Table 1: Peninsular Malaysia: The Emergence and Expansion of a Multi-Ethnic Society

Colonial Period	Total	Malays & Other Ind Grps.	Immig. Chinese	Immig. Indians	Immig. "Others"	
1891	746,297	409,235	269,902	58,069	9,091	
	(100)	(54.8)	(36.2)	(7.8)	(1.2)	
1901	1,022,289	492,183	419,355	9,7687	13,064	
	(100)	(48.1)	(40.4)	(9.6)	(1.3)	
1911	2,342,248	1,372,290	694,970	239,786	35,202	
	(100)	(58.6)	(29.7)	(10.2)	(1.5)	
1921	2,910,214	1,569,279	857,653	439,510	43,862	
	(100)	(53.9)	(15.1)	(1.5)		
1931	3,788,530	1,864,135	1,285,173	572,690	66,532	
	(100)	(49.2)	(33.9)	(15.1)	(1.8)	
1947	4,908,086	2,427,834	1,884,534	530,638	65,080	
	(100)	(49.4)	(38.5)	(0.8)	(1.3)	
Post Independence		**Bumiputra**	**Mal. Chinese**	**Mal. Indians**	**Mal. "Others"**	**Non-Citizens**
1957	6,278,758	3,125,474	2,333,756	707,108	112,420	
	(100)	(49.8)	(37.2)	(11.2)	(1.8)	
1970	9,181,674	4,841,268	3,285,991	981,449	72,966	
	(100)	(52.7)	(35.8)	(10.7)	(	
1980	11,442,086	6,325,444	3,869,423	1,172,688	74,531	
	(100)	(55.3)	(33.8)	(10.2)	(0.7)	
1991	14,797,616	8,433,826*	4,250,969	1,380,048	410,544	322,229
	(100)	(57)	(28.7)	(9.3)	(2.8)	(2.2)
2000	18,523,632	11,135,694	4,883,079	1,680,132	133,665	691,062
	(100)	(60.1)	(26.4)	(9.1)	(0.7)	(3.7)

Source: Adapted from Tey, 2007.

Nonetheless, the local Malay community was still the majority. A decade later, due to further inflow of foreign workers, the local population lost its majority status. In 1911 and 1921 the number and percentage of the local population rose, only to decline again in the subsequent years. Sabah and Sarawak gained independence on joining Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. The two states too were under British administration and like Malaya, they were also subjected to the in-flow of immigrant labour. However, in the case of Sabah, foreign workers were brought in not only from China, India and Indonesia, but also from neighbouring Philippines.

On independence (1957 for Malaya and 1963 for Sabah and Sarawak), the foreign population were given the option to become citizens and many did; resulting in the multi-ethnic population in Malaysia. By the early seventies, most of the immigrants (the largest of which were Chinese and Indians) who came to Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak and their off springs were no longer "foreign nationals". They were Malaysians even though in subsequent Census Reports they are still categorised as "Chinese" or "Indians".

As from 1970, the Malaysian government re-arranged the ethnic categorisation in the country. The population were divided into two major groups: the Bumiputra (lit. "sons of the soil") and non-Bumiputra. In the Peninsula, the former comprise the Malays and aboriginal groups. In Sabah, they comprise at least five major groups such as the Kadazan-Dusun, Murut, Rungus and Bajaus; and in Sarawak, the Ibans, Melanau, Bidayuh etc. The non-Bumiputra comprised mainly Chinese and Indians, and the rest (such as Eurasians, Europeans, etc.) are simply referred to as "Others". These new categorisation can be seen in Table 2. In 1991, the population was around 18.55 million of which the Bumiputra formed the majority. In the last population census in Malaysia in 2000, their number increased accounting for over 63% of the population of about 23.26 million. Over 26% were Chinese , 7.4 % Indians and 3.2% "Others". Due to in-migration in the post independence era, the number of foreign nationals too has increased both in number and in percentage terms.

Table 2: Malaysian Population 1991-2000
('000)

	1991	2000	Average Ann. Growth 1991-1995	Average Ann. Growth 1196-2000
Total Population	18.55	23.26	(2.7)	(2.3)
Malaysian Citizens	17.75	21.95	(2.2)	(2.1)
• Bumiputra	10.75 (60.5)	13.61 (63.2)	(2.7)	(2.6)
• Chinese	5.02 (28.3)	5.6 (26.0)	(1.3)	(1.1)
• Indians	1.41 (7.9)	1.61 (7.48)	(1.5)	(1.4)
• Others	0.59 (3.3)	0.70 (3.3)	(2.0)	(1.8)
• Non-Citizens	0.80 (4.3)	1.31 (5.6)	(12.3)	(5.7)

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages.
Source: Adapted from the Seventh Malaysia Plan, 1996-2000,pp 105.

2.2 Salient Features of the Malaysian Multi-Ethnic Society

There are several features of the Malaysian multi-ethnic population which need highlighting as it has implications on trans-border in-migration in the post independence era. These are:

i.   **Ethnic Division is Officially Sanctioned.**

Ethnic divisions are officially sanctioned. Birth certificates and identity cards indicate a citizens ethnic group - Malay, Iban or Bidayuh, etc. in the case of the Bumiputra category; or a Chinese, Indians, etc. for non-Bumiputra. Ethnic boundaries are marked by cultural differences as expressed in religious practices and language. Such being the case, the perpetuation of these ethnic indicators is important through education and the media. Thus, despite the establishment of national schools in the years after independence, the Chinese and Indians are allowed to have their own vernacular schools, should they not want to enter the national school system which uses Malay medium of education. They

are also permitted to have their own newspapers, radio and television channels. Ethnic religious festivals too are accorded public holidays. Malaysia is a show case for multi-culturalism.

ii.   Religious Divide

Associated with the ethnic divide is that of religion. While the official religion of Malaysia is Islam, the population is given the freedom to practice other faiths. Major religions among the population are Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confusionism. While all Malays are Muslims, other Bumiputra's are free to choose their religion. A Rungus in Sabah can be a Christian, a Muslim or an animist. A Chinese may be a Christian, Muslim, Buddhist or Taoist and an Indian could be a Muslim, a Christian, a Hindus or a Sikh. Religious and ethnic divide do not always overlap each other.

iii.   Political Parties are Ethnically Based.

Another feature of ethnic diversity in Malaysia is presence of ethnic based political parties, which is seen by many as the root cause of ethnic division and its continuity. In the Peninsula, Malays have their United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) and the Malaysian Islamic Party (known locally as PAS). The Chinese have their Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Indians, the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) and Peoples Progressive Party (PPP). There are attempts to bridge the political/ethnic divide by forming multi-ethnic parties such as the Gerakan (Malaysian Peoples Movement) and the DAP (Democratic Action Party), but these parties are usually dominated by one ethnic group - the Chinese. In Sabah and Sarawak too, the same political tendency prevails, with major ethnic groups forming their own political organization to further ethnic interest. Examples are the Party Bansa Dayak[2] in Sarawak; and UPKO (United Pasokmomogan Kadazan Organisation) and Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) in Sabah.

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[2] In 2007, the party changed its name to Parti Rakyat Sarawak.

By forming a coalition, the Barisan Nasional (BN) some of these political have been able to gain power and rule the country for the last fifty years. The BN, formed in 1970 based on an earlier coalition of UMNO, MCA and MIC, has 13 member political parties from Sabah and Sarawak since 2003.

To remain in power, each ethnic party must retain its ethnic boundary, their "Malayness", "Chineseness", "Indianess" or "Kadazanness" must be maintained through preservation of their language, culture, religion, etc. Political leaders must pursue the socio-economic and political interests of their own ethnic communities and in doing so, they often come into conflict with their partners in the coalition and with others.

iv. Entrenched Kinship/Ethnic Networks Across National Boundaries.

As a large proportion of the Malaysian population are of recent immigrant descent, many still have relatives in their country of origin with whom they have close contacts. Among Malaysian Indian families, for example, it is not uncommon for parents to look for marriage partners for their children from their family members in India or among Indian diaspora elsewhere. Some Malays/Bumiputra of Indonesian descent are also in touch with their relatives from the land of their ancestors. The same tendency applies to other ethnic groups in the country. As a result many Malaysians have entrenched kinship and ethnic network systems cutting across national boundaries.

2.3 Challenged Borders

The establishment of colonial administration (the British, Dutch, Spanish, French, Portuguese and the Americans) in the ASEAN region laid the foundation of the nation state and with it the institution of state boundaries which was drawn to suit the economic and political interests of the colonial powers. These boundaries cut across cultural areas dividing families and ethnic groups into separate nationalities. In spite of the national divide, social and economic interactions between these separated peoples persisted. They cross these borders as if they were non existent, perhaps unaware of the official immigration control and its significance. These borders, at least on the Malaysian side, were highly porous, perhaps intentionally made so in view of the lack of manpower faced by the expanding capitalistic enterprises.

7

3.0 Migration in the Post Independent Era

For the Peninsula, in the post independent era, immigration control was imposed with the establishment of the 1959/1963 Immigration Act. However, along the borders, clandestine entry proceeded at a subdued rate. The early years of independence was marked by internal migration, especially the rural-rural and rural-urban flow. It was only in the seventies that trans-border in-migration began to accelerate with the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP-1970-1990). The NEP's emphasis on socio-economic and infra-structural development created ample employment opportunities at the lower rung of the job hierarchy. Unfortunately, these jobs were rejected by most of the locals who have by then benefited from the expansion of formal education in the years after independence. The overcome this labour shortfall employers had to recruit and employ foreign nationals clandestinely. The result was an influx of foreign workers mainly from Indonesia islands of Java, Sumatra and Bawean and nationals of Thailand, in the case of the Peninsula.

In Sabah, the state sanctioned in-migration of workers from Indonesian under the Malaysian Migration Fund Board (MMF) which brought in over 200,000 Indonesians from Kalimantan and Sulawesi (Labour Report, 1983/84). In addition, migrant workers also came from neighbouring islands of the Philippines especially the Mindanao area and from Sarawak. These foreign workers were needed to work in logging and the agricultural sector especially in the plantations. In Sarawak, migrant workers came mainly from across the border with Indonesian Kalimantan.

Other economic factors external to Malaysia also helped boosted migration into the country. Some of the neighbouring countries were and still are experiencing a high rate of unemployment and lower wage levels than in Malaysia. In addition the exchange rate of the Ringgit was high in favour of the Indonesian Rupiahs, the Baht or the Filipino Pesos. There was a strong economic motive to work in Malaysia and passage to the country was made easy with improved air, sea and land transportation.

Apart from the economic migrants, the early seventies saw Malaysia being inundated by refugees. The Peninsula was forced to accommodate thousands of Vietnamese and, to a smaller extent, Cambodians refugees. Sabah became the landing ground for a large number of Filipino refugees escaping political unrest under the Marcos regime in the Southern Philippines islands of Mindanao (Dorall, 1987; Bahrin & Rachagan 1984 and Wong, 2001). While the Vietnamese refugees were isolated and prohibited from integration until their repatriation in the mid nineties, attempts were made to integrate the Cambodians and the Filipino. The Filipinos were given a special pass, the IMM13, to stay and work in Sabah, where they remain as refugees until today (Azizah Kassim, 2004).

The lax immigration control for over a decade in the seventies allowed irregular migrant workers to proliferate and as their number grew and as they moved into a wider range of work sectors in the urban areas, they became more visible, thus attracting the attention of the public. The situation was exacerbated when the immigrant communities began to compete with the local poor for affordable housing in the squatter areas and for economic opportunities especially in petty businesses; and the involvement of a few in violent crimes. By the early eighties, their presence was beginning to be seen as problematic and soon the issue and problems of their employment became an agenda for mainstream political discourse. With political leaders from both the ruling and opposition parties voicing their concern about the negative impacts of foreign labour employment, especially to national security, the government was compelled to take steps to resolve the problems of the "illegal immigrants" who by then was believed to be at least around half a million.

Thus economic and political factors play a major role in influencing policy formulation. There was an acute need for foreign labour but their uncontrolled entry was detrimental to national security and to ensure political stability a policy on foreign workers must be formulated.

4.0 Policy on Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Foreign Workers

Malaysia's Employment Act 1955 already had provisions for the employment of foreign nationals, but it was for the expatriate category. What it lacked was one to deal with the unskilled and semi-skilled. The policy on the latter category came into effect in the early eighties. Its main objectives are to sanction legal recruitment of foreign workers to overcome labour shortages in some sectors of the economy. To facilitate legal recruitment it was incumbent on the government to resolve the problem of irregular migrant workers, known initially in the local vernacular as *"pendatang haram"* and later changed to *"pendatang tanpa izin"*[3] (illegal immigrants). Thus a parallel programme to reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the country was initiated.

The employment of foreign workers was seen as a temporary phase and accordingly, policy measures which were subsequently devised were designed to accommodate their temporary stay. While the policy objectives have remained constant, its measures have been changed several times in response to economic and political situation as well as public sentiments. Measures taken to control and monitor foreign workers are discussed subsequently

4.1 Policy Measures in 1980's

It was in the Peninsula where initial measures were taken to pave the way for legal recruitment of foreign workers. Among these was the signing of the Medan Agreement with Indonesia, aimed at legal recruitment in May 1984.. This was followed by the signing of memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with source countries such as Bangladesh and the Philippines to recruit workers. In 1989, the first regularization exercise was launched in the Peninsula aimed at registering and legalizing Indonesians in the agricultural sector. At the same time, legal mechanisms were established to facilitate legal recruitment which include the following:

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[3] Apparently the term *"pendatang haram"* was strongly objected to by the Indonesians because the term *haram* in Islam also refers to pigs. The Malaysian authorities had to use a more palatable terminology i.e. *"pendatang tanpa izin"* which in essence means the same in Malay.

- The formation of a policy making committee (*Jawatankuasa Kabinet Pengambilan Pekerja Asing*) entrusted with the task of establishing procedures and mode of recruitment, to decide on the source countries and sectors eligible to engage foreign workers; the terms and conditions of foreign workers' employment, fees and levy, etc.

- The formation of an implementing agency (*Jawatankuasa Teknikal Pengambilan Pekerja Asing*) comprising representatives of related state agencies such as the Department of Immigration, Department of Labour, etc.

4.2 Policy Measures in 1990's Onwards

In the following years, the policy measures were further improved to include the following:

i.   Regularization Exercise in 1990 to June 1992. This was an extension of regularization exercises carried out in 1989. It was aimed at irregular migrant workers in domestic services. The good response from employers in this sector encouraged the government to extend the exercise to the construction and later to the service sectors. The exercise was stopped in 1992.

ii.   Formation of Ops Nyah 1, January 1992. This was to stop further illegal incursion into the country by foreign nationals by patrolling land and sea borders especially areas identified as illegal entry points. This is an on-going operation.

iii.   Formation of Ops Nyah 2, July 1992. This is also an on-going exercise to root out illegals already in the country who refused to co-operate with the regularization programme. It involves making spot checks at worksites where foreigners are employed or in places where they live. The Ops Nyah 2 was disbanded in March 2005 and replaced with Ops Tegas.

iv. In the mid-nineties, the Malaysian government introduced compulsory medical examination for foreign workers. An agency, FOMEMA (Foreign Workers Medical Examination and Monitoring Agency) was entrusted with the responsibility of conducting medical examination on all foreign workers brought into the country to ensure that only healthy ones are employed.

v. Amendments to the Immigration Act 1959/63 were made in 1997 and 2002. The Immigration Act was found inadequate to deal with violations of immigration laws and new problems related to immigration. The new amendments, among others introduced higher fines, longer jail sentences and canning for violations of immigration laws. It also makes harbouring, trafficking and employment of irregular migrants an offence punishable by jail or fines, or both. In addition there are also provisions to charge those who falsify official documents or official endorsements.

vi. Amnesty Exercise. These were launched in the Peninsula in 1997 and in Sabah and Sarawak in 1998. In 2002 and 2004-2005, the exercise was done on a nationwide basis. Under this exercise, a specific period was allocated for irregular migrants in the country to leave without being charged under the Immigration Act 1959/63. If they wish to re-enter Malaysia and work, they can do so legally according to given procedures. Although over a million irregular migrants participated in these exercises, it is generally agreed that they represent only a fraction of the irregular migrant population in the country. This is evidenced by the number of arrests made in the Ops Nyah 2 Operations which follows the end of each amnesty exercises.

vii. Implementation of a Special Immigration Court to hear cases of irregular workers and migrants in December 2006. The court was set up to facilitate hearing of cases involving violations of immigration laws in the country. Prior to this, such cases were heard in the ordinary court and as the Malaysian courts have a backlog of thousand of cases, delays in hearing of immigration cases were common. This caused overcrowding in

12

immigration detention camps and slowed down operations to weed out irregular migrants under the Ops Nyah 2 exercises.

5.0 The Expansion of the Foreign Workers

With the migrant workers policy in place, two ministries were given the responsibility of managing the foreign workers i.e. the Ministry of Home Affairs through its Department of Immigration (*Jabatan Imigresen*) and the Ministry of Human Resources under it Department of Labour (*Jabatan Tenaga Kerja*). The former is responsible for issuing their visas and work permits and the latter for matters relating to their employment, except for those in domestic services. Through these departments especially the Immigration, records on foreign workers began to be kept. These records enable us to examine the expansion of the foreign work force in Malaysia.

5.1 The Expansion of the Unskilled and Semi-skilled Contract Workers

Foreign workers in Malaysia comprise two main groups: the expatriates; and the unskilled and semi-skilled. The former are the technical, managerial and professional category whose presence in Malaysia is much sought after by the state. They are administered separately from the unskilled and semi-skilled and subjected to different terms and condition of service. As they are highly paid and their number is small (around 50,000 in 2007), they are not seen as a problem. Thus much of the discourse on foreign workers excludes them.

The unskilled and semi-skilled contract workers are issued temporary work passes (*Pas Lawatan Kerja Sementara*). The issuance of these passes, which are renewable every year upon payment of a levy[4] and the worker passing a medical check-up by FOMEMA, provides a glimpse of the expansion of migrant contract workers in Malaysia (see Table 3). As shown in the Table the number of these legally recruited workers have

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[4] The cost of levy varies according to sectors. The lowest is for agricultural/plantation workers and domestic maids (RM360) per annum and RM1,200 for others sectors, except in Sarawak and Sabah where it is much lower (RM950).

13

expanded in the last two decades. However, the yearly intake fluctuates in response to the economic situation in the country. The number increases when the economy is booming and declined in periods of economic downturn such as during the financial crisis in 1998. In the following years, as the economy recovered, it rose again to over 1.87 million in 2006. In 2007, their number increased further to around two million.

Table 3: Expansion of Foreign Workers Based on Issuance of Work Passes by the Malaysia Immigration Department

Year	Peninsular Malaysia	Sabah	Sarawak	Malaysia	Notes
1985-1991 (May)	66,758	N.A	N.A	N.A	Regularization of irregular migrant workers
1993				532,723	
	(77.78)	(18.77)	(3.45)	(100)	
1994				642,057	
	(80.36)	(15.57)	(4.06)	(100)	
1995				726,689	
	(79.32)	(16.61)	(4.06)	(100%)	
1996					Ban on Bangladeshi workers
	(78.74)	(16.26)	(5.00)	(100)	
1997					
	(80.89)	(15.40)	(3.71)	(100)	
1998				1,127,652	Asian Financial crisis-,recruitment stopped; voluntary repatriation .
	(70.03)	(25.18)	(4.79)	(100)	
1999				918,317	
	(74.14)	(17.67)	(8.19)	(100)	Ban on Bangladeshi Workers
2000				799,685	
	(79.12)	(9.41)	(11.47)	(100)	
2001				769,566	
	(74.85)	(13.67)	(11.49)	(100)	
2002				1,057,156	Econ. Recovery
	(76.87)	(14.06)	(9.06)	(100)	
2003				1,412,697	
	(79.69)	(12.06)	(8.25)	(100)	
2004				1,474,686	
	(78.38)	(13.53)	(8.09)	(100)	
2005				1,821,750	
	(79.86)	(12.96)	(7.18)	(100)	
2006				1,871,038	
	(80.84)	(11.84)	(7.32)	(100)	

Notes: Figures in brackets are percentages.
Source: Adapted from Azizah Kassim, 2007.

Table 4: Foreign Workers in Malaysia by Source Countries
(1985-2007)

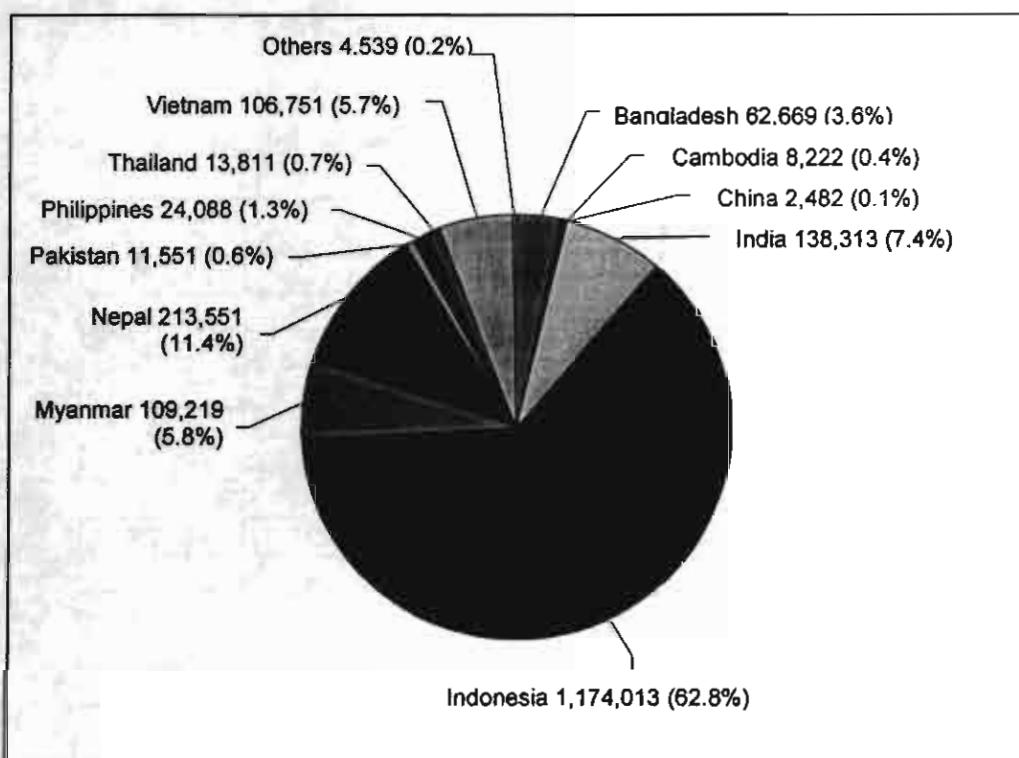| Source Countries	1985	1990	2001	2006
Bangladesh	1,126	361	105,744	62,669
	(32.3)	(1.5)	(13.74)	(3.6)
Cambodia				8,222
				(0.4)
China				2,482
				(0.1)
India				138,313
				(7.4)
Indonesia	998	14,125	566,983	1,174,013
	(28.7)	(58.5)	(73.67)	(62.8)
Myanmar				109,219
				(5.8)
Nepal				213,551
				(11.4)
Pakistan			2,218	11,551
			(0.28)	(0.6)
Philippine	374	5,340	17,287	24,088
	(10.7)	(22.1)	(2.25)	(1.3)
Thailand	986	4,326	2,440	13,811
	(28.3)	(17.9)	(0.32)	(0.7)
Vietnam				106,751
				(5.7)
Others:			74,894	4,537
• Sri Lanka			(9.72)	4,421
• Laos				58
• Other Countries				48
				(0.2)
Total	**3,484**	**24,152**	**769,566**	**1,869,209**
Percentages	**(100)**	**(100)**	**(100)**	**(100)**

Notes:
- The "Other Countries" category includes nationals of Austria, Egypt, Fiji, Ethiopia, Morocco, Russia, Singapore, Syria, Uzbekistan, with workers ranging from 1-36.
- Numbers in brackets are percentages.

Source: Department of Immigration Malaysia, Putrajaya & Azizah Kassim, 2007.

In the seventies most of the workers in Malaysia were from Indonesia, Philippines and Thais. The number of source countries rose to four in 1990 and five in 2001. In 2002, following a riot by Indonesian workers in a factory in Nilai, Negeri Sembilan, steps were taken to open up employment to workers from other countries especially among ASEAN members. and Nepal. By 2006, Malaysia imports workers from thirteen source countries (see Table 4 & Chart 1). As shown in the Table, the majority are from the ASEAN region with the Indonesians retaining their position as the largest group. In 2006, Indonesians form over 62% of the foreign labour workforce), followed by those from Nepal (11.4%);India (7.4%); Myanmar (5.8%) and Vietnam (5.7%) and Bangladesh (3.6%).

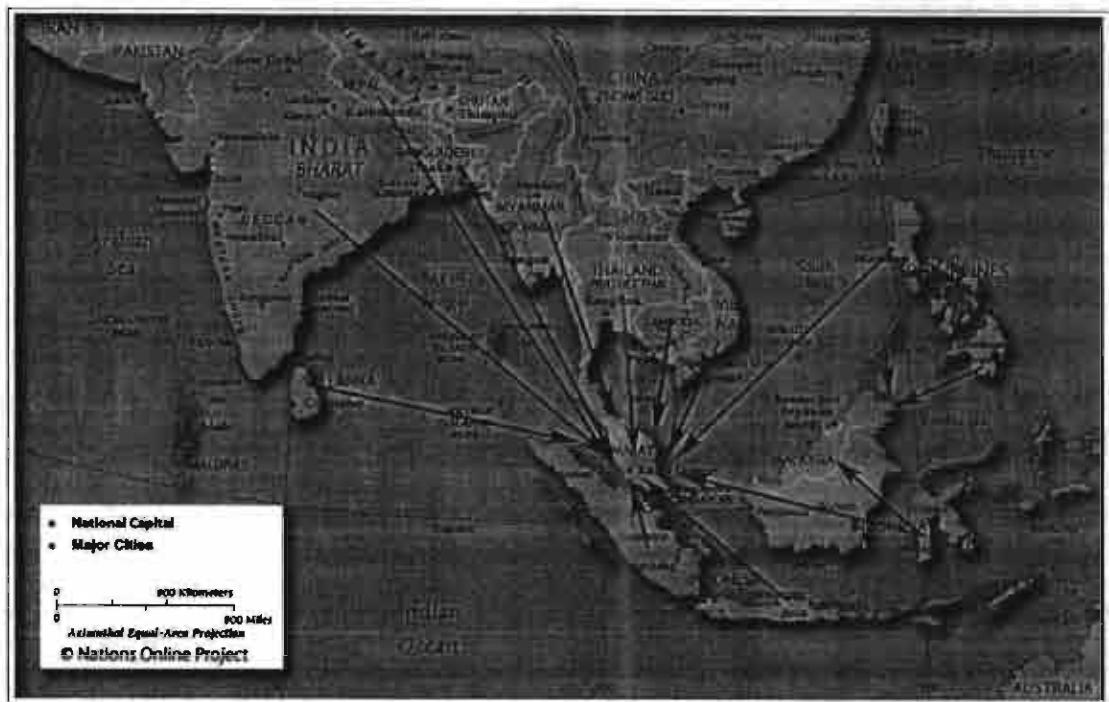**Chart 1: Issuance of Work Passes (PLKS) by Country of Origin, Year 2006. (Total 1,869,209)**

Others 4.539 (0.2%)
Vietnam 106,751 (5.7%)
Thailand 13,811 (0.7%)
Philippines 24,088 (1.3%)
Pakistan 11,551 (0.6%)
Nepal 213,551 (11.4%)
Myanmar 109,219 (5.8%)
Bangladesh 62.669 (3.6%)
Cambodia 8,222 (0.4%)
China 2,482 (0.1%)
India 138,313 (7.4%)
Indonesia 1,174,013 (62.8%)

Table 5: Foreign Workers in Malaysia by Job Sectors.

Job Sectors	1985	1990	2001	2006
Agriculture				123,373
Construction		288	60,197	267,809
Domestic Maid	566	5,838	155,883	310,662
Plantation	2,918	18,026	214,595	354,124
Manufacturing			283,401	646,412
Services			55,309	166,829
Others			181	
Total	3,484	24,152	769,566	1,869,209

Source: Azizah Kassim, 2007.b. based on data provided by the Department of
Immigration, Malaysia, Putrajaya.

18

Patterns of their labour utilization have also changed over the years. In 1985, they were engaged only in domestic services and plantations. By 1990 they were also found in the construction sector. By the 1990's two others sectors i.e. manufacturing and general services were allowed to use foreign labour. In the following decade they were given permission to work in many sub-sectors especially in services such as in laundry outlets, in restaurants, welfare homes, industrial spa, textile retail shops, and island resorts and as barbers, cleaners, security guard, as caddies at golf courses and cargo handlers. .

Table 6: Foreign Workers by Gender & Country of Origin (2003 & 2006)

	2003			2006		
	Peninsula	Sabah	Sarawak	Peninsula	Sabah	Sarawak
Indonesia	720,479	162,636	115,241	840,358	207,651	130,315
(F)	*(44.60)*	*(32.70)*	*(38.20)*	*(52.70)*	*(3.20)*	*(34.20)*
Nepal	107,896			210,074	1	11
(F)	*(0.01)*			*(0.20)*	0	
Bangladesh	93,846			54,472		3,254
(F)	*(0.40)*			*(0.30)*		0
Philippines	7,083	7,644	412	11,126	13,538	616
(F)	*(8.20)*	*(32.80)*	*(1.50)*	*(88.40)*	*(39.10)*	*(3.30)*
Thailand	10,003	10	28	13,538	69	385
(F)	*(17.80)*	0	*(17.90)*	*(27.00)*	*(47.80)*	*(1.30)*
India	63,743	134		139,423	220	98
(F)	*(0.30)*	*(2.20)*		*(0.30)*	0	0
Myanmar	47,952			108,395	18	3
(F)	*(0.06)*			*(5.50)*	0	0
Pakistan	2,242			11,406	4	101
(F)	*(0.30)*			*(0.10)*	0	0
Sri Lanka	1,067			4,241	1	6
(F)	*(57.80)*			*(23.20)*	0	0
Cambodia	2,914			8,200		1
(F)	*(58.10)*			*(83.50)*		0
Others	69,451		297	106,352	39	2,124
(F)	*(0.10)*		*(71.00)*	*(34.20)*	0	0
Total	1,126,676	170,424	115,978	1,507,585	221,541	136,914
(F)	*(29.60)*	*(32.30)*	*(38.20)*	*(31.00)*	*35.60%*	

Note: (F) = Females.
           Figures in brackets are percentages.

Source: Computed from raw data provided by Bahagian Sistem Maklumat, Jabatan
           Imigresen, Malaysia, Putrajaya.

19

Another interesting feature in the expansion of foreign workers in Malaysia is the increasing number of women among them. As shown in Table 6, in 2003 and 2006, between 29% and 35% of migrant workers in Malaysia were females. They are found in almost all sectors, but their dominance is in the domestic service and as carers in welfare homes. They are also visible in manufacturing, working mainly as production operators, where they form about 30 % of the workforce

5.2 Irregular Migrant Workers

Besides the legal contract workers, Malaysia also has a large number of irregular workers comprising the undocumented, over-stayers, contract defaulters, pass abusers, stateless persons and refugees. (see Azizah Kassim, 2007.b). As indicated earlier, Malaysia is not a signatory to the Geneva Convention on Refugees, but it continued to provide temporary abode to asylum seekers and refugees who in the last two decades came from countries such as Myanmar and Indonesian Acheh. To date a UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) source estimates that there are around 40,000 people of concerns in Malaysia (Fradot, 2007). The Malaysian government views refugees and asylum seekers as irregular migrants (New Straits Times, 3 March 2007). But unlike other irregular migrants, they are permitted to stay once they are verified as genuine asylum seekers and refugees by UNHCR. With their verification card they cannot be arrested, detained and deported for violations of immigration laws.

The Immigration Department estimates the irregular migrants at around 200,000, but other parties give higher figures. The MTUC (Malaysian Trade Union Congress) for example, put their number at around 500,000 and MEF (Malaysian Employers Federation) at three times the number of legal contract workers i.e. around six million. The actual number cannot be ascertained, however, what is certain is their persistently high number in spite of the various measures taken by the state to reduce their number as alluded to above. This is evidenced by the results of the regularization, amnesty, Ops Nyah 1 and Ops Nyah 2 exercises which apprehended over three million irregular migrants in the last two decades (see Azizah Kassim, 2007a). A majority of them are economically active, engaged in the same jobs as the legal contract workers. In fact, they are found in a wider

range of jobs as they feel that they are not subject to any employment rules and regulations. The consistently high number of irregular migrants put into question the efficacy of the present policy on foreign workers.

6.0 Factors Influencing Policy Decision and Implementation: Is Ethnic Diversity a Relevant Factor?

It can be said that the Malaysian foreign workers' policy has limited success. While it has been successful in encouraging legal recruitment and employment of alien workers, it has failed to reduce the number of irregular migrants. There is a gap between policy objectives and its outcome which needs explanation.

Studies on policy implementation has proposed that the gap between policy objectives and its outcome can be attributed to at least three factors – policy flaw; macro-structural factors; and domestic and international political constraints (Cornelius and Tsuda 2004:1-48). These three factors apply to the Malaysian case. The writer had elsewhere discussed the policy flaw, attributed to its faulty assumption .i.e that labour importation is temporary when in reality it is not as the use of migrant labour has been going on for more three decades (Azizah Kassim, 2007a.) Its implementation is also difficult due to "embedded" structural factors – viz. the expansion of formal education, the increasing number of women in the formal economy, the continued rejection by the locals of the 3D's jobs, and most importantly the ethnic diversity of the population with its entrenched cross-border networks. Ethnic political parties in Malaysia too put demands on policy decisions just as international and regional regimes.

As a member of the global community Malaysia is expected to acceded to or abide by such regimes as the ILO Conventions on Migrant Workers, the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Conventions on the Eliminations of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW), the Declaration of Human Rights 1947, UNHCR, etc.. Policy makers have to find a balance between national and supra-national interests. The difficulty faced by policy implementers in trying to balance between these two interests is

21

well expressed in a special report by the Department of Immigration which mentions the "interference" by UNHCR in some of its raids on irregular migrants. The misunderstanding lies in the fact that some economic migrants arrived in Malaysia disguised as refugees.

How ethnic diversity can affect the making and implementation of the policy on migrant workers will be discussed below.

6.1 Ethnic Diversity and Accommodating Attitude Towards Immigrants

As alluded to in section 2, the Malaysian society is born out of in-migration and multi-culturalism, multi-lingualism and multi-religiosity is a common aspect of Malaysian daily life especially in the urban areas. This gives way to a high degree of tolerance towards foreign nationals. It can be said that until the influx of foreign nationals showed its ugly impacts in the early eighties, Malaysians generally accepts migrants especially as they are performing an important economic function. They are a solution to their problem. Such a favourable attitude partly accounts for the delay in addressing the issue of irregular workers. This attitude may have changed among some sections of the public in the last decade, as more people are voicing their resentment against contract worker and irregular migrants in the media. They are increasingly being seen as a threat to national security. Never the less there is still a large section of the population who are willing to harbour and employ them legally or otherwise.

The multi-ethnic population makes identifying aliens in their midst is difficult. In a mono-ethnic society such as Japan, a non-citizen can easily be identified by his physical appearance and cultural bearings (language use, attire etc.). However, this is almost impossible in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Malaysia where the population can trace descent to China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Arab countries Indonesia and Europe.

Thus identifying irregular migrants is no easy task[5] and this negatively affects the implementation of the migrant workers' policy.

6.2 The Politics of Migration: Who Can Come and Who Can Stay?

In spite Malaysia's long history of hosting migrants, public administrators in post independent Malaysia has no experience in dealing with migrant workers except for expatriates. This partly accounts for the period of neglect of foreign workers in the seventies. When it was incumbent on them to formulate a policy on foreign workers, one major question confronting them was "who can be allowed to come"? Initially, in the Peninsula, it was the Indonesians who were most preferred, not only because a large number were already working in the country illegally, but also because of their historical link and cultural affinity with the local Malay population. Such a decision did not go well with some opposition Chinese political leaders who accused the Malay dominated government of allowing the Indonesians in to increase the number of Malays in the country. They believe Indonesians can easily assimilate with the Malay population, and should they be conferred permanent resident status, their children will become citizens, thus bolstering the Malay population which in turn will increase the voting and political strength in the Malays in the long term. It was to avoid prolonging such allegations that the door was opened to other nationalities except for Chinese, for fear on the part of the Bumiputras that they will bolster the Chinese population, and with it their political strength.[6] Until today such suspicion remains in the minds of non-Malay/Bumiputra political leaders as evidenced by the November 2007 parliamentary debate. A non-Bumiputra parliamentarian, from the opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) is

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[5] In an Ops Nyah exercise after the 2002 amnesty in Sabah, a young girl, a Sabahan of Filipino descent was wrongly deported to the Philippines. The case gained wide publicity, partly because of her claim that she was sexually harassed by officers at the detention camp where she was held prior to deportation. In another exercise after the 2004-2005 amnesty, a man from Peninsula Malaysia on a visit to Sabah was mistaken for an irregular migrant. He was arrested and detained at one of the detention camps. The error was later realised and the man released after media publicity. In June 2006, a Bajau girl of Filipino descent was arrested and detained in Kota Kinabalu. The writer assisted in getting her out of the immigration depot.

[6] In 2007, however, there was a move by some quarters to persuade the government to allow the importation of maids from China. The opposition, however, did not come from the non-Chinese Malaysians but from Chinese women themselves for non-political reasons. They view Chinese women from the mainland as "China dolls" who are capable of breaking their marriages (New Straits Times, 2007).

reported to have ..."alleged that the government practiced favouritism when awarding permanent resident status" (New Straits Times, 22 November, 2007). Although he did not mention which country being favoured, it is public knowledge that he is referring to Indonesia and that he is in fact voicing his concern that Indonesian migrants given PR will benefit the Malays politically.

The influence of ethnic diversity /politics on the management of migrants is also well demonstrated in Sabah, especially with regards to the Muslim Filipino refugees who now form a substantial portion of the state's workforce. Amidst political unrest in their country in the seventies, they escaped to Sabah and were allowed to stay by the former Chief Minister, Tun Mustapha (1968-76), himself a Suluk Muslims with paternal link to the Sulu Sultanate which is now a part of the Philippines Republic. His permission to accommodate the refugees was hailed as good move for the economy as Sabah was then facing acute labour shortage in its plantation and agricultural sectors. However, as he was head of a Muslim based political party, USNO, (United Sabah National Organisation)[7] his move was interpreted as politically motivated i.e. to increase the Muslim population and attain Muslim political dominance in the state. This is well articulate by Bahrin & Rachagan (1984), as follows,

" For Sabah, the existence of a large number of Filipinos, even while satisfying the current critical labour needs of the state , has immense social and political implications. The Filipinos now perhaps constitute the second largest community in Sabah and their numbers further inflate the percentage of Muslims in the state. The predominantly non-Muslim Kadazans who consider themselves the "definitive people" of Sabah already fear that the influx of Filipino Muslims would jeopardize their tenuous claim to numerical and therefore, cultural and political supremacy in Sabah. .... The Kadazans are not alone in their fear. The Chinese community, amongst whom are the principal beneficiaries of the cheap labour of the Filipinos have also been responsive to the alarm raised by the politicians.... " (P. 210).

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[7] USNO was disbanded in the early nineties and its members absorbed into the Peninsula based United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the major partner in the ruling coalition Barisan Nasioanl.

Referring to such fears at the Federal level, the two writers added, ... "

Given the communal nature of politics in Malaysia's plural society, ...such inconsistencies are readily converted into communal fears. Some non-Muslim Malaysians fear that the government recent decision to inhibit the entry of foreign wives, the tough stand against the Vietnamese displaced persons, the selection and resettlement in Malaysia of displaced Muslims from Kampuchea, the tolerance shown to the estimated quarter million illegal immigrants from Indonesia and the accommodation of 100,000 persons from the Southen Philippines are all part of a carefully co-ordinated population policy aimed at restructuring the communal balance in Malaysia" (P.210).

The communal balance referred to is to increase the Muslim Malay/Bumiputra demographic majority and with it, its political supremacy.

Attempts made to accommodate and assimilate the refugees under Mustapha and his successor Haris Salleh, also a Muslim, were later abandoned by the state authorities. Subsequently, the leadership of the state passed to non-Muslim hands, and the Filipino refugees became a neglected group until their case was taken up by the Federal authority at the end of the eighties and put under the care of a special unit, the Federal Task Force for Sabah and Labuan. There are now repeated calls among non-Muslim political leaders to repatriate them. In June 2007, a statement by a Federal Minister announced that part of the long term plan of the Federal government to solve the refugee problems in Sabah is to confer the refugees Permanent Resident status was strongly opposed by many quarters. Objections came from UPKO's (United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organisation.) as expressed by its Youth Chief Peter Mojuntin (Daily Express 1 July, 2007), Parti Bersatu Sabah and Democratic Party (New Straits Times, 13 November 2007). The former is an ethnically based party and the latter two multi-ethnic parties which are dominated by Christian ethnic groups, who will lose out in terms of political strength and votes if the Filipino Muslims are assimilated and their descendents become citizens. On the contrary, responses from Muslim political leaders in Sabah are somewhat subdued and neutral. Such strong opposition makes the management of refugees in Sabah almost impossible.

6.3 Ethnic Cross-Border Networks as Informal Recruiting Agency.

Since the mid eighties the government has established recruiting procedure for foreign workers. They have to be recruited formally, either by formal recruiting agencies or by individuals using the "calling visa". However, such formal channels are costly and time consuming and to overcome these, ethnic network are often utilised by prospective job seekers to look for employment; or by prospective employers to recruit workers, viz. illegally. Prospective workers are usually asked to come legally using visit passes and on arrival in Malaysia, they are hired. This practice is common among small enterprises with few workers such as food vendors, hair dressing salons, laundry and restaurant operators, cleaning contractors and domestic services. The following cases serve as examples.

Case I. The Indian *Rojak* and *Cendol* Vendors in Petaling Jaya

The rojak and cendol vendors, who are usually of Indian origin, operate an ambulatory business, on the back of a van. He is assisted by another Indian, usually a younger man, in his daily business operations which begins at around 11 am until 9 pm every day of the week. Our enquiry on twenty such operators in Petaling Jaya revealed that the assistants are usually relatives from their home town in (Tamil Nadu) who they have brought in as trainees. Some claimed to have brought in these relatives legally on tourist visas and whether or not they subsequently register them as legal foreign workers, they refused to say.

Based on these lead, the writer also checked on Indian restaurants in Petaling Jaya and a cleaning contractor in an academic institution in Bangi, Selangor. Ethnic recruitment seems common as news of job vacancies are passed on by Malaysians to their relatives in the country of origin by electronic media. A Malaysian citizen of Indian origin who operates a business will recruit workers from their land of origin, first among close relatives before employing others. This kind of recruitment is also practised among Malaysians of Indonesians and Nepalese origin because it is fast and cheap. This mode of recruitment is beneficial to both employer and employee but it is contrary to national interest as it leads to the expansion of irregular workers.

26

6.4 Ethnic Networks as Harbourers Irregular Migrants

Ethnic groups of foreign descent are also known to harbour irregular migrants either out of a desire to help foreign relatives or forced to do so by circumstances. In our research on migrant workers in Kuala Lumpur in the late nineties, we came across many newly arrived Indonesians in a village inhabited by Malaysians of Indonesian origin. Many arrived clandestinely by taxi in the wee hours of the morning knocking on the doors of distant relatives in the village seeking accommodation and assistance to get jobs. The locals were forced to help them at the risk of being charged for abetting in violations of immigration laws. The villagers eventually sort out their problems by allowing the newly arrived irregular migrants to build their own accommodation in a land reserve next to a Muslim burial ground (Azizah Kassim, 2000).

Some local people feel save to harbour foreign relatives who overstay or who came in clandestinely in their homes as these are rarely the target of the Ops Nyah 2 operations. As long as irregular migrants stay indoors, or if they go out, they are not conspicuous (by dressing like Malaysians, not talking in their ethnic dialects, etc.) they can avoid detection.

6.5 Limiting Integration and Avoiding Assimilation.

Ethnic relations are tainted with suspicions. With regards to cross-border in-migration, the political leaders of each ethnic group is always keeping an eye on the others to ensure they do not abuse migration as a tool to bolster their numerical strength and political power. Hence, policy measures are tailored towards migrants' temporary stay to avoid full integration and assimilation. They can work to a maximum period of five years only after which they must go home. They can only return to Malaysia and resume work after a period of six months. This policy is to stop the foreign workers from applying for the permanent resident status, for which they are eligible if their stay is longer. Other the terms and conditions of employment aimed at their short stay include prohibitions to take along family members and to get married while in service. As these

27

terms and conditions deny the workers their basic rights to family life, they are not observed. For example, many foreign workers send for their family members once they are settled, asking them to come as tourists and then overstay. In due course, more children are born, their births unregistered for fear of detection by the authorities, adding to the number of irregular migrants in the country.

6.6 Cross-Religious Employments and Its Problems

Other problems relating to migrant workers in multi-cultural Malaysia are cross religious employments. Problems arise when employers are non-Muslims and the workers are Muslim. In the case of domestic maids, employers are known to make their Muslim maids handle and cook non-halal products such as pork which is abhorrent to Muslims. Religiously insensitive employers forbid their maids to observe basic Islamic rituals such as the five daily prayers and fasting in the month of Ramadan.

Case 2: *A Muslim Indonesian maid in the employ of a Chinese Christian Family.*

Yanti, the maid told the writer, she was told by the recruiting agent in Indonesia that she would be working for a Malay family. On arrival in Kuala Lumpur she was given to a Chinese family, but she could not voice her objection for fear of losing her job. Initially, her employer allowed her time for prayer, but this permission was later withdrawn as the employer was concerned that she takes time off five times a day to pray. " Why do you pray so many times in a day?" the employer once asked angrily, thinking that she was just finding excuses not to work. His prohibition to her fasting is born out of fear that she will be too weak to be able to work for a month.

There are also reported cases of employers in the food making businesses asking their Muslim workers to handle non-halal stuff. A much publicized case some years ago involved a pork sausage manufacturer who hired Muslim Indonesian women to mince pork using their bare hands. They were so traumatised by the job that one of them leaked it to the press leading to a raid by the state Muslim agency to the factory. Another involved Bangladeshi workers hired in a farm rearing pigs.

Other cross-religious faux pas involved Malay families employing Filipino nannies. It was reported that the nannies took their Muslim young charges to church on Sundays without the knowledge of their parents.

Incidences such as these require the state to institute special procedures in migrant management. There was a move to confine Muslim workers to Muslim employers only, but the ruling proved impossible to enforce. Very recently, the Malaysian Immigration Department makes it incumbent of non-Muslim employers wishing to engage Muslim maids to agree to certain conditions. They are made to sign a formal contract not to prohibit the workers from performing their religious duties and not to make them perform duties contrary to their beliefs. Although these forms are signed and stamped by the employers, the terms and conditions are not always observed as there are no checking mechanisms to ensure employers compliance. Thus the affected maids are often left in a state of despair as the employers' neighbours and friends who often know of such violations would not report such matters to the authorities.

7.0 Concluding Remarks

Malaysia's foreign workers' policy, instituted about two decades ago, seems to have had limited success. There is a gap between policy objectives and its outcome due to policy flaw and problems of its implementation caused by macro-structural factors and constraints from regional and international regimes. Of the many factors affecting policy decision and measures, ethnic divisions among its population and the presence of ethnically based political parties proved to be the most important. The state accommodation of ethnic interests not only led to a flawed policy, it also interferes with its successful implementation.

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Paper 3   Hidden "Inbetween-ness": An Exploration of Taiwanese Transnational Identity in Contemporary Japan

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Abstract

This article offers an analysis of the dynamic interplay of endogenous and exogenous forces that have created the complexity of migrant's identity. It examines cultural identity and related discourse of one particular transmigrant group, the "newcomer" Taiwanese, in contemporary Japan. This group of Taiwanese came to Japan after following the end of WWII. They have experienced complex transitions in recognition of legal status and of self-identification. Presented as a legacy of Japanese colonialism and Chinese nationalism, the newcomer Taiwanese constantly negotiate and redefine their "neither here, nor there" identities and thus constitute a distinct case within the population of overseas ethnic Chinese.

Japan, widely considered to be a society of racial and cultural homogeneity, faces an increasing influx of migrants, in particular those from East Asia in recent years. Migration thus leads to a broad range of concerns in the contemporary Japanese society. While previous literatures of the Chinese and Korean Diaspora are widely researched, there is a vacuum on Taiwanese Diaspora in the associated scholarship. This study investigates the Taiwanese migrants' cultural adaptation and socialization under the Japanese discourse through literature reviews and field study. This paper argues that the newcomer Taiwanese have constructed a transnational identity hidden in-between two cultures of Japanese and Chinese. In other words, this paper attempts to offer a perspective of Taiwanese under Japanese colonialism and Chinese nationalism that transcends the "identity struggle".

This group of Taiwanese migrants in postwar Japan struggle with surveillance, assimilation, resistance and identity confusions. To balance between a survival strategy overseas and a primordial attachment to the motherland, their identity of group boundaries may shift in various directions in accordance with the dynamic situations. Focusing on the patterns of migrants' settlement and network, this study suggests that the newcomer Taiwanese had developed a certain model that features cultural mixture captured in their intra- and inter-ethnic interactions.

Keywords: Diaspora, Cross-border Identity, Transnational migration, Taiwanese/Chinese Overseas, Postcolonial Japan-Taiwan Relations.

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the type of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two un-reconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—the longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self.

W.E.B.Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk

I. Introduction

Ethnic identity has been defined as a person's subjective sense of belonging to a certain group or culture (Phinney, 1990). In a multiethnic society, ethnic identity has significant implications for the way in which people see themselves, and their perception of how a society responds to them. Immigrants often experience a sense of alienation, loss, and a feeling of "not belonging" because of their displacement (Alexander, 1996). migrants inevitably confront new forms of cultural modes and social participation that deconstruct or reconstruct their renewed self-awareness and sense of identity. Mahalingam (2006) suggested that idealized cultural identities have dual effects—either "self imaged" or "imposed" by the dominant culture. Negotiating the cultural positioning of these renewed identities within existing social hierarchies presents unique challenges. —Kim (1999) argues that Asian Americans are marginalized within the "fiddle of racial positions," where Asian Americans are simultaneously valorized as a model minority and denigrated as "outsiders" and "perpetual foreigners." Thus, Asian American are "racially triangulated" vis-à-vis Whites and Blacks in this field of racial positions (Kim, 1999).

Taiwanese migrants in Japan share parallel paths of resettlement pattern with Indo-Caribbean American in the US. Both transnational groups have twice experienced the migration process in their own or their ancestry's life history. The former migrant group in Japan is comprised of the ethnic Chinese descendents who migrated from Mainland China to Taiwan pre- and post-1949[1] ; the latter migrant of Indo-Caribbean in the US are people with roots in the Indian subcontinent who live in the Caribbean. However, the difference between Taiwanese and Caribbean case is that for some Taiwanese migrants, migrating to Japan can be also regarded as "return" to a nostalgic land of Japanese colonial rule.

Although compared to the US or some European countries, Japan is not considered to be a country of significant migration but a society of racial and cultural homogeneity. However, its history of international relations has contributed to the flow of migration between Japan and other areas. Japan had accepted a large number of immigrants from its previous colonies, such as Korea and Taiwan. In addition, since the economic boom and labor shortage in the 1980s, Japan faces an increasing

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[1] Three major groups of Han Chinese migrated from Mainland China to Taiwan. The Hoklo (70%) and the Hakka (15%) constituted "Local Taiwanese"—who migrated to Taiwan prior to the mass exodus near the conclusion of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. "Mainlander" (15%) refers to those who migrated from mainland China near the end of the Chinese Civil War and their descendants.

influx of transmigrants, in particular those from East Asia. While previous literature related to Chinese and Korean Diaspora is widely researched, that on the Taiwanese Diaspora is few in number. Different from their Chinese and Korean counterparts residing in Japan, Taiwanese migrants appear to be an invisible group of culture identity. Unlike Chinese and Korean communities that have kept strong cultural identities that stress their countries of origin, Taiwanese migrants keep transnational ties to their homeland Taiwan while practice in a way of in between Japanese and Chinese cultures.

II. Focus Group and Research Methodology

This study focuses on the group of Taiwanese transmigrants, the first generation, who came to Japan from Taiwan during the years between 1949 and 1996. Members of the focus group are mainly those who reside in Tokyo Metropolitan Area (TMA), including Tokyo City, Saitaima, Kanagawa and Chiba Prefectures. They have a good command of languages in Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and HokloTaiwanese and/or the Hakka Taiwanese dialects.

This paper employs three approaches: history methodology, field study and theory examination to analyze the identity hidden in-between the two cultures of Chinese and Japanese. First, based on document analysis and literature reviews, this study looks into history of the social and political background with regards to Taiwanese migrants in Japan. It further explicates how social processes enter into the construction of cross-borderers' hybridized cultural identity through participant observations and interviews. Based on qualitative research methodology, this study conducts interview with semi-structured interview method[2] and adopts the purposive sampling[3], and snowball sampling[4]. Designed questionnaires have been distributed to the focus group since June 2007and followed up with face-to-face interviews. Last, it employs the theory of Cultural Psychology—Primordial Attachment Analysis—to perceive the focus group's networking practice as a core of cultural adaptation and socialization. Through the methodologies stated above, this paper examines the ways that the newcomer Taiwanese preserve, deconstruct and/or reconstruct their cultural identity through interfacing with people of varied backgrounds in Japan.

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[2] Semi-structured interviews are flexible, new questions can be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says, so the interview flows more like a conversation than a structured interview which has set questions. The interviewer may have a framework of themes that he wishes to explore.

[3] According to the Quantitative Method in Social Sciencee-Lessons of the Columbia University (http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/qmss/samp_type.html): , purposive sampling is a sampling method in which elements are chosen based on purpose of the study. Purposive sampling may involve studying the entire population of some limited group or a subset of a population. As with other non-probability sampling methods, purposive sampling does not produce a sample that is representative of a larger population, but it can be exactly what is needed in some cases - study of organization, community, or some other clearly defined and relatively limited group.

[4]: Snowball sampling is a technique for developing a research sample where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus the sample group appears to grow like a rolling snowball. This sampling technique is often used in hidden populations which are difficult for researchers to access; example populations would be drug users or commercial sex workers.

III. Background of the Taiwanese Newcomer

a. Social Network

Taiwanese newcomers brought with them well-developed mechanisms of social and economic organization, which influenced both patterns of settlement and the maintenance of a distinct identity. None the less, provincial kinship or business associations continued to play an important role in their social life in Japan. Foreign labors and immigrants, including Chinese, Korean and Taiwanese, were disenfranchised, obliged to register, and were excluded from a wide range of social and welfare benefits as well as employment or promotion in the public sector before the 1980s. These and other exclusions reinforced traditional reliance on Chinese/Taiwanese ethnic associations in areas of employment and social life.

Early Chinese/Taiwanese migrants generally remained in China enclaves called "Chinatown" as self-employed shopkeepers or restaurants. Employees and business contacts continued to be drawn from among either relatives or acquaintances from the same province of origin, while Chinese/Taiwanese enterprise continued to raise capital using provincial ties. Those provincial associations maintained their traditional functions as social clubs and benevolent societies, providing hospitals, chambers of commerce and schools. When Chinese or Taiwanese found it difficult to obtain loans from Japanese banks before 1980s, the business associations sponsored the foundation of ethnic Chinese financial aid institutions and systems to provide similar service as a bank.

However, despite some apparent similarities, clear distinctions can be drawn between Taiwanese and mainland Chinese's patterns of settlement and employment. For example, in terms of schooling, in an effort to avoid being drawn into some political disputes between China (the PRC) and Taiwan (the ROC), many parents began to send their children to Japanese schools, through which facilitates both children and parents' segmented assimilation to Japanese-ness.

b. History of the Transitional Legal Status

As a result of war and the colonial experience, Taiwanese migrants in Japan present a unique aspect in the discussion of their ambiguous legal status, which is barely covered by the previous studies on their other counterparts flowing to the US or Southeast Asia. In the aftermath of WWII, the Taiwanese in Japan encountered ambiguity over their sense of belonging, both legally and ethnically. Their legal status was not clarified until the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Sino-Japan Treaty was concluded in 1952.

During the years between 1945 and 1952, those Taiwanese could not be categorized either as Chinese or as Japanese. Taiwanese were regarded as "non-Japanese" yet were still considered to be "Japanese citizens." There was a legal distinction between the Chinese and the Taiwanese. The former was from a country on the winner's side, whereas the latter was categorized as the people of the "third nation", which was neither a winner nor a loser of the war. The ambiguity was ended up by the ROC government which recovered migrants' Chinese citizenship in October 1946. Following this decision, the US government issued a memorandum which

admitted the change of the legal status of Taiwanese in 1947. There were about 15,000 Taiwanese who were accepted by this legal procedure to become citizens of the ROC (Tanaka 1983: 28-30).

According to the Alien Registration Law issued by the Japanese government in May 1947, the Taiwanese in Japan started to be categorized as "foreigners" instead of "non-Japanese," even though they were still considered to have Japanese citizenship.[5] The Taiwanese in Japan finally lost their Japanese citizenship and officially became citizens of the ROC on April 28, 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect. Some scholars argue that not until August 5th 1952 of the Sino-Japan Treaty, when Taiwanese citizenship ambiguity was concluded (Tanaka 1983:39) because the San Francisco Peace Treaty mentioned to legalize citizenship for the people residing in Japanese colonies (Taiwan and Korea) rather than for those on Japan. However, contradictory treatment applied to the Taiwanese who were captured as war criminals—they were not allowed to desert their Japanese citizenship and hence were charged for their crimes.[6]

c. Colonial and Post-colonial Effects

Despite the ambiguities and vicissitudes of Taiwanese migrants' legal status that forged complex identities in-between being Japanese and Chinese, Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan has framed the identity struggles and redefinition. The colonial and post-colonial effects on Taiwanese identity reflect the irreducible colonial-national-local triangulation between Japan, China, and Taiwan in a larger historical canvas. Although the legal labeling and self definition of Taiwanese in Japan change over time, the distinction between them and the rest of the Chinese in Japan kept to a large extent in interpersonal relationships. Some Taiwanese, particularly the recipients of Japanese education during colonial rule, were proud of being "Japanese" and despised Chinese from the mainland by calling the latter "shinajin" (支那人), which has derogatory connotations. The political upheaval and ethnic conflict inside the Taiwan Island also forged the self-segregation of ethnic Chinese migrants. While some realized their wish to return to be Chinese, some of them keep question marks in their self-identification.

In the eyes of the Taiwanese who had gone through industrialization and other social development under Japanese colonial practices, ill conduct by the new Chinese ruler appeared not only morally inappropriate but primitive. Due to the KMT government, they rather held nostalgic sentiments towards the colonial period under Japan. There was a saying "dogs left, and pigs came." to describe the ruling authority in Taiwan. Dogs referred to Japanese, who exercised severe controls over Taiwan, whereas the KMT Chinese were as dirty and stupid as pigs. Therefore, during 1950s, a great number of Taiwanese students flowed into Japan and sought to continue their careers or to establish a life in Japan. Many of them were also involved in numbers of overseas Taiwan independent activity after then.

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[5] See Tai (1993) Taiwanese in Japan: A Legacy of Japanese Rule in Taiwan. California: U.C. Berkeley Press. pp.58—64.

[6] See Morris-Suzuki, Tessa*Invisible Immigrants: Undocumented Migration and Border Controls in Postwar Japan*. The Journal of Japanese Studies – Vol. 32, Number 1, Winter 2006, pp. 119-153.

IV. Surveillance and Self Assimilation

a. Surveillance

The Taiwanese migrants residing in Japan, who have retained their original nationality, were regarded as foreign residents and are under the control of the Alien Registration Law. Their everyday lives were under surveillance of the local administrative office and local police. The Alien Registration Law was promulgated and came into force on April 28th, 1952. It has been criticized for the strict ways in which it controls foreign residents in Japan. The most controversial point was the requirement of a finger printing system, which was regarded as a device for controlling foreigners as if they were criminals. The moment of refusal to finger printing, especially among Korean migrants, took place starting in 1980 and brought about a decreasing frequency of finger printing, and finally a cancellation of this requirement in 1993 for permanent residents. Instead of finger printing, the permanent residents were required to provide signature and family data. However, other restricting laws have remained. The law required foreigners to carry their alien registration cards all the time, and to be ready to present it to the police. Failure to do so will result in legal punishment. Political activists argue that these requirements are only ways to set foreigners under strict governmental control.

Foreign residents are deprived of full participation in Japanese society. The so-called *kokuseki jookoo* (国籍条項, requirement of Japanese citizenship) limits the entitlement of foreign residents in Japan. In actual daily situations, the *koseki* (family register) is proof of possession of Japanese citizenship. The basic unit of the *koseki* (戸籍) system is the household, and the Japanese individual is registered as a member or the head of a household. Koseki are filed at respective local municipal offices. Birth, marriage, death and other kinds of change in family membership are recorded in this register. A copy of koseki is requested for the access to various kinds of privileges such as employment, occupational, certificates, public loans, scholarship, licenses and passport application. Foreign residents who do not have *koseki* are usually deprived of those rights, and are subject to other kind of discrimination. However, *kokuseki-jookoo* in certain areas has been removed as a result of anti-discrimination movements, which started in the 1970s. The participants of the movements are mainly Korean residents in Japan.

b. Self Assimilation

One possible way for foreign residents to get way from the legal restriction and to have their human rights guaranteed by law is to naturalize to Japanese citizenship. However, naturalization according to the Japanese legal system is far from an easy process, and discrimination in different forms persists even after the process of naturalization. There are two reasons driving self assimilation: political concerns and discrimination avoidance.

First, political concerns, the naturalization of Chinese/Taiwanese residents to Japanese citizenship started in 1950, and then gradually increased until around 1972. The number of cases of naturalization radically increased in 1972 because Japan resumed an official relation with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Considerable

numbers of Chinese/Taiwanese (Republic of China, Taiwan) decided to become naturalized citizens of Japan because they were afraid that the PRC might ban citizens of the ROC from becoming naturalized citizens of Japan (Chen 1990:58). Both the Japanese government and the ROC government were supportive in the naturalization of Chinese/Taiwanese nationals at the time. In order to facilitate the naturalization process of its nationals in Japan, the Taiwanese ROC government mitigated the restriction in age, and gave men exemption from military services (Kim 1990:24).

Second, for discrimination avoidance, assimilation is symbolized in the practical coercion of the use of Japanese names on naturalized people. The use of Japanese names is not formally required, but is highly recommended by the administrators. It is difficult for applicants to ignore a strong recommendation from administrators since they have to deal with them personally in the process of application, very different from those in the U.S. Administrators justify the recommendation by saying the foreign names induce discrimination. However, the requirement is a very difficult one for many foreign residents. As Isaac (1975a, 1975b) points out, the name plays an important role in the formation of ethnic identity. The change of name is a humiliation for many people who decided to naturalize but want to maintain their ethnic identity.

The general practice in Japan in regard to the Chinese name is to pronounce the Chinese characters of the name according to the sound system of the Japanese language. The practice seems to be accepted among Chinese people because they do the same among themselves when they speak different Chinese dialects. That is, their names are pronounced differently according to the dialects which are being spoken. However, in the naturalization process, a Chinese name pronounced in a Japanese way is not considered to be good enough. The Chinese name sounds foreign even when it is pronounced in a Japanese way, and the characters used for Chinese names are different from those used in Japanese names. A Chinese/Taiwanese applicant for naturalization is pressured to give up his or her original name and to acquire a commonly-used Japanese name.

However, most of the Chinese who became Japanese citizens managed to integrate elements of their original Chinese names into their new Japanese names. For example, an acquaintance of mine, Mr. *Hung* (洪) changed his name to *Kouno* (洪野), which kept one of the Chinese characters, added other one and pronounced in Japanese way. The ways in which people change their names vary. Some keep the pronunciation unchanged and replaced the characters used widely while some practice methods in the way similar to Mr. Hung. Though a change of the Family Registration Law in 1985 accepted the use of foreign names in international marriage, administrators still attempt to persuade applicants for naturalization by the same old strategy of referring to possible discrimination.

Arguably, the imposition of the use of Japanese names on naturalized citizens is reminiscent of the assimilation policy taken by Imperial Japan in the past. *Kaiseimei* (改姓名) in Taiwan and *Sooshi-Kaimei* (創氏改名)[7] in Korea forced the

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[7] Sōshi-kaimei (Japanese: 創氏改名) was a policy created by Jiro Minami, Governor-General of Korea under the Empire of Japan, implemented upon Japanese subjects from Korea (referred to below as

use of Japanese names on those who were not ethnic Japanese. The assimilation policy of Imperial Japan in its colonies did not die out with the end of the WWII. It is found, in disguise, in the Nationality Law of postwar Japan. As Kim (1990) argues, assimilation in contemporary Japan does not mean a vigorous Japanization practiced as *Koominka* (皇民化 making people servants of the Emperor) by Japanese colonial rule. Rather, the ethnic consciousness of minorities in postwar Japan has been withered and sunk into oblivion by the overwhelming Japanese-ness of the society. Ubukata (1977) compared the assimilation practices of Imperial Japan and those of postwar administrative use of fictive Japanese citizenship, and such enforcement was based on military power. On the country, in postwar Japan, assimilation which is practically imposed on naturalized people is fundamentally a voluntary action. However, in actuality, naturalization is chosen in order to alleviate discrimination in employment, housing, education and corporate enterprise in Japanese homogenous society.

V. Primordial Attachment

The Taiwanese migrants in Japan come to manifest diversity in self-identification as they have taken different trajectories in their life experiences as the political situation of Taiwan, mainland China and Japan change over time. For many of them, the transitional change of politics or international relations serves as a redefinition process of revitalization of Taiwanese-ness or of reconstruction of Chinese-ness. Still for others, it was the timing for effacement of their past whereas going through a process of recreation or submergence into or Japanese-ness. The choice self-identification is highly related to the pattern of their socioeconomic status and interpersonal relationship.

Chinese/Taiwanese migrants make distinctions not only between themselves and Japanese people but also among themselves. Many of them have resorted to certain boundary markers although it is not arbitrary. One of the most important markers for them is political orientation. Taiwanese newcomers have chosen political affiliation as a boundary marker in the process of redefining themselves in postwar Japan, because their lives have been intricately interwoven into the political upheavals of the two Chinas and Japan. They have constructed a new sense of belonging in contemporary Japan by creating differences along the lines of political divisions. The lives of those people usually revolve around politically orientated networks. Their

Koreans). As defined by Ordinance No. 19, issued in 1939, *sōshi*, literally creation of a surname (*shi*), was mandatory, while by Ordinance No. 20, issued in 1940, *kaimei*, literally "changing (your) given name", was voluntary and would be charged a fee. This was effectively a reversal of an earlier government order forbidding Koreans from taking Japanese names. There are various explanations as to the purpose of the ordinances. In 1939 and 1940, a new name-change policy came into effect by means of Ordinances No. 19 and 20. Originally, as in Taiwan, the new name-change policy was intended simply to allow change of surname (*sei/seong*) and given name, but because Korea had a long-established custom (recently abandoned) whereby people of the same *bon-gwan* (surname and clan) were not allowed to marry each other, in order that this custom could continue, it was decided that the policy would be implemented by leaving the clan name and *sei* the same in the family register, while permitting a new surname (*shi/ssi*) to be registered. On the other hand, in Taiwan, which was also under Japanese rule in the same period, but did not have an analogous custom, the policy was not described as "creation of a *shi*", but was simply "change of *sei* and given name"(改姓名).

central concern is the political meanings of "Taiwanese" and "Chinese" in relation to two Chinese governments and the movement of Taiwanese independence. The process of constructing self and creating a sense of belonging involves that of excluding others. For those whose identity is formed mainly by political ideology, the people they demarcate from themselves are other Taiwanese and Chinese. Interactions with Japanese seem to have less impact on their identity building for those people.

However, while political affiliation has been a critical boundary marker among many migrants, the avoidance of political talk is also characteristic of many other Taiwanese newcomers. For these kind of migrants, having gone through political upheavals of the two Chinas and Japan, they regard political talk to be nothing but a source of trouble. They are less willing to make any clear political identification. Instead, they may resort to cultural aspects of Chinese-ness or Taiwanese-ness in their identity. In such case, boundaries are drawn against Japanese people to some extent. They might attempt to construct Chinese-ness through the study of Chinese histories and philosophies, they study and use of Mandarin, or the appreciation of Chinese arts. Each individual consciously attempts to demonstrate ethnic identity in behavior (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). For example, one of my interviewees, LP Cheng refers to Chinese through the meaning of civilization and the extension of ethnic group, Chinese people. She prefers the word usage of "Kan-minzoku" (漢民族, Han ethnic group) over that of "Chuugokujin" (中国人, Chinese) to distinguish her reference group from the criteria in political orientation. She identifies with an abstract group called "Kan-minzoku" without embedding much sense of belonging to contemporary Chinese from the People's Republic of China.

The ethnic identity of the latter kind of Taiwanese migrants might be described more as "a primordial attachment[8]" (Geertz 1973:259) than politically asserted or intentionally constructed. That is to say, the Taiwanese under Japanese rule were still unconsciously socialized into Taiwanese and Chinese cultures, and developed an attachment to their own cultures despite the assimilation policy take by the Japanese. Such a sentiment has been maintained by many migrants overseas, and has been central to their ethnic identity. Many of them have continued to practice Taiwanese or Chinese habits and customs, and have maintained the values and behavioral patterns that they learned in Taiwanese ways. They integrate into their daily meals Taiwanese dishes such as *Biifun* (米粉 rice-noodles), *Chimaki* (粽 sticky-rice ball), and *Tonsoku* (豚足, pig's feet). Some have kept performing Taiwanese/Chinese cultural ceremonies, such as *Wiroo* (圍爐 family union for hot-pot dinner in Chinese new year's Eve), which is usually held at the end of a year in the lunar calendar to

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[8] According to Geertz (1963), Primordial attachment is one that stems from the "givens" of existence or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed givens of social existence; immediate contiguity and live connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These continuities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of them. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer ipso facto as the result not merely of personal attraction, tactical necessity, and common interest or incurred moral obligation, but in least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself.

celebrate the coming of a new year with a family feast. Taiwanese migrants have preserved what are considered to be Taiwanese/Chinese values and traits.

If it is true that the migrants have a primordial attachment to their cultures and fellow people, then it could be said that they share a sense of belonging beyond their political divisions and beyond their self-ascribed labels. This seems to be the case at least to a limited degree; they distinguish themselves from Chinese of the PRC in mainland China. The fact that the latter speak Chinese variants other than the Taiwanese language perhaps plays a significant role in the division. There are also categorizations of Taiwanese/Chinese from Taiwan and Chinese from the mainland. The former are said to consist of intellectuals such as doctors and lawyers while the majority of the latter are believed to be restaurants owners and cooks, tailors and barbers. As described in the previous paragraph, many of the Taiwanese migrants' interpersonal networks resolve around certain fixed or specific Taiwanese ties.

VI. Conclusion

This article explores the discourses that elucidate Taiwanese migrant's complex identities hidden in-between Japanese and Chinese cultures. This paper argues the cultural identity of the newcomer Taiwanese embodies the legacy of Japanese colonialism and Chinese nationalism. To maintain one's Japanese-ness is not only a strategy for advantageous survival in Japanese society, but also serves as nostalgia for the colonial period. Meanwhile, Chinese traits are embedded in cultural identity, employment or in the daily life practices of the newcomer Taiwanese. It appears to be particularly significant among the first generation and those who attained less education in Japan.

The labels Chinese, Taiwanese and overseas Chinese which are used for self identification by the Taiwanese newcomers have multiple meanings. Just as their interpersonal networks are indefinite and extensive in membership, those labels are vague in meanings, and can be used to include not only other Chinese in Japan, but also Taiwanese and Chinese outside of Japan. In this flux of meanings, there is no one definite label used by the newcomer Taiwanese to bind themselves to one ethnic group.

Cross-border identity is often articulated along the lines of political orientations or of certain perceivable cultural features. However, at the level of daily life practice, the articulated self identification might not be unproblematic; boundaries of self ascribed identification might have fissures. Taiwanese migrants usually do not describe themselves in static terms such as Chinese or Japanese. However, such terms are subject to negotiation and renegotiation in practice on the one hand, and people's everyday behaviors might be contradictory to their articulated identities on the other. Their group boundaries may shift in various directions in accordance with situations.

To clearly comprehend the multifaceted transitions of Taiwanese newcomers' cultural identity, it is necessary to examine not only the background of international history as well as social setting, but also the migrants' behaviors unfolding in daily practice. This working paper, in the current stage, provides basic backgrounds and tentative finding of the migrants' identity. It is expected to increase quantity and

quality of the interviews to derive further discussions and findings.

Author Biography

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MAHIDOL-UKM 3
DIFINING HARMONY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: COMPETING DISCOURSES, CHALLENGES AND INTERPRETATIONS
The Third International Malaysia-Thailand Conference on Southeast Asian Studies

29 November – 1 December 2007

SESSION 8
Gender Issues

SEMINAR ROOM 1

Chairperson: Dr.Eugene Jones

1. Women's Leadership Styles in Promoting Community Development.
   - *Zaharah Hassan*

2. Linguistic Sexism and Gender Role Stereotyping in Malaysian English Language Textbooks. - *Bahiyah Dato Hj Abdul Hamid et al.*

3. Women and Political Development in Malaysia: New Millennium, New Politics.
   - *Rashila Ramli & Saliha Hassan*

4. Harmonizing Personal and Social Perspectives: An Understanding of Women's Entrepreneurship in Malaysia - *Sivapalan Selvadurai et al.*

Paper 1   Women's Leadership Styles in Promoting Community Development

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Abstract

Traditionally, community affairs and administration has been the domain of men. This is evident from the gender imbalance of leaders and office bearers across community/local council/associations. Women, on the other hand, have not been active in local politics and are relatively inactive in public processes due to institutional, socio-economic and cultural constraints. However, times are changing. There is now a comprehension and (grudging acceptance) that women can and do play a vital role in community affairs, particularly in contributing to the achievement of security, development and progress. This paper documents the experiences of three female leaders in their quest to unite and lead their peers in the betterment of their communities. This qualitative research employs various methodologies such as in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis. Specifically, this paper explores the leadership styles and strategies employed by these women leaders to reach out to all segments of the community? Is a "masculine" or "feminine" style more dominant?

INTRODUCTION

Women have long been the mainstay of communities and heavily involved in community initiatives in various guises. Though often the unsung heroes of community action, women's role in community growth and development has become increasingly important. In some communities, they have established themselves as leaders in the community development and acquired the skills that have brought positive change to their communities. Women leaders play key roles in establishing and maintaining important relationships and networks in their communities. They are facing challenges of cultural, economics, and social barriers that exist in the community development field and in many cases, overcoming those barriers become their motivation. While their comprehensive approach has influenced the evolution of the community development, women's contributions have been neither widely acknowledge nor explicitly credited. The results of this study provide deeper insights into women's thinking about leadership and community development, the barriers they perceive to women's leadership, their leadership styles and the kinds and efforts that should be undertaken to facilitate and promote their status and roles in the field. Therefore the main objective of this case study is to document the behavior of women leader in community organizations, why and how they became leaders, challenges and barriers they have to face and how they contribute to the harmony of their community.

This paper begins with a brief review on gender and leadership styles and community development. It is followed by research methodology, findings and discussion and finally the recommendations and conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Leadership

Leadership is an inherently subjective notion (Moss and Jensrud, 1995) However, there are notions of leadership that are assumed either implicitly or explicitly in the literature on female leadership in general. Much of the discussion centers on what has been call concern for production and concern for people. Other ways of expressing this leadership dichotomy is through contrasting concern for tasks with concern for relationships (Hersey and Blanchard, 1988) and a focus on initiating structure as opus to the focus of consideration for people (Stogdill and Coons, 1957). Tannenbaum and Schmidt's (1973) situational theory that contrast autocratic and democratic leadership styles are a similar conception. Literature on leadership and gender often pivots on whether or not gender gives rise to predisposition to emphasize on one of the above dimensions of leadership at the expense of the other, and some of the research indicates that female leaders tend to be more relationship oriented and democratic and male leaders more task oriented and autocratic (Eagly and Johnson, 1990). In recent years, transformational and transactional leadership construct has become a popular theme in leadership literature in general management. Unlike task versus relationship oriented leadership, the transformational – transactional leadership notion is viewed as a continuum allowing for individuals to employ transformational and transactional qualities at one and the same time (Bass, 1985; Bryman, 1992). Nevertheless, transformational leadership is generally held to be a superior form of leadership, built on transactional leadership, but not vice-versa.

There is a line of argument in leadership literature contending that female leaders tend to be more transformational than male leaders (Rosener, 1990). This argument is based on the idea that transformational leadership emphasizes the nurturance of subordinates and that through the process of socialization; the nurturing qualities of women are particularly well developed in comparison to men. This leads to the enactment of transformational leadership by female leaders and by implication, a tendency for male leaders, not privy to this socialization process, to incline more to transactional leadership.

In leadership research, gender has been distinguished from sex, with the former viewed as a collection of qualities labeled male or female (Bem, 1974; Gray 1989, 1993) that are culturally construct, and the latter seen as comprising attribute that are the result of biological characteristics. Male gender qualities characterizes as aggressive, independent, objective, logical, rational, analytical, decisive, confident, assertive, ambitious, opportunistic and impersonal are distinguished from female gender qualities describe as emotional, sensitive, expressive, cooperative, intuitive, warm, tactful, receptive to ideas, talkative, gentle, tactful, empathetic and submissive (Park, 1996; Osland et al, 1998). The notion of male and female gender qualities facilitates the arguments that male gender qualities are oriented towards more impersonal, task oriented or transactional approach to leadership, while female gender qualities tends towards more nurturing, relationship oriented style of leadership that underlies the transformational leadership approach.

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The idea that gender determines leadership style is by no means a unanimous view in leadership literature. Rosener (1990), for example in a survey of male and female executive with similar jobs and education and of similar age, found that women tend to be more transformational in their leadership style than men. Kouzes and Posner (1990), using their version of transformational leadership model, found that female leaders were more likely than male leaders to practice "modeling the way" and "encouraging the heart. In a cross cultural study involving Norway, Sweden, Australia and the USA, Gibson (1995) found that male leaders were more likely to emphasize goal setting than female leaders and female leaders more likely to focus on facilitation of interaction than male leaders.

Other scholars such as Butterfield and Powell (1981), Campbell et al. (1993) and Ronk (1993) all have concluded that leadership style is independent of gender. Powell, (1990) in his analysis of a number of research studies, found that male and female leaders exhibit similar amounts of task oriented and people oriented leadership behavior.. Kolb (1999) has asserted that two decade of research indicates few, if any, leadership differences in the leadership behavior of male and female.

Community Development

The word 'community' is an umbrella term that is defined and applied in a myriad of ways. For instance, it may be used to refer to geographic communities where members are base one region (Ife, 2002); or virtual communities, where members main form of contact is through electronic media (Ife, 2002). Communities of circumstance constitute another possible form of community. Such community might emerge, for example when floods occur across different regions and those most affected feel connected to one another (Marsh, 1999). Finally, there are communities of interest, where identity groups form to lobby government for some kind of policy change or sponsorship (Kenny, 1999).

A wide variety of definitions of community development is available in the literature. It varies from one community to another or from different geographical location yet there are identifiable characteristics which all community development has in common. This study uses definition forwarded by Ploch (1976). He defined community development as the active voluntary involvement of community residents in a process to improve some identifiable aspects of community life. Ploch further added that normally such action leads to strengthening of the community's pattern of human and institutional relationship.

Community development literature has generally excluded gender. They are more focus on the technical aspect of development or case study. Few studies in the past showed that women approach to community development is more "holistic" and "comprehensive. The studies also revealed that when women were in leadership position and comprised the majority of board members, development efforts were more comprehensive than male-led group (Gittel and Covington, 1994; Gross and Newman, 1994). This study is part of a continued effort to bring gender perspective in community development literature.

METHODOLOGY

This is a case study with qualitative approach. The researcher used three techniques for data gathering namely in - depth interview (major source of data), observations and document analysis. An interview protocol that consists of 11 semi-structured open ended questions was used. Interview protocol or interview guide will ensure that the researcher ask the same questions to all participants. The main purpose of using interview is to gain insight as explained by Patton (1990) "the researcher wants to find out what is in and on someone else's mind". All interviews took place at the participant home where they are most comfortable and secure and each one last between two to four hours.

The researcher also observed the participants behavior during meetings and other social functions. Observational data represent a firsthand encounter with the phenomena of interest. During this time, researcher observes aspects of interpersonal relation and behaviors with other member. Minutes of the meeting were also analyzed to seek information regarding activities, decision making process, problem solving techniques etc.

The participants

Since the study is focus on leadership, therefore the researcher uses purposive sampling. The participants of this research are two office bearers from MB Women's Club and one committee member from the Neighborhood Association.

The location

MB is a newly establish neighborhood in the greater are of BBB. It is surrounded by other residential areas since 1980. The first residence build his house about four years a go. Since then the number has grown rapidly and now there are 47 bungalows with the total population about 240 people. Most of them are businessman and senior professional. In 2005 the neighborhood association was establish and was known as PPMB. It is run by a committee system. There are main committee and various sub-committees. One of the sub-committee is responsible to look into matters pertaining to women needs and welfare in neighborhood. The sub-committee gets money and approval from the main committee of PPMB for their activities. The women have monthly meeting during which they discuss and plan activities. In early 2006 they decided to establish Women's Club known as KWMB. Now they raise their own resources and plan activities not just for women but for the whole neighborhood. Naturally, the most active member was elected as President until today. Other members were appointed through nomination. The President is a member of PPBB main committee.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Data from various sources were analyzed using constant comparative method. The findings are presented according to theme identified.

PROFILE OF KWMB (THE ORGANIZATION)

The KWMB is a grassroots membership organization founded in 2006 under the umbrella of PPMB. Its main aim is "community organizing centered on building relationship between neighbors and empowerment of women". The member run monthly meetings, write agendas, chair committee, organize events and activities for the whole community.

Some of the activities organized by KWMB:

1. Fund raising for building of the 'surau' (for MB residents) and orphanage
2. Collection of goods for orphanage and flood victims
3. "Gotong royong" or bringing together community members to work together for specific purpose such as tree planting in the neighborhood, cleaning up the vacant lots, preparation for wedding etc.
4. Organize talks on various topics such as health, grooming, cooking, and other motivational topics.
5. Weekly line dancing, tai chi and yoga sessions.
6. Weekly religious, folk art and ceramic classes.
7. Tuition class and holiday camp for neighborhood children.
8. Hospital volunteers
9. Organize family day and other neighborhood gathering such as Hari Raya, annual dinner and breaking fast in the month of Ramadan.
10. Organize trips locally and overseas for members of the community.

PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Profile	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
age	Late 50	Late 40	Late 40
qualification	Ph. D in Chemistry	Bachelor in Electrical Engineering	Degree in Religious Studies
present status	Retired and full time home maker	Opted for retirement and full time home maker	Full time home maker
experience	Lecturer, Head of Marketing for Research in a Telecommunication company	Senior engineer at one of multinational oil company, Business partner.	-
Number of children	2	6	5
Position in family	4th. Child among 15 siblings	Eldest among 5 siblings	Second child among 4 siblings
Race	Malay	Malay	Malay

DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP

These women do not agree with present leadership definition which usually used to describe the person who sits at the top of an organization, group or other body. Because, it implies a sense of control and a hierarchical power structure and carries with it a range of emotive notions such as responsibility, authority and power. Many of which they find it abhorrent. They tend to shy away from these ideas when considering themselves as leaders.

Leadership to them has more to do with commonsense and helping others to understand their own situation in the world. It is clearly based in generosity, humanity and compassion. It is often based in modesty and may even be apologetic, but it is invariably successful in generating enthusiasm and the support of other women. This definition is very important since this is the starting point in their journey when they embark on leadership roles.

Leadership style

Since these women have an experienced in leading other people, naturally they are quite comfortable and confidence in the present position. They know the decision making process and able to make a sound decision. Still they did not encourage others to divest their power of decision making in them. Consensus is very important. They will give much opportunity for people to speak or give their opinion before decisions were made. Most of the time, they presented themselves as resource person to the community not their decision maker. Rather than emphasizing any duties owed to them as individuals, they emphasized service to the community.

In leadership practices, these women are more egalitarian. They enhance the ability of the group without drawing too much attention to themselves making people believe that they have help the community come together.

These women also believe that they operated differently than most men and the difference is a natural one arising from women's "nurturing nature" and from motherhood. This can be seen from statements about women such as "more caring and "being more sensitive".

Further, they identify themselves as open and supportive and non – authoritarian to other people needs. This was reflected through their way of conducting meetings and organizing events. They insist on involving as many people as possible and giving every one a chance to learn different/new skills. They are more concern with consensus building and community participation. As one of the leader said "you have to compromised, adapt and adjust the way you work according to society need" (interview, 2007.

They also maintained close relationship and open communication with community members and activities are plan and design around community needs. They know everybody in the community and people address them using endearment term *kakak* or sister. These leaders are committed to facilitating community participation. Any member who shown any interest to do something good for the

6

community is encourages and supported. As leaders they allow everybody to develop themselves in decision making and other aspect of self development. An identification with and respectful relationship with the community members provides the foundation for community participation in the organization.

The leadership style that are discussed above has been call by a number of different names such as shared, participatory, collective, collaborative, cooperative, democratic, fluid etc. This style of leadership is often associated with women leaders. At the core of this style of leadership are practicing stewardship and service, supporting relationship, empowerment, and commitment to individual development.

Stewardship is the cornerstone of reciprocal or shared leadership because it turns hierarchical leadership up-side down. Stewardship focuses on ensuring that other people's needs are being served and not on exercising privilege, power and control. The leaders chooses partnership over hierarchy; empowerment over dependency and service to community over self interest. The ultimate test of collaborative leadership is based on whether people's needs are being serves. As people feel respected and valued as partners they can create a community of shared responsibility.

Another distinguish feature that reflect their leadership style is supporting relationship. In collaborative leadership, the relationship and interconnectedness of people become primary dynamic. Values such as respect, honesty, expecting the best from others and the ability to exercise personal choice lay the foundation for relationship to emerge. These relationships are based on trust and mutual responsibility. Collaborative leadership focuses attention on building the individual's and group's capacity to live these values and to benefit from their interdependence. These behaviors and values were clearly exhibited by the participants.

Reasons why they became leaders

All the women interviewed, are "passionate" about community development work. This sense of personal involvement and caring about community was often described as arising from sense of responsibility for the community. Different reasons were given by each participant but all of them mention some similarities as follows:

1. Desire to serve and to ensure the establishment of harmonious community by building a friendly, safe, sound environment and comfortable neighborhood where people are close with one other and have a very strong spirit of neighborhood. The end result is better quality of life because "This is going to be my home until I die." (interview, 2007)

2. Religious calling - Islam required that every Moslem to be good to their neighbors. Therefore these leaders feel that as a servant of God it is their duty to do this because they are given the opportunity. This reason is similar to a lot of women leaders in different countries and different religion. This believes strengthened their commitment to their cause because to them it is a religious duty.

7

3. Time to give back – The participants feel that because of their privilege experience (as mothers, career women, professional, organizational leader, wife, daughters etc) and financial stability, they should share this with others as clearly stated by one of the participant "I have so much to contribute and to share with other people because of my experience, and my *rezeki*. It's time to give back." (Interview, 2007). One of the leader, voluntarily teach other members to read the Quran. She also conducts classes of English and other science related subjects to neighborhood children and teenagers. The other leader sponsor weekly religious class at her home.

4. These women also believes that by becoming a leader they are helping to empower other women to do something that is important to them by providing a platform and opportunity to discuss and share their feeling and needs.

CHALLENGES AND BARRIERS

Women leaders in MB experience many challenges and barriers but the most cited are as follows:

1. Getting younger people to participate and to take over the leadership role. The younger sets of residents are not so keen to take over due to other priority such as work and child care. They are not comfortable with full commitment and prefer to participate in meetings or activities when they have the time.

2. Some of the other senior resident cited lack of confidence and skill to be a leader. Therefore they are more comfortable of being a follower and follow the majority.

3. Lack of fund to carry out more activities beyond MB to broadens the experience and exposure of the member. Main income is from membership fee and donation or sponsorship from people and organizations within and outside the community.

4. To sustain people participation in all activities and program conducted by KWMB. Recently, when KWMB organized picnic and fishing competition only a handful of people registered and in the end it has to be cancelled. The committee has to think harder to come up with activities that have a common ground so more people can participate.

5. Resistance from some member to participate - some member of the community are very negative. They are not agreeable and always find faults but never give ideas or suggestion to overcome the problem.

8

STRATEGIES

Three main strategies adopted by the leaders to face the challenges and draw community participation and commitment are as follows:

1. Using participatory leadership style
   These leaders ensure that KWMB as an organization practice high degrees of internal democracy or horizontally structured and thus better able to establish egalitarian relationships with community members. The rejection of barriers helps establish trust between them and the community. Their focus on human development and developing relationship further increases the level of trust and create a space for discussion of community and family issues.

2. Negotiating their leadership role in their community
   Issue of leadership relate directly to cultural ideas about women, allowing them to draw on a tradition of leaders or matriarchs in the community, but also forcing them to negotiate their role within the community. As eastern women, to be well-known is sometimes not very good. They have to down play their contribution and their effectiveness by not drawing attention to themselves. Even though sometimes they have to do more than men, they have to make it not look like that. One participant remark "you can't be loud in this society". (Interview 2007)

3. Approach to community development
   The participant approach community development in a holistic way. This broad view of community development integrates economic and social needs on the community level as well as on the individual level. This approach is clearly described by "The Community Development Iceberg" where men see and address what is above the line, the visible part of the iceberg. Women see the whole thing, above and below the surface.

RECOMMENDATION

To sustain the growth and development of women leaders in community development, the researcher suggest the following actions:

1. Create opportunities for these leaders to document their experience and development as community leaders. Studies and report that include women telling their stories will raise awareness of women achievements and contribution to the field.
2. Through documentation and dissemination of information, the women can share the "best practices" and learn from each other.
3. Cultivate new leaders through training or mentoring
4. Integrate study findings in leadership training program.
5. Organize a dialogue session among women led organizations for sharing knowledge and resources.

CONCLUSION

This study on leadership style of women leaders in MB seeks to fill the gap that existed in the literature on gender and leadership behaviors in community development because women contribution is getting bigger but mostly they are not documented.

Analysis of data showed that leadership style employed by these women is participatory or collaborative style and this is in line with some of the finding from other studies in women led organization.

It was also found out that the desire to serve the community, to have better quality of, life, religious calling and the need to give back are the main motives why they became leaders.

They also face challenges such as resistance from some members, lack of funding balancing role as women and leaders, dwindling interest in participation and because of these, they have to adopt several strategies such as using collaborative leadership style. Finally, few recommendations are put forward for immediate action.

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Paper 2 **Linguistic Sexism and Gender Role Stereotyping in Malaysian English Language Textbooks**

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Abstract

Sexist language and gender stereotyping do not only disparage, but can also lower the dignity of one group of people, usually women/girls. If left unchecked, these negative norms of behavior and attitude could be institutionalized and gradually become part of our social and cultural code. Recent research findings indicate a strong presence of gender bias and linguistic sexism in the language and content of educational materials such as textbooks and practice books. This paper addresses linguistic sexism and gender role stereotyping in Malaysian English language school textbooks. Specifically, it looks at: If sexism is inculcated very early in life, how is it inculcated and what is inculcated? Are our school textbooks indirectly and unconsciously functioning as a conduit for the indoctrination and enforcement of sexism and sex role conformity among young Malaysians? This paper presents the preliminary findings of an on-going research study that documents the extent of gender bias and linguistic sexism in selected Malaysian primary and secondary school English language textbooks.

Introduction

Malaysia in its 50 years of independence is now mid-way in its quest towards becoming a developed country by the year 2020. To achieve this goal, the National Mission, a policy and implementation framework is presented that outlines Malaysia's priorities for the next 15 year phase to 2020. Currently, the 9th. Malaysia Plan is in place that will chart the nation's development agenda for the first 5 years of the National Mission (2006-2010) that places great emphasis on the need to pursue programmes that will enhance the nation's capability to compete at the global level, to strengthen national unity, to bring about better distribution of income and wealth as well as a higher quality of life. Thus, citizens' well-being and their living in harmony are of the outmost importance.

The quality of the nation's human capital is the most critical element in achieving the National Mission, and so, human capital development is a key thrust in the 9th. Malaysia Plan. Capacity building initiatives of the government include development of knowleageable, skilled and innovative human capital as a basis of a knowledge-based economy.

Children and the young generation are Malaysia's strongest assets in its goal to becoming a progressive and developed nation. To invest in human capital development, the harnessing and the channeling of efforts to inculcate in children not only knowledge and skills for daily life and future workplace but also inculcating in

1

them progressive thinking, attitudes, strong moral and ethical values are important. Within this, not less important is to inculcate in children an awareness of a world in which both males and females live harmoniously together, i.e., to inculcate in them an equitable notion of the world that has equal place for both males and females in it.

Children acquire gender identity and an understanding of gender roles even before they step into school. They internalise what they see as appropriate qualities and attitudes associated with being masculine and feminine through socialisation within the family. However, educational processes and relations within the school system further contribute to the formation of these values and views of gender identity and the maintenance of socially accepted gender roles (Posner, 2003) usually at the cost of the educational experience that girls receive (Nambissan, 2004). Schools develop and reinforce social norms such as sex segregations, stereotypes, and even discriminations which exaggerate the negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world even when attempts at alleviating them are being made.

For many young children in Malaysia, the act of reading and the practice of reading are particularly sustained more so in schools than at home through early reading texts, particularly through school textbooks. Much about what young children understand about the world, how the world works, the social relationships within it, the norms and practices of the culture as well as what they understand about their everyday life come from these influential sources. Such importance are the school texts to the nation that the Ministry of Education takes great pains to monitor the development of these texts by appointing authoritative ministerial committees to oversee the development of these texts from their inception, their printing, their distribution and to their use. In Malaysia, the recommended texts are used for some years before they are displaced by new texts.

Textbooks in Malaysian Schools and Their Roles

In Malaysia, in the education system, specifically at the primary and secondary school levels, educational materials especially school textbooks are highly regarded for the following reasons. They:
a) are providers of information and knowledge about the world around us,
b) are a repository of truth and knowledge that are looked upon with great credibility and authority,
c) are one of the primary instruments for shaping thinking, attitudes and principles,
d) aid the government in development and nation building to produce a young generation of balanced individuals in knowledge and skills as well as loyal and respectful of family, religion, race and country, and
e) are conveyers of messages on how social relations are organized and offer a pattern of a preferred individual and behaviour model in our society.
Thus, students and to some extent teachers, are "less free to disregard or be critical of educational materials than they are of the media" (Smith 1988: 37). They are "frequently required to absorb and assimilate" the educational materials in great detail (ibid). Generally, according to Smith (ibid), when it comes to such educational and reference materials, people become much more receptive and susceptible to the messages that these materials relay swaying them to the influence of these materials.

The Occurrence of Sexism, Linguistic Sexism and Sex-role Stereotyping in School Textbooks

The 1960's and 1970's mark the starting point for active research in the portrayal of gender roles (as well as other issues including ethnicity, socio economic status and so on) in education. Researchers have found that not only in the explicit agenda of education but also in the " hidden curriculum" (Lee & Gropper 1974 in Wood 1994; Kimmel 2004) that there are reinforcements of sexist conceptions in the institutional organization, in the content including the curriculum, educational materials and textbooks as well as in teaching styles that "reflect gender stereotypes and have the effect of sustaining gender inequalities by privileging white males and marginalizing and devaluating female and minority students" (Wood 1994:207) . Researchers in the US have noted the prevalence of gender stereotypes in children's story books (Weitzman, et al. 1972) and soon many researches followed suit all over the world to investigate the phenomena. The categories of analysis have included: 1) the frequency of appearances or invisibility of characters; 2) the portrayal/representations of characters in social, occupational and political activities With regard to the 3 categories in textbook content analysis, the summary of the research findings are as follows:

1) the frequency of appearances or invisibility of characters: Very few studies affirm fair treatment of both genders in textbooks. Generally, the findings show: a) there are more males than females presented in illustrations (pictures, drawings, photos, etc.) and in the texts; b) when females are visible, they are usually insignificant or inconspicuous; c) no textbooks had more females than males; and d) there were books without females but none without males.

2) the portrayal/representations of characters in social, occupational and political activities: Generally, the findings show: a) characters are assigned traditional roles which are stereotyped emphasizing family and occupational roles, usually associated with one gender; b) female role assignment are more restricted and less varied while males are assigned a wide range of occupations, females appear in fewer/less diverse roles; c) females are mostly depicted around/outside the home doing non-enumerated tasks (e.g., domestic chores) while males are depicted to interact in the wider community, earning, possessing more and are involved in decision-making; and d) the spheres of activities are divided along masculine and feminine lines.

3) the depiction of personality characteristics: Generally, the findings show: a) differences in behavior and personality characteristics between both genders; b) traditional masculine and feminine traits are prevalent- females are more gentle and compassionate while males are more independent/risk takers; c) males are more positively portrayed, e.g., as problem solvers/independent leaders, females are negatively portrayed as dependent/subservient; d) males are given a wider range of traits, females are severely restricted to a narrow range of traits; e) males are depicted as active, involved in the outdoors while females are passive and are nearly always involved indoors; and f) males are portrayed as powerful and females powerless which do not reflect the changing social statues of females in the society today.

In Malaysia, local researchers such as Saedah & Siraj (1990), Sandra Kumari & Mardziah (2003) and Jariah Mohd. Jan (2002) have indicated occurrences of

sexism and sex-role stereotyping in Malay language reading texts and English language texts in Malaysian schools. Despite efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination, there are occurrences of sexism, i.e., prejudice or discrimination based on gender (Bahiyah Abdul Hamid 2002, 2003) in school textbooks. Also, both genders are treated and represented unequally through language which can be termed "linguistic sexism" (Bahiyah Abdul Hamid 2002, 2003) and there are occurrences of sex-role stereotyping, i.e., standardized mental pictures commonly held by members of a group that represents an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude or critical judgement because that person is male or female (Bahiyah Abdul Hamid 2002, 2003) in school textbooks.

Much of the studies carried out have been fragmented and isolated with regard to their focus of research and the age group studied. Studies have been undertaken to focus on either females (see Bhog 2002 for instance) or males (see Evans & Davis 2000) representations in textbooks with very few researchers looking at both male and female representations together – for exceptions, see for e.g., Gok et al.(2001) for Turkish data; Saedah Siraj (1990) and Sanda Kumari & Mardziah Hayati (2003) for Malaysian data focusing mainly on either elementary or secondary school textbook analysis. For elementary level textbook analysis, see Saedah Siraj (1990), Gok et al. (2001) and Jariah Mohd. Jan (2002) while Sanda Kumari & Mardziah Hayati (2003) can be referred to for secondary textbook analysis. Within these analyses, many researchers further isolate the age group studied to be the focal point of their research study Sanda Kumari & Mardziah Hayati (2003) for secondary year 4 textbook analysis and Jariah Mohd. Jan for the first level primary school years 1-3. No local study so far has been comprehensive and large scale, undertaking to study both primary and secondary textbooks in its entirety for the occurrences of linguistic sexism and sex role stereotyping. The authors of this paper are not only attempting to carry out a comprehensive and large scale study done in Malaysian to fill in the knowledge gap with regard to the occurrences of linguistic sexism and sex role stereotyping in Malaysian English language school textbooks but also to complement it, where a measurement of the awareness, attitudes and opinions of not only teachers but also students will be carried out in the on-going research study of which this paper is based on.

The Effects of Sexism, Linguistic Sexism and Sex-role Stereotyping in School Textbooks

Henry, Hamilton & Thorne (in Gundykunst 1998:119) exerts that sexism is manifested mainly through language. If so, what are the negative effects of sexism, linguistic sexism and sex-role stereotyping in school textbooks on children and on nation building? How does sexism, linguistic sexism and sex-role-stereotyping upset harmony in the society? The following are answers to this question:

1) Sexism and gender stereotyping mold in the young a sexist mindset; legitimizing the ideology that sexism is the natural order of things (see amongst others Kimmel 2004; Steward et al. 2003; Smith 1988),
2) Sexism and gender stereotyping lower the self esteem of children and young adults creating a void that has detremental effects on the self images, aspirations and motivations of both genders(see amongst others Kimmel 2004, Steward et al. 2003; Smith 1988),

4

3) The unequal treatment of both genders may share a mutually contributory relationship with gender biased classroom practices where one gender is favoured over the other making the classroom context disharmonious,
4) Gender stereotypes limit both genders to certain modes of behaviour, course of study and career choices thus preventing them from realizing their full potential (see amongst others Kimmel 2004, Steward et al. 2003; Jariah Mohd. Jan 2002; Smith 1988),
5) Social ills, e.g., violence, sexual violence, domestic violence and sexual harassment at the workplace have largely come about because of sexism and gender stereotypes.

As negative messages such as sexism, gender bias and sex-role stereotypes go unchallenged in school texts, they are read and re-read by generations of students as well as teachers. Textbooks indirectly and unconsciously function as conduits for the indoctrination and enforcement of sexism and sex role conformity among young Malaysians.

The Objectives of the Paper

In view of the negative effects to children specifically as discussed above and to human capital development and capacity building, this paper presents the preliminary findings of an on-going research study that documents the extent of gender bias and linguistic sexism in two selected Malaysian primary school texts using the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. The reported preliminary findings in this paper are the outcome of an on-going research study conducted in several phases as discussed in Yuen et al. (2007). This paper specifically reports on only one phase of the research, mainly with regard to the content analysis of data, the outcome of the pilot research conducted from March to May 2007. It will only discuss the preliminary findings of two selected primary school textbooks from the sample texts of the pilot study.

It is hoped that this paper will raise awareness and develop critical thinking not only about the issue of linguistic sexism and gender role stereotypes in Malaysian school textbooks but also to create awareness for a new, more acceptable, harmonious and equitable notion of the world for the equal place of both males and females in it.

The Research Question

This paper does not represent the findings of the complete set of research questions for the on-going research study. The findings reported in this paper are only related to the primary level texts analysed following the research question below:
Are there occurrences of linguistic sexism and gender role stereotyping in KBSM and KBSR English language textbooks?

Methodology

The main corpus of the on-going research study are English language primary school textbooks (yrs. 1-6) & English language secondary school textbooks (yrs.1-5), in total there are 21 textbooks. The pilot study took into consideration a randomly selected number of primary and secondary school textbooks. This paper discusses the

findings of the pilot study with regards to only 2 textbooks from the primary level, namely, year 3 and year 6. It is extremely important to find out if there are occurrences of linguistic sexism and gender role stereotyping in the texts selected as they are used by children at their formative age and what they are receptive to within the texts play an important part in formulating their cultural and social values specifically where gender relations is concerned. The following are particulars about the texts.

The primary year 3 text:
Authors: Audrey Lee Bee Yoke, Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David (3 females)
Year of Publication: 2004
Illustrator: Salmah Rahim (A female)
Graphic Designer: A. Kamagarajan (A male)
Editor: Tam Lye Suan (A female)
Publisher: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
No. of Units: 10
No. of Pages: 122
No. of Words:1863 (largely filled with illustrations-pictures, drawings, etc.)
The primary year 6 text:
Authors: Abdul Majid Mohd. Din (A male) & Dena How Peng Teng (A female)
Year of Publication: 2004
Illustrators: Hafiz Ghanim Ahmad Yusof (A male) & Rosli Hamid (A male)
Editors: Hanizan Hussin (A female) & Nadzmi Nadzim (A male)
Publisher: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
No. of Units: 10
No. of Pages: 140
No. of Words: 3233 (more words and less illustrations as compared to the primary year 3 text)

Research Design

The on-going research study involves several phases outlined in Yuen et al. (2007), Subakir Mohd. Yassin et al. (2007) and Azhar Jaludin and Bahiyah Abdul Hamid (2007). The phases leading to the pilot study are briefly discussed below:

Phase 1: Creation of the main corpus database
The data used to develop the corpus are taken from English language textbooks adopted by the Ministry of Education Malaysia- KBSR (yrs. 1-6) and KBSM (yrs. 1-5); 21 textbooks in total.

The process involved:
1. **Digitization process.** The textbooks are first transform to digital form by scanning procedure.

2. **Format conversion process.** The scanning process produces a JPEG format of the textbook. This format is then converted to word document file and then converted to text files. The word document files contain both pictures and text data while the text files contain only text data. The conversion process from JPEG to word document is not 100% accurate, which means that manual

editing need to be done to ensure accuracy. The conversion from word document to text document is also a laborious process, since the process will extract out all the pictures and tables, the text files need to be manually adjusted to ensure accuracy and consistency.

3. **Merging process**. During the scanning process each page of a textbook is split to a different file, for example if a textbook is 110 pages long, it will be split to 110 files. These different files need to be catalogued and merged and now the data is ready for phase 2.

Phase 2: Content analysis

1. Content analysis is conducted with the aid of the database created in phase 1, to examine the contents and language used for occurrence of linguistic sexism and sex role stereotyping in Malaysian KBSR (yrs. 1-6) and KBSM (yrs.1-5) English language textbooks adopted by the Ministry of Education Malaysia.

2. The database will be analysed for:
   a. representations of male and female human characters, adults and children as well as masculine and female animal and inanimate objects,
   b. terms of address and referencing devices used,
   c. social roles depicted for male and female characters,
   d. activities associated with male and female characters depicted including those in professions, sports, games, hobbies and leisure activities, and
   e. types of linguistic structures and language used for males and females

3. The data was then processed using WORDSMITH Tools to generate a word list of frequency of words and then tabulated into figures and percentages. The identified items were then classified into categories and frequency. Finally, the frequencies were converted into percentages and compared across gender.

(Azhar Jaludin & Bahiyah Dato' Hj. Abdul Hamid. 2007 & Subakir Mohd. Yassin et al. 2007)

This paper will discuss the findings of the pilot study on the occurrence of linguistic sexism and gender role stereotyping in the two selected textbooks specifically in terms of the following categories:

a. The number of male and female characters,
b. The terms of address used,
c. The use of male and female pronouns,
d. The use of male and female nouns with regard to the family, and
e. Occupations/activities associated with male/female characters.

Data Analysis – Wordsmith 4 and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

To aid analysis of data, the use of a computer software helped us to understand the corpus of data (primary and secondary school textbooks) and then Fairclough's (1989) 3 stage Critical Discourse Analysis was applied to the written discourse of the corpus of data. Wordsmith Tools 4, a computer software, was used: a) to generate a frequency list of words and b) to assist in finding the collocation of words from the data. Through Wordsmith Tools 4, observation of how words are used and what

words were frequently utilized in the corpus of school textbooks were achieved. The Wordsmith Tools 4 software helped us generate word lists in alphabetical and frequency order. This enabled us to compare the schooltexts lexically. Then, the Concord Tool in the software helped us to create concordances (lists of words in context and show the environment in which the words occur), find collocates of the word, identify common phrases, and display a graphical map showing where the word occurs in the corpus. This assisted us in classifying words in terms of their importance and significance to the author/s of the school textbooks. The above together with the Keyword Tool, which identifies key words whose frequency is unusually high in a particular type of discourse, assisted us to characterise words/phrases/texts according to genres. Thus, the use of the software complemented the Critical Discourse Analysis carried out on the written discourse of the school textbooks studied.

The corpus of the school textbooks, i.e., the written discourse as well as the illustrations (pictures, drawings, photos that accompany the written discourse or in which written discourse were embedded) was then subjected to Fairclough's (1989) 3 stage Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, hereafter) which views language use as a social practice, shaped by and shaping social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs of individuals. In the first stage, an analysis of formal textual features was done to facilitate formal text description. The interpretation of the relationship between text and social interaction was carried out in stage two. This enabled us to analyse the norms, mental standards of socially accepted behaviour in specific roles/relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the text. The last stage helped us explain the relationship between social context and cultural context, i.e., within Malaysian settings where the depictions of gender roles and relationships in the school texts are matched and interpreted in their particular Malaysian context and culture.

CDA is defined by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often obscure relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. By focusing on how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools, the media, and the political arena (McGregor 2003), CDA strives to explore how these non-transparent relationships are a factor in securing power and hegemony and it draws attention to power imbalances and social inequities in the hope of creating linguistic and social awareness in people.

CDA works around three central tenets - that discourse is shaped and constrained by (a) social structure (class, status, age, ethnic identity and gender) and by (b) culture and that (c) discourse helps shape and constrain our identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. CDA aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson via a three-level analysis: (a) the description of text (analysis of formal textual features) (b) the interpretation of the relationship between text and social interaction (that is the norms, and mental standards of socially acceptable behavior in specific roles/relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret a text) and (c) the explanation of the relationship between social context (that is the settings where discourse occurs, each with a set of conventions that determine what each is allowed and expected to do in a particular social context) (Fairclough 1989) .

8

Findings

The Malaysian English language primary textbooks analysed perpetuate gender stereotypes in the following ways. First, there is a precedence of males over females where males are represented as standard. Second, there is bias towards the experiences of males over females in the portrayal/representations of characters in social, occupational and political activities. Third, there is bias in the depiction of personality characteristics that run along traditional masculine and feminine traits.

A. The Precedence of Males over Females

When males are the focus in the majority of the pages in the textbooks, students are led to believe that males are the norm, the standard in the society. In both the textbooks analysed, the male and female characters are recognized through proper nouns used. This is consistent to the findings of the studies by Saedah (1990), Chandra and Mardziah (2003) and Subakir Mohd. Yassin et al. (2007). Also interesting is to note that despite being females, the writers of the English language Year 3 textbook, showed that they were gender bias in that they foregrounded males 114 times compared to the 64 times they foregrounded females in the textbook they co-authored (see Table 1). The writers of the English language Year 6 textbook also showed gender bias even though the textbook was written by a male and female writer. In this text, males were foregrounded 375 times compared to the 201 times females were foregrounded (see Table 2).

i.) The Number of Male and Female Characters

Table 1
Primary Year 3 -Number and percentage of male and female characters

Male	(114) 1.14%
Female	(64) 0.64%

Table 2
Primary Year 6 -Number and percentage of male and female characters

Male	(375) 1.85%
Female	(201) 0.94%

9

ii.) Terms of Address Used

The findings are interesting for this category as it can be seen from Table 4, i.e., from the Year 6 textbook analysed that the use of female terms of address is more than those of male terms of address – 0.14% compared to 0.04%. However, the Year 3 textbook showed a biasness for male terms of address even though the margin is slight. What is important is to note that the use of terms of address show role stereotyping and in the two texts studied, they may give cues to ethnicity. In Malaysian society, terms of address cue us to the relational ties between individuals in terms of respect for the age as well as status of the interlocutors in the interaction (Subakir Mohd Yassin et al. 2007) and they may cue us to the ethnicity of the interlocutors involved. The address forms "Encik", "Cik", "Puan" are used exclusively for Malay interlocutors/characters while the terms "Miss", "Mrs.", "Lady", "Mr." and "Master" are used in conjunction with non-Malay characters. The use of "Master" and "Lady" in the Year 3 text refer to characters of English origin as they appear in a story.

Table 3
Primary Year 3 -Terms of Address

Male	
Encik	(3) 0.03%
Mr	(4) 0.04%
Master	(1) 0.01%
Female	
Puan	(2) 0.02%
Miss	(2) 0.02%
Mrs	(1) 0.01%
Lady	(1) 0.01%
TOTAL	
Male	(7) 0.08%
Female	(6) 0.06 %

Table 4
Primary Year 6 - Terms of Address

Male Sir Mr	(5) 0.02% (4) 0.02%
Female Mrs Puan Cik Miss	(11) 0.04% (11) 0.04% (10) 0.04% (3) 0.01%
TOTAL **Male** **Female**	(9) 0.04% (35) 0.13%

iii.) The Use of Male and Female Pronouns

"He" is used as the unmarked third-person singular pronoun just as in other texts where "man" and "mankind" are used as terms to describe the human race. This is more salient in the Year 6 textbook as can be seen in Table 5 below with a significantly higher percentage of occurrence 0.31% than the third person female subject pronoun 'she" at 0.18%. The Year 3 textbook also confirms the higher percentage use of the third person male subject pronoun "he" at 0.19% as compared to the use of "she" at 0.09%. What is interesting to note that the use of the third person female object pronoun "her" is significantly higher in both the texts studied with its use of 0.12% and 0.14 % in Year 3 and 6 respectively. While the statistics look positive, in grammatical terms, in the English language, object pronouns are backgrounded as subject pronouns are foregrounded for example in the sentence: He/she (subject pronoun- foregrounded) saw (verb) her/him (object pronoun – backgrounded). In the sentence above, subject pronouns are given more prominence than object pronouns as they also are the actors of the verb form and have more volition than the object pronouns.

The use of the reflexive pronouns "himself" (singular third person masculine) and "herself" (singular third person feminine) in the Year 6 text also show biasness towards the masculine. However, there is no usage of both the masculine and feminine reflexive pronouns in Year 3 they are rather difficult to grasp for young children as "reflexive pronouns are used to replace nouns or pronouns that refer to the same person (s) or thing (s) in the same clause acting as the subject of the sentence" (Bahiyah Abdul Hamid & Wijasuriya 1998: 20). Thus, introducing reflexive pronouns is deferred to a later stage in the teaching of English in primary schools. Besides this, reflexive pronouns do not exist in Bahasa Melayu and the reflexive action is indicated

by the "ber" verb form (ibid). In Bahasa Melayu, according to Bahiyah Abdul Hamid & Wijasuriya (1998: 20), "Dirinya" can be used for "himself", "herself" or "itself".

Table 5
Primary Year 3 and Year 6 – The Number of Male and Female Pronouns

Pronoun	Year 3		Year 6	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
He/She	(19) 0.19%	(9) 0.09%	(78) 0.31%	(47) 0.18%
Him/Her	(5) 0.05%	(12) 0.12%	(20) 0.08%	(37) 0.14%
Himself/Herself	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(5) 0.02%	(2) 0.01%
TOTAL	(24) 0.24%	(21) 0.21%	(103) 0.41%	(86) 0.33%

B) Bias towards the experiences of males over females in the portrayal/representations of characters in social, occupational and political activities.

Generally, the findings show:

i) characters are assigned traditional roles which are stereotyped emphasizing family and occupational roles, usually associated with one gender

As the table below shows (see Table 6), both textbooks analysed show a bias in the number of males nouns used with regard to the family. The table shows that for the two books analysed, the number of male nouns used exceed those used for females, i.e., 114 male nouns as opposed to 45 for female nouns or 0.56% as opposed to 0.25%. Overwhelmingly, males are foregrounded more in their traditional roles as father. While society acknowledges the role of the mother as nurturer and caregivers, fathers are the ones given more acknowledgement lexically. Where the family is concerned, the three most used nouns for males in the textbooks are "Father", "uncle" and "brother" while those used for females that are statistically significant are "mother" and "sister".

Table 6

Primary Year 3 and 6 – the Use of Male and Female Nouns with Regard to the Family

Nouns	Male	Female
Primary 3	Father (19, 0.09%), grandfather (3, 0.03%), brother (1, 0.01%), grandfather's (1, 0.01%), grandpa (1, 0.01%) & son (1, 0.01%)	Mother (6, 0.06%), daughter (1, 0.01%), ma (1, 0.01%) & sister (1, 0.01%)
Frequency and %	**16 (0.16%)**	**9 (0.09%)**
Primary 6	Father (38, 0.15%), uncle (24, 0.09%), brother (13, 0.05%), son (5, 0.02%), uncle's (5, 0.02%), father's (4, 0.02%), brothers (3, 0.01%), grandfather (3, 0.01%), dad (2, 0.01%), nephews (2, 0.01%) sons (2, 0.01%) & uncles (1, 0.01%)	Mother (17, 0.07%), sister (11, 0.04%), daughter (2, 0.01%), mother's (2, 0.01%), niece (2, 0.01%), aunt's (1, 0.01%), & mum (1, 0.01%)
Frequency and %	**102 (0.40%)**	**36 (0.16%)**
TOTAL	**118 (0.56%)**	**45(0.25%)**

Further, the textbook analysis found the following:

ii) female role assignment are more restricted and less varied while males are assigned a wide range of occupations, females appear in fewer/less diverse roles;

iii) females are mostly depicted around/outside the home doing non-enumerated tasks (e.g., domestic chores) while males are depicted to interact in the wider community, earning, possessing more and are involved in decision-making

iv) the spheres of activities are divided along masculine and feminine lines.

Table 7
Primary Year 3 and 6 – The occupations of Male and Female Characters

Occupations	Male	Female
Primary 3 Frequency and %	Fishmonger,hunter, baker,chairman,farmer, grocer,tailor,actor, butcher,fisherman/men, king,waiter,magician, manager,painter, plumber,policeman/men, potter,programmer, referee,scientist,soldier/s, surgeon, thieves, veterinarian 29(0.29%)	Florist/s nurse,teacher, Actress,cashier, astronaut 12 (0.12%)
Primary 6 Frequency and %	Teacher/s,doctor/s,engineer/s, Explorer/s,scientist/s, . . Manager,programmer,wholesaler, Farmer,headmaster,police,sailor/s, Supervisor,trapper,army,captain, Monitor,shopkeeper,waiter, businessman,chairman,cook, footballers,goalkeeper,headman, hunter/s,lawyer,painter,pilot, policeman,referee,soldier/s, tailor,watchmen,workers 113 (0.56%)	Nurse,operator,singer/s, Hostess,housewife,secretary, zoologist 22 (0.12%)
TOTAL	142 (0.86%)	34(0.24%)

portrayal/representations of characters in social, occupational and political activities. Despite the 2004 statistics showing that "Malaysia has 7.4 million women of working age, of whom 3.45 million are working." (Wong Sulong (2004) in Bahiyah Dato' Hj. Abdul Hamid (2006), the textbook writers all of whom are women, still depict women stereotypically. In the primary Year 3 textbook, they chose to depict the women they wrote about only from those who are not working, i.e., from " the 3.45 million not working, 2.86 million are housewives." (ibid)

In the Appendices discussed, it can be seen that male are the true pillars of society, the nation builders and what males do are considered integral to the development of the country. What is usually depicted in the two textbooks analysed seem to concur with Bahiyah Dato' Hj. Abdul Hamid (2006) in that women are largely under-represented in almost all sectors and all levels of decision-making including those in the government. Currently in Malaysia, there are three women ministers for the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development; the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Youth and Sports. In the Malaysian Parliament, out of 197 members of the House of representatives, only 22 are women and in the House of Senate, out of 57 members, 19 are women. Women are also less visible in commissions, tribunals, local government bodies, statutory bodies and so on for men predominate in these domains. From the table above, only a total of 230 women out of 2,002 local councilors are women.

When activities are illustrated, it is quite clear that males dominate participating actively in activities. Pictorial representations of females participating in activities do not figure well in both texts.

C) Biasness in the depiction of personality characteristics that run along traditional masculine and feminine traits

Generally, the findings show the following:

i) males are more positively portrayed, e.g., as problem solvers/independent leaders, females are negatively portrayed as dependent/subservient

.ii) males are portrayed as powerful and females powerless which do not reflect the changing social statues of females in the society today.

The above (findings i) and ii)) are evident in Appendix F (Primary 3) and Appendix J (Primary 6). In Appendix F, p. 20, the illustration by way of a picture (without the utterances of characters) depicts 2 male and 2 female school students interacting with one another in what is assumed the computer lab. The male students are seen actively manning equipment, i.e., each is seen using the computer and the printer while the two female students act to assist the male students with one girl showing the boy at the computer her notes and the other girl passively standing by the boy at the computer. This illustration depicts male students as competent users of ICT hardware as well as ICT literate and female students as dependent upon male students in managing ICT and not ICT literate as compared to the male students. This also serves to depict males as powerful and females as powerless especially in the ICT domain.

In Appendix J, p. 60, the dependent/subservient personality characteristics of female students are blatantly highlighted via CDA especially through the verbal output/utterances of the characters present guided by the illustration/picture supplied. In the illustration on p. 60 of the primary 6 text, the picture depicts 3 male students and 2 female students (Jing-Li and Hariko) discussing what they should do for their science project. This picture illustrates a small group decision-making exercise with regards to the topic of a science project where a male student is seen taking the lead in the discussion steering on the discussion from start to finish; he plays the role of the chair. The other two male students are seen contributing significantly to the discussion by way of coming up with the main ideas of the science project of which the male leader seem to agree to on behalf of the group. After taking on the suggestion of a male student that the science project be a talk about insects in the Malaysian forest, a female student then offers to ask the science teacher for help on behalf of the group and the other female student steps in to offer to collect pictures on insects in the Malaysian rain forest. The male student leader then thanks them by uttering the following: "Thanks for offering to help, Jing-Li and Hariko". It is blatant in this appendix that males are represented as problem solvers/independent leaders and females are negatively portrayed as dependent/subservient; they are not competent to come up with solutions and can only be marginal players in decision-making. The power distinction between male students and female students in decision-making is also made transparent in this appendix.

Besides the above, the texts analysed also yield the findings that :
iii) males are depicted as active, involved in the outdoors while females are passive and are nearly always involved in indoor activities

Appendices D, H and K discussed earlier have already depicted females as involved in indoor activities, responsible for domestic chores and overwhelmingly in both the textbooks analysed, the place in which they are most favorably depicted is in the kitchen. Thus, females can be seen in the illustrations to be confined indoors. When compared to males, especially in Appendix A, p.63 (Primary 3) as well as Appendix I (Primary 6),p. 8 we see that males are depicted in a variety of activities more than those depicted for females and the activities that males participate in are not confined to indoor activities only, males are involved in many outdoor activities far more than females. Invariably, males are depicted as active especially when they are involved in fun, outdoor activities such as kite flying, skateboarding and gymnastics (Appendix A, p.63 (Primary 3)) and top spinning, cycling, archery, bowling. What is disconcerting here is that many of these outdoor activities can also be participated in by females for these activities are generally not segregated along gender lines. Thus, is unfair to knowingly and blatantly segregate activities along gender lines as can be seen from the Appendices above.

In the Year 3 text, males can be seen interacting actively in football and scouts. Activities for females are not mentioned at all in this text even though all the writers of the text are women. In the Year 6 text, males are seen to be active in scouts, badminton, hockey, squash, softball, archery, kite flying and sepak takraw (see Appendix A and Appendix I) as opposed to females being active in only one activity, i.e., netball. In this text, gender neutral activities include chess and congkak. The findings of this study with regard to this aspect do not augur well for females as they are seen to live up to the stereotype of passivity, lacking energy and shunning physical

17

activities. This may be why females in general may have been left behind in making names for themselves in sporting events. The stereotype perception of women in sports is that they are not up to par with their male counterparts.

Conclusion

Wood (1997: 161) maintains that language is not neutral; it reflects cultural values and is a powerful influence on our perceptions. With regard to sexism, Fromkin and Rodman (1993: 306) assert that "language reflects sexism in the society. Language itself is not sexist, just as it is not obscene; but it can connote sexist attitudes as well as attitudes about social taboos and racism". The two primary school texts analysed have illustrated that there are linguistic features used in the texts that convey sexism. Specifically, there is a masculine bias where the language used often reinforces males as the standard and foregrounds males. It is evident that, as portrayed in the two school texts analysed, textbook writers and illustrators do not deviate much from the traditional patriarchal notion of placing importance to males and masculinity. Males are projected as successful and powerful in the social domain and occupy higher positions in society.

Females are still portrayed as playing the supporting role to males. In the family sphere, females are linked to family roles of nurturer, in support of males as the bread winner. They are mostly depicted as mothers and wife in the personal sphere of the family. In the public sphere, females are depicted in the service of males as in being nurses. In these depictions, the view of the second-place status of females is still deeply rooted in Malaysian society.

Due to these types of exposure in school textbooks, the judgments made of females will still hinge on biological terms rather than on their credibility, abilities and qualifications despite women all over the world being empowered economically, politically, as well as educationally. Today, all across the world, women have become the driving force of economic growth, they are increasingly filling important ministerial, managerial and entrepreneurial positions and contributing to society by taking bigger roles in the public spheres for the benefit of not just women but for a better world for all. Sadly, what is crucial of the changing roles of females and their realistic contributions to the society are not well represented in the school texts analysed.

Nilsen (1994: 365) states that "sexism will not disappear from our language until it is erased from our minds." In view of this, the move to eliminate linguistic sexism and sex - role stereotyping must not just involve a linguistic reform so that equality of gender is reflected in the language that we speak and read but most importantly, there should be small yet significant steps towards change through awareness activities against masculine bias in all spheres and activities in our society. In short concurring with Nilsen (ibid), sexism being a problem that " begins in people's assumptions and expectations, it's a problem that will be solved only when a great many people have given it a great deal of thought".

Appendices

Appendix A- Lee Bee Yoke, A., Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David. 2004. *English Language Primary 3*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
p.63.

Appendix B- Lee Bee Yoke, A., Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David. 2004. *English Language Primary 3*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
p. 75.

Appendix C- Lee Bee Yoke, A., Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David. 2004. *English Language Primary 3*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
p.78.

Appendix D- Lee Bee Yoke, A., Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David. 2004. *English Language Primary 3*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
p. 9.

Appendix E- Lee Bee Yoke, A., Manjindarjit Kaur & Shanti David. 2004. *English Language Primary 3*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Abadi Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.
p. 83.

Appendix F- Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6*. Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 20.
Appendix G- Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6*. Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 6.

Appendix H- Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6*. Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 38.

Appendix I- Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6*. Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 8.

Appendix J - Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6*. Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 60.

Appendix K - Abdul Majid Mohd. Din & How Peng Ten, D. 2004. *English Language Primary 6.* Kuala Lumpur:Ministry of Education Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka and DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
p. 104.

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Paper 3   **Women and Political Development in Malaysia: New Millennium, New Politics**

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Abstract

As we entered the new millennium, the Southeast Asia region experienced many events that have contributed to the political development of the region as a whole. During this time, the region also suffered from the economic financial crises which had impacted on the political arena. It is within this political milieu that women political empowerment continues to evolve and women leaders grab the international political limelight. In the ASEAN countries, while there seems to be a strong move toward democratization, the political development of women in electoral politics have much to be desired. The situation is similar in Malaysia. In the 2004 elections, women representatives in parliament reached 10.5%. It is within this context that certain trends and strategies will be examined in this paper. This paper aims to highlight the continued evolution of women's political participation since the early 1950s to 2005. This evolution is to be understood in terms of Malaysian women's empowerment, further achievements, and how they have faced up to new challenges and optimise opportunities presented to them in a Malaysian socio-political environment now touched by globalisation and shaped by developmentalism. What are the political changes that have taken place in the 1990s especially when compared with the 1950s? Based on inductive analysis, participation by women in politics requires constant negotiation for political space such as in electoral system, policy making avenue as well as media representation. How have the changes impacted on women's political participation (less or more harmony) in terms of gender relations?

INTRODUCTION

In Malaysia, women continue to chart upward achievements in the fields of education, government, economy and various professional areas that had been exclusively led by males.[i] In politics, their progress could be seen in terms of greater presence in participatory democracy, more significant representation in electoral politics, and greater number of women at leadership or decision-making levels. In the 2004 elections, women representatives in parliament reached 10.5% compared to 5.19% in 1986 and 7.8% in 1995 (Table 1). However, as observed by Maria Chin Abdullah (2004:73-74), first, this is a small percentage of women representation compared to the 30% targeted by the Beijing Platform of Action which Malaysia signed in 1995; second, numbers are not the only effective indicators. In fact, women's participation in all sectors has to go beyond numbers and move towards a meaningful qualitative transformation of women's participation at all levels of decision-making processes. A more comprehensive report by *Kementerian Pembangunan Wanita dan Keluarga* (KPWK) or the Ministry For Women And Family Development[ii] (2003:108-110) concluded in the same vain that women remain under-represented in many areas, particularly in the decision-making and

1

power-sharing corridor of political, public and corporate entities. However, it also pointed out that "the policies of the Government are not overtly discriminatory" and that there were other reasons for this state of affairs "despite the Government's supportive policies for the advancement of Malaysia women in all areas".

Thus, this paper aims to explore the above claims and contentions and generally come to a clearer understanding of women and political development in Malaysia in this new millennium. It attempts to highlight milestones reached in the evolution of Malaysian women's political participation that actually started during the anti-colonial movements of the early 1930s through the Japanese Occupation (1941-45), the nationalist fervour of the late 1940s to Independence on 31st August 1957, the post independence period of the late 1950s to the 1970s and on through the era of economic development of the 1970s-1980s, the gender conscientization of the 1990s and the contemporary trends of more explicit feminist political positions by women activists as well as political assertiveness among women civil society groups. The increasing sensitization of gender perspectives of recent decades has been seen by some researchers as characteristics of Malaysian *new politics* (Loh 2002, Mohd. Yusof & Azlan 2002: 15-22). Its characteristics include significant women participation, centring of women issues and increasing civil society political activism.

The synergy of domestic and international dynamics relating to women and gender issues have influenced the creation of new challenges, while at the same providing opportunities and new possibilities for Malaysian women to participate more meaningfully in the public sphere. Certainly, in recent decades, the Malaysian women have been perceived as able to rise up to contemporary challenges and to optimise opportunities presented to them within a Malaysian socio-political environment that had been shaped by developmentalism and touched by globalisation.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE AND BEYOND

According to Khoo (1994), the first women in early Malaysia to be involved in organisational politics were members of the *Parti Komunis Malaya* (PKM) that was already active before the Japanese Occupation.[iii] However, with PKM going underground, hounded and banned at the beginning of the Emergency (1948-1960) by the British Military Administration (BMA) and finally uprooted from the Malaysian soil, there was not much that could be studied about them. In recent years, a book of oral history on Malaysian, Singaporean and Thai women in the Malayan anti-colonial struggle, or the Emergency period, as researched by Agnes Khoo however, has uncovered at least nineteen of them (Crisp 2004).[iv] On the other hand, there is hardly any focused about the early participation of Indian women in early Malaysian politics. The main reason for this is the fact that during this period most of the Indian community were in estates and quite uninvolved with mainstream politics while a minority were urban dwellers whose families generally upheld conservative values about a woman's place being in the home. Khoo (1994:1) also observed that in Malaysian society, Chinese women were *liberated* earlier than Indian or Malay women were. Among the latter two groups, those who were engaged in social and political activities, were generally English-educated and urban based or wives of

2

professionals and civil servants. It was during the Japanese occupation years that more ordinary women became mobilised in various ideological and nationalistic movements. Nonetheless, mainstream political leadership continued to be provided by men.

Between the end of the Japanese Occupation and Independence in 1957, a number of women public personalities had been traced and identified. Some, such as Mrs Loke Yew, who headed large business organisations, became prominent in the volunteer associations. There were others who were politically involved. For example, Saleha bt Mohd Ali was the only woman in the organising committee of the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) during its formative years. Mrs F.R. Bhupalan and Mrs Athi Nahappan joined the Rani of Jhansi Regiment that was part of the Indian Independence Army formed by Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the Indian Independence Movement (Khoo 1994: 3-5). The more prominent trend of Malay women's political involvement was set during these years. For example, Shamsiah Fakeh, who led the women's nationalist group known as *Angkatan Wanita Sedar* (AWAS), was outstanding because she was prepared to take up arms against the British colonial power alongside the men of *Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya* (PKMM) and *Angkatan Pemuda Insaf* (API). On the social front, Malay women had already begun to organise for better education opportunities in the 1920s. The most well known among them was Hajjah Ibu Zain Sulaiman, an advocate for female education, who formed the *Persekutuan Guru-guru Perempuan Melayu* in 1930. She was its chief for the next nineteen years (Mahfudzah 2000: 203). Therefore, researches and writings on Malaysian women and politics during the pre-independence period, such as those by Manderson (1980), Dancz (1987), Aishah Ghani (1992), Jamilah Ariffin (1992, 1994), Ramlah Adam (1993), Khatijah Sidek (1995), Rashila & Saliha (1998) and others, tend to concentrate on Malay women's political awakening and participation in a young democratic system.

Most of the mainstream women activists during this era later joined the *Kaum Ibu* UMNO, the women's wing of UMNO formed in 1949. The *Kaum Ibu*, later changed its name to *Pergerakan Wanita* UMNO in 1971 to reflect a more age-neutral and less matronly image. The *Muslimat*, the women's wing of the *Parti Islam se Malaya* (later *Parti Islam se Malaysia*, PAS) formed in 1953 offered an alternative vehicle for Malay women political activism. However, to-date it has yet to surpass UMNO's *Kaum Ibu* (later *Wanita UMNO*) in terms of its organisational capacity, grassroots influence and national leadership. The national women's wings of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) were formed much later in 1975. A prominent *Wanita MIC* since before independence is Tan Sri Devaki Krishnan. She was an educationist turned politician. She was the only woman candidate in the country's first legislative election in 1954 and won her seat in Brickfields constituency, Kuala Lumpur (Khoo 1994, Saliha 1994, Shanti Devi 1995, Rosni 1997). Therefore, UMNO women had an earlier start than her sister organisations in the *Parti Perikatan*, or the Alliance coalition party of UMNO-MCA-MIC, and has continued to maintain its organisational lead. Until today, the *Wanita UMNO* remained the best-organised women political organisation with broad grassroots base that transformed into formidable vote-getting machinery during elections.

3

Some of *Wanita UMNO*'s prominent personalities would include the first *Kaum Ibu* UMNO chief, Puan Sri Datin Hajah Puteh Mariah Ibrahim Rashid, who was appointed first as an UMNO representative in the Constitutional Working Committee and later as a member of the Federal Legislative Assembly where she was a member of its Permanent Committee on Finance from 1948 to 1955. However, after serving as Assemblywoman in *Dewan Undangan Negeri Perak* (1948-1949) she left UMNO for *Parti Negara* that was led by Dato' Onn b Jaafar. In 1949, another *Kaum Ibu* UMNO leader, Tunku Puan Sri Azizah Tunku Petra, was appointed Member of the Negeri Sembilan State Assembly where she served until 1951. In the country's British sponsored first election of 1955, *Kaum Ibu* UMNO was represented by Puan Halimatun who won her seat and joined MIC Devaki Krishnan in the Federal Legislative Assembly.

Later in the first and second elections after independence, 1959 and 1964 respectively, 104 parliamentary seats were contested and the ratio for the women was 34:1. This was an improvement from the 1955 election when the contested seats were only 53 and the ratio between men and women candidates was 51:1 (Table 1). In the 1959 general election, the then PAS *Muslimat* chief, Khatijah Sidek, who had been the *Kaum Ibu* UMNO chief (1954-56), became the first and so far only *Muslimat* to be elected as Member of Parliament. In the same general election, a Johor *Kaum Ibu* UMNO stalwart, Dato' Hajah Fatimah Bt Haji Abdul Majid, was elected Johor assemblywoman. She was re-elected in consecutive general elections of 1964, 1974 and 1978, and served as member of parliament for Johor Bahru, Batu Pahat and Semerah. In 1969, the year that witnessed the infamous 13th May racial riotings, two more milestones were reached when Hajah Dasimah Dasir, was appointed senator to the august *Dewan* Negara where she served until 1980 and Tan Sri (Dr) Hajah Fatimah Haji Hashim, became the first woman minister. She was *Menteri Kebajikan Am Malaysia* until 1974.

By the 1974, 1978 and 1982 general elections, the ratio of men and women parliamentary candidates steadily improved to 30:1, 21:1 and 18:1 respectively, while the percentage of women elected representatives in the *Dewan Rakyat* rose from 2.9% in 1959 to 5.19% in 1982 (Table 1). One of the benchmark appointments after these elections was the appointment of Datin Paduka Zaleha Ismail as Political Secretary to the *Kementerian Kebajikan Am Malaysia* in 1974. She became the first woman appointed to such a post. She continued on to serve as the parliamentary secretary *to Kementerian Kemajuan Tanah Dan Wilayah* (1986), Deputy Minister of Transport and finally as the Minister of National Unity and Social Development. Also in 1974, Datin Paduka Rosemarie Chong, the President of National Wanita MCA, won the Selayang parliamentary seat and was appointed parliamentary secretary to the *Kementerian Kesihatan*. Further, the 1970s saw the appointment of a prominent woman civil servant, P.G. Lim, as the Malaysian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1971-73) and Yugoslavia and Austria (1973-77). In 1977, she was appointed the Malaysian ambassador to Belgium and the countries of European Economic Council (EEC). She was also made Malaysian representative to the UN Industrial Development Organisation and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Datuk Seri Rafidah Abdul Aziz, the current *Pergerakan Wanita UMNO* chief and the long serving Minister of International Trade

and Industry (MITI), however, leads the pack. She was appointed first as a senator in 1974, then parliamentary secretary to Ministry of Public Enterprise in 1976. She went on to clinch her grassroots base by winning the Kuala Kangsar parliamentary constituency in 1978. Since then she has not looked back and she has remained an icon for mainstream Malaysian women in politics.

Generally, the activities and programmes of the women's wings of Malaysian political parties have always been aimed and coordinated towards giving loyal support to their respective parties' main agenda. In the elections, they play a traditionally accepted role as vote canvassers and voters. Their political goals were defined largely by their respective parties, be it independence, democracy, economic developments or Islamic politics. Their own sub-agenda within the parties were associated with socio-welfare programmes for improving women's social and economic lot rather than political conscientisation or activism *per se*. Although during this early stage of nation building, they clearly grasped the notions of political participation, nationalism and self-government, their participation was determined by what their men folk had perceived and defined for them. This pattern continued until the late 1960s when the nation was jolted into a new political momentum by the 1969 racial riots. Following it, a number of important policy changes that affected the political development of women in Malaysia occurred. Some of them were unintended by the policy makers. For example, there was the 1970s *muhibbah* concept, or the concept of inter-racial harmony, that was being popularised to characterise almost every facet of Malaysian life in order to promote racial integration and unity systematically. The ultimate aim is a notion of a politically united *Bangsa* Malaysia sharing the Malaysian dreams of multi-racial harmony in a land of plenty. In this context, the women's contribution to politics and implementation of policies at grassroots level was regarded essential and their participation received greater recognition than before. This led to more concerted efforts on the part of the political parties, especially those of the government coalition party, the *Barisan Nasional*, to galvanize more effectively the women's political potentials.

The 1970 to the 1990 years were the period of New Economic Policy (NEP) with its famous two-pronged aims of eradicating poverty across the board and ethnic identification of economic activities. The 1990s were also buoyant economic years for Malaysia and we were part of the Asian miracle. Towards the end of 1990s, by implementing radical stringent monetary policy, Malaysia managed to keep afloat during the global monetary and economic crises. Nonetheless, the strains caused by the global crises provoked much public discussion that over-spilled into non-economic areas as well. These include issues such as uneven development, existence of pockets of rural and urban poverty, environmental damage, women in development, gender disparity, cultural minority rights, health services, and other general public services. Mainstream global concerns on women's rights, gender discrimination, gender parity and women in decision-making came to the fore championed particularly by the increasing number of economically, politically and socially empowered women. Such trend of greater and more visible involvements of both class and gender based political actors, especially in the advocacy sector and in the general elections, made up the new development dubbed the Malaysian *new* politics (Loh 2002, Loh & Saravanamuttu 2003, Mohd Yusof & Azlan 2002).

5

In the 1980s and 1990s, the focus of the *Barisan Nasional* led government was economic development. Its take off point was the *Dasar Ekonomi Baru* (1970-1990) introduced during the premiership of Tun Abdul Razak Hussein. The general direction of the policy was continued under the *Dasar Pembangunan Negara* (1991-2000) and *Dasar Wawasan Nasional* (2001-2010). Through the implementation of these policies and under the very able leadership of Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (1981-2003), Malaysia experienced fast-paced urbanisation, industrialisation and modernisation. By the late 1980s, there was discernable greater political empowerment of the women. It was reflected in their visible participation in the nation's elections and governing bodies. These also served as indicators of their standing within their own political parties and constituencies.

In the 1990s, Malaysia achieved unprecedented economic growth, boasting of zero-unemployment and better education standard. Malaysia joined the league of newly developed nations dubbed the Asian miracle. The proportion of the female population in rural areas with no schooling declined from 55% in 1970 to 27% in 1991 and by 2000 the female enrolment at the tertiary level stood at 51.3% of the total enrolment in local universities (KPWK Report 2003: 40-42). By 1990 literacy rate among women was 80%. By 1993, 47% of working age women were employed compared to 27% in 1957 (Rashila & Saliha 1998: 97, Nagaraj 1995: 3, 50).[v] The eighth Malaysia Plan noted that an important factor, which contributed towards the social and economic advancement of women, was the huge investment in educational facilities and equal access to educational opportunities. The almost inevitable result of this fortunate combination was greater sense of political efficacy among the women as well as a greater general awareness of women's concerns, gender awareness and other issues related to women in development. The process gave birth to a new breed of women leaders and political activists who were more assertive and more alert to those aspects of national development that affected women's interests and advancements.

Thus, paralleling the developments in the political scene is the structural and policy progress made within the public sector. The National Advisory Council on the Integration of Women in Development (NACIWID) was created in 1976. Among other things, the Council was tasked with helping the Malaysian government translate the United Nation's World Plan regarding women in development into tangible policies addressing women's interests in all of the development sectors. Since 1987, it has direct access to policy implementation through its advisory role to the *Bahagian Hal Ehwal Wanita* (HAWA). HAWA started as a unit serving the needs of women workers in the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources. It was moved to the Prime Minister's Department in 1978 and then to the Ministry of National Unity and Social Development in 1990 with steadily functions (Nagaraj 1995: 6). HAWA has also received specific budget allocations in the various Five Year Plans that had been implemented since its inception. In collaboration with government agencies and organisations, such as the National Council of Women Organisations (NCWO), it has acted as resource centre, promoted research on women issues and concerns, and identified priorities for Malaysian women's welfare in the context of contemporary needs. Some of the prominent names associated with HAWA, NCWO[vi] and NACIWID are Ramani Gurusamy, Janaky Athi Nahapan, Hajah Puteh Mariah bt Ibrahim Rashid, Rahmah Othman, Dr. Nik Safiah bt Haji Abdul Karim, Helen Tan, and Zaleha Ismail (PERTIWI 1983). Many of the women activists in NCWO have