But I did not know how to write yet. I only knew how to write in kindergarten. [After kindergarten] I knew how to write the ABC ... to spell my name and name of fruits, writing short and simple sentences such as "I like to play".





Invariably, any prior learning the children brought into the kindergarten was extended through their interactions with teachers, friends and the curriculum. This extension in turn formed the children's baseline skills and knowledge as they stepped onto the threshold of primary schools.

4.4.2.5.3 Showing Vision of the Future

At the end of their kindergarten experience, most students looked forward to start primary education. P6 recalled:

P6: Because at the end of the session there will be ceremonies. Prize-giving ceremony, Kindergarten Graduation Ceremony, and then there will be performance. I took part in the performance too, and then err ... I was excited too to enter Standard One.

Where primary schools were located adjacent to the kindergartens, the kindergarten experience provided students glimpses of their next step (Examples: P1, P6, P7, P10, P12, & P13). They were also eager to be with their more senior kindergarten friends again in the primary school. In fact, one participant (P10) student had difficulty being left behind in the kindergarten because his friends who were a year older were leaving for primary school. P10 recalled:

P10: My [older] friends started primary school, leaving me still in the kindergarten. So I cried and I told the teacher that I wanted to follow them. The teacher then said, "No you couldn't". So I was wondering why she said that; then she said that you were not of the age [for school] yet. Again I cried and cried.





A participant, P1 described the joint sports day ‘*sukaneka*’ organised by the local primary school and kindergarten. The joint event enabled students from the kindergarten to be familiar with their future primary school, “*Sukaneka tu ... dia gabung dengan sekolah rendah (The sports day was combined with the primary school)*” (P1). Thus, activities jointly organised by the kindergartens and primary schools provided kindergarteners glimpses of their future schools. As a result, students completed their kindergarten years with eager anticipation of the next level of schooling experience.

To summarise, kindergartens generating learning is about kindergartens providing the climate for students to acclimatise before stepping onto the primary school threshold, developing the students’ potentials through interactions with dissimilar allowing the students to test their limit as they discover their emerging self, and showing students vision of their future.

To conclude, in generating learning, findings show that kindergartens provide the environment for children to engage with similar as well as non-similar others. Similar means children from the same community, same ethnicity and speaking the same home language. Generally, these were friends, even relatives, at home as well as in kindergartens. Non-similar others refer to children from other Orang Asli ethnic groups from other communities and speaking in their respective mother tongue, or children from other ethnic groups such Malay, Indian or Chinese. Non-similar others also include adults – teachers and teaching assistants - from other ethnic groups. At the kindergartens students found the need to make meaning and make sense of these new sensations of in contact with the outside environment as well as the ‘outside others’ –



the outsiders. Students were enabled to learn to apply and extend their real life experience and prior learning in amore formal setting. Although there were instances of apprehension due to punishment experienced by the students in kindergartens such as the case of P3, generally, at the end of the experience, most students looked forward to attending the primary school. The following figure illustrates the process of kindergartens generating learning.

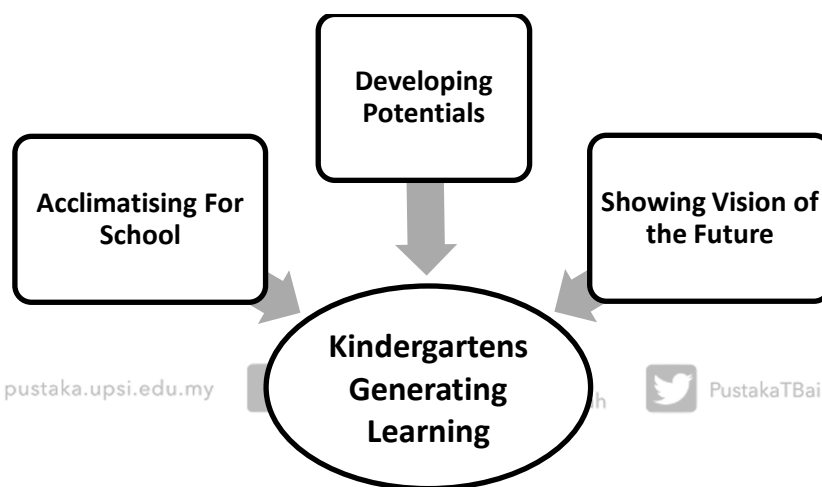


Figure 4.14. Kindergartens Generating Learning



4.4.2.6 Conclusion

Kindergartens provided transits for acclimatisation. Kindergartens prepared young Orang Asli learners for formal education, experiencing a school environment that was unlike home. In kindergartens children were partially transformed to students. They were given targets and were expected to be responsible to achieve the targets.

The emerging theory of kindergartens leading learning describes how kindergartens prepared Orang Asli students for formal education. The theory explains how kindergartens set the condition that initialised learning, created enticing factors that contributed to the joy of being in kindergarten and promoted climate that facilitates learning. In addition, kindergartens accommodated learning through teachers who were flexible, able to adjust to students' need, made necessary changes in order to create physically and emotionally safe and secure environment, whilst managing teaching and learning that was student-centred. Last but not least, kindergartens generated learning by giving students the space and time to acclimatise before setting off to primary school, enabling students to explore their potential and showing them vision of the future. The following figure illustrates the emerging theory of kindergartens leading learning and its properties.



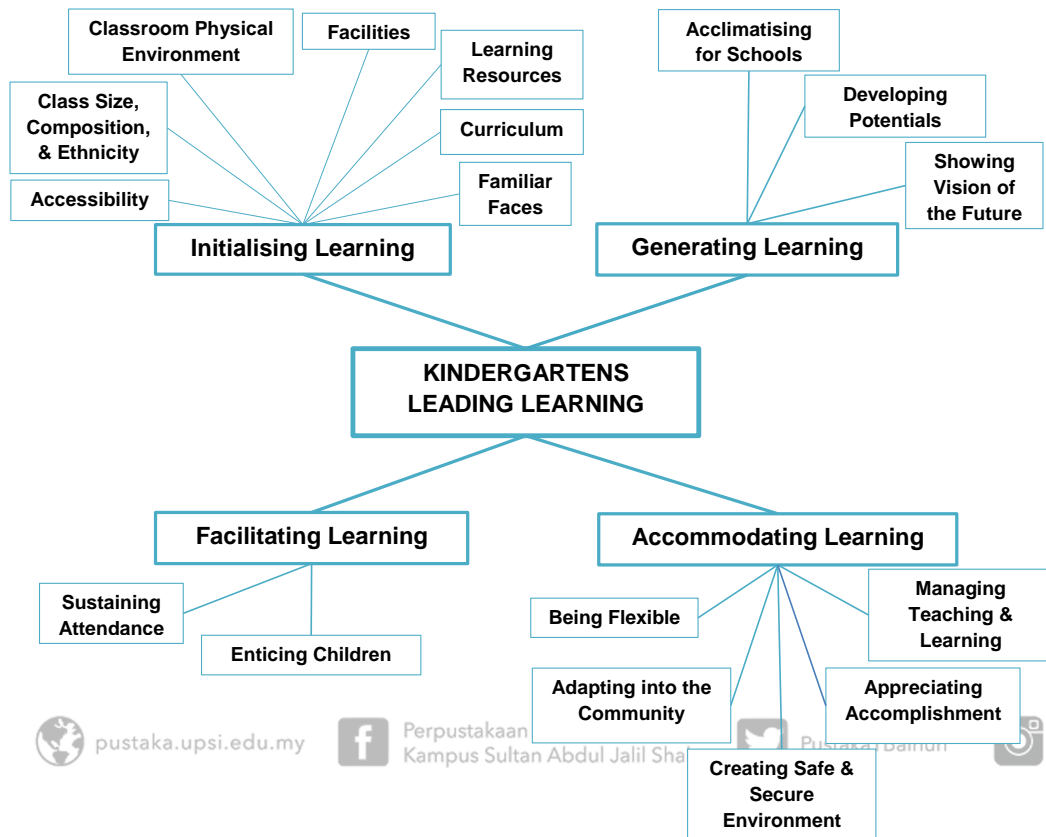


Figure 4.15. Kindergartens Leading Learning



4.4.3 Primary Schools

Students are expected to complete primary education in Malaysia in six years. They usually start primary education at the age of seven, following their pre-school education. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, students are exposed to other subjects such as science, physical education, and Islamic or moral education. At the end of primary year 6, students' achievement will be assessed through the Primary School Achievement Test, also known as Ujian Pencapaian Sekolah Rendah (UPSR). The UPSR assesses students' mastery of comprehension, writing and oral for Malay and English, mastery of mathematical skills, and mastery of science concepts (MOE, 2016).

In the context of this study, primary schools mirrored, consolidated and extended students' kindergarten experience. Thus, categories and properties of the emerging theory of schools leading learning are reflective of what happened in kindergartens, but with an extended curriculum and academic focus. Schools lead learning through the provision of facilities, administrators, teachers and other key persons such as hostel wardens and librarians.

The emerging theory consolidates learning experience in primary schools, based upon data shared by participants. Some participants had attended Orang Asli schools (Examples: P1, P5, P7), whilst some others had attended mainstream primary schools (Examples: P3, P9), and Chinese primary schools (Examples: P4, P8). Further details are as shown in the following Table 4.2.





Table 4.2

Participants and Primary Schools

Participant	Year of Birth	Start Year of Primary School	School Description
P1	1988	1995	Orang Asli School
P2	1989	1996	Sekolah Kebangsaan (Orang Asli majority)
P3	1990	1997	(1) Y1 (6 months): Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream, Malay majority) (2) Y1-Y6: Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream, Malay majority)
P4	1988	1995	Sekolah Kebangsaan (Chinese)
P5	1991	1999	Orang Asli School
P6	1992	2000	Sekolah Kebangsaan (Orang Asli majority)
P7	1995	2003	Orang Asli School
P8	1991	1999	Sekolah Kebangsaan (Chinese)
P9	1993	2001	Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream Malay and Orang Asli)
P10	1996	2004	Orang Asli School
P11	1992	2000	Orang Asli School
P12	1996	2004	Orang Asli School
P13	1996	2004	Orang Asli School
P14	1991	1999	(1) Y1-Y4: Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream) (2) Y4-Y6: Orang Asli School
P15	1997	2005	(1) Y1-Y3: Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream) (2) Y4: Sekolah Kebangsaan (Mainstream) (3) Y5-Y6: Orang Asli School
P16	1997	2005	Orang Asli School

Note: Sekolah Kebangsaan in Malaysia refers to elementary or primary school.





Constant comparative analysis indicates that participants' experience in primary school was in context with their favourite teachers and subjects, the school appointments they held, and other memorable events and incidents that marked their learning process. Most participants recalled less interaction with their school administrators as exemplified by the following conversations with P5 and P15:

R: What did you remember about your headteacher? P5: Can't remember much because I only met him during school assemblies.

R: Did you ever have conversations with your Headteacher? P15: Never. R: Did the Headteacher ever talk to you? P15: Yes, I think. It was in a gathering with the Headteacher for Year 6 students. R: Did the Headteacher ever interact (bertegur sapa) with you? P15: Never.

However, when administrators made regular visits to the classrooms, they were clearly remembered. As P6 recalled:



P6: Because he liked to monitor the classes, checking if there was any class without a teacher, he'd enter and asked why there was no teacher. If a teacher had something else to do, he would sit and told us stories.

How schools lead learning is elaborated through the processes of initialising learning, facilitating learning, accommodating learning and generating learning. The processes and their properties are described below.

4.4.3.1 Initialising Learning

As in the kindergartens, initialising learning in school is about setting the value or putting in the condition appropriate to the start of an operation. In similar manner



primary schools initialising learning is represented by several properties: accessibility, class size, composition and ethnicity, school environment, facilities, learning resources and curriculum.



Figure 4.16. Back View of an Orang Asli Primary School in an Orang Asli Village (Fieldwork: 01.11.2013)

4.4.3.1.1 Accessibility

Proximity to primary schools varied. When Orang Asli schools were located within the Orang Asli communities, they provided tremendous benefit in terms of accessibility. Students enjoyed the walk to school with friends. For instance, for some students such as P7, it was a five minutes walk to the school. For many others though, the Government through JAKOA provided vans (P2) or buses (P3) to transport the students to school. Usually Orang Asli schools in distant communities were established to accommodate students from the surrounding Orang Asli villages (Examples: P1, P5, P6, P11).

P5: Because JAKOA provided the van [tendered], so they [the students] took that [to school].

P6: Children of the police [force] were provided with a truck [to school]

However, there were also incidents of students who walked a kilometer or more due to variety of reasons. P2 and P11 shared their experiences of the long walk home from school:

P2: About 1 kilometre ... not exactly ... but almost ... but we always used the shortcut because the van driver was a drug addict. So, we were afraid of him. We walked through the palm oil plantation, passing a river ... until we arrived at our village.

P11: I walked from school on foot [after the afternoon classes], this was after I was slapped ... I stayed back [for the extra classes]. My father didn't have motorcycle [to fetch me from school] ... [I] walked through the Malay village ... and the estate, only then I reached my village. Around 5 kilometres, I think. It took me almost dusk [to reach home].

Past studies (Mazdi, Jabil & Rosmiza, 2014; SUHAKAM 2016) have highlighted issue of accessibility as a factor that contributes to learning disengagement. Thus, to alleviate the problem, the Government provides transportation to school, builds hostel facilities and schools in Orang Asli communities to enable distant students to attend schools.

4.4.3.1.2 Class Size, Composition, Ethnicity

A field visit by the researcher to an Orang Asli school in Negeri Sembilan showed student enrolment of 4 to 18 students per class (Fieldwork: 1.11.2013). However, research participants in this study recalled full class size, which was equivalent to about thirty students. It was also found that the Government's initiative to provide compulsory



primary education resulted in classes of mixed ages (Examples: P5, P7, P15). The participants described their respective classes:

P5: In this school, there were many students who were above age. When I was 7... there were three or four friends who were already 9 years old ... 8, even 11 years old, just starting Standard One because they started school late. When I was in Standard One, there were around ... 25 to 30 students.

P7: About 25 students in one class.

P15: 30-40 students [in one class].

Orang Asli children formed the main ethnic group in Orang Asli schools. P1 recalled an all Orang Asli class, except for one Indian student who was the child of a teacher teaching in the school. P5 remembered a few Malay students in his class, whilst P2 recalled the various ethnic groups in her class with Orang Asli children forming the majority. P1 and P2 shared:



P1: Ermm ... the one that we had (not an Orang Asli) ... during my time ... a Teacher's son ... An Indian Teacher ... the teacher brought his son to study there.

P2: From Standard 1 until 6, the majority in that school consisted of Orang Asli and Malays. [The Orang Asli] Semai tribe spoke in the Semai language. P2: Yes, we had Malays, Indians and Orang Asli. But there was no Chinese. R: How many pupils were there when you were in Year One? P2: [I'm] not sure [but] Year 1 appeared to be full. The class was full.

Thus, the data indicates classroom settings with a variety of classroom composition, mixed ages due to delayed enrollment of older students, and different ethnic majority due to the different types of primary schools.



4.4.3.1.3 Learning Environment

On reflection, Participant P5 stated his appreciation for the the availability of Orang Asli schools. He reflected on both its advantages and disadvantages.

P5: I went to a school which had Orang Asli as the majority students. Only a few, 2 to 3 students were Malay. So, I think there were advantages and disadvantages.

He conceded that the main advantage was the school learning environment which contributed to his ease – having a common language to communicate, and less negative outside influence as compared to the students who were in mainstream schools. He described the perils of Orang Asli students spending time at the internet cafes and video arcades in town, where mainstream schools were located. On the other hand, the disadvantage according to him included less exposure to the outside world which made him less innovative. Still, he concluded that despite disadvantages, the Orang Asli School was more appropriate and safer for him.

P5: The advantages were, I think, that I stayed among the Orang Asli so I could communicate using the same language, [although] if it was a different language I'd still understand. Another benefit was I wasn't exposed to negative things from the outside. Well during my time there was no internet, I didn't know how to play video games or anything related to the new technology.

He added:

P5: Yes [the technology] existed but I wasn't exposed to it compared to the Malay students, they know better about this stuff. Our thinking of course there is negative and positive aspects from the outside, but if there is any positive aspect it is not wrong for us to take it, right. [But] then when I stayed within the same circle my thinking level remained the same; that is why I said I learned in an environment that was less innovative.



When asked to conclude his perception of which was the better option, P5 stated:

P5: I think, for primary school I think I was more suitable to go to a school that have Orang Asli, because I felt safer.

P15 described her experience in three primary schools that she attended, named here as SRA, SRB and SRC respectively. She recalled a new experience of exclusion during her Year 4 in SRB, a mainstream primary school with a small population of Orang Asli students. In contrast to her previous primary school, SRA, P15 said her second school had a more segregated environment. The mainstream ethnic group did not appear to want to be with the Orang Asli students, and vice versa. P15 had not encountered the segregated feeling in SRA, but she felt it in SRB and wondered despite her attempt to want to befriend other ethnic students, why they moved away. She was happy in SRC, an Orang Asli school, where she felt the teachers gave more time to help the Orang Asli students in the classroom. The following excerpts traced her experience in the school.

P15 in SRA:

R: Was an Orang Asli school or a mixed school, at that time? P15: Mixed school. R: Did you feel left out? P15: No.

P15 in SRB:

P15: If it was up to me, I wanted to join them [students from other ethnic groups]. R: Who refused to join you? P15: They were the one who refused. R: How did you feel? P15: What wrong we have done... because they didn't want to be with us.



P15 in SRC:

R: In Year 4 you moved to a Sekolah Kebangsaan Orang Asli [SRC]? P15: Yes it was a full Orang Asli school. R: Oh, so it was enjoyable? P15: Yes. We even talked in the Temuan language.

The above conversations indicate that what made a school enjoyable to the students was a community of school comprising familiar people and language. P15 had a better experience at the third primary school, SRC, because the school was an Orang Asli school. She enjoyed being at the school, in which their indigenous ethnic language was widely used among the students. Her mainstream school experience however indicated a contrast in experience, feeling inclusive in SRA but marginalized in SRB.

Participants sharing indicate that facilities that enabled students and staff to be in school included hostels and teachers' accommodation, also commonly referred to as teachers' quarters. The Government built teachers' quarters adjacent to the primary school. They were occupied by non-local teaching staff of primary schools as well as by teachers teaching at adjacent kindergartens. The community of teachers in residence were mostly Malays. The shared facility lent a supporting infrastructure for teachers who were from outside the Orang Asli villages (Examples; P1, P5, P7). P1 recalled her kindergarten teacher sharing accommodation with the primary school teachers:

P1: She [the kindergarten teacher] stayed at the teachers' quarter. Probably there were also teachers from the primary school staying there, because the kindergarten and the primary school were next to each other.



The availability of a hostel is both initialising and facilitating. Hostel contributed to the initialising learning process when it enabled distant students to attend school from Year 1 and onwards. For instance, the Sg Tohoi school incident described earlier indicates students of various ages were boarded at the hostel. However, most of the participants started staying in hostels during Year 5, up to Year 6 to prepare for the UPSR. An exception was P1 who boarded in the newly provided hostel at the beginning of Year

3. P1 recalled:

P1: Initially [I stayed] at a relative's house, near the school. Then when it [the school] had hostel, I stayed at the hostel. From Standard 3, I had been staying so many years in the hostel. So I was like more motivated. Knowing that my mother was poor ... so I was not too 'manja' with Mother, I became independent.

The school's hostel evidently provided the initiating means for children from distant Orang Asli communities to start Year 1 as reported by the headteacher of an Orang Asli school (Sinar Harian, 2016). An excerpt from the report states:

According to her [the Headteacher], a total of 10 Orang Asli pupils have registered to stay in school's hostel. She said, presently the school had 223 Orang Asli pupils from about eight Orang Asli villages within the district. She added, out of those [223 pupils] 91 pupils have registered to board in the hostel including 43 pupils of Year Six (Sinar Harian, 2016).

On the other hand, hostels contributed to the facilitating learning process for students who need to stay in, for the intensive UPSR preparatory programs organised by schools during primary Year 5 and Year 6. This aspect of hostel facilitating learning is further described in Section 4.4.3.2.1.3: Hostels.





Hostels also contributed to the students' initiation to independence. P1 recalled washing her own clothes and leaving them to dry in the hostel before going home for the weekend:

P1: Yes, it was like I just knew what to do. I don't know, but I was motivated since in the beginning, that I would wash my clothes first before I left for home, because the hostel had a covered area where [we] could [hand] washed our clothes.

Not all schools had hostel facility. Participant P6 noted that her school had a music room, but there was no hostel, while her keen sense of humour could not resist uttering that her frequently used facility was the toilet.

P6: We have everything, we have a music room. R: Which among the facilities that you used the most? P6: Toilet! Ha ha ha. R: [Laughs] Okay what else ... the library? P6: Library ... Year 1 to Year 3, less use of the library, because in the timetable we were given only one session per week for each class. R: Was there any hostel? P6: No, we didn't have hostel.

Thus, facilities availed in the school set the environment that enabled students and teachers to be present in school.





4.4.3.1.5 Learning Resources

Learning resources function as tools to deliver the curriculum of Malaysian primary school education. Commonly used are textbooks, supplemented by workbooks, worksheets, and other teacher developed resources as well as commercial artifacts. Information and communication technology may also be available to support learning. The more interesting real life resources may include the students themselves as live resource for demonstration, food items, items or materials brought in from home and from outside the classrooms, the outside and natural environment, as well as guests and professional visitors.

Print resources including teacher developed resources such as illustrations and words posted on the walls, creating a ‘dictionary on the wall’, offered affordable solutions to support curriculum needs. When asked how he found out about the profession ‘*akauntan*’ for his ambition, P16 recalled:

R: Where did you get the word ‘akauntan’, also from the walls? P16: Yes.

Participant, P5 described his creative BM teacher, using a musical instrument to teach the language through songs. As a result, for P5 learning BM was fun.

P5: The teacher was from Kedah, a female teacher, and the way she taught it was fun. She taught Bahasa Melayu, and she used a lot of songs. The teacher could also play the guitar, so she used the instrument in class to teach.

Limited resources were felt by some participants. Lacking a dictionary, P11 found learning English was difficult. She explained:



P11: To learn English, I need a dictionary, but we didn't buy it because we couldn't afford it. So, we didn't understand. Once when the teacher asked a question, I copied the question back on the board [when I was asked to answer]. [There was no dictionary at home and in the classroom].

Further, when asked about whether she remembered teachers bringing resources from outside or students bringing them from home, P11 replied:

P11: [The teacher would talk about] only about those items that were available in the class. R: None from the outside, [for examples] 'rambutan' during 'rambutan' season, 'durian' during durian season? P11: None. R: Something from home, how about teacher saying 'tomorrow all of you bring this ... we are going to talk about this? P11: Never.

The study shows that, technology assisted teaching and learning, if any was limited. Participants reported of having a computer room in their respective schools. However, the facility was only used to introduce the students to computer and its use as a word processor. Some participants recalled:

P5: In primary school we learn to use computer in the computer laboratory, only the basics, using Words.

P15: Those days we never had any computer class. We never use computer, 100% in the classroom. However, the school had its own computer lab.

P16: We have a computer room. We learned how to use the computer, for instance how to type, using Microsoft and so on.

P13: Yes, we had, we learned in the computer room. We learned about computer and how to use it.

The findings thus indicate Orang Asli students in this study have limited access to learning resources. Textbooks were provided by schools. The memorable mentions include teacher developed resources, teacher's own musical instrument, and school computers.



4.4.3.1.6 Curriculum

Primary school curriculum in Malaysia is set by the Ministry of Education (MOE, 2016). The curriculum covers core subjects, compulsory subjects and additional subjects. In the following excerpts, the participants shared some of their memorable subjects from the curriculum. As shown below Bahasa Melayu appeared frequently as the favourite subject in the conversations:

P6: Bahasa Melayu and 'Seni' were my favourite subjects from Year 1 to Year 3. [Seni] was the only subject that I didn't have to read, only drawing and playing with colours. I liked Bahasa Melayu because it was easy for me to learn. Maths [is my least favourite]. If Bahasa Melayu we felt that it was enjoyable. From Year 1 to Year 3 the school had assembly every evening, and then we would perform a song, class by class.

P11: My favourite subject was BM because it was easy. English was difficult, its grammar, and how to construct sentences. I received prize for best subject for BM.

P13: [My favourite subjects were] Bahasa Melayu and English. P13: Bahasa Melayu was easy, and it helped me to understand the teacher. R: Your least favourite subject? P13: Mathematics. I didn't like to compute. I could do addition, but subtraction, multiplication and division were difficult for me.

P15: My favourite was Bahasa Melayu ... because it was easy. Least favourite was Science, I was weak in Science. I was okay in Mathematics.

P16 liked writing in Bahasa Melayu because it stimulated her thinking.

P16: My favourite teacher was the Mathematics teacher. P16: Because I liked mathematics. I also liked BM. I liked to play with the sentences. When writing, it made me think, and ask why and why, since I was in Standard 4.

The data shows that Bahasa Melayu appeared to be a favourite subject because the students found them easier. A few indicated their affinity for English, because it was a



new language experience, as in the case of P1, or as in P7 who liked the subject because she believed that she could do it.

P1: I liked English although I wasn't very good, but English attracted my attention. It was like my focus subject.

P7: [I prefer] English, because I think I could [do it].

The above excerpts show that students were initiated into the curriculum through language, in particular Bahasa Melayu. English was a novelty, something new. In addition, students found Mathematics challenging.

To summarise, the concept of schools initialising learning explains how primary schools set the condition and provision that enable students to continue the formal learning process initiated earlier at kindergartens. The properties of schools initialising learning are illustrated in the following diagram.

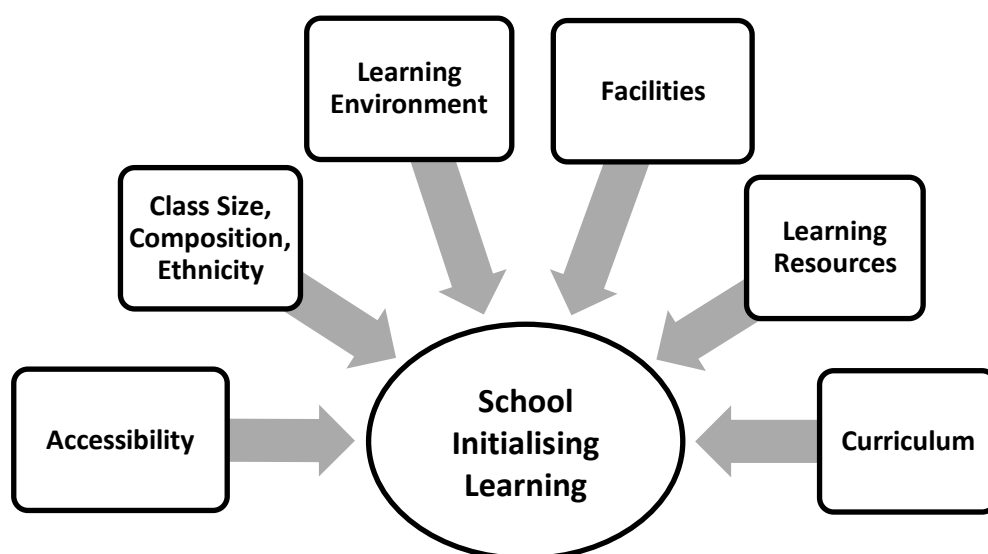


Figure 4.17. Schools Initialising Learning



4.4.3.2 Facilitating Learning

Schools facilitate learning through people and activities that promote, assist and support the continuity of the learning process. In facilitating learning, schools provided the context that sustained attendance and enticed students to school.

4.4.3.2.1 Sustaining Attendance

Friends, school meals and hostels were among the elements that helped sustained students' attendance. To be with friends was among the key reason for the students' presence in school. School meals provided sustenance to maintain the students' energy level. And hostels provided students with accommodation close to school that enabled them to attend organised programmes of study to prepare for the UPSR. The properties of schools sustaining attendance are discussed below.

4.4.3.2.1.1 Friends

Despite her financial issue, P2 love for school sustained her attendance. Being with the teachers and friends was important to her. She recalled:

P2: Those days pocket money was on off [but] whether I had money or not I'd still go to school. Because I loved school very much I didn't care whether I had money or not. As long as I get to go to school and meet my teachers and friends, for me that was my satisfaction.





P3 and P5 reflected on having friends that helped settled them in school:

P3: About five or six months [into Year One], it no longer feel [bad], and there were friends.

R: Did you remember your best friends during year one. P5: I had three to four.

For P1, friends going to the same school made the hard, long ride to school fun. The journey to school was long, over harsh road condition, but because they were together with friends, the bumps and the humps were part of the adventure. P1 shared one such adventure:

P1: Yes [we were transported to school using] a four-wheel drive [truck]. We sat at the back, via road running through the jungle. With friends, that was really enjoyable.



Thus, with friends, despite the limiting conditions, going to school was deemed an adventure. Participant P13 also attributed to his full school attendance to having friend.

When queried he shared:

R: What was most memorable during your primary school that caused you never to miss class? P13: In primary school I had a lot of friends. Many of these friends were from other villages. We spoke the same languages.

As indicated by the above participants, schools provided them the time to be with caring teachers and good friends. Renganathan (2016) found similar reason in her study that friends draw Orang Asli students to school. According to the students, they enjoyed going to school because they could meet their friends and being at home without their friends would be boring.





The importance of friends was highlighted by Gutman & Feinstein (2008) who found that children who talked to their teachers and being satisfied by their friendships experience positive well-being during the primary school years. Both teachers and friends contributed to students' ease and eagerness of being in school, thus sustaining their attendance. Whilst this section has focussed briefly on friends as a property of facilitating learning, the importance of caring teachers is discussed in Section 4.4.3.2.2.1: Good Caring Teachers.

4.4.3.2.1.2 School Meals

School meals programmes, or the '*Rancangan Makanan Tambahan*' (RMT), helped alleviate incidents of hunger among students, thus enabling them to be more engaged in the classroom. Johari and Nazri (2007) and Nazariah (2014) are among the researchers who have highlighted hunger and lack of nutrition as a factor that contributed to poor achievement among the Orang Asli students. Participants P5 and P10 recalled the value of supplementary meals:

P5: There was RMT [Rancangan Pemakanan Tambahan], supplementary meals program so even if there was no school allowance it was okay. I learned to save my pocket allowance.

P10: My allowance was 50 sen during primary school. That was enough because there was food provided by the school in the morning.

Participant P7 recalled being part of the special class targeted to excel in the UPSR. They were provided additional breakfast in the morning:



P7: We were also provided with free meals in the morning.

Supplementary meals added to the students' nutritional requirements. Also as shown by P5, students could start the good habit of saving their pocket allowance to be used for other purposes.

4.4.3.2.1.3 Hostels

Hostels where available were part of the school complex, providing board and meals to the students in residence. The hostels catered for both the male and female students housed in separate blocks or floors. The role of hostels in leading learning was succinctly described by P5, who started staying in the hostel during his Year 5 and continued on to Year 6 to prepare for the UPSR. As he described, hostels set the routine for living and learning.

P5: Routine in hostel ... I came back from school at about 1:05 [the hostel was about five minutes away]. 1:30 lunch and then 4:30 we had tea. R: How many were in the hostel? P5: Boys around 20, secondary school along with the primary school students. R: Only one room? P5: No, no, dorm, dormitory. R: There was a place for cooking? P5: Cooking, no. If you want to eat there was a dining hall below. P5: Three storey building. One block, 3 floors for 50 students. The first floor [Ground Floor] was used as the dining hall, second and third floors were the rooms. Girl's dormitory, the school hall on the first floor. The school didn't have hall because it became the hostel. Dining hall shared with the boys. In the morning we ate at the hostel, and then recess there was food also, RMT [Rancangan Makanan Tambahan]. Then lunch provided at the hostel.



Since his hostel accommodated Orang Asli students from surrounding villages for both the primary and secondary schools, P5 also found a role model in a senior during his stay in the hostel. P5 narrated his experience:

P5: I started living in the hostel in Standard 5, Standard 6. In the hostel, studying was different. In the hostel, I was with the secondary school students, so I tried to follow their style of studying. There was this one brother, I thought he was good. He was good not because he was smart but because he was hardworking. I tried to follow his method but it was tough because he was a really hardworking student. R: What do you mean by hardworking? P5: I watched him, he was disciplined. After school he took a bath and had lunch and then in the evening he took a walk, then he took a nap for a while and then after dinner he straight away opened his books until midnight, that's what I observed. R: So you followed him? P5: I tried but I wasn't matured yet I think. I tried ... but didn't follow much. I looked at his book there was a timetable so I tried to make my own timetable but I couldn't do much. R: He was in which form during that time? P5: I think he was in Form 4.

Thus, a benefit of having a mixed residency in the hostel, of both the secondary and primary students, was opportunities for the junior primary students to observe the routine of their seniors, as was the case with P5. Such living interactions promoted to the younger students the experience of school beyond primary, resulting in a better learning engagement.

Another benefit of staying in the school hostels was it enabled students to attend night classes and tuitions in preparation for the UPSR. Thus, hostels contributed to ensuring attendance and organised learning time. When asked why he decided to live in the hostel, P7 reasoned:

P7: because we had night classes. So it was like outside, at night [it would be difficult to attend if one lived at home] R: It was organized? P7: Yes. R: There was night prep? P7: Yes. After that we would have the night tuition. R: Who taught the night tuition? P7: Teachers who were there also.





The hostels also enabled the primary school students to interact and seek help from the senior secondary students as well as the ‘top students’ among them. Thus paving their path to self-directed learning, by knowing who to seek for help and taking own initiative to seek assistance. P12 and P13 recalled:

P12: There were students from the secondary school living in the hostel. So they could be consulted [during prep]. I would ask them [for help with the school work]

P13: For UPSR, I stayed in the hostel. We had revision class during the night. There would be a teacher. [We studied] individually or in group with friends. We grouped together with the top students. They helped the others. But the teachers also conducted extra classes for revision, in the evening or at night.

Although studies have highlighted negative experiences and consequences of boarding young indigenous students away from home (SUHAKAM, 2016; LHF, 2014), this study found that the research participants benefited from their hostel stay especially during the last two years of their primary schooling. Nevertheless, as highlighted by LHF (2014) and in the Sg Tohoi school incident (News, 2015b), traumatic experiences such as separation from family, mistreatment and neglect, abuse of many kinds and children who did not survive must be considered in any residential placement of Orang Asli students.

4.4.3.2.2 Enticing Students

Among factors that enticed participants to school were good caring teachers, having roles and responsibilities, creative and fun lessons and library access.



4.4.3.2.2.1 Good Caring Teachers

Caring teachers drew students to them. Thus participants's memorable experience involved good caring teachers who created the environment of belonging, promoted and encouraged students-teachers interactions. Participants P3, P2, P6, P7 and P10 shared their memorable caring teachers:

P3: [She was special] because she was kind. I was new then. On the second day I cried. I went to her. I asked where my mother was. Then she hugged me [and said] it's okay, all the parents were here, I don't know how, but she consoled me then.

P2: Meaning, when I had good relationship with the teacher when in the school, [then] I was not lazy to go to school, because I was not afraid of them, [rather] I was comfortable with them.

P6: The teacher was not fierce, she was caring. She was concerned when there were students who could not cope with something different. Okay, if there were 20 students in the class, she'd ask who had understood who hadn't. After exam, she'd look at the achievement and would go to those who didn't perform, she'd ask about their problems. Basically she liked to have a one-on-one resolution. She would not get angry; she'd ask what the problem was.

P7: Puan N was my mathematics teacher. When I was in Year 5, Year 6 or so, if I could not understand she would teach me. She helped me a lot. And then there was another teacher, she asked me to be her foster child. R: Why? P7: Because she didn't have any daughter.

R: Was there any teacher that really was your favourite who drew you to him or her whenever you went to school? P10: Yes there was. R: Which subject teacher? P10: The Science Teacher. R: Why were you so motivated to see this Science Teacher? P10: Because the Teacher was kind.

Another indicator of students' experience of good teachers was when students celebrated Teachers' Day, showing respect and appreciation by making cards and giving them to their favourite teachers. For instance, P5 made his own Teachers' Day



Card and gave it to his favourite Bahasa Melayu Teacher. In addition, for some students, caring teachers filled up the void of missing parents as narrated by P2:

P2: The teachers liked me. In primary school I received full encouragement from the teachers. I wasn't close with my parents. You know my chronology.

The findings above suggest that good caring teachers promote love for school and draw students to attend school, although for various reasons. Students felt drawn to teachers who were kind, comforting, not fierce, not easily angered, and who gave individual attention. Raufelder et al. (2016) examined how students perceive 'good' and 'bad' teachers based on their daily school experiences and found that students prioritize teachers' (inter)personal dimensions over their academic abilities in everyday classroom interactions when evaluating them as teachers. Good teachers implied appreciation, individual consideration and sympathy (Raufelder et al, 2016).



4.4.3.2.2 Giving Roles and Responsibilities

Giving students roles and responsibilities is both the effort of teachers and administrators. Students may be given the opportunity to undertake roles and responsibility through school appointments such as class monitor, school prefect and student librarian. When Participant P3 showed her that she was able to read on the first day of school, the teacher wanted to nominate her as the class monitor. But upon consideration of her shyness, the nomination did not materialise.





P3: It [the word] was difficult but it was in Bahasa Melayu. Father had taught me to read, and then she [teacher] asked me to be the class monitor. R: Because you know how [to read]? P3: Ha because I know how. She asked me to give "salam", she wanted to test my voice, but because my voice was soft she knew I was shy so she said okay I didn't have to be the class monitor. She appointed a boy to be the class monitor. When I went to Sekolah TT, I became the assistant monitor, but not in Sekolah SK.

Participant P5 believed that his appointment as class monitor on his first day of school was due to his father's involvement in school. P5 recalled:

P5: I was appointed the class monitor in Standard One [on his first day of school]. My father was well known at the school. The teacher thus knew me [because of my father].

Later P5 was appointed Head of Library. When asked why he was not also a prefect, P5 explained that the school gave chances for maximum number of students to hold

school positions:



R: You were the head of library (Ketua Perpustakaan). The school would not allow you to be appointed to two positions, prefect and librarian? P5: No, no, [must be] different students.

In another instance, a school appointment reinforced a student's love for the library and good behaviour. P8 surmised:

P8: I was appointed as the library-in-charge from Standard One to Standard Three. R: Why did the teacher select you? P8: Probably because I was regularly going to the library. In Standard 3, I was appointed as a prefect, until I was in Standard 6. R: Why were you appointed as prefect? P8: As a prefect because I was well behaved. Probably also because in school I was an okay student, I wasn't the angry type.

A participant also recalled the school acknowledging and celebrating her contribution as a prefect and academic achievement. P9 recalled the memorable moment:





P9: Then I received award for being a prefect. Also, for achievement in class.

The above findings suggest that students were appointed to a certain role based upon various considerations such as parents' visibility or involvement in school, students' academic achievement, interest and behaviour. Schools gave the opportunities to take up roles and responsibilities through classroom jobs and school leadership appointments to as many students as possible, enticing students by making them feel special, that their presence in school is important and valued. At the end of their school tenure, students received recognition and acknowledgement for their contributions.

4.4.3.2.2.3 Conducting Fun and Creative Lessons



A new experience, fun and creative lessons interspersed with humour kept the students engaged in classroom. Some participants, for instance, were drawn to teachers that taught English, a new language for them. P2 recalled:

P2: She taught me English, I liked her very much that's why I liked English. Because of her accent, that her English was pure. I said to myself how nice if I could speak like her.

P5 recalled his creative Bahasa Melayu teacher, who sang songs and played the guitar when teaching the language. He shared:

P5: The teacher was from Kedah, a lady. Her teaching was fun. She taught Bahasa Melayu using a lot of songs. She also knew how to play the guitar, so in class she would use it to teach.

A teacher interspersed her lessons with jokes, thus keeping her students awake.





P7: Teacher Y was a bit of a joker, that's why I remembered. She told us a lot of jokes, so we didn't feel sleepy.

Participant P10 remembered his mathematics teacher who told stories in between the serious mathematics lessons.

P10: Not too straight. He (Mathematics Teacher) taught some, then [in between] he would tell stories; that's how he taught.

A participant recalled the eager feeling to go to school, to show his teacher when he successfully completed a given task; but would feel demotivated when the task could not be done. P14 shared his contrast in feeling about going to school:

P14: He [the mathematics teacher], made me want to go to school sometimes, when I managed to memorise [the times table]. But when I could not memorise, I felt lazy to go to school.



The above excerpts contribute to our understanding of what made the students remained engaged in school. They indicate that students were drawn to special teachers who taught subjects such as English, a novelty to the students, and fun creative lesson delivery that included use of songs, musical instrument, jokes and stories. There were also days when students had ambivalent feeling about school, depending on whether they had successfully completed their home tasks.





4.4.3.2.2.4 Library Access

Findings indicate that library provided a retreat for students who were avid readers (Examples: P1, P2 and P5). Access to library meant access to learning resources such as story books, and television where students watched educational programs during recess. Avid readers were motivated by stories they read from the books made available in the library. Participants P1, P5, P2 & P6 shared their interactions with the resources in the library:

P1: [After school] when tired of playing, I read books borrowed from the library. Literally every day I was borrowing books, returning books. Varieties of books like ... children's folklores, for example 'Sang Badang'.

P5: [I started to go to the library in standard] 4 and 5. R: Who encouraged you to go to library? P5: I think no one did but because maybe at that time I went to library during recess, every recess time I went there, I felt excited when I read; during recess I didn't borrow any books. R: What time was your recess? P5: In primary school around 10 to 10:20. Sometimes I eat, sometimes I did not, went to library to do some reading, if not finished I'd mark it, then the day after, I'd read again during recess. I think it was exciting. R: Story books? P5: They were story books. R: There was another head librarian? P5: Yes there was another head librarian, a senior student. R: Did you go for reading alone or with friends? P5: With friends but he stayed there watching TV ... R: There was TV in the library? P5: Yes. Educational TV.

P2: I like to read about the stories of the Prophets. If in the library I went there during recess.

P6: Primary school, Standard 4 till Standard 6 quite often I went to the library, because of a friend. R: Okay, what did you do in library? P6: I read story books. I borrowed books and brought home regularly.

Recess provided students with personal time in the library, where avid readers were lost in the world of folk tales, and stories of people past. P5 showed how his interest had resulted in him staying in the library regularly during recess, in order to complete his





reading, “*I marked the page, and continued the next day*” he said. P5 shared the impact of the library on him:

R: Did the library have any impact on the way you learn and make learning more fun? P5: I think it had even though during standard 4. The library was small, like, one big, big ... one. R: Like a room? P5: Yes like a classroom I think, plus not many reading materials, or other stuff but I think, the reading materials, the children’s books helped me to feel motivated I think.

The library also provided students the opportunity to assume responsibility as student librarian and be part of the school community. P5 for example was appointed as librarian during Year 4 and Year 5, as described earlier in Section 4.4.3.2.2.2: Giving Roles and Responsibilities. The importance of library to the students and the school community has been highlighted by CLA (2014). In library ‘Leading Learning’, Canada Library Associations (CLA, 2014) developed a framework to transform the elementary



school library as a ‘learning commons’ as described below:

A learning commons is a whole school approach to building a participatory learning community. The library learning commons is the physical and virtual collaborative learning hub of the school. It is designed to engineer and drive future-oriented learning and teaching throughout the entire school. Inquiry, project/problem-based learning experiences are designed as catalysts for intellectual engagement with information, ideas, thinking, and dialogue. Reading thrives, learning literacies and technology competencies evolve, and critical thinking, creativity, innovation and playing to learn are nourished. Everyone is a learner; everyone is a teacher working collaboratively toward excellence (CLA, 2014, p.5).

In conclusion, schools facilitated learning by providing environment and provision that sustained school attendance. Students were also enticed to school by the presence of good caring teachers, giving students roles and responsibilities, teachers conducting fun and creative lessons and providing students access to library. The following figure illustrates the properties of schools facilitating learning.



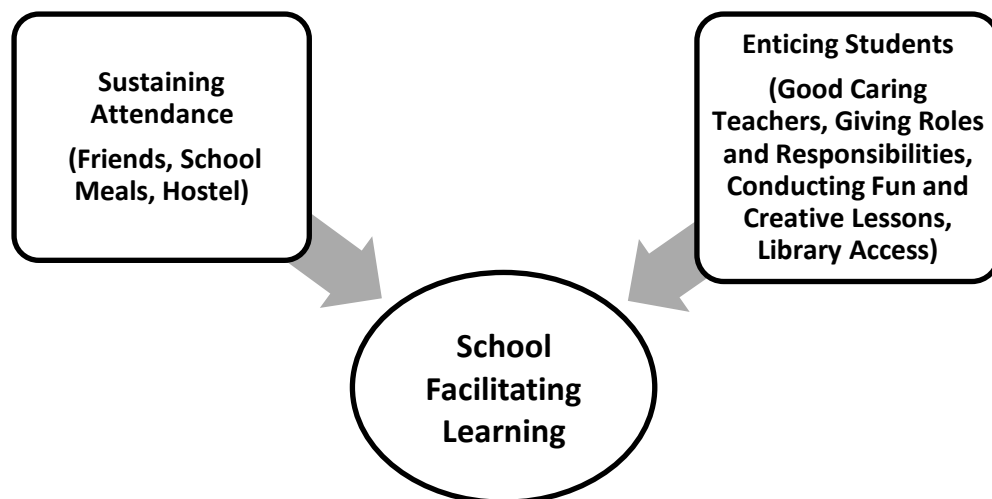


Figure 4.18. Schools Facilitating Learning

4.4.3.3 Accommodating Learning

Schools accommodating learning explains how teachers and administrators adapted, made changes, and made time for their students. Accommodating learning is exemplified by teachers assuming multiplicity of roles, being flexible, adapting into the community, creating safe and secure environment, managing teaching and learning, giving reward and administering punishment.

4.4.3.3.1 Multiplicity of Roles

In practice teachers as educators adopted a multiplicity of roles, adapting themselves to accommodate the unique needs of their students. For instance, the role of ‘teacher as



parent' was described by P2 who talked about her favourite teacher who adopted her as part of the school's 'Anak Angkat' (Foster Student) program.

P2: She knew my attitude well because she took me as her foster student during that time ... the foster care program, so I became her foster student. Many teachers were eager to take me as their foster student, [and] I wasn't even the best student. But the teachers were keen on me. So finally I chose Teacher A to be mine.

SK Long Tuma (2010) and SK Pernu (2011) describe the 'Anak Angkat' program as a program in which a few students are assigned to a teacher who will be responsible to provide the students with guidance in academic, motivation, and discipline.

Findings show that teachers also functioned as counsellors, formally and informally. For instance, Participant P14 recalled his interaction with a teacher-counsellor through whom he learned about the concept of life's goal. By listening to the student's family stories, the counsellor engaged in a collaborative exploration of the student's learning path and vision of his future self as an option to resolve his family concern. P14 shared:

P14: I regularly went to the counselling room. I asked about university, and goal. R: How did you manage to understand the concept of goal during primary school? P14: Because I went for counselling regularly. I told [the counsellor] about my family, about our family financial situation, then the counsellor told me about university, about to help change my family situation.

P15 claimed she was easily demotivated by friends' behaviour towards her. She sought advice from the school's Teacher Counselor who helped to resolve her concern.

P15: In Standard 6 I went to see my Teacher Mentor, Teacher Z for counseling. I was quite close to her. Teacher Z advised me not listen to what others had to





say about me. People said I was aloof. I didn't teach others. [Actually] I myself didn't understand, so I didn't teach others.

Caring subject teachers took up counseling roles to students who sought their help. P16 shared her experience with two of her teachers who she consulted when she had personal concern.

P16: He [male Teacher K] liked to help the students. If I didn't know I would go and ask him. If I have problems I would go and talk to him. Just like Teacher T [male]. Teacher T taught BM, mathematics and English [but] Teacher K taught Special Needs only.

Some teachers were formally in-charge of the school discipline. P6 remembered how his perception of a fierce discipline teacher changed after an injury. The discipline teacher administered first aid, and P6 realized that the teacher actually was a good

person.



P6: [My favourite teacher] was a male Teacher Az. He was both fierce and loving. He was the discipline teacher. So for sure he was fierce. [But once] I was injured, so he helped me. I injured my head, I had a cut, and he helped to bandage it. It changed my perception. We were afraid of him, he was very fierce, was always getting angry, then after that [injury incident], oh actually he was a good person.

School teachers' multiplicity of roles is indicated by another incident involving a teacher who went the extra mile to deliver a letter concerning scholarship for his student. In this case the teacher took on the role of news bearer, a 'postman', riding to a distant village to deliver a communication that was important to his student's welfare. P1 recalled how this male teacher rode his bike to her village, about 30 kilometers away, to deliver a letter offering her scholarship.





P1: During Standard 6 there was this teacher. He took it upon himself to come all the way to my house on his motorbike. It was about scholarship. My sister and I were having our meals. I was surprised when he suddenly appeared in front of our house. He came to deliver a letter.

To summarise, in accommodating learning, teachers undertook a multiplicity of roles that included among others, teacher as parent, teacher as counsellor, teacher as discipline enforcer and teacher as news bearer.

4.4.3.3.2 Being Flexible

Being flexible is about administrators making adjustment for higher goals, flexible targets, and teachers adapting their lives and schedules to accommodate the students need. P16 narrated about her school administrator who employed outside teacher to provide tuition for the science subject at no expense to the students which was indicative of the administrator taking the necessary action towards a better than realistic achievement for the students.

P16: But for science they would call an outside teacher to teach. R: Did you have to pay? P16: No. R: When were your other extra classes? P16: In the evening or morning.

The data also illustrates that teachers accommodated students learning need by being flexible on scheduled duty. P15 explained how the school administrator scheduled programs that required teachers to come early to school to help students with their homework. In addition, all the Year 6 students were required to stay in the hostel,





enabling them to receive coaching during tuitions at night, and extra 30 minutes learning time, before classes began in the morning.

P15: We had tuition, night class, morning class too. Morning class was normally between 6:30 am to 7:00 am. R: What did you learn in 30 minute? P15: If we had any homework that we did not understand, we could ask during that time. That helped us a lot.

On the other hand, an administrator lacking flexibility was exemplified by the case of P14 who was forced to drop out due to financial issues. P14 shared his predicament during Year 4 of his schooling:

P14: At the time I really did not feel like going to school. After I received the letter of warning, I did not go to school for about a month [then I dropped out].

In contrast, the administrator at the subsequent school offered P14 a second chance, enabling him to renew his interrupted schooling. When asked when he resumed his primary schooling, P14 explained in the following conversation:

R: When did you move to the next school? P14: 2002. After one year. I started at standard 4 again. I was already 11 years old.

Being flexible is also about making life changes to serve a new environment. Findings indicate that teachers who lived outside the community commuted to accommodate the educational need of the community. P16 recalled:

P16: He [the teacher] lived in Town P. [He commuted since I was] in standard 4 until standard 6.

In conclusion, administrators and teachers with high expectations made provisions to give students a higher chance of academic success such as giving daily additional hours





to help students clear their difficulties. Norwaliza, Ramlee and Abdul Razaq (2016) in a study found that school administrators from high achieving Orang Asli schools also have flexible targets for their students.

In conclusion, the accommodating indicators of teachers and administrators include being flexible about schedule and targets. It is also indicated through flexible re-enrolment for students who were at risk of dropping out. Being flexible is also illustrated by outside teachers who were willing to commute and serve the Orang Asli schools located some distance away.

4.4.3.3.3 Adapting into the Community



Adapting into the Orang Asli community is about outside teachers accommodating differences (such as environment, culture, facilities) that lead to long term relationship with orang Asli schools. The following excerpt indicates one such long term relationship where father and son were teaching at the same Orang Asli School.

Participant P5 narrated:

P5: Because his father [referring to the Teachers's father] was also there. He [the son] also was assigned there. His father was also a teacher, a senior teacher. He taught my older brothers and sisters as well.

Participant P16 also recalled a long term teacher who came to the school when she was in Year 4 and knew that he left when she was in Form 4. P16 shared:





P16: He transferred when I was in Form 4 I think. He came when I was in standard 4.

Long-serving teachers provided continuity and familiar faces that ease teacher-student relations. Participant P2 proudly remembered her favourite English teacher who knew her so well and was still teaching at her old school:

P2: Teacher Sh is still teaching BI [in the school]. She is the longest to know me.

Another aspect of adapting into the community also involved Non-Orang Asli teachers living within the Orang Asli School community. P1 remembered Malay teachers of a nearby Orang Asli primary school in the staff accommodation:

P1: She had the teachers' quarters. The kindergarten was here and [the quarters] were located across. There were Malay teachers at the [Orang Asli] primary school, so she stayed there with her friends.

The above and following excerpts indicate the presence of multi-racial group of teachers serving Orang Asli community. Such presence indicates the need of non-indigenous teachers to adapt and accommodate themselves into an environment that is uniquely different from that of the mainstream. For instance, when asked whether she remembered her Teachers' name, P2 recalled the different teachers she had:

P2: Teacher Jh [female Malay]. Initially [Year 1] Teacher Jh, then she transferred [I was still in Year 1] Teacher Ik [female Punjabi]. R: From which year? Year 1, she taught English. I liked her very much, that was the reason I liked English.

In conclusion, adapting into the community is indicated by teachers with long term relationship and living within the Orang Asli community. Teachers' ability to adapt into



the community enabled stable relationships with their students, leading to better engagement (Sidorkin, 2002; Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004; Gay, 2010; Berryman et al., 2014). As Martin and Dowson (2009) argue teachers' attrition and mobility lead to fewer opportunities for consistent and stable relationships between student and teacher resulting in less consistent positive adults that motivate and engage students. The presence of multi-racial group of teachers in Orang Asli schools also indicate their accommodative ability to a school environment that often times has been described as unsatisfactory and lacking equipment and infrastructure (Norwaliza, Ramlee & Abdul Razaq, 2016) and uniquely different from the mainstream.

4.4.3.3.4 Creating Safe and Secure Environment

The accommodative property of safe and secure environment is represented by the presence of native teachers and long-serving teachers. Native and long-serving teachers helped students to feel more at ease. Familiarity with the Orang Asli culture and language leads to better understanding of students' needs, strengths and weaknesses.

Native teachers led to better interest as well as reaffirmed students' interest in a particular subject as indicated by P10 who shared memory of his favourite teacher and subject.

P10: The Year 4 [mathematics] teacher was an Orang Asli teacher. He was also an uncle. I liked the teacher. I also liked mathematics.



Participants P12 and P13 also remembered the presence of Orang Asli teachers in their school.

P12: Year 1 mathematics teacher was also an Orang Asli.

P13: Teacher Rh, he was quite strict, and was very close with Father. He was an Orang Asli Jah Hut from another village.

Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) assert that native educators are better able to understand and integrate indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing into their curriculum and pedagogical practices. Thus, having Orang Asli teachers in schools contribute to safe and secure environment for the Orang Asli students who felt that they were among familiar faces that understood their culture, language and fear. Where there was lack of native teachers, long-serving teachers could also provide similar support to the students as discussed earlier in section 4.4.3.3.3: Adapting into the Community.



4.4.3.3.5 Managing Teaching and Learning

Teachers and administrators accommodated learning in the classroom through various pedagogical strategies to manage teaching and learning. In accommodating learning, the data shows that teachers made time and effort to enhance students' learning engagement. Strategies included: building rapport with students, accommodating the learners' language in teaching and learning, giving moral support, providing differentiating support to extend students' potential, extensive practice past on examination papers, and accommodating students into their home.





Participant P5 recalled his teacher telling the class about himself, building rapport with the students:

P5: The teacher was a fresh grad. He told us that he had just completed his study. Then he told us that this school was his first posting.

When asked to describe her best teacher, P16 described a teacher who did not give up on his student and spoke his student's home language during teaching:

P16: Teacher KA. He was such a teacher that if he knew a student could not read, he would teach that student till he or she could. He was just like Teacher TF. He could interact with the students in Bahasa Orang Asli. Teacher KA very fluent in the Semai language although he was a Malay.

Participant P7 acknowledged that her teachers were the most important support during her primary years as shown in an excerpt from our conversation:



P7: Teacher provided a lot of moral support, making effort to help in my study.

P7 also recalled how the school provided differentiating support to extend the students' potential:

P7: Teachers selected students with the potential to excel and placed them in separate class. This enabled the teachers to provide more help.

For the targeted group, the students were given extensive practice on past UPSR examination papers. P7 continued:

P7: In the special class, we were provided with past years examination questions to practise. Every morning we would practise question of the subjects given and we checked them the teachers.



In some instances, teachers' pedagogical support went beyond the classroom. P7 shared how she and her friend were accommodated in a teacher's home prior to the UPSR to enable the teacher to monitor their progress. P7 recalled:

P7: My friend and I were invited to stay at a teacher's home for a few days before the UPSR to make it easier for the teacher to monitor our preparation. We were given full attention by him and his wife who was also a teacher.

To summarise, in managing teaching and learning, teachers and administrators gave time to build rapport with their Orang Asli students, actively used learners' home language (mother tongue) in the classroom, made changes to provide differentiated support to students with the potential to excel, provided resources and extensive practise for major examinations and made space in their homes to accommodate the students.

4.4.3.3.6 Reward and Punishment

Teachers and administrators give feedback, either positive or negative, with the intent to modulate a student's behaviour and performance. Positive feedback is associated with reward whilst negative feedback is linked to punishment. Positive feedback to motivate could be instant as in praise or delayed as in, special treats, gifts and prizes at the end of a school year. Participant P7 recalled rewards for achievers:

P7: Teachers regularly motivated the students with gifts for achieving 5As in the UPSR.



P7 added that, students were rewarded with mountain bikes by the school for their UPSR achievement, cash reward for every A obtained during the UPSR trial examination, and tours to selected renowned sites in the country. P7 shared:

P7: The school also offered mountain bikes to students who achieved 5As in the UPSR. For every trial examination, the school offered cash reward for every A obtained in a subject. The school also organised trips to tour sites such as the KLCC and Langkawi.

Schools set special day for graduation, and prize giving ceremonies, but teachers also had special rewards to motivate students. For instance, Participant P5 recalled the special treat to a restaurant in town organised by his teacher at the end of the school year, and Participant P10 shared memory of receiving a prize for his best achievement in Science Year 2.



In contrast, negative feedback includes immediate admonishment and caning, or delayed punishment such as when punishment is administered at specific event as exemplified by the 'Sg Tohoi school incident' (News, 2015b; SUHAKAM, 2016) (described earlier in Section 4.5 in context with Learners Leading Learning: Accepting Punishment). In the Sg Tohoi incident, the students were found to break the hostel's rule, during one afternoon, but the threat of punishment hung over their mind for the entire night, which resulted in their collective decision to run away, early in the morning after.

In this study, the data indicates that teachers meted out punishment for misbehaviours and non-performing. Misbehaviours included being noisy in the classroom and non-performing included incomplete homework, failing in tests or



absences. Punishments were meted to the individual or in groups. Teachers provided negative feedback through a variety of punishment methods. Participant' shared experience of caning, standing on the chair, time out in the field, the 'buku terbang' (flying book) treatment, prostrating on the floor and direct slap on the face. The following conversations illustrate some of the punishment methods. Participant P6 remembered the flying book treatment:

P6: Erm, if we didn't finish the homework, there would be punishment. And then there would be books flying down [from the upper floor down to the ground].

When asked how she felt then, P6 answered, "at the time I probably felt bad". Another flying book treatment was narrated by P9:

P9: She didn't cane us. She asked us to memorise, like the multiplication tables. When we could not memorise, when she asked and we couldn't answer, be prepared to see books flying from above haha. Anybody who could not [would get the treatment] sometimes the whole class had their books thrown to the ground. Erm ... it was like that. Sometimes the books could be torn, yes. If not, only flying.

Students were more accepting when a punishment was meted out to the entire class (Examples: P3, P6, P9). P3 recalled she did not cry when punished because it was given as a group punishment:

P3: Because all of us were punished. Yes all. If I was alone, I'd cry. [In group] I was not afraid. Or else the teacher would ask us to stand on the chair. Caning and standing on the chair.

P6 shared her experience group punishment and remembered that it was fun:

P6: Because we were noisy, made loud noises in class, because at that time the teacher was late. I still remember Cikgu Az, he was the one who punished us, erm ... at the field and made us took an oath promising we would not do it again.



It was fun when we all had to do it together, even though it was a punishment. Hehe, it was fun because the whole class had to do it.

Although caning features prominently in teachers' punishment routine P5 also shared the helpful post-punishment action of his teacher:

P5: But the teacher did not 'rotan' only. After that he would also help. He would see the weak students. During Year 4, the whole class was weak in Mathematics. R: The whole class was caned? P5: Yes. [But] after that he would start ... he changed his teaching style. How he got closer [to the students] R: How did Teacher Y use his cane? Was it painful? P5: I think, it was a 180 degree turn, with anger. Later he moved and there was a new teacher in Year 5. The Teacher was kind but he also used the cane. If Teacher Y's cane was this thick the new Teacher's cane was this thick [P5 illustrated the increase in thickness using his fingers). R: That was more painful. R: Boys and girls were caned? P5: Yes, but caning was less in Year 5 though.

In addition, P5 described a case of proxy caning, when a teacher caned students on behalf of another 'softer' gentle teacher. P5 shared:

P5: sometimes we were noisy. This Math teacher, also a friend of teacher Ros. Her name was teacher Rin. Teacher Rin was softer, she was easily affected. The students were stubborn, so she was much affected. She complained to teacher Ros. The whole class received it [the caning].

Wachter et al. (2009) found from their study that reward and punishment, had a measurable effect on behaviour, and deciding which is preferable depends on whether one is interested in short term changes in performance without enhancement of learning or longer-term changes in learning itself. Their findings indicate that reward contributes to enhanced implicit learning whilst punishment, although there were clear effects on behaviours would not contribute directly to long term term learning. In another study, Kubanek, Snyder, and Abrams (2015) conclude that their data suggest "rewards and penalties are fundamentally distinct factors in governing behaviour" (p.154). The



authors found that a reward led to a repetition of the previous choice, whereas a penalty led to an avoidance of the previous choice.

Kubanek in Remerowski (2015) argue that, “Regarding teaching strategies, our study suggests that negative feedback may be more effective than positive feedback at modifying behavior. Our study showed that such feedback does not have to be harsh, since it appears that we tend to react in the same manner to any amount of negative feedback” (Kubanek in Remerowski, 2015, p.1). In other words, research shows that teachers’ punishment need not be harsh and painful in order for it to be effective.

In another study, Wachter, Lungu, Liu, Willingham and Ashe (2009) found that reward and punishment engage separate motivational systems with distinctive behavioral effects. Their study shows that reward leads to enhancement of learning in human subjects, whereas punishment is associated only with improvement in motor performance or skills. This suggests that reward rather than punishment contributes to better learning.

It is therefore fair to suggest that teachers accommodate students’ ability or inability to learn by respectively giving rewards or administering punishments. As indicated by research, rewards accommodate long term learning whilst punishment leads to short-term modification of behaviour. However, research also shows that teachers’ punishment need not be harsh and painful for it to be effective. Cole (2008) discusses concern of disciplinary practices in extremes and reflects the need for balance. This can only happen when teachers reflect on their practice.

To conclude, in accommodating learning, teachers and administrators adjusted their practice and made changes to reconcile themselves, their needs and expectations, with those of the students' needs and ability. The following figure illustrates the properties of schools accommodating learning.

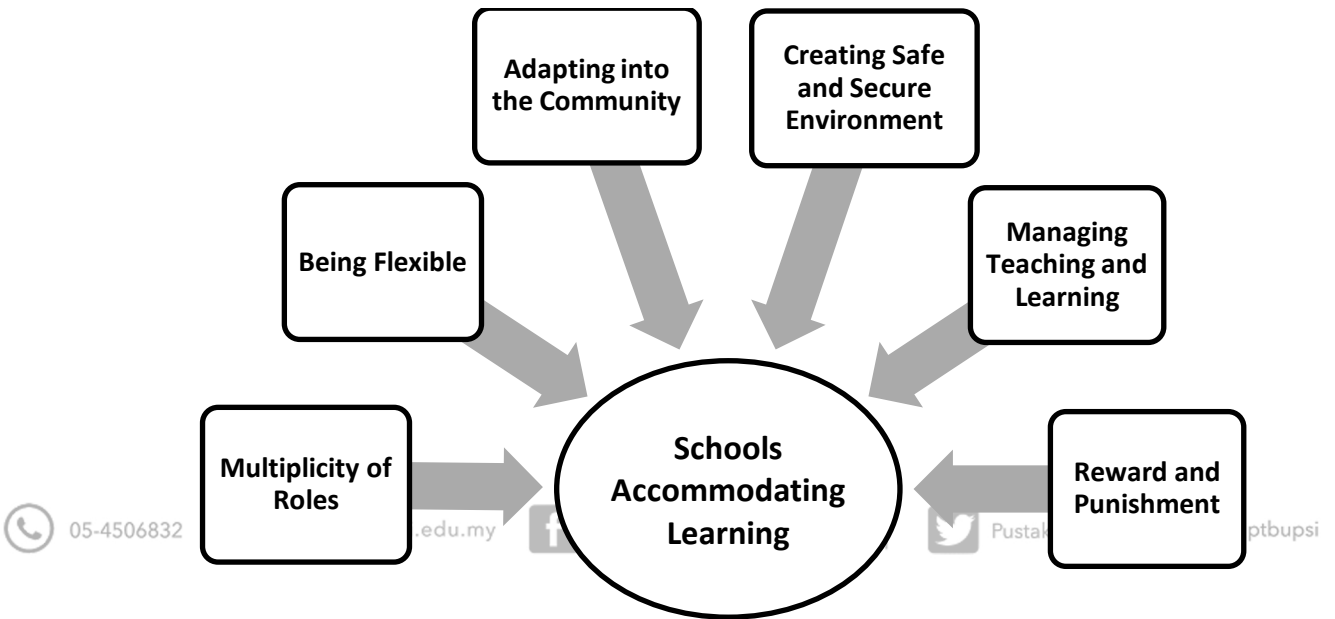


Figure 4.19. Schools Accommodating Learning



4.4.3.4 Generating Learning

The category schools generating learning describes the actions of teachers and administrators to help students in making meaning and making sense of real life experience. When schools generate learning, they develop and extend students' ability to apply real life experience and prior learning to new situations, to generate associations between the abstract and the concrete, and between their prior experience and the current stimuli (As discussed earlier in Section 4.5.5: Learners Generating Learning, with reference to Wittrock (2010). Schools generating learning explains how schools, through teachers and administrators, extend students' potential and show them visions of their future. Whilst, extending potentials is enabled through cultivating leadership, extending self-concept and extending learning; visions of the future is generated through role modelling, motivation programmes and inclusive leadership, as discussed below.

4.4.3.4.1 Extending Potentials

Extending potentials is about schools cultivating leadership skills, extending self-concept and extending learning of students.





4.4.3.4.1.1 Cultivating Leadership

In cultivating leadership, the concept encodes how teachers and administrators identify and develop aspiring leaders, enabling students to transfer their understanding of the given role and fulfil its attendant responsibilities. Roles and responsibilities are embedded in school appointments such as class monitor, school librarian and school prefect. The study found that students were appointed to a role based upon various perceived criteria. When asked the reason for his appointment as the class monitor in Year 1, P5 posited that his appointment was probably due to his father's leading role (as *Wakil Masyarakat*) in the Orang Asli community as well as the father's active involvement in school. When asked how he was appointed as the class monitor upon enrolment in Year 1, P5 explained:



P5: Class Monitor ... In Standard 1, I was the class monitor because my father was rather well known to the people. At the school his was a familiar name. The people knew him.

Other participants reasoned that their good habit and discipline could be the reasons that they were selected for a particular role. For instance, P8 believed that he was appointed to be in charge of the school library, because he was a consistent library user, whilst his school prefect appointment was due to his good discipline. P8 shared:

P8: From Standard One to Standard Three I was the student librarian. [I was selected] probably due to my frequent use of the library. In Standard Three, I was appointed as a school prefect, until Standard Six. I was appointed because I was not a stubborn student, also probably due to me being an okay student, and I did not get angry easily.



Participant P3 recalled how her teacher who was initially impressed with her ability to read a difficult word assessed her ability to lead the class routine greetings. The intent was to appoint her as a class monitor. P3 recalled her teachers' assessment of her leading ability:

P3: She [the teacher] asked me to give "salam" she wanted to test my voice, but because my voice was naturally slow, slow, she knew I was shy so she said it's okay I don't have to be the class monitor. She then appointed a boy to be the class monitor... while I became the class assistant.

In practice, some schools placed a limit to one appointment per student. P5 rationalised this process as giving chance to maximum number of students to hold school positions. P5 explained the appointment limit when asked whether he could hold two positions:

P5: No, no, it has to be different [students], because they wanted to give everyone a chance.

As students progressed successfully through the primary years, they were given increasing responsibilities, from class monitor to school prefect as described by P13:

P13: I was appointed as school prefect from Standard 5 to Standard 6. [As class monitor] from Standard 3 to Standard 4.

Participant P6 narrated some of her increasing responsibilities as a prefect during Years 4, 5 and 6. Her appointment started at Year 4 as trial, she said:

P6: Had to do it ... normally ... when the teachers had meeting, normally the prefects would look after the classes. And then... during assembly I was the one who set up the chairs, if it was an official assembly. It was the prefects' job to set up the chair, PA system, and handle the assembly. R: Okay ... this happened every morning? P6: Yes. R: Was this in Standard 4 till Standard 6 ... 3 years of being a prefect? P6: Only 2 years ... in standard 4 it was just for trial.



As a student librarian, Participant P7 learned whilst on duty the basic skills of organising in library-keeping, such as to place the books back on the shelves. P7 shared:

P7: [I was] appointed as a librarian. R: Librarian? Why? Did you request for it or you were appointed? P7: I was appointed. R: Did you like it? P7: I just accepted it. R: What did you do as a librarian? P7: Every morning I arranged the books.

And as a prefect, Participant P6 described how the role had developed her self confidence and ability to manage the conflicting interests between her role as a friend and that of a prefect. When asked how she felt about being a prefect, P6 answered:

P6: At first I was quite afraid because I was afraid that no one wanted to be my friend, because normally people would say that the prefects were arrogant, they only listened to the teachers. Even if it was our friends we still had to write their names [when they misbehaved], so at first I was afraid and then when I saw a lot of Standard 5 students who were close to me also became prefects too I was like "Oh there is no problem actually" I had friends.



School acknowledged and appreciated students' contribution through their appointed roles. P9 shared:

P9: After that I received, appreciation as a prefect.

In the above discussion, participants shared their experience in a variety of school roles and reflected on its impact in developing their leadership skills. Schools appointed students to hold leading positions based various criteria as perceived by the student such as father's influence, ability to lead in classroom routines, reading habit, discipline. Schools placed a limit of one appointment to a student thus allowing more students participation in school leadership positions. As they progressed, students extended their leading skills through increasing responsibilities such as from a class



monitor to a school prefect or school librarian. Students learned to deliver their responsibilities based upon what were expected of them despite experiences of conflicts, such as described by Participant P6. According to Bowman (2014), primary school teachers can “embed leadership development opportunities into the classroom to foster leadership dispositions and skills grounded in the spirit to include, the passion to serve, the courage to question, and the discipline to listen” (p.119).

4.4.3.4.1.2 Extending Self-Concept

Whilst the concept cultivating leadership discussed above is about giving students opportunities to learn to lead others, extending self concept is about giving students opportunities to strengthen self-esteem and self-efficacy. Simply stated, positive self-esteem or ‘feeling worthy’ and self-efficacy or ‘feeling capable’ are the foundation of positive self concept or ‘good feeling or perception about self’. Milestones such as achieving good marks, being among the top students in the class, holding school appointments, and participating in friendly competitions can lead to enhanced self-esteem and self efficacy. Participants’ data indicates that among the positive outcomes, these students felt good that teachers trusted them, and they had more friends because other students were drawn to them for help and to lead them in class or school organised activities. To illustrate, Participant P15 shared such good feeling when she was appointed as a class monitor. She shared her assessment and expectation of herself as a class monitor:



P15: Yes, [I was the class monitor] in Year 5, Year 6. [I was] fierce. I felt happy and responsible. I felt my teachers trusted me because I could do work. And my friends, hmm, often they would call my name [to lead], “[We] want Azizah, Azizah”. Yes. [Being class monitor helped to study better] A class monitor must be excellent compared to the other classmates, not less than them.

When schools organised intra and interschool competitions such as choral speaking, mathematics quiz, and public speaking, they gave students the opportunity to explore their ability, boost their confidence, self-esteem and self-efficacy. This is exemplified by P6 who started as a team member in a choral speaking competition at Year 4 and Year 5, ending as the choral conductor at Year 6.

P6: Standard 4, 5, and 6 I entered [competed in] choral speaking. Standard 4 I was part of the team, Standard 5 as well. In Standard 6, I was the conductor for choral speaking in English.

P12 recalled his competitive activities in school, although he never won:

P12: My hobby was to play football. In Year 6 I represented school in choir [competition]. R: Did you win any? No.

The above conversation suggests that leading roles motivated students to study better. They reasoned that as leaders they should be ahead of their peers, topping the class in grades and failing was not an option. Leading roles boosted the self-confidence of the students and triggered more effort to succeed. Leading roles enabled students to extend knowledge about self, transfer their strengths, capture availed opportunities, resolve their weaknesses and overcome threats.

Pajares (2006) explains self-efficacy as the beliefs that we hold about our capability to succeed in our endeavours, and these are vital forces in the successes or





failures of our endeavours. He added that these self-efficacy beliefs are the foundation that fuels our motivation, well-being and personal accomplishment. Moreover, research has found that participating in academic and sports competitions help students to learn how to succeed and also face their failure hence extending their self-efficacy beliefs, self esteem, and consequently their self concept (see for example Kuech & Sanford, 2014; Ozturk & Debelak, 2008). Thus, learning is generated when students applied their knowledge and skills in competitive situations.

Bandura (1982, 1993 & 2001) explains self-efficacy as self percept or belief in one's ability to succeed in specific situations or accomplish a task. Thus, when schools provide opportunities to students to accomplish, students' self-efficacy and self-esteem heightened, and consequently self concept strengthened.



4.4.3.4.1.3 Extending Learning

Extending learning refers to achievement acquired by students while in school. Prior learning formed the baseline upon which learning was extended and generated. Through the conversations, participants shared the beginning and ending of their learning experience as bounded by the school context. They entered school with prior learning and experience that they accumulated during the early years and in the kindergarten. At the start of school, students had basic recognition of the alphabet, which meant that either they had heard or seen the alphabet. Some students were able to read and write simple sentences. By the end of Year 6, students had acquired learning





that culminated in the UPSR. In addition, schools also provided students with the opportunity to enhance and develop their social and emotional skills. In the following conversation, P2 shared her beginning in school:

P2: My mother taught me at home. She taught me the alphabet and all. Only when I was seven I was sent to school. I was scared because ... I had never been to a classroom. I never had conversation with other children ... the Malay children especially ... because we lived in the Orang Asli village only ... I rarely saw Malay kids ... so when I reached there [the school] I was scared ... scared because of, I don't know maybe it's a natural feeling to feel scared to go to school.

P2 ended her primary school with the following achievement:

P2: Alhamdulillah when I started Form 1, I received a scholarship. My UPSR results were not too good but still I was eligible for the scholarship. I had 3As, 1B, 1C.



P3 who had been taught by her father at home, before and during kindergarten recalled her initial confidence at the beginning and shared the excellent results of her primary years:

P3: When I was in primary school, I still remember in Standard 1, near Jalan T. The teacher told us to read what had been written on a ... white, blackboard. There was a word noone could read it except me [...] I obtained 5 A(s) [in UPSR].

P5 described his academic growth generated in school. He shared his beginning:

P5: Actually in Standard 1 it was like a continuation from my kindergarten. Even though in kindergarten I already knew the alphabet, knew how to read a bit, but during that time there were a lot of my friends that were still illiterate, because some had went through the kindergarten, some did not. Even among those who had been to the kindergarten still could not. Standard 1 was a place to build upon what we learned in the kindergarten such as learning about numbers, plus and minus.





He shared how he gained confidence in English:

P5: I started to like English [in Year 6]. During English [lesson] in Year 6 I knew the technique, the grammar, techniques how to use them, then I became interested in the language. Before that I was not.

The above excerpts indicate that schools provided students with the experience that, in various degrees, extended their learning. The UPSR is one of the yardsticks that measure a student's achievement. In addition, a student's self-assessment could also provide an alternative picture of his or her competences in a particular subject.

4.4.3.4.2 Showing Vision of the Future



The concept vision of the future refers to what we see ourselves doing in the immediate future - tomorrow, next week or next month; or the further future, what we see ourselves doing as a professional. Findings in this study reflects the further future context, in which teachers and administrators in schools showed students potential visions of their future through role modelling, by organising and giving motivating programs and talks, and practicing inclusive leadership.





4.4.3.4.2.1 Role Modelling

The findings indicate that teachers generated learning through role modelling, in appearance and perception of 'hebat', which means awesome. Such teachers transferred the perceived 'hebat' to the students in terms of increased enthusiasm in the subject that the teachers taught, as exemplified in the following conversation with Participant P2:

P2: Because I liked the teacher ... I liked Miss K because of her attire. Ha, she and her clothes, she looked sweet wearing a skirt and blouse and then the way she spoke, I was impressed by her. R: Meaning? P2: Well she spoke English well. That was why, hehe, and then I think she's awesome. I listened but didn't understand, we looked at her ... wow she's awesome. R: You liked the teacher or the subject? P2: I liked her and the subject, before that I liked the teacher first, and then the subject. Because the way she taught made me liked the subject.

Teachers were also role models for students in the process of conceptualising aims and ambitions as suggested by the following conversations with P9 and P1. P9 shared:

P9: My ambition ... teacher. Because ... for me being a teacher was the best. R: What do you mean by best? Which part that was best? P9: Teaching, the way they teach ... I used to ... when we played 'pondok-pondok', I was the teacher. Hehe. Around then I would be the teacher. During that time I was in Standard 2, 3.

In another case, when asked why she wanted to be a teacher, P1 explained that she was drawn to her personality and when she observed her teachers carrying books. She loved books she clarified:

P1: I was drawn to their personality. Another reason maybe because the Teacher carried books, I liked books.





Participant P7 explained that one of the reasons for her strength and motivation was having Orang Asli teachers as her role model. She shared through an e-mail:

P7: Orang Asli teachers as role model. There were a number of Orang Asli who worked with the Government, had stable jobs such as teachers (Teacher S, Teacher W, Teacher R and a few others). In the school also, there were teachers from the Orang Asli tribes. Observing their better life raised my motivation.

The above conversations show that teachers as immediate role models had impact on the students. They led to heightened interest in the subjects and the students aspiring to be teachers themselves, as indicated by their aims and ambitions. In addition, role models could also be seniors in the hostel as described by P5 earlier (Section 4.4.3.2.1.3: Hostels). In a study, Raufelder et al. (2016) found that students value a teacher's interpersonal dimensions and that, teachers are important for cultivating interest, curiosity and motivation. They immensely influenced students' learning and personal development. Thus, teachers, through their appearance, actions, and personality, became role models for their students, generating interest in a particular subject as well as shaping their life aims and aspirations.

4.4.3.4.2.2 Motivational Programs

School administrators organised in-school motivational programs that enabled students to view glimpses of future possibilities. Schools invited outside speakers to share experience of their professions. University students were invited to share their life experience. When asked what she remembered of her school administrator, Participant P15 replied:





P15: He regularly invited people from the universities. We had students from two, three universities that he invited to give us support. R: Giving motivation? P15: Yes. R: What did you feel when you listened to their motivation? P15: I felt studying in the university is also 'best'. R: Were the programmes effective? P15: I felt they were.

The above conversation suggests that interactions with successful others (university students and professionals) during school motivational programmes motivate students to envision a better future. Motivational programmes reinforced internal effort by teachers and administrators to fuel students' desire for better future. Participant P5 recalled that he was motivated by the Headteacher's talk during school assemblies.

P5: His speech was more ... [focussed since] it was an Orang Asli School, different from the regular [mainstream] primary school, [so] he had his own style of motivating. R: For example? P5: He always said "You are no different from others, no different from the Chinese, no different from the Indians, so don't need to feel lacking. Others have eyes, you have eyes, others have nose, you have nose. So why shouldn't you be able to do like them. Ever since, I hold onto his words.

The above data indicates that in addition to role modeling, schools showed Orang Asli students, vision of the future through motivation programs involving outside speakers to provide talks. Students reported that such programmes heightened their motivation for education, envisioning better future for themselves. In addition, students carried into the future the motivating words of their headteachers who put the challenges faced by Orang Asli students in the wider context of similar challenges faced by other students from other communities, emphasizing that all were born having the same faculties.





4.4.3.4.2.3 Inclusive Leadership

The concept inclusive leadership arises from the use of the term ‘inclusion’ in Tikly and Barret (2011). Tikly and Barrett (2011) explain inclusion as the importance of access to quality inputs that facilitate the development of different group of learners’ capabilities. In this context the administrators’ role was highlighted when some participants described their inclusion in classes that were targeted for excellence. This inclusive programme elevated the students’ vision of their potential capabilities and encouraged them to strive for the best of UPSR results. For example, Participant P10 recalled that the Year 6 students were divided into three classes, the first being the so called ‘VVIP class’ targeted for excellence, as illustrated in her sharing below:

*P10: Year 6 was divided into three classes. The first class was the VVIP class.
R: Special class? P10: Target class [for UPSR excellence].*

In another example, Participant P5 perceived that his headteacher had targeted him for high UPSR achievement based upon his performance throughout his primary years. P10 shared:

P5: In Year 6, the teacher had targeted some potential students [for UPSR excellence]. The headteacher would regularly meet me and the targeted group, because we were deemed to be the better students, the top group.

P5 also explained how they were targeted and prepared since Year 5:

P5: Yes, because the teacher had started intensive classes since Standard 5, from 2 to 4 p.m. daily ... one subject per day. That was in Standard 5 and Standard 6. The teacher had high hopes for us to achieve.



The concept of inclusive leadership above refers to the action of teachers and headteachers recognising differences in learners’ potentials and extending opportunities to the Orang Asli students to advance their achievement. The students would have been sidelined otherwise, due to their marginalised situation. Through inclusive leadership they made additional provisions for students who were deemed capable of achieving excellence in standardised national based assessment.

To summarise, the category of schools generating learning explains how schools extended the potentials of students and how they were shown alternative visions of better future. The following figure illustrates the properties of schools generating learning.

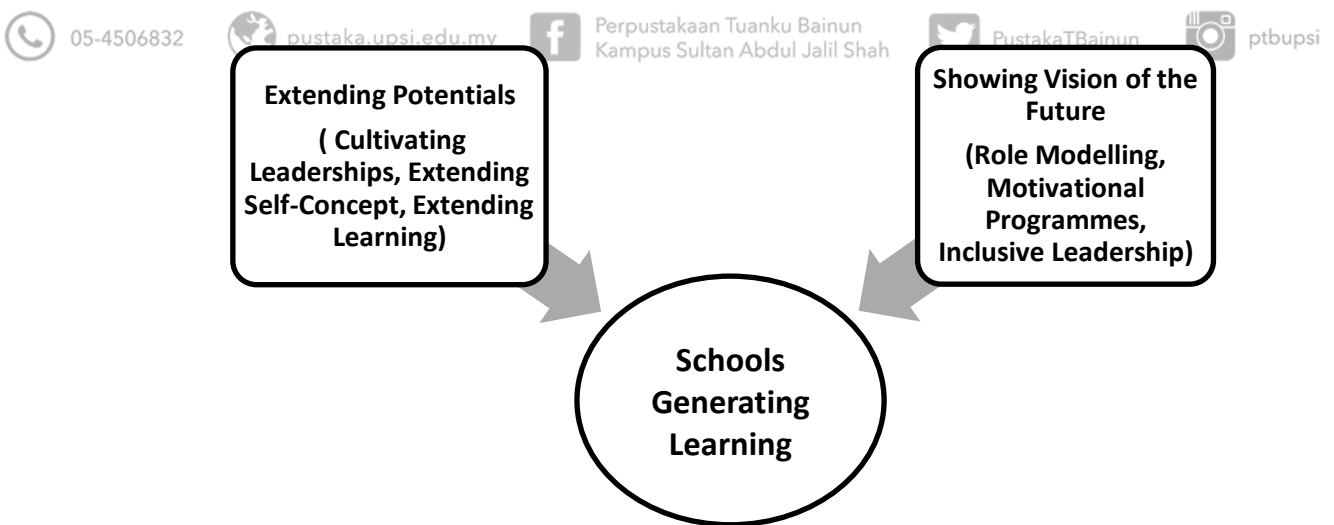


Figure 4.20. Schools Generating Learning

4.4.3.5 Conclusion

The emerging category of schools leading learning explains the processes of how schools initialise, facilitate, accommodate and generate learning. Within the context of this study, the findings indicate that primary schools initialised learning by setting the values and the conditions that enabled students to continue their formal education. For students without kindergarten experience though, primary year formalised their entry to institutionalised education. Next, in facilitating learning, schools promoted conducive environment, and provided assistance as well as support that maintained learners' engagement. Schools facilitated learning through provisions that sustained attendance and actions that drew students to school. In accommodating learning, schools made adjustments (adopted, adapted or changed) to accommodate students' learning needs, such as accommodating students' home language in managing teaching and learning, a flexible approach that created emotionally safe and secure learning moments. Finally, schools generated learning by enabling students to develop and transfer their leading skills through leadership roles, enhancing students' self concept and extending students' skill and knowledge as measured through standardized national based assessment. Last but not least, schools generated learning by showing students alternative visions of their future through role modeling, motivational programmes and talks and inclusive leadership. The following figure illustrates the emerging category of primary schools leading learning in the education of Orang Asli students.

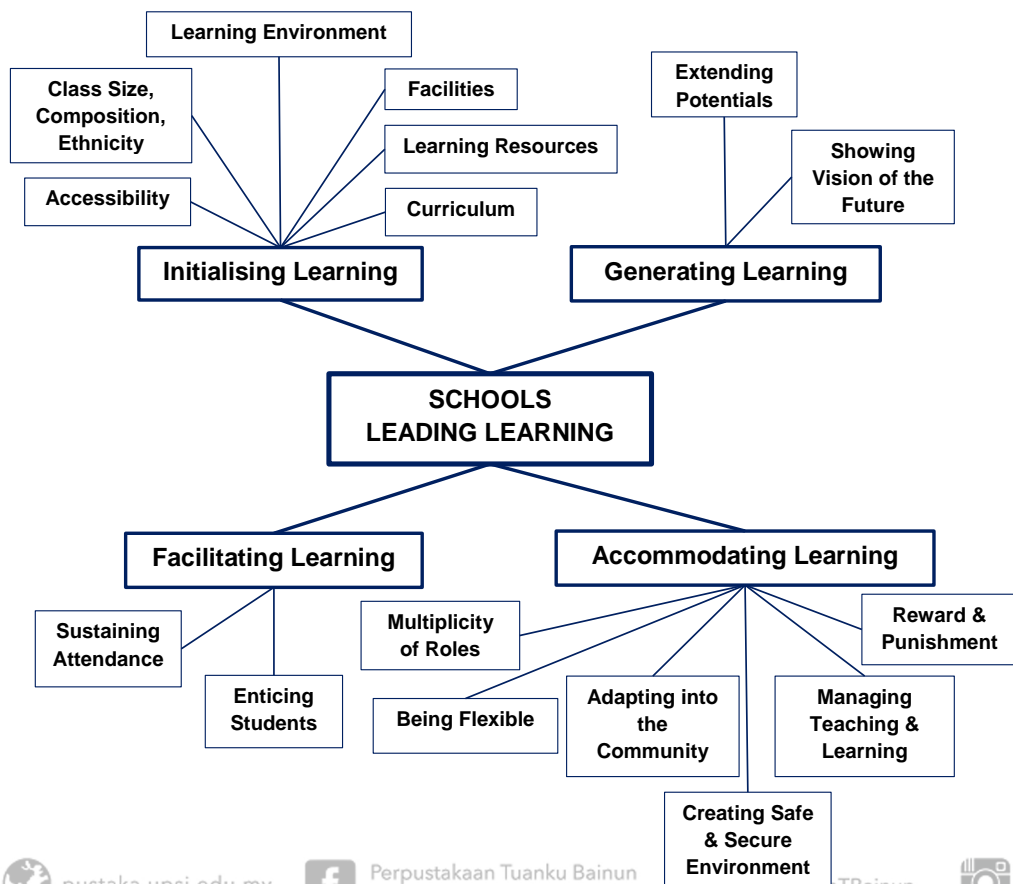


Figure 4.21. Schools Leading Learning

4.5 Significant Others Leading Learning

Significant others refer to the role of the Government, friends, and the community in the participants' education. How these roles were involved in the Orang Asli education and learning process are described below.



4.5.1 The Government

The Government's concern on the overall well being of Orang Asli is reflected in its recent JAKOA Strategic Plan 2016-2010 (JAKOA, 2017). The plan covers areas of concerns in the administration of Orang Asli land, provision for infrastructure development, human capital and youth skills development, developing sustainable economy, preservation of Orang Asli arts, culture and heritage, establishment of social security network, and better dissemination of information.

At a more detail level, the Government's concern for Orang Asli education is reflected through its effort to resolve the challenges that have been raised through past research, including accessibility and poverty. The leading Government agencies concerned with the Orang Asli education are the JAKOA, KEMAS, PPD and MOE.

One of the earliest conversations the researcher had with a JAKOA officer gave a brief look into the Government's concern. The officer lamented:

People always blamed us for the educational issues of the Orang Asli children. But they don't realize we are not in charge of their education. The Department of Education is. (Fieldwork, 15.03.2012)

Despite the above statement, the research participants' made references to the importance of JAKOA in their education with respect to the students' educational allowance, school meals through the '*Rancangan Makan Tambahan*' (RMT), transport provision, community development, and other assistance.



With respect to education, during conversations, participants invariably referred to the Government managed kindergartens as KEMAS, whilst the MOE emerged through PPD in context of students' transfer to new schools. Moreover, the Government's concern for equal opportunity to education has led to enhanced accessibility, for instance through the establishment of children care centres (TASKA), kindergartens and schools within the Orang Asli community. This is exemplified by a participant (P13) who described his time in a TASKA, a kindergarten and a primary school established by the Government in his village, all within the vicinity of his house. When asked how his one class of kindergartners became two classes of Year One of subsequent primary school, P12 described a scene of 'one village one kindergarten' and of five adjacent villages contributing to the primary school population. P12 described how the primary Year 1 classes were populated:

R: How many classes were there during kindergarten? P12: 1 class. R: 1 class. But you had 2 classes during Year 1. So where did the extra students come from? P12: From kindergartens of other villages, for example Kampung Padu. R: Oh okay. Now, you were in SK Paya right? P12: Ha. R: So [there were students who] came from Kampung Paya kindergarten. Where else? P12: Luwong. R: Okay, anymore? P12: Bian. R: Even Bian here had kindergarten [pointing to a sketch showing surrounding Orang asli villages]? P12: Yes. R: All the villages had kindergartens? P12: Yes, all. R: Okay, just now Bian, anymore? P12: Kampung Jepun. R: Okay, anymore? P12: That's all. R: Okay 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 [kindergartens from 5 villages]. So there were two [Year 1] classes.

The above excerpt indicates that where possible, the Government would establish kindergartens in Orang Asli villages for ease of access. The Government also established Orang Asli primary schools close to the Orang Asli villages to increase accessibility, enrolment and sustained attendance. Participant P2 recalled the PPD instructing students from her village to move to a new school closer to the village after her one-year stint at a more distant school. P2 recalled:

P2: I was at SK T until Standard 1. The school was quite far from Kampung LK that was located in Jalan PG which was the road leading to CH. Majority of the students were from the Orang Asli tribes so interacting [with other students] was relatively easy but the following year because of the distance of the school, the Pejabat Pendidikan Daerah BP instructed us to move to a new school.

Participant P6 also described the role of PPD in the transfer of Orang Asli students to a new school for the Orang Asli students:

*P6: Yes, it was just opened. So PPD did a census ... R: From the first school?
P6: My first school, from other schools as well and then PPD transferred [us].
R: They transferred the Orang Asli children? P6: Yes, we were grouped together. R: So it was a majority Orang Asli School.*

Mazdi Marzuki, Jabil Mapjabil and Rosmiza Mohd Zainol (2014) studied the issue of accessibility in context with Orang Asli students' dropout. The authors concluded that although buses and trucks were available to the Orang Asli students, they were not satisfactory in terms of quality, quantity and service. In addition, the students had to travel more than 15 kilometers on average to school, the average duration of each trip was 45 minutes, and this affected the students' commitment to school. Thus, having better access to schools is a major concern of the Government.

Besides accessibility, the Government's concern for the Orang Asli education can also be discerned from a participant's (P1) description of her former school development, from a single storey building to two, three-storey buildings:

P1: Now the school have 3 storeys. R: How many buildings? P1: Only two buildings. R: Back then how many storeys were there? P1: Only one.

In its 2014 annual report, JAKOA states that the Government has allocated RM34.4 million for programs related to the Orang Asli human capital development, education,

health and professional development programs for village heads and committees (JAKOA, 2014). Additionally, as at 2014, JAKOA under its non-formal education unit has established 273 kindergartens (TABIKA) for the Orang Asli communities (JAKOA, 2014) as well as 10 childcare centres (TASKA), and 27 reading centres (*Pusat Penggalak Pembaca*) to develop better community reading habit.

In addition to accessibility and infrastructure provision, effective school administrators are important to the Government. Aina Nasa (2016) highlights the Government's effort through the *Institut Aminudin Baki* (IAB) of MOE, to train high performance leaders as administrators for schools as part of the Government's initiative under the Malaysia Education Blueprint (2013-2025). The initiative is to boost the nation's educational quality by enhancing school leadership and management and to bear the increasingly challenging environment. Since 1999, IAB has trained school leaders for the National Professional Qualification for Education Leaders (NPQEL) to enhance school leadership competencies as well as providing short courses under its Continuous Professional Development (CDP) Programme. In addition to enhancing administrators' effectiveness, the Government promotes the training of Orang Asli teachers through IPGs.

To conclude, the role of the Government in leading learning is indicated by its concern to ensure that Orang Asli children benefit from education for all. Although isolation still appears to be an issue (as illustrated by Alagesh, 2017), the Government has detailed its commitment to improve the Orang Asli's affair through the various Government establishments that include JAKOA and MOE (MOE, 2013). Whilst



limited, participants shared aspects of their schooling experience that indicate the Governments' role in enabling and improving Orang Asli education.

4.5.2 Friends

The role of friends in initialising and facilitating learning has been discussed in the respective sections, in kindergartens leading learning and schools leading learning. Friends did not have direct concerns in leading the learning of their peers. However, their importance, after parents, cannot be overemphasised as shown from the emerging findings that have been discussed afore-mentioned: friends as learning initiators (Section 4.2.2.4) provided early glimpses into the world of schooling, and learning partners contributed to the joy of being in the kindergartens (section 4.4.2.3.2.1) and schools (Section 4.4.3.2.1.1), enticing students to school and sustaining their attendance. Sustained attendance, in turn, leads towards continuous learning engagement. In an exceptional effort to attend school, P2 described how she and her friends avoided the problematic school van driver and walked through the jungle route home with friends, both boys and girls. P2 remembered:

P2: Almost 1 kilometre ... but not really ... almost ... but we always used the shortcut because the van driver was a drug addict so we were afraid of him. We walked passed the palm oil plantation, rivers ... until we arrived at the village. That's why ... quite long because when we saw the river, we could not care ... kids in Standard 6, I strung my shoe laces together, hung them over my neck ... my sarung pulled up, carried the bag with the boys ... they said follow the jungle route.





Friends could make or break a student's commitment to school. P2 narrated her own experience of the importance of friends in context with school attendance:

P2: Friends' influence is the main thing. It's the biggest reason because when a friend said she's too lazy to go to school. Then we follow. I know my own experience with my sister; when she said 'Eh tomorrow I am lazy to go to school', her friend also said, 'Me too. What shall we do tomorrow huh?' I told them, 'Hey why don't you want to go to school huh?' 'Lazy', they answered. I said 'Don't be lazy'. So I went on to school. But they didn't. I know since they were my people. Surely their behaviour was not any difference from us. We understand the factors as to why they didn't want to go to school or missed school.

Likewise, friends in the community could lead to escapades such as described by

Participant P5:

P5: My older brothers were also like that [influenced by friends]. The area was adjacent to the rubber plantation, so early in the morning my father woke up to find that they [the brothers] have woken up earlier and disappeared into the plantation. They have escaped. R: What did they do in the plantation? P5: Their batch many of them were of the same age, same [mischievous] behaviour. They ran and hid in the plantation ... and did all sorts of things. Then Father and his friends [the fathers of the other boys] would search for them. Those days the plantation was not well cared for, a lot of underbrush [one could hide easily]. They would do things ... shooting with slingshots.

However, in contrast to the truants, P2 claimed that friends in school were among the reasons for her going to school.

P2: As long as I went to school, I met my teacher, met my friends ... that was my one satisfaction during my school days.

It is common in the Orang Asli community that friends are also relatives. In the case of P16, her best friend was also her cousin who supported her throughout her five months absence due to an injury. Despite missing classes, she continued with her school work





because the teacher would send assignments for her through the friend. She shared how this friend's support had sustained her learning in the following conversation:

R: You completed all your school work? P16: Yes. R: Did the teacher send you the school work or did you ask for them? P16: The teacher sent them. R: When completed you passed them to the teacher through your cousin? P16: Yes. R: You studied with Az did you? P16: Yes. R: So Az helped you throughout? P16: Yes.

To conclude, the data showed that friends contributed to the joy of learning, taking up the challenges of school with fun and vigour. Friends also provided the critical support when one had to miss school. Gutman and Feinstein (2008) argue that friendships affect children's well-being in school. However, as the data indicated friends could also lead to school derailment, delinquencies and finally school disengagement.



Carter and Nutbrown (2016) explore the meaning of friendship among school children and its implication for school and conclude that there is need to incorporate friendship as a pedagogical aspect that is beneficial to children's all round learning and development. The authors state, "friendship experiences can significantly impact on school transition; starting with a friend can ease children's adjustment" (p.4). This is also the position of Dalton and Watson (1997) who argue that when children feel that they are among friends in their schools and classrooms, they make the school community their own. Within the context of this Orang Asli study, having friend strengthened an already strong learner (as discussed in Section 4.5). A good friend from the same class was invaluable in times of need, providing support that bridged gaps in learning.





4.5.3 Community

Community contributed both positive and negative values towards the Orang Asli education. A significant finding is the importance of role models from among the community members. Often, role models from the Orang Asli community were referred to by the parents to encourage their children to emulate the success of their brethren. P16 recalled her mother referring to a well-known community role model of Orang Asli success:

R: Was there anyone to motivate you so you'd be interested in learning? P16: Juli [Profesor Juli Edo] only. The villagers always said, "Look at Juli, work hard until you become like him". I don't know him but the villagers always made him as a role model. Even in primary school mother always said, "Make him as your role model. Work hard". R: Did you think of him when you were studying? P16: I wanted to work hard because I wanted to be just like him. I wanted to change the people so they could be better.



Other role models within the community included those who have successfully completed post-secondary education either at the certificate, diploma or degree level. P7 recalled that successful members of the community motivated her, "*Dalam komuniti macam ada sesetengah je yang berjaya, jadi saya ada semangat untuk berjaya. Saya tengok kehidupan dia dah berbeza, lebih baik, dah berkereta (In the community, some had achieved success, so I was encouraged as well. I saw that their life was different and better, having cars)*". She also recalled:

P7: Orang Asli teacher as a role model. There were Orang Asli that worked in the Government sector and had a stable occupation such as teacher (Teacher S, Teacher W, Teacher R and many more). Even in SK P we had several Orang Asli teachers. Observing their good life made me feel motivated.





On the other hand, the community also needs to be more aware of the importance of education. Reflections from the participants indicated their concerns for the community. For instance, P1 was of the opinion that some members of the community were still in their comfort zone, not feeling the need to strive better:

P1: Ha (dropouts) actually is a reality in Orang Asli village, the problem is not obvious in other [non Orang Asli] villages because of their environment, the parents [in those villages] they all know about the importance of education, but in the Orang Asli village ... R: You mean they still could not see [the importance of education]? P1: They're satisfied with their life. They could not see, but me probably because I was really poor back then.

Cultural challenges that set education back included the dance nights, the popular 'joget', that derailed some students from their studies. P1 Shared:

P1: The 'Joget' is held during occasions such as wedding. So, when we had that, we would have Joget Night during the 'Sanding' ceremony. R: How did that impact on school? P1: For example, if it was done on Sunday night, they would dance until morning and then they would be absent the next day, Monday.

During one joint discussion, P1 and P2 also highlighted the young 'loves' (relationships), resulting from attending the many dance nights:

P1: [Impact of Joget] is strong. Not that strong to me. But to them [it was strong]. P2: I don't know, in my view the impact to them was strong because they were really influenced by that. P1: Yes! P2: They met guys, and got immersed [in relationship]. P1: Yes! That's why ... P2: Couple, couple at the 'Joget' night. P1: Couple, couple! P2: Yes, when they met on one Saturday, they wanted to meet again the next week, every Saturday they wanted to meet, every day they wanted to meet, so how? Hahahaha ... Ha! Now the kids are really advanced, they have boyfriends even while in primary school.

In a separate interview, Participant P7 shared her view on the impact of these dance nights:





R: What was the usual social problem in the village that resulted in education hitting a snag? P7: In our village normally we would have concert. They called it “Joget” (dance). R: Tell me more. P7: Usually the youngsters would come. The concert starts at 10 at night and lasts till dawn. R: Why do they have such concert, to celebrate what? P7: It doesn’t matter. Birthdays, weddings, anything ... R: In your opinion, does this kind of concert affect their studies? P7: Yes. R: Why? When did it happen? P7: This concert is normally on weekends or during school holidays. The boys and girls date there. R: Is that why some of them were forced to get married? P7: Yes.

R: What was the usual social problem in the village that derailed education? P7: In our village normally we would have concert. They called it “Joget” (dance). R: Tell me more. P7: Usually the youngsters would come. The concert starts at 10 at night and lasts till dawn. R: Why do they have such concert, to celebrate what? P7: It doesn’t matter. Birthdays, weddings, anything ... R: You think the concert affects their studies? P7: Yes. R: Why? P7: This concert is normally on weekends or during school holidays. The boys and girls date there. R: Is that why some of them were forced to get married? P7: Yes.

But most importantly, the Orang Asli community also reveals their closely knit positive community value such as caring and looking out for each other. Participant, P15 shared how her neighbour helped care for her and her older sibling when their parents lived away. P15 recalled neighbour taking the role of parents:

R: Who took care of you then? P15: Our neighbour, she cooked [for us].

To conclude, the concept of community within the context of Orang Asli education reflects the importance of role models from among the community members, the negative impact of a cultural phenomenon, the ‘Joget’ night, but a positive value of a closely-knit society, as indicated in ‘neighbour as parents’. Finally, it must be highlighted that the roles of significant others in leading learning of the Orang Asli students have not been explored in depth in this study. Thus, their significance needs to be studied further.



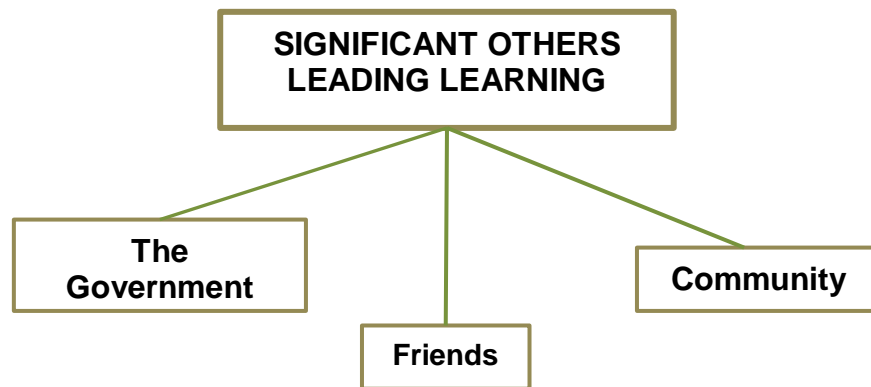


Figure 4.22. Significant Others Leading Learning

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed in detail the findings from the study. Findings are based upon data gathered from fieldwork, in-depth interviews with 16 participants, one group interview with four participants, the relevant substantive literatures and documents. The findings highlight an emerging theory of leading learning among Orang Asli students that encompasses five main strands also referred to as contributing theories, namely, parents leading learning, learners leading learning, kindergartens leading learning, schools leading learning and significant others leading learning. Each strand reflects the concerns of the main roles – parents, learners, kindergartens, schools and significant others – and the resolutions of those concerns that lead to the sustainable learning process of Orang Asli students, thus leading to their success. The following Chapter 5 concludes this thesis.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION



This chapter concludes the thesis. It begins with a recapitulation of how the research was triggered. An initial issue of learning disengagement and dropouts among Orang Asli students subsequently developed into an interest in how some students from the community were able to progress successfully through the schooling system, despite the often-cited failures, barriers and challenges. Their success was in contrast to what was found by many studies highlighting issue of learning disengagement among Orang Asli students.

Past studies have explained the issue of Orang Asli students learning disengagement through a perspective linked to deficit theorising. However, using the classic grounded theory (CGT) method, the present study found that sustainable





learning is possible, and success is achievable when learners were supported by the various roles involved in their learning. Described in detail in Chapter 4, the substantive theory of leading learning among Orang Asli students emerging from the study explains how parents, learners, kindergartens and schools led learning within the limits of their context. Although limited by the data, the study also highlighted the roles of significant others comprising the Government, friends and the communities in the educational process of the Orang Asli students. Further details are as follows.

5.2 A Grounded Theory of Leading Learning among Orang Asli Students

The emerging theory of leading learning among Orang Asli students is an abstraction of the experience of Orang Asli students prior to their schooling, during the transition years at the kindergartens and in primary schools. The theory captures and explains captures Participants' experience constituting both the informal and formal learning years. In brief, the grounded theory explains how Orang Asli parents were involved in their children's learning and how students were involved in their own learning. It also explains how kindergartens, schools and significant others were involved in the students' learning. The emerging theory is illustrated in Figure 5.1.



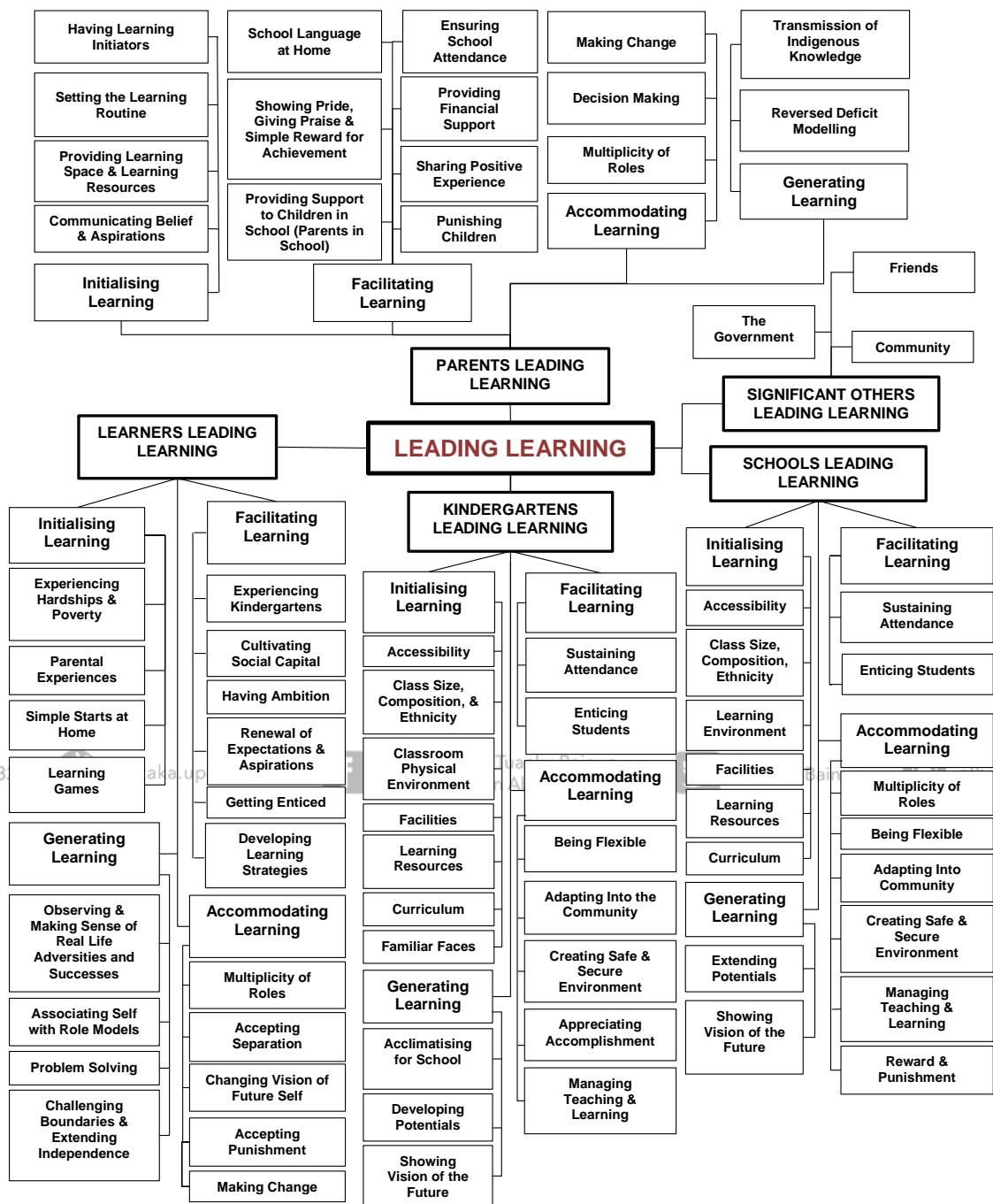


Figure 5.1. Leading Learning among Orang Asli Students

The emerging strands of categories in the above illustration are summarised in the following sections. For ease of discussion in this chapter, each strand is referred to as a contributing theory or theory.

5.2.1 Parents Leading Learning

The contributing theory of parents leading learning explains Orang Asli parents' involvement and engagement with their children's education. As discussed in Chapter 1, the extant literature suggests lack of Orang Asli parents' involvement in their children's education due to various reasons (Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; Nazariah, 2014). Nazariah (2014) for instance, states that the challenges faced by school to involve Orang Asli parents were due to their low academic, awareness, attitude, and socio-economic status. However, findings from the present study indicate that despite their low economic and academic background, parents contributed to their children's education in a variety of ways. Generally, involvement of parents at home was not visible to the educators in school, thus the common perception of the lack of Orang Asli parental involvement. The theory suggests that Orang Asli parental involvement must be understood in context with the economic capital (what they earn or own), social capital (who they know), and cultural capital (what they know) of the community. To illustrate, the provision of an environment conducive for learning within the traditionally disadvantaged Orang Asli homes must be appreciated within the context of their 'lack' – in other words, the condition of their deficit. In a world of lack, a little is a lot. Such was the case of the



Orang Asli's home learning environment and provision where the study space was usually the floor. Even when parents provided study tables for the children the preference for lying on the floor prevailed and this preference showed itself in kindergartens as described by a participant. Simple provisions included coloured pencils whilst books were notebooks and textbooks from the school. Despite this limitation, parents especially Mothers, conveyed their aspirations to children through reverse deficit modelling; emphasising to their children that being poor was the very reason to go to school, to have an education. Embedded in their actions, parents conveyed to their children that education was deemed as an instrument that can bridge the deficit gap.

Stevens and Patel (2015) argue that parents are inherently generative, a reference to the primarily adult concern for establishing and guiding the next generation. This generative trait is exhibited by Orang Asli parents through reverse deficit modelling and sharing of indigenous knowledge. And this is the driving essence of the theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning.

When compared to past research, the theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning is consistent with the argument that, "Many parents, particularly those from ethnic minorities or those facing economic challenge, find engagement with schools difficult, but still have a strong desire to be involved in their children's learning and educations" (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014, p.400). Similarly, in this study, despite the deficit, Orang Asli parents' desire to be involved is translated into behaviours and actions at home that are not visible to educators. Moreover, in congruence with Lea et





al. (2011a; 2011b), the role of parents in the learning system of Orang Asli households is a shared responsibility. This is indicated by the emerging conceptual role of parents that includes mothers, grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles and older relatives.

In conclusion, the theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning has made explicit the systemic processes of the Orang Asli parental involvement before and during the process of institutionalized schooling.

5.2.2 Learners Leading Learning

Learners leading learning explains the process of how successful Orang Asli students resolved their concerns in the quest for learning and kept them in school. 'Successful' is about students who stayed engaged and survived the deficit theorising that surrounded them. The study revealed that the underpinning strengths that enabled these students to lead their learning have been conceptualised in the literature as hope and motivation (Freire, 1992; Anderman, 2010), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982; Pajares, 2006; Frost, 2006), personal agency (Bandura, 2001), self-concept and resilience (Brown & Marshall, 2006; Hunter, 2012; Fletcha & Soler, 2013) and continuous improvement (Deming, 1986).

Hope and motivation was reflected through the Orang Asli students' vision of future self, having respectable jobs, and drawing themselves and their family out of poverty. Self-efficacy was reflected through their actions and interactions that indicated



a belief that they can do it. Personal agency was about taking ownership of their own learning and resolving the concerns that were theirs as well as what were expected of them. Self-concept and resilience was about springing back from adversities, and hardships, and not be subdued by challenges. And last but not least, continuous improvement was indicated by how the students find ways and means to better their learning process and achievement.

5.2.3 Kindergartens Leading Learning

Kindergartens leading learning describes how kindergartens prepared young Orang Asli learners for formal education. Kindergartens provided transits for acclimatisation, wherein Orang Asli students experienced a school environment that was unlike home.

The experience transformed Orang Asli children to students. They were given pre-school level targets and were expected to be responsible to achieve the targets.

The emerging theory explains how kindergartens set the condition that initialised learning, created enticing factors that contributed to the joy of being in kindergarten and promoted climate that facilitates learning. In addition, kindergartens accommodated learning through teachers who were flexible and able to adjust to students' need. Kindergarten teachers made necessary changes in order to create physically and emotionally safe and secure environment, whilst managing teaching and learning that was student-centred. Last but not least, kindergartens generated learning by giving students the space and time to acclimatise before setting off to primary school,



enabling students to explore their potential as well as showing the students, alternative visions of an exciting future.

5.2.4 Schools Leading Learning

The emerging theory of schools leading learning explains how primary schools responsible for Orang Asli education initialised, facilitated, accommodated and generated learning. Within the context of this study, the findings indicate that schools through teachers and administrators initialised learning by setting the values and the conditions that enabled students, after kindergarten, to continue their formal education.

For students without prior kindergarten experience, primary school formalised their entry to institutionalised education.

In facilitating learning, schools provided learning environment that encouraged students' attendance. Teachers and administrators provided assistance as well as support that drew students to school.

In accommodating learning, schools made adjustments (adopted, adapted or changed) to accommodate or 'make space' for students' learning needs, such as using students' home language during teaching and learning sessions; a flexible approach that created emotionally safe and secure learning moments.



Finally, schools generated learning by enabling students to develop and transfer their leading skills through leadership roles, enhancing students' self-concept and extending students' skills and knowledge as measured through standardized national based assessment. Schools, through teachers and administrators, showed students alternative visions of their future by being role models, organizing motivational programs and talks, and practicing inclusive leadership. It is worth noting Saravia-Shore (2008) proposition that if educators act on the knowledge research offers, we can realize the educational excellence we desire for all children.

5.2.5 Significant Others Leading Learning

Within the context of participants' data, the category of significant others leading learning emerged to reiterate the role of the Government, friends and community in leading the learning of Orang Asli students. First, although limited in depth, participants shared aspects of their schooling experience that indicate the Governments' role in enabling and improving Orang Asli education. The Government's concern for Orang Asli education is reflected through its effort to resolve challenges that have been raised through past research. Among these were school issues such as accessibility, facilities and staff; family issues such as financial problems and parents' priorities; and learner issues such as learning problems and motivation. The leading Government agencies concerned with resolving the afore-mentioned challenges are the JAKOA, KEMAS, PPD and MOE. In essence, the role of the Government in leading learning is indicated by its concern to ensure that Orang Asli children benefit from nation's commitment to



the policy of education for all. Although isolation still appears to be an issue (as illustrated by Alagesh, 2017), the Government has detailed its commitment to improve the Orang Asli's affair through the various Government establishments that include JAKOA and MOE (MOE, 2013).

Second, the role of friends in initialising and facilitating learning has been discussed in context with kindergartens leading learning and schools leading learning. The role is reiterated separately in this category to highlight its significance to learning engagement. Friends did not have direct concerns in leading the learning of their peers. However, their importance, after parents, cannot be overemphasised as shown from the emerging findings that have been discussed in friends as learning initiators who provided early glimpses into the world of schooling, and as learning partners who contributed to the joy of being in the kindergartens and schools. Friends were important in enticing students to school, thus sustaining attendance. Sustained attendance, in turn, led towards continuous learning engagement. This study indicates that friends contributed to the joy of learning, taking up the challenges of school with fun and vigour. Friends also provided the critical support when one had to miss school. As Gutman and Feinstein (2008) argue, friendships affect children's well-being in school. However, the data indicated friends could also lead to school derailment, delinquencies and finally school disengagement.

Third, community contributed both positive and negative values towards Orang Asli education. A significant finding is the importance of role models from among the community members. Often, role models from Orang Asli community were referred to





by the parents to motivate their children to emulate the success of their brethren. Orang Asli community presented positive values of a closely knit society, as illustrated by the concept of 'neighbour as parents'. Yet data suggests negative impact of a cultural phenomenon, the '*Joget*' night that affected students' attendance in school.

To conclude, it must be highlighted that the roles of significant others in leading learning of Orang Asli students have not been explored in depth in this study. Thus their significance needs further investigation.

5.3 Credibility, Reflections and Limitations



This section explains the criteria of credibility based upon the CGT method, records reflections of my concerns during the course of the study, highlights the evolution of concept definitions from the pre-conceived to that of emerging and explains what claims are made about the findings within the limitations of the study.

5.3.1 Credibility and Worthiness

The credibility and worthiness of the findings from CGT method is evaluated by four criteria propounded by its founders, Glaser and Strauss (1967) and users (Hoda, 2011; Hakel, 2015): fit, work, relevant and modifiable. In brief, the theory fits when it matches the realities under study, as experienced by the subjects, practitioners and researchers





in the research substantive area. It works when it explains, predicts, and interprets what is happening in the studied phenomenon. It is relevant if it fits and works thus offering explanations of the basic process in the substantive area; and the theory “should be readily modifiable when new data present variations in emergent properties and categories. The theory is neither verified nor thrown out, it is modified to accommodate by integration of the new concepts” (Glaser 1992, p.15). This modifiability as new data emerges what makes the theory continues to fit, work, and be relevant (Flint, 2005). Moreover, Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain: “Generating hypotheses requires evidence enough to establish a suggestion – not an excessive piling of evidence to establish a proof” (pp.39-40).

This study resulted in a theory that offers a plausible explanation for the successful learning journey of Orang Asli students. The theory extends the knowledge of how successful Orang Asli students survived their learning journey and captures aspects that have not been sufficiently illuminated in the existing literature and discussion on the topic, except in the context of deficits as highlighted in past research (Johari & Nazri, 2007; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; Nur Bahiyah, et al., 2013, Nazariah, 2014).

The theory is fit as it emerges from participants’ experience. It works as it offers explanation, has properties that could predict possibilities for systemic improvement and the theory interprets what is happening in the studied area. Consequently, relevance follows when the theory fits and works.





At this juncture, the theory claims to unveil the latent process of leading learning, making explicit their significance within the context of the Orang Asli's social, economic and human capital deficit. Current data (both grounded and literature) will not enable any claim to generalize the emerging theory beyond the context of this study. However, its worthiness as a grounded theory lends itself to modification as new data emerges, in congruence with the inductive realist view of truth (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Hunt, 2011).

An added consideration to credibility and worthiness is publications arising from this research. They provide evidence of the researcher's contribution to knowledge claims. To date this study has resulted in articles published in peer-reviewed journals and papers presented by the first author at national and international conferences as cited in the reference list (Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2013b; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2015a; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2015b; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2015c; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2016; Misnaton, Hamidah & Marinah, 2017).

5.3.2 Reflections on the Researcher's Concerns

My initial concern was trying to understand the GT methodology, its multiple versions, concepts and terminologies used by its different proponents. It required a separate research on Grounded Theory method itself, as have been described in Chapter 3. An early memo shown in Box 5.1 illustrated this concern.



Box 5.1

Memo on Understanding GT

Memo

Understanding GT:

Among the books on Grounded Theory, I found Glaser and Strauss (1967) the most difficult to digest. The most ‘dense’; for me that is. It took Corbin and Strauss (2008) to help open up the complexities of the GT method. Here the authors, in particular Corbin’s elaboration of the concepts and how they are operationalized are clear. Examples to illustrate a project she started as a case, to show and elaborate the steps of GT method were excellent. But at the end of the day, I read the books back and forth in order to take a grip of many difficult concepts and limitations (such as the role of literature review in GT). And each book and piece of article provided elaboration on the other. (10.03.2013).

As the research progressed, I examined again the explanations, injunctions, and arguments of the original founders Glaser and Strauss in Glaser and Strauss (1967), I realised their significance in relation to my own research, and finally I am relieved of the earlier burden of ignorance and insecurity. And I found that Glaser’s exhortation to ‘Just do it’ made sense.

Another concern was getting lost in data; yes it was easy to get lost in the data, when everything appears to merge. A piece of data can reflect the role of parents, students and schools in the learning process. This happened regularly during the constant comparative analysis as reflected in the following memo admonishing myself when ‘on the verge of drowning’, whilst looking at pieces of data for the category ‘Schools Leading Learning’.



Box 5.2

Memo on How to Avoid Drowning in Data

Memo

Reminder:

We are looking at how school led learning. Keep always this in mind. Whenever we lost our direction. ‘We’ is me. Sometimes I lost my focus when I looked at a piece of data. There was the tendency to lose focus on who we are looking at in this piece. Not the parents. Not the students. But the schools. It is easy to *tergelincir* or slip and drowns when you are immersed in your data. (19.07.2016).

As I worked through the data and analysis, I found myself in constant discursive, dialectic process. Dialectic is logical argument – a discourse between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject but wish to establish the truth through reasoned arguments (Wikipedia, 2016). In my context throughout the constant comparative analysis, I held discourse with myself; my internal voice was my partner to establish the meaning of a fragment of data. Making sense of a fragment of data was a discursive dialectic process of asking ‘my other self’ the following questions: Who are involved? What is it about? What is the issue? How is it resolved? Most of the conceptualisation arose from this dialectic process; having internal dialogues, arguments and reminders with myself, while working through each piece of data.

Yet another concern arose from one of my difficult moments that occurred after a meeting with a top management in JAKOA Headquarters (FN: 02.10.2013). During a conversation, I brought up the issue of dropout among the Orang Asli primary students. The officer responded by highlighting that JAKOA’s current Orang Asli statistics indicated that there were no dropouts at the primary level rather there were





surpluses, as indicated by the negative values, for the cohorts as shown in the extract below:

Table 5.1

Dropouts of Orang Asli Primary Pupils (Registered for Year 1 Not Completing Year 6)

Registered for Year 1		Completed Year 6			
Year Registered	Total Registered	Year Completed	Total Completed	Total Dropouts	Per cent Dropouts
2004	4225	2009	4411	-186	-4.40%
2005	4160	2010	4271	-111	-2.67%
2006	3860	2011	4091	-231	-5.98%
2007	3977	2012	4705	-728	-18.31%
2008	4251	2013	4464	-213	-5.01%

Extract from: Buletin Perangkaan KKLW 2013, JAKOA (2015a, p.64)

On further queries, indeed the surpluses were due to JAKOA campaign to enrol or bring back Orang Asli children to school regardless of their ages that resulted in continuous enrolment within a cohort. Despite the immediate past research and an interview with a participant who was saying otherwise, the officer indicated that dropping out at primary level was no longer a problem, which left me unsure of my next step, asking myself, "What's the issue then?". Following this, a conversation with another JAKOA officer highlighted the Government's concern for students who dropped out after completing Year 6. The following table shows data for primary level students completing Year 6 but not continuing to the secondary level, Form 1.



Table 5.2

Dropouts of Orang Asli Primary Pupils after Year 6 (Completed Year 6 Not Registered for Form 1)

Registered Students for Year 6		Registered Students for Form 1		Total Dropouts	Per cent Dropouts
Year Completed	Total Completed	Year Completed	Total Completed		
2005	4423	2009	3018	1405	31.77%
2006	4411	2010	3145	1266	28.70%
2007	4271	2011	3001	1270	29.74%
2008	4091	2012	3046	1045	25.54%
2009	4705	2013	3519	1186	25.21%

Extract from: Buletin Perangkaan KKLW 2013, JAKOA (2015a, p.65)

My reflection above exemplified exactly what Glaser (2015) has been advising all along to 'just do it' and let the concerns and resolutions emerged from the data. The emerging theory from this study is a result of my 'plodding on' despite the many incidents of self-doubt of "What's the issue then?"

5.3.3 Reflections on Preconceptions and the Minor Literature Review

In retrospective, the researcher reflects upon: (1) how the minor literature review has or has not influenced the grounded theory process, (2) the utility of the initial conceptual model, (3) how the definitions of the various concepts emerged from the data and the relevant literature and how the initial definition contributes during analysis, and (4) how the constant comparative method did not force the data into the initial model definitions.

The initial readings, which I have referred to as the minor literature review in Chapter 3, comprises readings across disciplines that contributed to the increased in my conceptual sensitivity about the Orang Asli education specifically, and the global indigenous education generally. I was struck by the fact that most local and global findings are focussed on barriers, challenges and failures, until I discovered the anti-deficit thinking of leading indigenous research in New Zealand (Bishop, et al., 2007). Next, my own background in quality management contributed to the initial lens through which I viewed the Orang Asli educational issues that have been raised by past research. Quality management training motivated me to look out for systemic behaviour that contributes to the success or failure of an endeavour. This was further enhanced by readings in learning organisation that encourages systems thinking (Senge, 1990), and language learning that forms the basis for primary education (Jawaid, 2014b).

The product of the afore-mentioned initial minor review was an emerging conceptual model 'Leading Learning among Orang Asli Students' presented in Chapter 3. Against the background of Glaser's caution on pre-conception, I found utility in this



model. Since the model emerges from a wide reading in various disciplines, its utility is mainly in providing theoretical codes during the constant comparative analysis. The initial codes include 'leading learning', 'initialising learning', 'facilitating learning', 'accommodating learning' and generating learning. These codes later developed into sub-categories that explain the sustained schooling process of Orang Asli students. The subsequent major literature review carried out during the constant comparative analysis enabled me to make meaning of and codify the pieces of data.

As an illustration, the theoretical code 'acclimatising' used in kindergartens leading learning emerged from readings on how mountaineers prepare themselves for the Mount Everest climb, moving from camp to camp before the final peak attempt. How the definitions of the emerging concepts evolved and how the constant comparative method did not force the data into the initial model definitions are detailed as follows.

5.3.4 Pre-conceived Definitions versus Emerging Definitions

The key concepts emerging from the initial minor literature review are learning disengagement, leading learning, initialising learning, facilitating learning, accommodating learning, and generating learning. These key concepts have been defined in Chapter 1. However, the following discussion highlights the evolution of the concept 'leading learning' as the research comes to its conclusion.





Leading was brought in context with learning by Argyris (1993). The author uses the concept ‘leading-learning’ (hyphenation original) to explain a problem-solving process in educating organizational leaders. Argyris argues that managers as leaders can be educated to lead learning and to resolve organisational concerns and conflicts. He further argues that the competencies involved in leading learning are the same when dealing with individuals, groups or organisations and that, “the first key to leading learning is not personality or style, rather the key is the ‘theories of action’, the set of rules individuals use to design and implement their behaviour” (Argyris, 1993, p.5). Thus, Argyris set the conceptual and operational context of ‘leading learning’ and explain how leaders can resolve organizational and individual concerns by crafting conversations about the concerns, the proposed resolutions, and their rationales or theories of action. Following Argyris (1993), Scholtes (1998) also argues that education is about leading learning.



In educational setting, leading learning appears as a process relevant to school administrators and teachers within the context of their leadership roles in education (Lingard et al., 2003); whilst, others put leadership in context with learning as ‘leadership for learning’ as in Hallinger and Heck (2010a, 2010b), Frost (2006), MacBeath (2012), and Peck and Reitzug (2012). However, the narratives explaining ‘leadership for learning’ remain about administrators, teachers and educators as leaders and their educating roles and actions, rather than about the learning process and how it is led. It is worth to note though that of late leading learning as a concept has been used by the Canada Library Association that reflects the role of libraries in students’ learning (CLA, 2014).



Consequently, the initialising thoughts and conceptual model that provided this study's backdrop drew upon the researcher's past study (Misnaton, 2001), and examination the initial Orang Asli dropout issue from the following theoretical lenses: quality management, learning organisation, and language learning and in minority context and indigenous education. The pre-conceived and emerging definitions are briefly compared in the Box below.

Box 5.3

Comparing Pre-Conceived and Emerging Definitions

Leading Learning

Pre-conceived definition: Leading learning is defined as the action of one that leads the acquiring of knowledge or skill and other relevant learning competencies for self or for others.

Emerging definition: Leading learning is an emerging grounded theory that explains a learning system comprising roles and processes involved in initialising, facilitating, accommodating and generating learning.

Initialising Learning

Pre-conceived definition: Initialising learning is about how the individual starts the process and seeks help to start the learning process

Emerging definition: The concept 'initialising' is similar to that use in computing, which is to set the value or put in the condition appropriate to the start of an operation, or to configure; thus, initialising learning is to set the context, expectation and conducive environment that initiates or triggers learning.

Facilitating Learning

Pre-conceived definition: Facilitating learning is about how the individual creates the means to ease continuity of learning.

Emerging definition: The process of facilitating connotes promoting, assisting and supporting. It involves creating the means and conditions to promote, assist and support the continuity of learning.



Accommodating Learning

Pre-conceived definition: Accommodating learning is about how the individual adapts, adjusts and reconciles differences of the old and the new, learning for survival or survival learning, and applying learning. This process is based upon an analogy of the concept 'accommodate' as defined in the Webster's New World Dictionary (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1994), "to become adjusted, as the lens of the eyes, in focusing on objects at various distances" (p.8).

Emerging definition: The initial definition is derived from the term as used in describing the accommodative ability of the human eye lens. Recently, this accommodative ability has been the subject of study of the sea nomad children's amazing ability to see underwater (Science Alert, 2016). "They appear to also be 'accommodating' their lenses which means consciously or subconsciously changing the shape of the lens to clarify or focus on an image as its distance varies." (Science Alert, 2016, p.1). The preconceived definition fits the context in which the accommodative concept is used in the present grounded theory study, and thus is retained.

Generating Learning

Pre-conceived definition: Generating learning is about how the individual expands the ability to produce the results, he or she truly wants; learning for generating the new and the novel; the generative learning.

Emerging definition: Generating learning is defined as making meaning and making sense of real life experience, acquired skills and knowledge. It involves the process of extending learning through predicting and knowledge transfer, which is the ability to apply real life experience and prior learning to new situations. This emerging definition is influenced by the concept as used by Wittrock (1992, 2010) and Senge (1990).

The above comparison shows that pre-conceived definition of the concepts that set the initial theoretical framework for thinking through the problem, while the emerging definitions are grounded in and explains the data.





5.3.5 Limitations

The emerging theory is limited to explaining the leading learning process among Orang Asli students in Peninsular Malaysia. It is based upon data gathered from participants who have passed successfully through their primary education phase and have reached the higher education level. The grounded theory's constant comparative method was used to carry out concurrent data collection and analysis. Data was added through theoretical sampling, meaning the unstructured interviews with each subsequent participant were guided by the need to confirm or elaborate an emerging concept. The need for more data is terminated when theoretical saturation sets in. Thus, the emerging theory is grounded in and limited within the context of the participants. Literature provides additional data. Thus, based upon this limited data (both grounded and literature), the theory is applicable within the substantive area of study and thus cannot be generalised. However, new data may extend the applicability of the theory to other substantive areas.

On sample in Grounded Theory method, Glaser and Strauss (1967) provide this guideline, "Since accurate evidence is not so crucial for generating theory, the kind of evidence, as well as the number cases, is also not crucial. A single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property; a few more cases can confirm the indication" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.30). Finally, the researcher takes comfort in the CGT's founder's argument that, "there is no such thing as full coverage in GT; there are no misses. It is what you do, that offer as contribution – not what you did not do" (Glaser, 2006, p.8).





5.4 Contributions to the Body of Knowledge

This study extends the application of CGT in indigenous research, uses data shared by successful learners' experience and establishes an emerging theory of leading learning among Orang Asli students. Elaborations on the contributions are as follows.

5.4.1 Methodological Contributions

Past studies on Orang Asli education generally have adopted the case study method (Johari & Nazri, 2007; Hamidah, Abdul Rahman & Khalip, 2013; Nazariah, 2014; Jumiya, 2014; Wan Afizi, Shaharuddin & Noraziah, 2014; Norwaliza, Ramlee & Abdul Razaq, 2016; Mohd Asri, 2012), historical and document review (Lye, 2011), and surveys (Thah et al., 2010). On the other hand, this study pioneers the application of CGT method in indigenous research in Malaysian context. How the CGT method is utilised has been described in Chapter 3 and earlier above in this chapter, Section 5.3 (Credibility, Reflections and Limitations).

5.4.2 Empirical Contributions

The most important empirical contribution is the data representing successful learners' voices, which have not been explored in-depth in past research. The constant comparative analysis of the GT method enabled the researcher to show the development



of theory from emerging patterns in the participants' data. Through in-depth unstructured interviews, the participants who have successfully passed through the schooling process shared their real life experience that highlighted the roles and concerns of parents, learners, kindergartens, schools and significant others, and how the concerns were resolved. In other words, the constant comparative analysis provides the means to examine the latent or underlying pattern of roles, concerns and resolutions.

5.4.3 Theoretical Contributions

The theoretical contribution of this study is explained through how this study contributes to the body of literature in Orang Asli education; how it extends, confirms and contradicts the extant Orang Asli literature. Evidence of this contribution includes peer-reviewed publications and presentations as stated in Section 5.3.1 (Credibility and Worthiness).

A brief reflection, at the start of this study the prevalent literature on Orang Asli education was found to focus on the persistent issue of learning disengagement and low achievement of the Orang Asli students while explaining the underlying factors contributing to the issue (Johari & Nazri, 2007; Sharifah et al., 2011; Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008, Mohd Asri, 2012; Hamidah, et al., 2013; Abdull Sukor et al., 2011; Edo, 2012).



Subsequent recent research also highlights similar challenges faced by the communities, school administrators and teachers in educating Orang Asli children (Mazdi et al., 2014; Nazariah, 2014; Norwaliza, Ramlee & Abdul Razaq, 2016). No doubt findings from past research were important to identify the key factors that contributed to learning disengagement and school failure, because they enabled stakeholders to develop research-based interventions for continuous improvement. However, there was a lack of research that delved into how some students from Orang Asli community were able sustain their education despite the issues, barriers and challenges.

The present study illuminates how learning engagement could be built upon the strengths of the various roles that contributed to the successful schooling process of Orang Asli students. The study confirms the concerns and challenges that have been raised in earlier research, but it also unveils the hidden strengths of the various roles involved in Orang Asli education. As an example, the contributing emerging theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning extends the knowledge of Orang Asli parental involvement and captures aspects that have not been sufficiently illuminated in the existing literature and discussion on the topic, except in the context of parental lack of involvement (Johari & Nazri, 2007; Mahmud, Amat & Yaacob, 2008; Sharifah et al., 2011; Nur Bahiyah et al., 2013). The theory unveils latent Orang Asli parental involvement, making explicit their significance within their context of social, economic and human capital deficit.





In conclusion, the study contributes to a new strength-based theoretical model; ‘Leading Learning’ that provides hope for Orang Asli education, beyond that of prevalent deficit theorising.

5.5 Implications for Practice

This study highlights the importance of roles and relations in leading the learning of Orang Asli students. The implications are thus explained in context with each role as described below. The findings and the generated theory imply that educational practices must look out for the strengths of the individual roles and how together they form a synergy that can contribute to Orang Asli students’ success.



5.5.1 Implications for Parents

For Orang Asli parents, it is not about what they do not have; rather it must be about what they can do despite what they lack or the deficit. They can initialise learning by setting the values, and within their means, the conditions and provisions that initiate children’s interest in schooling. They can help familiarise children with daily routine that prepares them for school. They can sustain the momentum for learning by showing interest in their children’s activities in the school, enquiring and listening with interest and sincerity. They can motivate the children through praise and parental role modelling and illustrate to children how difficulties and challenges should not define their borders.





Parents can ponder the model as described in the emerging theory of Orang Asli parents leading learning and pluck from the model any process that they may be able to improve for themselves and their children.

Parents can take solace in the fact that their involvement will have positive impact on their children's academic achievement, regardless of the parental involvement measure used. As confirmed by past research found that the relationship between academic achievement and parental involvement measure was strongest if parental involvement is defined as parental expectations for academic achievement of their children; the impact was weakest when it is defined as homework assistance (Froiland, Peterson & Davison, 2012; Wilder, 2014). Thus, the inability to help children with their homework should not reduce the aspiration and high expectations of parents for their children. As Lea et al. (2011a) argued, "Simply getting the child up and ready for school was commitment enough" (p.269). Despite the social and economic deficit, parents can be encouraged, facilitated and accommodated to assume the role of learning leaders by leveraging on their cultural capital (community values and indigenous knowledge), as exemplified by Johansson (2009) and Rethinasamy et al. (2013). In conclusion, the findings and examples suggest that parents can lead learning through both direct and intangible ways.





5.5.2 Implications for Learners

Stories of success help Orang Asli learners cope with challenges as they go through the schooling process. Fiddler (2015) found that Aboriginal literature depicting strong characters influenced Aboriginal students' resilience at the University of Saskatchewan. Similarly, the emerging theory of learners leading learning shows how successful students have overcome challenges to complete their schooling and progressed to capture more experience in universities.

Learners can take aspirational lift from the success of others who have gone through similar or more difficult path. The underpinning strengths of the successful Orang Asli students leading their own learning can be seen in their hope and motivation, self-concept, self-efficacy, agency and continuous improvement. Their narratives are about arising above difficult situation and so could other Orang Asli students. Orang Asli students can find conceptual sustenance from the emerging theory of learners leading learning in overcoming deficit theorising that surrounded them.

5.5.3 Implications for Kindergartens and Schools

It is worth to recall that the theory emerges from learner's voices. It reflects moments and incidents that have significant impact on the students during their learning process. Consequently, kindergartens and schools can consider the theory and its properties as baseline for self-assessment and to explore potentials that can be applied for continuous





improvement. Among the significant concepts arising from this study is related to accepting and accommodating students' cultural strengths. This includes kindergartens and schools acknowledging home language as cultural capital of the Orang Asli students. Accommodating and exploiting students' home language can be adopted as a transition management strategy to benefit and value new comers and new learners.

Another implication is with regard to the perceived lack of parental involvement in the school. This study unveils how Orang Asli parents were involved at home which was not visible to schools. In addition, a recent study by Hamidah et al. (2017) found that, whereas parents' perception on their commitment is high, teachers' perception on parents' commitment is moderate, and lower than that of administrators. Thus, findings from this study, past and current literature suggest, a perception dissonance between parents and teachers on the extent of Orang Asli parents' involvement and commitment to their children's education. There is therefore an opportunity for teachers and administrators to reflect on the dissonance and develop strategies to strengthen their role as leaders of learning for Orang Asli education. To increase parents' involvement, Anderson and Minke (2007) found that specific invitation from teachers is the single most influential variable on parental involvement choices. This is significant because schools are able to influence teacher practices to help advance the value of parental involvement to the parents. In addition, Fenton, Ocasio-Stoutenburg and Harry (2017) argue that teachers must learn to examine how one's culture interacts with the learners' communities, to take time to learn from families, to learn about the communities from which they come, and to capitalise on knowledge parents have of their children. For instance, in classrooms, teachers need to reassess the value of punishment in managing





learning and teaching and understand its social and emotional impact on Orang Asli students.

The emerging theory of leading learning indicates that teachers and administrators are role models, carers and mentors while simultaneously managing and monitoring learning in kindergartens and schools. Key concepts arising from the theory that can be used to build and sustain learning imply that teachers and administrators need to be caring and flexible, learning environment must be inclusive and curriculum should be able to exploit prior knowledge, real life experience, local and indigenous resources for meaningful learning.

Finally, although it has often been argued that the nation has seen tremendous progress since its independence in 1957, Orang Asli education was only formally placed under the responsibility of MOE Malaysia in 1995 (Mohd Asri, 2012), which is just slightly over two decades ago. In this regard, it is worth reiterating the lag of thirty years experienced by Orang Asli children when compared with their mainstream counterpart.

5.5.4 Implications for Significant Others

The Government, friends and community have significant contributions in leading learning of Orang Asli students. The importance of their roles has not been thoroughly captured in this study. Nevertheless, some implications for practice can be drawn as



described below.

5.5.4.1 The Government

In the wider context of Orang Asli education, the Government lays the foundation or set the initialising values and conditions, for which good learning can begin to happen. Beyond that, the opportunities for improvement are boundless. Foremost, in agreement with Edo (2012) who suggests that to improve the education of Orang Asli children, stakeholders (the Government and educators) should not limit their focus to improve literacy and numeracy; rather they must also consider the need to develop and strengthen the self-concept of Orang Asli parents and children as well as the community as a whole. Stronger community self-concept, how they define themselves, will enable parents and children to generate high expectations; articulate and communicate their aspirations; and model their behaviours and actions in line with their vision of better future. Community self-concept is linked to a community's social, economic and cultural capitals. In this context, the Government through its relevant agencies has the opportunity to elevate the community's self-concept to be at par with the mainstream population.



5.5.4.2 Friends

Carter and Nutbrown (2016) explore the meaning of friendship among school children and its implication for school and conclude that there is need to incorporate friendship as a pedagogical aspect that is beneficial to children's all-round learning and development. The authors state, "friendship experiences can significantly impact on school transition; starting with a friend can ease children's adjustment" (p.4). This is also the position of Dalton and Watson (1997) who argue that when children feel that they are among friends in their schools and classrooms, they make the school community their own. Within the context of this Orang Asli study, having friends scaffold hesitant learners and strengthened an already strong learner (as discussed in Section 4.5). Sidorkin (2002) and Bingham and Sidorkin (2004). assert that learning is all about relationship. For instance, a good friend from the same class is invaluable in times of need, providing support that can bridge the gaps in learning. Thus, friends and their roles can be exploited by schools to help sustain students' interest and learning engagement.

5.5.4.3 Community

This study illuminates the roles within an Orang Asli community that shows how education can be elevated in Orang Asli community. A significant finding is the importance of role models from among the community members. Often, role models from Orang Asli community were referred to by the parents to motivate their children





to emulate the success of their brethren. Thus, village leaders and Orang Asli role models must take up the mantles for change. Village and Orang Asli educational leaders are community link between the the people and agencies providing educational support. Thus, they must represent the voice of their respective communities, forwarding to the relevant agencies their concerns whilst seeking concensus for resolutions.

In summary, this study illuminates the possibilities of continuous improvement by reflecting upon the leading learning process of successful Orang Asli students. Success is about sustained engagement and completing the initial schooling process upon which further learning engagement is built. Grounded upon the story of each participant, the emerging theory captures the strengths and the contributions of the various roles within the limit of their context. Any implication for practice needs to take into consideration not only the strengths of each role as described in the findings, and building practice upon these strengths, also it must consider the systemic undercurrent that contributed to the individual strengths. These include how Orang Asli parents are involved and engaged, how learners negotiated and lead their learning process, as well as how kindergartens and schools lead, and scaffold the learning process. It is worth noting Riessman (1963), lamenting over fifty years ago, that, “Most approaches concerned with educating our disadvantaged child either overlook the ‘positive’ elements entirely, or merely mention in passing that there are positive features from which middle-class groups might learn. But they do not spell out these strengths to any extent, and consequently they build educational programs almost exclusively around the weaknesses” (Riessman, 1963, p.337). Thus reminded, educating the Orang Asli





students will be enhanced by understanding the real life challenges and concerns of these students, and how they resolve their concerns.

A conceptual model of hope begins this study, and it remains valid as a closure. To understand hope, one must internalise the meaning of its opposite, “hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings” (Freire, 1992, p.8). Thus said, it is a matter of finding back one’s bearing to get back on track.

5.6 Further Research

This study has generated a grounded theory of leading learning based upon the successful experience of Orang Asli learners’ prior to and during their primary schooling years. This theoretical model of Leading Learning comprising the process of Initialising-Facilitating-Accommodating-Generating Learning presented in this study can be further explored in other contexts as follows:

- Explore the extent of the Leading Learning Model from the perspective of significant others – The Government, Friends, Community.
- Explore the utility of the Model in other substantive areas. For example, how survivors overcome drug addiction; how children of immigrants and refugees survive the deficit theorising in education.
- Explore the Model in younger or older context; and compare and contrast with the present findings.



- Explore the extent of outliers (unique cases) as discovered in this study, for instance the child headed households. The discovery of a child-headed household (although temporarily) in this study, raises further question on the extent of this phenomenon in the country.



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APPENDIX A

Definitions of Terms

Axial Coding: Cross-cutting or relating concepts to each other (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195), such as when two concepts derived from open-coding are discussed in an analytical memo. A type of coding that treats a category as an axis around which the analyst delineates relationships and specifies the dimensions of this category; a major purpose is to bring the data back together again into a coherent whole after the researcher has fractured them through line-by-line coding (Charmaz, 2006, p.186). Merriam (2009, p.179) explains coding and axial coding as follows: “Assigning codes to pieces of data is the way you begin to construct categories. After working through the entire transcript in this manner, you go back over your marginal notes and comments (codes) and try to group those comments and notes that seem to go together... for example you might combine “copy others”, “sister” and “other woman” into a category “Learning From Others”. This process of grouping your open codes is sometimes called axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) or analytical coding (in contrast to descriptive coding) which is coding that interpret and reflect on meaning.

Coding: Deriving and developing concepts from data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.65). The process of defining what the data are about; creating qualitative codes by defining what a researcher sees in the data (Charmaz, 2006, p.186). The analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.3).

Categories (also referred to as Themes): Higher-level concepts under which analysts group lower-level concepts according to shared properties. They represent relevant phenomena and enable the analyst to reduce and combine data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.159).

Concepts (also referred to as Codes): Words that stand for ideas contained in data; Concepts are interpretations, the products of analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.159)

Conceptual Saturation (also referred to as Theoretical Saturation): The process of acquiring sufficient data to develop each category/theme fully in terms of its properties and dimensions and to account for variation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195).

Comparative Analysis (also referred to as Constant Comparative Method): Comparing incident against incident for similarities and differences. Incidents that are found to be conceptually similar to previously coded incidents are given the same conceptual label and put under the same code. Each new incident that is coded under a code adds to the general properties and dimensions of that code, elaborating it and bringing in variation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195).

Constant Comparative Method (also referred to as Comparative Analysis): A method of analysis that generates successively more abstract concepts and theories through inductive processes of comparing data with data, data with category, and



category with concept (Charmaz, 2006, p.187). Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp.105-113) describe the constant comparative method in four stages: (1) comparing incidents applicable to each category, (2) integrating categories and their properties, (3) delimiting the theory, and (4) writing the theory. A summary of these stages as provided by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is listed below:

- Comparing incidents applicable to each category: The analyst starts by coding each incident in his data into as many categories of analysis as possible, as categories emerge or as data emerge that fit an existing category. This can be done simply by noting categories on margins or more elaborately such as on cards. As we code, theoretical properties of the category will start to emerge: its dimensions (such as intensity), the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimised, its major consequences, its relation to other categories, and its other properties. Memoing keeps the process coherent.
- Integrating categories and their properties: this process starts with memos, short initially, more elaborate analysis as the study progresses.
- Delimiting the theory: this occurs at two levels – first delimiting terminology and text as the theory solidifies, a reduction process that occurs when analyst discovers underlying uniformities (latent patterns) in the original set of categories or their properties, and can then formulate the theory with a smaller set of higher level concepts. Second, a reduction in the original list of categories for coding when coding and analysing of incidents become more select and focused, and theoretical saturation sets in. Theoretical saturation is when new incidents (data) do not lead to new category. The delimiting process is a natural feature of the constant comparative method which curbs what could otherwise lead to bulk of data, terminologies, and text.
- Writing theory: the sorting and collating memos on each category, summarising them, perhaps further analysing them and starting writing the theory. As we write we can return to the coded data to validate a suggested point, pinpoint data behind a hypothesis, or gaps in the theory, and provide illustrations.

Constructivism: A social scientific perspective that assumes that people, including researchers, construct the realities in which they participate; constructivists acknowledge that their interpretation of the studied phenomenon is itself a construction (Charmaz, 2006, p.187).

Memoing: Memos in grounded theory research are records of thoughts, feeling, insights, and ideas in relation to a research; memoing is not optional, as it is fundamental to the development of grounded theory (Birks & Mills, 2011, p.40). Memos are a specialised type of written records – those that contain the products of our analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.117). Memo-writing is the pivotal intermediate step in grounded theory between data collection and writing drafts of paper; it is a crucial method in grounded theory because it prompts researchers to analyse their data and to develop their codes into categories early in the research process; and writing successive memos keeps researchers involved in the analysis and helps them to increase the level of abstraction of their ideas (Charmaz, 2006, p.188).





Open Coding: Breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data; at the same time, one is qualifying those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195).

Theoretical Coding: A GT study ends with a substantive theory based upon the integration of substantive codes. Substantive codes are grounded in data, whilst theoretical codes are abstract models emerging from the integration of substantive codes. They emerge during “the sorting of mature memos into a potential substantive theory” (Glaser, 2013, p.1). Theoretical coding is the process of making explicit the theoretical codes of the final grounded substantive theory. The difference being: theoretical codes are the next level of abstraction – the next higher level of conceptualisation of the integrated substantive codes. Theoretical codes are best understood through its properties as elaborated by Glaser (2013). Some properties of theoretical codes (TCs) according to Glaser (2013, pp.1-6) are as follows:

- TCs provide grounded integration of the substantive codes.
- TCs are abstractions of substantive codes.
- TCs are the next level of abstraction after substantive codes.
- TCs provide integrative connections of substantive codes.
- TCs are relevant in fields beyond the substantive area of study.
- TCs are used to provide the abstract model that emerges when sorting mature substantive coded memos.
- TCs are not necessary, “but a substantive theory is best when a TC is explicitly used. TCs are always implicitly in the theory, even when not consciously used” (p.6).



Theoretical Sampling: The process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next, and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.45). Sampling on the basis of concepts derived from data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.65). Data collections based on concepts that appear to be relevant to the evolving story line (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.195); in theoretical sampling, the researcher is not sampling persons but concepts; the researcher is purposely looking for indicators of those concepts. A type of grounded theory sampling in which the researcher aims to develop the properties of his or her developing categories or theory; the researcher seeks people, events, or information to illuminate and define the boundaries and relevance of the categories (Charmaz, 2006, p.189).

Theoretical Saturation (also referred to as Conceptual Saturation): refers to the point at which gathering more data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the emerging grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, p.189).





APPENDIX B

Letter of Application - JAKOA

2 Oktober 2013

Ketua Pengarah,
Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA),
Kementerian Kemajuan Luar Bandar Dan Wilayah,
Wisma Selangor Dredging,
Jalan Ampang,
50450 Kuala Lumpur.

Permohonan Kajian/Penyelidikan Orang Asli di Semenanjung Malaysia

Dengan hormat sukacita merujuk perkara tersebut di atas. Saya adalah pelajar pengajian siswazah peringkat PhD, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris. Permohonan ini bertujuan untuk memperolehi bantuan sumber maklumat terkini yang berkaitan dengan pendidikan anak-anak Orang Asli. Maklumat tersebut akan menjadi sebahagian dari data sokongan kajian PhD saya yang bertajuk "Leading Learning Among the Orang Asli Students".

Disertakan bersama ini Borang Permohonan Kajian/Penyelidikan Orang Asli Di Semenanjung Malaysia yang telah diisi, serta Lampiran 1: Peraturan-Peraturan Untuk Menjalankan Penyelidikan Program Komuniti Dan Lawatan Sambil Belajar Ke Kampung Orang Asli Di Semenanjung Malaysia.

Saya dahului dengan berbilang terima kasih di atas pertimbangan yang diberikan.

Sekian, terima kasih.

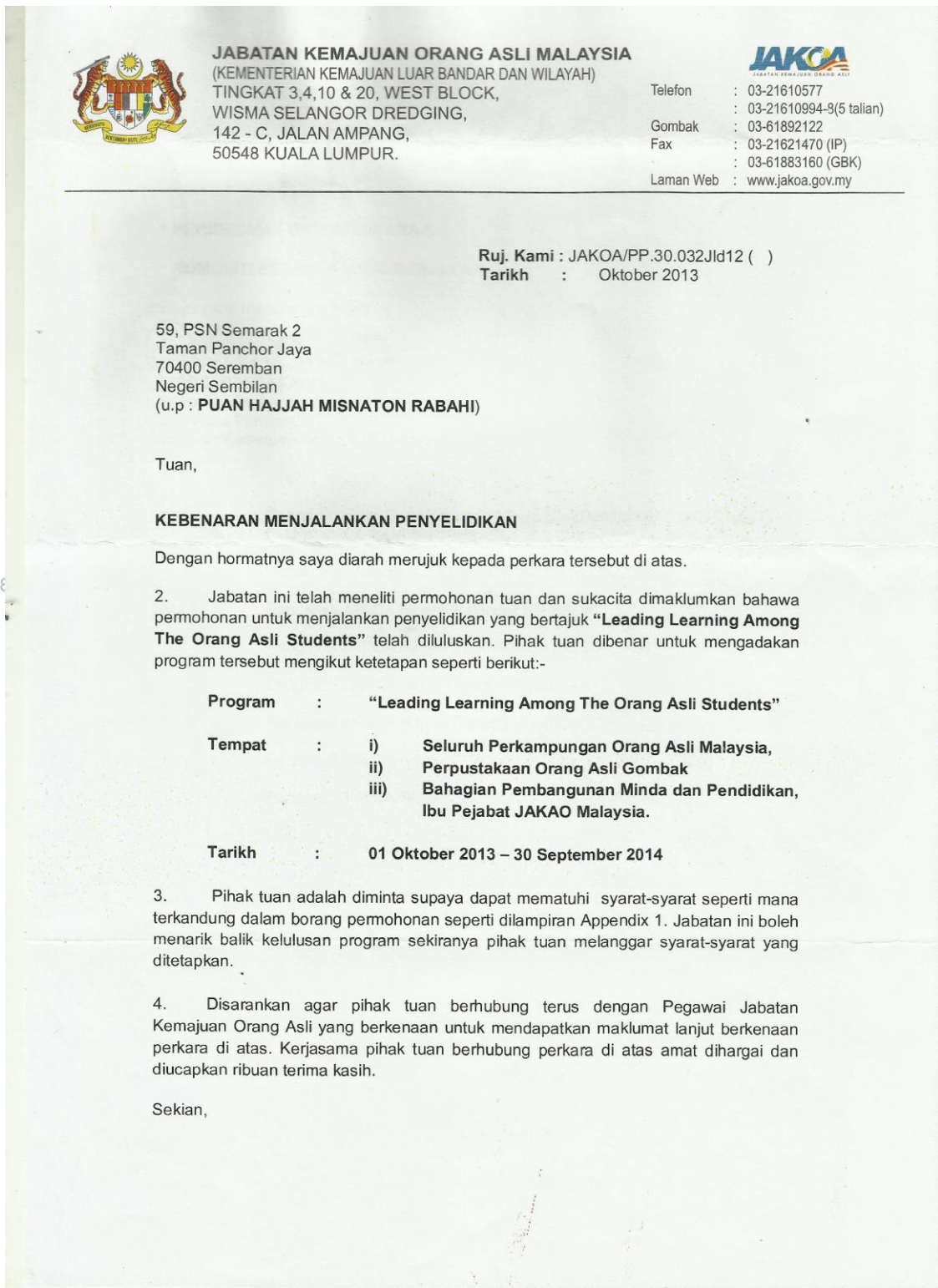
Yang benar,

Hajjah Misnaton Rabahi
(P2011 1000 905 – Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris)
59, Persiaran Semarak 2,
Taman Panchor Jaya,
70400 Seremban, N. Sembilan.
Tel: 012-672 4939



APPENDIX C

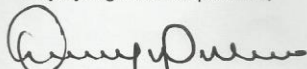
Letter of Permission JAKOA



“ BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA ”

“ KOMUNITI BERDAYA DESA BERJAYA ”

Saya yang menurut perintah,



(SARGI BIN BAKAM)

Bahagian Perancangan dan Penyelidikan
b.p Ketua Pengarah
Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli Malaysia

- s.k - Pengarah Bah. Pembangunan Minda Dan Pendidikan (03-21610577)
Ibu Pejabat JAKOA Malaysia
- Ketua Unit Muzium (03-61841478/1078/61892122)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Selangor (03-551903750)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Perak/Kedah (05-2540009)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Johor (07-2243901)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Pahang (09-5156425)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Kelantan/Terengganu (09-7443488)
 - Pengarah JAKOA Negeri Sembilan/Melaka (06-7638815)

APPENDIX D

Letter of Permission JPNS, EPRD

جايتن فنديديكن نكري سميلن دارا لخصوص

 **JABATAN PENDIDIKAN NEGERI
NEGERI SEMBILAN DARUL KHUSUS**
JALAN DATO' HAMZAH KARUNG BERKUNCI No. 6
70990 SEREMBAN, NEGERI SEMBILAN DARUL KHUSUS
Tel : 06-7653100 Fax : 06-7639969

 **KEMENTERIAN
PENDIDIKAN
MALAYSIA**

"1MALAYSIA : RAKYAT DIDAHULUKAN PENCAPAIAN DIUTAMAKAN"

Ruj. Kami : JPNS.SPS.PP.100-1/7 Jld.10(67)
Tarikh 18 FEBRUARI 2015

Hamidah Binti Yusof
10 Jalan 1/2D
43650 Bandar Baru Bangi
Selangor

Tuan/Puan,

Kebeneran Menjalankan Kajian Ke Sekolah-Sekolah Di Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus Di Bawah Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia

Saya dengan hormatnya di arah memaklumkan bahawa permohonan tuan/puan untuk menjalankan kajian bertajuk-
"Membina Model Kecemerlangan Peneraju Pembelajaran Murid Orang Asli" telah **diluluskan**.

2. Tuan/Puan hendaklah berjumpa terus dengan Pengetua atau Guru Besar sekolah berkenaan untuk meminta persetujuan dan membincangkan kajian tersebut di tempat seperti berikut:

1) **Sekolah Rendah dan Menengah di Negeri Sembilan**

3. Dimaklumkan bahawa kebenaran ini diberi berdasarkan surat kelulusan dari pihak Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, Bahagian Perancangan Dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan, nombor rujukan KP(BPPDP)603/5/Jld.01(75) bertarikh 23 Januari 2015.

4. Tuan/Puan hendaklah menghantar satu naskah hasil kajian ke Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Sembilan (u.p: Unit Perhubungan, Pendaftaran & Pelajaran Swasta).

Sekian untuk makluman dan tindakan tuan/puan selanjutnya.

Terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA"

Saya yang menurut perintah,



DATO' HAJAH KALSOM BINTI KHALID
Pegawai Pendidikan
Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus

s.k. Pengetua atau Guru Besar sekolah berkenaan

Nota: -Sila beri satu salinan surat kelulusan semasa membuat kajian di sekolah.



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UNIVERSITI PENDIDIKAN SULTAN IDRIS

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Fakulti Pengurusan dan Ekonomi

Rujukan Tuan :
Rujukan Kami :
Tarikh : 29 Januari 2015

YBhg. Dato' Hajah Kalsom Binti Khalid
Pegarah
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Sembilan
Jalan Dato' Hamzah,
70990 Seremban,
Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus

Yg Bhg Dato',

MEMOHON UNTUK MENJALANKAN KAJIAN DI NEGERI SEMBILAN

Dengan segala hormatnya merujuk kepada di atas.

2. Dimaklumkan bahawa Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris sedang menjalankan kajian bertajuk "Membina model Kecemerlangan Peneraju Pembelajaran Murid Asli", Kajian ini mendapat geran daripada Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia. Surat Kelulusan untuk menjalankan kajian telah diperolehi daripada Bahagian Perancangan dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan (dilampirkan).

3. Sehubungan itu, pihak kami memohon untuk mendapat kebenaran daripada YBhg Dato' untuk menjalankan kajian ini di beberapa buah sekolah rendah dan menengah di Negeri Sembilan. Sehubungan itu, kami juga memohon untuk mendapatkan senarai sekolah-sekolah orang asli di Negeri Sembilan berserta bilangan murid dan guru bagi setiap sekolah. Kerjasama daripada pihak YBhg Dato' terlebih dahulu kami mengucapkan ribuan terima kasih.

4. Sebarang kemusykilan atau pertanyaan boleh dikemukakan kepada **Profesor Madya Dr. Hamidah Yusof** melalui emel hamidah.yusof@fpe.upsi.edu.my atau talian 015-4811 7273 (hp 017-3207363). Maklum balas dan kerjasama daripada Yg Berusaha Tuan amatlah harga.

Sekian, terima kasih.

"KOMITED MEMBAWA PERUBAHAN DALAM PENDIDIKAN"

Saya yang menjalankan tugas,

(PROFESOR MADYA DR. HAMIDAH YUSOF)
Timbalan Dekan Akademik dan Pengantarabangsaan
Fakulti Pengurusan dan Ekonomi

☎ 015-48117273/0173207363
✉ hamidah.yusof@fpe.upsi.edu.my



BAHAGIAN PERANCANGAN DAN PENYELIDIKAN DASAR PENDIDIKAN
KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALAYSIA
ARAS 1-4, BLOK E-8
KOMPLEKS KERAJAAN PARCEL E
PUSAT Pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan
62604 PUTRAJAYA.

Telefon : 03-88846591
Faks : 03-88846579

Ruj. Kami : KP(BPPDP)603/5/JLD.01 (75)
Tarikh : 23 Januari 2015

Hamidah binti Yusof
10 Jalan 1/2D
43650 Bandar Baru Bangi
Selangor

Tuan/Puan,

Kelulusan Untuk Menjalankan Kajian Di Sekolah, Institut Pendidikan Guru, Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Dan Bahagian-Bahagian Di Bawah Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia

Adalah saya dengan hormatnya diarah memaklumkan bahawa permohonan tuan /puan untuk menjalankan kajian bertajuk:

" Membina Model Kecemerlangan Peneraju Pembelajaran Murid Orang Asli " diluluskan.

2. Kelulusan ini adalah berdasarkan kepada cadangan penyelidikan dan instrumen kajian yang tuan/puan kemukakan ke Bahagian ini. **Kebenaran bagi menggunakan sampel kajian perlu diperolehi dari Ketua Bahagian/Pengarah Pendidikan Negeri yang berkenaan.**

3. Sila tuan/puan kemukakan ke Bahagian ini senaskah laporan akhir kajian/laporan dalam bentuk elektronik berformat Pdf di dalam CD bersama naskah *hardcopy* setelah selesai kelak. Tuan/Puan juga diingatkan supaya mendapat kebenaran terlebih dahulu daripada Bahagian ini sekiranya sebahagian atau sepenuhnya dapatan kajian tersebut hendak dibentangkan di mana-mana forum atau seminar atau diumumkan kepada media massa.

Sekian untuk makluman dan tindakan tuan/puan selanjutnya. Terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA"

Saya yang menurut perintah,

(DR. HJ. ZABINI BIN DARUS)
Ketua Sektor
Sektor Penyelidikan dan Penilaian
i.p. Pengarah
Bahagian Perancangan dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan
Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia

s.k

Pengarah
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Selangor

Pengarah
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Sembilan

Pengarah
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Perak

Pengarah
Jabatan Pendidikan Negeri Pahang

Fakulti Pengurusan dan Ekonomi
Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris
35900 Tanjong Malim
Perak

APPENDIX E

Informed Consent Form

SURAT PERSETUJUAN BERPENGETAHUAN PESERTA KAJIAN

Dengan ini saya kad pengenalan bernombor bersetuju secara sukarela untuk menjadi peserta dalam kajian. Saya tahu limitasi kajian ini adalah seperti berikut:

1. Saya mengambil bahagian dalam kajian yang dijalankan oleh Puan Misnaton Binti Rabahi bertujuan memenuhi keperluan penulisan tesis ijazah falsafah kedoktoran di Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris bertajuk "Leading Learning Among The Orang Asli Students"
2. Tujuan kajian ini ialah "To explore and understand how Orang Asli students and others involved in the students' learning process, lead learning".
3. Saya akan menjadi "Participant" dalam kajian ini.
4. Saya tahu bahawa dapatan kajian ini akan membolehkan keputusan saintifik untuk meneroka "How students from the Orang Asli community lead their learning and the factors (who or what, and how) that scaffold the learning"
5. Saya menjadi peserta kajian secara sukarela tanpa paksaan dari mana-mana pihak
6. Saya tahu prosedur telah diambil untuk menyimpan data rahsia saya.
7. Saya berhak mendapat jawapan tentang kajian ini pada bila-bila masa.
8. Sesi temuduga dan sesi-sesi pemerhatian serta analisis dokumen bila perlu akan dikendalikan pada tarikh, waktu dan tempat yang dipersetujui bersama.
9. Saya akan mengikut proses kajian seperti yang dijadualkan.
10. Saya berhak dan boleh menarik diri dari melibatkan diri dalam kajian ini pada bila-bila masa tanpa sebarang syarat.

Tandatangan: Tarikh:

Nama Peserta Kajian:

Nama Penyelidik: Puan Hajjah Misnaton Binti Rabahi (No. Matrik UPSI: P20111000905)

APPENDIX F

Interview Guide

Student

Part A: Preamble

1. Explain purpose of study. Thanking respondent for agreeing to participate and contribute to the research.
2. Obtain formal informed consent. Use Informed Consent Form.
3. Obtain consent to record conversation.
4. Test-run recording to ensure recording playback quality.
5. Estimate time for the interview. Agree on break(s) if necessary.

Part B: Self & Family

1. Please tell me about yourself – name, age, home, place of birth, community (tribe), education (kindergarten, primary, secondary, tertiary), current status, current employment.
2. Please tell me about your father – age, tribe, education, occupation, his parents.
3. Please tell me about your mother – age, tribe, education, occupation, her parents.
4. Please tell me about your siblings – age, education, occupation, participant's position among siblings.

Part C: Kindergarten – some starter questions.

1. Please tell me about your kindergarten years – where, how many years.
2. Describe 'you' in the initial weeks of kindergarten.
3. Who were your teachers?
4. Who were your favourite teachers? Why?
5. What do you remember about the classrooms?
6. What did you enjoy in the kindergarten? Why?
7. What are other good memories? Why?
8. What are the unpleasant memories? Why?
9. What did you learn in kindergarten?

10. Do you still remember your friends? Did you study together? Did you help your friends? Did your friend help you?
11. Did you talk about your day in school - to your parents - father, mother, siblings, etc.? What about?
12. Did your parents – father, mother, siblings, other carer – ask you about kindergarten? What about?
13. How did you study at home? Did you get any help from parents/siblings/anyone else at home?
14. Describe ‘you’ at the end of your kindergarten years.
15. Anything else you wish to share about your kindergarten years?

Part D: Primary School – some starter questions.

1. Please tell me about your primary years – where? From which year to which year? Distance from home? Travel arrangement?
2. Who were your teachers?
3. Tell me about the classrooms?
4. How were you during your initial primary years? What you could do/ couldn't do? How about later? What were you good at?
5. Describe you during your initial primary years.
6. Who were your favourite teachers? Why?
7. What were your favourite subjects? Why?
8. Favourite subject - tell me how the subject was taught?
9. What were your least favourite subjects? Why?
10. Least favourite subjects – how they were taught?
11. What are other good memories? Tell me about it.
12. What are the unpleasant - unhappy memories? What happened?
13. Any appointment in classroom and school? Monitor, Prefect, Librarian, etc.? What were your duties and responsibilities? What did you learn most from this responsibility?
14. Who were your friends in school? Did you study together? Did you help your friends? How? Did your friend help you? How?
15. How did you study at home? Did you get any help from parents/siblings/anyone else at home?
16. How about school facilities – library, hostel, etc.

17. How about trips, visits and outside events? Tell me about them? What impact it had on you?
18. Tell me about your Headteacher? What do you remember about him/her?
What kind of interactions you had with your Headteacher?
19. Do you remember being absent from school? Why? How about your friends (from the class, from the same community? Why? What you did when absent?
What your friends did when absent?
20. What about the parents – your parents? What they thought about not going to school? How about other parents?
21. What was your ambition during primary school? Any reason why?
22. How about achievements? In the classroom? Outside the classroom?
23. What was your final achievement at the end of primary school? How did you feel about it?
24. Describe ‘you’ at the end of your primary years.
25. What did you look forward to after primary school?
26. On reflection, what do you think contributed most to your achievement in primary school?
27. Anything else you wish to share about your primary years?

Part D: Secondary School – some starter questions.

1. Please tell me about your secondary years – where? From which year to year?
Distance from home? Travel arrangement?
2. Who decided for you to continue to the secondary school?
3. Who were your teachers?
4. What do you remember about the classrooms?
5. Describe you during your initial primary years.
6. Who were your favourite teachers? Why?
7. What were your favourite subjects? Why?
8. Favourite subject - tell me how the subject was taught?
9. What were your least favourite subjects? Why?
10. Least favourite subjects – how they were taught?
11. What are other good memories? Tell me about it.
12. What are the unpleasant - unhappy memories? What happened?

13. Any appointment in classroom and school? Monitor, Prefect, Librarian, etc.? Co-curriculum? What were your duties and responsibilities? What did you learn most from this responsibility?
14. How about trips, visits and outside events? Tell me about them? Any impact on your study?
15. Who were your friends in school? Did you study together? Did you help your friends? How? Did your friend help you? How?
16. Did you talk to your parents – father, mother, siblings - about school? What about?
17. Did your parents – father, mother, siblings, other carers – ask you about school? What about?
18. How did you study at home? Did you get any help from parents/siblings/anyone else at home?
19. How about school facilities – library, hostel, etc.
20. Tell me about your Principal? What do you remember about him/her? What kind of interactions you had with your Principal?
21. Do you remember being absent from school? Why? How about your friends (from the class, from the same community? Why? What you did when absent? What your friends did when absent?
22. What was your ambition during secondary school? Any reason why?
23. How about your achievements? In school? Outside of school?
24. What was your final achievement at the end of the secondary school? How did you feel about it?
25. Describe 'you' at the end of your secondary years.
26. What did you look forward to after secondary school?
27. On reflection, what do you think contributed most to your achievement in secondary school?
28. Anything else you wish to share about your kindergarten years?

Part E: Community

1. Please tell about your community/village during your kindergarten/primary/secondary years? Number of families.
2. Village head.
3. Village facility.

4. Access.
5. Nearest town.
6. Nearest hospital.
7. Religious centres.
8. Educational achievement from the village. Tertiary education. Role models.

Part F: Closing

1. Thanking the participant for his or her time and contribution to the study.
2. Reassuring participant the confidentiality of data.
3. Requesting for the opportunity for further meeting or interaction for further clarification if necessary.
4. Offering the opportunity to review the transcript.

Notes:

The above questions are used as guide for unstructured interviews. They are not posed in any particular order. The aim is to leave the narrating to the participants as much as possible. Questions are used to fill in the pauses, gaps and where elaboration and clarification are needed. Although the questions are in English, the conversation is bilingual, chiefly in Bahasa Melayu, for ease and convenience.

Student covers any of the following groups:

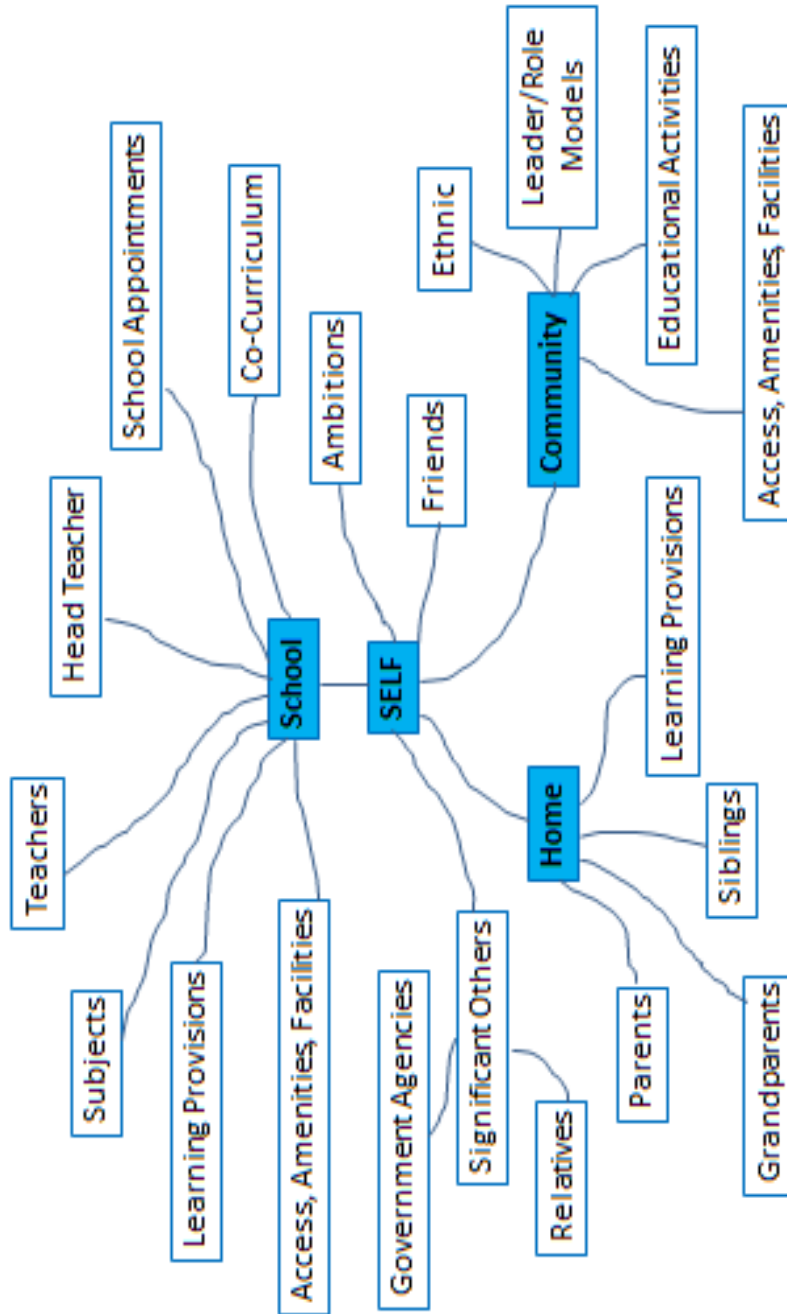
1. Those who have completed secondary schooling.
2. Those who have graduated from tertiary education.
3. Those who have undergone through other vocational qualifications.

Interview questions are applied with appropriate modification according to the level.

End of Interview Guide - Student

APPENDIX G

Interview Probe Map



APPENDIX H

Form Self & Family Details

Self and Family Details

Date:

SELF		
Age (Years):	Male/Female:	Ethnic Tribe:
Name of Village:		
Name of Kindergarten:		
Name of Primary School:		
Name of Secondary School:		
Present Education: Name of University/ Program/ Semester		
PARENTS & CHILDREN		
Age (Years)	Father	
	Mother	
Formal Education	Father	
	Mother	
Occupation	Father	
	Mother	
Ethnic Tribe	Father	
	Mother	
No. of Children		
Participant's Position among Siblings		
Children's Age (Years) and Highest Education	No. Male/Female	Age Highest Education
[Please use the back page for details]		
Are your grandparents living with you?		



APPENDIX I

A Sample Fieldnotes

FIELDNOTES:

I was introduced to Participant, P6, by Participant, P8, who responded to my online request for research participants. P8 provided me her phone number with her permission. I called her on 20.09.2014 and she agreed to meet me on sat 27 sept 2014 at the campus of U.Malaya, Kolej Ke-7- Kolej Za'ba at 11.00am. On the agreed day I took a taxi from Seremban supposedly to ease the journey. We started at 9.00am. The driver took a long winded route through LEKAS highway towards Bandar Tun Razak and onto the link towards Petaling Jaya. We lost the way somewhere in Petaling Jaya. Desperate I asked him to stop and asked a couple of delivery guys the way to UM. We reached the residential college at 10.35am. I called P6 and waited for her in front of the Kolej. There were 2 convenient 'pondok rehat' and I decided to conduct the interview at one of them.

Awhile later I saw someone from among the building hurrying towards my direction and I could sense that she was P6. My first impression was that of a very friendly and cheerful girl. Small-built just about my size and had a wide smile on her face as she saw me. P6? I asked. Yes. She said. We met. She offered her cheeks as we introduced ourselves. Seated briefly, I asked if she had had her breakfast. She said yes. I insisted that we have something at the food-court nearby just a few meters away. I needed that so that we could have an uninterrupted conversation later due to hunger.

Breakfast done, we started the session at 11:18am.

The venue was quite private but after an hour or so some students came, sat and chatted while waiting for some friends. We took small breaks due to such interruption. The sun was also getting higher and the place getting slightly warmer. I ended the session at 1:47pm, and invited P6 for lunch. I sent P8 a message about my being there and invited him to join us for lunch. P8 came to join us as we finished our meals. He took an offer of refreshment. Later, I took a lift from P8 to KL Sentral to catch the commuter back to Seremban. He was on his way to Putrajaya to meet Shazman (not his real name), another potential respondent (participant).

Some points from P6 during our conversation were unrecorded. I asked her, "What exactly that kept you going to school during your primary and secondary years". She said "Friends, I enjoyed going to school because of a lot of friends". Me: "On reflection what do you think can be better for the OA students learning process? P6: "Three things: Cara cikgu mengajar. Cara kita belajar. Cara parents encourage pelajar". Me: "What do you mean by cara Cikgu mengajar? P6: "Cikgu perlu ambil masa untuk setiap pelajar dalam kelasnya. Terutama yang malu." Me: "Apakah Cikgu tidak berbuat begitu semasa P6 di SR dulu". P6: "Kurang". Me: "Apa maksud P6 tentang cara kita belajar?" ... [End of sample fieldnotes].



APPENDIX J**A Sample of Attendance at a SK(OA)**

A Sample of Attendance at a SK (Orang Asli) for Year 2013 as at 1.11.2013 (Field Visit: 01.11.13)		
Total School Days: 205 (for school ending 16 November 2013)		
Total Students: 61		
Students per class: Y1: 15 Y2: 8 Y3: 8 Y4: 4 Y5: 18 Y6: 8		
Year	Max. Attendance	Min. Attendance
Y1	85%	70%
Y2	93%	77%
Y3	90%	72%
Y4	79%	60%
Y5	78%	61%
Y6	89%	45%

A Sample of No. of Days Absent (Y6) for Year 2013 as at 1.11.2013.							
S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8
60	83	110	53	8	56	27	30

Note:

Y1: Year 1 and so on.

S1: Student 1 and so on

**APPENDIX K****Orang Asli of Malaysia****Orang Asli Malaysia (Orang Asli of Malaysia)**

(Extract from: JAKOA (2015c). *History of Orang Asli Malaysia*. Retrieved on 14 May 2015 from <http://www.jakoa.gov.my/warga-jakoa/profil/sejarah/>)

Kewujudan Akta Orang Asli 1954 (Akta 134) di bawah Aboriginal Peoples Ordinance No. 3, 1954 yang telah dipinda pada tahun 1974, penetapan istilah dan kelayakan untuk dikatakan sebagai komuniti Orang Asli telah dijelaskan dengan terperinci. Berdasarkan Seksyen 3 dalam Akta Orang Asli 1954 (Akta 134), Orang Asli ditakrifkan seperti berikut:

1. mana-mana yang bapanya ialah ahli daripada kumpulan etnik Orang Asli, yang bercakap bahasa Orang Asli dan lazimnya mengikut cara hidup Orang Asli dan adat kepercayaan Orang Asli, dan termasuklah seorang keturunan melalui lelaki itu;
2. mana-mana orang daripada mana-mana kaum yang diambil sebagai anak angkat semasa budak oleh Orang Asli dan yang telah dibesarkan sebagai seorang Orang Asli, lazimnya bercakap bahasa Orang Asli, mengikut cara hidup Orang Asli dan adat kepercayaan Orang Asli, dan menjadi ahli daripada suatu masyarakat Orang Asli; atau
3. anak daripada mana-mana penyatuan antara seorang perempuan Orang Asli dengan seorang lelaki daripada suatu kaum lain, dengan syarat anak itu lazimnya bercakap bahasa Orang Asli dan kepercayaan Orang Asli dan masih lagi menjadi ahli daripada suatu masyarakat Orang Asli.

Sejarah Ringkas Orang Asli Malaysia (Brief History of Orang Asli Malaysia)

(Extract from: JAKOA (2015c). *History of Orang Asli Malaysia*. Retrieved on 14 May 2015 from <http://www.jakoa.gov.my/warga-jakoa/profil/sejarah/>)

TAHUN	PERISTIWA
1939	Sebelum JHEOA ditubuhkan, seorang 'Field Ethnographer' telah dilantik pada Disember 1939, sebagai 'Protector Of Aborigines' bagi pihak Negeri Perak. Perlantikan ini dibuat selepas penguatkuasaan 'Perak Aboriginal Tribes Enactment', No.3 pada 1939. Enakmen ini merupakan undang-undang sedemikian yang wujud sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua.
1953 – 1954	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli Malaysia ditubuhkan pada tahun 1953/54 di bawah undang-undang baru yang dinamakan "Aboriginal Peoples" Ordinance No. 3, 1954. Ia dibentuk bagi melindungi Orang Asli dan cara hidup mereka dari kepesatan perkembangan tamadun dan





	eksploitasi, di samping menyediakan kemudahan-kemudahan untuk pendidikan dan pembangunan yang sesuai bagi mereka.
1953 – 1954	Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli Malaysia ditubuhkan pada tahun 1953/54 di bawah undang-undang baru yang dinamakan “Aboriginal Peoples” Ordinance No. 3, 1954. Ia dibentuk bagi melindungi Orang Asli dan cara hidup mereka dari kepesatan perkembangan tamadun dan eksploitasi, di samping menyediakan kemudahan-kemudahan untuk pendidikan dan pembangunan yang sesuai bagi mereka.
1948	Apabila darurat diistiharkan pada tahun 1948, MPAJA yang kemudiannya bertukar menjadi Parti Komunis Malaya (PKM) telah mengadakan hubungan baik dengan Orang -orang Asli di pedalaman. Menyedari ancaman yang akan dihadapi akibat perkembangan tersebut, kerajaan mula mengambil perhatian dengan mengadakan polisi penempatan semula Orang-orang Asli di kawasan yang jauh dari pengaruh komunis. Walaubagaimanapun, langkah ini tidak berjaya, sebaliknya Orang Asli semakin rapat dengan PKM dan mengambil sikap anti-kerajaan.
1949	Pada tahun 1949, ‘Welfare Officer Aborigines’, sebuah jawatan Persekutuan telah dilantik untuk mentadbir Pejabat Kebajikan Orang Asli, yang merupakan salah satu seksyen di bawah Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat. Pegawai ini kemudian ditukarkan kepada ‘Protector Of Aborigines’ atau Penasihat bagi Orang Asli. Penasihat ini bertanggungjawab kepada Ketua Setiausaha dan Setiausaha Kerajaan Negeri, yang pula bertanggungjawab kepada Pesuruhjaya Tinggi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.
1951 – 1952	Pada tahun 1951-1952, dengan pengenalan Sistem Ahli, Pejabat Orang Asli diwujudkan secara berasingan dari Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat dan di letakkan di portfolio Ahli bagi Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri. Pada waktu itu pejabat di peringkat Persekutuan ini telah mempunyai 11 orang kakitangan dan peringkat Negeri terdapat seorang ‘Protector’ di Pahang dan beberapa ‘Protector’ sambilan di Perak dan Kelantan.
1953	Pada tahun 1953, satu polisi baru diadakan dimana kerajaan mula menyalurkan urusan-urusan pentadbiran dan perlindungan kepada Orang-orang Asli di pedalaman dan tidak lagi berusaha membawa mereka keluar dari kawasan pedalaman tempat tinggal mereka. Berikutan itu Pejabat Kebajikan Orang Asli mula diperbesarkan.
1956	Selepas pilihanraya pada tahun 1955, dengan pengenalan Sistem Kementerian bagi mengantikan Sistem ahli, Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli telah diletakkan di bawah Kementerian Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri. Pada Disember 1956, Jabatan Orang Asli ditukar menjadi Jabatan Muzium, Arkib dan Penyelidikan Orang Asli yang diletakkan dibawah Kementerian Pelajaran. Nama Ketua Jabatan juga ditukar daripada





	penasihat bagi Orang Asli kepada Pengarah Muzium dan Penasihat Orang Asli.
1961	Hanya selepas tahun 1961 kerajaan mengistiharkan satu dasar pentadbiran bagi Orang-orang Asli. Matlamat dasar tersebut adalah untuk mengintergrasikan Orang-orang Asli dengan masyarakat Kebangsaan. Bagi mencapai dasar ini Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli mula merancang dan melaksanakan program-program pembangunan sosio-ekonomi supaya masyarakat Orang Asli dapat bersama-sama dengan kaum-kaum lain maju dan menikmati taraf hidup yang lebih baik.
1964	Pada tahun 1957, terdapat 'Protectors' dan 'Penolong Protector' di semua negeri-negeri kecuali Pulau Pinang, Melaka, Kedah, Perlis dan Terengganu. Pada Ogos 1959, Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli diletak semula di bawah Kementerian Dalam Negeri. Pada 16 Mei, 1964 kawalan keatas jabatan ini diambil oleh Kementerian Tanah dan Galian. Ketua Jabatan ketika itu ialah Pesuruhjaya Hal Ehwal Orang Asli.
1970	Rombakan kabinet pada 23 September, 1970 telah meletakkan Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli di bawah Kementerian Pertanian dan Tanah. Perubahan kabinet sekali lagi pada 21 Disember, 1971 telah meletakkan JHEOA di bawah Kementerian Pembangunan Negara dan Luar Bandar dan di tadbir oleh Ketua Pengarah yang di bantu oleh enam Pengarah di peringkat negeri. Jabatan ini bertanggungjawab bagi pentadbiran, kemajuan dan kebajikan Orang-orang Asli di Malaysia Barat, khususnya di negeri-negeri yang mempunyai sejumlah besar Orang Asli.
1974	Keutamaan juga diberi kepada usaha-usaha membangun sosio-ekonomi dan taraf hidup Orang Asli di samping menyatupadukan mereka dengan masyarakat lain di negara ini. Pada 5 september, 1974, dengan penyusunan kabinet selepas pilihanraya, Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli diletak semula di bawah Kementerian Dalam Negeri.
1990	Pada 27 Oktober 1990, Jabatan ini dipindahkan semula ke bawah Kementerian Perpaduan Negara dan Pembangunan Masyarakat.
1994	Mulai 1 Januari 1994, Jabatan ini telah dipindahkan dibawah kawalan Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar.
1995	Dalam penyusunan semula Kementerian-kementerian dalam tahun 1995, Jabatan ini telah dipindahkan ke Kementerian Perpaduan Negara dan Pembangunan Masyarakat.
2001	Di bawah Kementerian Kemajuan Luar Bandar Dan Wilayah.



2011 hingga sekarang	Di kenali sebagai Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA).
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APPENDIX L

JAKOA Statistics

BULETIN PERANGKAAN KKLW 2013

Jadual 6.7 : Bilangan enrolmen pelajar Orang Asli bagi sekolah rendah dan menengah, 2013

Tahun	Sekolah rendah			Sekolah menengah		
	Lelaki	Perempuan	Jumlah	Lelaki	Perempuan	Jumlah
2010	13,883	13,702	27,585	5,191	6,123	11,314
2011	13,204	13,064	26,268	5,557	6,591	12,148
2012	14,118	13,750	27,868	5,103	6,238	11,341
2013	14,107	13,819	27,926	5,907	7,061	12,968

**Jadual 6.8 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli sekolah rendah, 2013
(Daftar Darjah 1 tetapi tidak menamatkan Darjah 6)**

Bilangan mendaftar pelajar Darjah 1		Bilangan pelajar tamat Darjah 6		Bil. keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun daftar	Bil. daftar	Tahun tamat	Bil. tamat		
2004	4,225	2009	4,411	-186	-4.40%
2005	4,160	2010	4,271	-111	-2.67%
2006	3,860	2011	4,091	-231	-5.98%
2007	3,977	2012	4,705	-728	-18.31%
2008	4,251	2013	4,464	-213	-5.01%

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BULETIN PERANGKAAN KKLW 2013

**Jadual 6.9 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli ke sekolah menengah, 2013
(Daftar Darjah 6 tetapi tidak meneruskan ke Tingkatan 1)**

Bilangan daftar pelajar Darjah 6		Bilangan pelajar Tingkatan 1		Bil. keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun tamat	Bil. tamat	Tahun daftar	Bil. daftar		
2005	4,423	2009	3,018	1,405	31.77%
2006	4,411	2010	3,145	1,266	28.70%
2007	4,271	2011	3,001	1,270	29.74%
2008	4,091	2012	3,046	1,045	25.54%
2009	4,705	2013	3,519	1,186	25.21%

**Jadual 6.10 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli sekolah menengah, 2013
(Daftar Tingkatan 1 tetapi tidak menamatkan Tingkatan 5)**

Bilangan daftar pelajar Tingkatan 1		Bilangan pelajar Tingkatan 5		Bil. keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun daftar	Bil. daftar	Tahun tamat	Bil. tamat		
2005	2,358	2009	1,181	1,177	49.92%
2006	2,586	2010	1,403	1,183	45.75%
2007	2,685	2011	1,667	1,018	37.91%
2008	2,726	2012	1,555	1,171	42.96%
2009	3,018	2013	1,533	1,485	49.20%

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Extract from: JAKOA (2015a). *Buletin Perangkaan KKLW 2013*. Retrieved on 14 May 2015 from <http://www.rurallink.gov.my/web/guest/hal-ehwal-orang-asli>

Jadual 7.8 : Bilangan enrolmen pelajar Orang Asli bagi sekolah rendah dan menengah, 2014

Tahun	Sekolah rendah			Sekolah menengah		
	Lelaki	Perempuan	Jumlah	Lelaki	Perempuan	Jumlah
2010	13,883	13,702	27,585	5,191	6,123	11,314
2011	13,204	13,064	26,268	5,557	6,591	12,148
2012	14,118	13,750	27,868	5,103	6,238	11,341
2013	14,107	13,819	27,926	5,907	7,061	12,968
2014	14,228	13,851	28,079	6,155	7,490	13,645

Jadual 7.9 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli sekolah rendah, 2014
(Daftar Darjah 1 tetapi tidak menamatkan Darjah 6)

Bilangan mendaftar pelajar Darjah 1		Bilangan pelajar tamat Darjah 6		Bilangan keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun daftar	Bilangan daftar	Tahun tamat	Bilangan tamat		
2004	4,225	2009	4,411	-186	-4.40%
2005	4,160	2010	4,271	-111	-2.67%
2006	3,860	2011	4,091	-231	-5.98%
2007	3,977	2012	4,705	-728	-18.31%
2008	4,251	2013	4,464	-213	-5.01%
2009	3,548	2014	4,295	-747	-21.05%

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Jadual 7.10 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli ke sekolah menengah, 2014
(Daftar Darjah 6 tetapi tidak meneruskan ke Tingkatan 1)

Bilangan daftar pelajar Darjah 6		Bilangan pelajar Tingkatan 1		Bilangan keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun tamat	Bilangan tamat	Tahun daftar	Bilangan daftar		
2005	4,423	2009	3,018	1,405	31.77%
2006	4,411	2010	3,145	1,266	28.70%
2007	4,271	2011	3,001	1,270	29.74%
2008	4,091	2012	3,046	1,045	25.54%
2009	4,705	2013	3,519	1,186	25.21%
2010	4,464	2014	3,478	986	22.09%

Jadual 7.11 : Keciciran pelajar-pelajar Orang Asli sekolah menengah, 2014
(Daftar Tingkatan 1 tetapi tidak menamatkan Tingkatan 5)

Bilangan daftar pelajar Tingkatan 1		Bilangan pelajar Tingkatan 5		Bilangan keciciran (Pelajar)	Peratus keciciran (%)
Tahun daftar	Bilangan daftar	Tahun tamat	Bilangan tamat		
2005	2,358	2009	1,181	1,177	49.92%
2006	2,586	2010	1,403	1,183	45.75%
2007	2,685	2011	1,667	1,018	37.91%
2008	2,726	2012	1,555	1,171	42.96%
2009	3,018	2013	1,533	1,485	49.20%
2010	3,145	2014	1,854	1,291	41.05%

JABATAN KEMAJUAN ORANG ASLI (JAKOA)

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Extract from: JAKOA (2015b). *The 2014 MRRD statistics bulletin*. The Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA). Retrieved on 3 May 2016 from <http://www.rurallink.gov.my/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/7-JAKOA.pdf>

APPENDIX M

Interview Dates

Participant	Interview Date	Venue	Duration (hr:min:sec)	Transcript Word Count
P1	07.09.2012 13.09.2012 09.11.2012	Seremban	2:39:25	24,622
P2	20.03.2013	Senawang	2:35:58	20,594
P3	21.03.2013	Senawang	1:49:21	14,492
P1, P2, P3	21.03.2013	Senawang	-	Group Conversation
P4	11.04.2013	Seremban	2:11:32	8,650
P5	13.04.2013 18.05.2013	Seremban	2:49:55	13,581
P6	27.09.2014	Kuala Lumpur	2:09:16	21,254
P7	15.10.2014	Bangi	1:29:58	12,005
P8	21.10.2014	Kuala Lumpur	1:15:00	7,259
P9	28.10.2014	C. Highland	2:00:56	12,078
P10	29.10.2014	Seremban	2:01:52	19,684
P11	04.11.2014	Kuala Lumpur	1:46:17	7,895
P12	24.11.2014	Seremban	2:06:48	10,361
P13	25.11.2014	Seremban	1:30:56	12,552
P14	27.03.2015	Tg Malim	1:46:19	11,007
P15	28.08.2015	Seremban	1:44:25	13,439
P16	29.08.2015	Seremban	1:20:35	9,403
Total			32:18:33	218,876
Other Informants				
I1	30.10.2013	Senawang		I1 was a participant in Skills Course organised by JAKOA Seremban.
I2, I3, I4	28.10.2014	Cameron Highlands		Group Interview with the relatives of P9. I1, I2 and I3 completed Form 5 and SPM examination.
Symposiums & Dialogues				
Date	Title	Venue	Remarks	
28.03.2017	Education and the Future of	Universiti Kebangsaan	Participants included leading Orang Asli Scholars Dato' Emeritus	



	Orang Asli Symposium	Malaysia, Bangi.	Professor Dr Hood Mohd Salleh, Professor Juli Edo and Orang Asli Community Leaders. Presenters and Participants highlighted past and current Orang Asli education studies, challenges and concerns, and next steps.
25.09.17	Malaysia-New Zealand International Symposium: Indigenous People's Rights & Studies	Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM), Nilai.	Presenters and Participants from Malaysia and New Zealand shared knowledge and experiences with respect to the rights, interests, education, and indigenous knowledge of New Zealand Indigenous and Malaysian Orang Asli people. Presenters included the Honorable Justice Sir Edward Taihakurei Durei, Emeritus Professor Dato' Dr Hood Mohd Salleh (Advisor, Mizan Research Centre, USIM), Advocate & Solicitor Mr Amani Williams Hunt Abdullah and Dr Besan Martin (Chair/President, Alliance for Responsible and interdependent Societies, New Zealand).



APPENDIX N

Participants and Family Background

Parents and Family Biodata

Parents		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7
Age (Years)	Father Mother	47 46	47 46	60 57	Deceased 54	63 59	57 48	40 30+
Formal Education	Father Mother	Y2 Nil	F5(SPM) F5(SPM)	F5 SAR	N.A. Nil	Y3 Y5	SRP Y6	Y6 F2
Occupation	Father	Forest Products	Construction Worker	JAKOA Operator (Rtd)	Farm Worker	JAKOA Employee (Rtd)	Police	Forest Products; Rubber
	Mother	Forest Products; Farm Worker	Factory Worker	Housewife	Farm Worker	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife
Ethnic Tribe		Jakun	Semai	Jakun	Temuan	Temuan	Jakun	Jah Hut
No. of Children		6	6	3	5	11	5	4
Participant's Position among Siblings		3/6	2/6	3/3	4/5	11/11	4/5	1/4
Children's Age (Years) and Highest Education		1M/30/Y3* 2F/29/SPM 3F/24/Degree 4F/17/Y6* 5M/13/UPSR** 6F/5/KG	1F/24/Tech-Cert 2F/24/Degree 3F/21/Diploma 4F/17/SPM 5M/8/Y2 6M/6/KG	1F/28/Diploma 2F/26/Diploma 3F/23/Degree	1F/Deceased 2M/34/Diploma 3F/32/SPM 4M/25/Degree 5F/22/SPM	1M/40+/SRP** 2F/30+/Y6 3F/30+/Y6 4M/N.A./Y4 5F/N.A./Y6 6M/N.A./Y5 7F/N.A./PMR 8F/N.A./Y6 9F/N.A./Y6 10F/N.A./SPM 11M/22/Degree(IP)	1M/29/SPM 2F/27/SPM 3M/25/SPM 4F/22/Degree(IP) 5M/16/F4	1F/19/Degree(IP) 2M/15/F3 3M/8/Y2 4M/4

Parents and Family Biodata (Cont'd)

Parents		P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14
Age (Years)	Father Mother	54 47	43 37	42 46	55 46	48 42	40+ 40+	55 54
Formal Education	Father Mother	F5 Nil	Y6 Y2	F3 Y5	F3 Nil	SPM Y3	SPM Y3	F3 Nil
Occupation	Father	Rattan Trading; Oil Palm	Tour Guide	Rubber Tapper	Forest Products; Rubber	Forestry Department	Odd Jobs; <i>Tok Batin</i>	Police
	Mother	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife
Ethnic Tribe		Jakun	Semai	Jah Hut	Jah Hut	Jah Hut	Jah Hut	Jah Hut
No. of Children		4	5	5	5	8	6	11
Participant's Position among Siblings		2/4	1/5	3/5	2/5	4/8	4/6	6/11
Siblings' Age and Highest Education		1F/24/Degree 2M/23/Degree(IP) 3F/18/F6(IP) 4F/11/Y5	1F/21/Diploma 2M/20/F2** 3M/14/F2 4M/12/Y6 5M/10/Y4	1F/23/F5 2F/21/F5 3M/18/Diploma(IP) 4F/14/F2 5F/8/Y2	1M/24/SPM 2F/22/Degree(IP) 3F/19/F6(IP) 4F/14/F2 5F/11/Y5	1M/24/SPM 2F/21/SPM 3F/20/SPM 4M/18/Degree(IP) 5F/13/F1 6M/12/Y6 7M/10/Y4 8F/8-/Y2	1F/29/STPM 2F/24/STPM 3M/21/SPM 4M/18/Diploma(IP) 5M/16/F4 6M/13/F1	1F/32/Y3 2F/30/SPM 3M/28/F4** 4M/27/F3** 5F/26/Y6* 6M/24/Degree(IP) 7M/23/STPM 8M/21/SPM 9M/20/F6(IP) 10F/19/F5(IP) 11F/18/F4

Parents and Family Data (Cont'd)

Parents		P15	P16	Legend: Y: Year (Primary) F: Form (Secondary) 1M.: First Child Male 1F: First Child Female IP: In-progress * Dropped out at Primary Level ** Dropped out at Secondary Level N.A. Not Available
Age (Years)	Father Mother	42 42	43 39	
Formal Education	Father Mother	F3 Y6	Y1* Y6	
Occupation	Father	Rubber Tapper	Rubber Tapper/ Security Worker	
	Mother	Rubber Tapper	Rubber Tapper/Housewife	
Ethnic Tribe		Temuan	Semai	
No. of Children		4 + 4	3	
Participant's Position among Siblings		2/4 (Family 1)	1/3	
Children's Age (Years) and Highest Education	Family (1)	1F/19/Degree(IP) 2F/18/Diploma(IP) 3M/14/F2 4F/8/Y2	1F/18/Diploma(IP) 2M/14/F2 3F/3	
	Family (2)	1M/17/F4** 2F/15/F3 3F/13/F1 8F/7/Y1		

**Summary of Parents and Family Biodata**

Item		Summary
Age (Years)	Father	60 & Above: 2 50-59: 4 40-49: 9 30-39: 0 N.A.: 1
	Mother	50-59: 4 40-49: 9 30-39: 3
Education	Father	F5/SPM: 5 F3/SRP: 5 F2/F1: 2 Y6: 0 Y5 & Less: 3 N.A.: 1
	Mother	F5/SPM: 1 F3/SRP: 0 F2/F1: 1 Y6/SAR: 4 Y5 & Less: 5 Nil: 5
Occupation	Father	Government: 4 Others: 12 (Forest Products; Rubber; Rattan Trading; Oil Palm; Farm Worker: Construction Worker; Tourist Guide; Odd Job)
	Mother	Housewife: 11 Others: 5 (Farm Worker; Forest products; Factory Worker, Rubber Tapper)
Ethnic Tribe		Jakun: 4 Semai: 3 Jah Hut: 6 Temuan: 3
No. of Children Per Family		3-5 children: 9 6-8 children: 5 9-11 children: 2
Participant's Position among Siblings		1 st : 3 2 nd : 4 3 rd : 3 4 th : 4 6 th : 1 11 th : 1
Total Children of 16 Families		95
Education of Children from 16 Families		Degree: 5 Degree IP: 8 Diploma: 5 Diploma IP: 4 Certificate: 1 F6: 6 (Inc. IP) F5: 18 F1-F4: 19 Y6 and less: 29 N. A. : 1 (Deceased)
No. of Dropouts from 16 Families		During Primary: 3 During Secondary: 6





Summary of Participants' Background

Ages: 18-25 years.

Ethnic Tribe: Jakun: 4, Semai: 3, Jah Hut: 6, Temuan: 3.

Qualification: Graduated with Bachelor (3), Graduated with Diploma (1), Bachelor-In-Progress (8), Diploma-In-Progress (4).

Field: Science & Technology (12), Arts & Humanities (4).

Details: Science & Technology: Science Education-1, Islamic Finance-1, Marine Science-1, Plantation Management-6, Bio-Technology-1, Quantity Surveying-1, Computer Science-1.

Details: Humanities & Social Sciences: Moral Education-1, English Language-1, Malay Linguistics-1, History-1.

Higher Education Institutions: IPG (2), UMS (1), UNIMAS (1), UUM (1), UiTM (6), UM (3), UKM (1), UPSI (1).

Total Higher Education Institutions (IPTA): 8.



**APPENDIX O****Data-Parents****4.2.2 Initialising Learning****4.2.2.1 Communicating Belief and Aspirations***Example 1*

P3: Kakak saya tak tinggal dengan kita orang, dia tinggal dengan Tok dekat kampung dekat Penang. Sebab masa zaman diorang sekolah jauh so bapak saya hantar diorang dua orang tu ha dekat, tinggal dekat kampung. R: Kampung ibu? P3: Ha dekat Penang, sebab sekolah dekat dengan kampung, time tu.

P3: My sister didn't live with us. She lived with Grandfather in a village in Penang; because during their time, the school was far so Father sent my two [older] sisters to stay at the village in Penang, because the school was near to the village during that time.

Example 2

P1: Kalau boleh sambung la belajar dia cakap. Dia cakap hidup senang ... ada pelajaran ... boleh tanggung diri sendiri ... dia cakap ... Dia pun tak mampu bagi kesenangan

P1: If you can continue your studies, continue she [Mother] said. So I can have a better life, with education I can support my own life. She said she couldn't give us prosperity.

Example 3

P15: Nanti kalau kita susah kita berhenti kita lagi susah. Macam itu. Emak saya cakap. Dia cakap kalau susah bagi la senang, jangan bagi susah lagi.

P15: If we're in hardships and we quit, it'll make our life harder. Like that. My mum said it. She said if our life is hard, make it easy and not make it harder.

4.2.2.2 Providing Learning Space and Learning Resources*Example 1*

R: Apa yang ada di dalam rumah yang kamu rasa untuk suka pergi sekolah, sebelum masuk sekolah? P14: Sebelum masuk sekolah rasanya ... tak ada apa kecuali ayah sediakan 1 tempat untuk study, itu jelah. R: Untuk semua orang? P14: Untuk adik-beradik. R: Ada meja, ada kerusi masa tu? P14: Ha ah, dia buat sendiri meja kerusi.





Selain daripada itu tak ada dah. R: Masa tu kamu dah sekolah atau belum masa ayah buat? P14: Belum.

P14: Nothing except Father provided a place for study, for all the siblings. R: Desks and chairs? P14: Yes. Father made the table and chairs himself; other than those nothing else. R: Have you started school then? P14: No. Not yet.

Example 2

P1: Di rumah mak sediakan pensel warna ... pensel tulis dia sediakan lah. Buku-buku mak tak beli sangat, kalau sekolah ... daripada sekolah tu adalah ... buku tulis. R: Buku tulis ... Bawak balik ... ye buku tulis saje lah ... buku bacaan? P1: Bacaan saya baca dekat sekolah lah banyak. R: Di rumah tu tak ada? P1: Sebab memang mak tak mampu beli sendiri. [Suasana dalam rumah] P1: Satu ruang lapang ... macam ni dapur ... dapur sahaja pastu ada ruang lapang. R: Macam ada ruang tamu, beratur je la tidur? P1: Beratur cam gitu lah tidur. R: Ye ... lepas tu masa tidur apa mak buat? Dia cerita tak? P1: Tak, tidur je. R: Tidur selalu pukul berapa ... ingat tak? P1: Rasanya kalau masa kecik-kecik dulu pukul 9-10 tu dah tidur dah. Lagi pun mak penat.

P1: At home mother provided colouring pencils and pencils for writing. Book, no [Mother did not buy books]. Exercise books were from the school. Books for reading were plentiful in school. I read in the school. [Mother did not buy books for reading at home], Mother could not afford them. [Describing her home environment] We had one room, a kitchen space within a living area. We all slept in that one open area.



Example 3

P6: Ayah saya beli meja belajar untuk kita orang study, kita kongsilah. Tapi saya lebih suka buat kerja dekat atas lantai. Hahaha ... macam best. Simpan buku je atas meja belajar tu. Lepastu, suka buat kerja baring.

P6: My father bought us a table and so we shared, but I preferred to work on the floor, hahaha, best. I only used the table to keep my books. To work I liked to do it lying down on the floor.

4.2.2.3 Setting the Learning Routine

Example 1

R: Cuba cerita dalam satu hari tu. Dari pada mula bangun pagi ... kalau dah sampai sekolah tu ... Siapa kejutkan pagi. P5: Pagi mak lah sebab ... dari kecik tidur dengan mak ayah. Pastu bangun pagi saya rasa belum pukul 7 saya dah keluar... 6: 45, 6:40 ... R: Kenapa awal? P5: Memang ... kalau ... dulu kalau sekolah memang kena aja macam tu timing. 6 dah bangun 6:45 dah keluar dari rumah. Mak ni kalau ... macam sekolah rendah tu ... mak masa sekolah rendah, mak yang ada kat rumah, maksud saya ayah dia pagi pagi dah pergi kerja, jadi mak lah, yang uruskan semua pagi pagi tu, kejut bangun tidur, kalau iron baju ke apa mak lah yang urus. Pastu kalau tak pergi sekolah tu jadi masalah lah mak marah marah apa semua itu je lah. Memang selalu lah mak saya cakap, mak akan cakap, study belajar rajin rajin dia kata, kita jangan





ikut orang dia kata, apa yang buruk buruk orang buat tu kita jangan biar, biar dia kata, kita jangan ikut, jangan ikut buruk orang, dia kata kan, kita ikut mana yang baik tu kita ambik, kita jadi kita biar orang pandang kita ni esok, kita kelebihan ada ilmu, macam tu dia, tu lah saya rasa. Saya memang saya pegang lah.

P5: In the morning, Mother [woke me up]. Since I was a kid I slept with my father and mother. Then I woke up. Before 7 I would be out. 6:45, 6:40. That was the school schedule then. 6 a.m. I would be up. 6:45 I would already be out. Mother, during my school days would be at home. Meaning my father would be out to work early in the morning so my mother managed everything else for me; waking me up, ironing my clothes. Then if I didn't go to school, it would be a problem, because Mother would be angry. Mother always said to study diligently, we should not follow others. What bad things other people do, do not follow. Let them be, do not follow, do not follow the bad ways of others. We take what good things other people do. That's what she said. People should view us having knowledge. R: That's what you remember? P5: Yes I hold on to those words.

Example 2

R: Bangkit pagi, macam mana? Siapa kejut? P10: Mak kejut. R: Mak kejut? Pernah sendiri? P10: Sendiri? Tak ingat lah. R: Ye, tapi sentiasa je kamu ingat mak, mak kejut. P10: Ha ... R: Pukul berapa selalu kena kejutkan? P10: Pukul 6:30. R: 6 setengah awal lah, tapi nak jalan kejam je? Sekolah masuk pukul berapa? P10: Sekolah masuk pukul, eh kalau sekolah rendah saya masuk, bangun pukul 7. R: Pukul 7? Masuk? P10: Pukul 7 suku lah. R: Mandi tak? P10: Mandi. R: Haha... Mandi air sejuk. P10: Em! R: Boleh mandi ke pagi-pagi? Sejuk-sejuk? P10: Boleh. R: Kena paksa? P10: Tak de lah. R: Ok je? P10: Ha. Ok je... R: Bangkit, bangkit pagi, mak kejut, lepas tu pergi sendiri mandi? Mandi di luar rumah atau dalam rumah? P10: Luar R: Di luar, ada kawasan, luar untuk bathroom lah? P10: Ha. R: Macam tempat mandi kat luar? P10: Ha. R: Gosok gigi semua sendiri je, semua independent P10: Em! R: Tak de lah mak tolong mandi kan? P10: Mak ... Mak ni je masa ... Time sikat rambut. R: Oh, tu mak tolonglah? P10: Kadang tak nak jugak. Masa tu, nak sikat rambut ... R: Sendiri. P10: Ha.

P10: In the morning Mother woke me up. Always. About 6:30. School is about 7. I took bath ... with cold water. Outside [the house]. Mother combed my hair. Although sometimes I wanted to comb on my own.

Example 3

P11: Aah ... Ayah saya.. R: Macamana Ayah membantu. P11: Erm ayah saya cam tolong saya ni wat kerja kalau tak tahu memang saya rujuk ayah saya.

P11: Yes ... my father helped me with homework if I don't know how to do something I'd ask him.





Example 4

R: Kalau di rumah siapa yang membantu buat homework? P13: Kadang ayah. Kadang kakak yang nombor dua rajin membantu. R: Ibu ada membantu tak? P13: Ibu kadang-kadang.

P13: Sometimes father, sometimes my second sister [helped with my homework at home]. Mother... sometimes.

4.2.2.4 Having Learning Initiators

Example 1

P1: Dulu saya suka tanya cerita seram macam tu ... pastu dia cerita lah. R: Contoh? P1: Cerita hantu-hantu gitu ha... R: Contoh? Ingat tak? Satu cerita dari nenek? Apa yang nenek cerita? P1: Saya tak berapa ingat lah tapi ada cerita macam kalau zaman dulu ... cerita pasal hantu apa eh ... hantu ... tak tahu lah kalau saya cakap kang nanti puan tak faham pulak. R: Tak pe tak pe. Saya nak tahu sebab ... saya nak tahu apa penceritaan masa tu? P1: Masa tu ... Dia cerita macam zaman dulu ni kalau ada satu hantu tu. Dia macam cuma berlari dengan lutut dia je tapi hantu tu sangat laju je dia cakap ... R: Kenapa dia menceritakan. Cerita hantu tu? P1: Untuk kalau kitorangkan selalu masuk hutan. Kalau kat hutan tu nak jadikan kita beware lah. Beware pastu dia ada pantang larang lah ke hutan. R: Oh jadi nya nenek cerita pantang larang tu lah? Pantang larang waktu ke hutan? P1: Macam teladan teladan lah ... ingat lah tu dia. Cerita kat dalam hutan macam mana ... macam ni macam pedoman kalau masuk hutan kalau sesat macam mana ... ha ... R: Ye ... contoh? P1: Kalau sesat ikut sungai je.

P1: I used to ask [Grandmother] for stories. I liked ghost stories. She told me about this ghost who ran only using her knees. Despite that the ghost could run very fast. R: Why did she tell you about the ghost? P1: So that we should know how to behave when in the forest, the taboos of the forest for our guidance. Grandmother said if get lost in the jungle, you follow the river.

Example 2

R: Azizah suka pergi sekolah tak? P15: Suka. R: Kenapa? P15: Entahlah. Kakak pergi sekolah takkan lah saya tak pergi ke sekolah. R: Itu sahaja sebab kakak. Kalau kakak tak ada, kakak tak pergi ke sekolah? P15: Pergi sekolah juga lah. Sebab emak. Dah boleh fikir dah. R: Dah boleh fikir dah? Sebab emak kenapa? P15: Sebab emak masa itu susah. Kami kan duduk di bandar.

P15: I liked going to school. R: Why? P15: I don't know. My sister went to school, why I should not be going. Also [I go to school] for mother, she was having hard times.

Example 3

P5: Kadang-kadang kakak yang ajar ... R: Ajar apa? Kakak yang mana? No berapa? P5: Kakak yang ... yang ... elder lah macam kakak yang no 2, kadang 3, 2, 3, 2, 3 tu ... R: Dia ajar buat apa? P5: Dia ajar abc lah.





P5: Sometimes my older sisters taught me. My second sister, sometimes my third sister. They taught me a, b, c.

Example 4

R: So jadi kamu tengok kakak-kakak abang-abang kamu belajar kamu kacau ke? P14: Kadang-kadang ada juga. Tengok dia orang belajar, kadang-kadang rasa macam nak try belajar juga lah. R: Adik-beradik ada tak macam masa di rumah ajar ataupun contend-contend, drawing. P14: Ada. R: Ada? Dia bagi kertas. P14: Ha ah. R: Kamu ingat ke, sebelum sekolah lah. P14: Ha ah sebelum sekolah.

R: So did you disturb your siblings when you saw them studying? P14: Sometimes yes. When I saw them studying I felt like studying too. R: Did your siblings give time to teach you? Scribbling or drawing? P14: Yes. R: Gave you papers? P14: Hu'uh. R: This was before you started school? P14: Hu'uh, before starting school.

Example 5

P3: Saya sebelum saya masuk sekolah tadika tu, em ... bapa saya dah tekankan dekat saya kan, cara nak apa? Even dia buta, dia beri huruf-huruf yang timbul timbul tu untuk saya susun, 4 tahun lima tahun dia dah suruh saya susun ABC tu, so that bila saya masuk tadika saya dah tahu apa ABC tu kan. Nak baca macam mana pastu dia beli buku tu cara nak ha... Apa? Dia lebih tekan kan bahasa Inggeris. Macamana nak greet, greet orang, good morning, good apa? good night, good evening, masa 4-5 tahun tu.

P3: Before I started kindergarten, my father, although he was blind, provided me with the alphabet blocks for me to arrange. When I was four and five years old, he made me arranged the ABC blocks. So when I started kindergarten, I already knew the alphabet. He bought books, [taught me] how to read. He was more into the English language. How to greet, good morning, good night, good evening, during my 5 to 6 years of age.

4.2.3 Facilitating Learning

Example 1

P2: So sekolah rendah boleh dikatakan tahap kerajinan saya tinggi masa sekolah rendah, dia makin berkurangan bila masuk sekolah menengah. R: Kenapa masa sekolah rendah tu tinggi kerajinan? P2: Erm ... saya pun tak tahu kenapa saya sangat rajin masa sekolah rendah. Saya sangat berminat dengan benda-benda tu. Dengan pengajaran dengan buku-buku, saya kan suka membaca kan. Saya suka membaca balik rumah buat kerja pastu, bahasa Inggeris tu saya suka bahasa Inggeris kan. Hari-hari saya baca buku cerita kuat-kuat. Dalam rumah tu satu rumah dengar, jiran sebelah pun dengar saya baca. Wah bisung lah ... mak saya kata. Kalau dia tengah balik kang masak dia tengok je saya. Ha macam tu ... saya pun cakap mak saya. Betul ke mak? Ntah kamu mak saya cakap. Saya pun tak peduli saya pergi depan cermin saya baca. R: Depan cermin? P2: Ha baca ... matematik tu saya ... cikgu baru bagi sini sampai sini ... saya dah siapkan satu buku. Lepas tu saya cakap lah cikgu saya dah siap.





Advance ... orang belum ajar ni ... cikgu belum ajar ni saya dah baca siap-siap. Esok saya dengar je lah kat dalam kelas.

P2: I was very hard working during primary school. I don't know why but I was very interested in study, books, I have said I love reading. At home I like to read [what we had done in school]. I did my my homework. Then I would read the English books. I love English. Daily I would read [English] story book loudly. The whole house could hear me. The neighbour also heard me. Wah ... I was very noisy. I would read while my mother was cooking, and she would watch. And I would ask her, "Am I correct". And she would answer, "Ntah kamu [I don't know]". I don't care. I would go in front of the mirror, and I read.

Example 2

R: Masa sekolah rendah ada program-program kelas tambahan? P8: Ada kelas tambahan. Ada kelas petang. Kelas saya habis sampai pukul 1. Emak saya [hantar makan tengahari] ... kelas habis sampai pukul satu tapi kami adik beradik tak balik rumah makan tengah hari saja terus cover kelas tambahan.

P8: We have extra class in the afternoon. The normal classes ended at 1:00. My mother would bring lunch and my siblings and I would eat at the canteen and then went on to the afternoon class.

Example 3



R: Mak tolong tak? P1: Mak tolong ... Kadang kadang. R: Dia pandai ke? P1: Tak pandai tapi dia ikut je ... diorang ... dia boleh tolong ... R: Pegangkan pensel ...? P1: Pegangkan pensel je lah ... R: Tapi dia tahu ABC? P1: Dia boleh ... ABC boleh sebab dia macam ... kerja sekolah tu ... R: Dia dah biasa lah tengok. P1: Mmm ... di sekolah macam dia boleh belajar ha ... Dia sekolah masuk dengan saya belajar ... R: Ok... Ok... utk seminggu tu... P1: Ha! R: Ok ... jadi mak tolong ... tolong pegangkan pensel.

P1: [During kindergarten] Mother helped me sometimes. She helped me to hold the pencil, taught me ABC. [Although she had never been to school] she could ... because she stayed with me in class during the initial week of the kindergarten and she also learned.

Example 4

P10: Dia ada program dengan ibu bapa lah, program apa tu ... Penyerahan buku rekod tu. Setiap pelajar ha ... R: setiap tahun ada kan? P10: ha. R: Masa tu siapa yang pergi ... mak yang pergi? P10: Kadang-kadang mak, mak, mak pergi, kadang-kadang ayah pergi. R: Masa pergi tu kamu kena ada depan Cikgu ke? P10: Ha ... R: Selalunya apa yang mak cakap dengan Cikgu. P10: Dia tanya lah. Dia tanya macam mana ... Anak saya ni macam mana. R: hmm ... P10: Ha cikgu terangkan lah ha ... R: Lepastu mak kata apa dengan kamu bila dah balik? P10: Macam mana ... Dia kadang dia tak tanya pun. R: Dia tak tanya pun? P10: Dia tak kata pun R: Tapi selalunya mak bertanya dengan Cikgu tentang apa, tentang pelajaran kamu atau, mana yang boleh dibantu ...





P10: Dia tanya. Macam mana dia ni kat kelas. R: Hmm. P10: Cikgu cakap lah ok, kadang kadang dia ni ok, pastu. Ada kalanya dia tidur dalam kelas hehe.

P10: Sometimes Father, sometimes Mother [would come to accept the Student Record Book at year end]. Mother would ask “how was my son in class”. And the teacher would answer “sometimes he is okay, sometimes he slept in the class”.

4.2.3.1 Providing Support to Children in the School (Parents in School)

Example 1

R: Mak hantar [di hari pertama kindergarten]? P7: Ha ‘ah. Masa mak hantar saya tu saya memang dah excited nak masuk kindergarten.

P7: Yes [my mother sent me on the first day of kindergarten]. When my mum was sending me I was already excited to go to the kindergarten.

Example 2

R: Ibu ayah aktif tak di sekolah? P10: Tak. R: Maknanya mak dan ayah tak datang sekolah langsung ke? P10: Ada program lah. R: Contoh? P10: Macam mesyuarat apa semua tu. R: Mesyuarat untuk datang. Masa hadiah, terima, ada pernah terima hadiah akademik tak? Masa sekolah rendah. P10: Ada masa tu tahun 2 lah. R: No 5 tu dapat sains terbaik tu? P10: Ha,

P10: No [my parents were not actively involved in school], only when there were programs such as meetings and all. Yes [I received prize for best in science] when I was in Standard 2. R: When you were in the top 5 for best in science? P10: Yes

Example 3

P3: Masa tu naik bas. Kadang kadang saya ajak mak saya naik bas sekali, tunggu saya kat Jalan Tasik, Mak saya tunggu dekat kantin, baru saya tak nangis. Pastu lama lama tu dah masuk bulan 3 bulan 4 tu mak saya tak ikut lah. Tapi hati tu macam lain macam je rasa hehe.

P3: During that time [I went to school] by bus. Sometimes I asked my mother to take the bus with me, waited for me at Jalan Tas. Mother waited for me at the canteen, only then I wouldn’t cry. And then for quite sometime after 3-4 months Mother stopped accompanying me. But my heart still felt uneasy hehe.

Example 4

P3: Ha saya masa tu saya nak dekat hujung tahun tu, saya dapat piala untuk dapat apa tu untuk, cemerlang kut tak silap saya. R: Tahun pertama tu? P3: Ha masa hujung tahun tu kan diorang buat majlis. Diorang buat dekat dewan dekat Chemor kan, diorang umum kan lah yang terbaik, lepas tu naik kat atas pentas masa tu mak bapak kat depan, itu lah saya ingat.





P3: At the end of the year I received an award for... if I am not mistaken for excellence. They [the school] had the end of the year ceremony, like that. During that time they had the ceremony in a hall at Chemor. They announced the best student, and then I was called to the stage and my parents were there sitting at the front [seats], that's what I remember.

4.2.3.2 Showing Pride, Giving Praise and Reward for Achievement

MEMO: Student sharing their achievement in school. Parental involvement was influenced by the children sharing their achievement. Students shared the excitement of winning competitions, getting prizes for the wins and being first in the class (P1, P6, P9, P5). Responses to such announcements included congratulatory gifts and treats from siblings (P5).

Example 1

P9: Biasanya family saya lah. suruh saya belajar semua tu. R: Siapa yang lebih kuat untuk menyuruh belajar? Ayah atau ibu? P9: Dua-dua lah juga. R: Dua-dua ye. Okay, apa yang mereka cerita selalu ... masa sekolah rendah? P9: Diorang selalu cerita ... cakap kena lah belajar betul-betul kan. Diorang nak ajar satu-satu diorang tak retikan masa tu.

P9: They could not help me much with the subjects, but that did not stop them from encouraging me to study well.

Example 2

R: How about siblings ... adik beradik, impact kepada cara you belajar dan kemahuan you untuk belajar. P5: Saya rasa adik beradik saya impact diorang sebab diorang akan macam ni, Dik [Adik] kau dapat no 1 Akak gi bawak makan KFC. Macam tu lah. R: Ni akak yang mana satu ni? P5: Akak yang kerja kilang lah. R: Nombor berapa tu? P5: Tak pasti lah nombor berapa dah. Adalah kakak-kakak saya yang tu. Kalau dapat no satu. Walaupun diorang tak bagi hadiah, diorang macam ... macam diorang sama-sama happy lah. Diorang gembira. Eh adik dapat no satu ... kan. sama happy. R: Di sekolah ada hadiah lah. P5: Ha ada hadiah. R: Siapa yang pergi sama-sama masa ... P5: Mak, Kakak ... Ayah.

P5: My siblings they had impact on me because they were like this "Dik kau dapat no 1 akak gi bawak makan KFC. Macam tu lah [If you got first, I will take you for a treat in KFC. Something like that]. That was one of my older sisters. Although they did not give me gifts, they were happy for me "Eh Adik dapat nombor satu kan". I received prizes in school. My mother, sister and father would attend [the prize giving event].

Example 3

P1: Ha ... Mak pun seronok ... tapi Mak saya jenis yang steady jer ... tak delah nak bangga-bangga ... biasa jer ... tu yang saya suka mak saya tu pasal dia sangat simple. R: Adik beradik lain dia tak cakap tengok kakak ni dapat no 1 selalu ... dia tak cerita macam tu? Dia tak jadikan contoh? P1: Ada lah ... tapi dia tak suka membandingkan



... sangatlah ... R: Jadi adik-adik ni tak lah terasa sangat lah kan? P1: Tak terasa lah ... tapi kalau orang lain tu memang dia akan [tanya pada adik-adik] kenapa awak ... kakak awak belajar tinggi ni ... saya pun tanya lah dia sendiri ... haha.

P1: My mother would be very happy ... but she is the steady type ... she didn't show her pride ... she would act normal ... that's what I love about my mother, because she is simple. R: Did she make you a model for your younger siblings? P1: Yes ... but she did not like to compare, but sometimes other people would ask my siblings "why your sister can study to such high level [but you don't want to go to school]".

Example 4

R: Okay ada tak sesuatu yang you bawa dari sekolah, you rasa nak tunjuk sangat dengan ibu atau bapa? P6: Ermm ... selalu pergi pertandingan di.. erm macam mana pertandingan arr kuiz matematik. R: Okay. Ni ... during kindergarten? P6: Ha ... ha masa tabika. Masuk kuiz matematik and then dapat hadiah, even saguhati je pun. Haha R: Kuiz tu di mana? P6: Tak ingat dah. R: Bukan ... bukan di tabika la? P6: Tempat lain. R: Tempat lain, okay. P6: Okay, and then dapat hadiah. So ... balik tu excited lah tunjuk dekat Mak. Haha.

P6: During kindergarten I always joined competitions organised by outside organisations. For example the Mathematic quiz and when I received any prize, I would be so excited to show my mother.

4.2.3.3 School Language at Home

Example 1

P1: So saya mula lah saya rasa minat untuk belajar macam tu ... tengok TV cerita Sesame Street. R: Tengok Sesame Street... Tahun berapa tu? P1: Tak ingat dah ... R: Sesame Street ... makna tu masa pre-school ha? Dah tengok Sesame Street dah? P1: Rasa nya Sesame Street. Ha cerita apa tu yang dot dot gitu ha ... R: You were interested then ... minat lah belajar? P1: Minat lah belajar seronoknya. Sebabnya...bagi saya bahasa English ni macam ... benda yang paling menyeronokkan ... dah tahu bahasa lain macam tu lah saya ... lepas tu saya rasa nak lebih tahu lagi lah.

P1: My interest in English started when I watched the Sesame Street on TV [during her kindergarten years]. The story was fun. It got me interested to learn because for me English was very exciting ... knowing another language. It made me want to learn more.

Example 2:

R: Membaca? Ada tak mak baca buku cerita? P7: Tak ada. R: Tak ada. TV? P7: TV tengok. R: TV ke radio? P7: TV masa tu guna yang ... tape. R: Video? P7: Ha ah, video tu. R: Video? Bukan TV siaran langsung? P7: Tak. R: Tak ada lagi? So apa yang di tape kan? P7: Cerita macam filem, filem-filem melayu macam tu lah. R: Filem melayu, P. Ramlee? P7: Ha ah.

P7: [At home we watched] a variety of Malay films [such as the P. Ramlee movies].



Example 3:

P9: Erm saya ingat ... selalu tengok ayah saya speaking. Haha. First-first ... saya ... macam mana dia speaking ha ... saya macam nak tahu, nak tanya diorang ... tapi saya tak boleh. Haha. R: Oh ayah sampai darjah 6 dia sekolah tu ... mana dia belajar bahasa Inggeris? P9: Erm ... ayah saya dia ... dia berkawan dengan orang luar, lepastu dia suka belajar, dia pun training speaking tak berapa sangat kan. Ha tapi dia belajar tu okay lah. R: Okay. Jadi tengok ayah, dengar interaksi ayah dengan tourist la. Lagi selain tu apa lagi yang kamu dapat, masa ... masa ikut ayah? P9: Ikut ayah, erm ayah saya macam erm kalau pasal hutan ni dia tahu banyak. Haha. Erm saya terfikir, rasa macam mana dia tahu, dia baca buku ke ... saya tengok tak baca buku. So saya nak tahu macam mana dia tahu. Bila saya tanya, dia cakap ... erm just kita tahu. Haha. Ha macam mana kita nak tahu kan? R: ha ... P9: Ayah cakap macam tu Sampai sekarang saya tak tahu macam mana ayah tahu. R: Oh okay. Time ini you nampak dia dengan tourist ... P9: Dengan benda jungle ni itu semua. R: Yang ini sekitar Cameron highlands saja lah? Berapa jauh selalu tracking? P9: Ha'ah. Erm selalu ... dekat-dekat je macam ... Gunung Brincang ... erm depan tu.

P9: I remembered my father speaking [in English]. [I wondered] how he could speak English. He interacted with the outsiders [the foreign tourists]. He also liked to learn ... he was not trained to use the language, but he liked to learn. I followed my father into the jungle, tracking [guiding the tourists].



Example 4



R: Di rumah cakap bahasa apa? P5: Temuan. R: Temuan juga, ibu ayah pandai bahasa Melayu? P5: Ibu ayah pandai bahasa Melayu. R: Seisi keluarga semua pandai bahasa Melayu? P5: Yes ... pandai bahasa Melayu ... tak de masalah bahasa Melayu.

P5: [At home] we speak Temuan. My parents can speak Bahasa Melayu. [The whole family] can speak Bahasa Melayu. No problem.

4.2.3.4 Ensuring School Attendance

Example 1

R: Tapi sekarang ni kenapa you pergi sekolah? P5: Saya rasa sebab takut dengan mak ayah kut. Tak pergi tu macam saya kena marah. R: Siapa marah? P5: Mak ayah. R: Ada kena rotan tak? P5: Pernah pernah. Kalau tak pergi sekolah. R: Abah rotan ke mak rotan? P5: Abah atau mak rotan. Kakak tu walaupun mak rotan dia tak nak pergi juga.

P5: I think I was afraid of my parents. If I didn't go I would be scolded. R: Did you ever get the cane? P5: Yes, yes.

Example 2





R: Banyak ponteng ya? P12: Tak lah banyak. Hehe. R: Tapi ada ponteng ya. P12: Yelah. Dari situ diorang banyak bagi dorongan lah. R: Apa yang ayah cakap, kamu ingat tak? P12: Ayah cakap kalau tak pergi sekolah kena rotan lah ... hehe. Lepas tu terus pergi sekolah. R: Kalau ibu cakap apa pulak? P12: Erm sama jugak dengan ayah, diorang sekepala lah.

R: Did you miss classes? P12: Not too many. He he. Father said “if you don’t go to school, you’ll get the cane” he he. And I would straight away go to school.

Example 3

Memo: Parents facilitating learning – How parents ensure that their children did not miss school - despite being away they monitored their children and their schooling through telephone and through their neighbour. When they came to visit the children, their questions included, “P15: Sekali sekala lah dia balik. Sekolah okay ke tak? Pergi sekolah ke tak? Atau tidur? Ada kadang kalau saya dan kakak lewat, emak dan ayah ada upah orang hantar pergi ke sekolah R: Ya? Ada lah maknanya pick up and upah orang lain? P15: Ya. “Anak aku tak sekolah baru bangun ni, tolong hantar.” Ada lah makcik itu, “Siap, siap, siap ada orang hantar”.

R: Kakak umur 9 tahun, kamu umur 8 tahun. Dua tahun tinggal berdua sahaja. Emak tiap-tiap minggu balik? Atau sekali sekali lah balik? Emak dengan abah, sekali berdua lah balik, apa yang mereka cakap dengan kamu? P15: Sekali sekala lah dia balik. Sekolah okay ke tak? Pergi sekolah ke tak? Atau tidur? Ada kadang kalau saya dan kakak lewat, emak dan ayah ada upah orang hantar pergi ke sekolah. R: Ya? Ada lah maknanya pick up and upah orang lain? P15: Ya. “Anak aku tak sekolah baru bangun ni, tolong hantar.” Ada lah makcik itu. “Siap, siap, siap ada orang hantar”. R: Ya, jadi bayar saja lah dekat dia. Jadi, tak boleh ponteng lah. Emak dan abah marah tak kalau kamu terponteng? P15: Pernah marah.

R: Your sister was 9 years old. You were 8 years old. For two years there were only the two of you [living with the parents away]. Did your mother or father come back every week? What did they say to you? P15: Sometimes they come back. They would ask “Is school okay? Did you go to school? Or sleeping? And sometimes when my sister and I were late, Mother or Father would pay someone to send us to school. They would call someone, “my kids have just gotten up, please help to send them to school” and then there was this aunty [a neighbour] would call out to us “get ready, get ready, someone is coming to send you to school”.

Example 4

R: Hanya sebab Farah nak sekolah? P1: Ye masa tu saya nak sekolah. R: Sebelum tu tak de ... tak pindah? P1: Tak. R: Ye ... so mak pindah hanya untuk memudahkan Farah [pergi] sekolah? P1: Rasa saya macam bila fikir-fikir balik dedicate juga lah mak saya hantar saya sekolah. Sanggup dia macam ... R: Dia tak sekolah? P1: Ha dia tak sekolah.





R: Your Mother moved just because you needed to go to school, to facilitate you to go to school? P1: Yes, that time I needed to go to school. Come to think of it, I feel my Mother was very dedicated, that she could undertake ...

Example 5

R: Pagi-pagi siapa yang kejutkan kamu pergi sekolah? P16: Emak saya. Memang sampai Tingkatan 5 emak yang kejutkan. Tak pernah bangun sendiri. R: Kalau emak tak kejutkan apa yang akan berlaku? P16: Memang tak pergi ke sekolah lah jadinya. R: Jadi tak adalah tindakan sendiri itu ya untuk bangun sendiri, semuanya emak kena kejutkan? P16: Ya, betul. memang macam itu, sebab saya macam manja walaupun ada adik. Nanti emak yang seterikakan baju sekolah sampai Tingkatan 5. R: Tak pernah buat sendiri? P16: Ya.

P16: My mother [woke me up daily]. My mother woke me until [I was] in Form 5. I never got up on my own. For sure I would miss school [if she didn't wake me up]. She also ironed my clothes. I never did.

4.2.3.5 Providing Financial Support

Example 1

R: Ok nak tanya dulu emak dengan ayah pergi mana masa tu? P2: Kerja. R: Kerja dimana? P2: Mak kerja di Ipoh. R: Sebagai apa? P2: Sebagai kerani di kilang Yeoh ...Yeoh Hup Seng. R: Ok ... jadi dia balik 2 minggu sekali? P2: Dua minggu sekali ... kalau dia ada kelapangan dia balik seminggu sekali lah ... kalau abah dia kan balik 2 minggu atau 3 minggu sekali ... R: Abah pula di mana? P2: Abah masa tu dia tak kira tempat. Sebab dia ikut kontrak kan, buat rumah, dia tak tetap. Susah nak cakap dia tak permanent.. R: Jadi dia ikut kontrak.. P2: Dia ikut kontrak la. R: Okay sekarang ni abah dengan mak apa kerja? P2: Mak surirumah kadang- kadang menoreh getah. Abah kerja kampung jaga kebun orang.

P2: Mother was in Ipoh. She worked as a clerk in a factory, Yeoh Hup Seng. She would come home every two weeks. When she could, she would try to come home every week. Father [who worked as a contract worker] would come home every two or three weeks. He followed the contractor who built houses. He was never at anyone place.

Example 2

R: Sekolah darjah 1 sampai darjah berapa di Sekolah Kiambang. P14: Sampai darjah 4, pertengahan tahun sahaja. R: Pertengahan tahun saja. Kemudian what happened? P14: Bagi saya sebab ada masalah kewangan. Adik-beradik pun ramai R: Kamu yang no ... P14: Ke-6. R: Jadi yang atas-atas ni sekolah? Kan? P14: Betul. R: Masa tu ni dah habis sekolah ke belum? Ni kamu darjah 3? P14: Dah habis. R: Tak ada bantuan mana-mana masa tu? P14: Masa sekolah di Kiambang memang tak ada bantuan. R: JAKOA ke? P14: JAKOA kat sana tak ada bantuan R: Yang lain-lain? P14: Yang lain pun sama.





P14: I stopped going to school during mid-year of Standard 4. I had financial difficulties. I have a lot of brothers and sisters. I am the sixth [of 11 children]. When I was at the first school, there was no financial assistance, neither [from] JAKOA nor others. [Note: P14 was later sent back to his parents' village, where he resumed his schooling]

Example 3

R: Pernah ada masalah kewangan tak? P16: Tak adalah. Sebab menoreh setiap minggu ada duit masuk. R: Jadi cukup lah duit itu untuk belajar? Tak ada isu lah untuk ke sekolah? P16: Ya, betul. R: Ada orang kata duit tak cukup, tak ada duit belanja tak ada macam macam? P16: Cukup sahaja. R: Yang pada 2012 ayah bekerja pula mengapa? P16: Ayah menoreh. Sebab getah itu nak di tolak kerana nak ditanam baru. Jadi pakcik adik emak tawarkan ayah untuk bekerja di syarikat itu. Untuk sementara lah. R: Jadi ayah kerja apa ni? P16: Ayah kerja jaga kebun kelapa sawit. Syarikat KKK (Kuala Lumpur – Kepong) punya. R: Sudah lama lah itu? Tiap-tiap tahun lah itu? Kontrak kah? P16: Dia buat potongan gaji. Jadi tiap-tiap tahun sambung sahajalah bekerja dengan syarikat itu.

P16: I didn't have any financial problem because my parents tapped rubber. [So] there was always some cash coming in from tapping rubber.

4.2.3.6 Sharing Positive Experience



Example 1

Memo: Sharing of Positive Experience: Siblings' positive experience with a teacher helped P6 to have an informed perception, despite the teacher's reputation of being a fierce teacher in charge of discipline.

P6: Ha'a. Tapi macam kakak dengan abang sekolah yang sama dulu, diorang tak ... sampai darjah 6 diorang pernah belajar dengan Cikgu tu. So diorang cakap, Cikgu tu sebenarnya baik. Ha perception orang lain pun macam ... men ...men ... R: Ha bagi pengaruh lah? P6: ha'a. R: Mem ... mempengaruhi kamulah.

P6: My sister and my brother attended the same [primary] school. They were taught by this same teacher. So they told me "that teacher is actually a kind teacher [Only people perceived her wrongly]."

Example 2

R: Bila sudah siap semua, siapa yang tolong semak? P15: Tak ada orang tolong tengok, buat saja. Kakak yang tolong ajar. R: Kakak pula siapa yang tolong ajar? P15: Tak tahu lah. Dia memang pandai sikit. R: Jadi kakak lah yang kawal semua, kamu hanya mengikut sahaja. P15: Ya. Saya ikut saja kakak saya. R: Kalau kakak tiada masa tu macam mana keadaan? Kalau kakak kamu pun hanya suka bermain? P15: Kalau kakak tiada susah lah rasanya.





P15: No one checked my homework when I had completed them. My sister helped. She was clever. I just followed her. If she was not there, it would have been difficult for me.

Example 3

P9: Saya selalu tengok apa tu pak cik saya. Dia jenis yang tak cerita. Tapi saya tengok cara. R: Cara tu maksudnya macam mana? P9: Dia macam ... sekolah rendah. R: Masa sekolah rendah ye. So cara dia membuatkan kamu nak belajar juga macam dia? P9: Ha'a. R: Kalau dia tak bercerita macam mana kamu tahu dia tu ... P9: Dia banyak ... macam protect ... gaya dia macam tu kan. Haha. Lepastu dia macam ... macam mana nak cakap.. R: You rasa macam dia pandai ke? P9: Ha'a. R: cara dia bercakap macam mana? Ataupun perwatakan dia dari luar ke ... ataupun dari segi interaksi? P9: Erm interaksi dan perwatakan dia lain daripada orang. R: Ya? P9: Ha'a, kita tak rasa, kita kena tengok orangnya. P9: Cara dia cakap macam confident semua. Saya nak ikut cara macam dia... ha.

P9: I always observed my uncle [Mother's youngest brother]. In school [I observed him], it's just the way he carried himself, the way he spoke, and he looked clever. He spoke with confidence, and I wanted to be like him.

4.2.3.7 Punishing Children

Example 1



Memo: Student – Absent – Parents kept him going – Rotan was the incentive.

R: Banyak ponteng ye? P12: Tak lah banyak. Hehe. R: Tapi ada ponteng ye. P12: Yelah. Dari situ diorang banyak bagi dorongan lah. R: Ya. Apa yang ayah cakap, kamu ingat tak? P12: Ayah cakap kalau tak pergi sekolah kena rotan lah ... hehe. Lepastu terus pergi sekolah. R: Kena rotan. Kalau ibu cakap apa pulak? P12: Erm sama jugak dengan ayah, diorang sekepala lah.

P12: Father said "If you don't go to school, you'll get the rattan". [Following the threat of rattan] and I would go to school. Mother would also give me the rattan threat. Both of them had the same mind.

Example 2

P5: Nangis-nangis tak nak pergi ... R: Nanti tanya ... saya ulang balik nak tanya pasal kenapa dia orang tak nak pergi? Tetapi sekarang ni kenapa you pergi? P5: Saya rasa sebab takut dengan mak ayah kut. R: Takut ye ... juga sebab dihantar? P5: Dihantar ... then kalau tak pergi tu macam saya kena marah ... R: Siapa marah? P5: Mak ayah ... R: Mak ayah ... ada kena rotan tak? P5: Pernah, pernah ... kalau tak pergi sekolah ... R: Abah rotan ke mak rotan. P5: Abah atau mak rotan. R: Kakak tu walaupun mak rotan ... dia tak tu juga ye. P5: Tak nak pergi.

P5: Yes, yes, when I didn't want to go to school. My Father or Mother would cane me. But for my sister, the cane had no effect on her. She would not go.





Example 3

P6: Parent masa tu pun macam garang, so kalau tak pergi ke pukul, haha. Ha tulah salah satunya. R: kena rotan lah? P6: yah. R: Rotan kecil ke rotan besar? P6: Depend apa yang ada lah, hahaha... kalau ada hanger, hanger lah. R: Standard lah? P6: Ha standard lah tu.

P6: Those days my parents were fierce. If I don't go to school I would be smacked. With whatever was at hand, even with the cloth hanger.

Example 4

Memo: Parents No Rotan at Home but Have No Issues about Teachers Rotan Their Children in School.

R: So, kamu di rumah pernah di rotan? P8: Saya setakat di rumah ibu bapa saya tak pernah merotan anak-anak dia. Daripada yang atas sampai yang ke bawah tak pernah kena rotan.

Memo: Although his own parents did not use the cane on him and his siblings, P8 described the rattan that he brought to school, for his teacher from his father, with the permission to use it on him should the situation arise.

R: Rotan betul? P8: Ya. Cikgu itu tahu ayah saya buka kedai rotan. Masa tu saya yang bawa rotan. Rotan itu sendiri saya yang kena (tergelak) R: Okay, nak tanya, how do you feel about this experience, pengalaman you? P8: Cikgu macam ini bagus. Dia memang tegas dengan anak murid dia, kita tahu kita buat silap. Saya rasa anak murid dia tak ada seorang pun yang buat aduan dengan ibu bapa nya sebab dia tahu dia yang ... R: But do you think you deserve the rotan? What do you think? Kamu rasa patut ke kamu kena rotan, itu maksud saya? P8: Saya rasa patut lah saya kena rotan, sebab dengan rotan lah saya minat dengan cikgu itu. R: Oh ye? Kamu ingat tak sakit kena rotan tu? Ada tak kanak-kanak yang trauma kena rotan among your friends yang mungkin tak nak pergi sekolah lepas itu? P8: Tak ada. Tapi ada jugak yang degil, yang masih tak nak buat kerja sekolah. Chinese ke Orang Asli ke memang biasa sangat la kena rotan. Yang sakitnya bila kita tak biasa.

P8: At home, my parents never caned me. All my siblings, we were never caned [by them]. My teacher knew that my father had a rattan business. That time I brought a rattan [for the teacher]. I got caned with that same rattan (laughed). I think I deserved that caning ... because of the caning, I had more interest in the teacher. Chinese or Orang Asli, were used to getting the cane. It became painful when you are not used to it.

Example 5

Memo: Parents – PI – Father – Punishment – Caned - For Being Stubborn – For Lying about not having homework – Homework – Home School Link – Continuity of Learning – impact on Student – Personal Improvement – Accepting Punishment



R: Emak ayah pernah merotan kah? P13: Masa saya sekolah rendah pernah lah kena rotan tapi bila masuk sekolah menengah tak ada lah. R: Sekolah rendah siapa yang rotan? P13: Ayah. R: Kenapa? P13: Degil sangat. R: Degil itu maksudnya apa? Adakah kamu pernah buat benda yang dilarang? P13: Ya, betul. R: Contoh perkara yang dilarang yang kamu pernah buat? P13: Tak buat homework. R: Mana ayah tahu kamu tak buat homework? P13: Ayah tanya, saya jawab tak ada homework padahal ada homework sebenarnya. R: Berapa kali kena rotan, banyak kali atau sekali sahaja? P13: Kadang-kadang. R: Selalu kah ayah tanya atau semak buku? P13: Ayah tanya kalau menipu nanti kena rotan. R: Ayah akan buka buku tu dan dia nampak lah ada homework? P13: Ayah akan tanya dua kali. Jadi kali kedua sudah tak berani dah nak bohong. R: Pertama kali kamu kata tak ada homework, kemudian kali kedua kamu kata ada homework, kena rotan tak? P13: Bila di tanya kali kedua tu sahaja sudah tak berani bohong. Kena rotan sekali pun sudah takut nak berbohong. R: Kenapa jadi takut? P13: Sebab tak suka jadi penipu. R: Jadi kemudian kamu buat homework lah. Macam mana dia perasan kamu tak buat homework itu? P13: Sekali tengok macam relax sahaja, balik sekolah macam tak buat apa sahaja.

P13: My parents used to cane me. Father caned me for being stubborn, not doing my homework, and lying about not having homework. Father would ask me if I have homework and I answered none, and it was not true. Then again he would ask about homework, he would ask twice. The second time he asked I would not dare to lie. The first time I was caned for lying, I dared not lie after that. He would ask whenever I came home from school and watching me relaxing [as if I had no school work to do].

P14: Sebelum ini ayah lebih tegas lah, kalau tak buat kerja sekolah dia akan rotan R: Rotan ni rotan macam mana? P14: Rotan ... R: Rotan hutan ke atau pun just apa-apa saja rotan ke atau ada specific rotan? P14: Dulu memang ada specific rotan. Ada kecil, ada besar. R: Jadi kalau tentang hal-hal sekolah kena rotan kalau tak siap homework? P14: Ha ah. R: Jadi maknanya ... ok saya nak tanya kamu pernah kena rotan tak, tak siap homework? P14: Sebab saya masa tu belum bersekolah jadi ... Dari darjah satu saya tak pernah di rotan oleh ayah. R: Tapi yang lain-lain pernah kamu lihat? P14: Yang lain saya pernah. R: Siapa yang paling kamu selalu lihat? P14: Kakak yang pertama sampai abang yang ke-3. R: Yang no 3 lah ye? P14: Ha ah. R: Ada impact tak rasanya? P14: Setakat saya tahu tak ada sangat lah rasanya.

P14: Father was very strict. He would cane if [my siblings] did not complete their school work. He had specific cane. He had small cane and big cane. That time I had not gone to school yet. I saw [the caning happened] to my oldest sister down to my third brother. [However] since standard one I was never cane.

Example 7

Memo: Parents – Father – Supporting teacher’s action - Punishment – Caning – Home School Link – Student - Communicating incidence in school to Parents



Memo: P15 – Parents – Rotan – Father supported the negative reinforcement approach of Teachers. When P15 told her father that the teacher rotan her, he responded, “Itulah lain kali buat kerja sekolah, jangan tak buat!”

P15: Lepas itu balik di rumah ceritakan kepada abah. Abah saya marah, “Itulah lain kali buat kerja sekolah, jangan tak buat!”

Memo: Parents – Father – Punishment – Caning – Failing grades – Non-Completion of Homework. When P15 failed, she would get the rotan, crying and trying to escape the rotan at the same time.

R: Abah dengan emak tak pernah rotan kah? Tak pernah terasa rotan daripada abah dan emak? P15: Ada lah juga terasa rotan kalau nakal. Kalau tak buat kerja sekolah. R: Siapa yang rotan? P15: Abah. Kalau ada banyak sangat merah-merah di dalam buku latihan, abah akan rotan. R: Di mana abah rotan? P15: Di seluruh badan lah. Sempat berlari bila kena rotan. R: Menangis tak bila kena rotan? P15: Menangis.

P15: When I reached home I told my father [that I was caned by the teacher]. He scolded me “next time do your homework, don’t ignore it’. Father caned me when I was naughty, and when I did not do my homework. Whenever I obtained a lot of reds in my exercise book, he would cane me, all over [the cane landing all over my body]. I would be running trying to escape him, and crying, all at the same time.



4.2.4 Accommodating Learning

4.2.4.1 Multiplicity of Roles

Example 1:

Memo: Makcik as parent.

P1: Tu masa 6 tahun tu kan. Masa tu ada juga mak tunggu- tunggu lagi. Ada makcik tu yang duduk sekali lah ... jaga anak dia ... Tapi dia tak duduk di asrama. Masa tu dia tolong jadi ... Masak-masak jer. Macam tu.

P1: When I was six year old my Mother would sometimes wait for me [at the kindergarten]. There was also an aunt who lived with us, she also [came] to wait for her child. She worked as a kitchen helper at the hostel.

Example 2:

Memo: Nenek as parent.

R: Ok...jadi dia tolong atuk tu jadi maknanya dia tu important la tu. P1:Ha ... R: Ha kenapa ... kenapa mak yang pergi tolong atuk? Abang- abang dia? P1: Sebab Semua ... dia dah berkahwin, dah berkeluarga ... jadi diorang pergi kampung lain lain lah ... macam pak cik saya duduk kat kampung lain ... mak cik saya kampung lain, tak duduk sekalilah. R: Jadi mak ni yang duduk dengan atuk? P1: Mak saya ... mak cik saya ...





kiranya yang kuat mak saya dengan mak cik saya lah. R: Nenek jaga cucu? P1: Ha nenek saya jaga cucu, jaga cucu-cucu dia ... semua lah.

P1: The rest of my mother's siblings were married and they lived separately with their families. Only my Mother and my Aunt were there to help my Grandfather [to collect forest products], especially my Mother. My Grandmother remained at home to look after us, her grandchildren.

Example 3

Memo: Aunt as parent - Father's Sibling – Financial Help.

R: Daripada mereka itu ada tak sumbangan kepada pembelajaran kamu? Ada tak membantu dari segi kewangan atau bantuan-bantuan lain? P13: Makcik sebelah ayah tu ada juga membantu. R: Okay, makcik sebelah ayah yang membantu dari segi kewangan. Ini untuk belajar ke untuk keluarga? P13: Untuk belajar. R: Dari sejak bila? P13: Dari sekolah rendah ada. Dan masa saya menuntut ni ada juga. R: Dia sumbang macam mana? Dia bagi wang untuk bayar yuran kah atau macam mana? P13: Dia bayarkan yuran sekali dengan adik ayah. R: Oh, adik ayah ni adik dia lah juga. Dia membantu kamu dan juga adiknya. P13: Ya. R: Makcik kamu ni kerja apa? P13: Dia kerja kampung saja, dia tolong jaga kebun getah arwah datuk.

P13: My aunt, my Father's sister helped to pay my school fees, since primary school. She looked after my late Grandfather's rubber smallholding.



Example 4

Memo: Siblings as parents (P5, P14)

R: Masak makan minum macam mana siapa jaga? P5: Sebab kakak ramai kan ... kakak ... kakak lah buat.

P5: Because I have many older sisters, they took care [of the household chores when my mother was ill].

R: So maknanya ni adik-beradik ja lah yang tinggal. Jadi yang ketuanya sekarang ini lah yang jaga adik. Kakak umur 26 ye? P14: Ha ah

R: That means there were only [you] and the siblings living [together in the village] and your 26 year old sister looked after the younger siblings? P14: Yes.

Example 5

Memo: Self as parent. Student - Multiplicity of Roles – Parent at Work – learning to be independent -coping and learning the art of housekeeping and looking after the younger siblings. When parents were living away at work, the children managed themselves, such as the case of P2, who headed the household during her parents' absence. P2 recalled how she coped with her absence parents:



P2: Sepuluh ke sebelas lebih kurang lah duration macam tu lah so saya ambil tanggungjawab tu untuk adik jaga adik saya yang nombor bawah saya tu. Masa tu saya start berdikari belajar masak, cari sendiri sayur sayuran sekitar rumah untuk makan kan. Mak dan abah bagi duit untuk beli barang dapur. Masa tu saya start berdikari pandai masak kemas rumah. R: Berapa orang dalam rumah tadi? P2: Empat. R: Empat orang.

P2: About 10 or 11 [years old], I took over the care of my younger siblings. At the time, I learned to be self-sufficient, I learnt how to cook, look for edible plants around the house, for our meals. Mother and Father gave us cash to buy our kitchen requirements [The dry items]. That time I knew how to cook and keep house. There were 4 [of us then].

Example 6

Memo: Neighbour as parents. The parents of P15, had to leave their then two children, P15 and her older sister, on their own, while they stayed in another village to tap rubber. In her case, a neighbour and her older sibling took up the parental role, in the absence of her parents.

R: So, berapa adik beradik masa zaman sekolah rendah dulu? P15: Ada dua. Kakak. R: Tapi waktu itu tengah susah? P15: Ya, rasa tengah susah tu. Masa sekolah itu, ayah dengan emak pergi menoreh getah sampai ke Semantan, kami tinggal berdua di rumah. R: Masa itu tahun berapa? P15: Tahun dua atau tahun tiga. R: Kakak pula tahun berapa? P15: Lepas tu siapa yang jaga kamu? P15: Jiran sebelah. Dia yang masak kan.

P15: Yes, that was difficult time [for us]. Our parents were tapping rubber [and living in another village], and the two of us were left on our own. I was in Year 2 or Year 3. Our neighbour cooked our meals.

Example 7

Memo: Teacher as Parent.

P2: Cikgu suka kat saya lah. Sekolah rendah saya dapat full encouragement from the teachers. Saya dengan mak bapak saya tidak beberapa rapat. Tau lah macamana kronologi saya kan.

P2: The teacher liked me. [During primary school] I received full encouragement from my teachers. I and my parents were not very close. You know my chronology [my history].

4.2.4.2 Decision Making

Example 1

Memo: Parents – Father – Limiting Student’s Involvement in Sports. Parents made decision based upon perceived risk to their children. P10 recalled how he missed a school trip to Sarawak due his Father’s concern with potential injury.



P10: Masa tu dah dapat dah pergi Sarawak, pastu tak bagi. R: Siapa tak bagi? P10: Ayah. R: Kenapa ayah tak bagi? P10: Dia ingat, dia ingat sukan bola, pastu takut patah kaki. R: Kenapa? Cikgu tak terangkan ke apa yang kamu kena represent? P10: Tak, saya cakap macam ni, saya nak pergi sukan. R: Kamu tak cerita habis-habis? P10: Tak habis, pastu dia tak bagi. R: Cikgu tak datang ke rumah, bagi tahu. Masa dapat offer tu cikgu tak datang rumah bagi tahu ayah. P10: Tak masa sebelum tu masa saya main rugby kawan dia tak bagi. Dia cakap bahaya main ni boleh patah apa ke, pastu tiba-tiba dia bawak motor pakcik kan, dia ingat dia nak hantar, pastu jom lah siap, pergi Jerantut apa benda? Main Rugby? Tak de lah dah kena reject dah. Kenapa pulak? Saya cakap, tadi tak bagi. Oh ... Dia ingat dia kena hantar kesana, pastu tak jadi lah. Sama yang tu tadi. R: Ide? P10: Tak, ide. R: Azha? Azha? P10: Saya sorang je. R: Ha.. Ok, jadi ayah, dia tukar fikiran lah, dia nak hantar pulak, pastu dah kena reject. P10: Ha.. R: Dah kena ganti orang lain lah. Lepas tu kamu merajuk ke? P10: Tak de.. R: Apa perasaan kamu? P10: Masa tu tak pe. R: Kamu tak sedih? P10: Tak sedih. R: Orang dah pergi naik kapal terbang? P10: Tak pe kut. Hehe.

P10: At that time I was selected to go to Sarawak [as part of the school sports team], but my Father didn't give his permission. He thought I was going to play football and I might break my legs. Earlier I was selected to play rugby. His friend advised him that it was dangerous, that it could lead to broken legs.

Example 2



Memo: Differences in aspirations led to contradiction in decisions. P1 shared an example of the difficult situation.

P1: Contohnya Mak. Mak cakap ha sekolah! Tapi yang seorang ni tak pe lah buat apa nak masuk, dia cakap macam tu. R: Bapak kata, pak cik kata ...? P1: Ha contohnya lah macam tu. Macam adik saya lah yang lelaki tu. Kita orang dah prepare nak masukan dia sekolah tapi in the end, dia tak nak sekolah. Tak tahu lah kenapa sebabnya, sebab dia dah ...

P1: For example, my Mother would tell that my younger brother to go to school, but someone else [who had more authority] would say never mind. No need. We have prepared to enrol him to school, but in the end, he did not go.

Example 3

Memo: Primary – School 1 – Dropout – Fees not paid – Absence - Terminated by school – Hopelessness – Father – See Freire “Hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings” What seemed to be a hopeless situation caused parents to make decision that set back their children’s education; P14 shared that phase of his schooling:

R: Siapa yang suruh berhenti? P14: Sekolah. R: Sekolah suruh berhenti? Sebab apa sekolah suruh berhenti? P14: Sebab dah lama saya tak datang sekolah. R: Oh, kamu tak pergi sekolah sebab tak bayar yuran? P14: Ha ah. R: Berapa lama kamu tak pergi sekolah? P14: Pada mula ... dia ikut ... dapat surat pertama, amaran. Masa tu ayah pun dah macam give up kot, nak suruh kita orang sekolah, jadi ayah pun dah macam





hilang semangat sebab, sebelum saya berhenti kakak saya dulu yang berhenti. R: Yang kakak no 5 tu? P14: Ha ah, maksudnya kakak tu anak yang... R: Paling diharapkan? P14: Paling diharapkan dalam family. Ayah memang terlampau bagi harapan kat dia sampai ... kadang-kadang satu family tu rasa yang dia tu anak manja. Apa yang dia nak dia dapat tu jadi bila dia buat hal... ayah pun dah macam... R: Dia hilang semangat? P14: Ha ah, hilang semangat sebab anak-anak belajar bersungguh-sungguh ... lepas tu ... R: Dapat surat-surat? P14: Dapat surat-surat ayah pun macam nak tak nak je. Dapat surat kedua macam tu juga, dapat surat ketiga surat berhenti daripada kawan yang hantar ke rumah, ayah tak dapat baca, saya ambil surat tu saya renyok-renyokkan masuk ke dalam tong sampah.

P14: [The school] terminated my schooling because I was absent for quite awhile [because Father could not pay the school fees]. Initially, we received the first letter of warning. But Father was already giving up about us going to school, feeling hopeless because earlier my older sister also gave up. She [the fifth sibling] was my Father's hope and to us all she appeared to be the most beloved child. Anything she wanted she got it. Then when she quit [because of shame due to teacher's demand for unpaid school fees], my Father also appeared to lose his motivation. His children were working hard in school, but when he received those letters, he was not too bothered anymore. It was the same when we received the second letter, then we received the third letter of termination, Father did not see it because I took the letter, crumpled it and threw it into the waste bin. [Following this incident, Father packed P14 and his younger siblings back to live in the village with their Mother. Subsequently P14 resumed school the following year, in an Orang Asli primary school in the village whilst his older sister dropped out].



4.2.4.3 Making Change

Example 1

R: Maknanya pagi-pagi mesti pergi sekolah tadika masa tu sekolah di Kampung K ... lepas tu mak hantar dengan motor... P1: Nak bagi senang dia kat Kampung K tu dia tu pindah. Buat rumah ke dua lah masa tu. Duduk Kampung G [a village next to Kampung K] ... sebab dia kerja dengan tauke Cina tu dapat pondok sekali lah.

P1: To make it easy [to send her to go to school], Mother moved. She set a second house [in the village where the kindergarten and primary school were located].

Example 2

Memo: Parents – Father – Making Change – Relocating Half of The family – Back to the Village – To attenuate financial difficulties. During a financially difficult phase, a Father decided that moving some of the children back to their home village would ease the problem. The decision enabled P14 to resume his halted primary education.

R: Sebelum tu siapa yang menghantar kamu balik kampung? P14: Ayah. R: Berapa orang yang dia hantar masa tu? P14: Daripada saya sampai adik. R: Sampai bongsu? P14: Ha ah. R: Jadi ayah tinggal dengan siapa masa tu? P14: Ayah tinggal dengan abang-abang kakak-kakak.





P14: Father sent me and my younger siblings [back to the village]. My older siblings stayed with him.

Example 3

P2: Ye. Dia [Ibu] berhenti kerja bila adoption adik saya yang lelaki tu ha ... baru dia berhenti, masa tu pun kami masih menjaga baby tu sampai umur berapa ... disebabkan kami nak ambil SPM saya dah cakap lah dengan mak saya. R: Jadi masa kena tinggal tu you all ada bertiga ? P2: Berempat. R: Berempat, sampai sister no 4. Lepas tu mak adopt one boy, you all yang jaga? P2: Ya kitorang yang jaga dari dia baby sampai...

P2: Mother stopped working [away from home] after the adoption of the youngest brother. We [my twin sister and I] had to prepare for the SPM. There were four of us [siblings], then five when we had the adopted brother.

Example 4

Memo: Parents made decision to relocate when there was a better opportunity. The act contributed to their children having access to better educational provision, as is the case of P7:

R: Kenapa mak ayah pindah? P7: Emmm ... R: Apa sebabnya? P7: Sebab ... masa tu pun mak saya, nenek saya dia dapat rumah bantuan rumah PPRT tapi nenek ... R: Nenek sebelah mak lah? P7: Ha ah, nenek sebelah mak. Dia tak guna, jadi mak macam, kebetulan mak saya macam perlukan rumah macam tu kan. Duduk lah kat sana. R: Pindah ke sana. Bila pindah, apa pekerjaan ayah? Still menoreh? P7: Masuk hutan, cari kayu gaharu.

P7: [We moved] because my grandmother [maternal] received housing aid, the PPRT, but she was not using the house. Since my Mother needed a house, we moved in instead. [For job] my Father still went to the forest to collect 'kayu gaharu [the agarwood]'.

4.2.5 Generating Learning

4.2.5.1 Reversed Deficit Modelling

Example 1

Memo: Parents generated learning based upon real life routines.

P11: Emmm ... saya ... err ... paling ingat err waktu kanak-kanak saya mak saya selalu cakap macam ni... err ... ermm ... kalau nanti tak belajar tak tahu membaca macamana nanti nak keluar nak naik bas kalau tak tahu membaca nanti nak singgah mana-mana ke? Tak tahu nak tekan ke? Nak tekan nak berhenti kat mana? Macam tu lah.

P11: What I remembered most during my childhood days, my Mother repeatedly saying ... if you don't study, you don't know how to read, then when you are on the bus, how you would know when to press the bell for stop.





Example 2

Memo: P15 - The school (SRA) had a mixed population comprising students from the mainstream ethnic groups and the Orang Asli community. P15 perceived that they were not of the mainstream community but she did not feel marginalized. She felt the absence of her Mother during the Progress Report Collection Day, when other parents came to collect their children's Progress Report. The teacher would ask about her absent parents, and she would answer that they were at work, and this brought her to tears, feeling sorry for herself. However, she was not demotivated because of her mother's constant reminder.

P15: Nanti kalau kita susah kita berhenti kita lagi susah. Macam itu. R: Mana kamu tahu? P15: Emak saya cakap. Dia cakap kalau susah bagi la senang, jangan bagi susah lagi”.

P15: [My Mother said] If we are in hardships, and we quit school, we will be in more difficult situation. She said, 'kalau susah bagi la senang, jangan bagi susah lagi'.

Example 3

Memo: Student - Reflection – Differentiating self. P2 reflected and contrasted her life situation and that of her younger siblings. Left on their own for a large part of their schooling phase, she learned to resolve the many challenges that came her way. Her resolve and aspiration was based upon the experience of deficit. She surmised and differentiated her experience:

P2: Hehe. Jadi saya ar ... zaman saya dan zaman adik saya. Masa kecil sangat berbeza sebab saya mengalami kesusahan yang lebih lah berbanding dari adik-adik saya. Saya dan kakak saya yang sulung ni kalau nak diikutkan dia ada garis [pemisah] ... garis orang kata kalau yang ini alami kesusahan.

P2: Childhood was a difficult experience for me, compared to that of my younger siblings'. My twin sister and I, [there's a line separating] the hardships that we [the older ones] went through.

Example 4

Memo: Achievement deficit of his older siblings placed a significant impact on P5. His siblings' deficit was rationale for his own motivation and commitment.

P5: Emotionally ... saya ... saya rasa saya terpaksa untuk ke sekolah. Sebab mak ayah saya cukup tegas untuk ... untuk suruh saya sekolah sebab adik beradik saya tak ramai ... ramai yang tak menghabiskan persekolahan ... diaorang hanya sekolah rendah, pastu berhenti. Jadi saya sebagai anak bongsu menjadi harapan untuk mak ayah saya melihat saya berjaya dan ketika sekolah rendah juga saya rasa kat bahu saya ada satu beban, satu beban yang besar walaupun sebagai tu lah, mak ayah saya tak pernah tengok anak dia masuk U ke apa ke, sebab adik beradik saya sebelum ni tak de yang masuk U apa semua. Jadi saya rasa daripada sekolah rendah saya memang dah ada





satu beban yang perlu saya pikul untuk memuaskan hati mak bapa saya dan bagi peluang melihat anak diorang masuk ke University. Pada sekolah rendah saya rasa itu lah saya memang dah memikul apa benda tu beban yang besar lah harapan diaorang lah, saya rasa macam tu lah.

P5: Emotionally, I felt I was compelled to go to school, because my parents were very strict about me completing school. Not many of my siblings completed school. Most dropped out after primary. So as the youngest child, I was my parents' [only] hope that I would succeed. Thus during primary school, I felt a heavy burden on my shoulder; my parents had not seen any of my siblings reaching the university level. So since my primary school I have carried this burden of trying to fulfil my parents' wish and give them the opportunity to see their child enter [study in] the university.

Example 5

Memo: Parents – Mother – Mother's role was more obvious in advising student. Father was more quiet. Parents – Mother – Education - Studied in SK China – Chinese Primary School – But could not continue to the secondary school for reasons unknown to the student.

P16: Emak yang lebih memberi nasihat. Ayah hanya diam sahaja. R: Ibu kenapa tak sambung belajar? P16: Ibu nak sambung belajar. Tapi ibu aliran Sekolah Cina mungkin agak sukar nak sambung agaknya. Tak tahulah masalah apa, tapi masa ibu nak sambung belajar di sebuah sekolah itu, tapi dia tak dapat.



P16: [I received] More advice from Mother. My Father usually was quiet. Mother did not continue her study [after completing Standard 6]. Maybe because she studied in a Chinese medium school, so it was difficult. Not sure exactly what was the problem, she wanted to continue, but she did not have the opportunity.

4.2.5.2 Transmitting Indigenous Knowledge

Example 1

P1: Untuk kalau kitorangkan selalu masuk hutan. Kalau kat hutan tu nak jadikan kita beware lah. Beware pastu dia ada pantang larang lah ke hutan. R: Oh jadi nya nenek cerita pantang larang tu lah? Pantang larang waktu ke hutan? P1: Macam teladan teladan lah ... ingat lah tu dia. Cerita kat dalam hutan macam mana ... macam ni macam pedoman kalau masuk hutan kalau sesat macam mana ... ha... R: Ye... contoh? P1: Kalau sesat ikut sungai je ... R: Tu nenek yang cakap tu bukan atuk bukan mak? P1: Nenek yang selalu cerita macam tu.

P1: [Grandmother told us about how to behave when in the jungle], for us to be aware of taboos when in the jungle. For example, guidance about what we should do if we got lost in the jungle. If we are lost, we should follow the river. That was what Grandmother used to tell me.

Example 2





R: Apa yang kamu belajar dari datuk dan nenek? P7: Emmm ... saya... R: Yang kamu ingatlah. P7: Masa tu atuk saya dah tak ada. Yang saya ikut nenek saya pergi cari kayu api, lepastu pergi bersihkan kawasan ladang, kebun macamtu, sebab nak taman sayur-sayuran, macam, ubi keledak semua, macam tulah.

P7: That time my Grandfather has passed away. I [regularly] followed my Grandmother to collect firewoods. Then we went to clean up the farm, the 'kebun' to plant vegetables, sweet potatoes and things like that.

Example 3

P2: Tak de nama dia shortcut ikut jalan hutan tu sebenarnya ... adventure lah sikit. Kita dengar bunyi highway ... kita lalu ikut terowong ... dia ... kalau saya ceritakan dalam tu pun merupakan pengembaraan lah nak balik dari sekolah tu kan, sangat seronok saya rasa ... saya rasa budak-budak sekolah diaorang tak kan rasa benda-benda macam tu. Kita orang je lah batch kitaorang yang merasai benda-benda macam tu. Sebab kita takutkan ... mak mak dengan ayah selalunya dekat kampung tu dia orang takutkan anak-anak diorang. Jangan ikut jalan ni ... kalau nampak orang ni cabut masuk dalam semak macam tu ha dia orang bagi supaya kita tak ikut strangers kan. Faham-faham je lah kan so kita orang dah dilatih, tak payah lah ikut jalan besar ikut jalan hutan. Sebab tu saya biasa dengan hutan. Jadi ikut hutan pandai-pandai redah semak macam mana sekalipun sampai jugak kat kampung. Sampai lah petang kadang tu penat duduk ... R: Ada setengah jam tak? P2: Ada lah ... lebih kurang.



P2: It was not really a short cut when we followed the jungle route. That was a bit of an adventure. We could hear the sounds from the highway. We followed the tunnel that ran underneath the highway. It was like an adventure, coming back from the school. For me that was really fun. We were afraid [of walking along the main road]. Our parents in the village always reminded us to beware of strangers. If we see strangers, run into the 'semak' (underbrush). They taught us so that we won't follow strangers. They taught us not to use the main road; instead use the jungle route. That is why I am used to the jungle. So when we walked in the jungle, we learned how to 'redah semak' (walk through the underbrush), and we could still find our way home. When tired we would take a rest.





APPENDIX P

Data-Learners

4.3 Learners Leading Learning

4.3.2 Initialising Learning

4.3.2.1 Experiencing Hardships and Poverty

Example 1:

Memo: Mother. Hardships. Incident. Impact on Student

R: Apakah [emak] yang paling kurang dalam adik beradiknya compared tu kakak-kakak atau sama je? P11: Yang paling kuranglah. R: Apakah itu juga mendorong kamu. Kamu nampak ke perbezaan? P11: Nampaklah perbezaan ... kadang-kadang mak menangis ... tak tahu lah makcik-makcik saya menghina ke ... dulu kita orang pakai macam pelita, sebab tak ada duit nak beli gas kan. Lepastu pinjam ... mintak dekat rumah sebelah ... R: Sebelah tu kakak mak? P11: Pakcik lah ... tapi bukan pakcik kandung, sepupu macam tu ... R: Okay. P11: Lepas tu dengar pakcik tu macam memebel ... sikit-sikit mintak dekat dorang, so masa tu macam kenapa macam tu ... R: Determination you tu ... kesusahan jadi kita rasa mak ayah selalu dipandang macam tu ... P11: Ha'a kesusahan. Walaupun dalam family lah ... R: Jadi bila kamu dah rasa begitu, disekolah kamu rasa ... kamu boleh buat atau tak boleh? P11: Boleh tak boleh saya kena buat jugak untuk family, mak saya.

P11: [My Mother] was the most in need among her siblings. I saw the difference. There were times when Mother cried, probably because my aunties insulted her. For light, we used the lamp and [sometimes] we borrowed lamp oil from my uncle next door, a cousin actually. Then, I heard the uncle said, "You are always asking from people" so I was like "why is it like this". [So] whether I could do it or not [in school] I still had to do it for my family, for my Mother.

Example 2:

Memo: P15. Family Turmoil. There was a period of turmoil in the household and P15 was affected by it. She wanted to quit school during Year 6 and did not want to continue to the secondary school. "I was feeling hopeless, because of so many problems" she said. She was giving up and so was her chief motivator, her older sister. But why she did not drop out finally? Initially her older sister was also demotivated. However, she then pulled herself up and insisted that they should not give up. Mother, despite her own trouble and turmoils, was also pushing them. P15 remembered her Mother's insistence: "Janganlah begitu, masuklah sekolah. Apa pun terjadi, pelajaran itu nombor satu" (No, don't be like that. Go to school. Whatever happens, education is important). Mother and sister, together, was her tower of strength, providing the external dimension that supported her learning continuity. She felt that her own internal strength was not dependable, constantly wavering between hope and hopeless due to





their difficult situation. However, she also believed that without her mother and sister's resolve she would not have survived that critical period of family dissonance.

Example 3

Memo: Student. Coping. Learning how to earn in the absence of parents – age 9, 10, 11 and above.

P2: Macam kita nak tunggu duit daripada mak ayah, kadang-kadang we are running out off money kan, saya pergi mencari kutip tin tin kosong untuk jual and then saya ada ikut pergi kebun kan. R: Kebun siapa? P2: Kebun orang. Tanam kelapa sawit. R: You ikut orang? P2: Ya ikut orang. R: Umur masa tu berapa? P2: Masa tu umur saya sebelas saya dah pernah bekerja umur 9, 10, 11 dan keatas. R: Sekolah? P2: Sekolah saya sekolah cuti Sabtu Ahad saya nak pergi buat benda benda macam tu. R: Petang, yang tin-tin kosong tu? P2: Ha habis dari sekolah saya berlari lah pergi kat air terjun tu kan banyak orang pergi dia buang tin tin kosong, saya use that opportunity.

P2: Like we waited for money from our parents, sometimes we ran out of cash, [so] I collected empty cans to sell and also I went to work on someone's farm. We planted [oil] palm trees. I followed the people. I was 11. I started to work when I was 9, 10, 11, and above. No school on Saturdays and Sundays so I did all that stuff. After school I ran to the waterfall because a lot of people threw their empty cans.



4.3.2.2 Parental Expectations

Example 1:

Memo: Parental expectation relayed through experience of life routine without education.

P11: Ermm ... saya ... err ... paling ingat err waktu kanak-kanak saya mak saya selalu kata macam ni... err ... ermm..kalau nanti tak belajar tak tahu membaca macamana nanti nak keluar nak naik bas kalau tak tahu membaca nanti nak singgah mana-mana ke? Tak tahu nak tekan ke? Nak tekan nak berhenti kat mana? Macam tu lah.

P11: When I was a kid what I remember the most was Mother always saying this “If we don't know how to read, then how can we go out and take the bus? If we don't know how to read, we want to stop anywhere, we don't know how to push the bell, when we want the bus to stop”.

Example 2

P15: Ingatkan Tahun 6 tu sudah nak berhenti dah [tetapi Emak kata] “Janganlah begitu masuk lah sekolah. Apa pun terjadi, pelajaran itu nombor satu.” P15: Ada juga, berkuat berkuat tapi kemudian berputus asa juga ... tapi nasib baik ada kakak dan emak. Mereka yang membuat jadi kuat.

P15: I wanted to quit during Year 6 [but my Mother said] “Don't be like that, go to school. Whatever happened, education is number one.” [Myself] I tried to be strong,





but sometimes I lost hope. I was lucky that my Sister and my Mother were there. They made me strong.

Memo:Learner – the rainforest spirit – the study revealed a dimension that clearly indicated roles in the life of these students that provided the ‘never give up spirit’ – conceptualised in this study as the ‘rainforest spirit’. The rainforest spirit reflects the resilience of nature in the rainforest that could survive the onslaught and the batteries of storms and environmental shocks. In its original ecological sense, resilience refers to the ability of a system to absorb change, shocks and disturbances, yet maintaining its identity (Brand & Jax, 2007; Cumming, et al, 2005; Holling, 1973). Similarly, the spirit of the Orang Asli is encapsulated in this concept of surviving and maintaining his or her course despite changes, disturbances, hardships and troubles.

P15: Ya, ada. Ingatkan Tahun 6 tu sudah nak berhenti dah. R: Kenapa? P15: Putus asa. R: Kenapa? P15: Entah banyak masalah masa itu. R: Masalah itu kenapa? Masalah itu masa ayah kahwin lain kah? Ibu pun terasa masalah itu? P15: Ya. R: Jadi, kamu dah give up dah. Kakak macam mana pula? P15: Sama juga. R: Okay, cerita pasal kamu lah ya. Jadi, kenapa kamu tak putus asa? Siapa yang kata pada kamu jangan putus asa? P15: Kakak lah. R: Kakak juga. Jadi bila kakak masuk sekolah menengah, kakak sudah Tingkatan 2, kamu pula masih di Darjah 6 lagi. Jadi kamu sudah tak nak sambung belajar? Emak kata apa? P15: “Janganlah begitu masuk lah sekolah. Apa pun terjadi, pelajaran itu nombor satu.”

P15: Yes I had. I thought I wanted to quit when in Year 6. R: Why? P15: I gave up. R: Why? P15: I don’t know, a lot of problems were going on. R: What was the problem? The problem because your dad married again? Did mum feel the problem? P15: Yes. R: So you gave up? How about your sister? P15: She was the same. R: Okay let’s talk about you ok. So why you didn’t give up? Who told you not to give up? P15: My sister. R: Your sister again. So when she entered secondary school, she was in Form 2, and you were still in Standard 6. That was why you didn’t want to continue? What did your mum say? P15: “Don’t be like that, go to school. Whatever happened, education is number one”.

R: Sebab kamu sudah hampir nak berputus asa. Jadi bagaimana kecikiran itu tidak berlaku kepada kamu? Dari mana kekuatan itu? Dari kamu kah atau dari ibu? P15: Dari luar, dari kakak atau dari emak. R: Kamu sendiri, dari dalam diri kamu sendiri? P15: Ada juga, berkuat berkuat tapi kemudian berputus asa juga ... tapi nasib baik ada kakak dan emak. Mereka yang membuat jadi kuat. Ya, bersyukur. Nasih baik emak kata macam itu.

R: Because you nearly gave up. So why do you think you didn’t drop out from school? Where did you get the strength? From yourself or from your mum? P15: From my sister or from my mum. R: You, yourself, from your inner self? P15: Also yes, tried to be strong but I gave up too ... luckily I have my sister and mum. They made me strong. Yes, thank God. Thank God mum motivated me.





Example 3

P5: Jadi saya sebagai anak bongsu menjadi harapan untuk mak ayah saya melihat saya berjaya dan ketika sekolah rendah juga saya rasa kat bahu saya ada satu beban, satu beban yang besar walaupun sebagai tu lah, mak ayah saya tak pernah tengok anak dia masuk U ke apa ke, sebab adik beradik saya sebelum ni tak de yang masuk U Apa semua. Jadi saya rasa daripada sekolah rendah saya memang dah ada satu beban yang perlu saya pikul untuk untuk memuaskan hati mak bapa saya dan bagi peluang melihat anak diaorang masuk ke University.

P5: As the youngest [and the only chance left], my parents had [high] expectation of me. It was a load on my shoulder. A big burden that I had to carry, during primary school, to fulfil their aspirations, that I enter [study at] a university.

4.3.2.3 Simple Starts At Home

Example 1:

P10: Mula-mula tu, tak tahu lah sebab ada sepupu sekali. Lelaki. Dia tua setahun. Dia masuk tu saya ingat sama kut masuk.

P10: At first, I don't know, because there was also my cousin, a male. He was a year older. When he enrolled in the kindergarten, I also followed.



Example 2

P11: [Before kindergarten] I knew A, B, C [the alphabet].

P11: [Before kindergarten] I knew A, B, C [the alphabet].

Example 3

P12: Saya pandai kira ... lepastu saya dah pandai baca ABC masa tu. R: Baca ABC.. A tu sampai Z dah kenal lah? P12: Ha dah kenal. R: boleh tulis tak? P12: Ha boleh. R: Ini masa kindergarten atau sebelum kindergarten agaknya? P12: Ha sebelum.

P12: I knew how to count, also to read A, B, C [up to Z]. I could write them.

Example 4

P2: Mak saya yang ajar saya dirumah. Ajar mengenal huruf apa semua. Umur 7 tahun barulah saya dihantar ke sekolah. Tapi saya ambil masa yang agak lama untuk bergaul dengan orang sebab saya tak pernah keluar rumah pun dekat rumah kan mak ajar kat rumah je.

P2: My Mother taught me at home. She taught me to recognise the alphabet. At 7 years old, I was sent to school. It took me awhile to feel at ease with the others because I was never out of the house. Only with my Mother who taught me.





4.3.2.4 Learning Games

Example 1

R: Main batu seremban tu dia mengira kan, dia membantu pandai mengira tak? P12: Rasanya tak. Haha. R: Jadi macam mana kamu mengira.. siapa kira kan? P12: Saya main kira je. Haha. R: Betul tak kiraan kamu tu? P12: Betul.

R: Playing 'Batu Seremban' helped you to learn how to count? P12: I don't believe so, ha ha. R: So who helped you count [the scores]? P12: I just counted. R: Did you count correctly? P12: Yes.

Example 2

P12: Erm di luar rumah ... main apa ni tarik nipah. R: Oh okay yang kawan-kawan Tarik tu, pakai daun nipah ke? P12: Ha bukan, daun ... erm macam tu jugak. R: Pelepah? P12: Ha pelepah. R: Pelepah pokok nipah atau pokok lain? P12: Erm pokok pinang. R: Oh pinang itu yang kamu main tarik-tarik. P12: Ha main tarik-tarik itu je.

P12: We played 'tarik nipah'. We used palm fronds [one sitting, the other pulling].

Example 3

Memo: Traditional outdoor games played with friends provided many scenes that initiated learning. In this context friends were learning initiators to simple skills such as learning how to count, cooperate with others, and develop organising skills.

P16: Main rumah-rumah, kahwin-kahwin, batu seremban. R: Apa permainan pada pandangan kamu boleh mengajar kamu semua belajar? Permainan yang boleh menyumbang kamu kepada pelajaran? P16: Main batu seremban, dia boleh mengajar kami untuk pandai mengira. Dari tak tahu mengira boleh mengira. R: Dari sejak bila kamu pandai main batu Seremban? P16: Masa kecil-kecil tak tahu mengira. Tapi semakin besar tahu mengira. Jadi selalu lah main permainan itu. R: Kamu panggil permainan itu apa nama? P16: Sama lah, batu seremban juga. R: Okay, kalau main rumah-rumah buat apa? P16: Main rumah-rumah itu boleh main masak-masak. R: Okay dalam rumah itu ada keluarga tak? P16: Ada. Dalam keluarga itu ada ibu ayah, adik beradik, permainan ini belajar macam mana nak berkeluarga juga lah. R: Ini mainan antara kanak-kanak perempuan sahaja lah? P16: Kadang-kadang budak-budak lelaki pun nak main juga.

P16: We played 'rumah-rumah', 'kahwin-kahwin', 'batu seremban'. Playing 'batu seremban' enabled us to learn how to count, from not knowing to knowing how to count. When playing 'rumah-rumah', we have mock cooking. We set up family; we had father, mother, and siblings. It taught us how to live as family. Sometimes boys would join us. We also had disagreement, for example, when some did not tidy up, because we played outside [the house]. We had pan and mugs to use for playing. We use palm fronds to set up the mock wedding dais. We learned to build it from observing how they did it during actual wedding. Then together with friends we built ours. We use leaves, the soil and fronds, and anything that can be used. We were not allowed to use real fire.





Memo: Student – Traditional Outdoor Games – Organising Play – Developing Resourcing Skills – Building skills – Creative Skills – Observing and Imitating Real Life Routines and Events - Negotiating Roles – Experiencing Conflicts.

R: Ada gaduh-gaduh tak kalau main? P16: Ada juga gaduh, kalau lepas main tu tak nak siapkan. R: Siapkan tu maksudnya apa? P16: Tak kemas permainan itu. Kerana kami main di luar. R: Barang mainan ini barang-barang yang kekal kah? Main nanti bila-bila boleh gunakannya lagi untuk bermain? P16: Ya, betul. Ada lah kualiti mangkuk untuk digunakan ketika bermain. Ada juga daun sawit untuk bermain pelamin olok-olok. R: Pandai buat binaan macam pelamin untuk bermain bersama kawan-kawan. Macam mana buat? P16: Hanya tengok daripada kenduri kahwin dan bina lah beramai-ramai dengan kawan-kawan. R: Oh, ini melatih aspek kreativiti ni. Kemudian bila kamu nak masak ada lah juadah-juadah yang dihidangkan. Jadi tahu lah nak masak apa kan. P16: Ya, betul itu. R: Ada bahan-bahannya lah? Guna apa ya? P16: Guna daun-daun, tanah dan pelepah kelapa. Apa sahaja yang boleh digunakan.

R: Was there any argument during play? P16: Yes sometimes when they did not tidy up after play because we played outside. We had saucers and pan. We had palm leaves to build wedding dais. We observed how they built dias during real wedding and we built with our friends. We prepare [mock food] and use leaves, soil and coconut leaf fronds. Anything we could use.

Memo: Student – Traditional Outdoor Games – Understanding Limits and Risks – Fire not used – Main Kejar-kejar – Main Sorok-sorok.

R: Ada guna api tak? P16: Api tak boleh guna. R: Kalau main-main itu berapa lama? P16: Kalau dari pukul 2 boleh sampai pukul 5 petang. Bermain-main sahaja. Ketika musim cuti sekolah. R: Selepas sekolah petang buat apa? P16: Lepas sekolah tak main, kadang-kadang hanya tidur sahaja. R: Selepas pukul 5 petang itu buat apa pula? P16: Main permainan lain pula. Main kejar-kejar dan sorok-sorok.

R: Was there any fire use? No we were allowed.

4.3.3 Facilitating Learning

4.3.3.1 Experiencing kindergarten

Memo: Experiencing kindergarten or pre-school refers to learners immersing and enjoying themselves in their first formal environment of pre-school learning. The importance of experiencing kindergarten is succinctly reflected in one negative case in which a participant narrated her initial fear of going to school because she had not the chance to experience this process (P2). She recalled that everyone knew some friends from their kindergarten years but not her, and that gave rise to her ‘short fear’, a feeling of apprehension that lasted for a few days. The feeling vanished when she perceived herself to be ahead of her class in ability. The role of kindergartens or pre-school in preparing children for formal schooling is captured in the emerging theory of kindergartens leading learning (Section 4.6.2). Of the 16 participants, only two





participants (P2, P14) did not have the opportunity to experience kindergartens due to financial constraints.

4.3.3.2 Cultivating Social Capital

Example 1

R: Apa istimewa nya kamu? P15: Saya aktif agaknya. Kalau jumpa cikgu saya kata “Kelas ini macam ini macam ini lah!” P15: “Kipas rosak lah cikgu, tolong repair ye.” R: Oh, jadi nya kamu menjadi jurucakap bagi kelas kamu lah. Yang lain? P15: Yang lain mengadu dengan saya.

P15: I was an active student I guess. If I meet my teacher I would say “This class is like this, like this. The fan is broken, please fix it. The others put their complaints to me [and she in turn forwarded them to the teacher].

Example 2

Memo: Primary – Teacher – Student – Teacher Relationship – Warm – Special Name for Student – Student Centred – Student as Resource - Teacher exploiting the student’s fondness for loud reading and ability – Eagerly responding to teacher’s requests and questions. See Ofodu, G. O. (2012). *Instructional strategies and resource utility in language teaching.*



P2: Dia [Cikgu] suka panggil saya dalam kelas. Opah! Dia panggil saya opah saya ada nama glamour dengan Teacher Aisyah. R: Teacher Maisarah panggil you Opah? P2: Teacher Maisarah. R: Macamana dia panggil you . P2: Opah stand up. R: Dia mengajar bahasa Inggeris? P2: Bahasa Inggeris ... dia suruh lah baca buku teks ke apa ke. Saya baca lah saya suka macam tu saya memang suka bangun. Baca kuat-kuat kan ... kan saya suka baca kuat-kuat so dalam kelas tu saya boleh baca kuat-kuat. Saya bangun baca kuat-kuat ... pastu kalau orang tak tahu saya tahu jawapan dia akan cakap Opah tahu jawapan? Opah!? Saya pun angkat tangan ... I know I know the answer. Saya suka jawab soalan .

P2: She [teacher] liked to call me in class. Opah, she called me Opah. My glamour name with Teacher A. [She would say] “Opah, stand up.” [She taught us] English, she’d ask me to read from the text book. So I would read. I liked that. I liked to stand up. I would read, loudly. [I told you that] so I liked to read, to read loudly in class. When others didn’t know the answer she’d say “Opah do you know the answer, Opah?” Then I would raise my hand and said “I know, I know the answer” I liked to answer questions.

4.3.3.3 Having Ambition

Example 1

R: Siapa yang buat kamu minat betul nak jadi cikgu? P13: Cikgu Mai. R: Apa istimewanya Cikgu Mai itu sampai kamu tertarik nak jadi cikgu? P13: Cara dia





mengajar, perwatakan dia membuat kan saya rasa selesa. Daripada situ saya fikir lagi mengapa saya nak jadi Cikgu.

R: Who influenced your interest in becoming a teacher? P13: Teacher Mai. R: What's so special about Teacher Mai that attracted you to be a teacher? P13: The way she taught, her personality made me feel comfortable. From then on I thought more about why I wanted to become a teacher.

4.3.3.4 Renewal of Expectations and Aspirations

Example 1

P15: Nanti kalau kita susah, kita berhenti kita lagi susah. Macam itu. Emak saya cakap ... dia cakap kalau susah bagi la senang, jangan bagi susah lagi

P15: My mother said if we are in hardships, make [effort] for ease and not make it more difficult.

Example 2:

P11: Saya pernah pergi kelas tambahan, ada sekali tak pergi ... so saya kena tampar. R: Dengan cikgu? P11: Ye la. Sebab kita tak tahu nak balik macam mana so saya tak pergi kelas tu. R: Kelas ni darjah berapa masa tu? P11: Darjah 5. Lepastu saya dah agak ni mesti ayah tak boleh nak ambil ni ... jadi saya jalan kaki je lah ... nak kena jalan raya lagi, masuk kampung ... R: Kalau naik bus 1/2 jam, jadi jalan kaki ni berapa lama kamu nak sampai rumah? P11: Lama jugak lah nak dekat senja ... R: Senja ... kamu jalan sorang? P11: Ha'a sorang.

P11: I had to attend the [afternoon extra] class. [Then I thought] who would pick up. Father couldn't. [So I missed the class] that was how I was slapped [by the teacher]. Then, [I made up my mind to just] walk back after class. I walked along the main road, then through a village, reaching home in the late evening

Example 3

R: Okay kita sambung alright, so pernah kena rotan tak. P12: Erm tak lulus ujian dengan tak siap homework tu je. R: Itu ke yang buat kamu nak lari. P12: Ha. R: Berapa lama kamu rasa nak lari? P12: Sepanjang year 4. R: Sepanjang year 4 ... lepas tu bila rasa reda? P12: Saya reda masa ... bila BI dah lulus. R: Dah lulus lah ... di hujung tahun? P12: Ha hujung tahun. Dah okay la ... R: Macam mana boleh lulus, daripada tak lulus tu? P12: Buat revision. R: Buat revision dengan siapa? P12: Sendiri jugak hahaha. R: Sendiri jugak, sebelum tu kamu tak buat? P12: Ha ah sebelum tu saya tak. R: Apa membuatkan kamu berubah? Daripada tak buat kepada buat revision tu. P12: Sebab kalau tak lulus cikgu rotan.

P12: [I was caned] for failing [English] and not completing homework. [I wanted to run away] during the entire Year 4 [I felt like running away]. The at year end I passed. I felt better. R: How did you pass? P12: I did my revision on my own. Before that I



didn't. R: What made you change? P12: Because if I didn't pass, the teacher would cane me.

4.3.3.5 Getting Enticed

Example 1

P5: Saya rasa tak de yang menggalakkan pergi library, tapi sebab mungkin masa tu saya pergi library waktu rehat, setiap kali waktu rehat je saya pergi library, saya rasa excited bila membaca, waktu rehat tu saya tak pinjam buku. R: Rehat pukul berapa? P5: Sekolah rendah dalam pukul sepuluh ke pukul 10:20, saya makan, kadang kadang saya tak makan, pergi library baca kang saya baca tak habis saya tandakan [by folding the corner of the page], esok tu waktu rehat tu lagi, saya baca lagi, saya rasa benda tu macam exciting ye.

P5: I folded the corner of the page, to mark, and I continued reading the next day.

Example 2

P1: Dah penat main ... baca buku yang kita pinjam pada perpustakaan. Memang hari-hari saya rajin lah pinjam buku, pulang buku ... pinjam buku, pulang buku. R: Memang suka membaca? P1: Ha ... hari-hari pinjam buku pulang buku ... ha ...gitu lah.

P1: Daily I would borrow a book, returned and borrowed another. [I like reading] Everyday I borrowed and returned a book.

Example 3

P5: Sepuluh ke pukul 10:20, saya makan, kadang-kadang saya tak makan, pergi library baca kang saya baca tak habis saya tanda kan, esok tu waktu rehat tu lagi, saya baca lagi, saya rasa benda tu macam exciting ye.

P5: About 10 to 10:20 [during recess], I would eat, but sometimes I did not. I went to the library and read, and if I could not finish the book, I would mark it. The next day, again during recess, I would continue reading. To me, it [the story] was exciting.

Example 4

Memo: Students kept going to school because of the increased social standing among teachers and friends, as recalled by a participant (P15) who was always put in the limelight in class by her friends, "Hmm, selalu mereka kata ... Azizah lah jadi, Azizah lah jadi [Hmm, always they would say ... Azizah, Azizah to become [class monitor] ". This appointment in turn motivated her to be on top of the class, "Ya. Suka [jadi ketua kelas]. Kalau ketua kelas, mesti lah dia lebih baik daripada rakan sekelas yang lain, takkan lah dia nak lebih bawah [Yes, I liked. As a class monitor, I must be better than my classmates, surely I can't be at the bottom]".

Example 5

Memo: Facilitating Learning - P15 – The initial primary years – position in class - top 10. Achievement motivation literature - Achievement increases confidence and motivate self to the next level. “R: Masa kamu Tahun 5, Tahun 6, kamu dapat nombor berapa? P15: Sudah Top 3”

P15: [By Year 5 and Year 6] I was already in the top three.

Example 6

Memo: In addition to the above facilitating properties, food provided in the kindergarten, “We do not have fried noodles at home” (P10), and in school, ‘supplementary meals for students’ (P14), sports (P16: ‘Saya aktif bersukan’), and special events such as visits and camps also contributed to this enticement.

4.3.3.6 Developing Learning Strategies

Example 1

Memo: Revising. P12 remembered how he started revising his English lessons after failing and getting caned by his teacher.

R: Macam mana boleh lulus, daripada tak lulus tu? P12: Buat revision. R: Buat revision dengan siapa? P12: Sendiri jugak. Hahaha ... R: Sendiri jugak, sebelum tu kamu tak buat? P12: Ha ah sebelum tu saya tak buat. R: Apa membuatkan kamu berubah? Daripada tak buat kepada buat revision tu. P12: Ha ... sebab kalau tak lulus cikgu rotan.

P12: Then at year end I passed. I felt better. [After] I did my revision, on my own. Before that I didn't.

Example 2

Memo: Asking question. Another strategy was asking questions. P7 shared how she actively sought clarifications by asking questions during lessons: “Tapi macam saya ni saya tak pandai sangat matematik. Jadi saya akan banyak tanya lah (But me, I am not very good in mathematics. So I asked a lot of questions)”, she said.

Example 3

Memo: Student – Solving Problems – Resolving Concerns – learning Strategies – Asking Questions – Seeking help from various teachers. The confidence to seek help was more obvious during the senior primary years –Year 5 and Year 6. Less during the earlier years of Year 1 to Year 4.

Memo: Student – Learning Strategies – Finding Time – Creating own Learning Moments – seeking Teachers – During Recess - With Friend – Cousin – Learning Partner

R: Macam mana di sekolah rendah, kalau kamu ada masalah macam mana kamu menyelesaikannya? P16: Minta cikgu ajar. Kalau tak faham itu, saya minta cikgu ajarkan. Saya akan tanya. Kalau ada cikgu lain saya akan tanya cikgu lain pula. R: Masa ini Darjah berapa ni kamu ingat tak? P16: Darjah 5 – Darjah 6, begitu lah. R: Sebelum itu? P16: Saya kurang sikit bertanya. R: Bila kamu bertanya dengan cikgu tu bila masanya? P16: Waktu rehat. Kalau tak ada buat apa-apa, pergi lah jumpa cikgu bertanya. R: Jadi dalam satu pejabat itu semua cikgu ada, jadi kamu hanya bertanya bila ada masalah? P16: Berdua dengan sepupu saya.

P16: I asked the teacher to teach me. If I didn't understand, I'd ask the teacher to teach me. I'd ask. If there was any other teacher, I'd ask that teacher too, [I did this during] Standard 5 and 6. [Before that] I didn't ask many questions. During recess if I didn't have anything to do, I'd go and see the teachers with my cousin.

Example 4

Memo: Seeking assistance. P13 sought Father's assistance to help him with his mathematics homework, whilst he sought his older siblings for help in other subjects. Friends were his learning partners and his friends extended beyond those of his village.

1. Father helping with mathematics homework: R: Homework macam mana? P13: Kalau macam matematik ni ayah yang bantu banyak.

2. Siblings helping with homework: R: Homework yang lain? P13: Kalau tahu saya buat sendiri kalau tak tahu saya tanya kakak abang.

3. Friends – Learning Partners: R: Kalau belajar bersama kawan-kawan atau sendiri? P13: Belajar bersama kawan-kawan.

4. Friends in School – Learning Partners – From Other Orang Asli Villages: R: Kawan karib masa di sekolah rendah? P13: Kawan karib masa di sekolah rendah, masa sekolah rendah saya banyak berkawan dengan kawan perempuan. R: Apa yang kamu buat dengan mereka? P13: Bermain ada belajar pun ada. R: Mereka ini saudara mara kamu kah atau dari kampung-kampung lain? P13: Bukan saudara saya. Kawan saya dari kampung yang lain atau kampung yang sama.

P13: Father helped me a lot for mathematics homework. [Other subjects] I would do them myself, and when I couldn't I would ask my sister or brother. I studied with my friends. My close friends during primary school were mostly girls. We studied and played together. They were not my relatives. Some of them were from my village whilst some others were from other villages.

Example 5

Memo: Learning Strategies – Studying only in school – Focus in Class - Homework at Home – Early Night - Early to bed.

R: Cara belajar di kelas macam mana? Di rumah macam mana? P5: Saya belajar kat sekolah je. Kat rumah dah ... dah kurang belajar. Di sekolah rendah saya sebab

mungkin tumpuan kut dalam kelas. Kat rumah memang tak belajar sangat, kurang lah, buat kerja sekolah, kerja sekolah siap dah lah malam tu pukul sembilan saya dah tidur. Setiap hari tidur awal.

P15: I studied only in school, not so much in the house. During the primary years I was focussed in class. At home I didn't really study, very less. I completed my homework, and by nine I would be asleep. Everyday I slept early.

Example 6

Memo: Learning strategy – moving into the right environment - boarding in the hostel to prepare for the important examination such as the UPSR.

R: Cerita masa darjah 5 ada tak special darjah 5 ni? P12: Masa darjah 5 ni tak adalah special sangat. Just pergi sekolah balik sekolah je lah ... R: Ye. Darjah 5 tak masuk asrama ke? P12: Erm tak masuk. R: Tak masuk, kenapa? P12: Bagi saya kalau nak masuk asrama ni kena ada, sebelum tu dia mesti ada important exam lah macam UPSR ... barulah saya masuk. R: Darjah 6 masuk asrama? P12: Ha'ah masuk asrama.

P12: Nothing special during Year 5, just about going and coming back from school, I did not board in the hostel. For me, boarding in the hostel was important when there was major examination such as the UPSR.. [So I] lived in the hostel [during Year 6].

Example 7

Memo: Observing and emulating good practice of a senior.

P5: Di asrama tu saya sebab bercampur student yang sekolah menengah, saya cuba lah ikut cara belajar diorang. Ada seorang abang saya rasa dia bagus lah. Dia bagus sebab dia bukan student pandai tapi dia rajin belajar. Saya cuba lah ikut cara dia belajar tapi susah lah nak ikut sebab dia terlalu rajin kan. R: Maksud rajin tu apa? P5: Saya tengok dia, Sebab dia berdisiplin. Dia balik sekolah mandi mandi makan, dia dah pastu petang kang dia jalan kejam, pastu dia nak tidur kejam waktu malam tu pastu lepas makan dia dah start buka buku sampai tengah malam, macam tu lah saya tengok dia punya ... R: Kamu pun ikut lah. P5: Cuba ikut lah sebab tapi tak matang kan saya rasa kan. Main je ... tak ikut sangat lah. Saya tengok buku dia ada jadual saya cuba lah buat jadual sendiri tapi tak dapat sangat lah.

P5: In the hostel I lived with students from the secondary school, and I would try to emulate their study method. There was a brother who I thought was good, not because he was clever, rather I observed his diligence, how he studied. So I tried to follow his ways, but it was quite difficult for me, because he was really good. I saw him, he was disciplined. He came from school, he would take shower and ate. In the evening he would take a short walk, then he would take a nap, after dinner he would open his book until midnight. I saw he had time-table so I also tried to make my own time-table.



4.3.4 Accommodating Learning

4.3.4.1 Multiplicity of Roles

Example 1

P5: Emotionally ... saya ... saya rasa saya terpaksa untuk ke sekolah. Sebab mak ayah saya cukup tegas untuk ... untuk suruh saya sekolah sebab adik beradik saya tak ramai ... ramai yang tak menghabiskan persekolahan menghabiskan persekolahan diorang hanya sekolah rendah, pastu berhenti. Jadi saya sebagai anak bongsu menjadi harapan untuk mak ayah saya melihat saya berjaya dan ketika sekolah rendah juga saya rasa kat bahu saya ada satu beban, satu beban yang besar walaupun sebagai tu lah, mak ayah saya tak pernah tengok anak dia masuk U [universiti] ke apa ke, sebab adik beradik saya sebelum ni tak de yang masuk U apa Semua. Jadi saya rasa daripada sekolah rendah saya memang dah ada satu beban yang perlu saya pikul untuk memuaskan hati mak bapa saya dan bagi peluang melihat anak diaorang masuk ke University. Pada sekolah rendah saya rasa itu lah saya memang dah memikul apa benda tu beban yang besar lah harapan dioranglah, saya rasa macam tu lah.

P5: Emotionally, I think I was forced to go to school. Because my parents were very strict, I was forced to go to school because I don't have many siblings who completed their schooling, only at primary school level and then they quit. Since I am the youngest my parents expected me to succeed. I felt this heavy load on my shoulders, to fulfil their hope, the expectation was heavy on me, because none of my siblings has gone to the university.



Example 2

Memo: Student - Multiplicity of roles – Parent at work – Coping with absent parents learning to be independent – Coping with and learning the art of housekeeping and looking after the younger siblings.

P2: Bila saya dah darjah tiga mak saya dah stop tak mengajar, ayah saya pun tak masuk campur dalam urusan saya punya pembelajaran. Diorang berdua serahkan bulat-bulat dekat saya. Mak dengan ayah saya mula keluar daripada kampung meninggalkan saya untuk jaga adik-adik saya. Seawal saya umur sepuluh tahun la macam tu. Diorang tinggalkan saya di rumah tu. Saya kakak saya ... adik saya yang dua orang masa tu yang dua orang tu tak ada lagi. So saya ambik ar tugasan. R: Berapa umur masa tu? P2: Sepuluh. Sepuluh ke sebelas lebih kurang lah duration macam tu lah so saya ambil tanggungjawab tu untuk adik jaga adik saya yang nombor bawah saya tu dengan adik saya yang [sekarang] SPM tu. Masa tu saya start berdikari belajar masak, cari sendiri sayur sayuran sekitar rumah untuk makan kan. Mak dan abah bagi duit untuk beli barang dapur. Masa tu saya start berdikari pandai masak kemas rumah. R: Berapa orang dalam rumah tadi? P2: Empat.

P2: When I was in Year 3, my Mother stopped teaching me. My Father was also not [directly] involved with my study. The both of them left it entirely to me. That was the start of my parents leaving the village, leaving me to look after my younger siblings. I was 10. They left us at that house, my older sister [her twin] and my two younger





siblings. So I took over. I was about 10 or 11. So I took the responsibility caring for the younger ones. I learnt to be independent, to cook meals, foraging for edible plants around the house. Our parents left us cash for 'barang dapur'. I learnt to be independent, cleaning up the house. There were four of us.

Example 3

Memo: Sibling as carer-Child headed household

R: So, berapa adik beradik masa zaman sekolah rendah dulu? P15: ada dua. Kakak. R: Tapi waktu itu tengah susah? P15: Ya, rasa tengah susah tu. Masa sekolah itu, ayah dengan emak pergi menoreh getah sampai ke Sentosa, kami tinggal berdua di rumah. R: Masa itu tahun berapa? P15: Tahun dua atau tahun tiga. R: Kakak pula tahun berapa? Lepas tu siapa yang jaga kamu? P15: Jiran sebelah. Dia yang masak. Ada kadang kalau saya dan kakak lewat, emak dan ayah ada upah orang hantar pergi ke sekolah. R: Ya? Ada lah maknanya picked up and upah orang lain? P15: Ya. [Emak atau abah talipon jiran] "Anak aku tak sekolah baru bangun ni, tolong hantar." Ada lah makcik itu, "Siap, siap, siap ada orang hantar".

P15: [There were] two of us, my sister and I. R: It was a difficult time? P15: Yes, it was a difficult time. During the school year, Mother and Father went to tap rubber in Village B. My sister and I were left at home. That was in standard 2 or 3. Our neighbour, she cooked for us. Sometimes when my sister and I were late, mother and father paid someone to send [us] to school. [Mother or Father would call the neighbour and said] My children are not going to school. They have just woken up please send them [to school]. So there was this aunt and she would call out to us, get ready, get ready, get ready, someone is coming to send you [to school].

4.3.4.2 Accepting Separation

Example 1

Memo: Student – Accepting Separation

P1: Saya tak ada masalah mungkin saya ni jenis...yang dah biasa kecik ditinggal mak sebab gi hutan kan. Mak gi kerja saya tinggal ngan nenek... Lagi pun saya jenis yang suka dengan berkawan jadi saya tak kisah lah kalau mak saya ... saya faham lah sebab dah biasa susah daripada kecik tu...

P1: I didn't have any problem [being separated from Mother] maybe because I'm the type that [was] used to be left behind because my mother had to go to the forest [to collect forest products]. When she went to work, I stayed with grandmother. Also I was the type that enjoyed making friends so I didn't mind. I understood, and I was accustomed to being poor as a kid.

Example 2

R: Oh ... ada tadika KEMAS ... maknanya masa di Kg Kiambang lah ... masa tu kalau tadika jauh juga daripada Kg Kemidak...P1: Ha...mak saya hantar, mak saya duduk



kat sini sementara dia macam ... ar ... masa tunggu tu... macam ar masa kecik-kecik suruh mak tunggulah seminggu tu sakit lagi dia tunggu pastu dia dah pujuk-pujuk dia cagak dia kerja.

P1: Yes, my mother sent me, and waited for me there. I asked her to wait for me for a week, she waited and then she gently told me that she had to go to work.

Example 3

P7: Masa tu atuk saya dah tak ada. Yang saya ikut nenek saya pergi cari kayu api, lepastu pergi bersihkan kawasan ladang, kebun macam tu, sebab nak taman sayur-sayuran, macam, ubi keledek semua, macamtulah.

P7: My grandfather has passed away, so I accompanied my grandmother [when] searching for firewoods. And then I went [with grandmother] to clear the farm, to plant vegetables, potatoes, and things like that.

Example 4

Memo: In an effort to attenuate the family financial difficulties, P14 endured separation for his parents when he and his siblings were relocated back to their Orang Asli village.

R: Sebelum tu siapa yang menghantar kamu balik kampung? P14: Ayah R: Berapa orang yang dia hantar masa tu? P14: Daripada saya sampai adik. R: Sampai bongsu? P14: Ha ah. R: Jadi ayah tinggal dengan siapa masa tu? P14: Ayah tinggal dengan abang-abang kakak-kakak. R: All the rest sendiri di kampung ye? Di kampung ada nenek dan datuk? P14: Meninggal. R: So maknanya ni adik-beradik je lah yang tinggal. Jadi yang ketuanya sekarang ini lah yang jaga adik. Kakak umur 26 tahun ye? P14: Ha ah

R: Who sent you back to the village? P14: Father. R: How many of you were sent back? P14: From me to my younger siblings. R: Until the youngest? P14: Yes. R: So your Father lived with whom? P14: Father was left with my elder sisters and brothers. [When Mother later returned to join Father P14 and his siblings were cared for by his older sister. Their Grandparents had died, so there was no relative within the community that could oversee their wellbeing].

4.3.4.3 Changing Vision of Future Self

Example 1

Memo: Aspirations – Developing Resilience – Developing a vision of future active self: As early as Year 4 of her primary schooling years, she wanted to be lawyer. When asked, what she knew about being a lawyer, she explained that she was influenced by her father’s story and helplessness at the state of the Orang Asli affair, in particular about the loss of their earning land to a township development project. Being a lawyer would enable her to help defend and claim the rights of her community. This is another example of real life disturbances contributing to the development of the student’s

internal resolve to challenge the adversity of life. Father’s talk about the community’s real life issues helped shaped the student’s vision of her future active self.

R: Cita-cita nak jadi peguam pada Tahun 4, kenapa? Mana tahu tentang peguam tu? P15: Tahu sebab dengar ayah cerita pasal tanah-tanah orang yang kena ambil, jadi saya nak pertahankan perkara itu. Jadi, kalau nak pertahankan kena lah jadi peguam. R: Siapa yang cakap macam itu? P15: Sayalah. R: Oh, sudah pandai berfikir begitu? P15: Ya, sebab saya tengok ayah susah payah naik turun mahkamah untuk mempertahankan hal tanah itu. R: Lepas itu, ayah cakap kalau nak pertahankan tanah itu kena lah jadi peguam? P15: Ya, lepas itu ayah cakap kalau tanah ayah kena ambil, ayah bayarlah dekat kamu. Kamu pertahankan lah ayah.

P15: I knew [about being a lawyer] because I heard Father talked about the [Orang Asli] land taken from the people, so I wanted to defend them, and in order to do that I have to be a lawyer. Yes because I watched my Father going in and out of court several times to defend the land. My Father said “If my land was taken, you defend me. I will pay you [to defend me]”.

Example 2

Memo: Changing Aspiration – Influence of Popular Show – Developing Vision of Active Future Self: During her primary Year 6 she wanted to be a police, influenced by a popular local Bahasa Melayu serial police drama ‘Gerak Khas’, shown on television. The new ambition also indicated her vision of an active future self.

R: Okay, kemudian. Tahun bila pula cita-cita itu berubah? P15: Tahun 6, saya nak jadi polis. R: Kenapa pula daripada jadi peguam nak jadi polis. P15: Entah lah mungkin kerana pengaruh tv. Saya suka melihat drama Gerak Khas di TV.

P15: Year 6, I wanted to become a police. I am not sure [why], probably because I was influenced by the TV. I liked to watch ‘Gerak Khas’ on TV.

Example 3

Memo: Motivation for Higher Education – Developing Vision of Educated Future Self: By Year 6 her motivation to study up to the highest level was initiated and nourished, after listening to several motivation programs organized by the school, listening to motivational talks about education and studying in the university.

R: Ada cita-cita nak masuk Universiti? P15: Sebab ada banyak kursus program motivasi tu memang ada perasaan nak masuk U masa di dalam Tahun 6.

P15: In Year 6, because there were a lot of courses and motivational programs so I had a feeling of wanting to go to the University.

Example 4

P16: Nak jadi polis dalam Darjah 1 tapi tak tahu apa sebabnya. R: Selepas itu ada cita-cita lain tak? P16: Nak jadi doktor masa saya Darjah 2. R: Kenapa lain? Kenapa



nak jadi doktor selalu sakit kah? P16: Ikut kawan-kawan sahaja. Nak jadi doktor pun sebab selalu sakit kuning. Mula-mula pergi berjumpa doktor untuk dapatkan rawatan. Kemudian nak jadi tentera laut kerana minat dengan tentera uniform. R: Mana kenal dengan tentera beruniform masa itu? P16: Tengoklah di TV. R: Tentera laut tu Navy lah kan. Tu Darjah berapa minat tu? P16: Darjah 4 – 5, lagi pun kan Navy berada di Perak. R: Darjah 6 nak jadi apa pula? P16: Jadi Doktor atau Nurse. R: Kenapa menurun dari doktor ke nurse? P16: Entah. Mungkin sebab senang nak jadi nurse, berbanding doktor kena belajar dulu agak susah baru dapat kerja sebagai doktor. Nurse hanya mengambil masa tiga tahun sahaja sudah boleh jadi nurse. P16: [Then] Nak jadi akauntan. R: Kenapa pula? P16: Sebab suka dengan nombor kan, jadi akauntan lah.

P16: In Standard 1 I wanted to be a police but I don't know why. In Standard 2, I wanted to be a doctor. I followed my friends. Also I suffered from jaundice. Initially I went to the doctor for treatment. Then I wanted to be a navy [in the navy] because I liked the uniform. I saw them on TV. That was Year 4 to Year 5. Also the Naval Base is in Perak. Then in Year 6 I wanted to be a doctor or nurse. R: Why from doctor to nurse? P16: I don't know. Maybe because it is easier to be a nurse compared to doctor because they [doctors] have to struggle in studies only then they can become doctors. Nursing only takes about 3 years. [Then I] wanted to be an accountant because I liked numbers.

Example 5

P14: Masa sekolah rendah saya nak jadi pegawai kastam. R: Ok, cuba cerita kenapa? P14: Sebab orang cakap pegawai kastam ni dia dapat gaji lebih duit lebih, sebab keluarga susah saya rasa macam ... R: Mana tahu? P14: Orang cakap kastam tu kaya. Tengok contoh kata pegawai kastam ni kaya. R: Kat mana? P14: Kat Pengkalan Hulu. Kereta besar, mewah. R: Masa sekolah rendah kamu nak jadi pegawai kastam je? P14: Ha 'ah. R: Tak da berubah? P14: Tak da sebab memang fikir pasal kewangan je.

P14: In primary school I wanted to be a custom officer. Because people said they would get more salary, more money, because my family was poor so I felt ... People said custom officers are rich. [This was in] Pengkalan Hulu. [They have] big luxurious cars. [Throughout my primary years I did not change my ambition] because I only thought about the financial [gains].

4.3.4.4 Accepting Punishment

Example 1

P11: Saya pernah tak pergi kelas tambahan, ada sekali tak pergi ... so saya kena tampar. R: Dengan cikgu? P11: Ye lah. Sebab kita tak tahu nak balik macam mana so saya tak pergi kelas tu. R: Kelas ni darjah berapa masa tu? P11: Darjah 5. R: So cikgu yg menampar ni ajar subjek apa? P11: Cikgu BM. Hehe. R: Lepas tu ... bagi tahu bapak ke menangis macam mana ... P11: Sakitlah menangis. P11: Dia pakai cincinkan ... R: Tampar dekat mana? P11: Belah sini.



P11: Once I did not attend the afternoon extra class, and I was slapped by the BM teacher. The reason because I didn't know how to go back if I stayed back. My father didn't have motorbike then. It was painful. The teacher had a ring on her finger.

Example 2

Memo: Student – Punishment – Rotan – Accepting Punishment

R: Sakit tak? P5: Mahu tak sakit. R: Menangis tak? Ada yang menangis kena rotan? P5: Tak. R: Bila kena rotan apa rasa dia? Apa perasaan kamu masa kena rotan? P5: Takut lah masa tu R: Takut ke, selain daripada takut? P5: Takut lepas tu cikgu tu walapun dia ... R: Ada rasa marah tak? P5: Dia bukan rotan semata jer ... lepas tu. Lepas tu dia tolong jugak ... dia start dia punya ... lebih kan dia tengok student ni lemah masa saya darjah 4 tu boleh dikatakan satu kelas lemah math.

Memo: When asked whether the caning was painful, P5 uttered: Definitely it wasn't not painful (mahu tak sakit).

R: Did you cry? P5: No. R: How did you feel when caned? P5: I was fearful. But the teacher would help. After the caning he would see the weak students. During Year 4, the whole class was weak in Mathematics.

Memo: Primary – Teacher – Punishment – Rotan – Pain – Student – Accepting Punishment

R: Macam Cikgu Yasin dia merotan macam mana? P5: Rotan dia ... R: Sakit ke tidak? P5: Saya rasa 180 turn tu seratus ... 180 saya rasa. R: Kuat, dia rotan dengan marah ke? P5: Ha dengan marah. R: Memang dia marah lah masa merotan? P5: Ha memang marah lah, pastu masa Darjah 5 cikgu dah tukar, cikgu math saya dah tukar ... cikgu tu baik tapi lagi garang lagi. R: Merotan juga? P5: Merotan juga, kalau dia rotan dia tak ... kalau Cikgu Yasin tu tebal ni dia rotan kalau Cikgu Darjah 5 tu macam ni pulak. R: Lagi sakit? P5: Ha lagi sakit ... pastu masa Darjah 5 tu dah kurang. R: Boys dan girls kena rotan? P5: Yes. Tapi masa darjah 5 tu kurang lah. R: Ada yang menangis tak girl kena rotan? P5: Tak kut. Semua budak macam saya, diorang ni keras lah. R: Terima je. P5: Orang kampung kan hahaha.

P5: [This teacher] when he caned, it was a 180 degree turn, with anger. Then there was a new teacher in Year 5. He was kind but he also used the cane. His cane was thicker than the previous teacher's. That was more painful. R: Boys and girls were caned? P5: Yes, but caning was less in Year 5 though. R: The girls cried? P5: No, I don't think so. All of them were like me. We were tough people. We just accepted it. We are village people (laughed).

Memo: In similar manner, accepting punishment, not succumbing, and moving forward are indicators of accommodating learning, as this poignant statement of Participant (P5) shows when he described his feeling after getting punished, "Semua budak macam saya [tidak menangis bila dirotan]. Dia orang ni keraslah. Terima je. Orang kampung kan (All the children were like me [did not cry when caned]. We were tough people. Just accept it. [We are] village people)" (P5). When asked whether the caning was

painful and whether he cried, P5 responded, "It was [painful]. This teacher when he caned, it was a 180 degree turn, with anger. No [I did not cry]".

Example 3

Memo: Getting caned. Wanting to run away. Change. Passing Tests. Accepting punishment.

R: [Bila kena rotan] Berapa lama kamu rasa nak lari masa Year 4? P12: Sepanjang Year 4. R: Sepanjang year 4. Lepas tu bila rasa reda? Baru rasa okay. P12: Saya reda masa ... bila BI dah lulus. R: Dah lulus ... di hujung tahun? P12: Ha hujung tahun. Dah okay la. R: Macam mana boleh lulus, daripada tak lulus tu? P12: Buat revision. R: Buat revision dengan siapa? P12: Sendiri jugak. Ha hahaha ... R: Sendiri jugak, sebelum tu kamu tak buat? P12: Ha'a sebelum tu saya tak buat. R: Apa membuatkan kamu berubah? Daripada tak buat kepada buat revision tu ... P12: Sebab kalau tak lulus cikgu rotan..

P12: [I was caned] for failing [English] and not completing homework. [I wanted to run away] during the entire Year 4 [I felt like running away]. The at year end I passed. I felt better. R: How did you pass? P12: I did my revision, on my own. Before that I didn't. R: What made you change? P12: Because if I didn't pass, the teacher would cane.

Example 1

R: Masa year 3 ... dah duduk asrama tak menangis? Tak rindu mak? P1: Ada jugak la tapi ... bila ada kawan- kawan tu kurang sikit lah. Ada makcik tu yang duduk sekali lah ... jaga anak dia. Masa tu dia tolong jadi ... R: Warden? Bukan. Masak-masak [untuk asrama] jer. Macam tu.

P1: Kat sekolah belajar, classwork dah siap, balik umah bawak homework.. Ha.. darjah 3, 4,5, ingat tak buat apa kat asrama? Dah balik tu buat kerja sekolah pastu main jer.. Main ajer? Berapa lama agak- agaknya..Buat kerja sekolah..ingat tak? Tak lama tak?

P1: I missed my mother. But I have friends so I was less missing her. Then there was an aunt. She also stayed at the hostel, to be with her child. She was also the cook. After class at the hostel, I would do my homework then we spent the time playing.

Example 2

P5: Masa tu saya duduk asrama masa darjah 5, 6, Tingkatan Satu, Tingkatan 2. R: Jadi kenapa tinggal duduk asrama masa tu? P5: Sebab saya fikir senang belajar. R: Senang belajar. P5: Lepas tu masa Darjah 5, Darjah 6 sekolah ni dah macam start untuk insentif. Kira digalakkan Darjah 6 tu ... semua budak Darjah 6 duduk asrama.



R: Dipaksa? P5: Lebih kurang macam tu lah ... sebab dia nak intensif kelas sampai malam semua tu.

P5: I stayed in the hostel during Year 5, Year 6, Form 1 and Form 2 because I thought it would be easy for me to study. Starting Year 5 and Year 6, the school encouraged us to stay in the hostel, more or less compulsory in fact, because of the extra tuitions at night.

Example 3

R: Di asrama berapa tahun? P13: Darjah 5 – Darjah 6 sahaja. R: Sepenuh masa di situ? Makan minum semua ditanggung? P13: Ya. R: Balik ke rumah bila? P13: Hanya cuti baru balik ke rumah. R: Walaupun rumah kamu dekat sahaja hanya 5 minit? P13: Tak di benarkan keluar. Peraturan sekolah. R: Kalau tinjau boleh nampak lah rumah? P13: Kalau tinjau dari tingkap atas memang boleh nampak lah rumah. R: Emak dan ayah tak rindu kah? Mereka datang lawat? P13: Tak ada. Sebab dekat saja dalam kampung saja. R: Tapi tak jumpa? P13: Masa kalau ada aktiviti sukan atau ada apa-apa di sekolah mereka akan datang lah. R: Saya lupa nak tanya, macam mana hubungan ibu ayah dengan sekolah? Selalu kah mereka datang ke sekolah? P13: Kalau ada aktiviti tu memang selalulah mereka datang ke sekolah. Ayah dengan ibu memang selalu lah datang ke sekolah. Kalau ada aktiviti penghargaan itu memang selalu lah datang. R: Penghargaan apa tu? P13: Untuk kedatangan.

P13: [I stayed in the hostel] during Year 5, Year 6. Food provided. I only went home during school holidays. R: Although your house was only about 5 minutes away? P13: We were not allowed to go home. It was the school regulation. The house, if I looked out of the top floor window, I could see my house. My parents did not come to visit because it was very near, within the village. They would come during school-organised activities like sports day and appreciation day (for good school attendance).

Example 4

Memo: Making change. Fear of punishment.

R: Macam mana boleh lulus, daripada tak lulus tu? P12: Buat revision. R: Buat revision dengan siapa? P12: sendiri jugak. Ha hahaha.. R: Sendiri jugak, sebelum tu kamu tak buat? P12: Ha'a sebelum tu saya tak buat. R: Apa membuatkan kamu berubah? Daripada tak buat kepada buat revision tu. P12: Sebab kalau x lulus cikgu rotan.

P12: At year end I passed. I felt better. R: How did you pass? P12: I did my revision, on my own. Before that I didn't. R: What made you change? P12: Because if I didn't pass, the teacher would cane me.

4.3.5 Generating Learning

4.3.5.1 Observing and Making Sense of Real Life Adversities and Successes





Example 1

Memo: Student – Ambition – Custom Officer – Rationale – Real Life Custom Officers Perceived Rich - Mewah - No Change in Ambition. Some students associated what they wanted as their future profession (abstract) with what they observed in the real life (concrete) of that profession. An example was Participant P14 who talked about wanting to be a custom officer because of the financial reward that he thought was attached to it.

P14: Tak da sebab memang fikir pasal kewangan je. R: Ok, wawasan kamu masa di sekolah rendah kamu ingat nak jadi apa? P14: Masa sekolah rendah saya ... nak jadi pegawai kastam. R: Okay, cuba cerita kenapa? P14: Sebab orang cakap pegawai kastam ni dia dapat gaji lebih duit lebih, sebab keluarga susah saya rasa macam ... R: Mana tahu? P14: Orang cakap kastam tu kaya. Tengok contoh kata pegawai kastam ni kaya R: Di mana? P14: Kat Pengkalan Hulu. Kereta besar, mewah. Jadi macam... R: Dia orang kata? Bukan sekarang, masa sekolah tu. Masa sekolah rendah kamu nak jadi pegawai kastam je? P14: Ha ah. R: Tak da berubah? P14: Tak da sebab memang fikir pasal kewangan je.

P14: I was just thinking about the financials. In primary school I wanted to be a custom officer because people said custom officers have higher salary, and because my family was poor, so I thought custom officers are rich. I saw them at Pengkalan Hulu with big cars, and wealthy.



Example 2



Memo: Student. Caring for younger siblings. A strong sense of family responsibility. Thoughtful students who were in need would try to cover their difficulties from their parents, thinking that informing them would worry them, knowing their parents' would not be able to fulfil their requirements. P2 recalled how she preferred to take up the burden herself rather than disturbing her mother.

P2: Ha mana yang mak bagi saya simpan duit tu saya belikan macam adik saya nak mainan kan... saya suka bawak adik saya jalan jalan petang petang di kawasan perkelahan tu sebabkan ada kedai kedai jual souvenir .Macam saya merasa nak dapat barang susah minta kat mak pun bukan nak dapatkan? Saya tak nak adik saya merasa yang sama so dia mintak saya beli, dia minta saya beli, duit hasil yang saya ada. R: Bukan lah untuk makan minum? P2: Ha makan minum ... sometime la. Kalau dah habis duit nak beli ikan masin ke telur ke nak masak ke ha beli lah guna lah jugak ha kalau tak memang ... Mak akan tanya lah ... ada ke ... Mak pun susah hati kan kat sana saya tak nak Mak susah hati, ada ada ada. Ha macam tu. R: Tak pernah cakap tak ada? P2: Jarang lah nak cakap tak ada sebab kita pun tau macam mana susah nya.

P2: Like me, if I wanted something (such as play items) I would not get it. Even if I asked my Mother for it, it's not easy. So I didn't want my younger sibling to feel the same thing. So when she asked (for a toy) I would buy it for her using my earning. Sometimes when we ran out of cash I would also use my earning to buy salted fish or egg to cook. When mother asked whether we had enough I would say yes, yes. I didn't want her to worry because I know she was also having difficulties.





Example 3

Memo: Student – Developing Life Skills – Saving for Own Wants – Toy Cars – Badminton Racket.

R: Jadi ada pemakanan tambahan so tak payah belanja pun tak pe. P5: Tak payah belanja pun tak pe kadang kadang belanja tu macam saya daripada kecil daripada darjah satu tu saya memang suka menabung kalau tak guna tu kang sebab mak ayah saya tak suka belikan saya mainan. Tengok kawan-kawan main mainan saya kumpul lah duit. P5: Kereta kereta dash tu ... pastu darjah 4 darjah 5 saya beli raket sendiri. R: Raket main badminton? P5: Ha badminton. Saya tengok orang main kat kampung saya macam ingat nak main dengan diorang sendiri saya beli lah. R: So you menabung. P5: Ha menabung. Sebab masa darjah 4 darjah 5 duit pun dah lebih kena bagi kena bagi 50 sen kadang kdang kena bagi seringggit tu lah saya menabung.

P5: Even if I didn't spend my pocket allowance it was okay. Since Year 1 I liked to save, because my parents did not buy me toys. When I saw my friends playing [with for example toy cars] I saved my money.

4.3.5.2 Associating Self with Role Models

Example 1



Memo: Role Model – Emulating Senior

P5: Di asrama tu saya sebab bercampur student yang sekolah menengah, saya cuba lah ikut cara belajar diorang. Ada seorang abang saya rasa dia bagus lah. Dia bagus sebab dia bukan student pandai tapi dia rajin belajar. Saya cuba lah ikut cara dia belajar tapi susah lah nak ikut sebab dia terlalu rajin kan. R: Maksud rajin tu apa? Saya tengok dia sebab dia berdisiplin. Dia balik sekolah mandi mandi makan , dia dah pastu petang kang dia jalan kechap, pastu dia nak tidur kechap waktu malam tu pastu lepas makan dia dah start buka buku sampai tengah malam, macam tu lah saya tengok dia punya ... R: Kamu pun ikut lah. Cuba ikut lah sebab tapi tak matang kan saya rasa kan. Main je ... tak ikut sangat lah. Saya tengok buku dia ada jadual saya cuba lah buat jadual sendiri tapi tak dapat sangat lah.

P5: In the hostel I lived with seniors from the secondary school. I tried to follow the way they studied. There was this one brother and I thought he was good. He was good not because he was clever, but he was studious. I tried to follow his way, although it was difficult for me because he was really hardworking, very disciplined. He had specific routine after school for bath, lunch, walk, nap and dinner. After dinner he would start to open his book, until midnight. I saw in his book, he had a time-table then I made one for myself.

Example 2

Memo: Teacher as Role Model – Ambition – Teacher – Role Model His Bahasa Melayu Teacher – Year 1 - How She taught – Her Personality (Perwatakan)



R: Tapi masa sekolah rendah memang kamu nak jadi guru? P13: Sebab nak mendidik kaum-kaum saya sendiri. Saya rasa minat tengok cara cikgu mengajar. R: Siapa yang buat kamu minat betul nak jadi cikgu? P13: Cikgu Mai. R: Apa istimewanya cikgu Mai itu sampai kamu tertarik nak jadi cikgu? P13: Cara dia mengajar, perwatakan dia membuat kan saya rasa selesa. Daripada situ saya fikir lagi mengapa saya nak jadi cikgu.

P13: [I wanted to be a teacher] because I wanted to educate my people. I like it when I saw how teachers teach. R: Which teacher made you feel that you really wanted to be a teacher? P13: Teacher Mai because of the way she taught and her personality made me feel at ease. Since then I thought I wanted to a teacher.

Example 3

R: What was your ambition masa primary school? P6: My primary school, I want to be a teacher. R: Mula tahun bila tu? Yang kamu rasa nak jadi cikgu tu? P6: Start Darjah 3, saya rasa macam ... R: You nak jadi cikgu apa? P6: Masa tu jadi cikgu Bahasa ... ha ... R: Bahasa Melayu? P6: Ha'a. R: Ke Bahasa sahaja? P6: Bahasa Melayu. R: Kenapa? P6: Sebab, for me Bahasa Melayu is fun. R: Kenapa nak jadi cikgu? P6: Sebab masa tu, tengok seronoklah mengajar. Tengok cara cikgu mengajar, seronok.

P6: During primary school I wanted to be a teacher. That was in Year 3. I wanted to be a BM teacher, because I thought BM was fun. I observed the teacher, the teaching was enjoyable.

4.3.5.3 Problem Solving

Example 1

Memo: Student – Solving Problems – Resolving Concerns. When P16 had problems with her school work, she would take the initiative to seek help from various teachers in the staff room during recess. In other words she created her own learning moments to resolve her concerns regarding school work.

R: Macam masa di sekolah rendah, kalau kamu ada masalah macam mana kamu menyelesaikannya? P16: Minta cikgu ajar. Kalau tak faham itu, saya minta cikgu ajarkan. Saya akan tanya. Kalau ada cikgu lain saya akan tanya cikgu lain pula. R: Masa ini Darjah berapa ni kamu ingat tak? P16: Darjah 5 – Darjah 6, begitu lah. R: Sebelum itu? P16: Saya kurang sikit bertanya. R: Bila kamu bertanya dengan cikgu tu bila masa nya? P16: Waktu rehat. Kalau tak ada buat apa-apa, pergi lah jumpa cikgu bertanya. R: Jadi dalam satu tahun itu semua cikgu ada, jadi kamu hanya bertanya bila ada masalah? P16: Berdua dengan sepupu saya.

P16: When I did not understand I would request the teacher to teach me. I asked questions. If there were other teachers, I would also ask those teachers, especially during Year 5 and Year 6. It was less before that. With my friend I would consult teachers during recess.



Example 2

Memo: A student learnt how to save his pocket allowance to acquire items that he desired but could not be provided by his parents. P5 shared how he solved the problem of cash to buy toy cars and badminton racket.

R: Jadi ada pemakanan tambahan [RMT] so tak payah belanja pun tak pe? P5: Tak payah belanja pun tak pe kadang kadang belanja tu macam saya daripada kecil daripada darjah satu tu saya memang suka menabung kalau tak guna tu kang sebab mak ayah saya tak suka belikan saya mainan. Tengok kawan-kawan main mainan saya kumpul lah duit. P5: Kereta kereta dash tu ... pastu darjah 4 darjah 5 saya beli racket sendiri.

P5: I didn't spend my money in school [because we were provided food through the RMT programme]. I saved my money. Since Year 1 I liked to save because my parents couldn't buy the play items [that I wanted]. I saw my friends playing with theirs, so I save my money until it was enough then I would buy for example the 'dash' toy cars. Then in Year 4 or 5, I bought a badminton racket. I saw the villagers playing, and I wanted to join them, so I save to buy a racket of my own

Example 3

Memo: Student. Coping. Learning how to earn in the absence of parents.



P2: Macam kita nak tunggu duit daripada mak ayah, kadang kadang we are running out of money kan, saya pergi mencari kutip tin-tin kosong untuk jual and then saya ada ikut pergi kebun kan. R: Kebun siapa? P2: Kebun orang. Tanam kelapa sawit. R: You ikut orang? P2: Ya ikut orang. R: Umur masa tu berapa? P2: Masa tu umur saya sebelas saya dah pernah bekerja umur 9, 10, 11 dan keatas. R: Sekolah? P2: Sekolah saya sekolah cuti Sabtu Ahad saya nak pergi buat benda-benda macam tu. R: Petang? Yang tin-tin kosong tu? P2: Ha habis dari sekolah saya berlari lah pergi kat air terjun tu kan banyak orang pergi dia buang tin-tin kosong, saya use that opportunity.

P2: Sometimes while waiting for Mother to give us cash, and we ran out of money, I would go to [at a waterfall tourist site] to collect empty cans, and sold them. I also went to work at a palm plantation. I followed others. I was about 9, 10, 11, and above then. I did this on Saturdays, Sundays. But the cans I collected in the afternoon. After school I would rush to the waterfall where a lot of people would be throwing them around.

Example 4

Memo: Problem. Long journey no transport. Resolution. Walk despite that.

P11: Saya pernah jalan kaki, ni selepas yg kena tampar tu lah ... saya pergi je lah kelas. Mak ayah saya memang tak ada motor dulu ... sebab kerja dulu kerja dengan Cina, biasa je ... so termenung jugak lah ... lepastu saya dah agak ni mesti ayah tak boleh nak ambil ni ... jadi saya jalan kaki je lah ... nak kena jalan raya lagi, masuk kampung ...





R: Kalau naik bas setengah jam, jadi jalan kaki ni berapa lama kamu nak sampai rumah? P11: Lama jugak lah nak dekat senja. R: Senja ... kamu jalan sorang? P11: Ha'a sorang. R: Darjah berapa ni? P11: Darjah 6. R: Tiap-tiap hari or sekali sekala? P11: Banyak kali jugak lah. R: Sebab takut kena tampar ke? P11: Eh tak memang nak belajar tu. R: Masa pergi memang naik bus, balik tu yang jalan kaki sorang? P11: Ha'a. R: Gelap tak? P11: Gelap. R: Jalan tu ... sunyi atau banyak kereta? P11: Banyak kereta sebab itu jalan raya, lepastu lalu kampung orang Melayu ... lepastu baru masuk estate, lepastu baru masuk kampung saya. R: Kalau sekarang ni kamu mengagak berapa kilometer sekarang? P11: Tak tahulah. Jauh jugak sebenarnya. R: Ada 10km? P11: 5km macam tu kot. R: 5km, kalau setengah jam jauh jugak tu kalau dengan bus. Tapi kamu rasa jauhlah. P11: Jauh jugak.

P11: *After I received a slap from the teacher, I decided to attend the class. My father didn't have a motorbike, I was thinking and I was sure he wouldn't be able to pick me up, so I decided to just walk back home, first through the main road then through a village road, an estate, finally my village. It was a long way; it was dark when I reached home. To me it was very far.*

Example 5

Memo: *Solving Real life Problems. Elders in the indigenous households are holders of indigenous traditional knowledge. They guide the young in solving real life problems. Fuelled by her curiosity, P1 generated her own learning moments 'sebelum tidur tu saya suka duduk dengan neneklah', by asking questions and intent listening. She enjoyed the bedtime horror stories narrated by her grandmother. Through these moments, she acquired understanding of real life functions within the cultural context of the community, such as taboos and guidance whilst in the forest. Implication: Younger children's interest in traditional stories and how to exploit them for learning and teaching.*

P1: *Kalau masa zaman kecik tu saya ingat kalau sebelum tidur tu saya suka duduk dengan neneklah, nenek selalu cerita cerita zaman dulu dulu. Dulu saya suka tanya cerita seram macam tu, pastu dia cerita lah. R: Contoh? P1: Cerita hantu hantu gitu ha. R: Contoh, ingat tak satu cerita dari nenek? Apa yang nenek cerita? P1: Saya tak berapa ingatlah tapi ada cerita ... macam kalau zaman dulu ... cerita pasal hantu apa eh ... hantu ... tak tahu lah kalau saya cakap kang nanti puan tak faham pulak. Masa tu. Dia cerita macam zaman dulu ni kalau ada satu hantu tu. Dia macam cuma berlari dengan lutut dia jer tapi hantu tu sangat laju jer dia cakap. R: Kenapa dia menceritakan. Cerita hantu tu? P1: Untuk kalau kitorangkan selalu masuk hutan. Kalau kat hutan tu nak jadikan kita beware lah ... Beware pastu dia ada ... pantang larang lah ke hutan. R: Oh jadi nya nenek cerita pantang larang tu lah ... pantang larang waktu ke hutan. P1: Macam teladan-teladan lah ... ingat lah tu dia. Cerita kat dalam hutan mcmana ... macam ni macam pedoman kalau masuk hutan kalau sesat macamana ... ha. R: Ye..contoh? P1: Kalau sesat ikut sungai jer.*

P1: *When I was a child, I liked to go and sit with my Grandmother before bedtime. I asked her to tell me stories, horror stories. She would tell me ghost running around in the forest. She told me to be careful when going into the forest. Be aware of the taboos*





whilst in the jungle. And she told me what I should do in case I am lost in the jungle, I should just follow the river.

Example 6

Memo: Solving Real Life Problems. How to be safe.

P2: Sebab kita takutkan. Mak-mak dengan ayah selalunya dekat kampung tu diorang takutkan anak-anak diorang. Jangan ikut jalan ni ... kalau nampak orang ni cabut masuk dalam semak macam tu ha diorang bagi supaya kita tak ikut strangers kan. Faham faham je lah kan so kitorang dah dilatih, tak payah lah ikut jalan besar ikut jalan hutan. Sebab tu saya biasa dengan hutan. Jadi ikut hutan pandai pandai redah semak macam mana sekalipun sampai jugak kat kampung. Sampai lah petang kadang tu penat duduk.

P2: Our parents taught us to always avoid people. They told us not to follow certain route, and if we see any stranger, we should quickly hide in the bush. So we were trained not to use the main road, instead to use the jungle route. That's why I am used to being in the jungle. When we used the jungle route, we learnt to walk through the underbrush [‘redah semak’ and] somehow we could always find our way back to the village. We would reach home late evening. We would sit to rest whenever we were tired.

4.3.5.4 Challenging Boundaries and Extending Independence



Example 1

Memo: When P2 and her friends observed the school van driver's action and concern for drug abuse, they decided to avoid taking the van; instead to walk the more tenuous route home after school. P2 recalled:

P2: Nak dekat 1 kilometer lah. Tapi tak sampai ... nak dekat lah ... tapi kitaorang selalu ikut short cut sebab yang bawak tu dulu dia drug addict so kitaorang takut dengan dia, kitaorang ikut jalan kelapa sawit, lalu sungai ... sampai kampung. Tu lah ... lama lah sebab dia kalau kita tengok sungai kita bukan kira ni ... budak-budak masa darjah 6, saya ikat kasut kat leher ni, ha ... tarik kain sekolah tu, bawak beg tu dengan budak lelaki sekali la ... jalan kaki kan ... lepas habis kelas tambahan darjah enam tu ... dia kata [budak-budak lelaki] kita ikut jalan hutan..

P2: [The distance was] about 1 kilometer, almost, but we would follow that route, to avoid the drug addict [driver] because we were afraid of him. We used a route that ran through an oil palm estate, crossed a small stream, then only we reached our village. It took quite long because we were children, we were in Year 6, then we had to cross the stream, we would tie the laces of our shoes and hang the shoes over our neck, we pulled up our school sarong, and carried our bags, along with the boy.

Example 2

Memo: Own Learning Routine.





During Primary school: R: Kamu sendiri macam mana kamu buat jadual belajar? P10: Ha saya ... memang saya ni tak buat ni, kalau sekolah rendah tu, saya kat ... kat sekolah lah saya belajar. Kat rumah memang tak belajar lah. R: Tak belajar langsung? P10: Ha. R: Mak Abah tak de tanya kenapa tak buat kerja? P10: Ada dia cakap ... kadang dia marah. Balik rumah campak bag pastu main (gelak) R: Homework dah siap ke belum? P10: Masa tu ada jugak homework. R: Tapi tak siap? P10: Tak siap. R: Pergi besok sekolah? P10: Buat kat sekolah pagi-pagi. R: Esok pagi? Kamu buat sendiri atau kawan-kawan punya yang kamu ikut. P10: Ha copy.

During Kindergarten: P10: Sebab masa tu kejap je kan, memang pergi, pergi, pergi, kadang-kadang balik jugak R: Balik ke rumah? P10: Mak hantar lepas tu ... R: Lari balik? P10: Pukul sepuluh tengok pintu pagar terbuka sikit balik terus. Mak, tanya lah. Eh kenapa balik awal? Saya cakap apa ... buat alasan banyak lah.

P10: During primary school, I studied only in school. [My parents] would advise me, sometimes they would scold, but me when I reached home I would throw my bags and immediately ran out to play [laughed]. [In kindergarten] I used to slip out of school. At about 10 [during recess] when I saw the school gate was open, I would just slipped out and went home. Mother would ask why I was early, and I would give her various excuses.

Example 3



Memo: Primary – Student – Renewing Learning – Motivation from Sibling Challenging Student. When P14 was sent back to live in the village along with his siblings, he took up schooling again after the termination from his first school. To ease matter he applied to stay in the hostel, after a challenge from his older sibling.

P14: Masa duduk kampung pun kakak yang pertama tu macam tak percaya lah kali ni dapat duduk asrama sebab biasanya duduk kat rumah pun kadang-kadang dah rasa rindu nak balik kat rumah, jauh sikit pun dah rasa rindu, jadi kakak ni bagi cabaran, macam ... dia cakap yang kalau duduk asrama tak akan mungkin dapat kekal lama, nanti tak lama mungkin balik, dia tak percaya. So macam benda tu bagi ... R: Cabaran? P14: Cabaran. Ha cabar. Jadi rasa tercabar. Lepas tu try minta kat mak nak duduk asrama R: Masa tu darjah berapa masuk asrama? P14: darjah 4.

P14: When we returned to live in the village, my first sister could not believe that I would be alright staying in the hostel, thinking that I would be missing home. She said that even if I stayed in the hostel it would not be for long, I would come back home. That was a challenge, and I took it as a challenge. Then I told my Mother that I wanted to apply for hostel.



**APPENDIX Q****Data-Kindergartens****4.4.2 Data: Kindergarten Leading Learning****4.4.2.1 Experiencing Kindergartens***Example 1*

P7: Ha'ah. Masa mak hantar saya tu saya memang dah excited nak masuk kindergarten

P7: Yes, I was very excited to go when my mother sent me to the kindergarten.

Example 2

P3: Sebab dia memang speaking sejak sekolah rendah lagi, sebab dia diambil oleh Orang Putih.

P3: Because he speaks English since he was in the primary school because he was raised by the "White People".

Example 3

Memo: Not experiencing kindergarten but was taught at home by Mother.

P2: Saya umur 7 tahun, saya tak bersekolah tadika. Saya terus masuk darjah satu. Sebabkan masalah kewangan jadi mak ayah saya tak dapat hantar saya ke sekolah tadika. Mak saya yang ajar saya dirumah. Ajar mengenal huruf apa semua. Umur tujuh tahun barulah saya dihantar ke sekolah. Darjah satu lah... ar... mula-mula masuk tu memang saya tak biasa sebab ini lah... pentingnya tadika pada budak-budak sebab kita tak pernah datang ke sekolah. Bila dihantar ke sekolah... perasaan takut tu sangat kuat dan kita terasa asing sebab orang lain dah tahu semua bendakan. Kawan-kawan lain pun dia orang dah kenal sama-sama tadika. Bila masuk darjah satu nak bergaul dengan orang tu lebih senang. Tapi saya ambil masa yang agak lama untuk bergaul dengan orang sebab saya tak pernah keluar rumah pun dekat rumah kan mak ajar kat rumah jer.

P2: I didn't attend the kindergarten. When I was 7 I went straight to standard one. Because of financial constraint my parents couldn't send me to kindergarten. My mother taught me at home. She taught me to recognise the alphabet. Only when I reached seven I was sent to school. I felt strange initially. This is why kindergarten is important to kids because we have never been to school. When we were sent to school, the fear level was very strong and we felt alien because everyone else knew the things we didn't know. Other friends knew each other since kindergarten. When they entered standard one, it was easier to associate themselves with each other. It took me a while to interact with others because I had never been outside, and since my mother taught me at home.





Example 4

P6: Ya, seronok dengan kawan. Hari ke-3 dah ada kawan. Seronok, rasa tiap-tiap hari nak pergi sekolah.

P6: Yes, I had fun with my friends. I made friends on my third day. It was enjoyable, I felt like going to school every day.

Example 5

Memo: Not enjoying the experience of kindergarten.

R: Maknanya tak suka lah pergi kindergarten ni? P3: Ha tak suka sampai, dia terbawa-bawa sampai darjah satu. Darjah satu pun saya masih lagi menangis. R: Jadi mak yang paksa. Kalau mak tak bawa tak pergi lah? P3: hehehe.

P3: Yes I hated it [going to the kindergarten] until Standard One. I still cried when I was in Standard One. R: So your mother forced you, otherwise you wouldn't go to school? P3: Hehehe.

4.4.2.2 Initialising Learning



Example 1

P5: Kakak then kadang-kadang abang [hantar].

P5: My sister, or otherwise my brother [would send me].

Example 2

P1: Maknanya pagi-pagi mesti pergi sekolah tadika. Masa tu sekolah di Kampung A, pastu mak hantar dengan motor. Nak bagi senang dia kat Kampung B tu dia tu pindah, buat rumah ke dua lah masa tu. Masa tu kalau tadika jauh juga daripada Kampong A. Mak saya hantar. Mak saya duduk kat sini [Kampung B] sementara. Dia macam ... ar ... masa tunggu tu ... macam ar masa kecik-kecik suruh mak tunggulah. Seminggu tu dia tunggu pastu dia dah pujuk-pujuk dia cakap dia keje dia keja kat Kampong B ni lah. Ada Cina tu dia usahakan tanaman cili kan. Dia macam sewa dekat tanah Orang Asli. Tanam cili lah kat situ. Saya balik sekolah [tadika] saya pandai cari sendiri. Saya cari mak saya, jalan macam tu, ha saya keluar tadika tu saya cari lah mak saya.

P1: Meaning very early in the morning we have to go to the kindergarten. At the time the Kindergarten was at Village (B). Then Mother moved to a house in Village (B) [which is closer to the kindergarten]. During that time my kindergarten was quite far from our village (A). Mother would send me. She sat there for a while, waiting for me. For a week she waited for me and then she talked to me saying she had to go to work.





There was a Chinese man who planted the chillie crop. He rented the land from an Orang Asli and planted chillie crop. [Later on] I know how to go back from the kindergarten on my own. I searched and looked for my mother. I went to look for my mother straight after the kindergarten.

Example 3: P10

P10: Sebab masa tu kejap je kan, memang pergi. Pergi, pergi, kadang-kadang balik jugak. Mak hantar lepas tu. Pukul sepuluh tengok pintu pagar terbuka sikit balik terus.

P10: The kindergarten time [hours] was short. I would go, attended the kindergarten but sometimes I would go back. My Mother would send me back to the kindergarten. At 10 a.m. whenever I saw the [kindergarten] gate was open I would go straight home.

4.4.2.2.2 Class Size, Composition and Ethnicity

Example 1

*P5: Satu kelas sahaja yang sebaya saya time tu ... saya ingat lagi dalam 30 something.
R: Maknanya sebaya tu 5 tahun? P5: 5 tahun ada lagi 6 tahun ... campur lah ... lebih kurang ... 30 orang. R: Jadi maknanya 2 kelas tu ... 2 umur yang berbeza dalam satu kelas. P5: Ye.*

P5: In a class of same age during that time, there were about 30 students, 5 years old and 6 years old, combined to about 30 students.

Example 2

R: 1 kelas [tadika], ada berapa orang murid? P6: Around 20 to 25.

R: How many students in a class? P6: Around 20 to 25.

Example 3

R: Dalam pra-sekolah berapa orang dalam kelas? P8: Dalam 20.

R: How many students were in a class? P8: About 20.

Example 4

R: Campur la ni dengan anak-anak Melayu dan ada anak bangsa lain? P8: Melayu ada, ada Cina dan Punjabi. R: Ramai-ramai ke anak-anak Orang Asli? P8: Ya.

R: So there was a mixed group children Malays and othes ethnics? P8: There were Malays, Chinese and Punjabi. R: A lot of Orang Asli children too? P8: Yes.

4.4.2.2.3 Classroom Physical Environment





Example 1

P13: Meja ada. R: Duduk di atas lantai lah? P13: Ya. R: Menulis di atas lantai atau di atas meja? P13: Ikut suka lah. Mana yang selesa di atas lantai, atas lantai lah. R: Boleh duduk di lantai atau guna meja? Sangat fleksibel. Meja itu macam mana? P13: Meja bulat. R: Satu meja untuk berapa orang? P13: Satu meja untuk 5 orang. R: Kebanyakan kamu suka di meja atau di lantai? P13: Di lantai. R: Ada juga yang pergi ke meja. Tapi kamu suka dilantai kah atau di meja? P13: Suka di lantai. R: Sambil baring atau duduk? P13: Semua, sambil baring dan duduk. R: Ada permaidani? P13: Ya, ada. R: Suasana tu kamu rasa seronok, lebih seronok dari di meja? P13: Ya lebih seronok.

P13: There were tables. R: So you sat on the floor? P13: Yes. R: When you were writing, did you write while on the floor or seated at the table? P13: It's up to us. Those who preferred to write while sitting on the floor, they could sit on the floor. How did the table look like? P13: It was round-shaped. R: How many for a table P13: One table for 5 students. R: Most of you like to use the table or just sit on the floor? P13: On the floor. R: While lying down or sitting on the floor? P13: Both, while lying down and sitting on the floor. R: Was there any carpet? P13: Yes. R: You think that was much more fun than writing on the table? P13: Yes it was more fun.

4.4.2.2.4 Facilities

Example 1



P1: Ha dia ada rumah kuarters. Guru ... Guru ha ... Mungkin ada cikgu sekolah rendah yang duduk. Sama-sama kat situ lah ... sebab sekolah tabika ni dia dekat dengan sekolah rendah. Ha dekat. Ha side by side. Tadika sini. Dia seberang jalan. Di sekolah rendah tu ada guru Melayu lagi.

P1: Yes, there were teachers' quarters. Probably the primary school teachers also lived there together with the kindergarten teachers, because the kindergarten was situated near the primary school. There were Malay teachers at the primary school.

Example 2

P5: Masa saya tu tak de [padang]. Padang tak de. Padang tak de lah. Just kawasan. Kawasan je lah.

P5: During my time there was no field, just an empty area [for playing].

4.4.2.2.5 Learning Resources

Example 1

P5: Saya ingat ada sempoa besar.

P5: I remember there was a big [stand alone] sempoa.





Example 2

P13: Buku, pensel mewarna, pensel, pembaris panjang untuk di gunakan dan rotan. Buku-buku tentang haiwan, buku mewarna, buku menulis dan lain tak ingat lah. Di dinding ada abjad-abjad dan nombor, [antara lain]gambar epal dan cara untuk mengejanya.

P13: Books, colouring pencils, pencils, long ruler and rattan. Books about animals, colouring books, notebook, and a lot more that I couldn't recall. On the walls we had alphabet and numbers, [among others] a picture of an apple and how to spell it.

Example 3

P10: Arr ... Kalau cikgu kan kat tengah ni [mengajar] ... Arr... Tadika tu ada TV ... Ar ... saya memang pasang TV tu hehe.

P10: The kindergarten had TV. I always turned on the TV.

Example 4

P12: Dekat kindergarten main building blocks.

P12: We played with building blocks in kindergarten



Example 5

P7: Emmm... huruf-huruf, [gambar] buah-buahan [di dinding].

P7: Emmm... the alphabet, picture of fruits on the wall.

Example 6

P5: Ruang makan ... berdekatan dengan dapur lah ruang makan. Masa tu kita tak makan atas meja, ada tikar duduk lah ramai-ramai dalam bulatan. [Ada] kawasan tempat permainan lah. Dalam dekat ... ha dekat dengan sempoa tu la dia letak puzzle ... puzzle, building block ke macam tu. Haiwan [tiada] punya patung just toys lah ... Plant ada ... di luar... Plant di luar. Ada di luar di depan.

P5: A dining area ... the dining area was near to the kitchen. During that time we didn't eat at the table, we sat on a mat together seated in a circle. There was an area for playing. Next to the 'sempoa' there were puzzles and building blocks. We had stuffed animals. Plants were outside in front of the kindergarten.

Example 7

R: Dalam beg sekolah apa yang kamu bawa? P13: Alat tulis saja. R: Alat tulis cikgu bagi kah atau bawa dari rumah? P13: Ada yang bawa dari rumah dan ada yang cikgu





bagi. R: Ada buku-buku cerita? P13: Ada, cuma di tadika saja lah. R: So dalam beg ada apa lagi? P13: Alat tulis, buku-buku yang cikgu suruh buat kerja.

P13: Just stationeries. Some were from home and some were given by the teacher. Stationeries and the homeworks the teacher gave.

4.4.2.2.6 Curriculum

Example 1

P1: Masa belajar ... KEMAS kan Tadika KEMAS ... macam ... dia belajar nyanyian semua ... saya ingat dia ajar lagu. Lagu kanak-kanak tu ... main alat muzik. Mengeja pastu buat latihan, kalau time tu kita ingat tak de moral [subjek] lagi kan tahun tu dia ajar alif ba ta. Saya balik rumah tulis alif ba ta la semua. Ada tulisan jawi belajar masa tu. Ada huruf pastu buat cerita. Kita mula menulis tu kan... Ingat lah tu Semua ... saya suka buat-buat bentuk pastu gelung-gelung macam tu lah.

P1: When we were in KEMAS, they taught us to sing and the song, I remember. Singing children's songs, and playing the instrument. Spelling and doing exercises; during that time the Moral subject had not been introduced so they taught us 'alif', 'ba', 'ta'. I went home and write 'alif', 'ba', 'ta' back. We learned how to write Jawi. Doing the alphabet and making stories ... that was the start of learning to write. I remembered all those, I liked making circles.



Example 2

P3: Saya tak ingat nama alat muzik tapi macam yang apa ... tamborin ke apa yang ketuk ketuk tu. Pastu ada macam yang telangkup dua tu.

P3: I don't remember the name of the musical instrument but... it's like... tambourine or the sound of being struck. And then there was another instrument.

Example 3

P4: Kindergarten hehe saya ingat main je kut. Hehehe ... saya lupa yang saya buat kerja ke apa ke, saya dah lupa.

P4: Hehehe ... I remember only playing during kindergarten, I couldn't remember whether I did my work or not.

Example 4

P3: Semua sama belajar ABC semua.

P3: We learned the alphabet.





P5: Belajar ABC semua lah, mengira. Saya belajar mengira, membaca, bermain biasa lah. Macam di tadika dia ada provide macam-macam permainan untuk mengembangkan minda kanak-kanak kan.

P5: I learned the ABC's and how to calculate. In kindergartens they provided a lot of games to extend the mind of the kids.

Example 5

P5: Sampai ... nanti pembantu dia sampai... kena beratur dulu kena nyanyi lagu negara ku. Pastu kalau cikgu sampai dia bagi sarapan..dia bagi milo dengan something vitamin C la. Yes... vitamin. Makan vitamin. Pagi pagi minum Milo ... pastu makan vitamin ... Just Milo and vitamin. Milo tu dengan ... dulu kan susu tin. Milo tu dia tak buat dengan susu apa lah ... susu sejat dengan susu tin. Pastu dah pukul 8 tu ... dia ... Pukul 8 tu start lah belajar. Pastu bila ada waktu rehat tu kan ... Kejap je ... masa untuk makan. Around 9:30 ke 9:45 dia bagi makan. Macam-macam lah kadang-kadang dia bagi mi mihun ... nasi lemak ... nasi goreng macam tu lah menu berubah lah ... menu tadika ... kan.

P5: We had to queue up first and sang the national anthem. And then when the teacher arrived she would serve us breakfast with Milo [a chocolate drink] and some vitamin C. Yes, vitamin. In the morning we drank Milo and took the vitamin, just Milo and vitamin. The Milo was prepared with canned condensed milk. And then around 8 we started our lesson. Later we had recess from 9:30 to 9:45 for us to eat. Sometimes they gave us noodles, nasi lemak, fried rice and so on ... the menu changed daily.

4.4.2.2.7 Familiar Faces in Class

Example 1

P1: Pembantunya kakak saudara saya juga.

P1: The assistant was my relative.

Example 2

P5: Kira Cikgu tu pun sedara jugak. Dua pupu kan, dua pupu atau pun macam tu lah.

P5: The teacher was also a relative, a second cousin or something like that.

Example 3

P7: Emmm ... masa saya masuk tu, hari pertama Mak saya hantar, hari ke-2 tu saya dah boleh pergi sendiri ... ramai [kawan] satu kampung. R: Memang kawan-kawan





dari satu kampung lah? P7: *Ha ah, satu kampung. R: Jadi tak takut. Menangis tak?*
P7: *Tak.*

P7: *Emmm ... my mother sent me on my first day, but on the second day I already went to school by myself ... many [friends] from the same village. R: (So you were not afraid? Did you cry? P7: No.*

4.4.2.3 Facilitating Learning

4.4.2.3.1 Sustaining Attendance

Example 1

P10: *Tadika dekat je. R: Berapa langkah? P10: Dalam 30 hingga 40 langkah kut. R: Tak sampai 5 minit? P10: Tak sampai ... Dalam 5 minit lah.*

P10: *The kindergarten was nearby. R: About how many steps? P10: About 30 to 40 steps. R: Less than 5 minutes? P10: Less ... About 5 minutes.*

Example 2

P3: *Ha ... Saya setahun tu hati saya memang tak nak pergi ke sekolah tadika pun. R: Siapa paksa? P3: Hehehe ... Tapi nak tak nak saya pergi jugak lah kan. R: Siapa yang paksa ... Z: Mak saya lah. H: Mak hantar hari hari? P3: Z: Ha. Mak hantar Hari -hari. H: Kalau mak tak hantar? Z: Mak mesti hantar punya, kalau tidak saya nak tinggal dengan siapa hehehe [because Mother had to go for work].*

P3: *My mum. Yes she sent me everyday. She would send me no matter what otherwise no one would take care of me [because Mother had to go for work].*

Example 3

R: *Kenapa you pergi kindergarten? P4: Satunya mungkin saya fikir-fikir balik sebab masa tu mak ayah kerja kan, dulu-dulu. Ha... Tak de orang nak jaga kan, Mak hantar dekat ni ... sebagai tu lah.*

R: *Why did you go to kindergarten? P4: First it's probably because I thought during that time my parent were working so no one could take care of me, so that was why my mother sent me to the kindergarten.*

Example 4

R: *Apa yang kamu ingat dari zaman tadika tu yang kamu rasa agak cukup untuk pergi sekolah? P11: Garang dia [teacher] kut. Hehe."*

R: *What made you feel that you have to go to the kindergarten? P11: [The teacher] was fierce. Hehe.*





Example 5

R: Kalau kamu ponteng satu hari, apa yang kamu buat? P13: Tak pernah ponteng. Dari tadika sampai sekolah rendah saya tak pernah ponteng.

R: What did you do when you skipped school? P13: I never skipped school. From kindergarten till primary school I had never skipped school.

4.4.2.3.2 Enticing Children

4.4.2.3.2.1 Friends

Example 1

R: Apa yang buat you rasa belajar di kindergarten tu seronok? P5: Bermain. R: Bermain ... ramai kawan ke ... kawan-kawan yang macam mana? P5: Dalam kindergarten tu dia ada dua suku, satu suku Temuan satu suku Semelai jadi seronok bila kita belajar cakap diorang [masa] kecik-kecik. R: Oh bahasa yang berlainan? P5: Bahasa yang berlainan belajar ... R: Ok. Bahasa dalam kelas macam mana ... apa bahasa yang digunakan? P15: Masa di sekolah tu bila ada kelas, Bahasa Melayu lah tapi berbual dengan kawan guna bahasa Temuan tapi bila sebab student yang orang Semelai tadi diorang pun faham jugak Temuan, jadi tak de masalah lah nak berbahasa Temuan dalam kelas tu. Tapi saya belajar jugak cakap diorang.



P5: Playing. We had two tribes in the kindergarten, Temuan and Semelai so it was fun to learn their languages when we were kids. We learned different languages. In school when we were having class, we used Bahasa Melayu but when we talked with friends, we used Temuan language because the Semelai students could understand Temuan language too, so it was not a problem to speak in Temuan language in that class. But I too learned their language.

Example 2

P6: Lepastu seronok dengan kawan, lepastu nangis lagi. Dah masuk hari ke-3 okay. R: You remember this? P6: Ya, seronok dengan kawan, hari ke 3 dah ada kawan. Seronok, rasa tiap-tiap hari nak pergi sekolah [kindergarten]. R: Oh really? P6: Ha'a. R: kawan-kawan ni sama kem tu lah? P6: Ha'a sama. R: Jadi dah kenal diluar? P6: ha'a. Dah kenal.

P6: And then I had fun with friends, and then I cried again. It was okay after 3 days. R: You still remember this? P6: Yes because I had fun with my friends, after 3 days I already had friends. It was fun, felt like everyday I want go to school. R: These friends came from the same camp? P6: Yes. R: So you knew them from outside? P6: Yes.

Example 3

P7: Sebab saya jumpa ramai kawan, lepas tu rasa macam tak stress sangat, seronok sebab dia banyak main macam tu kan.





P7: Because I met a lot of friends, I didn't feel too much stress because it was fun with a lot of playing.

Example 4

P3: Kalau masa tadika tu saya lebih suka dekat dengan [kawan] lelaki masa tu. Berbanding dengan perempuan.

P3: During kindergarten I preferred to befriend the boys than the girls.

Example 5

P4: Kalau kat kampung tu bapa saya tak bagi bergaul sangat kan, kalau bergaul, kat kindergarten. Kalau dah kat rumah tu kami duduk kat rumah je lah. Paling jauh pun berkawan pun dekat rumah jiran. Itu pun kejap-kejap je. Tak bagi bergaul sangat sebab ayah takut kalau bergaul nanti merayau sana sini. Maklum lah kalau hidup Orang Asli ni merayau di hutan lah ... kesana sini.

P4: When we were in the village my father didn't allow me to interact with others that much, I only talked with friends while in the kindergarten. At home, we only stayed at home. The furthest would be talking to my neighbours. But even that only for a short time because Father was afraid that we would wander around here and there, knowing the Orang Asli life which is inclined to wander in the jungle, and here and there.



4.4.2.3.2.2 Food

Example 1

P5: Sarapan ... dia bagi Milo dengan something vitamin C la. Around 9:30 ke 9:45 dia bagi makan ... macam-macam lah kadang-kadang dia bagi mi mihun ... nasi lemak ... nasi goreng macam tu lah menu berubah lah ... menu tadika ... kan.

P5: Breakfast... they gave us Milo and vitamin C. Around 9:30 to 9:45 for us to eat. Sometimes they gave us noodles, nasi lemak, fried rice and so on ... the menu changed daily.

Example 2

P8: Prasekolah [tadika] ingat banyak main-main dengan kawan-kawan saja. Ingat pasal makan saja. Ingat buat persembahan.

P8: In pre-school [kindergarten] I only remember that I played a lot with my friends. I remember about having food only. I remember about participating in performance.

Example 3



P10: Habis makan lah ... kan habis makan tu ... main, ha... masa tu lah [balik rumah]. Masa tu Cikgu pergi ke seberang.

P10: After I finished eating ... after food we went out to play. That's the time [I went home] when the Teacher left [us on our own].

4.4.2.3.2.3 Fun

Example 1

R: Kindegarten apa rasa di kindergarten? P5: Seronok ... sebab ... kindergarten bukan satu kawasan bukan ... sekolah yang betul-betul orang kata betul-betul belajar. Saya sampai tu, kawan-kawan pun dah sampai main dulu lah ... main-main ... lari keliling sekolah. Di luar ... luar sekolah semua [sementara menunggu guru sampai].

P5: It was fun. It was fun because ... the kindergarten wasn't a place ... a place where you have to really study. [In the morning] when I arrived, my friends had also arrived so we played first, running around the school. Outside, [yes] even outside of the school [while waiting for the teacher to come].

Example 2

R: Apa yang paling suka masa di kindergarten masa belajar tu? P3: Main alat musik. R: Main alat musik ... Musik apa yang you suka masa tu? P3: Saya pun tak ingat lah ... yang musik dia macam [bunyi] shoowshhh ... R: Hehehe. P3: Tapi yang tamborin tu kan ... yang macam ketuk-ketuk tu, pastu yang macam ada yang kulit tu, kulit apa ke yang main ketuk-ketuk tu. Yang warna merah tu apa 'ntah. R: Ingat warna je kan? P3: Hehehe.

R: What did you like the most in kindergarten? P3: Playing the musical instrument. R: Playing the musical instrument... what kind of music did you like? P3: I can't remember... the one that have this sound "shoowshhh" sound ... R: Hehehe. P3: But I think it was tambourine, the one that you have to knock. Then there was the one with skin, not sure what skin, the one that we hit and hit. It was red in colour. What it was I am not sure. R: You only remember the colour, right? P3: Hehehe.

Example 3

P10: Masa kindergarten tu saya ... arr ... saya memang nakal sangat lah masa tu. Ha ... ha ... sebab masa dulu memang saya nakal. Semua orang kena buli hehe. Ha sebab masa dekat kindergarten tu ni campur dengan budak [kampung] sebelah, Melayu lah. Lelaki. Pastu mak dia datang ... pastu ... buat tak tahu je, hehe.

P10: During kindergarten I was really naughty. Haha truly I was naughty then. Everyone was bullied hehe. The students were mixed with those from the nearby villages. There was a Malay boy. His Mother came to school [to complain] but I pretended as if nothing had happened. Hehe.

Example 4



P13: Kalau bermain suka kacau saja. Nanti kalau kawan kacau balik, saya menangis.

P13: When playing I liked to disturb the others. [But] when friends disturbed me back, I would cry.

4.4.2.3.2.4 Feeling Clever and Learning New Things

Example 1

P9: Erm saya rasa ... bila saya di kindergarten, saya merasa semakin pandai. Haha. Cikgu akan suruh baca ABC sampai Z, bagi kita orang pandai. Haha. Saya rasa dekat situ la [seronoknya di kindergarten] R: Jadi you feel pandai. Kawan-kawan lain pandai tak? P9: Erm lain diorang macam biasa-biasa je, dan banyak mainlah. R: Jadi dia orang tak hafal macam you hafal ... P9: Ha dorang tak. Passive ... so dia orang tak lah. R: Jadi Leia dalam kelas terserlah lah ... P9: Ha 'ah saya rasa saya menyerlah.

P9: I felt that when I was in kindergarten, I became cleverer. Haha. The teacher would ask us to read ABC till Z, until we know the alphabet. Haha. I think that was the reason [that I enjoyed kindergarten]. R: So you feel smart, how about other friends? Are they smart too? P9: Erm they were okay, they were more into playing R: So they didn't memorise as much as you did? P9: Ha no, they didn't. They were passive. [...] I think I was outstanding.



Example 2

R: Hari-hari tu, kena paksa ke pergi [kindergarten] atau kamu rela? P9: Tak ada, memang suka. R: Itu saya tanya kenapa kamu suka di kindergarten? P9: Saya suka suasana yang belajar. R: Ye? P9: Ha 'ah. R: Suasana belajar tu ke, kawan-kawan ke, ataupun cikgu? P9: Belajar. Macam mana kita nak tahu benda baru. R: Ye. Kamu masih ingat masa tu? P9: Ha 'ah masih ingat.

R: Daily, were you forced to go [to the kindergarten] or you went willingly? P9: No, I really liked [to go to kindergarten]. R: Why did you like to be in the kindergarten? P9: I like the learning environment. R: Really? P9: Yes. R: Was it the learning environment, or was it because of friends or the teacher? P9: Learning, like how we can know about new things. R: You still remember that? P9: Yes I still remember.

Example 3

P6: Erm ... the first time I can spell sungai. Ha ha. Because for me sungai, dia ada N dengan G, A dengan I nak pronounce tu agak susah sebab dia strong kan ... macam bagi seorang pelajar, budak tabika nak pronounce tu macam agak ... NGA tu lah ... bunyi NGAI yang belakang, itu yang susah nak pronounce tu ... Itu yang first time dapat tu seronok lah. Hahaha.

P6: Erm ... the first time I can spell the word 'sungai'. Haha, because for me, the word 'sungai' has N, G, A and I. So I had trouble to pronounce the word because the





pronunciation is a bit 'strong'. For kindergarten kids the pronunciation was a bit ... that 'NGA', the sound of 'NGAI' at the back was hard to pronounce. So when I managed to pronounce for the first time I was really happy. Hahaha.

4.4.2.3.2.5 School Events

Example 1

P9: Erm masa tu ada ... siapa datang melawat. Masa tu saya ... ada satu Datuk or Datin. Saya kena ambil bahagian dalam benda tu ... saya macam apa ni ... R: Bagi bunga? P9: Ha bagi bunga. R: Bouquet girl? P9: Yup, haha. Masa tu macam terpinga, rasa gembira.

P9: Erm at the time someone came to visit. A Datuk or Datin. I had to take part in ... what is it called ... R: To give flowers? P9: Ha yes to give flowers. R: Bouquet girl? P9: Yup, haha. I was flustered, and very happy.

Example 2

P1: Kalau ingat masa tadika tu ... paling ingat kalau ... ada sukaneka tu lah ... saya suka. Sukaneka.

P1: During kindergarten, I remember sports day the most ... I liked it, the Sports Day.



Example 3

R: Did you enjoy your kindergarten years? P6: Happy sangat. R: Sangat? P6: Ha'a. Because at the end of session tu ada majlis kan ... majlis penyerahan, erm majlis sijil tamat prasekolah, lepas tu ada persembahan ... masuk persembahan ... and then ar excited jugak sebab nak masuk darjah satu.

P6: I was really happy. Yes. Because at the end of the session there will be ceremonies. Prize- giving ceremony, Kindergarten Graduation Ceremony, and then there will be performance. I performed too and then arr ... I was excited too to begin Standard One.

Example 4

P8: Prasekolah [tadika] ingat banyak main-main dengan kawan-kawan saja. Ingat pasal makan saja. Ingat buat persembahan.

P8: In pre-school [kindergarten] I only remember that I played a lot with my friends. I remember about having food only. I remember about participating in performance.

Example 5

P6: Erm ... selalu pergi pertandingan di ... erm macam pertandingan kuiz matematik. Masa tabika. Masuk kuiz matematik and then dapat hadiah, even saguhati je pun. Haha and then dapat hadiah. Balik tu excited lah tunjuk dekat Mak. Ha ha.



P6: Erm ... I always participated in competitions in... erm like mathematic quiz competition, during kindergarten. I participated in a mathematic quiz competition and I got a prize, even if it was only consolation prize. Ha ha and then I received a prize. At home I was excited to show it to Mother. Haha.

4.4.2.3.2.6 Visits and Trips

Example 1

P7: Lepas tu ada macam masa terima anugerah tu keluar kat tempat lain.

P7: Then there was [an event like] receiving awards held [at a venue] somewhere else.

Example 2

R: Ada tak event yang kamu seronok masa di kindergarten ... atau pun yang tak seronok ... P5: Kan tadika kan sometimes kadang-kadang dia bawak student dia keluar ... R: Contoh? P5: Pergi tadika lain ... ada pertandingan mewarna ke ... macam tu lah ... R: Itu pernah buat ... pernah pergi ... Itu yang seronok ingat tu ya ... P5: Saya pergi sukan, sukan KEMAS kan masa tu Tadika KEMAS ada buat sukan, sukan tadika dengan tadika kita pergi lah ... R: Di mana ... jauh ke? P5: Batu 6 batu 6 kan kat situ ada padang kan.

P5: Sometimes the kindergarten took us out, to another kindergarten, such as for colouring competitions. KEMAS held kindergarten sports day, so we went also. It was held at a field located at Batu 6.

4.4.2.3.2.7 Not Enjoying

Example 1

P3: Saya ingat lagi, saya rasa saya yang paling macam bila nak masuk sekolah [tadika], bila nak masuk kelas tu saya nangis-nangis nak balik. Hahaha ... dalam lepas sebulan macam tu baru boleh adapt kan. Sebab saya memang manja dengan ni.

P3: I still remember when I started school [the kindergarten], when I was about to enter the class I cried wanting to go home. Hahaha ... only after 3 months I managed to adapt, because I was really close [to my parents].

Example 2

P3: Dia panggil nama saya, pastu saya ke depan, pastu dia tanya kenapa buat macam ni macam ni kan. Pastu dia tunjuk buku yang lain. Dia kata kenapa orang lain buat elok-elok awak tak boleh buat hehe ... saya kena rotan. Ha ... saya setahun tu hati saya memang tak nak pergi ke sekolah tadika pun. Hehehe ... Tapi nak tak nak saya pergi jugak lah kan. Mak hantar hari-hari. Mak mesti hantar punya, kalau tidak saya nak tinggal dengan siapa hehehe.



P3: She [the teacher] called my name, and I went up front and then she asked why I did that (messing her notebook with circles and lines). Then she showed me other students' books. She asked why everyone else could do it nicely but you could not. I was caned. Ha ... for that one year I really didn't want to go to the kindergarten. He he he ... but even if I didn't want to I'd still go. Mother sent me everyday. She would send me no matter what otherwise no one would take care of me.

4.4.2.4 Accommodating Learning

4.4.2.4.1 Being Flexible

Example 1

P1: Mmm ... dia sekolah macam dia boleh belajar ha ... Dia [Emak] sekolah masuk dengan saya belajar ... R: Ok ... Ok ... untuk seminggu tu ... P1: Ha!

P1: Mmm ... [while in class accompanying me] she also learned [along with me]. R: For the one week? P1: Ha.

Example 2

R: Ada tempat duduk dan meja? P13: Meja ada. R: Menulis di atas lantai atau di atas meja? P13: Ikut suka lah. Mana yang selesa di atas lantai, atas lantai lah. R: Maknanya itu lah sebab kamu suka pergi ke sekolah? Boleh duduk di lantai atau guna meja? R: Sangat fleksibel. Meja itu macam mana? P13: Meja bulat. R: Satu meja untuk berapa orang? P13: Satu meja untuk 5 orang. R: Kebanyakan kamu suka di meja atau di lantai? P13: Di lantai. R: Ada juga yang pergi ke meja. Tapi kamu suka dilantai kah atau di meja? P13: Suka di lantai. R: Sambil baring atau duduk? P13: Semua, sambil baring dan duduk. R: Ada permaidani? P13: Ya, ada. R: Suasana tu kamu rasa seronok lebih seronok dari di meja? P13: Ya lebih seronok.

P13: We have desks. It's up to us. Those who preferred to write while on the floor they would sit on the floor. R: What did most do - seated at the desks or on the floor? P13: On the floor. R: While lying down or sitting on the floor? P13: Both, while lying down and sitting on the floor. R: Was there any carpet? P13: Yes. R: You think that way was more fun than writing at the desks? P13: Yes it was more fun.

4.4.2.4.2 Adapting into the Community

Example 1

P1: Cikgu luar ... Cikgu Melayu. Melayu.

P1: [The kindergarten] teacher was from outside. A Malay teacher, a Malay.

Example 2





P13: Dia [Cikgu] orang Melayu. Dia dari luar, dia berulang.

P13: He [the teacher] was Malay. He's from outside, commuting from outside.

4.4.2.4.3 Creating Safe and Secure Environment

Example 1

P10: Pastu sejak daripada itu pagar kena tutup lah pula.

P10: Following the incident, the gate was locked.

Example 2

P1: Cikgu sangat baik. Saya paling ingat tu Cikgu Tabika saya Cikgu Ji tu ... dia seorang yg baik ... dia baiklah ... dengan budak-budak caring ... dia sangat baik dengan semua orang.

P1: The teacher was really nice. I remember the most, my kindergarten teacher, Cikgu Ji ... she was nice ... really nice... caring with the kids... she was nice with everyone.

Example 3

P5: Kira rapat juga lah [dengan cikgu]. R: Macam mana rapat tu? P5: Sebab masa lepas sekolah pun masih ... kalau jumpa pun boleh beborak.

P5: [I] consider myself as close [with my teacher]. R: How close? P5: Even after school, if I met [her] I could still chat [with her].

Example 4

P13: Kadang-kadang dia tegas. Kadang dia biasa. Dia sangat membantu dan mesra.

P13: Sometimes she was strict. Sometimes she was normal. She helped a lot and was also friendly.

Example 5

P6: Garang at the same time loving. R: What was the effect on you? P6: Erm ... garang of course lah buat kita rasa nak buat kerja, kalau tak kena marah kan (gelak) ... kan ha tu saja lah. R: And the loving case? P6: Loving tu ... erm buat kita rasa selesa, erm.. kan biasa budak-baru baru masuk, masih teringatkan mak, kan ... bila ada dia, dia akan pujuk. And then mengajar is mengajar ... pujuk is pujuk, macam tu lah lebih kurang. R: Jadi garangnya waktu mengajar? P6: Ha garang waktu mengajar, tapi ... at the same time kalau student nangis tu, dia akan pujuk.



P6: Fierce but at the same time loving. R: What was the effect on you? P6: Fierce caused us to do our work otherwise we would get her wrath (laughed) ... that's all. R: And loving? P6: Loving made us feel comfortable, as kids, they were new and wanting their Mothers, then the teacher would console them. Teaching and consoling all at the same time. When teaching she was fierce, but when students cried, she would console them.

Example 6

P8: Cikgu saya ingat. Tapi nama dia saya tak ingat. Cikgu perempuan. Satu berbadan besar, satu berbadan kurus. Garang. R: Then kamu ingat garang, kamu tak ada ingat tentang hal lain? P8: Ya.

P8: I remember the teachers but I don't remember their names. They were female teachers. One was a bit hefty, another one was slim. [They were] fierce. R: You remember they were fierce, but not anything else? P8: Yes.

4.4.2.4.4 Appreciating Accomplishment

Example 1

P13: Hasil kerja mewarna diletakkan di dinding.

P13: The children's colouring work would be posted on the wall.

4.4.2.4.5 Managing Teaching and Learning

Example 1

P5: Pastu kalau cikgu sampai dia bagi sarapan ... dia bagi Milo dengan something vitamin C la. Makan vitamin. Pagi-pagi minum Milo ... pastu makan vitamin. Just milo and vitamin. Tiap tiap hari. Pukul 8 tu start lah belajar. Around 9:30 ke 9:45 dia bagi makan. Macam-macam lah kadang-kadang dia bagi mi mihun ... nasi lemak ... nasi goreng macam tu lah.

P5: And then when the teacher arrived she'd served us breakfast with Milo and some vitamin C, every day. And then at 8 we started our lessons. Around 9:30 or 9:45 we had [another break]. We had noodles ... or nasi lemak ... fried rice and so on.

Example 2

P5: Dengan guru [saya bercakap dalam] bahasa Melayu. R: Guru guna Bahasa Orang Asli tak? P5: Kadang kadang lah tapi ... Kadang kadang dia nak terang kan.

P5: With my teacher [I speak in] Bahasa Melayu. R: Did the teachers use the Orang Asli language? P5: Sometimes but ... when they had to explain things.



Example 3

R: Ada tak rasa tak nak pergi kintergarten? P3: Ha ada ada ada, sebab saya pernah kena rotan dalam tadika tu. R: Cikgu guna rotan untuk apa? P13: Kalau tak dengar cakap kena rotan. R: Dia rotan di mana? Dekat tangan atau di badan? P13: Di tangan saja lah.

R: Did you ever feel not wanting to go to kindergarten? P3: Yes I did because I was caned in that kindergarten. R: Why did the teacher cane you? P13: If I didn't listen to her words I'd get caned. R: Where did she cane you? P13: On [the palm of] my hands only.

Example 4

P16: Macam cikgu suruh buat menulis, kadang-kadang saya buat kadang saya tak buat. R: Itu yang kena rotan itu? P16: Ya. Sebab kita budak-budak kan. R: Ya, sakit tak kena rotan tu? P16: Sakit lah juga, sampai menangis.

P16: The teacher asked us to write, sometimes I did it, and sometimes I didn't. R: Was that why you were caned? P16: Yes, because we were kids right. R: Was it painful? P16: Yes, to the extent that I cried.

Example 5

R: Berapa lama agaknya situasi macam itu yang cikgu tak mengajar tu? Masa itu umur 5 tahun atau 6 tahun? P16: Masa umur 5 tahun dia okay, tapi masa 6 tahun dia sudah tak okay. Dia sudah tak ambil berat. R: Macam mana kamu semua belajar? P16: Kami belajar dengan pembantu dia sahaja. Dengan pembantu kelas saja yang mengajar.

P16: When I was 5 she was okay but when I was 6 she was not okay. She stopped taking interest. We learned from her assistant, only the class assistant taught us.

4.4.2.5 Generating Learning

4.4.2.5.1 Acclimatising for School

4.4.2.5.1.1 Experiencing Outside Community

Example 1

P6: Tidak terlalu susah [ketika di sekolah rendah] sebab dari segi environment saya sudah biasa berkawan dengan kawan-kawan yang bukan dari anak Orang Asli semasa tadika. Jadi untuk bergaul dengan mereka dalam perbincangan berkumpulan saya tiada masalah.

P6: It wasn't that hard [in primary school] because in terms of environment I was used to have friends with those who were not Orang Asli during kindergarten. So it wasn't





a problem for me to interact and have a discussion with them [other Non-Orang Asli students].

See also data at Section 4.4.2.2.2: Class Size, Composition and Ethnicity.

4.4.2.5.1.2 Interacting with Similar and Non-similar Others

Example 1

P10: Kadang-kadang saya gigit [murid lekali Melayu]. R: Menangis mereka? P10: Ha 'ah memang menangis pun. R: Kenapa gigit? P10: Tak tahu lah masa tu.

P10: Sometimes I bit them [the Malay boys]. R: Did they cry? P10: Yes they did. R: Why did you bite them? P10: I didn't even know why I did that.

4.4.2.5.1.3 Extending Identity

Please refer to Section 4.4.2.5.1.2: Interacting with Similar and Non-similar Others

4.4.2.5.2 Developing Potentials

4.4.2.5.2.1 Cultivating Leadership and Cooperative Learning



Example 1

P11: Patutkan dalam setiap game ker ... setiap apa ke ... macam saya yang macam ke depan macam volunteer macam siapa nak mula dulu ... R: Kenapa tu agaknya. P11: 'ntah ada orang lain tak buat ... macam buat tak tahu aje ... errmm. Untuk main game apa 'ntah ... errmm pastu ... err ... yang lain-lain buat tak tahu ... Cikgu ... biar sayalah yang buat. Err ... macam tulah.

P11: In every game or anything, I'd usually be the first to volunteer. R: And why is that so? P11: I don't know, because everyone else didn't seem interested. Errmm ... [for instance] to play this certain game, and then, err, when everyone else kept quiet, I said, "teacher, just let me do it", something like that.

4.4.2.5.2.2 Developing Self-Esteem

Example 1

P6: Masuk kuiz matematik and then dapat hadiah, even saguhati je pun. Haha. R: Prepare tak? P6: Masa tu Cikgu lah kebanyakannya yang membantu. R: Parent tak ada lah? P6: Ha parent tak.





*P6: Entered the math quiz competition and got a prize even just consolation prize. Haha
P6: During that time teacher helped a lot. R: Your parents didn't help? P6: No they
didn't.*

Example 2

*P3: Ha saya masa tu saya nak dekat hujung tahun tu, saya dapat piala untuk dapat apa
tu untuk, cemerlang kut tak silap saya. Ha masa hujung tahun tu kan diorang buat
majlis, macam tu lah ... masa tu diorang buat dekat dewan dekat Chemor kan. Diorang
umumkanlah yang terbaik, lepas tu naik kat atas pentas masa tu Mak Bapak kat depan,
itu lah saya ingat.*

*P3: At the end of the year I got an award for... if I'm not mistaken for excellence. They
had the end of the year ceremony, like that. During that time they had the ceremony in
a hall at Chemor. They announced the best student, and then I was called to the stage
and my parents were there, [seated] in front, I remember that.*

4.4.2.5.2.3 Extending Learning

Example 3

*P6: My mom selalu said, dia selalu paksa abang-abang suruh ajar [saya] mesti kenal
ABC dulu. R: Okay so before masuk tabika tu ... you dah boleh baca sikit-sikit ... P6:
Kita [saya] dah boleh kenal huruf ... R: Tulis nama? P6: Tulis nama sendiri pun ... ha
dah boleh. R: Dah boleh? P6: Ha 'ah. R: Tulis sentences, ayat? P6: Tulis sentences ...
R: belum lagi ... jadi word saja lah? P6: Ha 'ah. R: Tulis nama ... P6: Nama ... R:
Kalau baca nama benda ... P6: Merangkak jugaklah hahaha.*

*P6: My mum always said that she forced my older brothers to teach [me] the ABC first.
R: Then before kindergarten, you can read a bit? P6: I knew the alphabet. R: How
about writing your own name? P6: Writing my own name ... ha yes I could. R: How
about writing sentences? P6: Writing sentences... R: Not yet ... So only words? P6:
Yes. R: Reading names of objects? P6: With a lot of effort. Hahaha.*

Example 4

*P7: [Boleh eja] nama short. R: Nama Suhaila je? P7: Suhaila saje. R: Jadi boleh dah
mengeja sebelum masuk tadika? P7: Ha 'ah. R: Okay. Habis tadika apa dah pandai
dah, boleh apa? P7: Habis tadika tu saya ... mengeja tu dah boleh, baca pun mungkin
saya tak ingat tapi mungkin boleh tapi teragaklah macam tu. R: Ok, menulis? P7:
Menulis ... R: Berapa ayat boleh menulis? P7: Saya tak pasti yang tu sebab tulis tu
mungkin jarang. Saya banyak membaca, mengeja macam tu lah. R: Number sampai
berapa tu boleh ingat tu? P7: 1 sampai 20.*

*P7: [Before kindergarten could spell] my short name. After kindergarten I could spell,
maybe some reading too I can't remember but not fluent. Writing... I am not sure
because I barely did any writing. I just read a lot, and spelling like that. R: How about
numbers? P7: 1 to 20.*





Example 5

P11: [Sebelum tadika pandai] ABC ... R: ABC dah pandai dah? P11: Ha 'ah. R: Lepas habis tadika apa yang kamu boleh buat? Masa 6 tahun sebelum masuk darjah 1 ... dah pandai apa dah masa tu? P11: Itulah yang saya kata tadi, membaca ... R: Satu buku ke? P11: Satu buku.

P11: [Before kindergarten I knew] ABC ... [at the end of kindergarten I could read] Just one book.

Example 6

P13: [Sebelum tadika] Saya hanya pandai mengira dan membaca abjad hanya dengan mengenal objek-objek sahaja. Tapi belum tahu menulis lagi. Masa saya di tadika baru saya tahu menulis. [Selepas tadika] kalau menulis tu setakat ABC, mengeja nama sudah boleh, mengeja nama seperti buah-buahan sudah boleh, boleh membuat ayat mudah dan pendek, seperti 'saya suka main'.

P13: [Before kindergarten] I only knew how to count and read the alphabet and identify objects only. But I did not know how to write yet. I only knew how to write in kindergarten. [After kindergarten] I knew how to write the ABC ... to spell my name and name of fruits, writing short and simple sentences such as 'saya suka main'.



4.4.2.5.3 Showing Vision of the Future

Example 1

P6: Because at the end of session tu akan ada majlis kan ... majlis penyerahan, erm majlis sijil tamat pra sekolah, lepas tu ada persembahan ... masuk persembahan ... and then arr excited jugak sebab nak masuk darjah satu.

P6: Because at the end of the session there will be ceremonies. Prize-giving ceremony, Kindergarten Graduation Ceremony, and then there will be performance. I took part in the performance too, and then err ... I was excited too to enter Standard One.

Example 2

P10: Kindergarten kan masa tu, geng-geng apa ni Idi ... Sal tadi, masa nak masuk tu ... saya ... tu saya nangis lah, sebab diorang awal kan masuk. Saya pun cakap kat cikgu saya pun nak ikut, nak ikut, pastu cikgu cakap tak boleh lagi. Lepas tu saya, apa tu, saya pelik lah macam mana pulak cikgu kata tak boleh? Pastu dia cakap lah umur tak cukup. Nangis lah. Pastu nangis, nangis, nangis.

P10: My [older] friends started primary school, leaving me still in the kindergarten. So I cried and I told the teacher that I wanted to follow them. The teacher then said, "No you couldn't". So I was wondering why she said that; then she said that you were not of the age [for school] yet. Again I cried and cried.



Example 3

P1: Sukaneka tu ... dia gabung dengan sekolah rendah .

P1: The sports day was combined with the primary school.

APPENDIX R

Data-Schools

4.4 Schools Leading Learning

4.4.3 Primary Schools

Example 1

R: Apa yang kamu ingat tentang Guru Besar? P5: Tak ingat sangat kut sebab saya rasa bila jumpa guru besar selalunya diperhimpunan sekolah kan.

R: What did you remember about your headteacher? P5: Can't remember much because I only met him during school assemblies.

Example 2

R: Pernah tak kamu bercakap-cakap dengan guru besar? P15: Tak pernah. R: Pernah tak Guru Besar tegur kamu? P15: Pernah rasanya. Ada perjumpaan Guru Besar dengan murid Tahun 6, adalah. R: Pernah tak guru besar bertegur sapa dengan kamu? P15: Tak pernah.

R: Did you ever have conversations with your Headteacher? P15: Never. R: Did the Headteacher ever talk to you? P15: Yes I think. It was in a gathering with the Headteacher for Year 6 students. R: Did the Headteacher ever interact (bertegur sapa) with you? P15: Never.

Example 3

P6: Sebab dia suka ronda kelas, tengok kelas mana yang tak ada cikgu dia akan masuk dan tanya kenapa tak ada cikgu. Semua ... and then kalau cikgu tu ada hal dia akan - dia suka duduk bercerita lah senang cerita.

P6: Because he liked to monitor the classes, checking if there was any class without a teacher, he'd enter and asked why there was no teacher. If a teacher had something else to do, he would sit and told us stories.

4.4.3.1 Initialising Learning

4.4.3.1.1 Accessibility

Example 1

P5: Sebab dulu ada van yang JAKOA provide van yang dia bagi tender kan ... so diorang naik tu lah.



P5: Because JAKOA provided the van [tendered], so they [the students] took that [to school].

Example 2

P6: Oh kalau anak-anak polis dia sediakan truck van.

P6: Children of the police [force] were provided with a truck [to school]

Example 3

P2: Nak dekat 1 kilometer lah ... tapi tak sampai ... nak dekat lah ... tapi kitorang selalu ikut short cut sebab yang bawak [van] tu dulu dia drug addict so kitorang takut dengan dia, kitorang ikut jalan kelapa sawit, lalu sungai ... sampai kampung.

P2: About 1 kilometre ... not exactly ... but almost ... but we always used the shortcut because the van driver was a drug addict so we were afraid of him. We walked through the palm oil plantation, passing a river ... until we arrived at our village.

Example 4

P11: Saya pernah jalan kaki [selepas kelas tambahan], ni selepas yang kena tampar tu lah ... saya pergi je lah kelas [tambahan petang] ... mak ayah saya memang tak ada motor dulu [untuk jemput pulang] ... [saya] lalu kampung orang Melayu ... lepastu baru masuk estate, lepastu baru masuk kampung saya. 5 kilometer macam tu kut. Lama jugak lah nak dekat senja [sampai ke rumah].

P11: I walked from school on foot [after the afternoon classes], this was after I was slapped ... I stayed back [for the extra classes] ... my father didn't have motorcycle [to fetch me from school] ... [I] walked through the Malay village ... and the estate, only then I reached my village. Around 5 kilometres, I think. It took me almost dusk [to reach home].

4.4.3.1.2 Class Size, Composition, Ethnicity

Example 1

P5: Kat SK S ni bila masuk sekolah rendah, dia ramai student yang lebih umur. R: Lebih umur? Umur kamu masa tu tujuh tahun lah ...? P5: Tujuh tahun ... ada tiga, empat orang kawan yang dah umur sembilan tahun ... umur lapan tahun, umur sebelas tahun pun ada baru masuk darjah satu sebab diorang lewat masuk sekolah ... diorang ramai jugak time tu masa saya darjah satu, around ... 25 to 30 lah.

P5: In this school, there were many students who were above age. When I was 7... there were three or four friends who were already 9 years old ... 8, even 11 years old, just starting Standard One because they started school late. When I was in Standard One, there were around ... 25 to 30 students.



Example 2

P7: 1 kelas dalam 25 orang.

P7: About 25 students in one class.

Example 3

P15: 30 – 40 orang (satu kelas).

P15: 30-40 students [in one class].

Example 4

P1: Ermm ... yang ada pun satu (bukan Orang Asli) ... zaman saya ni ... anak Cikgu ... Cikgu tu Cikgu India ... Dia bawak anak dia sekolah di situ.

P1: Ermm ... the one that we had (not an Orang Asli) ... during my time ... a Teacher's son ... An Indian Teacher ... the teacher brought his son to study there.

Example 5

P2: Dari Darjah 1 sampai 6. Sekolah ini majoriti murid-muridnya terdiri dari kaum Orang Asli dan Melayu. [Orang Asli] berketurunan Semai dan bertutur dengan Bahasa Semai. R: Sekolah tu campur dengan Melayu ke? P2: Ya dia [ada] Melayu, India ada dan Orang Asli, Cina tak ada. R: Berapa orang anak murid ada masa tu dalam ... masa first year, year one? P2: Tak sure year one nampak macam penuh. Penuh kelas lah.

P2: From Standard 1 until 6, the majority in that school consisted of Orang Asli and Malays. [The Orang Asli] Semai tribe spoke in the Semai language. P2: Yes we had Malays, Indians and Orang Asli. But there was no Chinese. R: How many pupils were there when you were in Year One? P2: [I'm] not sure [but] Year 1 appeared to be full. The class was full.

4.4.3.1.3 Learning Environment

Example 1

P5: Saya bersekolah dalam satu persekitaran yang semua pelajar adalah Orang Asli. Hanya ada segelintir 2, 3 orang students daripada orang Melayu. Jadi saya rasa ada bagus dengan tak bagus.

P5: I went to a school which had Orang Asli as the majority students. Only a few, 2 to 3 students were Malay. So I think there were advantages and disadvantages.

Example 2

P5: Bagusnya saya rasa, saya duduk dalam golongan Orang Asli saya bercampur



dalam menggunakan bahasa yang sama kalau lain pun saya boleh faham dan yang bagusnye lagi saya rasa bila saya tak terdedah dengan benda-benda negatif dari luar. Ialah masa zaman saya sekolah penggunaan internet ke, saya tak tahu nak main video ke apa yang something new technology lah.

P5: The advantages were, I think, that I stayed among the Orang Asli so I could communicate using the same language, [although] if it was a different language I'd still understand. Another benefit was I wasn't exposed to negative things from the outside. Well during my time there was no internet, I didn't know how to play video games or anything related to the new technology.

Example 3

P5: Yes [the technology] dah ada tapi saya kurang terdedah lah berbanding dengan student student melayu daripada luar sini ke, diorang lebih tahu benda benda macam tu ... Pemikiran nanti memang lah dunia luar tu ada negatif dan positifnya, tapi kalau dunia luar tu positif tak salah rasanya kita ambil kan. Pastu bila saya duduk satu golongan yang sama je pemikiran pun lebih kurang sebab tu yang saya kata saya belajar dalam suasana yang saya rasa saya kurang inovatif.

P5: Yes [the technology] existed but I wasn't exposed to it compared to the Malay students, they know better about this stuff. Our thinking of course there is negative and positive aspects from the outside, but if there is any positive aspect it is not wrong for us to take it, right. [But] then when I stayed within the same circle my thinking level remained the same; that is why I said I learned in an environment that was less innovative.

Example 4

P5: Saya rasa saya, sekolah rendah saya rasa saya lebih sesuai mungkin biar lah saya sekolah dekat sama dengan Orang Asli, sebab saya rasa lebih selamat lah.

P5: I think, for primary school I think I was more suitable to go to a school that have Orang Asli, because I felt safer.

Example 5

R: Masa itu sekolah anak Orang-orang Asli kah atau sekolah campur? P15: Sekolah campur. R: Terasa tak seperti terpinggir? P15: Tak adalah.

R: Was an Orang Asli school or a mixed school, at that time? P15: Mixed school. R: Did you feel left out? P15: No.

Example 6

P15: Kalau saya nak bercampur saja. R: Siapa yang tak nak campur? P15: Mereka yang tak nak bercampur. R: Apa rasa kamu? P15: Apalah kami buat salah kah ... Sebab tak nak bercampur dengan kami.





P15: If it was up to me, I wanted to join them [students from other ethnic groups]. R: Who refused to join you? P15: They were the one who refused. R: How did you feel? P15: What wrong we have done... because they didn't want to be with us.

Example 7

R: Tahun 4 kamu sudah berpindah ke Sekolah Kebangsaan Orang Asli [SRC]? P15: Ya, memang full Orang Asli. R: Oh, memang seronok lah? P15: Ya. Bahasa pun cakap Bahasa Temuan.

R: In Year 4 you moved to a Sekolah Kebangsaan Orang Asli [SRC]? P15: Yes it was a full Orang Asli school. R: Oh, so it was enjoyable? P15: Yes. We even talked in the Temuan language.

4.4.3.1.4 Facilities

Example 1

P1: Dia [Guru Tadika] ada rumah kuarters guru. Mungkin ada cikgu sekolah rendah yang duduk sama-sama kat situ lah, sebab sekolah tadika side by side; tadika sini, dia [sekolah rendah] seberang jalan.

P1: She [the kindergarten teacher] stayed at the teachers' quarter. Probably there were also teachers from the primary school staying there, because the kindergarten and the primary school were next to each other. The kindergarten was here [P1 pointing at a map, sketched in the Researcher's notebook], the primary school was across the road.

Example 2

P1: Mula-mula kat rumah saudara lah yg ada kat [sekolah] tu. Tapi dah ada asrama saya duduk kat asrama. Jadi daripada Darjah 3 tu berapa tahun dah saya duduk asrama dah. Jadi saya macam motivate lah lebih. Dah tau mak susah ... jadi kita tak manja lah sangat dengan mak, jadi independent.

P1: Initially [I stayed] at a relative's house, near the school. Then when it [the school] had hostel, I stayed at the hostel. From Standard 3, I had been staying so many years in the hostel. So I was like more motivated. Knowing that my mother was poor ... so I was not too 'manja' with Mother, I became independent.

Example 3

Menurutnya, seramai 10 murid orang Asli Tahun 1 telah mendaftar untuk tinggal di asrama sekolah berkenaan. Beliau berkata, pada masa ini sekolah tersebut mempunyai seramai 223 murid Orang Asli daripada kira-kira lapan kampung Orang Asli sekitar daerah ini. Tambahnya lagi, daripada jumlah itu sebanyak 91 murid telah mendaftar tinggal di asrama sekolah berkenaan termasuk 43 murid tahun enam (Sinar Harian, 2016).





According to her [the headteacher], a total of 10 Orang Asli pupils have registered to stay in school's hostel. She said, presently the school had 223 Orang Asli pupils from about eight Orang Asli villages within the district. She added, out of those [223 pupils] 91 pupils have registered to board in the hostel including 43 pupils of Year Six (Sinar Harian, 2016).

Example 4

P1: Ha...macam kita dah tahu sendiri...tak tahu lah saya macam motivate dari dulu sebelum balik rumah saya dah basuh baju dulu [di asrama]. Sebab dekat asrama dia dah sediakan macam atap kan dah basuh baju sendiri.

P1: Yes, it was like I just knew what to do. I don't know, but I was motivated since in the beginning, that I would wash my clothes first before I left for home, because the hostel had a covered area where [we] could [hand] washed our clothes.

Example 5

R: Okay. How about school facilities, kemudahan di sekolah? P6: So far okay, good. R: Apa yang ada? P6: Semua ada, bilik muzik ada semua ... R: Antara kemudahan tu mana yang kamu selalu guna? P6: Toilet. Hahaha. R: (Laughs). Okay selain daripada tu ... library? P6: Library, masa Darjah 1 sampai Darjah 3 kurang pergi library. Sebab masa tu jadual dia kan ada satu masa untuk pergi library setiap kelas. R: Ada hostel? P6: Ha kita tak ada hostel.



P6: We have everything, we have a music room. R: Which among the facilities that you used the most? P6: Toilet! Hahaha. R: [Laughs] Okay what else ... the library? P6: Library ... Year 1 to Year 3, less use of the library, because in the timetable we were given only one session per week for each class. R: Was there any hostel? P6: No we didn't have hostel.

4.4.3.1.5 Learning Resources

Example 1

R: Mana dapat perkataan akauntan, sama juga lah di dinding-dinding itu? P16: Ya, betul.

R: Where did you get the word 'akauntan', also from the walls? P16: Yes.

Example 2

P5: Cikgu tu ... dia orang Kedah, perempuan lepas tu cara dia mengajar tu macam something fun lah masa mengajar tu. R: Lepas tu? P5: Dia mengajar Bahasa Melayu dia banyak gunakan lagu macam tu. Cikgu tu pulak pandai main gitar main instrument. Jadi dalam kelas dia guna lah instrument tu untuk mengajar.





P5: The teacher was from Kedah, a female teacher, and the way she taught it was fun. She taught Bahasa Melayu, and she used a lot of songs. The teacher could also play the guitar, so she used the instrument in class to teach.

Example 3

R: BI kenapa dia susah? Macam mana Cikgu tu mengajar ... apa sumber pembelajaran yang digunakan ... learning resources ... kamu ingat tak? P11: Saya ambik BI mestilah guna kamus kan ... lepas tu dari segi bahan kut ... sebab tak ada duit kut nak beli kamus, so kita orang makna tu tak faham ... kadang pernah satu ketika ... bila dia tanya soalan ... soalan tu yang akan saya tulis balik dekat depan. R: Oh sebab kamu tak faham? P11: Tak faham. R: Jadi kurang learning resources la ni ... macam kamus dari rumah tak adalah. P11: Ha'a. R: Di sekolah tak ada ke kamus tu? P11: Tak.

P11: To learn English, I need a dictionary, but we didn't buy it because we couldn't afford it. So we didn't understand. Once when the teacher asked a question, I copied the question back on the board [when I was asked to answer]. [There was no dictionary at home and in the classroom].

Example 4

P11: Erm barang yang ada dalam kelas tu sendirilah ... R: Tak ada bawa dari luar? Ingat ... ada bawa buah rambutan ke ... musim rambutan bawa rambutan, musim durian bawa durian ... tak ada? Ada something from outside ... P11: Erm tak ada. R: Bawa dari rumah into the classroom ... ada? ... Okay, how about Cikgu kata esok you all bawa ni ... kita cerita pasal tu ... pernah tak? P11: Tak pernah.

P11: [The teacher would talk about] only about those items that were available in the class. R: None from the outside, [for examples] 'rambutan' during 'rambutan' season, 'durian' during durian season? P11: None. R: Something from home, how about teacher saying 'tomorrow all of you bring this ... we are going to talk about this? P11: Never.

Example 5

R: Dalam kelas ada guna komputer ke untuk belajar? Kalau ada, dalam kelas sendiri ke atau ada bilik komputer khusus? Dan juga guna untuk apa komputer? P5: Masa di sekolah belajar di makmal komputer sahaja ... guna asas-asas Words sahaja.

P5: In primary school we learn to use computer in the computer laboratory, only the basics, using Words.

Example 6

P15: Dulu memang tak masuk kelas computer. Memang belajar tak guna computer. 100% in the class. Tapi sekolah tu memang ada makmal computer sendiri.

P15: Those days we never had any computer class. We never use computer, 100% in the classroom. However the school had its own computer lab.





Example 7

P16: Ada bilik computer khusus. Belajar cara menggunakan computer, contohnya macam mana nak menaip, gunakan Microsoft and so on.

P16: We have a computer room. We learned how to use the computer, for instance how to type, using Microsoft and so on.

Example 8

P13: Ada. Kami belajar dalam bilik komputer. Kami belajar pasal software komputer dan cara nak guna perisian komputer. Macam Perisian Microsoft.

P13: Yes we had, we learned in the computer room. We learned about computer and how to use it.

4.4.3.1.6 Curriculum

Example 1

R: What was your favourite subject? Masa Year 1 to Year 3? P6: Year 1 until Year 3, Seni dengan Bahasa Melayu. R: Seni dan Bahasa Melayu? P6: Ya. R: Why you like that? P6: Erm sebab, the only subject yang tak payah membaca sangat, so drawing and then main dengan colour itu sahaja. R: Bahasa Melayu kenapa? P6: Bahasa Melayu maybe erm, saya pun tak tahu. Tapi saya rasa suka Bahasa Melayu. R: Apa yang membuatkan kamu suka? Di sini kamu suka cikgunya ke or suka bahasanya? P6: First mesti cikgu kan. R: Ha 'a. P6: Tapi saya lebih kepada bahasanya. Senang nak belajar. R: You rasa senang? P6: Ha senang Bahasa Melayu. R: Your least ... maksudnya tak gemar? P6: Math. R: Math kenapa? P6: Erm ... haha dia ni macam susah sikit la nak cope dengan itu. Kalau Bahasa Melayu kita rasa seronok. R: Nak buat tu, ada rasa tu berbeza? P6: Ha 'ah. Tapi kalau matematik tu just buat sekadar ... R: To finish it all? P6: Finish it all. P6: Dia selalu kalau Darjah 1 sampai Darjah 3 dulu, di sekolah tu setiap petang kita orang akan berhimpun and then akan ada kelas by kelas buat performance. R: Performance tu maksudnya? P6: Ha kita buat lagu.

P6: Bahasa Melayu and 'Seni' were my favourite subjects from Year 1 to Year 3. [Seni] was the only subject that I didn't have to read, only drawing and playing with colours. I liked Bahasa Melayu because it was easy for me to learn. Maths [is my least favourite]. If Bahasa Melayu we felt that it was enjoyable. From Year 1 to Year 3 the school had assembly every evening, and then we would perform a song, class by class.

Example 2

R: All right. Masa di sekolah rendah, subjek apa yang kamu memang suka? P11: BM. R: BM, kenapa BM? P11: Senang bahasanya. Hehehe. R: Bahasa Inggeris? P11: Oh bahasa inggeris fail. Erm bukan fail Cuma kurang sikit. R: Apa dapat UPSR? P11: B. R: Alright. Why bahasa inggeris.. susah ke macma mana? P11: Susah lah nak faham





dia punya ni grammar lah. sampai sekarang pun. R: Grammar tu maksudnya contoh.. mengukir ayat ke.. atau nak membuat ayat dia ke. P11: Dia setiap matapelajaran kan ada best student. R: So dapat best student untuk subjek apa? P11: Itulah yang saya cakup BM.

P11: My favourite subject was BM because it was easy. English was difficult, its grammar, and how to construct sentences. I received prize for best subject for BM.

Example 3

R: Apa subjek yang paling kamu suka? P13: Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Inggeris. R: Kenapa? P13: Sebab Bahasa Melayu mudah, dan memudahkan saya untuk memahami apa yang cikgu cakap. R: Baiklah, masa di Darjah 6, di sekolah rendah subjek yang paling kamu tak suka? P13: Matematik. R: Kenapa tak suka? P13: Tak suka nak mengira. Sebab masa di sekolah rendah itu saya operasi tolah darab bahagi tak berapa pandai, hanya pandai operasi tambah sahaja.

P13: [My favourite subjects were] Bahasa Melayu and English. P13: Bahasa Melayu was easy, and it helped me to understand the teacher. R: Your least favourite subject? P13: Mathematics. I didn't like to compute. I could do addition, but subtraction, multiplication and division were difficult for me.

Example 4

R: Cuba cerita apa favourite subject masa di sekolah rendah? Mata pelajaran yang paling disukai di sekolah rendah? P15: Bahasa Melayu. R: Oh, BM kenapa? P15: Bahasanya itu lebih senang lagi. R: Apa subjek yang paling tak suka? P15: Sains. R: Kenapa? P15: Saya memang lemah. Tak faham. R: Ini masa sekolah rendah ni? Contohnya, apa yang susah nya tentang Sains? Apa konsep yang susah kamu nak faham? Macam mana dengan Matematik? P15: Matematik okay, Cuma Sains saja yang saya lemah.

P15: My favourite was Bahasa Melayu ... because it was easy. Least favourite was Science, I was weak in Science. I was okay in Mathematics.

Example 5

R: Who was your favourite teacher? P16: Cikgu matematik. R: Kenapa? P16: Sebab saya suka matematik. R: Subjek apa lagi yang kamu suka? P16: BM. R: Kenapa kamu suka dengan BM?" P16: Sebab dia bermain dengan ayat. Sebab dia boleh membuat kita berfikir kenapa, kenapa, kenapa. Masa buat karangan tu. Sejak Tahun 4.

P16: My favourite teacher was the Mathematics teacher. P16: Because I liked mathematics. I also liked BM. I liked to play with the sentences. When writing, it made me think, and ask why and why, since I was in Standard 4.





Example 6

P1: Saya suka jugak English walaupun ... tak berapa pandai tapi English tu menarik perhatian saya ... Ha macam subject tumpuan lah ... macam tulah.

P1: I liked English although I wasn't very good, but English attracted my attention. It was like my focus subject.

Example 7

R: What about bahasa? Bahasa apa yang lebih kamu suka? Bahasa Melayu ke Bahasa English? P7: Bahasa English, saya rasa saya boleh.

P7: [I prefer] English, because I think I could [do it].

4.4.3.2 Facilitating Learning

4.4.3.2.1 Sustaining Attendance

4.4.3.2.1.1 Teachers and Friends

P2: In terms of financial pun sama ... kalau nak ikutkan masa saya sekolah belanja memang er ... on off lah ... ada tak ada pun jalan jugak ... sekolah kan ... tapi saya sebab saya sangat cintakan sekolah saya tak pedulikan saya ada belanja ke tak ada belanja. Asalkan saya pergi sekolah jumpa cikgu jumpa kawan-kawan ... tu dah satu kepuasan bagi diri saya masa tu, masa zaman sekolah.

P2: Those days pocket money was on off [but] whether I had money or not I'd still go to school. Because I loved school very much I didn't care whether I had money or not. As long as I get to go to school and meet my teachers and friends, for me that was my satisfaction.

Example 2

P3: Bila bulan lima bulan enam tu [tahun pertama], dia memang tak rasa apa apa lah, member pun ada yang kenal kan.

P3: About five or six months [into Year One], it no longer feel [bad], and there were friends.

Example 3

R: Ada ingat tak best friend masa darjah satu? P5: Ada 3, 4 orang tu lah.

R: Did you remember your best friends during year one. P5: I had three to four.





Example 4

P1: Ha [we were transported to school using] a four-wheel drive. Duduk belakang, jalan hutan pulak tu. Dengan kawan-kawan. Seronok, seronok.

P1: Yes [we were transported to school using] a four-wheel drive [truck]. We sat at the back, via road running through the jungle. With friends, that was really enjoyable.

Example 5

R: Apa memori di sekolah rendah yang sangat kamu ingati? Apa yang kamu ingat tentang sekolah rendah sampai kamu tak pernah ponteng? P13: Masa di sekolah rendah saya ramai kawan. Ramai kawan daripada kampung-kampung lain. R: Bahasa kamu gunakan bahasa apa? P13: Sama bahasa.

R: What was most memorable during your primary school that caused you never to miss class? P13: In primary school I had a lot of friends. Many of these friends were from other villages. We speak the same languages.

4.4.3.2.1.2 School Meals

Example 1



P5: Masa tu ada RMT. Ada pemakanan tambahan tu. Tak payah belanja pun tak pekadang kadang belanja tu macam saya daripada kecil daripada darjah satu tu saya memang suka menabung.

P5: There was RMT [Rancangan Pemakanan Tambahan], supplementary meals program so even if there was no school allowance it was okay. I learned to save my pocket allowance.

Example 2

P10: Sekolah rendah [belanja] 50 sen je. Masa tu cukup lah. Pagi tu [di sekolah] ada makanan.

P10: My allowance was 50 sen during primary school. That was enough because there was food provided by the school in the morning.

Example 3

P7: Kami juga diberikan kemudahan lain seperti makanan percuma setiap pagi.

P7: We were also provided with free meals in the morning.





4.4.3.2.1.3 Hostels

Example 1

P5: Rutin di asrama ... saya balik sekolah 1:05 minit. 1:30 dah makan pastu pukul 4:30 minum. R: Berapa orang ada di asrama? P5: Lelaki ada dalam 20 orang. Campur lah sekolah menengah sekolah rendah. R: Dia satu bilik ke macam mana? P5: No. No dorm. Dormitory R: Ada tempat masak tempat makan. P5: Masak no. Makan ada dewan makan tu bawah. R: Ada tukang masak? P5: Ada tukang masak level one la R: Oh dia ada dua tingkat ke? P5: Aaa ... tiga tingkat. R: Tiga tingkat asrama nya? P5: Untuk 1 blok 3 tingkat ada 50 orang. Untuk first floor tu dewan makan, second floor bilik, third floor bilik. Pastu asrama perempuan lah first floor ada dewan sekolah. Sekolah tu tak de dewan jadi di asrama. Dewan makan share dengan laki-laki punya. Pagi di asrama makan, pastu rehat kang adalah makan. RMT tu pastu. Aaa.. Tengah hari asrama provide makan.

P5: Routine in hostel ... I came back from school at about 1:05 [the hostel was about five minutes away]. 1:30 lunch and then 4:30 we had tea. R: How many were in the hostel? P5: Boys around 20, secondary school along with the primary school students. R: Only one room? P5: No, no, dorm, dormitory. R: There was a place for cooking? P5: Cooking, no. If you want to eat there was a dining hall below. P5: Three storey bulding. P5: One block, 3 floors for 50 students. The first floor [Ground Floor] was used as the dining hall, second and third floors were the rooms. Girl's dormitory, the school hall on the first floor. The school didn't have hall because it became the hostel. Dining hall shared with the boys. In the morning we ate at the hostel, and then recess there was food also, RMT [Rancangan Makanan Tambahan]. Then lunch provided at the hostel.

Example 2

P5: Mula darjah 5, darjah 6 dah duduk asrama. Bila dah duduk asrama tu dah cara lain dah cara belajar. Di asrama tu saya sebab bercampur student yang sekolah menengah, saya cuba lah ikut cara belajar diorang. Ada seorang abang saya rasa dia bagus lah. Dia bagus sebab dia bukan student pandai tapi dia rajin belajar. Saya cuba lah ikut cara dia belajar tapi susah lah nak ikut sebab dia terlalu rajin kan. R: Maksud rajin tu apa? P5: Saya tengok dia, sebab dia berdisiplin. Dia balik sekolah mandi mandi makan, dia dah pastu petang kang dia jalan kejap, pastu dia nak tidur kejap waktu malam tu pastu lepas makan dia dah start buka buku sampai tengah malam, macam tu lah saya tengok dia punya ... [jadual] R: Kamu pun ikut lah? P5: Cuba ikut lah sebab tapi tak matang kan saya rasa kan. Main je ... tak ikut sangat lah. Saya tengok buku dia ada jadual saya cuba lah buat jadual sendiri tapi tak dapat sangat lah sebab ... R: Dia sekolah menengah tingkatan berapa masa tu? P5: Saya rasa dia tingkatan 4.

P5: I started living in the hostel in Standard 5, Standard 6. In the hostel, studying was different. In the hostel, I was with the secondary school students, so I tried to follow their style of studying. There was this one brother, I thought he was good. He was good not because he was smart but because he was hardworking. I tried to follow his method but it was tough because he was a really hardworking student. R: What do you mean





by hardworking? P5: I watched him, he was disciplined. After school he took a bath and had lunch and then in the evening he took a walk, then he took a nap for a while and then after dinner he straight away opened his books until midnight, that's what I observed. R: So you followed him? P5: I tried but I wasn't matured yet I think. I tried ... but didn't follow much. I looked at his book there was a timetable so I tried to make my own timetable but I couldn't do much. R: He was in which form during that time? P5: I think he was in Form 4.

Example 3

R: Tapi kenapa duduk asrama? P7: Sebabnya malam ada kelas malam. Jadi rasa macam kat luar kan, kan malam-malam kan ... R: Teratur lah? P7: Ha'ah, teratur. R: Pelajaran teratur. Ada prep malam? P7: Ada prep. Lepas tu ada tuition malam R: Tuition malam siapa bagi? P7: Cikgu kat situ juga.

P7: because we had night classes. So it was like outside, at night [it would be difficult to attend if one lived at home] R: It was organized? P7: Yes. R: There was night prep? P7: Yes. After that we would have the night tuition. R: Who taught the night tuition? P7: Teachers who were there also.

Example 4

R: Prep ada guru atau kawan-kawan yang mengajar? P12: Kawan-kawan. R: kawan-kawan sebaya atau lebih senior? P12: Kadang-kadang lebih sikit. R: Senior yang memang pandai lah ya. Dia di arah untuk mengajar or voluntary? P12: Dekat asrama tu ada di tempatkan untuk pelajar-pelajar sekolah menengah. So boleh tanya diorang lah. R: Okay. Mereka digalakkan mengajar atau saja je buat group, sendiri? P12: Ha ... saya sendiri bertanya lah.

P12: There were students from the secondary school living in the hostel. So they could be consulted [during prep]. I would ask them [for help with the school work]

Example 5

R: Macam mana kamu membuat persediaan untuk UPSR? Guru membantu kah? P13: Masa UPSR saya tinggal di asrama. Bila malam itu akan ada kelas belajar ulangkaji. Ada cikgu lah. R: Sendiri atau bersama dengan kawan group. P13: Kami bergroup dengan yang top student. Yang top tu S1, S2 dan S3 tu top lah. R: Mereka ajar rakan-rakan yang lain di kelas malam itu? P13: Ya. Tapi kadang-kadang cikgu pun ada buat kelas tambahan, di sebelah petang atau malam.

P13: For UPSR, I stayed in the hostel. We had revision class during the night. There would be a teacher. [We studied] individually or in group with friends. We grouped together with the top students. They helped the others. But the teachers also conducted extra classes for revision, in the evening or at night.





4.4.3.2.2 Enticing Students

4.4.3.2.2.1 Good Caring Teachers

Example 1

R: Apa specialnya cikgu tu? P3: Dia baik ... Sebab dia baik. Masa tu saya baru ... baru masuk, hari ke dua ke, saya menangis kat dia, saya tanya mana mak saya ... Masa tu memang mak bapak datang, masa hari pertama ke dua, saya tanya mana mak saya kan, pastu dia macam peluk saya, tak pe mak, semua mak bapak ada sini, macam mana ntah dia pujuk saya masa tu kan.

P3: [She was special] because she was kind. I was new then. On the second day I cried. I went to her. I asked where my mother was. Then she hugged me [and said] it's okay, all the parents were here, I don't know how, but she consoled me then.

Example 2

P2: Maksudnya macam bila saya ada hubungan yang baik dengan cikgu masa kat sekolah, saya tak malas nak pergi sekolah sebab saya tak takut pun kat cikgu tapi saya senang dengan diorang.

P2: Meaning, when I had good relationship with the teacher when in the school, [then] I was not lazy to go to school, because I was not afraid of them, [rather] I was comfortable with them.



Example 3

P6: Dia [Cikgu A] tak garang, dia seorang yang penyayang. R: Penyayang? P6: Ha'ah. R: What do you mean by penyayang? P6: Erm macam ... R: How was she penyayang? P6: Erm maybe sikap dia yang concern dengan student yang tak boleh cope dengan something different. Okay, kalau satu kelas tu kan ada 20 orang, and then dia akan tanya siapa yang faham siapa yang tak faham. Bila ada exam, dia akan tengok pencapaian and datang pada siapa yang erm kurang sikit, dia akan tanya apa masalah. Basically dia suka one-on-one punya penyelesaian lah. Ha dia tak akan marah, dia akan tanya apa masalah, like that.

P6: The teacher was not fierce, she was caring. She was concerned when there were students who could not cope with something different. Okay, if there were 20 students in the class, she'd ask who had undertood who hadn't. After exam, she'd look at the achievement and would go to those who didn't perform, she'd ask about their problems. Basically she liked to have a one-on-one resolution. She would not get angry; she'd ask what the problem was.

Example 4

P7: Puan N tu cikgu Matematik saya. R: Ok, kenapa kamu ingat dia? P7: Masa Tahun 5, Tahun 4 macam tu. Kalau saya tak faham dia akan ajarlah. Dia banyak membantu saya lah. Lepas tu satu lagi, dia minta saya lah jadi anak angkat dia. R: Kenapa? P7: Sebab dia tak ada anak perempuan.





P7: Puan N was my mathematics teacher. When I was in Year 5, Year 6 or so, if I could not understand she would teach me. She helped me a lot. And then there was another teacher, she asked me to be her foster child. R: Why? P7: Because she didn't have any daughter.

Example 5

R: Ada tak cikgu yang kamu suka sangat yang [buat] kamu memang semangat nak jumpa dia je bila kamu pergi sekolah. P10: Ada jugak. R: Cikgu subjek apa? P10: Cikgu Sains. R: Kenapa suka macam semangat nak jumpa cikgu Sains ni? P10: Sebab dia, jenis dia apa ni, dia baik macam tu.

R: Was there any teacher that really was your favourite who drew you to him or her whenever you went to school? P10: Yes there was. R: Which subject teacher? P10: The Science Teacher. R: Why were you so motivated to see this Science Teacher? P10: Because the Teacher was kind.

Example 6

P2: Cikgu suka kat saya lah. Sekolah rendah saya dapat full encouragement from the teachers. Saya dengan mak bapak saya tidak beberapa rapat. Tau lah macamana kronologi saya kan.



P2: The teachers liked me. In primary school I received full encouragement from the teachers. I wasn't close with my parents. You know my chronology.

4.4.3.2.2 Giving Roles and Responsibilities

Example 1

P3: Benda [perkataan] tu susah jugak lah tapi dalam Bahasa Melayu. Ayah saya kan latih saya suruh baca-baca kan, lepas tu dia [Cikgu] suruh saya jadi ketua kelas. R: Sebab, sebab tahu [baca] tu. P3: Ha sebab tahu kan. Dia suruh, dia suruh saya bagi salam, dia nak testing suara saya, tapi disebabkan suara saya memang slow kan, slow, dia tahu perangai malu masa tu, dia kata tak pe lah, saya tak payah jadi ketua kelas, dia bagi lelaki pulak jadi ketua kelas. Masa saya dekat Sekolah TT saya jadi penolong ketua kelas tu, bila Sekolah SK, saya tak jadi.

P3: It [the word] was difficult but it was in Bahasa Melayu. Father had taught me to read, and then she [teacher] asked me to be the class monitor. R: Because you know how [to read]? P3: Ha because I know how. She asked me to give "salam", she wanted to test my voice, but because my voice was soft she knew I was shy so she said okay I didn't have to be the class monitor. She appointed a boy to be the class monitor. When I went to Sekolah TT, I became the assistant monitor, but not in Sekolah SK.



Example 2

P5: Darjah satu baru jadi ketua kelas sebab macam ... R: Ye ketua kelas. P5: Ayah saya ni orang kenal. Sekolah tu ayah ... ayah macam ada nama sikit lah kat sekolah tu ... orang kenal lah ayah. Time tu cikgu macam ... saya ... orang kenal. R: Terus-terus masuk dah terus dilantik jadi ketua kelas. P5: Ha macam tu lah.

P5: I was appointed the class monitor in Standard One [on his first day of school]. My father was well known at the school. The teacher thus knew me [because of my father].

Example 3

R: Ketua librarian. Dia tak boleh dua lantikan ke pengawas dengan librarian? P5: No. No. Kena lain lain. Dia nak bagi peluang sama rata kan.

R: You were the head of library (Ketua Perpustakaan). The school would not allow you to be appointed to two positions, prefect and librarian? P5: No, no, [must be] different students.

Example 4

P8: Saya darjah satu sampai darjah tiga adalah merupakan pengawas perpustakaan. R: Siapa yang pilih? P8: Cikgu. R: Kenapa cikgu pilih kamu? P8: Mungkin disebabkan saya rajin pergi ke library. Masa Darjah 3, saya dilantik menjadi pengawas sekolah sampai lah Darjah 6. R: Sebab apa kamu dilantik menjadi pengawas sekolah? P8: Pengawas ini dilantik kerana saya tak degil. R: Oh, maknanya kamu dilantik menjadi pengawas kerana attitude-wise, behaviour-wise, semua tak degil lah? P8: Mungkin juga kerana masa sekolah saya juga pelajar yang ok tak marah-marah.

P8: I was appointed as the library-in-charge from Standard One to Standard Three. R: Why did the teacher select you? P8: Probably because I was regularly going to the library. In Standard 3, I was appointed as a prefect, until I was in Standard 6. R: Why were you appointed as prefect? P8: As a prefect because I was well behaved. Probably also because in school I was an okay student, I wasn't the angry type.

Example 5

P9: Lepastu saya dapat anugerah jadi ... macam penghargaan jadi pengawas. R: Okay. Selain daripada tu dapat anugerah apa lagi? P9: Anugerah saya dapat erm ... kedudukan dalam kelas untuk akhir tahun.

P9: Then I received award for being a prefect. Also for achievement in class.

4.4.3.2.2.3 Conducting Fun and Creative Lessons

Example 1

P2: Dia ajar bahasa Inggeris, saya sangat suka kan dia sebab tu saya suka kan bahasa Inggeris. Sebab dia punya slang peh ... memang dia punya BI dia pure lah kan. Saya cakap, best nya kalau saya tau cakap ni.

P2: She taught me English, I liked her very much that's why I liked English. Because of her accent, that her English was pure. I said to myself how nice if I could speak like her.

Example 2

P5: Cikgu tu ... dia orang Kedah, perempuan lepas tu cara dia mengajar tu macam something fun lah masa mengajar tu. Dia mengajar bahasa melayu dia banyak gunakan lagu macam tu. Cikgu tu pulak pandai main gitar main instrument. Jadi dalam kelas dia guna lah instrument tu untuk mengajar.

P5: The teacher was from Kedah, a lady. Her teaching was fun. She taught Bahasa Melayu using a lot of songs. She also knew how to play the guitar, so in class she would use it to teach.

Example 3

P7: Cikgu Y ni macam kelakar sikit. Jadi saya ingat dia lah. Dia bagi banyak joke macam tu. Kitaorang tak mengantuk lah.

P7: Teacher Y was a bit of a joker, that's why I remembered. She told us a lot of jokes, so we didn't feel sleepy.

Example 4

P10: Cara cikgu tu mengajar pun. R: Macam mana cikgu tu mengajar? Cikgu Matematik? P10: Tak macam straight sangat. Dia ada macam mengajar-mengajar lepas tu dia buat cerita-cerita, macam ni cara dia.

P10: Not too straight. He (Mathematics Teacher) taught some, then [in between] he would tell stories; that's how he taught.

Example 5

P14: Dia macam rasa nak pergi sekolah kadang-kadang, bila dah hafal tu rasa nak pergi sekolah lah. R: Nak tunjuk yang kamu dah hafal? P14: Ha ah, tapi kalau tak boleh nak hafal rasa macam malas nak pergi sekolah.

P14: He [the mathematics teacher], made me want to go to school sometimes, when I managed to memorise [the times table]. But when I could not memorise, I felt lazy to go to school.



4.4.3.2.2.4 Library Access

Example 1

P1: [Lepas sekolah] Dah penat main ... baca buku yang kita pinjam daripada perpustakaan. Memang hari-hari saya rajin lah pinjam buku pulang buku ... pinjam buku pulang buku. Buku-buku macam ... cerita hikayat ... ha ... macamtu lah ... R: Contoh? P1: Contohnya Sang Badang.

P1: [After school] when tired of playing, I read books borrowed from the library. Literally every day I was borrowing books, returning books. Varieties of books like ... children's folklores, for example 'Sang Badang'.

Example 2

P5: [Mula mengenal library semasa darjah] Empat dan darjah lima. R: Siapa yang menggalakkan kamu ke library? P5: Saya rasa tak de yang menggalakan pergi library, tapi sebab mungkin masa tu saya pergi library waktu rehat, setiap kali waktu rehat je saya pergi library, saya rasa excited bila membaca, waktu rehat tu saya tak pinjam buku. R: Rehat pukul berapa? P5: Sekolah rendah dalam pukul sepuluh ke pukul 10:20. Saya makan, kadang-kadang saya tak makan, pergi library baca kang saya baca tak habis saya tandakan, esok tu waktu rehat tu lagi, saya baca lagi, saya rasa benda tu macam exciting ye. R: Buku cerita? P5: Buku cerita. R: Masa tu ada ketua library lain lah. P5: Ha ada ketua library lain lah. Ada senior lain lah. R: Kamu pergi membaca seorang ke berkawan? P5: Kawan ikut tapi kawan tu duduk library dia tengok tv ke apa ... R: Oh ada TV kat library? P5: Ada TV ha. R: TV pendidikan lah. P5: Ha TV pendidikan ... Bahan bacaan tu membantu saya lah untuk dapat motivate daripada cerita kanak kanak ke macam tu lah saya rasa.

P5: [I started to go to the library in standard] 4 and 5. R: Who encouraged you to go to library? P5: I think no one did but because maybe at that time I went to library during recess, every recess time I went there, I felt excited when I read; during recess I didn't borrow any books. R: What time was your recess? P5: In primary school around 10 to 10:20. Sometimes I eat, sometimes I did not, went to library to do some reading, if not finished I'd mark it, then the day after, I'd read again during recess. I think it was exciting. R: Story books? P5: They were story books. R: There was another head librarian? P5: Ha there was another head librarian. A senior student. R: Did you go for reading alone or with friends? P5: With friends but he stayed there watching TV ... R: There was TV in the library? P5: Yes educational TV.

Example 3

P2: Cerita saya suka baca kisah nabi. Kalau di library saya duduk kat library masa rehat.

P2: I like to read about the stories of the Prophets. If in the library I went there during recess.





Example 4

P6: Sekolah rendah, Darjah 4 sampai Darjah 6 selalu jugak pergi library, sebab kawan. R: Okay. Apa buat di library? P6: Dulu baca buku cerita. Rajin la pinjam buku cerita bawak balik.

P6: Primary school, Standard 4 till Standard 6 quite often I went to the library, because of a friend. R: Okay, What did you do in library? P6: I read story books. I borrowed books and brought home regularly.

Example 5

R: Library tu ada impact ke pada cara kamu belajar dan keseronokan belajar? P5: Saya rasa ada walaupun ada masa sekolah tu darjah empat tu, library sekolah saya tu kecil jer, kira, satu besar, besar ... satu. R: Bilik lah. P5: Ha bilik classroom saya rasa, lagipun tak banyak bahan bacaan tak banyak apa, benda-benda lain tapi, saya rasa benda tu ... bahan bacaan tu membantu saya lah untuk dapat motivate daripada cerita kanak kanak ke macam tu lah saya rasa.

R: Did the library have any impact on the way you learn and make learning more fun? P5: I think it had even though during standard 4. The library was small, like, one big, big ... one. R: Like a room? P5: Yes like a classroom I think, plus not many reading materials, or other stuff but I think, the reading materials, the children's books helped me to feel motivated I think.



4.4.3.3 Accommodating Learning

4.4.3.3.1 Multiplicity of Roles

Example 1

P2: Ha ... dan dia tahu lah perangai saya macamana sebab dia juga ambil saya sebagai anak angkat saya masa tu ... program anak angkat kan automatik, so saya jadi anak angkat dia. Cikgu berebut saya lah time tu walau pun saya bukan best student. Tapi cikgu sangat berebut rebut nak jadikan saya anak angkat diorang. Jadi akhirnya saya memilih Teacher A untuk menjadi saya punya [Cikgu Angkat].

P2: She knew my attitude well because she took me as her foster student during that time ... the foster care program, so I became her foster student. Many teachers were eager to take me as their foster student, [and] I wasn't even the best student. But the teachers were keen on me. So finally I chose Teacher A to be mine.

Example 2

P14: Saya selalu masuk bilik kaunseling. Tanya pasal university pasal hala tuju. R: Masa sekolah rendah macam mana kamu boleh faham konsep hala tuju semua tu? P14: Sebab saya selalu ke kaunseling R: Kaunseling tu apa fungsinya masa tu? P14: Bagi tahu pasal hala tuju pasal... R: Itu maknanya tentang wawasan, hala tuju; jadi kamu





cerita ke kamu nak jadi pegawai kastam? P14: Saya cerita pasal family saya, saya cerita pasal keadaan family kewangan, jadi dia pun cerita pasal university, pasal macam mana mengubah keluarga.

P14: I regularly went to the counselling room. I asked about university, and goal. R: How did you manage to understand the concept of goal during primary school? P14: Because I went for counselling regularly. I told [the counsellor] about my family, about our family financial situation, then the counsellor told me about university, about to help change my family situation.

Example 3

R: Okay. 'Mudah putus asa.' Apa maksudnya? Ini sekolah rendah kah atau sekolah menengah? P15: Sekolah rendah Tahun 6. Masa Tahun 6 saya jumpa Cikgu mentor saya Cikgu Siti Zaleha untuk sesi kaunseling. Agak rapat dengan dia. R: Apa yang Cikgu Z selalu nasihatkan? P15: Cikgu Z ingatkan saya supaya jangan dengar cakap-cakap orang. R: Bila kamu pergi berjumpa Cikgu kaunseling itu berkenaan apa? P15: Orang kata saya sombong dan tak nak ajar orang. Saya sendiri pun tak tahu jadi tak nak ajar orang lah. R: Jadi ini masalah kawan-kawan lah ini. Okay, apa lagi yang Cikgu Z cakap? Selalu itu apa maksudnya? Setiap minggu ada jumpa Cikgu Z? P15: Ya, ada setiap minggu.

P15: In Standard 6 I went to see my Teacher Mentor, Teacher Z for counseling. I was quite close to her. Teacher Z advised me not listen to what others had to say about me. People said I was aloof. I didn't teach others. [Actually] I myself didn't understand, so I didn't teach others.

Example 4

R: Apa yang membuatkan kamu rapat dengan dia? P16: Dia suka tolong murid. Kalau tak reti saya akan tanya dia. Kalau ada masalah akan cakap dengan dia. Macam sama juga lah dengan Cikgu T [lelaki]. Cikgu T dia ajar BM, Matematik dan BI. Cikgu K [lelaki] ni dia hanya ajar Pendidikan Khas sahaja.

P16: He [male Teacher K] liked to help the students. If I didn't know I would go and ask him. If I have problems I would go and talk to him. Just like Teacher T [male]. Teacher T taught BM, mathematics and English [but] Teacher K taught Special Needs only.

Example 5

P6: Favourite teacher lelaki cikgu disiplin sekolah dulu Cikgu Az. R: Kenapa? Kenapa dia your favourite teacher? P6: Maybe dia ada sifat dia. Garang and loving. Ha, sebab dia cikgu disiplin kan, and for sure garang. R: What made him your favourite teacher, sebab apa? P6: Dia point dia, masa tu saya injured, so he helped me lah. R: Apa yang berlaku? P6: Masa tu injured, kepala ada luka. So dia tolong balut. And the dia ubahlah perception kita.. R: Terhadap guru? P6: Ha kita takut dia, dia garang sangat, selalu marah-marah. Lepastu tengok macam tu, oh actually dia baik-baik.



P6: [My favourite teacher] was a male Teacher Az. He was both fierce and loving. He was the discipline teacher. So for sure he was fierce. [But once] I was injured, so he helped me. I injured my head, I had a cut, and he helped to bandage it. It changed my perception. We were afraid of him, he was very fierce, was always getting angry, then after that [injury incident], oh actually he was a good person.

Example 6

P1: Tapi ada Cikgu tu memang saya nak saya nak apa yeh Darjah 6 ada sorang Cikgu tu. Dia daripada ... Cikgu tu sanggup datang kat rumah saya di Kampung Kidak guna motor jer.. R: Untuk apa? P1: Saya tak pasti masa tu ada biasiswa ke apa. Cari macam maklumat untuk apa saya tak pasti. Untuk bagi biasiswa ... untuk mencari maklumat. Eh cikgu depan rumah ... saya dan kakak saya tengah makan kut. R: So apa rasa bila cikgu datang? P1: Terperanjat kenapa cikgu datang. R: Dia ada bagi surat ke ada something? P1: Surat lah dia memang hantar lah.

P1: During Standard 6 there was this teacher. He took it upon himself to come all the way to my house on his motorbike. It was about scholarship. My sister and I were having our meals. I was surprised when he suddenly appeared in front of our house. He came to deliver a letter.

4.4.3.3.2 Being Flexible

P16: Tapi kalau macam Sains tu panggil cikgu luar mengajar. R: Kena bayar kah? P16: Tidak. R: Waktu bila bagi kelas tambahan? P16: Waktu petang dan pagi.

P16: But for science they would call an outside teacher to teach. R: Did you have to pay? P16: No. R: When were your other extra classes? P16: In the evening or morning.

Example 2

P15: Tusyen ada. Kelas malam ada. Kelas pagi pun ada. Kelas pagi tu macam biasanya dari pukul 6.30 pagi to 7.00 pagi. R: Apa yang kamu belajar 30 minit sahaja? P15: Kalau ada homework yang kita tak faham, boleh tanya masa itu.

P15: We had tuition, night class, morning class too. Morning class was normally between 6:30 am to 7:00 am. R: What did you learn in 30 minute? P15: If we had any homework that we did not understand, we could ask during that time. That helped us a lot.

Example 3

R: Apa perasaan kamu? Kamu nak pergi sekolah atau tak nak pergi sekolah? P14: Masa tu memang rasa tak nak pergi sekolah dah. R: Lepas tu, berapa lama tak pergi sekolah? Dalam berapa bulan? P14: Sebulan. R: Sebulan ke? 1 bulan terus dapat surat



berhenti? P14: Bukan. Surat amaran. Lepas berhenti tu saya tak ingat lah tapi lama juga lah.

P14: At that time I really did not feel like going to school. After I received the letter of warning, I did not go to school for about a month [then I dropped out].

Example 4

R: Bila masa kamu pindah ke Sekolah P? P14: 2002. R: Ok, ini selepas berapa tahun? P14: Selepas setahun R: Jadi kamu masuk balik darjah? P14: Darjah 4 R: Masa tu umur dah? P14: Dah 11 tahun.

R: When did you move to the next school? P14: 2002. After one year. I started at standard 4 again. I was already 11 years old.

Example 5

R: Dia duduk di situ kah? P16: Dia [Cikgu] duduk di Bandar P. R: Dia berulang lah kalau begitu. Berapa lama dia berulang? P16: Mula dari Darjah 4 hingga Darjah 6.

P16: He [the teacher] lived in Town P. [He commuted since I was] in standard 4 until standard 6.



Example 1

P5: Sebab ayah dia kat situ ... dia dapat ... tak tahu lah macam mana dia dapat kat situ jugak. R: Ayah dia pun Cikgu di situ? P5: Ayah dia pun Cikgu di situ juga ... ayah dia Cikgu senior lah. R: Ok. P5: Ayah dia tu pernah ajar abang-abang, kakak-kakak saya.

P5: Because his father [referring to the Teachers's father] was also there. He [the son] also was assigned there. His father was also a teacher, a senior teacher. He taught my older brothers and sisters as well.

Example 2

P16: Dia tukar masa saya di dalam Tingkatan 4 rasanya. Dia masuk sekolah itu masa saya Darjah 4.

P16: He transferred when I was in Form 4 I think. He came when I was in standard 4.

Example 3

P2: Cikgu Sh masih lagi Mengajar BI. Dia paling lama kenal saya.

P2: Teacher Sh is still teaching BI [in the school]. She is the longest to know me.





Example 4

P1: Dia ada rumah kuarters guru. Tadika sini. Dia seberang jalan. Di sekolah rendah tu ada guru melayu lagi. Ha... Dia ajak lah kawan kawan dia . Bukan kah dia sorang-sorang.

P1: She had the teachers' quarters. The kindergarten was here and [the quarters] were located across. There were Malay teachers at the [Orang Asli] primary school, so she stayed there with her friends.

Example 5

R: Ingat tak nama-nama Cikgu sekolah rendah? P2: Cikgu Jh [female Malay]. Mula-mula [Year 1] Cikgu Jh lepas tu dia pindah, [then still in Year 1] Cikgu Ik [female Punjabi]. R: Ini daripada? P2: Year 1. Dia ajar Bahasa Inggeris. Saya sangat sukakan dia sebab tu saya sukakan Bahasa Inggeris.

P2: Teacher Jh [female Malay]. Initially [Year 1] Teacher Jh, then she transferred [I was still in Year 1] Teacher Ik [female Punjabi]. R: From which year? Year 1, she taught English. I liked her very much, that was the reason I liked English.

4.4.3.3.4 Creating Safe and Secure Environment



R: Ok, Matematik your best. Your Cikgu mengajar Matematik macam mana? P10: Cikgu tu cikgu masa Darjah 4 tu cikgu Orang Asli. R: Ok... P10: Pakcik saya juga, kiranya pakcik. R: Pakcik ... Kemudian sebab dia ke kamu suka Matematik atau memang kamu suka Matematik? P10: Sebab saya suka cikgu tu, pastu saya minat jugak.

P10: The Year 4 [mathematics] teacher was an Orang Asli teacher. He was also an uncle. I liked the teacher. I also liked mathematics.

Example 2

P12: Matematik, erm masa year 1 [...] dia pun Cikgu dari orang asli jugak.

P12: Year 1 mathematics teacher was also an Orang Asli.

Example 3

P13: Cikgu Rh. Dia ni saya ingat sebab dia tegas dan rapat dengan ayah saya. Dia ajar sains. R: Kenapa dia rapat dengan ayah? P13: Dia Orang Asli juga dari kampung lain.

P13: Teacher Rh, he was quite strict, and was very close with Father. He was an Orang Asli Jah Hut from another village.



4.4.3.3.5 Managing Teaching and Learning

Example 1

P5: Dia [the teacher] time tu dia fresh grad. R: Fresh grad. How did you know? P5: Dia cerita lah dia baru habis belajar. R: Oh dia cakap. Masa mula-mula tu dia dah cerita dengan you all? P5: Yalah. Dia cerita lah, lagi pun first posting dia dekat situ.

P5: The teacher was a fresh grad. He told us that he had just completed his study. Then he told us that this school was his first posting.

Example 2

P16: Cikgu KA. Dia seorang Cikgu yang kalau dia tahu anak murid tu tak tahu membaca dia akan ajar sampai dapat, sampai murid itu tahu membaca. R: Macam mana boleh rapat dengan dia? P16: Dia sama macam Cikgu TF itu lah. Dia boleh berinteraksi dengan murid-murid dalam Bahasa Asli. Cikgu KA ini lebih fasih berbahasa Semai walaupun dia seorang Melayu.

P16: Teacher KA. He was such a teacher that if he knew a student could not read, he would teach that student till he or she could. He was just like Teacher TF. He could interact with the students in Bahasa Orang Asli. Teacher KA very fluent in the Semai language although he was a Malay.

Example 3

R: Siapa yang paling membantu kamu di sekolah rendah? P7: Guru-guru banyak memberikan sokongan dari segi moral menyumbangkan tenaga untuk membantu dari segi pelajaran.

P7: Teacher provided a lot of moral support, making effort to help in my study.

Example 4

P7: Guru memilih pelajar yang mempunyai potensi dan menempatkan di satu kelas yang menyediakan kemudahan serta memudahkan guru untuk mendekati golongan yang berpotensi. Saya merupakan salah seorang daripada pelajar yang dipilih.

P7: Teachers selected students with the potential to excel and placed them in separate class. This enabled the teachers to provide more help.

Example 5

P7: Di dalam kelas tersebut, kami diberikan kemudahan seperti bekalan kertas soalan latih tubi. Pada setiap pagi kami akan membuat soalan mengikut subjek yang diberikan dan menyemak bersama- sama guru.



P7: In the special class, we were provided with past years examination questions to practise. Every morning we would practise question of the subjects given and we checked them the teachers.

Example 6

P7: Saya dan seorang rakan saya juga diajak oleh seorang guru untuk mendiami rumahnya untuk beberapa hari sebelum UPSR untuk memudahkan beliau memantau persediaan kami sebelum UPSR. Di sana kami mendapat perhatian sepenuhnya oleh beliau dan isteri beliau yang juga seorang guru.

P7: My friend and I were invited to stay at a teacher's home for a few days before the UPSR to make it easier for the teacher to monitor our preparation. We were given full attention by him and his wife who was also a teacher.

4.4.3.3.6 Reward and Punishment

Example 1

P7: Guru di sana juga sering memberikan galakan dengan menawarkan ganjaran seperti hadiah kepada yang memperolehi 5A dalam UPSR.

P7: Teachers regularly motivated the students with gifts for achieving 5As in the UPSR.



Example 2

P7: Pihak sekolah juga menawarkan ganjaran seperti mountain bike kepada yang mendapat 5A dalam UPSR. Pada setiap peperiksaan percubaan, pihak sekolah memberikan wang ganjaran kepada sesiapa yang mendapat A dalam setiap subjek. Pihak sekolah membuat lawatan ke tempat- tempat pelancongan seperti ke KLCC (Kuala Lumpur City Centre) dan Langkawi.

P7: The school also offered mountain bikes to students who achieved 5As in the UPSR. For every trial examination, the school offered cash reward for every A obtained in a subject. The school also organised trips to tour sites such as the KLCC and Langkawi.

Example 3

P6: Erm, tak siap kena denda. And then ada buku layang ke bawah. R: Did you not feel bad? Bila buku kena buang? P6: Kalau dulu mungkin.

P6: Erm, if we didn't finish the homework, there would be punishment. And then there would be books flying down [from the upper floor down to the ground].

Example 4

P9: Dia tak pun merotan. Dia just macam suruh kita menghafal macam kata sifir. Sebab hafalan kita ni, darab ni selagi tak betul dia punya bunyi, dia tanya tak jawab,





so siap la buku melayang dari atas. Haha. Buku tu je terbang. Ha ha. Siapa salah je. Itu semua kalau boleh satu kelas tu [buku] terbang. Erm dia macam tu lah. Ikut lah, kalau koyak, koyak. Kalau tak. Tak. Cuma terbang je lah.

P9: She didn't cane us. She asked us to memorise, like the multiplication tables. When we could not memorise, when she asked and we couldn't answer, be prepared to see books flying from above. Haha. Anybody who could not [would get the treatment] sometimes the whole class had their books thrown to the ground. Erm ... it was like that. Sometimes the books could be torn, yes. If not, only flying.

Example 5

P3: Sebab masa tu ramai-ramai kena. Semua kena. Kalau sorang, saya menangis. [Ramai] tak lah takut. Tak pun dia suruh berdiri atas kerusi tu jelah. Rotan dan berdiri atas kerusi.

P3: Because all of us were punished. Yes all. If I was alone, I'd cry. [In group] I was not afraid. Or else the teacher would ask us to stand on the chair. Caning and standing on the chair.

Example 6

P6: Sebab bisung dalam kelas, sebab masa tu cikgu masuk lambat, and then bisung. So ingat lagi Cikgu Az, dia yang denda kami, erm ... dekat padang, untuk ikrar janji tak buat. Jangan bisung dalam kelas. Itu sahaja. Satu kelas semua kena. Bila ramai-ramai dia jadi seronok, walaupun kena denda. Hehe, seronok sebab satu kelas kena.

P6: Because we were noisy, made loud noises in class, because at that time the teacher was late. I still remember Cikgu Az, he was the one who punished us, erm ... at the field and made us took an oath promising we would not do it again. It was fun when we all had to do it together, even though it was a punishment. Hehe, it was fun because the whole class had to do it.

Example 7

P5: Dia bukan rotan semata je ... lepas tu ... lepas tu dia tolong jugak ... lebih kan ... dia tengok student ni lemah. Masa saya Darjah 4 tu boleh dikatakan satu kelas lemah math. R: Semua kena rotan? Ha semua kena rotan lepas tu ... dia start lah dia punya cara dia ngajar ... dia tukar style ngajar dia. Macam mana dia rapat. R: Macam Cikgu Y dia merotan macam mana? Rotan dia sakit ke tidak? P5: Saya rasa 180 turn tu seratus 180 saya rasa. Ha dengan marah. Ha memang marah lah, pastu masa darjah 5 Cikgu dah tukar, Cikgu Math saya dah tukar ... Cikgu tu baik tapi lagi garang lagi. Merotan juga, kalau dia rotan dia tak ... kalau Cikgu Y tu tebal ni dia rotan kalau Cikgu Darjah 5 tu macam ni pulak [illustrating the thickness using his fingers]. Ha lagi sakit ... tapi masa Darjah 5 tu kurang lah.

P5: But the teacher did not 'rotan' only. After that he would also help. He would see the weak students. During Year 4, the whole class was weak in Mathematics. R: The whole class was caned? P5: Yes. [But] after that he would start ... he changed his





teaching style. How he got closer [to the students] R: How did Teacher Y use his cane? Was it painful? P5: I think, it was a 180 degree turn, with anger. Later he moved and there was a new teacher in Year 5. The Teacher was kind but he also used the cane. If Teacher Y's cane was this thick the new Teacher's cane was this thick [P5 illustrated the increase in thickness using his fingers). R: That was more painful. R: Boys and girls were caned? P5: Yes, but caning was less in Year 5 though.

Example 8

P5: Kadang bising ada Cikgu Math tu semenjak Darjah 2, Cikgu ni kawan Cikgu Ros jugak. Cikgu Rin nama dia, Cikgu Rin ni lembut sikit, macam dia dah tersentuh lah sikit. Student degil. Dia mudah macam tersentuh kan. Dia ngadu Cikgu Ros tu satu kelas kena [dengan Cikgu Ros].

P5: Sometimes we were noisy. This Math teacher, also a friend of teacher Ros. Her name was teacher Rin. Teacher Rin was softer, she was easily affected. The students were stubborn, so she was much affected. She complained to teacher Ros. The whole class received it [the caning from Teacher Ros].

4.4.3.4 Generating Learning

4.4.3.4.1 Extending Potentials

4.4.3.4.1.1 Cultivating Leadership

Example 1

R: Cerita bagaimana mula masuk sekolah Darjah Satu dah terus jadi ketua darjah. P5: Ketua kelas. Darjah satu baru jadi ketua kelas sebab macam Ayah saya ni orang kenal. Sekolah tu Ayah macam ada nama sikit lah kat sekolah tu orang kenal lah Ayah. Time tu Cikgu macam ... R: Masuk dah terus dilantik jadi ketua kelas? P5: Ha macam tu lah.

P5: Class Monitor ... In Standard 1, I was the class monitor because my father was rather well known to the people. At the school his was a familiar name. The people knew him.

Example 2

P8: Saya Darjah 1 sampai Darjah 3 adalah merupakan pengawas perpustakaan R: Kenapa Cikgu pilih kamu? P8: Mungkin disebabkan saya rajin pergi ke library. Masa Darjah 3, saya dilantik menjadi pengawas sekolah sampai lah Darjah 6. R: Sebab apa kamu dilantik menjadi pengawas sekolah? P8: Pengawas ini dilantik kerana saya tak degil. Mungkin juga kerana masa sekolah saya juga pelajar yang ok tak marah-marah.

P8: From Standard One to Standard Three I was the student librarian. [I was selected] probably due to my frequent use of the library. In Standard Three, I was appointed as





a school prefect, until Standard Six. I was appointed because I was not a stubborn student, also probably due to me being an okay student, and I did not get angry easily.

Example 3

P3: Dia [Cikgu] suruh, dia suruh saya bagi salam, dia nak testing suara saya, tapi disebabkan suara saya memang slow kan, slow, dia tahu perangai malu masa tu, dia kata tak pe lah, saya tak payah jadi ketua kelas, dia bagi lelaki pulak jadi ketua kelas ... saya jadi penolong ketua kelas.

P3: She [the teacher] asked me to give "salam" she wanted to test my voice, but because my voice was naturally slow, slow, she knew I was shy so she said it's okay I don't have to be the class monitor. She then appointed a boy to be the class monitor... while I became the class assistant.

Example 4

P5: No. No. Kena lain-lain [pelajar]. Dia nak bagi peluang sama rata kan.

P5: No, no, it has to be different [students], because they wanted to give everyone a chance.

Example 5

P13: Saya dilantik menjadi pengawas sekolah, Darjah 5 hingga Darjah 6-[ketua kelas] Darjah 3 – Darjah 4.

P13: I was appointed as school prefect from Standard 5 to Standard 6. [As class monitor] from Standard 3 to Standard 4.

Example 6

P6: Kena buat ... biasanya ... kalau time Cikgu mesyuarat, biasalah prefect akan keluar untuk jaga setiap kelas. And then ... during perhimpunan saya yang akan set up kerusi, kalau perhimpunan rasmi. Pengawas akan set up kerusi, PA system, and handle the perhimpunanlah. R: Okay... ini every morninglah? P6: Yup. R: Ini Darjah 4 ke Darjah 6 ... 3 tahun jadi prefect ya. P6: Erm 2 tahun experience ... yang Darjah 4 tu percubaan.

P6: Had to do it ... normally ... when the teachers had meeting, normally the prefects would look after the classes. And then ... during assembly I was the one who set up the chairs, if it was an official assembly. It was the prefects' job to set up the chair, PA system, and handle the assembly. R: Okay ... this happened every morning? P6: Yes. R: Was this in Standard 4 till Standard 6 ... 3 years of being a prefect? P6: Only 2 years ... in standard 4 it was just for trial.





Example 7

P7: [Saya] Jadi librarian. R: Librarian? Ok, why? Kenapa kamu minta atau dilantik? P7: Dilantik. R: Dilantik? Kamu suka atau tak suka? P7: Saya terima ja. R: Apa yang kamu buat sebagai librarian? P7: Setiap pagi tu saya akan susun buku lah.

P7: [I was] appointed as a librarian. R: Librarian? Why? Did you request for it or you were appointed? P7: I was appointed. R: Did you like it? P7: I just accepted it. R: What did you do as a librarian? P7: Every morning I arranged the books.

Example 8

P6: First rasa takut jugak sebab, kita takut orang tak nak kawan dengan kita. Sebab biasanya prefect ni orang akan cakap dia orang ni berlagak, selalu ikut cakap cikgu kan. So macam kawan sendiri pun nak kena tulis nama [when they misbehaved] ... so, first takut, and then, bila tengok Darjah 5 ramai kawan-kawan yang rapat dengan saya jadi pengawas, so macam oh, tak ada masalah pun sebenarnya. Ha ... macamtu lah. Ada kawan lah.

P6: At first I was quite afraid because I was afraid that no one wanted to be my friend, because normally people would say that the prefects were arrogant, they only listened to the teachers. Even if it was our friends we still had to write their names [when they misbehaved], so at first I was afraid and then when I saw a lot of Standard 5 students who were close to me also became prefects too I was like "Oh there is no problem actually". I had friends.



Example 9

P9: Lepastu saya dapat anugerah jadi ... macam penghargaan jadi pengawas.

P9: After that I received, appreciation as a prefect.

4.4.3.4.1.2 Extending Self-Concept

Example 1

P15: Pernah, [jadi class monitor] Tahun 5, Tahun 6. [Saya] Garang, rasa gembira dan rasa bertanggungjawab. Saya rasakan yang Cikgu percaya kepada saya, kerana saya boleh buat kerja. [Kalau dengan kawan-kawan] Hmm, selalu mereka kata "Azizah lah jadi, Azizah lah jadi." R: Jadi ini membantu kah kamu untuk lebih suka belajar? P15: Ya. Suka. Kalau ketua kelas, mesti lah dia lebih baik daripada rakan sekelas yang lain, takkan lah dia nak lebih bawah.

P15: Yes, [I was the class monitor] in Year 5, Year 6. [I was] fierce. I felt happy and responsible. I felt my teachers trusted me because I could do work. And my friends, hmm, often they would call my name [to lead], "[We] want Azizah, Azizah". Yes. [Being class monitor helped to study better] A class monitor must be excellent compared to the other classmates, not less than them.



Example 2

P6: Darjah 4, 5 dan 6 saya masuk choral speaking. Darjah 4 part of orang yang tu kan [pasukan]. Darjah 5 pun sama. Darjah 6 saya conduct choral speaking [in] English.

P6: Standard 4, 5, and 6 I entered [competed in] choral speaking. Standard 4 I was part of the team, Standard 5 as well. In Standard 6, I was the conductor for choral speaking in English.

Example 3

P12: Hobi saya main bola. Masa Year 6 koir ... menyanyi, wakil sekolah. R: Wakil sekolah. Pernah menang? P12: Erm kalah. R: Tak pernah dapat hadiah? P12: Ha tak pernah.

P12: My hobby was to play football. In Year 6 I represented school in choir [competition]. R: Did you win any? No.

4.4.3.4.1.3 Extending Learning

Example 1

P2: Mak saya yang ajar saya dirumah. Ajar mengenal huruf apa semua.. umur 7 tahun barulah saya dihantar ke sekolah. Takut tu sebab ialah ... kita [saya] tak pernah masuk classroom. Kita tak pernah bersembang dengan budak-budak yang ... budak Melayu terutamanya kan ... sebab ... kita duduk dalam perkampungan Orang Asli saya kenal kawan-kawan saya ... dalam kampung tu Orang Asli jer ... orang Melayu saya jarang nak jumpa budak-budak Melayu ... bila sampai kat sana saya takut tu ... takut tu tak tahu lah mungkin sifat semula jadi takut tu nak pergi sekolah.

P2: My mother taught me at home. She taught me the alphabet and all. Only when I was seven I was sent to school. I was scared because ... I had never been to a classroom. I never had conversation with other children ... the Malay children especially ... because we lived in the Orang Asli village only ... I rarely saw Malay kids ... so when I reached there [the school] I was scared ... scared because of, I don't know maybe it's a natural feeling to feel scared to go to school.

Example 2

P2: Tapi Alhamdulillah saya masuk Form 1 saya dapat biasiswa. Keputusan UPSR saya tak lah begitu bagus tapi boleh lah untuk melayakkan dapat biasiswa tu, saya dapat 3A, 1B, 1C.

P2: Alhamdulillah when I started Form 1, I received a scholarship. My UPSR results were not too good but still I was eligible for the scholarship. I had 3As, 1B, 1C.



Example 3

P3: Sekolah rendah saya ingat lagi masa darjah satu dekat Jalan T, Cikgu suruh baca apa dia tulis dekat aa ... white, blackboard tu. Ada satu perkataan tu semua tak boleh sebut, saya seorang je boleh sebut [...] [UPSR] dapat 5A.

P3: When I was in primary school, I still remember in Standard 1, near Jalan T. The teacher told us to read what had been written on a ... white, blackboard. There was a word noone could read it except me [...] I obtained 5 A(s) [in UPSR].

Example 4

P5: Sebenarnya masa darjah satu macam continuation lah macam sambungan to apa. Tadika saya dulu. Walaupun tadika saya dah kenal, kenal huruf, boleh baca sikit-sikit macam, tapi masa Darjah 1 tu ramai lagi rakan-rakan saya yang buta huruf lagi. Sebab diorang ada yang masuk tadika, ada yang tak masuk tadika tapi masih tak tahu lagi. Darjah 1 tu sebenarnya dia nak kukuh kan lagi tadika tu lagi lah. Belajar mengenal nombor tambah tolak. Macam tu lah.

P5: Actually in Standard 1 it was like a continuation from my kindergarten. Even though in kindergarten I already knew the alphabet, knew how to read a bit, but during that time there were a lot of my friends that were still illiterate, because some had went through the kindergarten, some did not. Even among those who had been to the kindergarten still could not. Standard 1 was a place to build upon what we learned in the kindergarten such as learning about numbers, plus and minus.

Example 5

P5: Saya baru minat Bahasa Inggeris [di Darjah 6]. Masa Bahasa Inggeris tu macam Darjah 6 tu saya dan tahu teknik dia, grammar semua, teknik-teknik nak kuasai benda tu baru saya suka. Sebab sebelum tu saya tak.

P5: I started to like English [in Year 6]. During English [lesson] in Year 6 I knew the technique, the grammar, techniques how to use them, then I became interested in the language. Before that I was not.

4.4.3.4.2 Showing Vision of the Future

4.4.3.4.2.1 Role Modelling

Example 1

R: You suka cikgu tu ke suka subjek tu. Sebab apa yang you pergi sekolah? P2: Sebab saya suka cikgu tu macam Miss K saya suka dia sebab macam in terms of dia punya pakaian. Ha dia dengan pakaian dia, dia nampak sangat sweet dengan skirt, dengan kemeja yang dia pakai kemudian cara dia cakap orang kata buat saya kagum dengan dia. R: Maksudnya? P2: Yalah dia pandai speak English kan maknanya tahu speaking kan. Tu lah hehe and then saya rasa hebat. Saya dengar tak faham, kita tengok ... wow





hebat nya dia. R: Suka orang – cikgu – ke suka subjek. P2: Suka dia dan subjek, sebelum tu saya suka cikgunya baru saya suka subjek. Sebab cara dia bawak subjek tu akan buat saya sukakan subjek tu.

P2: *Because I liked the teacher ... I liked Miss K because of her attire. Ha, she and her clothes, she looked sweet wearing a skirt and blouse and then the way she spoke, I was impressed by her. R: Meaning? P2: Well she spoke English well. That was why, hehe, and then I think she's awesome. I listened but didn't understand, we looked at her ... wow she's awesome. R: You liked the teacher or the subject? P2: I liked her and the subject, before that I liked the teacher first, and then the subject. Because the way she taught made me liked the subject.*

Example 2

P9: Cita-cita saya ... teacher. R: Teacher, kenapa? P9: Sebab ... pada saya teacher tu best kerja dia. Ha. R: Best tu maksudnya apa? Tentang mananya yang nampak best? P9: Mengajar, cara mengajar... Dulu saya... (laughs) masa main pondok-pondok saya lah yang jadi cikgu. Hehe. Dekat sekitar saya lah yang jadi cikgu. Masa tu Darjah 2, 3.

P9: *My ambition ... teacher. Because ... for me being a teacher was the best. R: What do you mean by best? Which part that was best? P9: Teaching, the way they teach ... I used to ... when we played 'pondok-pondok', I was the teacher. Hehe. Around then I would be the teacher. During that time I was in Standard 2, 3.*



Example 3

R: *Macam Farah nak jadi guru. P1: Kita tertarik dengan keperibadian. R: Itu tentang keperibadian dia. Kehidupan? P1: Tak pula terfikir cikgu ni macam tu macam ni. Mungkin lagi satu cikgu bawa buku, saya suka buku.*

P1: *I was drawn to their personality. Another reason maybe because the Teacher carried books, I liked books.*

Example 4

P7: *Guru Orang Asli sebagai role model. Terdapat beberapa Orang Asli yang telah bekerja dengan sektor kerajaan dan mendapat pekerjaan tetap seperti guru (Cikgu S, Cikgu W, Cikgu R dan beberapa orang lagi). Di sekolah sendiri mempunyai beberapa orang guru yang berketurunan Orang Asli. Melihatkan kehidupan mereka yang senang telah menaikkan semangat saya.*

P7: *Orang Asli teachers as role model. There were a number of Orang Asli who worked with the Government, had stable jobs such as teachers (Teacher S, Teacher W, Teacher R and a few others). In the school also, there were teachers from the Orang Asli tribes. Observing their better life raised my motivation.*





4.4.3.4.2.2 Motivational Programs

Example 1

R: Apa yang guru besar buat untuk kebaikan pelajar yang kamu ingat? P15: Dia banyak jemput orang datang, dari pelajar U. Ada 2, 3 buah U dia jemput supaya datang dan bagi sokongan dekat kami. R: Bagi motivasi? P15: Ya. R: Apa yang kamu dapat dari program motivasi itu? Ada tak perasaan dari dalam diri kamu apabila mendengar motivasi mereka? P15: Saya rasa best juga masuk U. R: Program motivasi yang cikgu bawa dari luar itu adakah ianya efektif atau tidak? Berkesan kah program seumpama itu? P15: Rasa berkesan.

P15: He regularly invited people from the universities. We had students from two, three universities that he invited to give us support. R: Giving motivation? P15: Yes. R: What did you feel when you listened to their motivation? P15: I felt studying in the university is also 'best'. R: Were the programmes effective? P15: I felt they were.

Example 2

R: Bila jumpa Guru Besar selalunya? P5: Di perhimpunan sekolah kan. R: Ye. Apa yang you ingat masa di perhimpunan tentang guru besar? P5: Dia ni ucapan dia lebih pada ... sekolah Orang Asli kan dia lain sikit daripada sekolah kebangsaan biasa dia ada cara motivate cara dia sendiri lah dia punya style. R: Contoh? P5: Dia selalu cakap macam ni. Kamu tak de beza dengan apa. Dia cakap orang lain, kamu tak de beza dengan Cina kamu tak de beza dengan India jadi jangan rasa nak rendah diri. Orang ada mata kamu ada mata orang ada hidung kamu ada hidung. Jadi kenapa kamu tak boleh buat macam diorang, macam tu lah. Pastu cakap macam tu lah saya pegang, sampai sekarang ni.

P5: His speech was more ... [focussed since] it was an Orang Asli School, different from the regular [mainstream] primary school, [so] he had his own style of motivating. R: For example? P5: He always said "You are no different from others, no different from the Chinese, no different from the Indians, so don't need to feel lacking. Others have eyes, you have eyes, others have nose, you have nose. So why shouldn't you be able to do like them. Ever since, I hold onto his words.

4.4.3.4.2.3 Inclusive Leadership

Example 1:

P10: Pastu masuk Darjah 6, dia ada terbahagi kepada 3 kelas. Yang first kelas tu, kelas VVIP lah kiranya. R: Special class? P10: Target lah.

P10: Year 6 was divided into three classes. The first class was the VVIP class. R: Special class? P10: Target class [for UPSR excellence].





Example 2

P5: Masa Darjah 6, cikgu ada target target student, student ni boleh macam ni pergi macam ni. Dia [Guru Besar] selalu jumpa saya [dalam] target group lah. Macam saya target group student yang ditarget pandai kan. R: Top group lah ni. P5: Top group lah.

P5: In Year 6, the teacher had targeted some potential students [for UPSR excellence]. The headteacher would regularly meet me and the targeted group, because we were deemed to be the better students, the top group.

Example 3

R: Maknanya dah balik ke asrama you have to go back to school untuk sekolah tambahan. P5: Ha ye sebab cikgu dah start insentif class masa saya darjah 5. R: Pukul berapa sampai pukul berapa selalu? P5: Pukul dua sampai pukul 4 lah. Tiap-tiap hari. R: Berapa subjek satu hari? P5: Satu hari satu subjek lah, masa tu Darjah 5. Kelas saya ni, kelas saya Darjah 5 dengan Darjah 6 tu Cikgu rasa kelas saya ni mempunyai harapan tinggi lah untuk pencapaian.

P5: Yes, because the teacher had started intensive classes since Standard 5, from 2 to 4 p.m. daily. One subject per day. That was in Standard 5 and Standard 6. The teacher had high hopes for us to achieve.





APPENDIX S

Data-Significant Others

4.5.1 The Government

Example 1

R: Masa dalam kindergarten tu 1 or 2 kelas? P12: 1 kelas. R: 1 kelas, tetapi dalam year 1 ada 2 classes? P12: Ha 2 kelas. R: Mana datang ramai-ramai murid tu? P12: Dari kindergarten kampung lain contohnya Kampung Padu. R: Oh okay. Now, you di Sekolah Kebangsaan Paya kan. P12: Ha. R: So [pelajar] datang dari kindergarten Kampung Paya. Lagi? P12: Luwong. R: Okay lagi? P12: Bian. R: Kindergarten ada juga disini [pointing to a sketch showing surrounding Orang asli villages]? P12: Ada. R: Semua ada kindergarten? P12: Semua ada. R: Okay tadi Kampung Bian, lagi? P12: Kampung Jepun. R: Okay, lagi? P12: Itu je. R: Okay ini je lah ya 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. So you dapat two [Year 1] classes.

R: How many classes were there during kindergarten? P12: 1 class. R: 1 class. But you had 2 classes during Year 1. So where did the extra students come from? P12: From kindergartens of other villages, for example Kampung Padu. R: Oh okay. Now, you were in SK Paya right? P12: Ha. R: So [there were students who] came from Kampung Paya kindergarten. Where else? P12: Luwong. R: Okay, anymore? P12: Bian. R: Even Bian here had kindergarten [pointing to a sketch showing surrounding Orang asli villages]? P12: Yes. R: All the villages had kindergartens? P12: Yes, all. R: Okay, just now Bian, anymore? P12: Kampung Jepun. R: Okay, anymore? P12: That's all. R: Okay 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 [kindergartens from 5 villages]. So there were two [Year 1] classes.

Example 2

P2: Di SK T sampai satu tahun sahaja. Sekolah ini agak jauh dari Kampung LK terletak di Jalan PG iaitu jalan menghala ke CH. Majoriti para pelajar disini terdiri dari bangsa Orang Asli jadi pergaulan disini agak senang bergaul tapi tahun berikutnya disebabkan jarak sekolah, Pejabat Pendidikan Daerah BP mengarahkan kami berpindah ke sekolah baru.

P2: I was at SK T until Standard 1. The school was quite far from Kampung LK that was located in Jalan PG which was the road leading to CH. Majority of the students were from the Orang Asli tribes so interacting [with other students] was relatively easy but the following year because of the distance of the school, the Pejabat Pendidikan Daerah BP instructed us to move to a new school.

Example 3

P6: Ha'a baru bukak. So PPD buat bancian ambil student. R: Daripada sekolah pertama? P6: Sekolah pertama ada, daripada sekolah-sekolah lain pun ada, and then masukkan ... R: Anak-anak Orang Asli lah dia orang pindahkan ke sana? P6: Ha dia





orang pindahkan. R: Jadi digroupkan bersama anak-anak Orang Asli disana? P6: Ha'ah dikumpulkan ... group. R: So jadi Sekolah Majority Orang Asli lah.

P6: Yes, it was just opened. So PPD did a census ... R: From the first school? P6: My first school, from other schools as well and then PPD transferred [us]. R: They transferred the Orang Asli children? P6: Yes, we were grouped together. R: So it was a majority Orang Asli School.

Example 4

P1: Sekolah rendah sekarang dah 3 tingkat. R: Ada berapa bangunan? P1: Dua bangunan gitu. R: Dulu masa [kamu] sekolah berapa tingkat? P1: Satu je.

P1: Now the school have 3 storeys. R: How many buildings? P1: Only two buildings. R: Back then how many storeys were there? P1: Only one.

4.5.2 Friends

Example 1

P2: Nak dekat 1 kilometer lah. Tapi tak sampai ... nak dekat lah ... tapi kitaorang selalu ikut short cut sebab yang bawak tu dulu dia drug addict so kitaorang takut dengan dia, kitaorang ikut jalan kelapa sawit, lalu sungai ... sampai kampung. Tu lah ... lama lah sebab dia kalau kita tengok sungai kita bukan kira ni ... budak-budak masa darjah 6, saya ikat kasut kat leher ni, ha ... tarik kain sekolah tu, bawak beg tu dengan budak lelaki sekali la ... jalan kaki kan ... lepas habis kelas tambahan darjah enam tu ... dia kata [budak-budak lelaki] kita ikut jalan hutan..

P2: Almost 1 kilometre ... but not really ... almost ... but we always used the shortcut because the van driver was a drug addict so we were afraid of him. We walked passed the palm oil plantation, rivers ... until we arrived at the village. That's why ... quite long because when we saw the river, we could not care ... kids in Standard 6, I strung my shoe laces together, hung them over my neck ... my sarung pulled up, carried the bag with the boys ... they said follow the jungle route.

Example 2

P2: Pengaruh kawan tu paling besar. Paling besar tu sebab bila kawan ni cakap malas nak sekolah lah. Ha nak ikut! Ha macam tu. saya tau kakak saya, pengalaman saya sendiri kakak saya, kakak saya cakap, eh esok aku malas nak pergi sekolah kawan dia, kawan saya [juga] kau malas ha .. sama kita ... apa kita nak buat esok ha macam tu. Saya cakap dengan diorang hey kenapa tak nak datang sekolah kan. Malas! Diorang cakap, saya cakap jangan malas. Saya pergi diorang tak pergi. Saya tahu ... kita tahu lah kan bangsa sama dengan kita. Mesti lah dia punya perangai takkan lari dari kita kan. Jadi kita tahu lah macamana faktor faktor dia. Kenapa budak-budak ni tak nak pergi sekolah jarang nak pergi sekolah. Kenapa nak duduk rumah.





P2: Friends' influence is the main thing. It's the biggest reason because when a friend said she's too lazy to go to school. Then we follow. I know my own experience with my sister; when she said 'Eh tomorrow I am lazy to go to school', her friend also said, 'Me too. What shall we do tomorrow huh?' I told them, 'Hey why don't you want to go to school huh?' 'Lazy', they answered. I said 'Don't be lazy'. So I went on to school. But they didn't. I know since they were my people. Surely their behaviour was not any difference from us. We understand the factors as to why they didn't want to go to school or missed school.

Example 3

P5: Abang-abang pun sama macam tu jugak. Diorang, sebab dulu kawasan tu dekat dengan kebun kan. Diorang pagi-pagi ayah dah bangun tengok diorang dah lari dah ke kebun ... Dia bangkit ayah bangkit dia masuk kebun. Dia dah lari. R: Apa dia buat dalam kebun? P5: Diorang masa batch diorang tu diorang ramai sebaya ... bila dah sebaya macam tu ... macam tu lah sama-sama perangai .. R: Dia lari kebun dia kemana? P5: Dia menyorok lah dalam kebun. R: Oh ... menyorok. P5: Buat lah macam-macam. Dia bangkit pagi dia lari menyorok. R: Menyorok ... tu yang susah tu ... hehe. Ayah cari? P5: Ayah cari pastu yang ... kawan-kawan tu pun ayah diorang cari jugak ... sama lah dengan Ayah tu. R: Kebun tu kebun getah yang tersusun atau pun dalam hutan? R: Tak tak [bukan dalam hutan]... kebun getah tersusun lah ... maknanya yang macam dalam estate lah. R: Boleh nyorok juga ke kat situ? P5: Yalah kebun diorang dulu bukan macam kebun orang sekarang bertebas ... Semak saje ... Semak je ... dulu kan diorang tak nak pergi kebun sangat. R: Habis tu kalau diorang lari dalam kebun tu ... apa diorang buat? P5: Macam-macam diorang ... lastik lah apa lah.

P5: My older brothers were also like that [influenced by friends]. The area was adjacent to the rubber plantation, so early in the morning my father woke up to find that they [the brothers] have woken up earlier and disappeared into the plantation. They have escaped. R: What did they do in the plantation. P5: Their batch many of them were of the same age, same [mischievous] behaviour. They ran and hid in the plantation. And did all sorts of things. Then Father and his friends [the fathers of the other boys] would search for them. Those days the plantation was not well cared for, a lot of underbrush [one could hide easily]. They would do things ... shooting with slingshots.

Example 4

P2: Asalkan saya pergi jumpa ... asalkan saya pergi sekolah jumpa cikgu jumpa kawan-kawan ... tu dah satu kepuasan bagi diri saya masa tu, masa zaman sekolah.

P2: As long as I went to school, I met my teacher, met my friends ... that was my one satisfaction during my school days.

Example 5

R: Semua kerja sekolah kamu siapkan kah? P16: Ya. R: Cikgu beri dan hantar atau kamu yang minta supaya di berikan kerja sekolah? P16: Cikgu memang hantar. R: Bila





sudah siap kamu serah pada sepupu supaya hantar kepada cikgu? P16: Ya. R: Boleh buat semua homework? P16: Boleh, sebab ada buku teks kan. R: Kamu belajar dengan Aziah tu lah ya? P16: Ya. R: Jadi Az lah yang bantu semuanya? P16: Ya.

R: You completed all your school work? P16: Yes. R: Did the teacher send you the school work or did you ask for them? P16: The teacher sent them. R: When completed you passed them to the teacher through your cousin? P16: Yes. R: You studied with Az did you? P16: Yes. R: So Az helped you throughout? P16: Yes.

4.5.3 Community

Example 1

R: Ada tak semangat dari sesiapa untuk mendorong kamu untuk minat nak belajar? P16: Tengok macam Juli [Profesor Juli Edo] sahaja lah. Orang kampung selalu cakap tengok Juli belajar rajin-rajin sampai jadi macam itu. Memang tak kenal tapi orang kampung selalu jadikan dia contoh. Sejak dari sekolah rendah pun emak selalu bercakap, cuba jadikan dia sebagai contoh, belajar rajin-rajin. R: Kamu terfikir tak tentang dia masa kamu belajar? P16: Saya nak belajar rajin-rajin sebab nak jadi macam dia. Ubah orang lain supaya jadi lebih baik dari dulu.

R: Was there anyone to motivate you so you'd be interested in learning? P16: Juli [Profesor Juli Edo] only. The villagers always said, "Look at Juli, work hard until you become like him". I don't know him but the villagers always made him as a role model. Even in primary school mother always said, "Make him as your role model. Work hard". R: Did you think of him when you were studying? P16: I wanted to work hard because I wanted to be just like him. I wanted to change the people so they could be better.

Example 2

P7: Guru Orang Asli sebagai role model. Terdapat beberapa Orang Asli yang telah berkerja dengan sector kerajaan dan mendapat pekerjaan tetap seperti guru (Cikgu S, Cikgu W, Cikgu R dan beberapa orang lagi). Di SK P sendiri mempunyai beberapa orang guru yang berketurunan Orang Asli. Melihatkan kehidupan mereka yang senang telah menaikkan semangat saya.

P7: Orang Asli teacher as a role model. There were several Orang Asli that had worked in the Government sector and had a stable occupation such as teacher (Teacher S, Teacher W, Teacher R and many more). Even in SK P we had several Orang Asli teachers. Observing their good life made me feel motivated.

Example 3

P1: Ha tu sebenarnya reality dekat perkampungan Orang Asli, masalah dia lah sebab mungkin kalau tempat perkampungan lain tak nampak kut, sebab enviroment dia parents semua ok, benda tu tak perlu kita cakap, dah diorang tahu pendidikan tu wajib kan, tapi dia dalam tu ... R: Maksud you masih lagi belum nampak. P1: Ha ada selesa





... R: Dengan keadaan? P1: Selesa dengan diri sendiri. Tak nampak. Macam saya sendiri dah macam ... mungkin sebab saya susah kut masa kecik dulu kan.

P1: Ha (dropouts) actually is a reality in Orang Asli village, the problem is not obvious in other [non Orang Asli] villages because of their environment, the parents [in those villages] they all know about the importance of education, but in the Orang Asli village ... R: You mean they still could not see [the importance of education]? P1: They're satisfied with their life. They could not see, but me probably because I was really poor back then.

Example 4

P1: Joget tu ada majlis contoh nya majlis yang bersangkutan majlis perkahwinan lah. Ok bila dah ada tu, kita dah joget buat malam, malam sandingnya contohnya, sanding lah tu kan, malam sanding tu, kita adakan joget. R: Okay macam mana dia boleh impact pada sekolah? P1: Contohnya dia buat malam Ahad, esoknya Isnin, esoknya diorang dah tak sekolah dah, sebab joget sampai pagi.

P1: The 'Joget' is held during occasions such as wedding. So when we had that, we would have Joget Night during the 'Sanding' ceremony. R: How did that impact on school? P1: For example if it was done on Sunday night, they would dance until morning and then they would be absent the next day, Monday.

Example 5



P1: Kuat. Bagi saya, saya tak kuat. Tapi bagi diorang saya tengok [kuat] P2: Ntah pandangan kita pada diorang memang sangat kuat lah, sebab diorang sangat terpengaruh tau. P1: Ha! P2: Jumpa laki-laki, diorang hayal pulak. P1: Ha! That's why ... P2: Couple couple kat situ. P1: Couple! Couple! P2: Ha bila dah jumpa Sabtu ni, Sabtu depan nak jumpa lagi, bila hari Sabtu je nak jumpa lagi, hari-hari nak jumpa, ha jadi dah macam mana? Hahahaha.. Ha! Sekarang budak-budak sekarang dia advance, even baru sekolah rendah pun dah ada pakwe-pakwe.

P1: [Impact of Joget] is strong. Not that strong to me. But to them [it was strong]. P2: I don't know, in my view the impact to them was strong because they were really influenced by that. P1: Yes! P2: They met guys, and got immersed [in relationship]. P1: Yes! That's why ... P2: Couple, couple at the 'Joget' night. P1: Couple, couple! P2: Yes, when they met on one Saturday, they wanted to meet again the next week, every Saturday they wanted to meet, every day they wanted to meet, so how? Hahahaha ... Ha! Now the kids are really advanced, they have boyfriends even while in primary school.

Example 6

R: Selalunya apa masalah social dalam kampung yang membuatkan pelajaran tergendala? P7: Dekat kampung ni selalunya ada konsert. Orang panggil joget R: Cerita sikit. P7: Biasanya yang muda-muda ni akan datang. Konsert tu daripada 10 sampai pagi. R: Kenapa diorang ada konsert ni? Untuk meraikan apa? P7: Tak kesah je. Birthday ke, kahwin ke. R: Ada je sebabnya tak semestinya kahwin. Setiap minggu?





P7: Tak lah setiap minggu. Dalam sebulan tu ada dua kali. R: Pada pandangan Suhaila benda ni mengganggu pelajaran ke? P7: Ha ah. R: Kenapa? P7: Benda ni biasanya hujung minggu atau pun masa cuti sekolah. Lelaki perempuan dating. R: Itu yang jadi terpaksa kahwin tu? P7: Ha ah.

R: What was the usual social problem in the village that derailed education? P7: In our village normally we would have concert. They called it "Joget" (dance). R: Tell me more. P7: Usually the youngsters would come. The concert starts at 10 at night and lasts till dawn. R: Why do they have such concert, to celebrate what? P7: It doesn't matter. Birthdays, weddings, anything ... R: You think the concert affects their studies? P7: Yes. R: Why? P7: This concert is normally on weekends or during school holidays. The boys and girls date there. R: Is that why some of them were forced to get married? P7: Yes.

Example 7

R: [When their parents left to work in another village] Lepas tu siapa yang jaga kamu? P15: Jiran sebelah. Dia yang masakkan.

R: Who took care of you then? P15: Our neighbour, she cooked [for us].

