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Contents

Foreword

Welcome to the **Third Issue 2015** of the Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH)!

JSSH is an open-access journal for the Social Sciences and Humanities that is published by Universiti Putra Malaysia Press. It is independently owned and managed by the university and run on a non-profit basis for the benefit of the world-wide social science community.

This issue contains **13 articles**. The authors of these articles come from different countries, namely, **Britain, Nigeria, Turkey, Malaysia, Iran, Japan, India, Nepal** and **Thailand.**

The articles cover a wide range of topics, from a study investigating the relationship between the ownership structure of Malaysian public-listed companies and the choice of auditor based on ethnicity (*Asmuni, A.I.H., Nawawi, A.* and *Salin, A.S.A.P.*), a study examining the associations between spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism as factors that influence waste-prevention behaviours among Malaysian University Students (*Samaneh Karbalaei, Abbas Abdollahi* and *Sabrina Abdullah*), a paper investigating the influence of foreigner-influenced architecture on the 'Neo-Mughal' or 'Moorish' style of design seen in Malaysian mosques of the colonial period (1800-1930) (*Maryam Kkhazaee, Naziaty Yaacob, Zakaria Alcheikh Mahmoud Awad* and *Zuraini Binti Md Ali*), an assessment of the resource potential of Sal seeds, the existing market mechanism and its role in livelihood generation of rural communities in Kumaun Himalaya (*Pant, G. C.*), a study that identified the proportion of children who are orphans and their geographic distribution in Nepal (*Guragain, A.M., Choonpradub, C., Paudel, B.K.* and *Lim, A.*), to a research paper that explored efforts to prioritise mental health through securitisation and attempted to determine why such efforts are not successful in LAMICs regions, focusing on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a case study (*Bunyavejchewin, P.*).

The remaining articles, on topics related to literature, education and language and linguistics, include an essay discussing the feminist other In Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* (*Muhammad Alkali, Rosli Talif* and *Jariah Mohd Jan*), a paper that examines Ted Hughes' portrayal of the relationship between mankind and nature in 'Remains of Elmet' and 'Moortown Diary' (*Sulaiman, M. Q.*), an article that proposed a practical framework for humanities departments to embed public engagement into departmental teaching programmes based on a case study of a course module run at a UK university (*Fiona Williamson*), a review that aimed at explaining how the academic resilience approach relates to cognitive task performance of Malaysian students (*Seffetullah Kuldas, Shahabuddin Hashim, Hairul Nizam Ismail* and *Mohd Ali Samsudin*), an article presenting the pioneering outcomes of a non-interventic ethnographic observation of a Semai musician's transmission of indigenous musical traditions using selected indigenous

musical instruments from his community (*Clare Chan Suet Ching* and *Valerie Ross*), a study examining the utility of explicit presentation of Arabic-origin Malay loanwords and their etymologies in teaching Malay as a foreign language to Arabic speakers (*Uni, K.*) and a study that investigated which mode of language games, paper-based or computer-based, can better expand the English vocabulary size of secondary school students especially at the 2000 word-level (*Letchumanan, K., Tan, B.H., Paramasivam, S., Md Rashid, S.* and *Muthusamy, P.*)

I anticipate that you will find the evidence presented in this issue to be intriguing, thought-provoking, and useful in reaching new milestones. Please recommend the journal to your colleagues and students to make this endeavour meaningful.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the contributors who have made this issue possible, as well as the authors, reviewers and editors for their professional contribution. Last but not least, the editorial assistance of the journal division staff is also fully appreciated.

JSSH is currently accepting manuscripts for upcoming issues based on original qualitative or quantitative research that opens new areas of inquiry and investigation.

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Review Article

The Need for an Academic Resilience Approach to Cognitive Task Performance of Malaysian Students in Secondary Schools and Higher Education

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ABSTRACT

Rendering students resilient and intellectually rigorous is a primary objective of education in Malaysia. The Education Ministry has emphasised the enhancement of problem-solving and critical thinking skills, but reported that the skills performance of students in secondary schools and higher education is below the targeted proficiency level. According to the Ministry, the educational institutions are responsible for the lack of optimal performance. However, the unsatisfactory result might also be ascribed to the students' overall experience of adversity. Some students, against all odds, are academically resilient. How Malaysian secondary and higher-education students construct, develop and demonstrate academic resilience has yet to be investigated. This review of related literature is, therefore, aimed at explaining how the academic resilience approach relates to cognitive task performance of the students. Further investigations can provide guidelines to help students who are not academically resilient. This would facilitate achievement of the objective .

Keywords: Malaysian students, resilience, academic resilience, resilience assets, risk factors

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INTRODUCTION

A universal objective of education is to render students as academically resilient and intellectually rigorous learners who are effective problem solvers as well as critical and creative thinkers. Such students would be better equipped to carry out cognitive tasks successfully and demonstrate

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resilience in the face of adversity; they would be able to handle the challenges of studying at higher institutions of learning, and afterwards, cope with problems in life (Benard, 1995). This objective is central to secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in Malaysia (Nagappan, 2000, 2010). However, research has yet to be carried out to investigate how secondary and higher-education students construct, develop and demonstrate academic resilience. The lack of findings in this area might lead to inconclusive evaluation of factors underlying satisfactory or unsatisfactory cognitive task performance and academic achievement (Hanewald, 2011).

The main purpose of this review, therefore, is to draw attention to the need for an academic resilience approach to improve the cognitive task performance of secondary and higher-education students in Malaysia. The review is divided into three main parts. The first part sets out the reasons for the resilience approach in the Malaysian context. The next part expounds human resilience. The last part highlights the promotion of resilience as an essential aim of education, explicates the conception of academic resilience and identifies the resilience assets that can be promoted.

THE NEED FOR INVESTIGATING ACADEMIC RESILIENCE ASSETS OF MALAYSIAN SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENTS

Human development showcases potential resilience process, capacity, and outcome. Human resilience enables an individual to overcome various challenges and succeed in spite of adversity. Strengthening human resilience has become a focal point of interest in the educational philosophy of many countries, including Malaysia. Educational endeavours in Malaysia are aimed at rendering Malaysian students resilient and intellectually rigorous, thereby realising the vision of the educational philosophy (Curriculum Development Centre, 1989; Educational Planning and Research Division, 1994). The Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE 2006), currently known as The Ministry of Education (MOH), recognises the vision as the central purpose of education and places emphasis on the need to help Malaysian students acquire higher order thinking skills, especially problem-solving aptitudes. Malaysian students should be able to practise critical, creative, and reflective thinking skills to solve problems, undertake demanding cognitive tasks and adapt to challenging environments. Problem-solving skills facilitate coping with adverse circumstances inside and outside the classroom (Georges, 1988). Thus, it is of paramount importance to ensure that students acquire such skills so that a primary objective of the educational policy is met.

Notwithstanding the educational endeavours, findings have indicated low proficiency levels of critical thinking skills of Malaysian secondary school (Nagappan, 2000, 2001) and higher-education students (MOHE, 2006; Tarmizi *et al*., 2008). For instance, students from technical institutions were found to have difficulty in generating critical and creative ideas

(Heong *et al*., 2012). A similar report on the skills performance of secondary school students showed a lack of ability to apply knowledge to real-life problems (Nagappan, 2000). According to Nagappan, "after 12 or 13 years of public education, many students are unable to give evidence of a more than superficial understanding of concepts and relationships that are fundamental to … subjects they have studied" (p.1). The Education Ministry has ascribed the low proficiency level to national institutions. Relying on more recent findings, Nagappan (2010) highlighted the need for a comprehensive review of educational programmes for the teaching of thinking skills. In this connection, national institutions should gear their educational programmes towards enabling students to identify and analyse problems and be creative enough to look for the most practical solutions (Nagappan, 2010).

However, holding educators or educational institutions wholly responsible for the poor cognitive task performances of students does not reveal the true picture (Hanewald, 2011). Other factors should be taken into consideration, such as "risk factors" that increase the probability of a future negative outcome, and "protective factors" that decrease such a probability (Durlak , 1998). Growing up, a student may face multiple risk factors that inevitably affect his or her behaviour academically (e.g. truancy, poor grades or disengagement in learning activities), socially (e.g. having conflicts with peers), physically (e.g. self-harming or deteriorating appearance), emotionally (e.g. worry, depression, sadness and hopelessness). The student may be exposed to the aggregated effects of these factors (Hanewald, 2011). In contrast, the weight of the evidence suggests that the effect of a specific risk factor in isolation tends to be modest on the generated outcomes, usually leading to academic underachievement (Appleyard *et al*., 2005; Fergusson *et al*., 1994; Masten *et al*., 1990; Oades-Sese *et al.,* 2011).

Students who have experienced several past or present risk factors, which are associated with individual, family, school and community variables, are very likely to demonstrate poor cognitive and academic performance (Doll *et al.,* 2011; Flouri *et al.,* 2010; Hanewald, 2011). Examples of individual-related risk factors are insecure attachment, poor social skills and addiction to alcohol or the internet. Family-linked risk factors are low socio-economic status, poor parental supervision, parental substance abuse, unemployment of parents, family conflict, domestic violence, divorce and social isolation. School-associated risk factors are academic failure, poor attachment to school, bullying and negative peer group influences. Community-connected risk factors are neighbourhood violence and crime, lack of social support and social or cultural discrimination. A number of longitudinal studies, such as those by Cicchetti and Manly (2001) and Lansford *et al.* (2002), have shown that children who suffer neglect are at risk of school failure, anxiety, depression, aggression and

delinquency during childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

Despite their disadvantaged backgrounds, coupled with various risk factors, some students demonstrate academic resilience and enjoy satisfactory or even excellent academic achievements (Borman & Overman, 2004; Martin & Marsh, 2006). Such students possess academic resilience assets (also called protective factors) associated with the individual, family, school and community variables. Examples of individual-associated protective factors are secure attachment to family, improvement of social skills and school achievement. Family-connected protective factors are parental employment, access to social networks and caring parents. School-related protective factors are positive school climate, sense of belonging, opportunities for some success at the school environment and recognition of achievement. Community-linked protective factors are participation in community groups and access to community support. These examples raise the question of what and how resilience assets enable some students to perform the same task better than those who have the same background. Miller (2002) and Russo and Boman (2007) suggested further studies to bring the issue to light, so that an optimal resilience-enhancing strategy can be developed for non-resilient students.

Thus, students with risk factors have different educational needs in their pursuit of academic success, compared to their counterparts who are impacted by multiple protective factors. Not every institution or every educator is able to meet the needs of individual learners as to curb the effect of risk factors on cognitive and academic performance (Russo & Boman, 2007). An academic institution or an educator is very likely able to provide developmental support, promoting academic success, but less likely to eliminate the bulk of risk factors or disadvantaged backgrounds that promote failure.

With regard to the local educational context (secondary schools and higher institutions of learning), reports of empirical examinations on the relationship between backgrounds of students and the recommended cognitive skills are scarce (Devadason *et al*., 2010). According to Nikitina and Furuoka (2012), none of the existing studies have examined the acquisition of skills and teacher guidance, both of which are considered by students to be important. Nevertheless, although students are aware of the necessity of skill acquisition, they lack a clear guidance on the types of skills and how to acquire and develop them while studying. In addition, they know that lectures and tutorials alone cannot equip them with the knowledge and skills they consider vital, some of which must be acquired through their own endeavour (Devadason *et al*., 2010; Nikitina & Furuoka, 2012). Malaysian public educational institutions need to identify students who severely lack proficiency in problem-solving, critical thinking and management skills (Shakir, 2009). Subsequently, special programmes for these students need to be organised

to make them realise that having well-developed skills would help them compete successfully against adverse circumstances.

Further studies are required (a) to ascertain whether students have successfully acquired and applied the recommended skills to help them reinforce their academic resilience during their secondary and higher education, and (b) to explore and explain what individual, family, school and community assets lend support to students in the acquisition of cognitive skills to improve academic task performance. An examination of resilience assets would shed light on how students can be academically resilient and how their resilience level can be raised. Such studies would provide educators and policy makers with new insights into the Malaysian student's academic resilience assets and assist in the formulation of strategies aimed at making the necessary changes in the capacity, process and outcome of human development. The findings of such research would provide useful guidelines on the development of resilience assets in order to bring a positive difference in the lives of students from disadvantaged backgrounds. When educators and policy makers are facilitated in breaking the cycle of poor academic performance, a primary educational objective would be achieved.

HUMAN RESILIENCE

A central concern of education is to empower innate resilience, so that students can face and overcome challenging conditions over the course of a lifespan. Hence, a very important educational objective requires the teaching and learning of how to activate latent resilience to ameliorate a variety of personal, societal and academic life challenges. Students should be taught how to acquire and use cognitive skills through specially designed programmes and courses (Brown, 1997; Ennis, 1989). Educators ought to take cognisance of cognitive skills (e.g., problem-solving) and motivational factors (e.g., self-esteem) that can strengthen the learner's academic resilience.

Human resilience refers to "the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances" (Masten *et al*., 1990, p. 425). Resilience can be (a) the outcome as a quick recovery from misfortune or disruptive change (Hanewald, 2011), (b) the process of human development (Benard, 1991), and (c) the capacity in terms of individual differences in response to adversity (Rutter, 1990). Resilience covers the cognitive, emotional, social and physical aspects of human development (Lee *et al*., 2010), as the ability to deal with developmental tasks effectively in the face of adversity (Bottrell, 2009).

Resilience is innate to all humans, being "an inborn developmental wisdom that naturally motivates individuals to meet their human needs for love, belonging, respect, identity, power, mastery, challenge, and meaning" (WestEd, 2002, p. 2; see also Benard, 2004). According to Masten (2001), "Resilience does not come from rare and special qualities, but from the everyday magic of ordinary, normative human resources in the minds, brains, and

bodies of children, in their families and relationships, and in their communities" (p. 9). Resilience is not an individual trait or a fixed quality that a person has or has not (Zimmerman & Arunkumar, 1994), but rather the development process and capacity that can be promoted by the individual, school, community and family variables (Doll *et al.,* 2011; Howard *et al*., 1999; Luthar *et al*., 2000; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Rutter, 1979, 1987).

ACADEMIC RESILIENCE APPROACH TO STUDENTS' COGNITIVE TASK PERFORMANCE

A resilience approach to cognitive development and academic achievement is based upon the basic tenet that everyone has some measure of innate resilience that enables the individual not only to rebound from adversity, but also to succeed in spite of it (Hanson & Kim, 2007). Despite the odds, "coping" successfully with the problems, "overcoming" them and "recovering" from disruptive changes are demonstrations of academic resilience (Garmezy, 1985; Rutter, 1985). Academic resilience can be conceived of as "the process and results that are part of the life story of an individual who has been academically successful, despite obstacles that prevent the majority of others with the same background from succeeding" (Morales & Trotman, 2004, p. 8). As Morales (2008) stated: "Academic resilience, unlike psychosocial resilience, is not determined by how well-adjusted or emotionally healthy an individual might be. Rather, it is defined solely by exceptional academic achievement in the face of adversity" (p. 152).

The resilience approach in the educational context suggests focusing on protective factors that promote human potential resilience, thereby leading to academic success, rather than on eliminating the risk factors that promote failure (Grotberg, 1995). It specifically calls attention to the understanding of how some individuals thrive against all odds, rather than examining failures or disadvantages. This suggestion is congruent with the "Ecological Systems Theory" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), "Resilience Theory" (Rutter, 1987; Ungar, 2005), "Educational Resilience Theory" (Wang *et al*., 1994, 1999), and with Garmezy's (1991) triadic model of resilience. According to these theories and the model, multiple levels of the surrounding environment mould human behaviour or development as growing within a complex system of relationships. Resilience, as a developmental process, empowers individuals to shape and in turn be shaped by their environment. This is a widely accepted ecological framework for understanding the resilience assets, the dynamic interactions among individual, family and environmental risk and protective factors (see Doll *et al.,* 2011; Esquivel *et al.,* 2011; Gordon & Song, 1994; Morales & Trotman, 2004; Von Soest *et al.,* 2010). A further study might draw on the ecological framework of educational resilience theory to explain how Malaysian secondary and higher education students develop their academic resilience and what internal and

external resilience assets help them in this development process.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RESILIENCE ASSETS

According to educational resilience theory (Wang *et al*., 1999), learners may confront adversities everywhere or anytime, a situation in which they may have recourse to their resilience assets existing in their environments (external resilience) and within themselves (internal resilience), instead of dealing with adversities as problems to be solved or compensated for (see Fig.1). The interpersonal relationships with members in the family (parents), school (teachers) and community (friends) are the external resilience assets that promote internal resilience assets, thereby simulating academic success (Benard, 2004; Benson *et al.,* 2012; Hawkins *et al*., 1992; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Resnick *et al*., 1997; Rutter, 1987; Werner & Smith, 1992).

Internal assets refer to individual cognitive factors, which are problem-solving skills, social competence, critical consciousness of the self, a sense of purpose and autonomy (Benard, 1995). Problem-solving skills encompass the ability to think reflectively, critically and creatively. Social competence refers to communication skills, sense of humour, the ability to understand the feelings and problems of others and to elicit positive responses. Critical consciousness is the reflective awareness of the source and structure of adversity (e.g. a racist society, discrimination and the like), including creativity in developing coping strategies to overcome the odds. A sense of purpose encompasses hopefulness, goal direction, persistence, achievement motivation, optimism, spiritual connectedness and

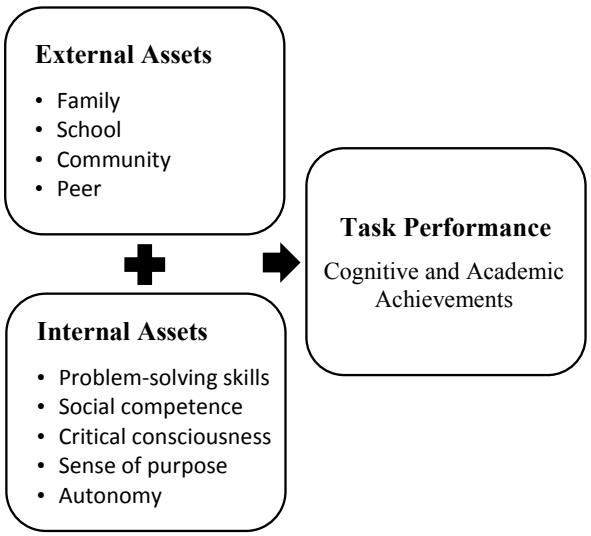

Fig.1: Theoretical framework of academic resilience (adapted from WestEd, 2002)

educational aspirations. Autonomy is the ability to have a strong sense of one's own identity, a sense of internal locus of control, task mastery and self-efficacy, being able to exert some control over one's environment. Relevant literature describes these protective factors as characteristics of human resilience that should be developed (see Doll *et al.,* 2011; Flouri *et al.,* 2010; Garmezy, 1985; Gore & Eckenrode, 1994; Hanewald, 2011; Masten *et al*., 1990; Rutter, 1984; Waters & Sroufe, 1983; Werner & Smith, 1988).

PROMOTING THE INTERNAL ASSETS OF ACADEMIC RESILIENCE

Individuals essentially use their internal resilience assets to build and show remarkable resilience in varying degrees when they encounter challenges (Howard *et al*., 1999; Mandleco & Craig, 2000). Internal assets are developed through interactions with external resilience assets (Rutter, 1987, 2002). External assets allow one to become self-reliant, responsible, empathic and altruistic; they also encourage trustworthiness and confidence when approaching people and situations (Grotberg, 1995). External assets facilitate circumventing life stressors and demonstrate resilience against risk factors, thereby altering or even reversing expected negative outcomes (Benard, 1995), and allow one to become more resilient and less vulnerable (Garmezy, 1985; Jain *et al.,* 2012; Mandleco & Craig, 2000; Rutter, 1987). The cumulative impact from a combination of external resilience assets is likely to increase positive outcomes (Rutter, 1999), such as avoiding academic failure and coping with adjustment problems, when a student is exposed to extremely adverse circumstances (Jain & Cohen, 2013; Oades-Sese *et al.,* 2011; Rutter, 1984; Werner, 1993; Werner & Smith, 1992).

A care-giving environment, family, school or community counteracts risk factors. The most immediate care-giving environment facilitating the development of internal resilience is the family; schools and peers also bring about a significant increase in the resilience level (Brooks, 2006). In such an environment, the learner has always someone, parent, peer, friend or teacher, (a) who cares who he/she is, who listens or talks to him/her; (b) who gives support (e.g. encouragement through words, actions and creating a safe environment), guidance and opportunity to promote a sense of safety, autonomy, self-efficacy, self-confidence and of self-responsibility so that he/she can fulfil his/her hopes, needs or concerns; and (c) who gives him/her the opportunity to plan, make decisions, solve problems, communicate with others, and (d) who encourages him/her to take responsibility for the consequences of his/her choices and behaviour (Hanson & Kim, 2007). To be resilient or build internal resilience, humans need safe relationships in which they can love and be loved, trust and be trusted, respect and be respected.

Home, school and community members, particularly teachers, all play a role in promoting the internal resilience assets of the student by meeting his/her needs (Werner & Smith, 1992). A teacher can provide

adolescent students with opportunities that are based on reciprocity and collaboration, such as encouraging them to participate in teaching and learning activities (i.e., sharing power with students). Such an opportunity increases their intrinsic motivation and enhances their innate ability to learn (Benard, 2004). Obstructing students from such opportunities (i.e. ignoring the fact that students want to have some power and control) usually leads to detachment from the teachers who obstruct them, thereby disconnecting them from curricular activities (WestEd, 2002).

Although it is not necessary to promote many resilience assets, it is not sufficient to focus on just one (Grotberg, 1995). An adolescent learner may be loved but is less likely to show effective resilience against challenges if he/she lacks self-awareness of thoughts and feelings, or if he/she has poor communication skills. A learner may have high self-awareness or self-esteem, but he/she will not be resilient enough if he/she has nobody to help him/her, or does not know how to solve problems, or communicate with others. Effective resilience results from a combination of the assets. How individual (cognitive), family, societal and school assets aggregately contribute to academic resilience needs to be explained further, so that appropriate programmes can be designed to strengthen resilient behaviours (Willms, 2002).

CONCLUSION

This review paper has set out the need for an academic resilience approach to improving the cognitive task performance of students from secondary schools and higher education institutions in Malaysia. The Education Ministry places great emphasis on the responsibility of national institutions to equip students with critical thinking and problem-solving skills. This review of related literature suggests taking into account the effect of diverse backgrounds of students on their cognitive task performance. Students' backgrounds can be interwoven with multiple risk factors that increase the probability of poor cognitive performance or with multiple protective factors that decrease such a probability. In-depth analysis of the relationship between students' backgrounds and the level of skills proficiency is needed for a better understanding of how to improve specific cognitive task performance.

According to the ecological framework of the resilience theory (Wang *et al*., 1999), poor cognitive and academic performance might be associated with students' disadvantaged backgrounds. Nevertheless, despite obstacles that prevent the majority of students with the same background from succeeding, some students can be academically successful as they are academically resilient. Academic resilience enables students to enjoy exceptional academic achievement in the face of adversity.

Empirical data concerning how Malaysian secondary and higher-education students construct their academic resilience has yet to be collected. Empirical studies, drawing on the resilience theory and its ecological framework, are needed to (a)

explore and explain internal and external academic resilience assets of the students, (b) predict the best external assets that promote internal assets, and (c) determine the best internal assets associated with high academic achievement. The findings from such studies would enhance the understanding of the relationship between the academic resilience assets, thus facilitating the actualisation of one of the primary educational objectives of Malaysian secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. To conclude, educators should be aware of the need to adopt a resilient approach towards more effective learning and skills development.

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Public Engagement, Historians and Higher Education: A Retrospective UK Case Study

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ABSTRACT

Focussing on the practice of public engagement and the teaching of history in higher education, this article will argue that public engagement is a welcome platform for sustaining humanities education through the economic stagnation and educational changes that have impacted Europe in the early 21st century. However, effective public engagement is becoming an increasingly important practice that universities are implementing all over the globe. Based on a case study of a course module run at a UK university for final-year undergraduates, this article proposes a practical framework for humanities departments to embed public engagement into departmental teaching programmes. It will demonstrate from the real-life experiences of staff and students engaged on a pilot programme how humanities subjects can also be practical skills-based learning experiences. The first section will review the current field of public engagement practice and methodology and explore why the subject has received much more attention over recent years, particularly within a UK context. The second section examines the case study itself, which was conducted during the 2009–10 academic year. The concluding section provides reflection and considers the possibilities for adopting a public engagement initiative within humanities departments in the future.

Keywords: Higher education, public engagement, teaching practice, case study

INTRODUCTION

Public engagement has been described as a 'process of maximising the flow of knowledge and learning between universities and society' that can contribute 'to social justice and corporate responsibility', stimulate 'creativity and innovation in

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academic research' and transform the educational experience (NCCPE, 2010). The practice of public engagement by universities (the term is sometimes used interchangeably with 'outreach') is thus a two-way process whereby the public are not considered the passive recipients of knowledge, but as active channels in which ideas are communicated and generated. In this way, the public help build and inform academic research through activities, discussions and projects.

Public engagement initiatives at universities currently attract a great deal of positive attention yet it has been only in the last decade or so that universities have promoted engagement activities with any regularity. This is especially true of humanities departments where, although public lectures or courses have traditionally been available, there has been a disjuncture between daily academic practices and local communities. Even in the last 10 years there has been a lack of information and research on engagement as a principle and as a practice (Platter, 2011); some misunderstanding of what public engagement means and how it might be approached has led to a degree of reluctance on the part of some departments to become actively involved. As Watson (2007) argued, "there has been a dearth of scholarly attention to the practice (as opposed to the rhetoric) of civic engagement by universities and colleges in various cultural contexts ".

Certainly, academic history has had a rather complicated relationship with public, popular history. Academic history has attracted criticism for being too distant from the general public, and the practitioners of local history and antiquarians are too often seen as the old-fashioned poor relations to academic, institutionalised scholars (Mandler, 2002; Tyrrell, 2005). The separation of public and academic history is rooted in the normative practices of academia. Academic networks exist within national, international and virtual frameworks, rarely within local communities or public forums. Research is often conducted in an isolated way at archives or in libraries. Much of this research is so grounded in intricate theoretical detail that it is hard to translate it to a popular audience or in many cases, simply not practical. It perhaps comes as no surprise then that professional academia has been accused of having little interest in, or relevance to, the public. As American public historian Patricia Mooney-Melvin (1995) explains

> *The profession as a whole, despite the efforts of numerous individuals and a few organisations, has proved remarkably resistant to altering a definition of historian and audience that has grown static … the profession's resistance to change ... has laid the ground-work for its own marginality ... and has contributed to the general breakdown of the larger civic community.*

This is partly the result of a debate over the purpose of popular history (Estes,

2006).[1] Taking sides in this debate is perhaps not useful here, but it is necessary to understand how this issue lies at the core of successful implementation of public engagement initiatives. Public engagement crosses the line between academic and popular history; academics can be unsure how they can contribute to a popular history market already saturated with museums, television companies and trusts, how to make history accessible without 'dumbing down' and how to reach the public from the university.

A survey conducted by NCCPE revealed that only around 35% of the 22,000 British academics questioned about their public engagement profile were participating in 'some form of outreach' in 2009; the year the pilot module discussed below was launched.[2] As there were 181,595 higher education academics in Britain that year (HESA, 2009) we could argue that this equates to only a very small number who were active in engagement activities. A survey conducted by Cambridge University also concluded that 'outreach' was placed below teaching, research and even administration, in respondents' workload (Abreu, 2009). This neglect is, in part, because public engagement (or outreach) is not easy to entrench within normal academic roles. Whilst there may be some expectation for staff to be involved in outreach, it is difficult for humanities staff to conceptualise how public-facing activities can be part of their everyday responsibilities.

This situation is not helped by the lack of scholarly pedagogical literature. That specific to public engagement in UK higher education practice is recent and largely limited to institutional reports by governmental and non-governmental organisations such as the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement or the UK-Innovation and Research Centre (Grinevich et al., 2010); or subject specific case studies (for example Miller, 2013 or Universities UK, 2010b) or to reports generated by universities themselves. That produced in 2011 by the Open University's Centre for Higher Education and Research (CHERI), which considers more broadly the role of higher education issues, including public engagement, in modern society is one such example. In addition, the national press Times Higher and Guardian Educational supplements both featured articles on the subject during 2013. A great deal of pedagogical literature also stems from the American higher education system, where 'public history' (that is, the taught academic subject as opposed to museology and heritage theory) has been routinely added to history programmes (see Trask et al., 1983; Frisch, 1990; Leffler & Brent, 1990; Scarpino, 1994; Storey, 1995; Gardiner et al., 1999; & Tyrrell, 2005 for discussion of the American public history field over the 1980s-2000s).

This article presents a case study detailing one way in which academics can entrench public engagement into the daily

[1] A good example of the heat generated by this debate can be found by reading Estes (2006) and the series of critical responses to this article at: http://fusilier.wordpress.com/2007/12/06/john-adams-david-mccullough-and-popular-history/ and http://hnn.us/articles/12073.html

[2] http://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/what#1.

practice of teaching, conceptualised during the reading of the abovementioned reports: a final year undergraduate module developed with the theoretical principles of public engagement in mind. It will explore the context for, and development of, the module along with a consideration of the application in practice and an evaluation of the module with the hope that the information provided here will be a useful model for other history departments.

EDUCATIONAL POLITICS: PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT IN BRITAIN

Britain has a long-standing positive reputation for higher education provision but, since the 1980s, a series of economic downturns combined with a university participation rate of 30% (a rise from 6% in the 1960s) changed educational thinking at the governmental level (Barr et al., 1998). During the 1990s, higher education fees for many below a certain income bracket were subsidised by Local Education Authorities (LEAs) but, with a near doubling of student numbers between 1990 and 1996 (Barr et al., 1998), the question of free higher education became the subject of intense governmental debate and scrutiny. In 1996, an investigation into university fee structures conducted by the Dearing Committee under John Major's Conservative government made a series of recommendations of which Recommendation 78 was crucial in ushering in a new era of thinking about funding, that is, the principle of "income contingent terms for the payment of any contribution towards living costs or tuition costs sought from graduates in work" (UK National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education: Summary Report, 1997).

The Dearing Report proved to have greater longevity than the Conservative Party, who were to have less than one year left in government, replaced by New Labour in the 1997 general election. Tony Blair's government broadly adopted the Report's recommendations but shifted responsibility for funding students away from LEAs to a system based more heavily on student loan companies. The period is characterised by a process of rationalisation of higher education providers, in a shift toward a "gradual marketisation of the system" whereby "all or a significant proportion of the costs of teaching are met from tuition fees" and there "is an increased amount of information to enable students … to choose between alternative producers " (Brown, 2011). This shift gained momentum after the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government came to power in 2010. Making key changes to higher education funding and student fees, university departments can now, theoretically at least, charge students up to 9,000 pounds (GBP) in fees per annum. Funding was also squeezed after the announcement of the coalition government's Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) in October 2010. This placed a cap on student numbers and challenged university spending, hitting higher education from above at the same time as departments were struggling to understand how increased fees would affect student intake. The arts and humanities

(including history) were the worst affected, with up to 40% cuts (with immediate effect) in some cases as funds were redirected to protect science, technology, engineering and mathematics (Universities UK, 2010a). In response to these changes, the Research Excellence Framework (REF), a set of guidelines for assessing the quality of research in academic institutions for the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), emphasised the need for universities to "provide accountability for public investment in research and demonstrate its benefits" (HEFCE, 2011). In particular, universities must demonstrate "social, economic or cultural impact or benefit beyond academia" to fulfil future funding criteria (HEFCE, 2011).

The idea that history departments should contribute to "national wellbeing" as well as to the "expansion and dissemination of knowledge" (as stipulated by HEFCE, 2011) has engendered a change of perspective. Whilst the full implications of financial restructuring are being absorbed, it is clear that the combination of REF criteria for research funding and calls from students (and their parents) for universities to justify charging higher fees and provide evidence of future employability signals an increased marketisation of universities.

Recent shifts in the UK's educational outlook may have forced the issue of public engagement, yet universities are well placed to champion new initiatives as originators and developers of research and pedagogical thinking. It is within this context then that the premise for a new module that addressed the issues discussed above was conceived: one that could fulfil a demand for regular public engagement activities on one level but also provide students with practical employability skills on the other.

CASE STUDY: HISTORY, HERITAGE AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT – A 14 WEEK FINAL-YEAR UNDERGRADUATE MODULE

With concerns of developing departmental public engagement initiatives and enhancing student employability in mind, a threefold premise for a new undergraduate module was conceived: to design a module with public engagement at its heart; to enhance student's post-university employability; and to fulfil the demands of HEFCE's recommendations relating to impact and public engagement (HEFCE, 2011).[3] Module development began by researching the format of history modules currently on offer at the University of East Anglia and those on offer in other humanities schools. This initial research, conducted in-house and online for other British universities, quickly demonstrated that whilst modules combing elements of archaeology, art or museology, for example, frequently involved practical components (project work in the local community or with local heritage providers, for instance); the standard format for most history modules was based around a series of lectures and seminars utilising in-house academic expertise. Assessment was primarily through a combination of essays,

[3] The module was developed at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK by Drs Christopher Bonfield and Fiona Williamson for delivery in the 2009-10 academic year.

examinations and oral presentations (the latter conducted before classmates and staff) with occasional project work. Whilst there is nothing wrong with this tried and tested format, given the excellent heritage facilities in Britain, it seemed natural that our history students should have the opportunity to make better use of facilities off campus. This research and reasoning informed the idea that a module based around history, heritage and public engagement should take place largely away from campus, thereby taking advantage of external expertise. Incorporating heritage as an element of the module allowed more opportunities for public engagement and working with local communities through museums, archives and other related organisations.

A module outline was thus created incorporating three elements: theoretical sessions, practical sessions and project work. The premise was to introduce students to theory and then enable them to put the same into practice in real-life situations. The theory sessions were designed to introduce students to aspects of public engagement and heritage management theory (see, for example, Moore, 2000), delivered in a series of lectures by experts in the heritage field. This marked a departure from other modules where, with a few exceptions, modules were delivered largely by internal expertise with the occasional guest lecturer. Bringing in outside expertise broadened the student learning experience and kept sessions fresh and interesting. The practical sessions were designed to introduce students to new, contemporary skills sets that were not currently available within the history teaching programme, including developing content for a blog and documentary film-making. In this way, students would not only explore ways of disseminating history to a public audience, but also consider the theoretical principles behind making history accessible, including improved strategies for interpretative displays (Lipscomb, 2010).

The final component of the project drew the practical sessions together with the taught heritage management and media theory. Here, students were expected to work with local heritage organisations in developing projects that would be seen and used at the organisation in question by the public. The theoretical reasoning behind this was, as Buckley (2013) argues, that "a lot of the focus is currently on public engagement with research, but students also get involved in public engagement activit[ies]"[4] and students, as volunteers act as the "bridge" between the public, the heritage organisation, and the university (Miller, 2013). The students worked off-campus for this element of the module, spending time with experienced officers at their organisation of choice and thus achieving invaluable work experience as well as producing a product that could be used by the external partner for public engagement. This module then fulfilled one element of public engagement criteria for the university in that the students were the intermediary between the university and the public, but the students were also a direct

[4] Buckley's quote can be found at: http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2013/jun/17/university-public-engagement-top-tips

beneficiary of this relationship, because they gained invaluable skills and experiences outside of academia. Thus, their role as intermediaries had a direct and positive impact on their learning experience.

The final section of module planning was arranging with whom the students could work for the project component of the module. Our choices were informed by the excellent history and heritage providers in the local area as well as by personal contacts. Our final partners were: the Education and Outreach Team and Visitor Services at Norwich Castle Museum, a space dedicated to the history of the city of Norwich and situated within a 900-year old castle, now run by Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service;[5] the Norfolk Record Office (NRO), a four-star archive (ranking by the UK National Archives' self-assessment programme);[6] and the Friends of Norwich's Historic Churches, part of Norwich's Historic Churches Trust (NHCT), the latter set up in 1973 to address the problem of the many surviving, but now disused, medieval churches in the city.[7]

One remaining issue that has not yet been mentioned is that of finance, especially considering students were expected to work away from campus. Students should not be expected to find additional costs for undertaking new modules (such as travel) when they have already paid university fees. Equally, it was considered that a small amount of funding would enable students to get the most from their experience by enabling them to have more flexibility around their choice of project. At the same time, module organisers proposing to work with external partners have to ensure that such partners (often supported by local government or charities) could be reimbursed for any related costs. To this end the organisers submitted a funding application to the university and were awarded 3,000 pounds (GBP) for perceived expenditure.

MODULE DELIVERY: WEEKLY BREAKDOWN AND ANALYSIS

The pilot module was delivered in the 2009-10 academic year at the University of East Anglia for nine final-year undergraduate history students. Two of the nine had some prior experience in working as heritage volunteers. All the students were engaged in completing degrees in medieval, early modern and modern British and European history. The module was pre-advertised by staff to second-year students during the later end of the 2008-9 year and was also incorporated into the student's module handbook for 2009-10.

Weeks One–Three: Theory

The first theory session was delivered by a heritage expert who had previously worked

[5] http://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/Visit_Us/Norwich_Castle/index.htm

[6] The Norfolk Record Office is an archive of national, and international, importance. In 2005 they became the first county record office to have its collections "designated as being of outstanding importance by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council"; they host the only UK sound archive outside of London, and most recently, their collection relating to the medieval Great Hospital of Norwich was recognised by UNESCO in the UK Memory of the World register. See http://www.archives.norfolk.gov.uk/nrohistory.htm

[7] http://www.norwich-churches-friends.co.uk/about/about.shtm

at Hampton Court Palace in London, who introduced the students to the problems faced by maintaining "authenticity, academic integrity, historical 'truths' and ... engagement " in the presentation and preservation of heritage sites (Lipscomb, 2010). It was useful for the students to connect with these fundamental challenges early on, as this awareness gave them a framework for their project and enabled them to explore more fully the problems inherent in presenting history to the general public. Session two was conducted by a Museum Interpreter at Dragon Hall in Norwich, a restored medieval merchant's house now open to the public. The interpreter conducted a site tour and gave a talk on the challenges of working with the public. This was followed by a question-and-answer session on the theme and included information on employment within the heritage sector. A similar session was conducted at Norwich Castle Museum in week three, when students were introduced to the Castle's public engagement and marketing officer, a Contemporary Art Curator, and an access curator who gave a 'behind-the-scenes' tour of the museum's facilities and spoke about creating an exhibition for the public.

Weeks Four–Six: Using Technology to Present History–Theory and Practice

The next two weeks were spent exploring the uses of modern technology in making history accessible to the public. Students learned about online history resources and ways of presenting academic research to the public. There was a hands-on session teaching skills such as digitisation, uploading content and writing for a website, and a day was spent at the BBC's television training facility where the students created short films about Norwich.[8] At this stage in the module, the students were also asked to produce a theoretical essay on heritage and public engagement; the premise was to embed the theoretical elements of working with the public early on. Essay themes included: Effective strategies for interpretative history and marketing theory, Consumerism and Historical presentation.

Weeks Six -Twelve:

From week six, the students worked away from campus on public engagement projects with their chosen heritage partner. The choice of project was to be left to individual discussion between the student and the heritage partner but each project had to either involve, or be made available to, the public and be useful to the heritage partner. The heritage partners thus directed the student's projects in line with their own needs at that time or related theme to internal project development.

Three students worked with the Norfolk Record Office to research and produce a public information leaflet about one of the archive's collections. The archive uses such leaflets to guide visitors as to their collections and how to begin researching a particular topic; thus, these leaflets had to be credible, accurate and informative yet

[8] The student's films can be viewed on You Tube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D82XA06N2k0 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9VLupEx3L8&feature=related http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHwGeGHr2SI&feature=related

aimed at a popular, as opposed to academic, audience. The students therefore had to consider the selection of topic, grading of their language and what information a member of the public might need to commence their research. Their final chosen topics were the city's important shoe industry through the ages, the archives of a local hospital, and the history of local breweries. Each student began by examining current information leaflets and the NROs publication guidelines. They then conducted a detailed survey of the archive's records on each topic and collated an inventory. They then incorporated this into their public information leaflet to include a brief history and introduction to their topic, the main archival sources and references alongside useful information such as suggested reading and tips on using the archives' search room.

Five students worked with the Castle Museum and tackled different themes. Two worked with the museum's marketing team to conduct a visitor survey as part of the organisation's marketing strategy. Another two students paired up to study a contemporary exhibition about feasting and food during the medieval period (within the context of a Christmas feast possibly held at the Castle itself) and produced a touch-screen multi-choice survey to gauge public opinion on the exhibition. The fourth student worked on a commentary of one of the Castle Museum's new public exhibition about crime through the ages that was then extant in the Castle's dungeon. Finally, the last student worked for the Friends of Norwich Historic Churches. The student's project was to create a detailed development plan to effectively utilise a redundant church whilst paying due attention to the sensitivities involved in working with a listed building.[9] The student devised two strategies, an organic food market and a clothing shop, and worked up a business plan for the latter. The student's plan was presented to the Trust at the end of the module.

Weeks Thirteen-Fourteen: Assessment

The final stage of the course was presenting the finished projects. Students were expected to analyse their project in the form of a report to include: a discussion of the project's premise, design and outcomes, the completed project itself and a post-project analysis delivered in the form of an oral presentation to students, staff and the heritage partners. Assessment weightage was as follows: Essay (c. 2500 words) 40%; Oral Project Presentation 30%; Written Project Report 30%.

Ensuring Quality

All written submissions were assessed by an external examiner in addition to the module organisers, and student presentations were viewed by heritage partners and other members of school staff as well as fellow students and lecturers. The reasoning behind this was to emulate the conditions that students might find themselves in in having

[9] In a UK context, a 'listed' building is one that has been placed on the Statutory List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, see http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/listing/listed-buildings/

to deliver a business presentation or public exhibition in employment. However, this process also formed part of the assessment of the module itself in its pilot year. The module went through a rigorous assessment procedure to ensure that the university's standards for teaching quality were met. This was completed in two ways: an internal and external review and anonymous student feedback. The comments of the external assessor for student's written work replicated in many ways those of the internal markers but suggested in some cases, that the marks awarded could have been higher. The following comment deserves particular mention:

> *The idea that students produce a handbook or leaflet style piece of work seems a very good one indeed: a wonderful introduction both to the uses and handling of sources, and the kind of activity that shows how academic historical approaches can be utilised to benefit a wider public. Also quite neat, as it gives students a concrete, practical but manageable task: as in the case of dissertations, this will allow truly motivated students to shine, without unnecessarily penalising the weaker ones.*[10]

The module was also evaluated by the students who used anonymous Module Evaluation forms to register whether they agreed, disagreed or were undecided about particular aspects of the module: a standard format for the school. It is hoped that the practice of anonymity will allow for a degree of honesty. Ultimately, the information from the Module Evaluation forms was collated into an annual Module Monitoring exercise (MM1) that all module organisers are required to complete. A summary of student feedback is as in Table 1.

The forms follow a generic standard, but provide a good starting point for assessing how a module has been received. The results demonstrate that students enjoyed and learned from the module, but there is work to be done on providing clearer module aims at the start and improving guidance for students on completing their coursework. With hindsight, the three areas which all needed attention relate to the very broad scope of the module, particularly in relation to the fact that students choose their project topics *after* they sign up for the course.

Both formal and informal feedback, however, suggested that the students took much from their experience of working off-campus with heritage partners and developed useful links and contacts in the process. One of the students continued working with the Castle Museum as a direct result of this module. Of course, this is satisfying for the module organisers, but the most rewarding part was the skills and experience that the students gained.

The external assessor's comments were positive overall, and student feedback demonstrated that all participants enjoyed the module; made new networks and contacts in the heritage sector and developed

[10] Bjorn Weiler, External Examiner for the School of History, Final Comments, June 2011

new skills. They learned how to create professional presentations, to develop confidence in public speaking, to understand and use new technologies and platforms such as web design, blogging and film editing and they gained practical experience of marketing, educational research and business planning.

REFLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The module fulfilled its engagement aims by asking students to act as the face of the university by working with the public or by producing projects designed to engage the public. In the process, the students learned far more about the practice of history outside of the immediate circles of academia; the challenges faced by the heritage sector in dealing with the general public and creating history that is both accurate *and* engaging. The experience strengthened existing links between the university and the local heritage sector and forged future working relationships. The module facilitated public engagement with history and higher education by taking undergraduate students

TABLE 1
A summary of student feedback

Student Feedback Form				
Categories		Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Overview of the Unit	Module aims were clear	6	3	0
	Teaching was well organised	9	0	0
	Documentation provided was useful	6	3	0
	Intellectual level was about right	8	1	0
	I would recommend the module to others	9	0	0
Delivery of Teaching	I attended most or all of the lectures	9	0	0
	The lectures were interesting and improved my understanding	9	0	0
	I attended seminars and contributed	9	0	0
	The seminars improved my understanding	9	0	0
Workload, Assessment and Feedback	Class preparation load and coursework was about right	9	0	0
	I received helpful guidance when preparing my written work	7	2	0
	Feedback on written work will help me to improve in future	9	0	0

into the community to work with the public on different projects, and secondly, by bringing local heritage organisations closer to the university through a collaborative partnership. Finally, the student's projects were displayed to the public at our partner organisation's facilities or, as in the case of the touch-screen survey and information leaflets, became part of our partner's on-going marketing and information strategies.

The module was a success but its implementation was not without its share of problems. The most obvious was the broad subject matter of the student's projects. Normally, a history module is designed around a lecturer's own field of expertise and therefore assessment falls within the parameters of a topic on which the lecturer is confident. In this case, student projects were tailored to our external partner's strengths, facilities and staff specialisms, all essential for fulfilling public facing projects. However, this meant that our partners became the student's primary contact and main source of knowledge for the latter part of the module and the lecturers could not be expected to have prior knowledge of each project field. From our partners' perspective, this resulted in extra responsibility. From the university's perspective, monitoring student's progress and assessing their projects became much more difficult. This was not an insurmountable problem, but it is a warning for anyone interested in running a similar module. External partners need to be made fully aware of their expected roles and responsibilities before they agree to take part, and the problematic issue of assessing non-subject specific projects must be addressed before the module commences.

CONCLUSION: A POSITIVE FUTURE FOR PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

History is one academic subject that should not see public engagement as a new phenomenon. The teaching and practice of history has long been embedded into local communities in the activities of local history societies, antiquarians and heritage (Kelley, 1978; Karamanski, 1990). The 20th century saw the remarkable rise of charitable organisations like the National Trust and English Heritage that invested in preserving sites of historic interest for the public and an increasing role for local government in running museums and investing in local historical projects after the Second World War (Jordanova, 2003). Likewise, since the 1960s, there have been far more historical texts and novels, television programmes and ways of bringing history to the public than ever before (Rosenzweig et al., 1996, 1998).

This changing perception has been inspired by the phenomenal interest in history shown by the public over recent years and the many success stories demonstrating how the popular and the academic can be integrally connected, with academic historians such as Cambridge University's Simon Schama or Mary Beard (to name but two), some of British television's most well-known history presenters making programmes that are at once grounded in scholarly academic research yet accessible to a general audience. At the same time,

magazines like BBC History or Channel 4's Time Team presented by Tony Robinson, utilise sound academic expertise yet are not primarily aimed at an academic market. Such publications and programmes are part of a burgeoning field of popular history and public engagement with history that shows no signs of abating.

Research reports and inquiries developed at governmental and non-governmental institutions across different countries have also proved significant. In the US, for example, the American National Council promotes the idea that academic historians can fulfil the same public engagement role as heritage professionals, as "historical consultants, archivists, teachers, cultural resource managers, curators, film and media producers, policy advisors, [and] oral historians " (NCPH, 2014). In 2002, the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) produced a formula for successful engagement, which included the "strenuous, thoughtful, argumentative interaction with the non-university world in at least four spheres: setting universities' aims, purposes and priorities; relating teaching and learning to the wider world; the back-and-forth dialogue between researchers and practitioners; and taking on wider responsibilities as neighbours and citizens " (Hart, 2009). In Britain, the government invested in supporting organisations and institutions dedicated to promoting public engagement in higher education, including the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE), established to maximise "the flow of knowledge and learning between universities and society" (NCCPE, 2010).

Building on this background, public engagement is now framed as a crucial part of the development and progression of academic research in Britain. Certainly, bodies such as the Wellcome Trust, the Arts Council England or the Arts and Humanities Research Council have increasingly favoured the funding of academic research that prioritises elements of public engagement. Some universities, like University College London (UCL), Cambridge, Bristol, Cardiff or East Anglia (UEA) have teams dedicated to developing engagement projects or work in partnership with national funding bodies to support engagement initiatives.[11] It seems these enterprises are working. A 2010 report by Universities UK also suggests that even in the current economic climate universities have "been helping to support local employers ... and build for the future" by offering "access to specialist facilities ... bespoke education for company workforces ... consultancy services ... [and] continuing professional development for local businesses and their employees ". In this way, universities are fast becoming 'knowledge exchanges' within their local communities (Universities UK, 2010). At the time of writing there are also 110 public

[11] Cambridge University's HEFCE funded 'Rising Stars' initiative allows undergraduates, postgraduates and early career academics the opportunity to take part in community activities: http://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/how/case-studies/rising-stars;www.bristol.ac.uk/public-engagement/ ; www.cardiff.ac.uk/communityengagement/index.html; The UEA worked with local museums on an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) project entitled 'The Art of Faith' during 2010. Other projects include: 'The Butterfly Effect – Climate Change and the Norfolk Broads'.

engagement project case studies currently registered on NCCPE's website: www.publicengagement.ac.uk/how/case-studies.

This article was intended to demonstrate one way in which universities can incorporate public engagement activities into teaching programmes easily and effectively, without having to rely on external funding or allocating time to large projects. The experience of developing and teaching this module demonstrates that there is much scope for combining public engagement activities with everyday academic roles. Indeed, rather than being an onerous task, the challenge of finding ways of embedding public engagement into academic practice actually inspired a new approach towards teaching and learning. Drawing from the success of the module, a full inter-disciplinary public engagement programme has been developed, linking different schools and faculties by the efforts of a dedicated team of lecturers. Aimed at undergraduate and taught masters-level students, participants can enrol for the whole programme, completed as an interdisciplinary 'pathway' in the arts and humanities, or can pick and choose one module as a free choice. The proposed programme has appeal to students of history, art history, museology, film studies, archaeology and even business and marketing. Public engagement should thus not be seen as a 'just another job' for the academic but should be used as a tool for inspiring fresh teaching methodologies, personal development and lifelong learning. The method can be as rich and rewarding for staff, as for the students. As Carl Becker, then President of the American Historical Association in 1931, has stated, historians should "adapt [their] knowledge" to the "necessities of the present" rather than "cultivate a speech of dry professional arrogance growing out of the thin soil of antiquarian research" (Rosenweig, 1983).

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Constructing the Subject, Deconstructing the Text: The Feminist Other in Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*

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ABSTRACT

The paper begins with a reminder of early criticism on traditional feminism and then traces the beginnings of occasional opposition leading to provocative positions through representative works and criticisms of some writers and critics. The paper, therefore, identifies a trilogy and moves to uphold the last of the trilogy which might startle the revolutionary feminist because it is more accommodating in its gender approach than the revolutionist would aspire to in dismantling the hegemonic phallus. It submits that there is certainly revelation in deconstructing, transforming, re-inscribing and negotiating "male patriarchy" as this leads to a conversation that empowers its readers to soft-pedal on both anti-masculinity and anti-femininity, an argument towards policy reform on gender. In doing this, it uses nego-feminist theory to locate and critique Chinua Achebe's sudden change from anti-thesis of feminism to gender justice through his last novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*. However, it hypothetically praises Achebe's stand for being feminist and then questions it for being improperly feminist.

Keywords: Anti-femininity, anti-masculinity, conflict management, feminism, nego-feminism

INTRODUCTION

> *As subject for history woman always occurs simultaneously in several places.*
>
> "The Laugh of the Medusa",
> Helene Cixous (1980)

The ends of centuries have always been eventful. One issue at the end of the 19th century, beginning with Kipling and

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Conrad's fiction in English (with Kipling on Indians and Conrad on Africans and Malays) centred on the ethics of imperial expansion and was seriously debated by social scientists, liberal humanitarians, missionaries, colonial administrators and planters, each group constructing the subject peoples in its own way. Conversely, a strong consensus emerged from the constructed people: the West holds all peoples of other races to be inferior to white Europeans. Another issue that was seriously contested, this time at the end of the 20th century, was the status of the woman. The subjection of the female body was being (re)presented and constructed variously by interest groups namely, postmodernists, psychoanalysts, socialists, racist fighters, the Black arts movement of the 60s, literary historians and African feminists, among others. Towards the end of the 20th century, Chinua Achebe wrote his new novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*, hereinafter *Anthills*, in 1987, a novel whose theme departed completely from his known 'anti-woman' project.

It follows that earlier feminist criticism was chiefly read in the parlance of history, information and recuperation, and thus mostly not contentious. Certainly, history is, and will always be, subjected to subjectivity, but it is pointless to deny that these first moments of feminist criticism were concerned more with discovery and celebration than analysis. Today, however, the sheer quantity, diversity and continuity of aspects of feminism have produced key warring groups with a strong consensus running through them: feminism as a cultural form is less fragile and less vulnerable to negative criticism. In exploiting this further, the objective of this paper to show that any moment of masculinity and femininity may not be unconnected with aspects of extremism. It, therefore, presupposes that without further research, since all feminist writings are one vast genealogical effort that attempts to restore continuity of dignity to the ruptures or discontinuities imposed by the history of 'male patriarchy', both the female and male ego, which have stimulated incautious observations from the opposite sexes, need reconciliation. This is an exercise that is capable of reconciling the two opposite groups and which stands to advance policy reform on gender, among others.

Towards gender reform, in 1975, the United Nations on a global perspective gave birth to energetic gender equity. It declared the year as International Women's Year. Following this, 1976-1985 was declared the *Decade for Women*, during which international agencies and also some governments beamed their light on 'women's issues', as it came to be popularly known. Then there was the Nairobi Conference in 1985, the Cairo Conference in 1994 and the Beijing do of 1995. It was in Beijing more than anywhere else that the issue of empowerment received adequate world attention to the point of becoming a condition for world progress and development. For instance, in Nigeria, female empowerment is fast becoming a matter for policy reform. There have been bills in some State Houses of Assembly that

seek gender equity. Governor Udenwa's wife (Udenwa, one-time Governor of Imo State) visited the Imo State House of Assembly and squarely asserted that "the issue of allocating percentage to women less than men was no longer acceptable" (The Guardian, 2006, Oct 9, p. 6).

In itself, the word 'empowerment' is not of distant etymology. It became widely used and popularised by the 'Draft Platform of Action' of the Beijing Declaration of 1995. Though the etymology appears recent, the morphology betrays a deep root in the psyche of a civilisation born out of conflict and which remains riddled with conflict. For empowerment suggests the giving of power to someone who has been deprived of it, someone who will remain vulnerable without that power, someone whose hope for justice and fairness seems hinged only on the possession of that power. This power has to be wrested from a despot, in this case, man. This power also promises to be a panacea for all sexual problems: inequality between the sexes, under-representation, positions hitherto inaccessible to women (managerial and executive posts), sexual assault etc. All these features underscore the origin of sexual conflict embedded in the psyche. This conflict that began during the Renaissance and continues to date seems to be the one thread that runs through the intellect of the social development of the West. First, it was a conflict between man and God, then between the state and Church, then science and nature, then the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie and now women and men, young and old. But are these types of assertiveness and/or offensive empowerment the *only* solution? Is there not the fear that empowerment conceived in this context *may* only succeed in aggravating this perceived conflict rather than solve it in the same way that the empowerment of the Proletariat over the Bourgeoisie led to the crumbling of the communist edifice, leaving hardly any track for its followers to follow? Will this not lead to division in the house? Is this not what has already caused division among writers and critics of feminism? We can distinguish a trilogy in the divided group of writers and critics on feminism.

THE TRILOGY SPACE

The Oedipal logic

Early male writers in Africa, for example, mercilessly streamlined the woman. In their gender injustice, they refused to accurately project the African woman. Conversely, proponents of masculinity in their heightened defence argue that woman was merely represented as society presents her, stressing that literature is all about (re) presenting presence. To support this claim, people have recourse to their wrongly understood statements like, "Presence, in order to be presence and self-presence, has always already begun to represent itself, has always already been penetrated" (Derida, 1978, p. 249). And we thought that the general thrust of Africa's Achebe is that African people, which precludes women,

> *...had dignity. (And) It is this dignity that many African people all but lost during the colonial period*

> *and it is this that they must now regain. The worst thing that can happen to any people is the loss of their dignity and self-respect. The writer's duty is to help them regain it by showing them in human terms what happened to them, what they lost.* (Achebe, 1964, p. 8; Emphasis added).

Achebe sees his mission in fiction as being "to help (his) society regain belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of denigration and self-abasement" (Achebe, 1965, p. 3). With this strong position, is it not surprising that Achebe failed in the best work to construct the woman accurately when the opportunity presented itself? As one peruses journals decade after decade and attends conferences and meetings, one sees an eclectic approach to activism against the male ego i.e. the phallus culture that ridicules those who do not put men first. Particularly for Achebe, it has been severally noted that feminists feel uneasy about his projection of woman. Olaluwoye (2004, p. 145) unapologetically slams the drift of woman to second position in Achebe's novels. Ojo-Ade (1983, p. 158) incriminates male chauvinism in Achebe and his generation while Solomon Iyasere (1978, p. 92-110) frowns at Achebe's Oedipal logic. Achebe, like Ekwensi, Aluko, Amadi and other first-generation writers in Africa, has consistently created the woman in the 'subject position' in his tetralogy that brought him world fame. Or perhaps, the African woman did not lose that dignity that Achebe talks so much about with the arrival of the colonial master on his colonial mission for colonial injustices? Perhaps, too, dignity for woman is not worth regaining? This group will not be missed.

Oppositional feminism

Then, there are those who take pride in the protection of 'the protected sex'. It must be admitted that somehow they have their hearts in the right place. Gender insensitivity needs to be analysed and addressed squarely. Many women novelists and activists now have written in the protection of the female sex. For example, Okpecole's biting criticism against patriarchal system is that

> *I think we have had a situation of extremes. First, the silence about women and not saying enough about them ... no full blooded image of African women by male writers.* (Okpecole, 1986)

This expectation is squarely matched by critical novels like Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979) and Nwampa's *Efuru* (1966). One critic, Helen Chukwuma, believes that with these novels, the picture of the full-blooded image of African woman has emerged (Chukwuma, 1989, p. 2-3). This vindictive group of writers and critics are noted for their wit in a showdown with the phallocentric, which desires to reconstruct the construction of the underdog, igniting incidents of a hateful patriarchal oppression of the woman. As a result, these writers and critics make no pretence of

challenging not only man but God (see, for example, Emecheta, 1979, p. 209). In her hatred, Emecheta, a novelist, directly challenges God for creating the female as a weakling, the underdog who has the usual concerns with domestic themes in fiction and in reality. She challenges, "God, when will you create a woman who will be fulfilled in herself, a full human being, not anybody's appendage?" This unguardedness, this challenge directed at God repudiates faith in the valency of God, often reason for people to renounce their religion, as did Ngugi wa Thiong'o (a writer and critic) who, though not a feminist, renounced his Christian faith and consequently changed his name from *James* Ngugi to Ngugi wa Thiong'o, owing to questioning the valency of God. Emecheta was not and will not be the last to confront God either. August Wilson's three plays also unapologetically register his disaffection with God. In *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* (1984), Levee says, "If he's a man of God, then where the hell was God when all of this was going on? Why wasn't God looking out for him?" (p. 81) In *Joe Turner's Come and Gone* (1984), Loomis speaks out, You all sitting up here singing about the Holy Ghost. What's so holy about the Holy Ghost ?"

Can we imagine these writers so utterly ignorant, perhaps, as to make a seemingly barbarous plea against God? Alabi (2010) discusses such unguarded statements by some writers and critics, especially those concerning women. The theological angst in women usually derives, he says, from the scriptural reasoning in Genesis 2:21-22 . He adds that "Going through our … religious sectors, it is evident that it is patriarchal in context" (p. 134), stressing that society's development is with attendant negation of the original plans of God in the relationship between the man and the woman until it becomes a maxim.

In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Emecheta starts, not with an investigation into the lead female character, Nnu Ego's intentions, but with her two prejudices (against God and man), so that her view of a failed woman and/or childlessness is Emecheta's rather than Nnu Ego's. We could never perceive any fitness which Emecheta possessed for the assumption of one of the finest parts that was ever imagined for womanhood, except, indeed, that she could play it in her own creative hue. Her disposition is unpleasantly, and we would say unacceptably, foreign to African feminism, her manner generally drawling and unimpressive. When, by chance (for chance it is and not judgement), Emecheta's novels rise to a higher strain over Flora Nwapa's, it can rest squarely as a transition from mere complaint of the injustices against woman to the elevation of antagonism, harshly demanding equity and equality from the patriarchal world. Such writers and critics rave and rant about the injustices, often classified across the world as "arrant feminism" (Alkali, 2010a, p. 23; Woolf, 1929).

Or, has she unlearned what she learned from the maker of fiction in Africa, Chinua Achebe, who says that African novelists are torch bearers pointing the way? In his "The Novelist as Teacher" (1965), Achebe

cautions writers to ensure that their words are weighted in order to regenerate the people.

This angler of feminism, a radical claim , theorises a trans-historical subjection of women to men in the patriarchy as the central problem and fact of reality. This view encouraged socialists to abandon alliances with men, even for purposes of class struggle; men, in what appears as eternal misery, were seen as the fundamental enemy, regardless of class affiliation, regardless of their sympathy for, and commitment to, the woman project. Modleski (1986, p.123) strongly advises real female feminists to be wary of men's support for women's cause, asserting that they should not underestimate "the most crucial factor in men's traditional disregard and contempt for women's writings and women's modes of existence: the reality of male power". But can we begrudge these women this 'bole kaja' (Come down, let's fight) position? In feminism, we have a lesson to learn, and that is, if we are not prepared to allow equity, then we should be prepared to live with anarchy. This notion of feminism smacks of rebelliousness, fearlessness and political awareness in women as it injects fear in men while it thrills women.

In nego-feminist assumption, however, a better position would simply have been a 'guided' role reversal, not oppositional feminism. This reversal should rather smack of female assignment in a multi-levelled libidinal energy, in a feminine unconscious shaped by female bodily drives (not male drives) which make their way in the style of feminist writings. But sadly, it has become regularly irregular to whip men to silence and disgrace. Thus, the objective of true feminism is imperfectly perfected here as this socialism informs and challenges the basic understanding of gender and identity so very deeply that fragments of their thinking have become unfixed from their origins. It has created deep disagreements in the feminist camp itself as it introduces splintering populism. This splintering anti-masculinity fulfils, by extension, Raymond Williams' vision of a new tragic consciousness. He calls such a setback "a struggle against suffering learned in suffering" and "a total exposure which is also a total involvement" (Williams, 1966, p. 54).

The nego-feminist assumption and its implication for Anthills

Some women, like Loren Kruger (1996, p. 50) three years before the birth of nego-feminist theory, observe that any call for what some people call 'female method' or 'a feminine morphology' only heightens a splintering populism. Division in the house needs to be avoided. Everything needs to be done to tone down the heat of both inter and intra crises in feminism. Nego-feminism, we believe, is up to that task as it stresses that masculinity and femininity are simply moments of madness. On her part, Ann Rosalind Jones (1985, p. 106) warns not to over-represent the female because such a celebration would be fixated within the

framework that it attempts to correct.

Writing on instability of all human identity and in particular, of gender identity, Barbara Freedman (1996), asks if the notion of feminism in itself is not a contradiction in terms since one is at once caught in a web that pushes forward phallocentricism. Her position stems from her critique of Lacan's notion of the 'gaze', which displaces the gazer. Lacan's psychoanalytic theory critiques Freud's theory of the regretting girl-child for her lack of a penis, what 'the male point of view' ungenerously terms "a woman's hysteria ". Lacan re-reads Freud by replacing the girl with a boy. Freedman re-reads Lacan that there is complexity in Lacan's ideology arguing that if the 'gaze' as control of language and symbol is unalterably male, and if language itself is phallocentric, then even the sentences or dramas which appear to oppose the hegemony of patriarchy are still inevitably speaking from the ideology of the dominant male culture. In effect then, the displaced 'gaze' becomes the 'disruptive gaze'. By the same token, *Anthills*, which is Achebe's fifth novel and seen as a welcome diversion from his usual anti-femininity (Olaluwoye, 2004, p. 149), is classifiable as a displaced 'gaze' and it becomes questionable if it is a 'disruptive gaze' as well for its improper aspects of anti-masculinity. The world can tell that the sum essence of these positions is that feminism is not only suffering from counter-intuitive steps in its opposition to male patriarchy but is also deeply lost in in-house fighting, and we can now tell that the spirit is giving way to something else. Therefore, for causing division in the camp, this group of exaggerated aggressiveness will not be missed either.

Fortunately, ever since Helene Cixous (1980) stated that woman continually takes place in several places, there has been an emergent third group, nego-feminists, who claim they are fully conscious of the efforts of the other groups that have sadly occasioned in in-house setbacks, and they are bent on restoring sense to the spirit of feminism. This is a step that should be articulated towards policy reform on gender. This is a group that believes, and rightly so, that, at least, sense can be made from both positions. This is a group that believes that feminism can only succeed at the cost of a thorough complementation of the sexes.

Nego-feminism or negotiation-feminism is defined by the theorist herself, "the feminism of negotiation; no ego feminism" (Nnaemeka, 1999, p. 360). The cornerstone of this spirit is that it apparently contains no known injurious critique of a male supremacist system, and yet strongly rejects the domination theme. It recognises a more rewarding equal partnering that breeds acceptable peace in conflict management and resolution. It exploits negotiation, collaboration, complementarity, give-and-take, bargaining, mediation, arbitration, love and understanding between the sexes. In nego-feminism, both sexes respectfully stand shoulder to shoulder, stripped of all kinds of worldly barriers, be they of wealth, geography, class, education or others. All

of these suggest the notion of solidarity, which is highly embedded in building relationships.

Scholarship holds that the knowledge of literature, for example, Achebe's *Anthills*, can reward gender efforts when accurately analysed. Achebe's gender exposition, Erritouni (2006) states, sidesteps political ideologies that are readily loud with the reading of the novel. Thus, Achebe's usual anti-female stance has taken a 'U-turn'. The contradiction is more readily noticeable in his gender expose outside of what critics generally refer to as "usual patriarchal rudeness " against the female sex. Adding to the newness of Achebe's *Anthills*, Olaluwoye recognises what she says is for the very first time in the literary life of Achebe, a new woman (2004, p. 145-9). He "has finally joined the group of writers promoting the image of the female" (p.149). The gender exposition, Jaggi (2000) believes, has "revived his reputation in Britain ". For him, Achebe's *Anthills* is the "most important novel to come out of Africa in the [1980s]".

This enduring image of nego-feminism becomes a hallmark of the people of the world: unity in its diversity. It answers the questions of how the world can retain this culture of unity, how the bonds of brother/sisterhood can be kept intact to fulfil the goals that bring people to respect one another, more particularly between the sexes (Gray, 1992, p. xiv). It has since birth been an unyielding capacity in wielding together varying fragile interests of sexism. Nothing is required except a little, a very little clear thinking in containing sexual injuries such as exercised and vitalised in Jimoh's several linkages to the "importance of stability to the evolution of social institution, especially marriage" (2014, p. 203-204); Joseph's "deeper level of perceptiveness and power (that enables women) to negotiate their lives within any given context" (2014, p. 153); and 'Dunmade's "penis-envy" versus "clitoral-envy" (2013, p. 145-7). Below are some deducible practical ways that nego-feminist novels and communities can successfully revolve around unity as signified by 'Dunmade, Jimoh and Joseph.

1. Understand that human unity is not an option

"We hold these truths self-evident, that all men *and women* are created equal", wrote 68 women and 34 men on July 20, 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, site of the world's first women's rights conference. The world must know that human beings are but a single brotherhood, and so it must endeavour to make peace and reconciliation between two contending sexes so that the world may receive mercy. Also the world needs to hold fast the rope which stretches out for it so as not to be divided, remembering with gratitude the grace of joined hearts in love, who see one another as brothers and sisters who were on the brink of the pit of disrespect for one another, now saved from it. In other words, in their love, kindness and compassion for each other, the sexes are like a human body: when one part of it is hurt, the rest sympathise with it in wakefulness and fever. In fact, it moves beyond sympathy to *commitment* as shown

in the 1998 publicity pamphlet for *The Journal of Women's History*,

> *Feminism is an assertion that women as a group have been historically disadvantaged relative to men of their race, class, ethnicity, or sexual identity; and a commitment to changing the structures that systemically privilege men over women.*

2. Reflect on nego-feminism as a time for unity among the sexes

Nego-feminist novels and the world at large should not only exploit nego-feminism as a time for cooperation and solidarity between the sexes on a personal basis for each person but also automatically stretch within the family and community to remind one another of how life is a unifying factor for the sexes. Nego-feminism particularly holds the family in great esteem for its multiplier effect, since everyone shoots from family, thus, if the family gets it right, the world gets it right as well. In this discourse of unity, family and community discussions are centred on how the spirit of nego-feminism is a beautiful symbol of cooperation. To people who profess religion, they are encouraged to conduct prayer for unity as prayer is the hallmark of livelihood.

3. Learn tolerance towards other points of view

Tolerance in nego-feminist spirit is a hallmark for livelihood among mankind. Ernest Emenyonu's *African Literature Today* as an unparalleled laboratory dedicated its 25th volume in 2006 to new issues at the turn of the century. The volume's theme, 'New Directions in African Literature' exploits, among others, 'New Trends in Female Writings in Africa', one of which is tolerance, a nego-feminist value point. Characteristics of nego-feminist novels which describe tolerance are realisable of the man who turns over a new leaf to sexual tension. If this alternative way of life is not opened up to the protagonist, it is at least accessible to (wo)men readers on the whole. Within this group, texts which thematise the gender question alone as well as texts which additionally illuminate one or several other mechanisms of oppression can be found but not exploited to advantage the radical stretch. Above all, these texts imply that men and patriarchal women are (at least potential) allies in the fight against forms of gender discrimination. Therefore, the need for such alternative revision (of tolerance and other possible types in both men and women) makes it necessary for them to be taken before the teachers of literature who will inculcate these to the readership for fuller opportunities. Thus, this signification agrees completely with the chosen strategy now known as nego-feminism theory and explored in this paper on tolerance. Bringing teachers of literature together for better opportunities of nego-feminism since they are closest to students is a serious advantage. The multiplier effect of teacher/students cannot be over-emphasised, thus, Nego-feminism should be determined to be heard in classrooms and work places for leisure

readings. Bringing writers and their writings together for better opportunities of nego-feminism provides teachers and the reading public with necessary reading materials.

The authors synthesised that as an answer to all sexual challenges, if concerted efforts are not made by feminists, critics and teachers of literature to advocate nego-feminism, the world may continue to be clouded over by visions of disharmony between the sexes. Thus, since it is practicable that people attend classes at college or speak with colleagues from work and discuss issues while being willing to disagree with them, then it is not an impossibility to make them step into the understanding of mutuality where all tolerance rules in spite of our gender differences. In nego-feminism, the sexes exploit tolerance where participants are encouraged to extend views, debate issues and offer different points of view for richer harvest.

4. Learn to criticise without hurting

Ignorant behaviour is a sure way to create anger, hurt and dissension. It is no route towards unity; it is no characteristic of nego-feminism. Both sexes must learn the nego-feminist etiquette of criticism, whether it is towards an individual or leaders. Knowing and implementing this will not only help solve problems in a practical manner, it will also lead to a greater sense of brother and sisterhood in domestic and institutional domains. If one feels that one's criticism of someone in the past was rude or hurtful, it is not impossible to revert through apology.

5. Avoid taking a strong position on smaller points

Knowing priorities helps the world to avoid making secondary issues as factors of division in communities. Both sexes must not only understand this but implement it in their homes and communities so that differences do not affect unity.

6. Reaching out across ethnic, geographic boundaries

The practice of allowing division through ethnocentricism, racism etc. is recognised as injurious to the spirit of oneness as exampled in *Anthills* through the good relationships of Elewa who is of the Yoruba tribe and Nkem Oshodi and Beatrice Nwanyibuife, who are Igbos. All institutions, functions and communities in general would more likely become more ethnically, religiously and geographically aware and open to the needs and concerns of peoples of all backgrounds as the reading public access *Anthills*. Leaders and individual members who advocate nego-feminism have a duty of ensuring that no one feels shut out of the community, ignored or neglected. This can only be done by leaders and individuals taking the first step and reaching out to those who may have been traditionally isolated because of sectionalism. It is not enough to just open the door to all. A direct effort has to be made to solicit feedback, advice and support from all so that they feel part of a unipolar project where the world speaks with one voice.

By implication, then, nego-feminists are enjoined to invite communities of diverse

backgrounds to programmes of nego-feminism, where people are encouraged to heed the advice found in the woman gathering in *Anthills* where the novel ends with women survivors shouldering the responsibilities of men. Achebe makes it quite clear that women too can take control of situations appropriately, if not more effectively. In study circles and classes for young and old, therefore, the world, by reading this novel, is encouraged to avoid mockery, defamation and suspicion. These only serve to divide and create hatred, hurt and dissension. The study circles and classes share these tips with a wider audience not only in the novel industry but also in activism. This has consistently been the message of nego-feminists. This is a group, then, that anyone can hold dialogue with, a group that we can use, along this line, in analysing Achebe's *Anthills*.

Anthills is widely believed to begin a discussion of feminism from chapter six with Beatrice or BB as she is called. BB is one of the three lead characters and witnesses in the book. Using the technique for the first time in his novel-writing experience, Achebe's point of view in the narration is not the usual communal perspective that injects a communal sense in his storyline but a multiple or fragmentary perspective that invites readers to consider more than one or two points of view. In this instance, anyone's understanding of the novel is strongly subjected to constructs of witnesses who speak very freely and who pass the narrative back and forth to one another, seen here among Nkem Oshodi, Chris Oriko and Beatrice Nwanyibuife. This use of the fragmentary point of view is also richly used, for instance, in Conrad's *Nostromo*, Okpewhore's *The Last Duty,* Ngugi's *Petals of Blood* and Armah's *Fragments*.

Anthills briefly retold is louder with political ideologies where, in the imaginary West African military-ruled country, Kangan, Sam is the Head of State. The political situation is seen within the bearing of witness by three friends: Chris Oriko, who is the Commissioner for Information; Beatrice Okoh, who is a staff of the Ministry of Finance and girlfriend of Chris; and Ikem Osodi, who is a newspaper editor critical of the regime. Tensions escalate in the novel, and Ikem is assassinated by the regime, Sam is toppled, and Chris is murdered. The novel ends with the women survivors of the coup as they perform a non-traditional naming ceremony for Elewa and Ikem's one month-old daughter, organised by Beatrice.

Why does Achebe deem it fit to construct one of the fragmentary witnesses, BB, with a female point of view, a seismic shift from his usual woman complacency? The paper shall deconstruct this. But the question is not only on the thesis of this shift but more particularly the potential of a feminist other in the novel. Given feminist rethinking of the female point of view, we come to the question of how feminism, deconstruction and psychoanalytic theories (though different in themselves) have combined in their attempts to figure difference in this novel, between BB, the feminist and Elewa, the feminist other (the side-lined girl). At issue is the problem of the frame and framing

behaviour. Are Achebe and his BB (if you watch them working without imposing any assumptions) subjects of, or insurrectionists against, feminism? Achebe projects BB with the notion of the 'aware' woman who, in our opinion, is deviant, demonstrating that the radical feminist analysis, though widely shared by men and women, is truly, genuinely incomprehensible to the larger humanity who seek to demonstrate the 'live and let live' propulsion. BB treads the path of excesses of feminism discussed earlier which would be radical at any venue — sustaining a tension between the personal and the political that refutes a coherent, unitary concept of identity and recast in a political context.

To go back to our question, why the sudden change from anti-thesis of feminism noticed in Achebe's tetralogy, *Things Fall Apart, Arrow of God, No Longer at Ease* and *A Man of the People* to markers of gender performatives in *Anthills of the Savannah*? It is not difficult to see how Achebe severally has been accosted with his fiction failings on womanhood. Signifiers have earlier been pointed (see, Obiajulu, 2004, p. 276; Olaluwoye, 2004, p. 145); Iyasere 1978, p. 92-110; Ojo-Ade, 1983, p. 158). Observations like these are what make Palmer to pronounce the absence of the female point of view in novels of Achebe's generation (Palmer, 1983, p. 34). Achebe had earlier retorted for the repressive and repressing world which kept attacking him on his tactlessness on womanhood to leave him alone as what he considered to be the "fundamental theme", which in his opinion had priority over feminism at that time, should be addressed first (Achebe, 1964).

But with the emergence of Achebe's *Anthills* in 1987, quite a lot of things against him from the feminist world have been re-written. In his usual literary tweak, Achebe has found voice for women's subjugation. It is like an apology to the world for not having done the right thing. It was a welcome relief to the feminist world to read his new novel. Achebe gives the dialectic of sex, that is, the woman question, a space in his novel. And only a little less than two decades ago, Achebe adds more ably to the cause of womanhood. Achebe (1995, p. 2) called to the phallic world to recognise the spirit of motherhood while extolling the feminist efforts of both Egyptian Alifa Rifaat and Ghanaian Ama Ata Aidoo. It is observed that these female writers have "their stories north and south of the Sahara " woven around how a true and distinctive African mother feels for her daughter during trying times of unwavering patriarchy.

Important for this review is the fact that it was successively taken with the sense of political discussions that the novel is ordinarily loud with , but it is to feminism and importantly, nego-feminism that the paper is most indebted. Doubtless, Achebe's construction of BB as a witness in the text is with the objective of restoring "dignity and self-respect " to the woman (feminism) but Achebe appears to take it to the point where either he or the characters themselves seem

at times to be oblivious of the 'story' that they are supposed to be in. In deconstructing the text, the character, Elewa, has an ontological significance in this thinking. In fact, Catherine Belsey (1991, p. 593) is justified in her conviction that "fiction too plays a part in the process of constructing subjectivity" as Achebe's feminist other, Elewa, has been greatly side-lined in the novel. Achebe has succeeded to present her as such. Firstly, she is not even seen fit as witness in Achebe's fragmentary perspective probably because she is illiterate, yet, she is the focus of this analysis. Thus, in her peculiarly unimportant feature is the full proof for deconstructive techniques, which function to unsteady, if not dismantle such oppositions. To briefly provide further backup, the slip of the tongue, the cough, the careless buttoning have a turning point in deconstructive techniques. It is its major discovery that by incidents like these, a novelist, dramatist, poet or critic can cause the displaced gazer to become conscious of a new revelation outside of an established perception, even though it is not the preoccupation of a literary piece. For deconstruction, therefore, a minor incident becomes the staple point of an imaginative piece in its androgeneity while a seeming major concentration is given less focus by a thinking readership. Achebe's BB and Elewa fit precisely into this; the latter being treated as unlettered and therefore, illiterate among her equals.

In this androgeneity, then, Achebe constructs for his readership BB as his feminist subject, the lead female character in the novel, but she is deconstructed in this paper to lose that privilege to be a seemingly unimportant figure: Elewa, the unlettered, the other. In this framing behaviour too, the search light is on, for example, careless buttoning, unnamed passages, lifeless pages which all surprisingly are not there by chance but by choice; they have a turning point in the novel either by the novelist or critic. In this framing, Elewa was not to put in an appearance until chapter three, and Achebe dismissed her without a word. She was talked about rather in passing by Nkem, her boyfriend. And this may be the principal reason why some people see feminist lines only from chapter six with BB, not our three with Elewa. We want to show how and why, given two women with similar projects, one is demeaning and threatening and the other is feminist and admirable to women first, but ultimately to all human beings.

Elewa is the new subject and the new subject is Elewa. She is not given to excesses of feminism; she would appear to bring more respect to the dignity of the woman. Needless to stress is the fact that over-exaggeration encourages a splintering populism and division does not lead to achievement. The spirit of this third group in the trilogy is that "male patriarchy" is certainly conservative in its assumptions about sexual hierarchy but it should not be taken to the extent of causing hostility among the fraternity of critics. Like Jane Gallop proposes,

> *if the penis is what the men have and women do not; the phallus is the attribute of power which*

> *neither men nor women have. But as long as the attribute of power is a phallus which refers to, and can be confused ... with a penis, this confusion will support a structure in which it seems reasonable that men have power and women do not. And as long as psychoanalysts maintain the separability of "phallus" from "penis", they can hold on to their "phallus" in the belief that their discourse has no relation to sexual inequality, no relation to politics.* (Gallop, 1982, p. 97)

Gallop resolves the conflict here as war on anti-femininity and anti-masculinity finds relief in this proposition. In fact, all swords can be sheathed, should be sheathed. It is along this line that *Anthills* emerges better in restoring the so-much sought after "dignity and self-respect " of Achebe, particularly to the cause of woman with Elewa the side-lined 'illiterate', not BB. Our view of Elewa's role suggests true feminist transformation in that it is not an extreme position, yet it would deny relegation of the woman. It incites harmless argument, giving lines that serve to titillate readers with a display of a concern for gender, a seductive presentation which serves to displace material difference with the display of a feminist line. It engages the reader in a way that is not injuriously political and materially critical.

BB, who is leading a worthwhile cause in the text should know better than anyone else that it is outplaced to reduce the integrity of another woman. Condescendingly, she describes Elewa, who is her boyfriend's friend's girlfriend as "...so young. [a]nd so illiterate" girl (p. 65). In the first place, she is not that young deserving of partnership with Nkem, her socialist boyfriend, and it is not over-simplification to claim that better still, socialists know better the kind of girls to date. It is puzzling to incriminate Elewa as an illiterate, for just how illiterate would she be, even with her unletteredness, to find expression on the vexed issues of the 'second sex', "But woman don chop sand for dis world-o" (p. 34). This terse line in pidgin English is given to be swallowed and digested. Then she goes ahead to hit yet another point in confronting her boyfriend. She observes that in the woman's cause, before one can appropriately blame the male, a thorough homework might show that the blame lies with the woman for taking the first wrong step. Hear the 'illiterate' on the toing and froing of a woman like 'football' to her boyfriend's house,

> *"...But na we de causam; na we own fault. If I no kuku bring my nyash come dump for your bedroom you for de kick me about like I be football? I no blame you. At all."*
>
> *"I don't know what you are talking about.'*
> *"How you go know? You no fit know."* (p. 34)

Illiterate indeed, you might say. But our emphasis is not even on her first observation. It is on the second, the last line, the last sentence, "You no fit know", meaning, 'You can't understand'. It goes to posit, in our opinion, that men cannot understand a woman's disposition well enough because they are simply not women. Spencer's essay on the play, *'night Mother*, stems precisely from the psycho-drama of female identity. She incites pleasurable thinking, for example, in arguing that the female sex sees the play differently from men. She posits that the catharsis felt by men for the sufferings of the woman in the play is not to the degree of women's (Spencer, 1996, p. 364-75) exactly as stressed by Elewa in *Anthills*: "How you go know? You no fit know" (p. 34). This is true in that no one else can experience exactly what another person is experiencing. We can recall the judgment of educational psychologists like Yardley (1979, p. 55-62), and Plum (1981, p. 3-19) on experience in social skills. They argue that social skills are unique in that only the people involved in interpersonal interaction understand the real meaning of that interaction. We can also tell that this argument may be true because of what everyone sees in, for example, a sports commentary or what may be called motor skill operators. Television commentators as we see them frequently ask sports men following a competition, 'What were you trying to do at this point?' or 'What was going through your mind here?' as they watch a video-replay of the action. This is to gain some further insight into the event, *and how it was perceived by the participants*. However, we have not forgotten that while such personal evaluations are important, so too are those of others even if the former take priority.

While the 'illiterate' Elewa is making remarkable observations on the woman's lot, a high-handed literate who occupies herself with envy and disgust, realises her mistake and regrets her superiority on the envy. BB asks herself, "Was it the disappointment of the gambler or the born fighter charted out of the intoxication of contest and chancy victory?" (p. 89). BB is certainly a born fighter on the woman project and for it, the attendant achievements may be limited. In her extremism, she would rave on permissive sex that it is not at the insistence of the woman (p. 68); she would continue to support single motherhood/ husbandlessness (p. 88) even if it offended the received African religions and culture; she would ever regret her father's insistence that she, "Sit like a female" (p. 87) – should she sit carelessly revealing her inner twin jewels? BB's positions, we have explained, may only succeed in strengthening discord between the groups and sexes. It forces men to come to terms with women instead of a discourse that will carry both parties along on balanced collaboration, where, perhaps, there will be no victor nor vanquished as stressed by Virginia Woolf (1929, p. 102), one of the leading world feminists. Woolf discovers and concludes that, in fact, it is incorrect and dangerous for writers to write in defence of their sex. In a ground-breaking confession, she concedes her attack on men,

> *All I can tell you is that I discovered when I came to write that a woman — it sounds so simple, but I should be ashamed to tell you how it took me time to realize this for myself— is not a man. (Woolf, 1929, p. 102 cited in Leaska 1977, p. xxxiii)*

The world, we believe, will be a better place for all of us if we could recant our positions from this tragedy of feminism. It is not difficult to understand that men and women are simply equal and that the noise on the superiority of men may only be in a matter of responsibility to the family. Certainly, the penis that men have and women do not, does not and cannot signify superiority. No book of received African religions, which we pride ourselves on, empowers men because of the penis. No. The sooner men concede this point the better for humanity. The statement of the Holy Qur'an may be added to support a one-world project, the spirit of oneness for humanity,

> *O Mankind, We created you from a single pair of a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things. (*Qur'an 49, verse 13)

It is instructive that the verse starts with gender sensitivity. Men and women are, thus, equal in the sight of their Creator, and the only way one can be better than the other is by being more righteous. It is instructive, then, that people should rather harp on the understanding of the complementarity of the sexes and not assertiveness from any of the sexes. So far, it seems only the UN has the power of implementation over nation states. The UN and its member states undoubtedly have immense coercive power but can coercive power alone impose a code of behaviour between such intimate partners as husband and wife, brother and sister, boyfriend and girlfriend etc.? Quite bluntly, dothe UN and others in the business of empowerment believe that people will abandon their cultural and religious dictates in favour of some resolution from Beijing? The UN may have immense (or coercive) power but it has no heaven or hell to punish or reward people after death. This, in our submission, should be the weapon to use against the sexes. Assertiveness may cause further discord. Complementarity of sexes offers better hope such as demonstrated by Elewa.

Tactlessness and/or a wrongful empowerment culture encourage (hidden) non-co-operation between the sexes. It is caused by the air of 'aware' woman in feminism; it disintegrates into (hidden) hatred between the sexes. If you consider Beatrice with her lover boy, Chris Oriko, Beatrice subjects the night to non-tolerance of bodily sex between them. The night was thus tied to that conditional understanding

between the lovers. Happily, as she is about to dictate her conditions, the Commissioner quickly understands his powerful-feminist girlfriend,

> *"...Don't tell me, I know."*
>
> *"What is it?"*
>
> *"That I don't make love to you."* (p. 68)

Their discussion notes with Oriko trailing after her that in feminism, any demand for physical love by man constitutes rape and as such, permissible sex between lovers must always be at the signal of the woman. The menfolk should then be ready to face rape charges for the offence, the radical feminist seems to assert. But it can be noted that the subject for the demand for physical love coming at the invitation of the woman only will succeed in generating tensions between the personal and the political that refutes a coherent, unitary conception of identity and recasts it in a political context. This should be avoided.

The same notion of 'aware' woman guides BB on marriage issues, among which is single motherhood or what is better termed as husbandlessness in Africa. In Africa and everywhere else it always remains a controversial matter. Critics assert that the spirit of single motherhood/husbandlessness spells distinct social and economic disaster for womanhood as it has offensive morality which insults even ordinary common sense, much less religion and scholarship (see Alkali, 2010b). Conversely, *Anthills* appears to be championing this brand of feminism as Achebe can be appropriated as such,

> *...you hear all kinds of nonsense talk from girls:* Better to marry a rascal than grow moustache in your father's compound; better an unhappy marriage than an unhappy spinsterhood; better marry Mr. Wrong in this world than wait for Mr. Right in heaven; all marriage is how–for–do; all men are the same, and a whole of other foolishnesses like that. (p. 88) (Italics added)

BB would prefer to stay single than marry. Achebe may have suggested single motherhood/husbandlessness in these lines. He may have acted as such in response to the world's call to him to reconsider the tendency in his writing towards gender injustice. While not doing anything for women earlier in his tetralogy, Achebe would appear to have now overdone the woman project in *Anthills*. Perhaps, then, this is another reason why only about two decades ago, Achebe more ably exploited feminist aspects. They (Achebe and Innes as editors) called on the phallic world to recognise the spirit of motherhood as a concept. Extolling the feminist efforts of both Alifa Rifaat of Egypt and Ama Ata Aidoo of Ghana, they observed that these female writers have "their stories north and south of the Sahara " woven around how a true and distinctive African mother feels for her daughter during trying times of unwavering patriarchy (Achebe &

Innes, 1995, p. 2). This welcome diversion contradicts the workings of his tetralogy, particularly, in his *Things Fall Apart.*

CONCLUSION

This essay manages to be both cautious and inspiring on the need to get the sexes wholly organised, an approach accurate to the culture it describes but also exemplary for all of us writing about gender. It incites woman projects to re-examine their own motives and restraints since the economy that nego-feminism drives is remarkable; it cannot fail, in seizing the occasion to speak, to transform directly and indirectly all systems of sexual exchange based on masculine thrift. Reaction to this thrift is traced to its historical and legal network through a trilogy: an evolution firstly from subjugation to opposition and to lively partnership. Thus, subjugation paid its price for the emergence of oppositional feminism forcefully brought in through Achebe's tetralogy, now countered by his *Anthills*, which Ehling (1991, p. 1) states is the "most important novel to come out of Africa in the [1980s]" but which, it is believed, in treating Elewa as the 'other' in the text has engendered mediatory peace lovers through the theory of nego-feminism. This 'other' gives nego-feminist readers the ability to re-read Achebe's attempted concern for gender. It is an example of the intersection of what is said in public and proved and what is said in private and believed. As such, if womanhood must make headway in the 21st century, the feminist world needs to explore the privacy of its belief through the nego-feminist spirit.

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Ownership Structure and Auditor's Ethnicity of Malaysian Public Listed Companies

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the relationship between the ownership structure of Malaysian public-listed companies and the choice of auditor based on ethnicity. In addition, the study compares results for the years 2006, 2007 and 2008. The years were chosen as the Malaysian Code of Corporate Governance (MCCG) was revised in 2007. This enabled comparison to be made in the pre, during and post revision periods of the Malaysian Code of Corporate Governance. The data were derived from a sample size of 300 companies listed on Bursa Malaysia for three years i.e. 2006, 2007 and 2008. As such, it is possible to observe any impacts of the changes in the revised MCCG on ownership structure and auditor's ethnicity. Multinomial logistic regression was employed to analyse the relationship as the data levels support its use. It is found that in general MCCG 2007 influences the selection of auditor's ethnicity by companies. Future research is recommended to study the reasons and rationale of this result by employing other research strategies such as qualitative techniques and increasing the sample size to get more generalisable findings.

Keywords: Corporate governance, ethnicity, audit, Malaysian Code of Corporate Governance, Malaysia

INTRODUCTION

Even though a lot of research has been done in the area of corporate governance, not much research has been conducted on the Malaysian market especially focusing on dissecting the Malaysian corporate governance mechanism and its effects on the choice of auditor's ethnicity. The environment of the Malaysian market is

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somewhat 'unique' as the economic segment is divided along ethnic lines (Jesudason, 1989) and the fact that a substantial number of public listed companies are owned or controlled by families.

Many studies have suggested that cultural differences including ethnicity influence business and management practices e.g. Biggs *et al*. (2002) in Kenya, Davie (2005) in Fiji and Efferin and Hopper (2007) in Indonesia. In Malaysia, a similar phenomenon is discovered, such as by Haniffa and Cooke (2002) on voluntary disclosure, Iskandar and Pourjalali (2000) and Muniandy and Ali (2012) on accounting practice development, Gul (2003) on audit fees, Hashim (2002) on financial reporting quality and Yunos *et al*. (2012) on accounting conservatism.

The existence of multiracial communities in Malaysia further stimulates such an environment. There are three major ethnic groups in Malaysia viz. the Bumiputeras, Chinese and Indians. The Bumiputeras make up 62% of the total population, followed by the Chinese (22%) and the Indians (12%). The Bumiputeras comprise 50% Malays and other indigenous groups especially from Sabah and Sarawak, who make up the remaining 12% (Malaysian Department of Statistics, 2011). The two races that are most dominant are the Malays, who dominate politics and the Chinese, who dominate the economy.

The word 'Bumiputera' means 'sons of the soil'. In Peninsular Malaysia, the terms Malays and Bumiputeras are often used interchangeably because there, the majority of the Bumiputeras are Malays. However, the notion of Bumiputera is also applicable to other indigenous ethnic groups especially from Sabah and Sarawak (Siddique & Suryadinata, 1981). Various previous studies such as Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), Yatim *et al*. (2006) and Johl *et al*. (2012) used the term Bumiputera instead of Malays. Nazri *et al*. (2012) and Haniffa and Cooke (2002) used the term Malay but they also referred to this term as Bumiputera. This study, however, only focused on the Malays and not other smaller indigenous groups. Future studies may want to explore the matter further.

These racial and cultural factors may influence the characteristics of a firm's corporate governance. Hofstede (1980) for example suggests that different cultures may lead to different specific behaviour, decision making and hence, ways of doing business. Therefore, it is interesting to study whether this proposition is also applicable to auditor selection in Malaysia. Due to the dearth of literature on the influence of ownership and culture on auditor selection, this study provides some insights to better understand the behaviour of business players in a complex multiracial society like Malaysia. The foundation of this study is anchored by the study of Lin and Liu (2009), who conducted research on auditor choice using China market data as well as the research done by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), which focused on the relationship between ethnicity ownership and auditor ethnicity of Malaysian listed companies.

Based on past studies in the Malaysian market such as that of Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), ethnicity is one of the key variables used in analysing a firm's selection of an auditor. The ethnicity factor is peculiar to the Malaysian market since business success relies heavily on business network. Studies on the Malaysian market in this area are very limited, but Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006) found that there is evidence of high preference based on ethnicity in the process of auditor selection in Malaysia. Mutual undertsanding based on shared values including cultural and language similarities are among the key arguments for ethnic-based auditor selection. Studies done in different regions and geographical areas on the selection of auditors based on ethnicity may not identify ethnicity among the key determinants as the ethnicity issue is exclusive only to highly plural countries including Malaysia with highly distinguishable and less assimilated multiracial communities in significant proportions. The domination of key decision makers and ownership by certain ethnic groups may lead to the different monitoring styles of companies (Yatim *et al*., 2006)

Thus, the broad objective of this study is generally to investigate the relationship between the corporate ownership structure of companies and auditor's ethnicity in Malaysia. Specifically, this study intends to examine the relationship between ownership concentration, firms' ownership dominance, politically-connected firms and family-controlled firms and the choice of auditors based on ethnicity.

Differentiated from other studies such as the one conducted by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), this study examines the relationship before and after the revision to the Malaysian Code of Corporate Governance (MCCG) in 2007. In other words, this study considers the effects of the revision to the MCCG 2007 on auditor selection by companies. Furthermore, the study conducted by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006) used rather outdated data i.e. 1993-1995. These were data prior to the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and the implementation of the first MCCG in 2000. The financial crisis in 1997 taught many companies the importance of conducting business based on good corporate governance practices. Due to limited studies on the relationship between ownership structure and auditor's ethnicity by other researchers, we want to revisit and further explore this area of study. Besides, findings by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006) may no longer hold true with the application of corporate governance in 2000 and its revised version in 2007 by public listed companies.

This study was thus conducted to advance knowledge in corporate governance on a firm's preferences towards the auditor's ethnicity. Corporate governance in Malaysia can be considered rather unique as the foundation of many Malaysian companies is built based on ethnicity and family-orientation, which is very rare in other parts of the world. Research regarding auditor's ethnicity in Malaysia are very limited. Besides, much of the research in this area is not up-to-date and this study intends to fill the void.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

Prior studies show that appropriate company ownership structure may lead to good corporate governance. Generally, ownership structure can be divided into two main categories, namely, concentrated ownership and dispersed ownership. A company is considered to have concentrated ownership if the majority of shares are in the hands of a single or a few people, who in turn control the company. On the other hand, dispersed ownership or widespread shareholding arises when none of the shareholders has clear control of the company. These shareholders, however, can still control the company but this is complicated and difficult as anyone of them who seeks to do so needs to form alliances based on mutual interest (Sheilfer & Vishny, 1997).

Based on the Agency Theory, concentrated ownership will reduce the occurrence of the Type I problem as the owner does not have much problem monitoring the managers of the firm, and this leads to fewer conflicts. However, at the same time, the Type II problem may be increased as the majority of the shareholders are in a good position to divert the wealth of the firm from the minority shareholders.

Due to this, arguably, corporate governance cannot function effectively if ownership is highly concentrated (Allen, 2000; Globerman *et al*., 2011) especially when the legal system to protect shareholders is poor. Although this model is able to reduce agency cost (Roe, 2003) and overcome weak shareholder protection (La Porta *et al.*, 1998) it can result in conflict between minority-majority shareholders (Chen *et al*., 2011), abuse of power (Chin *et al*., 2006; Solomon, 2010; Korczak & Korczak, 2009), concealment of material financial information (Bhasa 2004; Klassen, 1997; Kothari *et al*., 2009), expropriation of company wealth (Fan & Wong, 2002; Singam, 2003; Eriotis *et al*., 2007; La Fond & Watts, 2008; Young *et al*., 2008; Shuto & Takada, 2010), lowering of company performance (Schiehll, 2006) and reduced commitment to corporate responsibility (Ghazali, 2007). Many Asian firms including those in Malaysia operate using this type of shareholding model (Thillainathan, 1999), which is one of the contributing factors to the Asian financial crisis of 1997 (Tam & Tan, 2007). As a consequence, other monitoring mechanisms such as the hiring of external auditors are required to strengthen the governance of these companies.

Previous researchers have found that hiring good quality auditors is crucial to protecting the interest of stakeholders by enhancing reliability and adding value to the usefulness of corporate financial statement. The collapse of Arthur Andersen is a stern warning for business people on how compromised quality and integrity among auditors will shake financial stability around the world (Broberg, 2013). The stream of research that has followed have focused on factors that influence the decision of companies to select a higher level of audit (Knechel *et al*., 2013) such as to get higher assurance (Karim & Van-Zijl, 2013), to secure foreign ownership (Wang *et al*.,

2008; Guedhami *et al*., 2009), to cope with complexity and financial reporting uncertainty (Karim & Zijl, 2013), to deal with technical competency and industry specialisation (Hakim & Omri, 2010), to improve corporate governance (Piot, 2005) and to manage higher risk (Copley & Doutheet, 2002).

However, another possible reason for auditor selection that is less researched is on the selection of auditors based on ethnicity. This is important as when a company selects an auditor based on race but not quality, it may impair the independence of the auditor. The auditor also may not be competent and capable enough to give opinions about the company. Furthermore, the selection of an auditor based on other than quality may signal to outsiders that the owner of the company could be driven by other incentives by choosing a sub-standard governance mechanism that may result in adverse effects to others but not themselves. Studies show that auditors' quality judgment can be adversely affected by incentives such as potential loss of clients (Blay, 2005), intention to retain clients (Chang & Hwang, 2003), economic benefits gained (Beeler & Haounton, 2002) and client engagement pressures (Kadaous *et al*., 2003).

The practice of nepotism and cronyism is not only confined to selecting an auditor by a company but also to other business transactions. Performing business transactions based on favouritism and not competency often leads to higher inherent risk and greater agency problems (Johnson & Mitton, 2003; Gomez & Jomo, 1999).

The policy of positive discrimination in Malaysia started when the government initiated the New Economic Policy in 1970 with the objective of helping the Bumiputeras gain an equal level of social and economic status as their Chinese counterparts. This policy is often perceived rightly or wrongly as anti-Chinese and anti-foreigners when Bumiputeras were given preferential treatment in almost all aspects such as access to education, financing, employment and equity ownership of productive sources. The Chinese community, however, strengthened its grip on economic dominance by being more inward-looking, community orientated, less accepting of trust in others and more prejudiced. The Chinese even communicate in their own dialect when conducting business (Stoever, 1985).

This was evidenced by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006). They found that cultural and language similarities as well as the role of the Chinese networks that provided capital and market information to their members had basically influenced the selection of auditors among the Chinese-controlled firms. On the other hand, for the same reason, the Bumiputeras, especially the Malay entrepreneurs were also encouraged by the government to give priority to their fellow ethnic members in business dealings. Based on such arguments, ownership dominance by an ethnic group in an organisation may dictate the preference of an auditor of the same ethnicity.

The largest block shareholder technically has more power to influence the decision of

a company, including selecting an auditor. The largest block shareholder is represented by a single individual with the largest shareholding in the firm as a percentage of the total share (Lin & Liu, 2009) Based on this, it is posited that the ethnicity of the largest block shareholder can influence the selection of similar ethnicity of the auditor.

***Hypothesis 1**: Ceteris paribus, there is a relationship between largest block shareholder and auditor's ethnicity*

Whenever an entity is controlled by a group of people with the same background such as via business alliance, their voice may be heard louder. Using a similar argument with the previous hypothesis, it is posited that ownership dominance by an ethnic group may influence the selection of the auditor of the same ethnicity, but with a few dominant shareholders forming a pact, the power base may become stronger. As compared to the argument of hypotheses 1 that identifies only one (1) or a single shareholder, ownership dominance in this context is determined through the combination of a few of the largest shareholders with the same ethnic origin, specifically identified by a combination of more than 5% shareholding and the top 30 major shareholdings. The following hypothesis is thus derived:

***Hypothesis 2**: Ceteris paribus, there is a relationship between ownership dominance and auditor's ethnicity*

Bumiputeras, especially the Malays, are the main players in the political power structure of Malaysia. As Government-Linked Companies (GLCs) are exclusively controlled by the government through the ownership of the Government-Linked Investment Companies (GLICs), politically-connected firms are also largely associated with Malay individuals who reside within them. As a corollary to that, it is argued that generally there is an existence of a relationship between politically-connected firms with the ethnic selection of auditors. Specifically, it is posited that there is a relationship between politically-connected firms with the selection of Malay auditors. Johl *et al*. (2012) found that Bumiputera (or Malay) managers tended to be more politically connected with a prevalence for selecting Bumiputera (or Malay) auditors. These managers were exhorted to lend support to their fellow ethnic Bumiputeras (or Malays) not only in business dealings but also in auditing in order to increase Bumiputera (or Malay) auditors' market share that had long been dominated by non-Bumiputera (or non-Malay) firms (Nazri *et al*., 2012).

Besides this, Saleh *et al*. (2006), based on the theoretical framework by Hofstede (1980) and Gray (1988) and a study by Haniffa and Cooke (2002), noted that the Malays were less professional regarding accounting value and exhibited low compliance with legal requirements of accounting practices. In China, Wang *et al*. (2008) found that companies owned by the state and federal governments were less

likely to hire big auditors (proxy for higher audit quality). As the GLCs enjoy assistance from the government such as pre-determined market share, capital injection and bailout in cases of financial distress, there was no incentive for the government-owned enterprises in China to signal positively to outside potential investors by hiring better quality auditors. Wang *et al*. (2008) also forwarded a collusion argument whereby the government exerted influence on the auditors. Furthermore, GLCs may hire non-quality auditors to gain private benefits (Sheilfer, 1998) and pursue social and political agenda (Lin *et al*., 2003).

Thus the following hypothesis is derived:

> ***Hypothesis 3:*** *Ceteris paribus, there is a relationship between politically-connected firms and auditor's ethnicity*

The Chinese in Malaysia are more involved in business and economic activities relative to the other ethnicities. Due to that, it is assumed that there is a strong connection between family-controlled firms and Chinese ownership dominance in Malaysia.

Perkin (2000), Backman (2001) and Ashtrom *et al*. (2010) posited that Confucian traditions such as the importance of family, the primacy of relationship and loyalty influence the way the Chinese community conducts business and establishes their corporate empire. Family ties are important in constructing the internal organisation while inter-firm transactions are bound by affiliations with dialect groups and clan relationships (Wang, 1996).

In addition, with the relatively high involvement and participation of Malaysian Chinese in the professional accountancy bodies, their involvement in the audit industry too is regarded as high. With shared values in terms of language and culture, family-controlled firms may be more inclined to select their fellow Chinese as their auditors. Yatim *et al*. (2006) found that the ownership and control of Chinese companies are in the hands of the family members and due to this, the family members also like to select personnel of key positions such as the CEO and board chair from among themselves.

Other findings also show that there is an incentive for family-controlled companies to hire auditors not based on their quality reputation. Steijvers (2010) posited that family-controlled firms are vulnerable to agency problems such as the extraction of wealth for private benefits and lack of transparency. In order to mask these shortcomings, these firms are prone to hiring low quality auditors to protect family interests (Niskanen *et al*., 2011). Cheung *et al*. (2006) and Lei and Song (2011) found that companies in Hong Kong have a tendency of funnelling and expropriating wealth away from minority shareholders. According to Darmadi (2012), family-controlled firms listed on the Indonesian stock market generally do not choose higher quality auditors to sustain opaqueness in gain. Other researchers also came out with

similar findings, for example, Dey *et al*. (2011) in the US, Francis *et al.* (2009) in France, Niskanen *et al*. (2011) in Finland and El-Ghoul *et al*. (2007) in Western Europe.

Based on the above arguments, the following hypothesis is derived:

> ***Hypothesis 4****: Ceteris paribus, there is a positive relationship between family-controlled firms and the selection of a Chinese auditor*

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The hypotheses relating to auditor's ethnicity will be tested on a simplified model based on the work of Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006). The new modified model is as follows:

$$y_{it} = \beta 0 + \beta 1 x1_{it} + \beta 2 x2_{it} + \beta 3 x3_{it} + \beta 4 x4_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where

y_{it} = auditor ethnicity for firm i in year t

$x1_{it}$ = block shareholder for firm i in year t

$x2_{it}$ = ownership dominance for firm i in year t

$x3_{it}$ = political influence for firm i in year t

$x4_{it}$ = family controlled for firm i in year t

ε_t = error term

The dependent variable is auditor's ethnicity while the independent variables are block shareholder, ownership dominance, political influence and family-controlled.

MEASUREMENTS

Auditor's ethnicity

Consistent with the findings of Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), auditor's ethnicity was determined by looking at the name of the engagement partner of the Certified Public Accountant firm. The name of the engagement partner is usually stated at the bottom of the 'signing page' of the audited report, specifically, at the bottom of the 'report of the auditors'. A Chinese name will be taken to indicate Chinese ethnicity while a Malay name will be assumed to indicate a person of Malay ethnicity. If the auditor's name is neither Malay nor Chinese, it will be classified as other ethnicities. Although this method of racial identification is not always foolproof, it is to a very large extent reasonably accurate. In fact, this method is in consonance with the method used by Yatim *et al*. (2006) in determining the ethnicities of the directors in their study.

Block shareholder

As proposed by Lin and Liu (2009), block shareholder is the largest owner's shareholding as a percentage of the total shares. This type of information is available in the substantial shareholders' report within the corporate annual report. A substantial shareholders' report is usually available within the shareholding analysis section. Block shareholder is distinguished from ownership dominance in that block shareholder is only represented by one entity in percentage value but ownership dominance is identified through collective ownership based on ethnicity.

Ownership dominance

Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006) proposed that ethnic ownership of a firm be identified by the ethnicity of the majority substantial shareholders. A substantial shareholder is defined as having 5% or more of the firm's shareholding. Section 69 of the Company Act 1965 specifically requires the disclosure of substantial shareholder's information in the report. Alternatively, rather than identifying ethnicity dominance by 'law', a more thorough analysis is proposed to ensure a more accurate result. This study not only utilises 5% of the substantial shareholding listed to identify ethnicity dominance, but also uses a list of the top 30 major shareholders which is usually available in the annual report. The amount of shareholding based on ethnicity was added up and compared to each other to identify the most dominant ethnic group.

Politically-connected firms

This study has identified three types of political connection: strong, weak or no connection. Politically-connected firms in Malaysia are identified if one or more of the following conditions prevail:

a.) whenever it is a Government-Linked Companies (GLCs); or

b.) when the key personnel of the firms have a direct or indirect family relationship with any political figure; or

c.) whenever at least one Government-Linked Investment Company (GLIC) has more than 5% of the company's shareholding

The Putrajaya Committee on GLC High Performance (PCG) has defined GLCs as companies that have a primarily commercial objective and in which the Malaysian Government has a direct controlling stake. Controlling stake refers to the Government's ability (not just percentage ownership) to appoint senior management including board members and to make major decisions (e.g. contract awards, strategy, restructuring and financing, acquisitions and divestments etc.). A GLC can either be controlled directly by other GLCs or through GLICs including companies where the GLCs themselves have a controlling stake i.e. subsidiaries and affiliates of GLCs.

Both (a) and (b) are identified as having a strong political connection and (c) as having a weak political connection. In this study, actual politically-connected firms were identified by referring to the same list used by Wahab *et al*. (2009) which was derived from the research done by Johnson and Mitton (2003). The list of GLCs from 2006-2008 was obtained from the PCG's website. Since the focus was on the listed companies on Bursa Malaysia's main market, non-listed firms stated by Johnson and Mitton (2003) were filtered out from the test. As the list by Johnson and Mitton (2003) was prepared for the periods 1999 to 2003, this study had taken a step further by re-examining the key personnel attributable to political connection and identifying whether the companies concerned could still be rightly considered as being npolitically-connected for the periods 2006-2008.

Family-controlled firms

This study identified family-controlled firms by using the same method proposed by Ibrahim and Samad (2011). Family-controlled firms were identified based on two characteristics. First, there must be the existense of family members on the board and second, family members must hold at least 20% of the equity stake as the cut-off benchmark. Even though Ibrahim and Samad (2011) allow for family-controlled firms to be identified whenever there is the existence of any of the two characteristics, this study maintains that both characteristics must exist together for more accurate results. The information relating to family-controlled characteristics is usually available at the corporate information section as well as within the shareholding analysis section of the corporate annual report.

SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION

Most of the financial data were collected from the financial database of DataStream and Thomson One Banker. This applies to all public listed companies on Bursa Malaysia excluding banks and other related financial institutions for the periods 2006 to 2008. In order to extract other data that were not available on both databases, content analysis of individual companies' annual reports or their official corporate websites was carried out.

The year 2007 was chosen as the cut-off year as 2007 was the year in which the Malaysian Corporate Governance Code was revised by the Malaysian Securities Commission. The year 2006 was, therefore, considered as a pre-MCCG 2007 year while the year 2008 was considered as a post-MCCG 2007 year. By doing so, it is possible to see and assess the key changes in the determinants of the dependent variable during the pre, transition and post revision periods of the MCCG 2007.

The population of this study included all the companies listed on Bursa Malaysia's main market and second market from 2006 to 2008. Since this study employed a convenient sampling based on industries, the companies were selected without prejudice regardless of their financial year ends. However, the sampling excluded banks and financial institutions as these companies are governed by separate legislation. The final samples consisted of 900 firm years (300 firms for each year from 2006 to 2008).

FINDINGS

The percentages of the companies by ownership dominance are as per Table 1. The table shows that Chinese ownership dominance represents more than half of the samples (62% in 2006, 61% in 2007 and 62% in 2008).

CORRELATION RESULTS

The coefficient of correlation was determined through Pearson's correlation matrix. Table 2 depicts the correlation coefficient matrix of the dependent and independent variables. The auditor's ethnicity is significantly correlated with percentage of block shareholder, $r= 0.07$, $p<.05$; Chinese dominance, $r= -0.24$, $p<.01$; institutional dominance, $r=0.21$, $p<.01$;

strong political connection, r= 0.17, p<.01; and family-controlled firms, r= -0.19, p<.01. In addition, there is no indicator suggesting any multicollinearity problem on the explanatory variables.

REGRESSION RESULTS

Multinomial logistic regression was employed to analyse auditor's ethnicity in this study. Table 3 reports the regression results in relation to auditor's ethnicity. The model in general consists of four independent variables. The first variable is percentage of block shareholder (*x1*). The second variable is ownership dominance (*x2*), which comprises three sub-variables: Chinese dominance (*x2a*), Malay dominance (*x2b*) and institutional dominance (*x2c*). The third variable is political connection (*x3*), represented by strong political connection (*x3a*) and weak political connection (*x3b*). The last variable is family-controlled firms (*x4*). *x*4 is a dummy variable where 1 denotes 'yes' and 0 denotes 'no'.

The dependent variable is auditor's ethnicity (*Y*), which is coded to represent the auditor as Chinese, Malay or other ethnicity. In this case, 'other ethnicity' is defined as the baseline group.

TABLE 1
Company Ownership by Dominance

	2006	2007	2008
Chinese	62%	61%	62%
Institutional	28%	28%	27%
Malay	6%	7%	7%
Other ethnicities	4%	4%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 2
Correlation Coefficient Matrix of Dependent and Independent Variables (2006-2008)

	y	x1	x2a	x2b	x2c	x3a	x3b	x4
y	1.00							
x1	0.07**	1.00						
x2a	-0.24***	-0.12***	1.00					
x2b	0.04	0.03	-0.34***	1.00				
x2c	0.21***	0.15***	-0.79***	-0.17***	1.00			
x3a	0.17***	0.16***	-0.23***	-0.02	0.27***	1.00		
x3b	-0.01	0.13***	-0.14***	-0.06*	0.19***	-0.14***	1.00	
x4	-0.19***	0.07**	0.49***	0.06*	-0.55***	-0.23***	0.01	1.00

The variables are defined as: Y=Auditor ethnicity; X1=Percentage of block shareholder; X2a=Chinese dominance; X2b=Malay dominance; X2c=Institutional dominance; X3a= Strong political connection; X3b=Weak political connection; X4=Family-controlled firm

* Significant at the 10% level
** Significant at the 5% level
*** Significant at the 1% level

TABLE 3
Multinomial Logistics Regression Results

				95% CI for Odds Ratio			Pseudo R2		
Auditor ethnicity (Y)		**Prediction**	**B (SE)**	**Lower**	**Exp (B)**	**Upper**	**Cox & Snell**	**Nagelkerke**	**Model Chi Square**
2006 (Pre-MCCG 2007)							0.18	0.24	58.66 P<0.001
Chinese	Intercept		2.11 (0.78)***						
	x1	?	0.31 (1.39)	0.09	1.36	20.70			
	x2a-0	?	-0.73 (0.43)	0.21	0.48	1.12			
	x3a=0	?	0.37 (0.60)	0.45	1.45	4.69			
Malay	Intercept		-1.48 (1.00)						
	x1	?	4.16 (1.71)**	2.25	63.90	1816.69			
	x2a=0	?	1.34 (0.60)**	1.18	3.80	12.22			
	x3a=0	?	-0.80 (0.67)	0.12	0.45	1.67			
2007 (Transition to MCCG 2007)							0.13	0.18	42.24 p<001
Chinese	Intercept		2.76 (0.80)***						
	x2a=0	?	-0.70 (0.46)	0.20	0.50	0.23			
	x3a=0	?	-0.08 (0.79)	0.20	0.92	4.29			
Malay	Intercept		1.46 (0.85)*						
	x2a=0	?	0.90 (0.56)	0.82	2.46	7.40			
	x3a=0	?	-1.58 (0.81)*	0.04	0.21	1.01			
2008 (Post MCCG 2007)							0.11	0.16	36.21 p<001
Chinese	Intercept		2.36 (0.65)***						
	x2a=0	?	-0.98 (0.47)**	0.15	0.38	0.94			
	x3a=0	?	0.61 (0.61)	0.55	1.83	6.12			
Malay	Intercept		0.85 (0.74)						
	x2a=0	?	0.50 (0.59)	0.52	1.64	5.23			
	x3a=0	?	-0.89 (0.67)	0.11	0.41	1.52			

The variables are defined as Y=Auditor ethnicity; X1=Percentage of block shareholder; X2a=Chinese dominance; X3a=Strong political connection

*Significant at the 10% level
** Significant at the 5% level
*** Significant at the 1% level

The logistic regression results of the study are reported in Table 3, in which the hypotheses regarding selection of auditor based on ethnicity were tested. The pseudo R^2 (based on Nagelkerke) in this study is R^2=0.24 in 2006, R^2=0.18 in 2007 and R^2=0.16 in 2008. The pseudo R^2 values in this study are consistent with a past study in Malaysia by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006). However, the interpretation of the pseudo R^2 measures should be made with extra caution. According to Field (2009), reasonably similar values of both Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke for R^2 (which are found in this study) represent a relatively decent-sized effect. In terms of the model's goodness-of-fit measure, the model is a good fit for all the years observed. For all three years, both Pearson and deviance statistics measure at p>.05. In other words, the predicted values are not significantly different from the observed values, indicating the model is a good fit.

This study applied the stepwise method in the regression model. Specifically, this study chose the backward elimination method. Due to the initial issue of the unfit model based on Pearson and deviance statistics, the stepwise method was chosen and it helped solve the problem. The backward elimination method was chosen over a typical forward entry method so that the 'suppressor effect' could be taken into consideration. The 'suppressor effect' occurs whenever "a variable has a significant effect but only when another variable is held constant" (Field, 2009, p. 272). Forward method is more likely to exclude a 'suppressor effect' rather than a backward method. Furthermore, Field (2009) does not recommend the forward method as he argues that there is a higher risk to commit Type II error whenever applying the forward method while executing the stepwise procedure. For the purpose of hypotheses testing, only significant levels of 1% and 5% were regarded as significant.

Based on Table 3, the percentage of block shareholder (*x1*) is significant to the model formulation only in 2006. In the first half of 2006, the percentage of block shareholder does not significantly predict the choice of Chinese auditors, b=0.31, Wald χ^2 (1)=0.049, p>.05. The latter half of 2006, meanwhile. indicates that the percentage of block shareholder significantly predicts the selection of Malay auditors, b=4.16, Wald χ^2 (1)=5.93, p<.05. The odds ratio indicates that the change in the odds of choosing a Malay auditor (rather than choosing other ethnic auditors) is 63.90. In short, there is more likelihood of choosing a Malay auditor than not choosing one if the percentage of block shareholder moves in a positive direction. Thus, H1 is supported only for 2006.

Ownership dominance consists of three types of dominance: Chinese, Malay and institutional. Table 3 confirms that Chinese ownership dominance variable (*x2a*) is significant to the model formulation in all the years from 2006 to 2008. As shown in Table 3, in the year 2006, the Chinese ownership dominance does not significantly predict the choice of a Chinese auditor, b=-0.73, Wald χ^2(1)=2.89, p>.05. However,

other ownership dominance significantly predicts the selection of a Malay auditor, b=1.34, Wald χ^2 (1)=5.03, p<.05. The odds ratio indicates that the change in the odds of choosing a Malay auditor (rather than choosing other ethnicities) is 3.80. Thus, H2 is supported for 2006.

As for 2007, *x2a* does not show a significant sign at both the individual parameters (Chinese and Malay auditors). Chinese ownership dominance does not significantly predict the choice of a Chinese auditor, b=-0.70, Wald $\chi^2(1)$=2.30, p>.05. Similarly, other ownership dominance does not significantly predict the choice of a Malay auditor, b=0.90, Wald $\chi^2(1)$=2.56, p>.05. Thus H2 is rejected for 2007.

Finally for 2008, Table 3 indicates that Chinese ownership dominance does significantly predict the choice of a Chinese auditor, b=-0.98, Wald $\chi^2(1)$=4.34, p<.05. The odds ratio indicates that the change in the odds of choosing a Chinese auditor (rather than choosing other ethnicities) is 0.38. In other words, the odds of Chinese ownership dominance to choose a Chinese auditor compared to the other ethnicities are 1/0.38=2.63 times more than the other ownership dominance. Thus, H2 is supported for 2008.

Variables relating to political connection are divided into strong political connection (*x3a*) and weak political connection (*x3b*). In Table 3, only the strong political connection variable is included to the model formulation from 2006 to 2008. However, this variable does not significantly predict the choice of auditor's ethnicity in all three years with p>.05. Thus, H3 is not supported.

The family-controlled firm variable (*x4*) however, is not significant in the model formulation and was excluded from the model during the backward elimination process. *x4* is not significant individually and is also not significant whenever another variable is held constant. Because of this, H4 is not supported. The results of all the hypotheses are summarised in Table 4 below.

DISCUSSION

Auditor's Ethnicity in 2006 (Prior to MCCG 2007)

Even though the results of the study in relation to auditor's ethnicity are somewhat vague, this study still found evidence that ownership dominance has a significant relationship with auditor's ethnicity.

TABLE 4
Summary of Results of Hypotheses Tested

Hypothesis	2006 (Pre-MCCG 2007)	2007 (Transition to MCCG 2007)	2008 (Post MCCG 2007)
H1	Supported	Not supported	Not supported
H2	Supported	Not supported	Supported
H3	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported
H4	Not supported	Not supported	Not supported

Furthermore, the largest block shareholder is also identified as having a similar relationship. Another finding of this study is that strong political connection has an influence on other variables in the selection of auditors based on ethnicity. This can be seen in the logistic regression results where strong political connection is included in the model estimation for each year. The backward elimination method took into consideration the 'suppressor effect', which included influential variables in the model estimation.

Before the revision on the MCCG in 2007, the largest block shareholder was identified as having a positive relationship with the Malay auditor. This might have happened whenever the largest block shareholder had a strong political connection. Political connection is close relationship with the government of any kind. During the observed periods from 2006 to 2008 (and even until today), the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), which is controlled by the Malays, is the most dominant political party among the government's coalition pact, known as 'Barisan Nasional', that has governed Malaysia since independence. Thus, companies with their largest shareholder having a strong political connection generally employ a Malay auditor as well.

For example, GLCs that belong to the government (as the largest shareholder) such as Petronas and Proton tend to employ the big four audit firms but under the supervision of Malay audit partners. This is actually in tandem with the view of Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006) who reported that whenever possible, Bumiputeras (or Malays) were called upon to prioritise their fellow Bumiputeras (or Malays) in business dealings including auditor selection. This study suggests that with the absence of the influence of political connection on the largest block shareholder, there is no difference in the choice of auditors based on ethnic preference before the revision to the MCCG 2007.

This study also found that Malay and institutional ownership dominance have a positive relationship with Malay auditor. Again, similar to the previous argument, the influence of a strong political connection on Malay and institutional ownership dominance needs to exist in order for a Malay auditor to be chosen. Even with the exclusion of the political connection factor, one of the plausible explanations for Malay and institutional based companies to choose Malay auditors is due to the business rivalry between the Chinese and the non-Chinese, especially the Malays, in Malaysia. This is again relatively in line with the view of Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), who noted that Bumiputera (or Malay) business persons perceived the Indians as more "friendly" to their business than the Chinese. This may be taken to mean that the non-Chinese ethnic groups in Malaysia have formed their own tacit business alliance and this influences their judgment on the selection of auditors.

Auditor's Ethnicity in 2008 (Post MCCG 2007)

This study found that after the revision to the MCCG 2007, surprisingly, Chinese-

dominated firms are positively related to the selection of Chinese auditors. This may suggest the continued existence of business networking among the Chinese community irrespective of the nature of the Malaysian Corporate Governance Code. This finding thus confirms the outcome of the study by Che Ahmad *et al*. (2006), who reported that Chinese firms seemed to prefer for Chinese auditors.

Another possible explanation for the post MCCG 2007 findings may have something to do with the audit committee restructuring and the lesser reliance on the big four audit firms for better quality auditors due to the compulsary establishment of a strong restructured internal audit function. The employment of more non-executive directors in the audit committee in which most of them were Chinese might have ramped up the pressure to continue recruiting Chinese auditors to maintain traditional business networking. Family-controlled firms, for example, were the most affected firms by the revision to the MCCG 2007. This was due to their poor governance and audit committee structure. In order to respond to the requirements of MCCG 2007, most of these firms had to restructure their audit committee (internal audit function) which previously, most of the time, included executive directors as members. It should be noted that family-controlled firms represent a large chunk of companies on Bursa Malaysia with the majority of family-controlled firms being Chinese owned and choosing Chinese auditors.

CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study on the selection of auditor based on ethnic grounds are mixed. In pre-MCCG 2007, ownership dominance and largest block shareholder by Malays and institutions had a significant relationship with auditor's ethnicity, specifically Malay auditors. After MCCG 2007, this relationship disappeared but Chinese-dominated firms were positively related to the selection of Chinese auditors. This provides some evidence of alliance as well as business rivalry between the Malays and institutional companies on one hand and the Chinese-controlled companies on the other hand. There was also an indication of business networking among the Chinese with a clear sustained preference for Chinese auditors.

At the time this study was completed, the Securities Commission of Malaysia (SC) had just released a new MCCG 2012. A 31-page document has been released to supersede the previous MCCG 2007. It is worth noting that the MCCG 2012 has been developed based on the SC's Corporate Governance Blueprint 2011 and this time around, the MCCG 2012 focuses on the clarification of the role of the board as a leader and further strengthens its composition as well as independence. A few disclosures are also introduced such as the disclosure on the commitment to respecting the shareholders' rights. The actual impact of this new MCCG 2012 is yet to be known but it is going to open a new opportunity for future researchers. Despite the fact of being

superseded, the study on the MCCG 2007 is still considered relevant as it will take quite some time for the assessment of the MCCG 2012 to be available for research.

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Machiavellianism and Spiritual Intelligence as Predictors of Waste-Prevention Behaviours among Malaysian University Students

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the psychological factors related to waste-prevention behaviours of university students could enable local governments and policy makers to craft effective policies to reduce waste. This study utilised a questionnaire-based survey to assess the associations between spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism as factors that influence waste-prevention behaviours. A total of 210 participants from Universiti Putra Malaysia completed the questionnaires, including the demographic questions, spiritual intelligence inventory, Mach IV, and the waste-prevention behaviours. The data were analysed using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). The results showed that individuals with higher spiritual intelligence and lower Machiavellianism were more likely to report a positive attitude towards waste-prevention behaviours, and that an inverse association existed between spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism. Overall, these variables explained 12.0% of the variance in waste-prevention behaviours. Therefore, these findings reinforce the importance of personality traits and cognitive abilities in waste-prevention behaviours.

Keywords: Machiavellianism, spiritual intelligence, waste-prevention behaviours

INTRODUCTION

In a recent decades there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of waste generation as a consequence of rapidly developing economies in developed and developing countries (Barr, 2007; Budhiarta, Siwar, & Basri, 2011; Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, Snelgar, & Furnham, 2011). Previous studies

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have shown that global municipal solid waste generated in 1997 was approximately 0.49 billion tonnes, and that the annual growth rate was estimated to be 3.2-4.5% in developed countries and 2-3% in developing countries (Johari, Ahmed, Hashim, Alkali, & Ramli, 2012). In Malaysia, for example, increasing waste generation and ineffective waste management have become crucial concerns for the government and the nation. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government estimated that approximately 17,000 tonnes of waste were collected per day in 2002, while only 1-2% of the waste was recycled, with around 80-90% of waste being transferred to landfill and open dumping (Johari *et al*., 2012). On average, the quantity of waste generated per capita is between 0.5 and 0.8 kg/day, while the figure per citizen is about 1.7 kg/day (Budhiarta *et al*., 2011; Johari *et al*., 2012). Given the great amount of waste production in Malaysia, if urgent action is not taken, the amount of waste will rise. Therefore, it is urgent to study waste-prevention behaviours and variables associated with waste-prevention behaviours in order to achieve better outcomes.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2000) defined waste-prevention behaviours as people's purchasing behaviours, garbage reduction, strict avoidance and product reuse. All forms of recycling activities and remanufacturing are excluded from this definition. It is noted that prevention means actions undertaken before a material has become waste. According to Tucker and Douglas (2007), waste prevention has several aspects that can be classified into four categories: (a) attitudinal factors (b) contextual factors (c) individual abilities, and (d) habits.

Given the magnitude of waste generation, if urgent action is not taken, it is expected that the quantity of waste will reach around 31,000 tonnes per day by 2020. (Johari *et al*., 2012; Manaf, Samah, & Zukki, 2009). Abd Kadir, Yin, Rosli Sulaiman, Chen and El-Harbawi (2013) reported that 80% of Malaysian waste comprises food, paper and wood. It is widely acknowledged that, although the packaging industry and economic factors affect waste minimisation, the role of the individual in waste prevention is undeniable. Therefore, these figures show that the modern lifestyle and unfavourable habits of Malaysians have increased the quantity of waste in Malaysia. The Malaysian research findings demonstrate that responsible consumption behaviour is an important factor in decreasing waste generation (Loo, 2013).

It is readily acknowledged that personality traits and cognitive abilities play vital roles in waste management programmes – reduction, reuse and recycling behaviours (Swami *et al*., 2011). Accordingly, Oskamp (2000) requests that psychologists develop the role of individual behaviours for conservation of the environment. We have witnessed an increase in psychological research concerning the conservation of the environment. For example, Barr (2007) identifies the situational variables, environmental attitudes and psychological

traits as significant factors in waste-prevention behaviours.

Situational variables are based on individual characteristics (such as socio-demographic factors), structural context, personal experience and habits that affect environmental decision making. Environmental attitude is related to an individual's orientation towards, or concern for, the preservation, restoration or improvement of the environment. Research in this area suggests that individuals with a high openness personality are more likely to pursue environmentally-friendly behaviours (Barr, 2007). Psychological factors are related to the personality traits of the individuals and the role of perception response of those individuals towards waste-prevention behaviours. For instance, previous studies have shown that altruistic individuals are more likely to pursue waste-prevention behaviours and recycling behaviours (Barr, 2007; Bortoleto, Kurisu, & Hanaki, 2012; Hopper & Nielsen, 1991). Furthermore, Ojedokun (2011) shows that altruism and internal locus of control are powerful predictors of environmentally friendly behaviours in a Nigerian sample.

Recently, psychological theorists attempted to describe, characterise and understand the 'pro-environmental individual'. The pro-environmental individual depicts a pattern of environmentally-friendly actions across various domains, such as waste minimisation and energy use (Markowitz, Goldberg, Ashton, & Lee, 2012). Previous studies have found that past behaviours and intentions predict the current or future waste-prevention behaviours (Karbalaei, Abdollahi, Abu, Nor, & Ismail, 2013; Karbalaei, Abdollahi, Momtaz, & Abu Talib, 2014). For example, Swami *et al*. (2011) showed that individuals with low levels of Machiavellianism and high levels of conscientiousness were more likely to pursue better waste management behaviours. In the same vein, Hirsh (2010) found that individuals with high levels of agreeableness and openness were more likely to pursue environmentally-friendly behaviours.

For better or for worse, individual behaviour has a great impact on waste production. Psychological and personality factors may impact on individuals' likelihood to produce pro-environmental behaviours. With personality being such a core part of what motivates our beliefs, values and attitudes, it seems reasonable to expect that basic differences in personality may influence environmental engagement. Therefore, it is clear that awareness of psychological and personality factors helps shape positive waste-prevention behaviours in individuals. However, studies about waste prevention behaviour are extremely limited in Malaysia, and most studies have been conducted in Western countries and the USA. In this study, we aim to investigate the relationships between spiritual intelligence, Machiavellianism and participant's age with waste-prevention behaviours among Malaysian university students at Universiti Putra Malaysia.

RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING STUDIED VARIABLES

Although the available literature has identified a few psychological factors of waste-prevention behaviours, in our opinion, these studies are limited to the limited range of psychological variables that have been investigated. In particular, most research on psychological antecedents with environmentally-friendly behaviours have been done (e.g. self-efficacy, subjective norms, consciousness, openness to experience and egoistic behaviour) using theoretical models, such as those of Markowitz *et al*. (2012) and Barr (2007) concerning waste management behaviours. In our mind, the existing literature on waste prevention behaviour could be expanded through concentrating on the role of personality traits and cognitive abilities that emphasise consistency in environmental attitudes. Another rationale for this choice is that spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism assist behavioural modification to contribute better waste-prevention behaviours.

These ideas have not been tested in Malaysia, and such findings contribute to deeper understanding of waste-prevention behaviours that enable decision makers to design efficient waste-prevention programmes. Therefore, this research attempts to investigate this void in the literature by focusing on spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism as predictors of waste-prevention behaviours. It is clear that the effect of the psychological variables on waste-prevention behaviours is not comprehensive; however, these variables assist in increasing our understanding of personality traits and cognitive ability in the development of waste-prevention behaviours. The reasons for choosing the variables are briefly explained below.

First, we examine the association between waste prevention behaviour and Machiavellianism. Christie, Geis and Berger (1970) defined Machiavellianism as a personality trait in which an individual shows negative intentions to others and is self-serving, and it can be observed as an excessive type of egoistic concern. Individuals with high levels of Machiavellian traits are more likely to show interpersonal strategies such as lying, flattery, guile and deceit, and these individuals ascribe negative intentions to others and begin with the expectation that they must exploit others or be exploited themselves. In this sense, Machiavellianism can be reflected as an excessive form of egoistic concern, and Machiavellian individuals show decreased awareness for the emotional state of others. Research findings have shown that Machiavellian individuals do not tend to pursue environmentally-friendly behaviours (Swami, Chamorro-premuzic, Snelgar, & Furnham, 2010). It seems plausible that Machiavellianism would be negatively associated with waste-prevention behaviours.

Second, we examined the association between waste prevention behaviour and spiritual intelligence (SQ). In recent years, spirituality has been investigated as a major feature of human beings that has a substantial

association with health improvement (Faribors, Fatemeh, & Hamidreza, 2010). Previous studies suggest that spirituality is considered as a form of intelligence (Hyde, 2004). Spiritual intelligence is defined as the intelligence of conscience, moral intelligence and the inherent ability to identify right from wrong (Zohar, 2012). Indeed, it is the intelligence through which longing, ability to solve problems of meaning and the role of beliefs, values, goodness and truth in our life-path are developed (Zohar, 2012). Other characteristics associated with 'spiritual intelligence' include extroversion, agreeableness and conscientiousness (Kamitsis & Francis, 2013). One previous research showed that conscientiousness and agreeableness personalities were more likely to pursue waste management behaviours i.e. reduction, reuse, recycling (Swami *et al*., 2011). A study found that a sense of spirituality was significantly associated with connectedness to nature (Kamitsis & Francis, 2013). According to the definition of spiritual intelligence and what the literature shows, it seems plausible that spiritual intelligence is positively associated with waste-prevention behaviours.

The current study intends to examine a number of hypotheses: (1) Machiavellianism is negatively associated with waste-prevention behaviours; (2) spiritual intelligence is positively associated with waste-prevention behaviours.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Selangor state has the largest percentage of waste, which is estimated to be 3,923 tons per day (Saheri, Mir, & Basri, 2012), and recent studies have shown that the amount of waste considerably increased with the rise in number of students in universities (Chibunna, Siwar, Begum, & Mohamed, 2012; Desa, Kadir, & Yusooff, 2012). In a developing country, a schooled individual such as a university student is considered knowledgeable, and his/her attitude in family matters is valued high. Additionally, adult university students are part of the population and their role in waste production and prevention needs to be understood. Based on earlier reasons, this study recruited university students from Universiti Putra Malaysia (Selangor) to conduct the current study.

Participants

Participants in this study comprised 210 students (male=45.2, %, and female=54.8, aged from 19 to 38 years old, Mean=27.43, SD=4.78) from Universiti Putra Malaysia. In terms of ethnicity, participants consisted of Malay (44.8%), Chinese (21.0%), Indian (22.4%) and others (11.9%). The educational levels of students included 70.9%, n=149 bachelor's degree, 15.7%, n=33 master's degree and 13.4%, n=28 PhD. In addition, in terms of marital status, 71% were single and 29% were married. The majority of participants in this study had no income (76.3%).

Procedure

The questionnaires were distributed and collected from February to April 2013. Permission from the Graduate Students Office of Universiti Putra Malaysia was obtained for collecting data from students, and the Universiti Putra Malaysia ethics committee approved the study. Firstly, 16 faculties at Universiti Putra Malaysia were categorised into three fields (science, social sciences and engineering). Secondly, two faculties were chosen random from each field, and one class from each faculty was randomly selected. Lastly, the packages of questionnaires were distributed among students during regular class hours. The package of questionnaires included an introductory letter and four questionnaires including demographic questionnaire, spiritual intelligence inventory, Machiavellianism and waste prevention behaviour questionnaires. A total of 250 copies of the questionnaire were distributed by hand, of which 210 (84%) usable ones were returned.

MEASURES

The Spiritual Intelligence Self-Report Inventory

This inventory is a 24-item (King, 2008) that measures four factors of spiritual intelligence: (a) Critical Existential Thinking (CET), which is defined as metaphysical issues like thinking about the nature of living, the universe, space, time and death, with 7 items in total; (b) Personal Meaning Production (PMP), which is defined as the capacity to acquire personal meaning and purpose from all physical and psychological experiences, with 5 items in total; (c) Transcendental Awareness (TA), which is defined as the ability to recognise "transcendent dimensions of the self, of others, and of the physical world " in the normal and conscious state, and is associated with the ability to recognise their "relationship to one's self and to the physical world ", with 7 items in total; and (d) Conscious State Expansion (CSE), which is defined as the capacity to "enter and exit higher/spiritual states of consciousness (e.g. unity and oneness)" through one's own insight (e.g. deep thinking), with 5 items in total (Arbabisarjou, Raghib, Moayed, & Rezazadeh, 2013). The sum of the four factors is spiritual intelligence. The total score is from 0 to 96 and all questions use a 4-point Likert scale. Several studies have revealed that this questionnaire has a powerful convergent and divergent validity (Amrai, Farahani, Ebrahimi, & Bagherian, 2011; Arbabisarjou *et al*., 2013). In the present study, the convergent validity (Average Variance Extracted) was 0.5, and the construct reliability (CR) was 0.71.

Mach IV

This 20-item MACH-IV scale (Christie *et al*., 1970) assesses the tendency of individuals to use informal power (e.g. interpersonal 'tactics', cynical attitude to human nature and negligence towards conventional morality) to control others (O'Connor & Athota, 2013). The total score is from 20 to 100, and all questions use a 5-point Likert scale. A higher score indicates

a higher Machiavellian trait and vice versa. Several studies have revealed that the Mach-IV scale has a powerful convergent and divergent validity (Ali & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2010; O'Connor & Athota, 2013; Swami *et al*., 2011) and concurrent validity (Rauthmann, 2013). In the present study, the convergent validity (Average Variance Extracted) was 0.81, and the construct reliability (CR) was 0.98.

Waste-Prevention Behaviours

This questionnaire (Kurisu & Bortoleto, 2011) comprises 18 items that measure waste prevention behaviour. The total score is from 18 to 90, and all items are rated using a 5-point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate greater waste prevention behaviour and vice versa. The items in the waste prevention behaviour scale consisted of (a) shopping habits, for example, using suitable bags for carrying products instead of plastic bags, buying products with less packaging, using personal cup, spoon and repair items before purchasing new products; (b) buying reusable products, packages, dishcloths, refillable products, returnable bottles; (c) using recycling shops for recyclable products and composting food waste; and (d) refusing to buy needless products, packages and bottled drinking water (Kurisu & Bortoleto, 2011). In the present study, the convergent validity (Average Variance Extracted) was 0.85, and the construct reliability (CR) was 0.97.

Demographics

A self-report questionnaire was provided to obtain demographic information, such as age (ratio scale was used to measure age), gender, religion, race, education, marital status (nominal scale was used to measure them), and income (interval scale was used to measure income).

ANALYSIS

In the current research, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was applied to estimate the utility of spiritual intelligence, Machiavellianism (latent variables) and age (observed variable) as predictors of waste prevention behaviour. To date, most studies on relationships between psychological factors and environmental issues have employed hierarchical multiple regression analyses (Arnocky, Stroink, & DeCicco, 2007; Givens & Jorgenson, 2013). Kline (2011) highlighted a few characteristics that set SEM apart from older generations of multivariate procedures. Firstly, SEM is a technique that analyses the relationships between endogenous and exogenous variables according to the hypotheses of the study. Secondly, unlike traditional multivariate analyses that ignore errors, SEM estimates errors of variance parameters. Thirdly, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) makes it possible for researchers to estimate relations among constructs that are corrected for bias attributable to random error and construct-irrelevant variance by providing separate estimates of relations among latent constructs and their manifest indicators (Tomarken & Waller, 2005).

Given these advantages over conventional data analysing techniques, SEM is suitable for analysing the data for the current study (Kline, 2011).

The analysis showed that the data were normal because the skewedness values were from (-1.08 to 1.23) and the kurtosis values were from (-1.59 to 0.94) for all variables. Missing data for parcels and items (range from .67% to 2.86%) were addressed with the series' mean method in SPSS software. Byrne (2009) stated that if the skewedness value is between -2 and +2 and the kurtosis value is between -7 and +7, the data is considered to be normal. For acceptable model fit, the goodness of fit indices, such as the chi square/degree of freedom ratio (CMIN/DF), the comparative-fit index (CFI), the goodness-of-fit index (GFI) and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) are equal or greater than 0.90, and the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA) is between 0.03 and 0.08 (Byrne, 2009). In addition, the group value SEM was used for comparison between the male and female groups. In this research the AMOS 20 software was applied for analysing the data.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistic

As can be seen from Table 1, means, standard deviations, actual range and possible range are reported.

Structural Equation Model

The model includes spiritual intelligence, Machiavellianism, and age as exogenous variables, and waste-prevention behaviours as an endogenous variable that provided an acceptable fit for the data (CMIN/DF=1.43, $p<.01$, CFI=.983, GFI=.90, TLI=.978, RMSEA=.045). Figure 1 indicates that age had no significant effect on waste-prevention behaviours while spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism had a significant effect on waste-prevention behaviours. As can be seen in Fig.1, greater spiritual intelligence and lower Machiavellianism were associated with better waste-prevention behaviours. These variables explained 12.0% of the variance in waste-prevention behaviours. In addition, an inverse association existed between spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism.

Standardised factor loadings of each items are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviation, Actual and Possible Range of Study Variables

Variables	Spiritual intelligence	Machiavellianism	WPB	Age
Mean	54.91	36.43	60.24	27.43
Standard Deviation	11.28	8.99	16.26	4.78
Actual range	32-67	20-56	22-86	19-38
Possible range	0-96	20-100	18-90	-

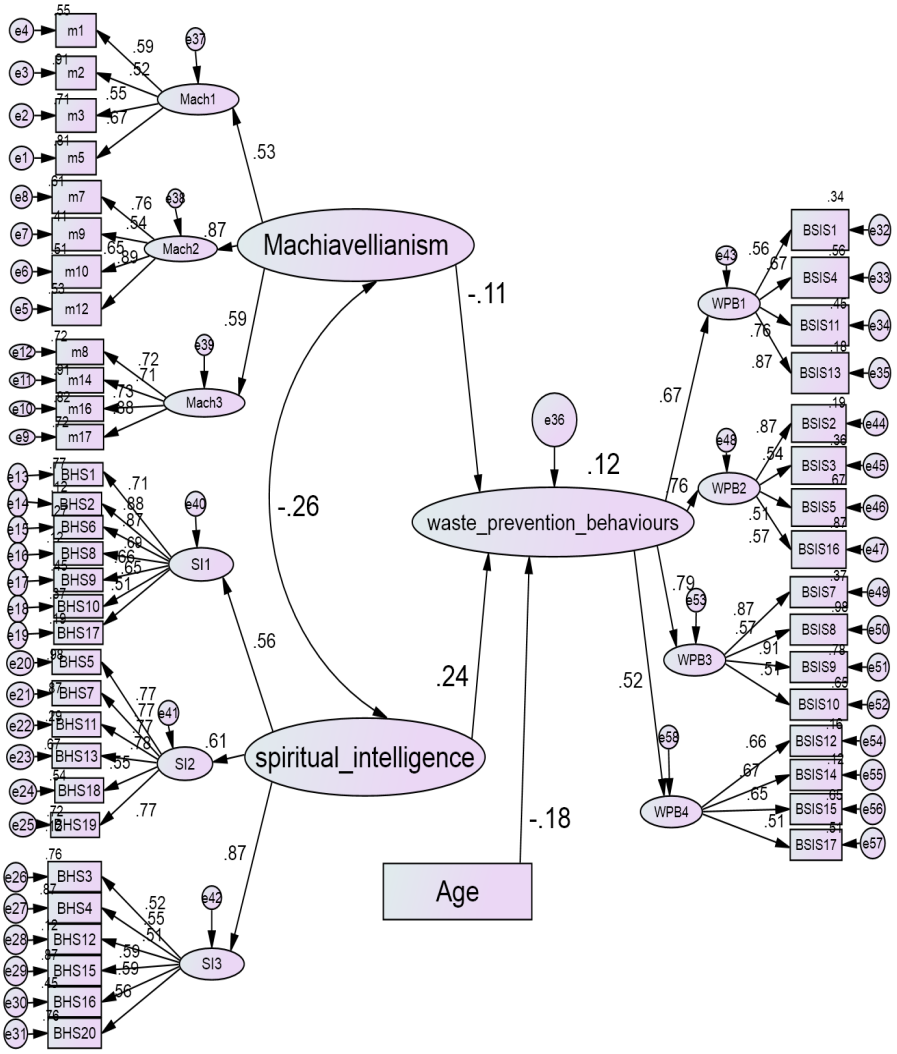

Fig.1: Structural model for the waste-prevention behaviours.

Note: all pathways were significant with $p < 0.01$, except age

Moderation Test of Gender

The first step to test the moderation effect is to compare the 'unconstrained model' against 'the measurement residuals model'. If the 'unconstrained model' is better than 'the measurement residuals model', then we can conclude that there is a moderation effect of moderating variables on the overall model. The second step to test the moderation effect is to check for the significance of individual paths. The path is moderated by moderator if: (1) the beta for a group is significant while the beta for other groups is not significant; (2) the beta for all groups is significant but one is positive and the other, negative (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson, & Tatham, 2006).

The comparison between the 'unconstrained model' and the 'measurement residuals model' showed that the unconstrained model with ($\Delta \chi 2$ (4020.38), DF=542, $p< 0.01$) and the measurement residuals model with ($\Delta \chi 2$ (4258.21) , DF=594, $p< 0.01$) were significant; however, the unconstrained model was better than the measurement residuals model because the chi-square was smaller (Hair *et al*., 2006). According to the measurement residuals model (χ^2=237.83, dF=52, and $p<0.05$) in "the assuming model unconstrained to be correct", the results indicate that the impact of likely differences across gender was significant.

Table 3 shows that the relationship between spiritual intelligence and waste prevention behaviour for female students is significant (β=0.273) while the path hypothesis for male students is not significant (β=0.195). Therefore, the moderating effect of gender on this path is supported,

TABLE 2
Standardised Factor Loadings of Each Item

Items	SFL[1]	Items	SFL[1]	Items	SFL[1]	Items	SFL[1]
Mach1	.53	SI1	.56	SI3	.87	BSIS5	.51
m1	.59	BHS1	.71	BHS3	.52	BSIS6	.57
m2	.52	BHS2	.88	BHS4	.55	WPB3	.79
m3	.55	BHS6	.87	BHS12	.51	BSIS7	.87
m5	.67	BHS8	.69	BHS15	.59	BSIS8	.57
Mach2	.87	BHS9	.66	BHS16	.59	BSIS9	.91
m7	.76	BHS10	.65	BHS20	.56	BSIS10	.51
m9	.54	BHS17	.51	WPB1	.67	WPB4	.52
m10	.65	SI2	.61	BSIS1	.56	BSIS12	.66
m12	.89	BHS5	.77	BSIS4	.67	BSIS14	.67
Mach3	.59	BHS7	.77	BSIS11	.76	BSIS15	.65
m8	.72	BHS11	.77	BSIS13	.87	BSIS17	.51
m14	.71	BHS13	.78	WPB2	.76		
m16	.73	BHS18	.55	BSIS2	.87		
m17	.88	BHS19	.77	BSIS3	.54		

Note: 1=SFL: Standardised factor loading

meaning that greater spiritual intelligence predicted a higher likelihood of waste prevention for females but not for males. In addition, the results revealed that there was no significant relationship between Machiavellianism and waste prevention behaviour for female students (β=-0.061) while the path hypothesis for male students is significant (β=-0.281). Therefore, the moderating effect of gender on the path relationship between Machiavellianism and waste prevention behaviour is supported, meaning that greater Machiavellianism predicated a lower likelihood of waste-prevention behaviours for males but not for females.

DISCUSSION

We believe that the relationships between spiritual intelligence, Machiavellianism and waste-prevention behaviours can improve theoretical developments in attitude towards environment. There is a point worth noting before we discuss the key findings. Spiritual intelligence and Machiavellianism explained 12.0% of the variance in waste-prevention behaviours, signifying that other variables not considered for this study (e.g. values, norms, identity issues and situational factors) are also valuable in clarifying the attitude towards waste-prevention behaviours.

Findings indicate that spiritual intelligence was positively associated with a positive attitude towards waste-prevention behaviors among university students. One explanation for this result is that individuals high in spiritual intelligence carefully pursue social guidelines and norms for acceptable environmental actions (Kamitsis & Francis, 2013). Several studies have indicated that spiritual intelligence is linked to attributes such as intellectualism, morality, self-disciplined, organised and an inclination to act according to the principles of conscience (Bienvenu *et al*., 2004; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008; Pearman & Storandt, 2005). Waste-prevention behaviours is an ethical and moral behaviour that helps in human well-being, and individuals high in spiritual intelligence are more likely to respect the human and societal rights as well as follow social rules and norms for suitable environmental action (Milfont & Sibley, 2012). Therefore, spiritual individuals are more motivated to engage in friendly environmentally behaviours (Kamitsis & Francis, 2013).

Another significant point to note is that Machiavellianism was negatively associated

TABLE 3
Standardised Regression Weights (Gender Variant Model)

Hypothesis			Male			Female		
			S.E.[1]	C.R.[2]	SE[3]	S.E.[1]	C.R.[2]	SE[3]
WPB[4]	<---	Spiritual Intelligence	1.412	1.045	.195	1.388	1.499	.273**
WPB	<---	Machiavellianism	0.888	-0.611	-.281**	-1.174	-1.012	-.061

Note: **P <.05, without*= Not significant. 1: Standard Error, 2: Critical Ratio, 3: Standard Estimate, and 4: Waste Prevention Behaviour

with waste-prevention behaviours. Previous studies have shown that Machiavellianism is associated with attributes such as extreme egoistic concern, self-serving and deceit (Geis & Moon, 1981; Swami *et al*., 2010, 2011), low biospheric and low altruistic (Swami *et al*., 2011). To some extent, waste-prevention behaviours require optimism, altruism, empathy, conscientiousness, good judgment and social responsibility (Corbett, 2005; Swami *et al*., 2011). Therefore, lower Machiavellianism is associated with better waste-prevention behaviours. The findings are consistent with previous studies that found that men were more Machiavellian than women (Andreou, 2004).

Generally, the findings of the current study emphasised the importance of personality traits and cognitive ability when examining waste-prevention behaviour. It is important to note that most conceptual frameworks of environmental behaviour have less consideration for personality traits and cognitive abilities in their models. For example, Barr's (2007) conceptual framework contains some psychological factors such as intrinsic motivation and subjective norms; however, psychological factors such as personality traits and cognitive abilities in this theory are not considered. The inclusion of psychological variables in the environmentally-friendly behaviour models could improve the efficiency of these models.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the concentration on characteristics of people in predicting waste-prevention behaviours is noteworthy, as in our opinion waste prevention needs intervention at numerous levels to be effectively addressed. Theoretical models of the behaviour of people as individuals and the behaviour of aggregate individuals are necessary if we are to attempt to change the behaviour of both individuals and groups of individuals. To maximise change-specific behaviour and attitudes, the network of more general behavioural tendencies in which the specific behaviours of interest are embedded needs to be understood. This is important because different appeals may work for different people or for citizens within nations, depending upon differences in personality. By documenting how stable regularities in overall behavioural tendencies (i.e., personality) are related to more specific environmental attitudes and behaviour, we hope to provide important baseline information that may be useful in the ongoing collaborative effort to build models of the psychology underpinning.

The results highlight the role of spirituality in reducing Machiavellianism and improving waste-prevention behaviours. One important limitation of this study is its reliance on self-report questionnaires. Although the measures used in the study are psychometrically adequate, a multi-method approach would be superior and would lend incremental validity to the current study. Studies have shown that when participants completed questionnaires of mental health and spirituality simultaneously, they may tend to overlap perceptions of mental health with spiritual well-being. Consequently,

it is plausible that clinical interviewing, peer-report and direct observation methods might enable us to overcome the mentioned limitation. Future research could examine other psychological traits and cognitive abilities with waste-prevention behaviours. This is because personality traits and demographic characteristics have a significant influence on waste-prevention behaviours. For instance, future research could examine antisocial personality and emotional intelligence with waste-prevention behaviours. Of course, it might be beneficial to expand on the environmentally-friendly models that exist in the environmental literature.

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Mughal or Moorish Architecture: The Origins of Malaysian Mosques During Colonial Periods

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the influence of foreign architecture on the 'Neo-Mughal' or 'Moorish' style of design seen in Malaysian mosques of the colonial period (1800-1930). The colonial period of Malaysian history is one of the best examples of the emergence and influence of various imported types of architecture, especially Islamic ones. The trend of 'Neo-Mughal' or 'Moorish' design is notable due to the different beliefs and attitudes regarding the influence of Moorish or Mughal architecture. This difference is already poignant even in its taxonomy, for instance, based on the classification of Dr. Ghafar Ahmad (1997) *in 'British Colonial Architecture in Malaysia 1800-1930', this trend is regarded as being of Moorish influence while in the work of* John Michael Gullick (1998), the style was regarded that of the 'British Raj', created from the combination of Mughal and Gothic styles. The significance of the research is to reveal the manner and contact of Islamic foreign styles on Malaysian buildings, particularly in this period, where the amount of influence from stranger styles was at its peak. The research methodology selected for this paper is historical interpretative using the case study approach. The first step in the research is studying different attitudes of the trend argument by reviewing secondary data. This will be followed by the selection of a suitable case study and comparative analysis between a case study of Malaysian mosques with samples of the Mughal and Moorish architecture. The findings of research show which Mughal and Moorish architecture influenced Malaysian mosques more and which of the attitudes of this argument is more accurate.

Keywords: Moorish (Neo Mughal) style, Moorish architecture, Mughal architecture, influence, Malaysia

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INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is a multi-cultural country that is made up of several races and cultures. Malaysia's architectural development has been influenced by many styles, local and foreign. The colonial period marked a time when foreign architectural influences were quite evident in Malaysia**.** These influences are duly divided into eastern and western styles such as Indian, Chinese, British, Dutch and Moorish architectural styles. This research aims to study the foreign roots embedded in the architectural style of Malaysian mosques (1880-1930). The study period marked the time when Malaysia was a British colony. The significance of this study is to reveal the manner and contact of Islamic foreign architectural styles as seen in Malaysian buildings, particularly in this period, when the amount of influence from stranger styles was at its peak. The Moorish or Neo-Mughal styles relied on specific settings, due to the different and diverse beliefs and attitudes regarding the roots of the style. Of the public buildings utilising this style, mosques have been selected for this article due to their prominent use of the Moorish and Mughal styles.

BRITISH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN MALAYSIA

Based on the Heritage of Malaysia Trust (1990), Malaysian architectural style has been categorised according to building styles. Among the different styles, much foreign influence can be seen such as in the European, Chinese and Indian styles that turned composed Malaysian environment a mixture of races and cultures. In terms of historical periods, these architectural styles include (Ahmad & Malaysia, 1997; Ahmad, 1999):

i. Malay Vernacular
(pre-15th century to date)

ii. Straits Eclectic
(15th century to mid 20th century)

iii. Chinese Baroque
(19th century to early 20th century)

iv. Chitya Indian Vernacular
(15th century to mid 20th century)

v. Colonial
(17th Century to mid 20th century)

vi. Modern (1950s-1980s)

British colonial architecture in Malaysia has hybrid aesthetics. The colonial buildings look sometimes Gothic, sometimes classical and sometimes, they show the impact of eastern forms. However, most of the buildings were modified using local material and architectural traditions, and the colonial buildings can be classified into four main architectural styles comprising (Ahmad & Malaysia, 1997):

i. the Moorish influence

ii. Tudor

iii. Neo-Classical

iv. Neo-Gothic

BACKGROUND TO MUGHAL OR MOORISH INFLUENCE ON MALAYSIAN ARCHITECTURE

One of the main arguments championing British colonial buildings is the effect of foreign Islamic architecture (Mughal or Moorish).The main point is that the trend is notable and important due to the different beliefs and attitudes regarding the influence of Moorish or Mughal architecture. This difference is already poignant even in its taxonomy, for instance, this style was named Neo-Mughal (Indo-Gothic, British Raj, Indo-*Saracenic*) or Moorish, as discussed in this section. Firstly, the attitudes reflecting the influence of Moorish architecture on Malaysian buildings followed by the beliefs that the Malaysian style was affected by Mughal architectural styles .

Moorish influence

According to Ahmad (1997) in his book entitled *British Colonial Architecture in Malaysia 1800-1930*, there are many buildings in the centre of Kuala Lumpur, including the Old General Post Office and the majestic Sultan Abdul Samad Secretarial Building, which display signs of Moorish influence in their façade. Both were constructed during the last decade of 1800 (1894-1897) (refer to Fig.1). Additionally, Ahmad (1999) points out in his work (*The Architectural Styles of Mosques in Malaysia: From Vernacular to Modern Structures)* that the architecture of the majority of mosques constructed in the colonial period is distinctive from that of vernacular mosques. Frequent and often distinctive features that can be found in these mosques are: top-shaped with onion-shaped domes, classical columns, turrets, pilasters, keystones, pointed arches, plastered and pediment renderings on cornices and capitals. At the beginning of the new century, British engineers and architects, intending to reflect a more Islamic outlook in their work, integrated the influence of Moorish architecture and its corresponding traditional styles. The Jamek Mosque in Kuala Lumpur is an example of a colonial mosque that was uses the influence of Moorish architecture with traditional features.

Mughal influence

Contrasting the previous view, Fee Chen mentions in his book (*The Encyclopedia of Malaysia: Architecture*) that in the late 19th century, architects and engineers of Britain, while designing a new town hall for Kuala Lumpur, imported to Peninsular Malaysia (at that time British Malaya) the architectural design known as the Indo-*Saracenic* style, an influence of British Indian architecture. British architects, for the first two decades of their occupation, used their matchless architectural design called Raj in the structure of significant buildings in Kuala Lumpur, which were mostly adapted from India. Generally, this style is a combination of Gothic and Mughal Indian architecture and is distinctive with regards to its arches and verticality (from Gothic architecture), axial symmetry, distinguished minarets, copper-clad onion-shaped domes and a great number of multi-

form archways and sub-domes from Mughal architecture (Chen, 1998).

Tajuddin (2007) believes that the North Indian style is simply distinguished from other styles due to the usage of small and large onion domes, *Chhatries* (small domed canopies), multi-foil and horse shoe arches. He also states that there are two possible reasons for the proliferation of the North Indian style. Firstly, the colonialist's choice of 'Islamic Architecture' was in order to pacify the people into accepting the colonist's version of ritualistic Islam, and secondly, the increase in the number of Indian Muslim merchants in Taiping and Penang led to the building of mosques using Indian architecture in those places.

MOORISH ARCHITECTURE (13th-14th AD)

One of the main Islamic architectures that were developed in the western territory of the Islamic region (Maghreb, Spain and some areas of North Africa) was the Moorish style. The most famous and prominent buildings, which are preserved to this day, are the luxurious palace of Alhambra and Córdoba mosques, built in the flourishing age of Moorish architecture between the 13th and 14th centuries (Creswell, Pearson, Meinecke, & Scanlon, 1961).

The main characteristics of Moorish mosques are a rectangular prayer hall and an enclosed courtyard. Prayer halls have a hypostyle plan with two types of aisle. Some of the mosques in that period were small, with nine aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall and five transverse aisles that were parallel to the *qibla*, taking into account its contiguousness, but others, including the largest Maghribi mosques in Rabat (the mosque of Hasan, 1191-1199); the perpendicularity of the aisles to the *qibla* is combined with the parallelism of the aisle contiguous to it. The number of the perpendicular aisle varies, but the *qibla* aisle typically stands alone (with the exception of Rabat, which has three *qibla* aisles) (Pereira, 1994).

MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE (16th-17th AD)

The Mughal Empire was the last of the great Islamic Indian empires and also was one of the largest centralised states in pre-modern world history. Mughal architecture was a blend of Islamic, Persian and Indian architecture in the Indian subcontinent

Sultan Abdul Samad Secretarial Buidings

Railway Station

Old General Post Office

Fig.1: Famous buildings of the colonial period (Ahmad & Malaysia, 1997)

(India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). Mughal architecture is rooted in India, and it brought in influences from the West via Islamic planning refined by scholarly exchange between Persian principles and Europe. This period was famous for the construction of some of the most magnificent freestanding monumental sacred buildings in the country (Nath, 1982).

The main characteristics of the Mughal mosque are that it is made up of vast complexes with a large courtyard enclosed by a sanctuary or *Pishtagh,* represented by a vertically extended bulbous dome. The vertical emphasis is further strengthened by the *Chhatris* (domed-shape pavilion) and ornamental minarets, and sometimes by the large functional minarets on the other side of the courtyard cloisters and *ivans* (Frishman & Khan, 2007; Pereira, 1994).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Hatch and Groat (2002) pointed out four approaches of qualitative research in architecture, that the special approach for historical research is called the interpretive–historical approach. Historical inquiry is very similar to qualitative research concerning a complex social phenomenon. Since this paper's study aim involves the investigation of the origins of architectural styles from various imported foreign styles, the main focus of the research is the interpretation of historical events. Therefore, the indentation and collection of evidence concerning historical events are required. In this case, the interpretative method is the paradigm best suited to the task.

One of the best ways for studying historical events is through a case study. Even though the case study is preferred in the examination of contemporary events, the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. The case study relies on many similar techniques used in history research (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2009). The suitable type of case study design for this research is the single case study.

For research design, initially with studying secondary sources, the different attitudes and views about Moorish or Neo-Mughal as a main sub style of colonial architecture were investigated together with the general characteristics of each foreign style (Mughal and Moorish architecture) was studied.

The case study of Moorish or Neo-Mughal style was then selected. Comparative analysis of this case study and the samples of the two foreign styles (Mughal and Moorish) was carried out focusing on the level of similarity and influence of the two foreign styles of architecture in Malaysian mosques of the colonial period could be identified.

Identification of Case Study

Based on the view of Dr. A. Ghafar Ahmad, 21 mosques built between 1800 and 1930 in Malaysia (colonial period) can be divided into two categories: colonial mosques and vernacular mosques. According to Rasdi and Tajuddin (2007), Eleven colonial mosques are in the design of various foreign styles such as European Classical, Sino-Eclectic and Indo-Gothic (or Moorish). The Kapitan Keling Mosque in Penang, the Jamek

Mosque in Kuala Lumpur and the Zahir Mosque in Alor Setar are prime examples of Neo-Mughal or Moorish influence. The single case study was carried out using a survey of the mosques covering site investigations and photographic studies. The Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque was selected as a case study (see Fig.2). This mosque is located in a historical zone of the centre of city, near two analogous important buildings, Sultan Abdul Samad Secretarial Buildings and the Railway Station, two major famous colonial buildings.

Source of Evidence Related to Case Study

Among various types of source evidence mentioned by Yin (2009a, p. 101) and Gillham (2000, p. 21) and Creswell (2012, p. 182), the useful ones for this study were deemed to be documentation, direct observation and audiovisual materials. In the direct observation and site inspections step, the detailed architectural style, and architectural elements and factors were noted and recorded on mosque survey forms. Key information recorded in the forms included general form, 'mass and space' and Islamic elements of the mosque (*ivan*,

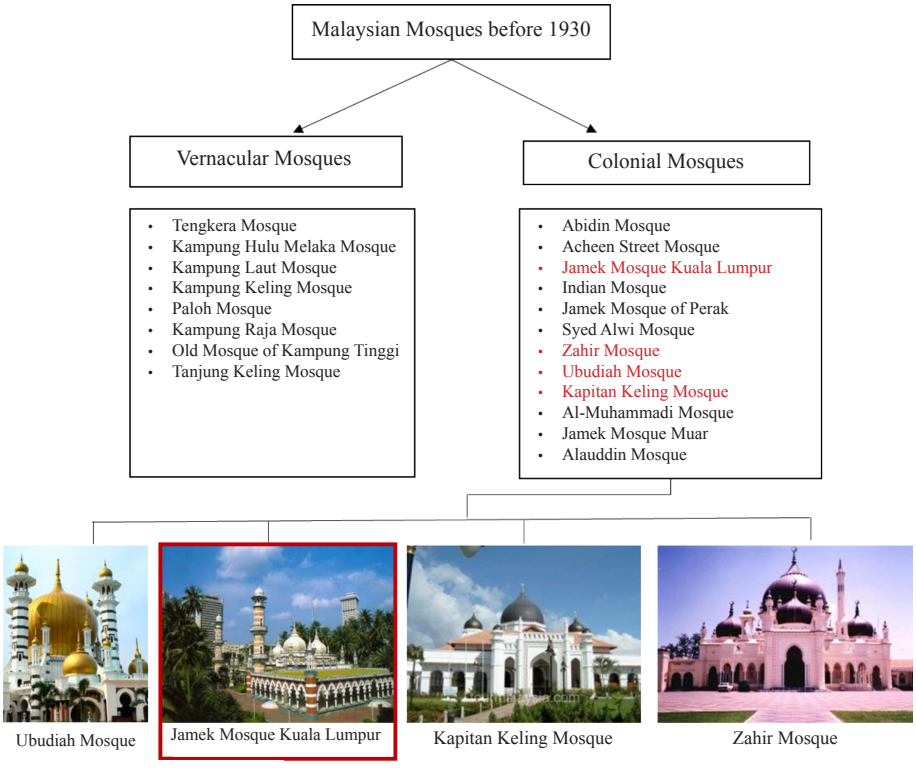


Fig.2: Selection of case study (authors).

minaret, *Mihrab* and dome). The mosque was studied externally and internally following permission from the mosque authorities. Moreover, other documents (measure drawings and other information) were gathered from The Heritage Malaysia Trust (*Badan Warisan Malayisa*).

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque (1909AD)

The architect in charge of the design of the Jame Mosque was A. B. Hubbock. He was also the architect in charge of the design of Masjid Ubudiah in Perak, which was the first mosque to use the onion-shaped dome in Malaysia. Hubbock previously served in India as the Deputy Director of the Architecture Department of the Public Works. This experience prompted him to adopt features from Northern Indian Mughal architecture. The first attempt at the concept was on the Sultan Samad hall. After that, this concept was repeated on the Jamek Mosque (Malaysia, 2008).

Moorish and Mughal samples

Samples of each Moorish and Mughal architecture were selected. The criterion for the section was that the samples representing their architecture and the main characteristics of mosques in their architecture can be seen in these samples. Moreover, they are included as congregational mosques. The best Moorish-design mosque for this research is the Mosque of Córdoba and for the Mughal-design mosque it is the Jama Masjid, Delhi (refer to Fig.3). The overview of these mosques is as follows:

- The **Jama Masjid, Delhi (1656AD)** was the largest mosque in the Indian sub-continent, after the Friday mosque of Lahore (Pakistan). This mosque was built by Shah Jahan, the most famous king of the Mughal Empire, and is characterised by two parts: its main prayer hall and a large courtyard enclosed by cloisters. The mosque is constructed upon a raised platform that leads to three stairs from the north, south and east entrance. The Haram, or prayer hall, is projected into the court as a totally freestanding block (Stierlin & Stierlin, 2002; Bunce, 2008).
- The **Mosque of Córdoba (987AD)**, also known as Great Mosque of Córdoba was a wonderful masterpiece of the medieval world for both Muslims and Christians. The mosque was built over the site of a Roman temple. The Great Mosque of Córdoba has a hypostyle plan, consisting of a big rectangular prayer hall and a medium enclosed courtyard. The style of the mosque follows the design of the Umayyad and Abbasid mosque in both Iraq and Syria. Nevertheless, the articulation of the interior of the prayer hall was unprecedented (Creswell, 1958).

DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis measured two major Islamic foreign architectural influences in the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque by some Islamic architectural elements. There are two categories in this analysis which include specific mosque elements (prayer

hall, minaret and *Mihrab*) and general elements for Islamic buildings such as the dome and the arch. Besides that, scale, form and 'mass and space' as general factors were analysed. Each of these elements and factors was studied in the case study (Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque) and both samples of Moorish and Mughal architecture.

General Analysis

The significant point of view in the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque dictates that scale of mosque is smaller and inadequate for the purpose of Friday congregational prayers. Due to this, the enclosed spaces were added to the mosque in post-renovation (one in the centre and two at the sides of the prayer hall) (see Table 1).

It is rather common for mosques to have a surrounding courtyard. Unlike the importance of the courtyard in the Mughal style, the courtyard in the Córdoba Mosque was never able to function as the heart of the mosque, and has always been minor despite its mass (Hillenbrand, 1994). The Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque previously lacked a courtyard. During renovations, the courtyard was added and it was covered, although it was not surrounded by the whole mass (prayer hall, portico). The courtyards in the Kuala Lumpur Mosque mirrors the design commonly found in Moorish styles.

Generally, the ratio of mass to open space in the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque (0.2) is analogous to that of the Córdoba Mosque (0.3) rather than to that of the Delhi sample (0.8), which implies the non-essential role of the courtyards in the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque (see Table 2 & Fig.4).

Prayer Hall

The enclosed space of the Delhi Mosque was designed based on hierarchy. An observer first comes across the *ivan*, followed by the aisle, then finally, the gallery. On the other, the hypostyle plan as seen in the Córdoba Mosque consists of a rectangular prayer hall and an enclosed courtyard. The system of columns supporting double arcades of piers and arches are rather unusual (Barrucand & Bednorz, 2007). Columns and domes intricately articulate the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque, which disregards the articulation of internal space, placing more emphasis on continuous space throughout the prayer hall.

Jama Masjid, Delhi Córdoba Mosque

Fig.3: Samples of Mughal and Moorish architecture.

TABLE 1
General Analysis Based on Scale (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Scale		Function
	Small	Large	
Delhi Mosque		■	Congregational
Córdoba Mosque		■	Congregational
Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque	■		Congregational

TABLE 2
Analysis of Mosques Based on Form and Proportion (Authors)

Name	General Form		Location of mass to open space	Proportion of mass to open space
	Mass	Space		
Delhi Mosque	Rectangle	Square	A round courtyard	0.8
Córdoba Mosque	Rectangle	Rectangle	A round courtyard	0.3
Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque	Rectangle	Rectangle	Opposite courtyard	0.2

TABLE 3
Analysis of Prayer Hall of Mosque Samples (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Cloister	Ivan	General Space	Material
Delhi Mosque	■	■	Articulation with 7 bays	Red sand stone
Córdoba Mosque	■	-	Articulation with hypostyle	Red and white stone
Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque	-	-	Articulation with columns of domes	Concrete and plaster

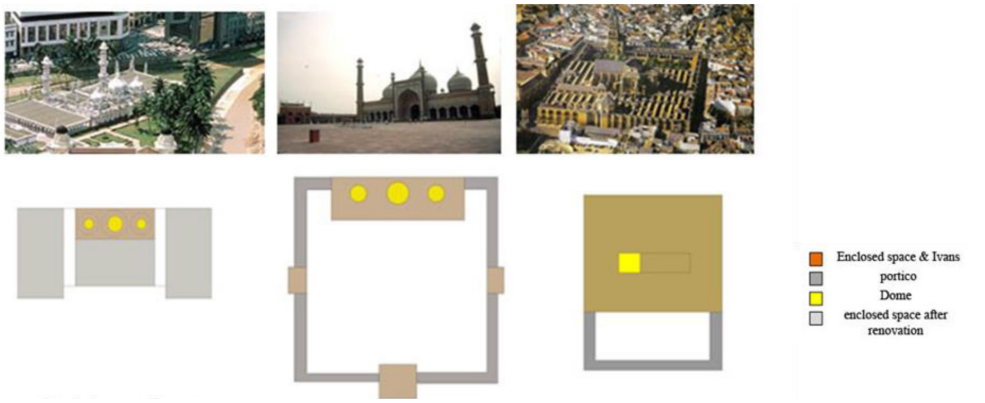
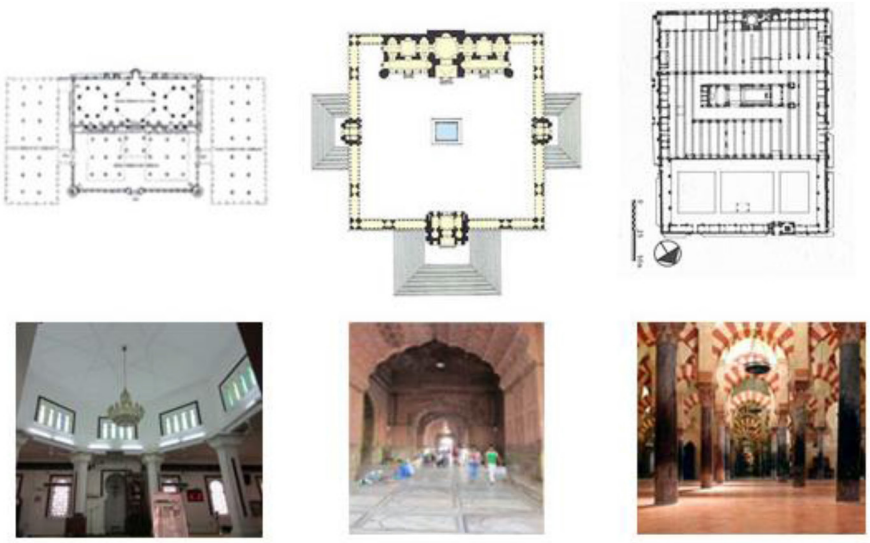


Fig.4: Mass and space of mosques

As seen in Table 3 and Fig.5, the consecrated space for prayer in the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque must be uncluttered. However, our observation proved otherwise, as it seemed to be rather crowded with columns lining the mosque's interior. The columns were too closely aligned, mirroring designs seen in the Jama Masjid, Delhi. It is probable that the scale of both mosques was not taken into consideration in this case, resulting in a poor imitation.

Ivan

The striking point about the Mosque's courtyard after renovation and with the addition of a courtyard) is the lack of an *ivan* (as seen in the Córdoba Mosque) and portico (*ravagh*). There are three internal entrances in the Mosque that were highlighted with two small minarets (like the Mughal mosque) and variation type of arch (horseshoe arch) (see Fig.6, Table 4).



Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Mosque

Fig.5: Prayer hall of mosques.

TABLE 4
Analysis of Samples 'S Ivans (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Position of *ivan*				Material
	North	East	West	South	
Delhi Mosque	■	■	■	■	Red sand stone
Córdoba Mosque	-	-	-	-	-
Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque	-	-	-	-	-

Minarets

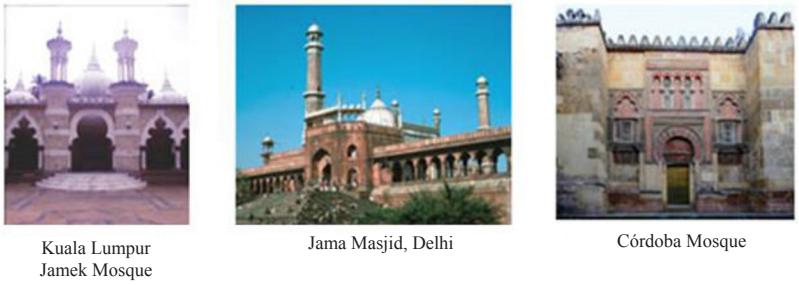
Needless to say, the design of the minarets as a whole has also become another key decorative landmark of a mosque. The two large minarets of the Masjid Jamek of Kuala Lumpur are heavily influenced by foreign architectural elements, the Moorish and Moghul amalgam influence. The position and number of minarets in the Mosque were completely influenced by the Mughal style. Also, the number of balconies is similar to Delhi's Jama Masjid. The alternating materials in bands were used in this style, imitating Moorish architecture.

Contrasting the Mughal and Moorish samples, the minarets of the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque are octagonal in shape and made from modern material (concrete with brick and white banding as embellishment). Additionally, several mini minarets were employed as roofs of the prayer halls and courtyards' corner like several Mughal mosques (Fig.7, Table 5).

Domes

The location of the domes in Mughal architecture is an important symbolic centerpiece of a Mughal mosque. The dome outwardly determines the position of the *mihrab* of the mosque, since the *mihrab* is not visible from the exterior (Hillenbrand, 1994).

The roofs in Moorish mosques are flat, with a blank upper section. An example of



Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Mosque

Fig.6: Ivans of mosques

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Mosque | Mini Minarets of Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque

Fig.7: Minarets of mosques

this can be seen in the Maghribi buildings, which exhibit a fascination with domes. They are less structurally impressive and emphasise more scintillating decorative inventiveness. The importance of the central nave is enhanced by its being roofed with ataractic domes, terminating on the outside in the form of paramedical roofs (Creswell, 1958). Another characteristic of the Maghribi mosques is the use of the pierced, ribbed or fluted dome, especially over the Mihrab (Hillenbrand, 1994).

According to Table 6 & Fig.8, there are three bulbous domes in the roof of the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque exhibiting influences of Mughal architecture. It should be noted that the domes have an octagonal base to them, due to the difference in time of construction. The structure of the dome was built with new material (steel) for support. The flat roof system used here is merely a modern addition to the original mosque's design.

Mihrab

Generally, it was noted that the *mihrab* was rather decorative, ornamented with Islamic geometric patterns and covered in expensive materials such as red and white sand stone (Jama Masjid, Delhi) and coloured plaster and marble (Córdoba Mosque). However, the simple *mihrab* found in the Jamek

TABLE 5
Analysis of Sample's Minarets (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Position & Number				Shape (horizon)	Material	Number of balconies
	Gateways	Courtyard's corner	Ivan	Prayer hall			
Delhi Mosque	20*	2	2	_	Circular	Red sand stone	2 (larger minarets)
Córdoba Mosque	_	1	_	_	Square	Stone	5
Kuala Lumpur Mosque	2	6+4*	4	4+24*	Octagonal	Brick & concrete (white banding)	2 (larger minarets)

TABLE 6
Analysis of Mosques's Domes (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Position	Form	Drum	Material	Number	Type
Delhi Mosque	Centre	Bulbous	Circular	White marble	3 (Centre is larger)	Double shell
Córdoba Mosque	Over the *mihrab*	Ribbed	_	Stucco, stone	One	Single shell
Kuala lumpur Mosque	Centre	Bulbous	Octagonal	Brick & steel	3 (centre is larger)	Single shell

*mini minarets

Mosque of Kuala Lumpur is situated opposite the main entrance to this space. As a matter of fact, the *mihrab* here was a common closed niche with a horseshoe arch (like the Córdoba Mosque) having internal walls perforated by tiny holes (refer to Fig.9).

Arch

Hillenbrand (1994) mentioned that one of the main features of the Córdoba Mosque is the usage of wide ranges of the arch (horseshoe, lobed, multi-foil, interlaced, cusped, trefoil, lambrequin) and that the Delhi Jama Masjid was designed using the cusped and ogee arch. Table 7 and Fig.10 present the view and analysis of arches in the samples. The arches of the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque are in the multi-foil design, while the ogee arch acts as the peak of the set. Additionally, the horseshoe arch derived from the Moorish style can be seen in some architecture in the centre of each edge and the windows.

Courtyard's Façade

The façade (from up down) of the Mughal sample includes the arch, separate frieze for each arch and shallow eave. However, both the Córdoba and Kuala Lumpur Mosques use shallow eaves without any frieze, which makes their height less than that of the Delhi

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Mosque

Fig.8: Domes of mosques

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Mosque

Fig.9: Mihrab of mosques

TABLE 7
Analysis of Sample'S Arch (Authors)

Name	Form	Position		Material
		Inside	Outside	
Delhi Mosque	Cusped & ogee	Rectangle	Square	Red sand stone
Córdoba Mosque	Horseshoe, lobed, multi-foil, interlaced, cusped, trefoil, lambrequin	Rectangle	Rectangle	Red and white
Kuala Lumpur Mosque	Cusped & ogee & horseshoe	Rectangle	Rectangle	Concrete

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque | Jama Masjid, Delhi | Córdoba Jame Mosque

Fig.10: Arches of mosque samples.

Mosque. The columns of both Mughal and Moorish samples are rectangular, contrasting with the circular shape of the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque (see Table 8 & Fig.11).

Chhatris is a Mughal and Hindu term for a domed kiosk on the roof of a temple, tomb or mosque (Petersen, 2002). The position and form of this element in Kuala Lumpur is similar to Indian mosques, but is only used for the top of minarets (see Table 9).

CONCLUSION

The similarity between the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque and both Mughal and Moorish architecture can be divided into four categories:

1. Similarity between Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque and Mughal architecture
   - Dome (position, number, type), type of drum
   - Minaret (position, number of balcony)
   - using Indian element (*Chhatri*)
2. Similarity with Moorish architecture
   - Façade courtyard
   - The proportion of mass to space
   - lack of *ivan*
3. Similarity between Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque and both Mughal and Moorish architecture
   - Diverse types of arch internally and externally

TABLE 8
Analysis of Courtyard Façade (Authors)

Name of Mosque	Eave	Parapet	Frieze
Delhi Mosque	Shallow eave	■	■
Córdoba Mosque	Shallow eave	■	-
Kuala Lumpur Mosque	Shallow eave	■	-

TABLE 9
Analysis of Indian Formal Element

Name of Mosque	Position of *Chhatris*				Material	Shape of Drum
	Gateways	Roof of Prayer Hall	Minaret	Corner		
Delhi Mosque	■	-	■	■	White marble	Polygonal
Kuala Lumpur Mosque	-	-	■	-	Concrete & stone	Polygonal

Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque

Jama Masjid, Delhi

Córdoba Mosque

Chhatris in Jama Masjid, Delhi

Fig.11: Facade courtyard of mosques.

- The form of minaret is an amalgam of both Moorish and Mughal architecture

4. Difference between Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque and both Mughal and Moorish samples
   - Small scale of mosque even though the function is congregational
   - Wide use of semi enclosed space because of climate conditions
   - The structure and material of many sections (due to difference in time of construction)
   - Position of courtyard in comparison of enclosed space
   - Using different material

In many aspects, the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque was influenced by Mughal architecture (the Delhi Mosque) rather than Moorish architecture (the Córdoba Mosque). Generally, Malaysian mosques

differ from foreign ones due to differences in time construction and local climate. This makes the Kuala Lumpur Jamek Mosque a good sample for Malaysian mosques during the British Colonial period (1800-1930) that were influenced by both Moorish and Mughal architectural styles. However, in this case study, the impact of Mughal architecture was found to be clearer and more obvious. This is indeed in line with the view of scholars that Malaysian colonial buildings were influenced by Mughal architecture.

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Human Versus Nature in Ted Hughes's Sense of Place: *Remains of Elmet* and *Moortown Diary*

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ABSTRACT

This study examines Ted Hughes's portrayal of the relationship between mankind and nature in 'Remains of Elmet' and 'Moortown Diary'. The central theme of 'Remains of Elmet' is the toll that both the textile industry and Methodism had on Calder Valley's natural landscape and man's psyche. Hughes believes that the healing process is attainable by connecting with the elemental energy of the natural world, thereby acquiring nature's capacity for continuous rebirth and rejuvenation. However, Hughes provides the possibility of balance between civilisation and the natural world in 'Moortown Diary'. The sequence concentrates on the facets of death and birth of the farm livestock.

Keywords: Calder Valley, Industry, Methodism, Moortown, farming, Mother Nature, mankind

Ted Hughes's interest in the concept of place is influenced by his birthplace Mytholmroyd, a village in Calder Valley, West Yorkshire. Hughes believes that Calder Valley is a place of eternal conflict between mankind and the Nature Goddess, the latter being embodied in the natural elements: water, air, earth and stone. This is the main focus of 'Remains of Elmet' (1979b), which explores the curative power in the natural world, revealed to the poet through Calder Valley's landscape and Fay Godwin's black and white photographs of the region. In his interpretation of the concept of nature in Hughes's poetry, Keith Sagar (2000) writes:

> *Nature defined not only as the earth and its life forms, powers and processes, but also as the female in all its manifestations, and as the 'natural man' within the individual psyche. It is the story of Man's mutilation of Nature in his attempt to make it conform to the procrustean bed of his own patriarchal, anthropocentric and rectilinear thinking.* (p. 2)

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Hughes (1994) also states his opinion regarding the significance of nature in his poetry: "It is a story of decline. When something abandons Nature, or is abandoned by Nature, it has lost touch with its creator, and is called an evolutionary dead-end" (p. 129). Hughes's poetry on place hence extends to include more than the issues of Calder Valley; it concerns the sickness of modern civilisation and human psyche due to crimes against the Nature Goddess.

The lives of Calder Valley's people are addressed in "Hill-Stone was Content". The poem portrays the readiness of an anthropomorphised stone to lose its contact with the earth, its origin and be fixed in a mill. The stone is enslaved by civilisation, the noises of which veil the divine language of the natural world. "The rise of classical science . . . [is] associated with the rise of secular values: notions of progress and liberalism which were increasingly to regard nature as something to be controlled and manipulated for utilitarian, material purposes" (Pepper, 1996, p.148). Therefore Hughes seeks to recover the sense of the sacred, which is veiled by the dark shades of industry:

Hill-Stone was Content
To be cut, to be carted
And fixed in its new place.
It let itself be conscripted
Into mills. And it stayed in position
Defending this slavery against all.
It forgot its wild roots
Its earth-song
In cement and the drum-song of looms. (RE, p. 37)

Not only was the stone alienated from its origins in Calder Valley, the people as well were converted into spiritless, almost stone-like beings.

> *The discipline of war and the discipline of industry reinforce each other – conscription serves to produce a compliant workforce; the conscripted men (both literal and metaphorical) identify with their oppression, enacting it as a defiant heroism; industry like war reduces the workers to replaceable functions, alienating them from their own humanity.*
> (Roberts, 2011, p.157).

Civilisation shelters man, denying him direct contact with nature. Ultimately man's disconnection from the natural world led to his denial of the natural inside him. Man's psyche consequently became ill and corrupted. The people of Calder Valley were fixed to their working places inside mills, among machines. They gradually forgot their sense of the natural, spiritual and divine:

And inside the mills mankind
With bodies that came and went
Stayed in position, fixed like the stones
Trembling in the song of looms.
And they too became four-cornered, stony
In their long, darkening stand
Against the guerrilla patience
Of the soft hill-water. (RE, p. 37)

The poem addresses crimes against nature on two levels: the natural world and the natural instincts of human beings. The destruction of man's relationship with nature is followed in the poem by the defeat of his most powerful tools of destruction, his military forces. They were defeated by natural elements that have long been ignored, as they were considered inferior to human mental prowess. The poem was written "in the aftermath of the most humiliating failure of a technologically superior army, in Vietnam, against guerilla fighters, whose native strength and attunement to the land is not merely a metaphor for the strength of the water but a model of human relationship to land" (Roberts, 2006, p. 132). Calder Valley's mills have not only enslaved the people but also reduced the quality of their life. The subject of "Hill-stone was Content" is thus the cultural bankruptcy and a hypnotised generation enslaved by a bleak landscape and harsh social structure. The poem makes explicit the extent to which places can shape a people's destiny and, conversely, the people's contribution to destruction of a place.

Hughes continues exploring the destructive elements of human civilisation in "Mount Zion". The poem demonstrates that Hughes is attentive to the way in which the architecture of religion incorporates its spirit into the landscape. The poem is accompanied by a photograph of a grim, jet-black chapel, suggesting the quality of life that Methodism has brought to Calder Valley. Hughes believes that Methodism is harmful because its emphasis on the masculinity of God is an implicit denial of the concept of the Mother Goddess, the feminine principle underpinning earth and nature. Nature consequently lost her sacredness and was destroyed by the people of Calder Valley whenever doing so served their economic needs. Methodism further neglects the imaginative perception of life, human instincts and the natural urges of the body, which contribute to the fulfilment of the human psyche. Hughes mentions the following regarding the negative impact of the preaching of Parson William Grimshaw of Haworth, the late eighteenth-century preacher, on Calder Valley's cultural landscape:

> *To judge by the shock-wave, which could still be felt, I think, well into this century, he struck the whole region 'like a planet' . . . To a degree, he changed the very landscape. His heavenly fire, straight out of Blake's Prophetic Books, shattered the terrain into biblical landmarks: quarries burst open like craters, and chapels the bedrock transfigured – materialized standing in them.*
> (Weissbort, 2002, p. 96)

Hughes believes that Calder Valley's cultural landscape is responsible for the place's forbidding outlook. Glyn Hughes (1975) also criticises Methodism, its "absolute determination, overcoming all difficulties, overcoming all human need for rest, to build God's mansion! – which, as

it turned out, was as bleak as an outcrop of millstone-grit rock; and whose conditions were as harsh, spiritually, as those of a mill were, physically" (pp. 82-83). However, this sense of being trapped could be the reason for Hughes' subsequent interest in Calder Valley's landscape. Hughes' fears of restrictions freed his imagination to explore the place, searching through it for reflections of his inner being, which is essentially divine, infinite and free.

The poet offers a bleak description of Calder Valley's chapel, indicating that its gloom shadowed the sacred light of the White Goddess. It was the place to which the poet headed during his childhood, an unavoidable duty rather than a spiritual yearning:

Blackness
Was a building blocking the moon.
Its wall – my first world-direction –
Mount Zion's gravestone slab.
Above the kitchen window, that uplifted mass
Was a deadfall –
Darkening the sun of everyday
Right to the eleventh hour.
Marched in under, gripped by elders
Like a jibbing calf
I knew what was coming.
(*RE*, p. 82)

The poetic lines concisely portray the sacrifice of nature by culture through the image of the "jibbing calf". The chapel-people were like "a mesmerised commissariat". The women were "bleak as Sunday rose-gardens" and the men were "in their prison-yard, at attention, / Exercising their cowed, shaven souls" (*RE*, p. 82). Hughes criticises the chapel-people's excessive fear of life and joy. He believes that this sense of fear is responsible for the suppression of the nature and freedom they carry within them:

The convicting holy eyes, the convulsed Moses mouthings.
They were terrified too.
. . . . . .
They terrified me, but they terrified each other.
And Christ was only a naked bleeding worm
Who had given up the ghost.
(*RE*, p. 82)

Hughes (2007) writes in a letter addressed to Moelwyn Merchant: "It began to dawn on me why from early days I had always dreaded Sunday as a day of psychological torment, and why the whole business of Sunday in the Calder Valley (Fanatic blend of Methodism and Chartism) had always seemed to me a performance at the expense of the real thing" (p. 579). The suppression of the people's inner-life was so complete that any spiritual stirring, even as slight as a cricket's music, would cause panic and be received with suspicion:

Alarm shouts at dusk!
A cricket had rigged up its music
In a crack of Mount Zion wall.
A cricket! The news awful, the shouts awful, at dusk –

Like the bear-alarm, at dusk, among smoky tents –
What was a cricket? How big is a cricket? (*RE*, p. 82)

The element of fear is again addressed through the "alarm shouts" of the chapel-people in response to the cricket's harmonious music. The cricket's music symbolises the raw energy of the natural world that stimulates an awareness of the divine presence of Mother Nature. Yet, the community's hostile stance towards nature is a reflection of the failure of Methodism to connect with the supreme spirit of the universe.

However, in "Heptonstall Old Church" Hughes holds the refining culture of medieval Christianity in high regard. The church of St. Thomas à Becket was built in Heptonstall between 1256 and 1260. The west face of the church tower fell in 1847 after a storm. The ruin of the church, Leonard M. Scigaj (1986) writes, "becomes in Hughes' words and in Fay Godwin's photographs the shrine where an uplifting cultural idea landed like 'a great bird.' The bare arches of the church, which stand so nakedly in Godwin's photograph, coax from the poet's animated spirit an image of a huge bird carcass" (p. 242):

A great bird landed here.
Its song drew men out of rock,
Living men out of bog and heather.
Its song put a light in the valleys
And harness on the long moors.
Its song brought a crystal from space
And set it in men's heads.
(*RE*, p. 118)

Edward Hadley (2010) writes that "the central image of the crystal carries with it connotations of clarity and, as naturally occurring mineral, an authentic natural connection" (p. 61). The 'great bird' refers to the nature Goddess, whose divine light is dimmed due to the alienation of the community of Calder Valley from nature:

Then the bird died.
Its giant bones
Blackened and became a mystery.
The crystal in men's heads
Blackened and fell to pieces.
The valleys went out.
The moorland broke loose.
(*RE*, p. 118)

In Hughes' poetry, black is associated with Protestantism, Methodism and industry. These are the destructive forces that, Hughes believes, alienated the community of Calder Valley from the Nature Goddess and consequently, conferred on the place its mournful and sorrowful aspect. Finally, 'Remains of Elmet' (1979 b) reveals a conflict at the heart of the place, a struggle in the natural world and the very soul of the human inhabitant. Hughes believes that

Calder Valley's Nature Goddess was raped by industry, but the community of the Valley was totally indifferent to the violation of their natural surroundings. Hughes seeks to harmonise and reconcile man's relationship with the Goddess. His poetic quest continues in his next book of verse, in which he attempts to reach a balance between nature and culture.

The harmonious relationship between man and nature is a key theme in Hughes' 'Moortown Diary' (1979a). This sequence is a diary in verse on everyday life on Moortown farm. The farm is near Winkleigh, in Devon. Hughes ran Moortown with his father-in-law, Jack Orchard. The book is partly inspired by the retreat of the farming community in North Devon and the near extinction of organic procedures in farming. Concerning this secluded region of England, Hughes (1979 a) wrote the following in his introduction to 'Moortown Diary':

In the early 1970s, the ancient farming community in North Devon was still pretty intact and undisturbed, more so than anywhere else in England. No industrial development or immigrant population had ever disturbed it. A lucky combination of factors kept tourists to the minimum, and those few to the sparse resorts on the rocky fringe. The high rainfall and poor soil deterred the sort of farmer who might try to change things. (p. vii)

However, 'Moortown Diary' frequently addresses the pattern of birth and death in animal life and mourns the absence of man's solitary encounter with this natural process that constitutes part of the melodious rhythm of life.

This is evident in "Last Night", which addresses death that is immediately followed by regeneration. The poem presents a ewe that has lost her twin lambs, which were either born prematurely or were defective at birth (Twiddy, 2009, p. 255). Hughes, the farmer-poet, and the other farm-workers left the bereaved ewe with one of her dead lambs, which she called for mournfully to join her in the next field:

She would not leave her dead twins.
The whole flock
Went on into the next field, over the hill,
But she stayed with her corpses. We took one
And left one to keep her happy.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .*She had gone through*
Into the next field, but still lingered
Within close crying of her lamb, who lay now
Without eyes, already entrails pulled out
Between his legs. She cried for him to follow. . . (*MD*, p. 25)

The ewe's call of grief brought to her two rams, grey-face and black-face, and as life should on occasion persist though brutally,

The greyface turned away as if
He'd done something quite slight but necessary
And mounted her as she nibbled. There he stayed.
The blackface ran at her and, baffled, paused.
Searched where to attack to get her for himself.
The greyface withdrew and flopped off,
And she ran on nibbling.
(*MD*, p. 26)

Ian Twiddy (2009) writes that the action of the poem moves "from grief to substitution . . . from . . . [grieving] for a dead lamb, to the consolatory reproduction of another" (p. 256). The poem concludes with the image of "two or three lambs [that] wobbled in the cold" (*MD*, p. 26), struggling to survive in an apparently impersonal and unsympathetic universe. Mankind's hidden self is exposed in the poem through the more instinctual behaviour of the animal world.

The partnership between life and death continues in the next poem, "February 17th". The poem presents a lamb that cannot be delivered, and consequently is strangled while his mother is giving birth. To save the life of the mother, the farmer-poet,

Went
Two miles for the injection and a razor.
Sliced the lamb's throat-strings, levered with a knife
Between the vertebrae and brought the head off
To stare at its mother, its pipes sitting in the mud
With all earth for a body.
(*MD*, p. 30)

The final image of the lamb's decapitated head staring at his living mother reveals that life sometimes fails to regenerate itself. It also suggests that the dead lamb would ultimately mingle with the body of the earth, and death is the process of transforming into a new form of life. However, the farmer-poet extracted the rest of the lamb's body by placing his hand in the mother's entrails while pushing against the mother's birth push. He caught the knee of the dead body, and then began pulling with the birth push until "in a smoking slither of oils and soups and syrups – / . . . the body lay born, beside the hacked-off head" (*MD*, p. 31). Terry Gifford (2009) writes the following in regard to the poetic lines above:

> *The alliteration of these final two lines creates two quite opposite effects. The long run of the 's' sounds is onomatopoeic in enacting a flow, while the two beats of the 'b' and of the 'h' are a staccato enactment of body and head, birth and death, confronting each other.*

This echoes the earlier image of a living mother facing the dead head of its offspring in the mud, 'with all earth for a body'. Here is a forceful and primeval image that links these processes back into the cycles of the earth itself. (p. 25)

Hughes believes that using chemicals in the agricultural process brings a detrimental effect to the land and the produce. He mentions that "this pressure, like 'the technological revolutions and international market madness that have devastated farmers, farms and farming', is under the surface of what these poems record" (Gifford, 2009, p. 52). The farmer-poet exhibits moral certainty in the struggle against death. This brought out the best of him: his love, strength and courage. Further, the ability of man to carry on with natural conditions makes him physically and emotionally strong. It offers him the chance to see the miracle of life and to endure with high dignity the dark side of it. It also kindles within him care for the environment and compassion for animals.

This Hughes tackles again in "Little Red Twin". The poem is about a newly born calf that seems unlikely to survive and is abandoned by her mother whose,

Power-milk
Has overdone this baby's digestion who now,
Wobbly-legged, lags behind the migrations
From field-corner to corner.
(*MD*, p. 42)

The farmers do not abandon hope, and they "brim her with pints of glucose water" (*MD*, p. 42), despite that "examiners" believed that "She might not make it. Scour / Has drained her. She parches, dry-nosed" (*MD*, p. 42). Ultimately, it is the curing power of the Nature Goddess that brings the calf back to life:

The smell of the mown hay
Mixed by moonlight with driftings of honeysuckle
And dog-roses and foxgloves, and all
The warmed spices of earth
In the safe casket of stars and velvet
Did bring her to morning. And now she will live. (*MD*, p. 44)

The poem demonstrates that miracles can happen in a place once the will of mankind unites with that of the natural world. Moortown farm integrates nature and culture, reflecting the necessity of striking a balance between civilisation and the natural world.

In conclusion, 'Moortown Diary' is considerably different from 'Remains of Elmet' concerning man's relationship with nature. 'Remains of Elmet' presents people who are remains of religious traditions and industrial enterprise. Hughes' exploration of the place aims at healing the damage brought by industry and Methodism to the human psyche and to man's relationship with the natural world. He believes that the people of Calder Valley should recognise the existence of God through nature, not through their limited interpretation of the scriptures

which enslaved their bodies and souls rather than attuning them with the spirit of the Nature Goddess. Nature, in Hughes' poetry, is the element of man's higher self; nature should be approached and assimilated, not feared, avoided and exploited. Hughes' poetic quest continues in 'Moortown Diary', where man is successfully coping with the natural world; he is a midwife to nature's course of regeneration. Farming brought Hughes in contact with animals, the land and the seasons, and in direct proximity to the process of life and death. This allowed him to connect with his own essence deep within, have a wholesome relationship with the self and the other and apprehend his responsibility for planet Earth.

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Utilising Arabic-origin Loanwords in Teaching Malay as a Foreign Language

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ABSTRACT

After Sanskrit, Arabic is the second-largest donor language to the Malay vocabulary. Through a vocabulary survey containing 40 Arabic-origin Malay loanwords, this study examines the utility of explicit presentation of Arabic-origin Malay loanwords and their etymologies in teaching Malay as a foreign language to Arabic speakers. The participants included 20 Arabic-speaking students at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The participants averaged 24.4 correct answers and 17.6 newly learned vocabulary items. At 5% significance level, a clear significant difference was found in participants' scores before and after the presentation of the loanwords' Arabic etymologies (p = .000). This study concluded that the explicit presentation of Arabic-origin Malay loanwords containing one or more modified consonants or vowels and their etymologies benefits Arabic speakers who are learning Malay as a foreign language.

Keywords: Arabic, loanwords, Malay, cognates, etymology

ARABIC-SPEAKING STUDENTS AT MALAYSIAN UNIVERSITIES

According to the website of the Institute of International Education, Ministry of Higher Education of Malaysia, out of a total of 86,923 international students who have studied in Malaysia since 2010, Arabic-speaking students such as Yemenis, Libyans, Sudanese and Saudis form the fourth- (5,866, 6.7%), sixth- (3,930, 4.5%), seventh- (2,837, 3.3%) and eighth-largest groups (2,252, 2.6%), respectively. According to the records of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Arabic-speaking Iraqi, Sudanese and Yemeni postgraduates at that university number 113 (5% of the student body), 70 (3%) and 57 (3%), respectively. Among undergraduates, Yemeni, Saudi and Sudanese undergraduates number 33 (4%), 18 (2%) and 17 (2%), respectively. The predominant educational language

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at the majority of Malaysian universities is English; however, Malay—Malaysia's official language—is also widely spoken around the country. Furthermore, since 2013, international students at Malaysian universities have been required to attend basic Malay language courses and pass a final test as a requirement for completion of their studies. Since basic Malay proficiency is thus required for many international students, although they usually use English and have an infrequent need to communicate in Malay, it is important for both teachers and learners of Malay to consider effective methods for teaching and learning Malay as a foreign language.

ARABIC LOANWORDS IN MALAY

According to Crystal (1987, p. 317), Malay belongs to the Austronesian family of languages. Watson-Andaya and Andaya (1982, p. 14) state that seventh-century inscriptions in Old Malay had already borrowed many Sanskrit words owing to the growth in trade with India; this borrowing increased through contact with Buddhism and Hinduism. At the end of the 13th century, however, the leaders of the Pasai kingdom in Sumatra converted to Islam and prospered from trade with Muslim Indians (p. 53). In the early 15th century, the ruler of Malacca also accepted this faith (id.). The arrival of Islam in what is now Indonesia and Malaysia brought a subsequent influx of Arabic loanwords to the Malay language. Melebek and Moain (2006, p. 28; p. 29) report that from the beginning of the 14th century, Malay people had adopted the Arabic alphabet for writing their language and had started to borrow Arabic and Persian words. Jones, Grijns and de Vries (2007), in an etymological dictionary of Indonesian and Malay, note that Arabic and Persian are the second- and third-largest donor languages to Indonesian and Malay vocabulary after Sanskrit. Many words used even in everyday communication originate from Arabic. For example, *masa* and *waktu*, both of which mean "time" in Malay, come from Sanskrit and Arabic, respectively (p. 195; p. 339). Malay words for days of the week also come from Arabic (p. 7; p. 136; p. 141; p. 258; p. 271; p. 280; p. 282). However, Malay has two terms for "Sunday"—*hari minggu* and *hari Ahad*, respectively. *Minggu* ("week; Sunday") comes from Portuguese *domingo* ("Sunday"), while *Ahad* comes from Arabic [aḥad] ("one") (p. 7; p. 203). In addition, other time expressions such as *saat* ("second"), *jam* ("hour; clock"), *musim* ("season") and *abad* ("century") also come from Arabic (p. 3; p. 132; p. 213; p. 271). Therefore, knowledge of such useful Arabic loanwords can potentially facilitate Arabic speakers' learning of basic Malay for daily use. The present study aims to confirm the utility of introducing Arabic loanwords in teaching and learning Malay.

In this paper, Arabic words are transliterated in a slightly simplified International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) as the Arabic alphabet is not sufficient for indicating the pronunciation of words. In particular, short vowels are usually not indicated in Arabic writing except in religious texts, children's books,

Arabic textbooks for foreign learners and dictionaries. The second reason is that many readers of this article may not read Arabic. Since the voiced pharyngeal fricative and the sign of pharyngelisation that follows a consonant appear garbled on some computers, they are simplified as [‘] in this paper. The symbol of the glottal stop is simplified as [’]. In addition, the symbol indicating a long vowel is simplified as [:]. Voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar fricatives are simplified as [š] and [ž].

Most Arabic verbs contain roots consisting of three consonants. For instance, the root containing [k], [t] and [b] (in that order) encompasses a group of words related to the meaning “to write.” The Malay word *kitab* (“holy book”) comes from the Arabic word [kita:b] (“book”). The Arabic word [maktaba] (“library”) also stems from the same three-consonant root (Cowan, 1994, p. 952). Table 1 exemplifies Arabic verb roots along with selections of words derived from them in both Arabic and Malay. For example, the Malay words *ilmu* (“knowledge; study”) and *maklumat* (‘information’ in Malay) come from the Arabic words [‘ilm] and [ma‘lu:ma:t], which share the same three-consonant root ([‘], [l] and [m]) encoding the meaning “to know” (Jones, Grijns & de Vries, 2007, p. 119; p. 190). Similarly, *hukum* (“law”) and *mahkamah* (“tribunal”) come from Arabic words [ħukm] (“judgment, rule”) and [maħkama] (“tribunal”), which share the root consonants [ħ], [k] and [m] (“to judge; to rule”) (Cowan, 1994, p. 228; p. 229). Many Arabic-origin loanwords in Malay still preserve semantic correlations with their original etymologies and pronunciation despite various phonetic changes. Therefore, pointing out phonetic similarities can be the core of an explicit presentation of Arabic-origin vocabulary in teaching Malay to Arabic speakers. Furthermore, even when Arabic-speaking learners encounter unknown Malay words, they can successfully guess the meanings of most Arabic-origin words.

HYPOTHESIS AND OBJECTIVES

The present study hypothesises that an explicit presentation of Arabic-origin words in Malay which include one or more simplified consonants or vowels, and their etymologies in Arabic can facilitate Arabic-speaking beginning students’ learning of Malay as a foreign language. These learners may also be able to more effectively improve their Malay proficiency by focusing on Arabic-origin vocabulary in their learning of Malay in any context, including independent learning of vocabulary outside the classroom. Cowan (1994), an Arabic–English dictionary, was the primary reference for Arabic in the present study. Harper Collins (2005) and Hawkins (2011), English–Malay and Malay–English dictionaries, respectively, served as the primary references for Malay. The objective of the present study is to examine, through a vocabulary survey containing 40 Arabic-origin Malay loanwords, the utility of explicitly presenting Arabic-origin Malay words containing one or more modified consonants or vowels and their Arabic

TABLE 1
Examples of Arabic Verb Roots Used in Malay

Arabic verb roots and derived words ("translation")	Examples of Malay cognates
ʻ-l-m [ʻalima] ("to know")	
[ʻilm] ("knowledge, learning")	ilmu ("knowledge, science")
[ʻali:m] ("knowing, learned")	alim ("pious")
[ʻala:ma] ("mark, sign, token")	alamat ("sign, signal, address")
[maʻlu:ma:t] ("information") (plural form of [maʻlu:ma])	maklumat ("information")
ʻ-m-m [ʻamma] ("to be/become general, universal, common")	
[ʻa:mm] ("public, general")	am ("general")
[ʻawa:mm] (plural of [ʻa:mm])	awam ("public")
[ʻumu:m] ("generality")	umum ("general")
ʻ-r-f [ʻarafa] ("to know")	
[ʻari:f] ("wise") (archaic meaning)	arif ("wise, learned")
[iʻtira:f] ("recognition")	iktiraf ("to recognize")
[taʻri:f] ("definition, introduction")	takrif ("definition")
ħ-k-m [ħakama] ("to judge, rule")	
[ħukm] ("judgment, rule")	hukum ("law")
[ħaki:m] ("wise")	hakim ("judge")
[maħkama] ("tribunal")	mahkamah ("tribunal")
š-r-k [ša:raka] ("to share")	
[šarika] ("company")	syarikat ("company")
[muša:raka] ("participation")	masyarakat ("society")

(Sources of English translations: Cowan (1994) and Hawkins (2011))

etymologies in teaching Malay as a foreign language to Arabic speakers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Characteristics of Arabic Loanwords in Malay

Jones, Grijns and de Vries (2007), an etymological dictionary of Indonesian and Malay, contains thousands of loanwords from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other languages. Transliterated original words enable us to gain a better understanding of the phonetic changes that occur during the borrowing of words from Arabic to Indonesian and Malay. The principal differences in pronunciation between the original and loanword forms are as follows: the Arabic pharyngealised consonants [tʻ], [dʻ], [sʻ] and [ðʻ] are usually simplified as [t], [d], [s] and [z], respectively. Long vowels in the original words are shortened. The voiceless uvular stop [q] corresponds to [k] in Malay e.g. *kanun* ("secular laws") from Arabic [qa:nu:n] (p. 143).

Arabic loanwords are also combined with affixes proper to Malay. For example, the circumfixes *ke-* and *-an* serve to nominalise adjectives (Liaw, 2007, p. 12).

The Malay word *mahir* ("skilful"), which comes from the Arabic adjective [ma:hir] ("skilful"), also appears in the Malay noun *kemahiran* ("skill" or "ability"). (Note that the Arabic word for "skill" or "skilfulness" [maha:ra] (Cowan, 1994, p. 1089) is not used in Malay.) Similarly, Malay *adil* ("fair") and *keadilan* ("justice") both come from the Arabic word [ʻa:dil] ("fair"). In Arabic, [ʻada:la] and [ʻadl] are the noun forms of this adjective; both mean "justice" (Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 439), but neither is used in Malay. Similarly, the Malay word *sihat* meaning "fine" or "in good health," comes not from a related Arabic adjective but from the noun [sʻiħħa] ("health"). The productive use of the aforementioned Malay circumfixes enables this language to derive nouns from adjectives rather than borrowing related noun forms from Arabic. Because of this flexible derivation system, many Arabic-speaking learners find it challenging to understand and guess the meanings of Malay nouns derived from Arabic-origin adjectives. This is an example of negative language transfer between their first and target languages.

Many studies have been conducted on Arabic loanwords in Malay. For example, Campbell (1996) focuses on the distribution of *-at* and *-ah* endings in Malay loanwords from Arabic, analysing two source texts. Mohd Azidan bin Abdul Jabar (2004) focuses on differences between sounds in Arabic and their pronunciation by Malay-speaking learners of Arabic. Simplifications such as [sʻ] to [s] and [q] to [k] are almost identical with phonetic changes in Malay loanwords from Arabic. Ahmad and Jalaluddin (2012) investigate the phonology concerning Malay suffixes and prefixes. The Malay prefix *men(g)-*, which precedes proper Malay words as well as also loanwords, can encourage the phonetic simplification of loanwords. However, most of these studies have not been orientated towards identifying the most helpful vocabulary to introduce in teaching Malay as a foreign language.

Usefulness of Learners' First Language in Foreign Language Instruction

Ringbom (2007, p. 73) promotes the usefulness of cognates in teaching and learning foreign languages. He defines cognates as "historically related, formally similar words, whose meanings may be identical, similar, partly different or, occasionally, even wholly different." He also notes that the existence of cognates between two languages with little or no semantic similarity between their forms sometimes hinders learning (p. 75). Nation (2001, p. 351) insists that the use of learners' first languages in vocabulary tests efficiently informs them of word meanings and helps them answer questions. In a study on vocabulary teaching and learning in English as a second language, Gairns and Redman (1986, p. 48) note that similarities in prefixes and suffixes between English and a learner's first language facilitate comprehension of English vocabulary items with similar affixes. They also note that the number of similarities and differences between English and a learner's first language closely correlates to the amount

of time that may be necessary to learn English vocabulary and understand its word formation (p. 49). Swan (1997, p. 158) presents a contrastive list of semantically related words in English, French, Danish and Swedish. Listed English words are *tree*, *wood* (as material), *wood* (as small forest) and *forest*. The corresponding French words are *arbre* ("tree"), *bois* ("wood as material" or "small forest") and *forêt* ("forest"). In Danish, *træ* means "tree" and "wood" as material, and *skov* includes the meanings of "wood" as small forest and "forest." In Swedish, *träd* corresponds to "tree" and *trä* indicates "wood" as material. The Swedish word *skog* has a meaning almost identical to that of the Danish *skov*. Schmitt (2010, p. 73) notes that English-speaking learners of French and French-speaking learners of English may easily learn the vocabulary listed above because their languages share almost identical semantic divisions between the terms. Moreover, the English word *forest* and French word *forêt* ("forest") both originate from *forestis* ("outside") in Late Latin (Stevenson & Waite, 2011, p. 557). This formal similarity may also help English-speaking learners of French and French-speaking learners of English. Nation and Webb (2011, p. 62) also stress the effectiveness of showing relationships between words sharing the same etymology when they seem to clearly help learning. However, they emphasise facilitating memorisation rather than showing historical relationships between words. For instance, they cite *visible, envisage, revise, supervise, visual, vision* and *television* (p. 63)—all of which originate from *videre* ("to see") in Latin (Stevenson & Waite, 2011, p. 1616)—as potential etymologically-related entries in a learners' English dictionary. The preceding studies affirm the usefulness of considering learners' first languages when teaching languages, especially when spellings or affixes show clear similarities between L1 and L2.

"False Friends" in Malay

There are several *false friends* (etymological cognates with differing meanings) that involve Arabic and loanwords in Malay. For example, the Arabic word [kullijja], which includes meanings of "totality," "college" and "school/faculty of a university," became the Malay word *kuliah* ("lecture") (Cowan, 1994, p. 978; Hawkins, 2011, p. 258). The Arabic word [sa:ʿa] ("hour; clock; watch") has a Malay cognate *saat* ("second as unit of time") (Cowan, 1994, p. 515; Hawkins, 2011, p. 404). It is desirable that this type of vocabulary be presented carefully to learners.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Participants

The participants in this study were 20 Arabic-speaking postgraduate students at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. A majority of the participants were majoring in engineering or various fields in natural science. All of them were beginning Malay learners; however, four participants had already completed a Malay language course for beginners offered by the

University of Malaya. These four students had completed no other study of Malay in a language school or other institution and mostly communicated in Arabic and English. Hence, their vocabulary knowledge may be assumed to be nearly the same as that of the other participants. After the participants finished answering the check sheet on Page 1 of the questionnaire and answered multiple-choice questions on 40 Arabic loanwords on Page 2, each participant's numbers of correct answers and newly learned words were counted. The average scores of each of the two groups were analysed by a t-test to determine the usefulness of explicit presentation of Arabic-origin Malay words and their etymologies in teaching Malay as a foreign language. "Newly learned words" in this study refer to the words that were unrecognised on page 1 of the survey but were understood, enabling a correct answer to the corresponding multiple-choice questions after the participants had read the original Arabic forms presented beside each Malay word on Page 2 of the survey as shown in Table 3 of this article. No additional treatment was given.

Contents of the Questionnaire

The multiple-choice vocabulary survey in the present study covered 40 Arabic loanwords in Malay. With a few exceptions such as "obstacle" and "memorise," most of these words' corresponding English words i.e. the correct answers on Page 2 of the questionnaire, are among the vocabulary in the 3,000 most frequently used words according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Hornby, 2010). Therefore, the selection of words taught and tested here was appropriate for beginning students of Malay as a foreign language. The pronunciations of the 40 Malay words still conserve many features of the original Arabic forms; however, one or more consonants or vowels may have been changed to fit the Malay phonemic system. Phonetic changes are mainly observed in consonants in Malay loanwords because nine of the Arabic single consonants do not exist in Malay, whereas all short vowels in Arabic also exist in Malay. Therefore, this study mainly focuses on the influence of phonetic differences in consonants between original Arabic words and Malay loanwords. The questionnaire did not include certain Arabic loanwords frequently used in everyday communication such as *waktu* ("time," from Arabic [waqt]), *masalah* ("problem," from [mas'ala]) and *hadiah* ("gift," from [hadijja]) because these words have almost identical meanings and pronunciations in both languages, making it unnecessary to utilise the etymology for understanding. Moreover, several basic Arabic-origin Malay loanwords such as *umur* ("age," from [ʻumr]) and *musim* ("season," from [mawsim]) are often explicitly taught as Arabic loanwords in the Malay language course for international students at the University of Malaya. All the Malay words in the questionnaire contained one or more consonants or vowels that had undergone phonetic changes from their original forms in Arabic. For example, *kubur* ("grave"), which comes from Arabic [qubu:r] (also "grave"), includes [k], which

originates from [q] and a shorter [u] in the second syllable.

The vocabulary survey consisted of two pages. Page 1 was a simple check sheet for verification of the participants' vocabulary knowledge. It presented the 40 loanwords and yes/no columns. If the participants thought they knew the meaning of the Malay words, they checked "Yes" and wrote one or two primary meanings in a space designated for this purpose. If they encountered an unknown word, they simply checked "No." After completing Page 1, each respondent was shown, on the following page, the 40 words accompanied by their original spellings in Arabic. This page also included multiple-choice questions wherein the participants had to choose the most appropriate meaning of each Malay word from four options given. For example, the options on Page 2 for the Malay word *adat* ("custom") were "tool," "law," "history," and "custom." "Tool" was included as an option because the Arabic word

TABLE 2
Example from Page 1 of the Questionnaire

Do you know the meanings of the following Malay words? Please check "NO" or "YES." If yes, please write the main meaning of the words in the blank space in English or Arabic.		
adat (NO/YES)	(	)
aral (NO/YES)	(	)
eja (NO/YES)	(	)
hajat (NO/YES)	(	)
pakat (NO/YES)	(	)
sabar (NO/YES)	(	)
takrif (NO/YES)	(	)
tekad (NO/YES)	(	)
waris (NO/YES)	(	)

TABLE 3
Examples of Questions on Page 2 of the Questionnaire

Please check the most appropriate meaning of the following words. The origins of the Malay words are written in parentheses.				
adat (عادة)	1. tool	2. law	3. history	4. custom
aral (عرض)	1. problem	2. issue	3. obstacle	4. enemy
eja (هجاء)	1. to note	2. to spell	3. to record	4. to describe
hajat (حاجة)	1. ambition	2. intention	3. poverty	4. motivation
pakat (موافقة)	1. agreement	2. alliance	3. similarity	4. closeness
sabar (صبر)	1. humble	2. patient	3. prudent	4. calm
takrif (تعريف)	1. definition	2. recognition	3. learned	4. intelligent
tekad (اعتقاد)	1. opinion	2. determination	3. idea	4. will
waris (وريث)	1. maintenance	2. conservator	3. heir	4. protection

[ʾa:da] ("tool") that exists in Arabic has a pronunciation similar to [ʿa:da] ("custom"). Even if the participants positively identified and defined a word on Page 1, that answer was not considered correct if they chose an incorrect answer on Page 2. The original Arabic form of each Malay word is shown alongside to facilitate the participants' understanding of the meanings of the Malay words. The questionnaire does not provide any instruction on phonetic and semantic changes between Arabic and Malay; however, the explicit presentation of these original Arabic words may be a sufficiently effective teaching method.

Details of the Questioned Vocabulary

Consonants. A number of the consonants in these 40 words changed from their original forms in Malay. The Arabic consonants [ðʿ] and [dʿ], for example, changed to [l] in several Malay words. Cognate pairs of Arabic and Malay words reflecting this change in this study are Arabic [ðʿa:hir] ("distinct") and Malay *lahir* ("born, birth"), [ħafiðʿa] ("to protect" or "to memorise") and *hafaz*/*hafal* ("to memorise"), [ridʿa:ʾ] ("satisfaction") and *rela* ("willing"), and [ʿardʿ] ("breadth," "width" or "presentation") and *aral* ("obstacle"). Less frequently, [dʿ] changed to [dž], as in the change from Arabic [dʿami:n] ("responsible" or "liable") to Malay *jamin* ("guarantee"). The voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʿ] in Arabic corresponds to [k] in Malay, and usually occurs at the end of a syllable. Relevant words in this study are [daʿwa:] ("claim, lawsuit") in Arabic and *dakwa* ("accusation") in Malay and Indonesian, [džamʿ] ("gathering, collection") and *jamak* ("plural"), [iʿla:n] ("announcement" or "advertisement") and *iklan* ("advertisement"), [maʿna:] ("meaning") and *makna* ("meaning"), [niʿma] ("grace") and *nikmat* ("pleasure"), [raʿijja] ("subjects" or "citizens") and *rakyat* ("citizens") and [taʿri:f] ("definition") and *takrif* ("definition").

The voiceless uvular stop [q] in Arabic usually corresponds to [k] in Malay. Examples are [ba:qi:] ("remainder") and *baki* ("remainder"), [qawm] ("people") and *kaum* ("race"), [quwwa] ("power, strength") and *kuat* ("strong"), [qubu:r] ("graves" or "tombs") and *kubur* ("grave") and [la:ʾiq] ("suitable") and *layak* ("fit").

The dental non-sibilant fricatives [θ] and [ð] usually correspond to [s] and [z], respectively. Relevant words in the study include [θaldž] ("snow") and *salji* ("snow"), [wari:θ] ("heir") and waris ("heir"), [iðn] ("permission") and *izin* ("permission") and [mubaððir] ("wastrel") and *bazir* ("to waste").

The voiceless labiodental fricative [f] becomes [p] in several Malay words such as [fardʿ] ("duty") and *perlu* ("necessary"), [fudʿu:li:] ("inquisitive" or "curious") and *peduli* ("to care") and [muwa:faqa] ("agreement") and *pakat* ("agreement").

Arabic [m] sometimes became [ŋ] as in Arabic [mumkin] ("possible") and Malay *mungkin* ("maybe"), and Arabic [š] became [s] as seen in [šadžara] ("trees") and *sejarah* ("history"). In addition to changes in sound, some consonants in original Arabic words are deleted. The

voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʿ] in Arabic [ʿa:da] ("custom" or "habit") was lost, resulting in Malay *adat* ("custom"); Arabic [hidža:'] ("spelling") became Malay *eja* ("to spell"). Simplification of double consonants is seen in Malay *kuat* ("strong") from Arabic [quwwa] ("power" or "strength"), *kuliah* ("lecture") from [kullijja] ("college" or "school/faculty of a university") and *tamat* ("to finish") from [tamma] ("to be complete").

Vowels. In Malay, multiple consonants rarely appear in syllable codas. Arabic loanwords thus include epenthetic vowels to break up such consonant sequences. The following vocabulary items included in the study contain an additional [a]: Arabic [asʿl] ("origin") became Malay *asal* ("origin"), [ʿaql] ("mind, intelligence") became *akal* ("intelligence"), [sʿabr] ("patience") became *sabar* ("patient"), and [šarħ] ("explanation") became *syarah* ("to lecture"). In addition, some long vowels in Arabic were simplified and shortened in Malay: Arabic [ħa:dža] ("need") became Malay *hajat* ("intention"), [dži:ra:n] ("neighbor") became *jiran* ("neighbor"), and [sʿaħħa] ("to be correct") became *sah* ("valid").

Other types of changes. In some Arabic loanwords in Malay, one or more syllables have been dropped. Examples include Malay *bazir* ("to waste") from Arabic [mubaððir] ("wastrel"), *pakat* ("agreement") from [muwa:faqa] ("agreement") and *tekad* ("determination") from [iʿtiqa:d] ("firm belief"). In addition, another type of change can be found in the Malay word *matlamat* ("target"), a compound consisting of the native Malay word *mata* ("eye") and the Arabic loanword *alamat* ("address" or "sign"), which originated from [ʿala:ma] ("sign").

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The average number of correct answers was 24.4 out of 40 and that of newly learned words was 17.6. In addition, the total number of correct answers was 488 and that of newly learned words was 352. Table 4 shows the numbers of correct answers and newly learned words among the Arabic-speaking participants. In the table, the participants are labeled A1 through A20. Correlations between the test scores on pages 1 and 2 of the exercise (before and after the participants were given the Arabic cognates to the Malay vocabulary) were statistically analysed, and a clear significant difference was found (at the 5% significance level) between performances before and after the presentation of the Arabic etymologies (p = .000). The t-value was 13.528. After answering the questionnaire, most participants stated that Malay loanwords from Arabic were quite unfamiliar to them, except certain everyday words such as *sihat* ("in good health") and *khabar* ("news"). They also mentioned that memorising Malay vocabulary without explicit presentation of the original Arabic etymologies was quite difficult.

The principal advantage of explicit presentation of the original Arabic forms of Malay loanwords is that it alerts students to the transformations that certain sounds have

commonly undergone in being borrowed into Malay e.g. the Malay consonants [k] originating from Arabic [q] and [‘], [s] originating from [s‘] and [θ], [z] originating from [ð], [t] originating from [t‘], [h] originating from [ħ] and [p] originating from [f]. Malay words that include these modified sounds may be more difficult for Arabic speakers to recognise in comparison to Malay words that sound more similar to their original Arabic forms, such as *mahir* (“skilful”) originating from the Arabic adjective [ma:hir] (“skilful”). Moreover, epenthetic vowels that do not occur in the original words, such as the [a] inserted to the second syllable of the Malay word *sabar* from [s‘abr], can be more easily recognised by Arabic speakers who have been informed of the original words.

Table 6 shows the 15 Malay words most often recognised in this study. All of the 20 participants chose the most appropriate answers for *asal* (“origin”), *sabar* (“patient”), *kuat* (“strong”), *jiran* (“neighbor”), *makna* (“meaning”) and *takrif* (“definition”). The first two words contain an [a] that does not occur in the original Arabic [as‘l] and [s‘abr]; however, this did not hinder the participants’ understanding. All participants chose the correct meaning of *jiran* (“neighbour”). It appeared easy for them to guess the meaning of this word originating from [dži:ra:n] because the Malay form mostly preserves the original sounds, only shortening the vowels. Likewise, the addition of the [k] sound (originally pronounced [‘] in Arabic) in *makna* (“meaning”) and *takrif* (“definition”)

TABLE 4
Numbers of Correct Answers (Top Row) and Newly Learned Words (Bottom Row) Among Arabic-Speaking Participants

A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10
23	28	25	20	21	25	25	30	26	23
19	18	18	18	17	16	18	30	17	11

A11	A12	A13	A14	A15	A16	A17	A18	A19	A20
23	27	26	19	22	22	28	26	22	27
5	25	19	5	13	18	26	15	20	23

TABLE 5
Result of the t-Test Between Numbers of Words Known Before the Test and Numbers of Correct Answers on Page 2

	Total Numbers of Words Known before the Presentation of Arabic Words on Page 2	Total Number of Correct Answers on Page 2
	136	488
p-value	0.000*	
Df	18	
t-value	13.528	

did not impede their comprehension either. Nineteen participants correctly understood the meaning of *salji* ("snow"). The difference between [s] in Malay and [θ] in Arabic confused only one participant. Moreover, 19 respondents correctly chose the meaning of *kubur* ("grave"). *Pakat* ("agreement") received 18 correct responses, although no respondent was able to guess its meaning before the presentation of its etymology [muwa:faqa] ("agreement"). With 17 respondents choosing correct answers for *adat* ("custom"), it was the 11th most recognised word. The voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʿ] in the Arabic word [ʿa:da]—the original Arabic form of *adat*—was deleted in Malay, but its loss did not considerably affect the participants' understanding. Also, 17 participants chose the correct meaning of *izin* ("permission"), whose meaning is retained from the original Arabic [iðn]. As for *mungkin* ("maybe"), [m] in the original word [mumkin] changed to [ŋ], a change that negatively affected only three participants. The Malay word *tamat* was likewise correctly identified by 17 participants, although it contains a [t] that does not occur in its Arabic cognate [tamma] and its consonant [m] is no longer doubled as in the original Arabic.

Table 7 shows the 10 least recognised words. The meanings of *lahir* ("born" or "birth") and *sejarah* ("history") were correctly identified by only one participant. The [l] sounds in the Malay words *aral* ("obstacle"), *lahir* ("born" or "birth"), *peduli* ("to care") and *rela* ("willing"), which were originally [ðʿ] or [dʿ] in Arabic, may have been the principal impediment to the participants' correctly guessing the meanings. For *sejarah* ("history"), most participants chose "trees" as the definition

TABLE 6
Fifteen Most Recognised Malay Words

Malay	Etymologies	Number of Correct Answers
asal ("origin")	[asʿl] ("origin")	20
jiran ("neighbour")	[dži:ra:n] ("neighbour")	20
kuat ("strong")	[quwwa] ("power")	20
makna ("meaning")	[maʿna:] ("meaning")	20
sabar ("patient")	[sʿabr] ("patient")	20
takrif ("definition")	[taʿri:f] ("definition")	20
bazir ("wasteful")	[mubaððir] ("wastrel")	19
kubur ("grave")	[qubu:r] ("graves; tombs")	19
salji ("snow")	[θaldž] ("snow")	19
pakat ("agreement")	[muwa:faqa] ("agreement")	18
adat ("custom")	[ʿa:da] ("custom; habit")	17
izin ("permission")	[iðn] ("permission")	17
mungkin ("maybe")	[mumkin] ("possible")	17
seluar ("trousers")	[sirwa:l] ("trousers")	17
tamat ("finish")	[tamma] ("to be complete")	17

on Page 2 of the survey because this was the word's original meaning in Arabic. Similarly, they chose "faculty" or "college" as the definition for *kuliah* ("lecture") because of its shared etymology with Arabic [kullijja] ("college" or "school/faculty of a university"). Most participants who did not correctly identify the meaning of *syarah* ("to lecture") chose the option of "to teach," possibly because its etymology [šarḥ] means "explanation" and has the same spelling as the verb [šaraḥa] ("to explain") (in Arabic, the short vowel [a] is not written in most written texts). In addition, the Malay spelling *sy* representing [š] caused phonetic confusion with the combination [sj] among most participants. This spelling was influenced by the Dutch spelling *sj* (pronounced [š]), formerly employed in Indonesian, and abolished after the spelling unification of Malay and Indonesian in 1972 (Jones, Grijns & de Vries, 2007, p. xi). Before they were provided with the original Arabic spelling of *syarah* on Page 2, three Arabic speakers guessed "car" ([sajja:ra] in Arabic) (Cowan, 1994, p. 522).

In addition, most participants who selected an incorrect answer for *nikmat* ("pleasure") chose "gracious" or "graceful" because of the shared etymology with Arabic [ni'ma] ("grace"). Sixteen of the 20 participants could not correctly identify the meaning of *tekad* ("determination") even after the original spelling in Arabic was shown on Page 2. Most of them chose the option "opinion" because Arabic [i'tiqa:d] denotes the meanings "firm belief, faith, confidence, or conviction" (Cowan, 1994, p. 735).

Table 8 presents the results from the remaining words in the questionnaire. Sixteen participants selected the correct meanings of *iklan* ("advertisement") and *jamak* ("plural"), although the [k] sounds did not exist in the original Arabic words but were derived from ['] in Arabic. Moreover, 15 participants selected the correct meaning of *kaum* ("race"). Although the [k] sounds

TABLE 7
Ten Least Recognised Malay Words

Malay	Etymologies	Number of Correct Answers
lahir ("born; birth")	[ð'a:hir] ("distinct")	1
sejarah ("history")	[šadžara] ("trees")	1
dakwa ("accusation")	[da'wa:] ("claim; lawsuit")	2
kuliah ("lecture")	[kullijja] ("college; school/faculty of a university")	2
rela ("willing")	[rid'a:'] ("satisfaction")	2
peduli ("to care")	[fud'u:li:] ("inquisitive; curious")	3
syarah ("to lecture")	[šarḥ] ("explanation")	4
tekad ("determination")	[i'tiqa:d] ("firm belief")	4
nikmat ("pleasure")	[ni'ma] ("grace")	5
aral ("obstacle")	['ard'] ("breadth; width; presentation")	6

in these three words were originally [q], this change did not significantly confuse the participants. Fourteen respondents chose the correct meaning of *waris* ("heir") from [wari:θ]. It might have been confusing for the participants that [θ] in Arabic had been changed to [s] in Malay. The Malay word *eja* ("to spell") had lost the original Arabic [h]; however, 12 participants nevertheless understood its correct meaning upon seeing the original Arabic spelling on Page 2 of the survey. *Rakyat* ("citizens") contains a [k] originating from [ʻ] in Arabic, as do the abovementioned Malay words *iklan* and *jamak*. Its etymology [raʻijja] includes meanings of "subjects" and "citizens," and its polysemy might have hindered the recognition of the correct meaning of *rakyat*.

For *hafal* or *hafaz* ("to memorise"), the options "to keep" and "to protect" appeared to confuse the participants because the original Arabic form also denotes these meanings. The Malay word *matlamat* meaning "target" elicited correct responses from only nine participants. This word may have been especially difficult because it is a compound containing the Malay word *mata* ("eye") and the Arabic word [ʻala:ma] ("sign"). Most respondents who incorrectly defined *sah* ("valid") selected "healthy" because its original Arabic form shares the same three-consonant root ([sʻ], [ħ] and [ħ]) with the word [sʻiħħa] ("health"). It appears that original Arabic words usually have far broader meanings than the corresponding Malay loanwords, and that these differences

TABLE 8
Other Words in the Questionnaire

Malay	Etymologies	Number of Correct Answers
iklan ("advertisement")	[iʻla:n] ("announcement; advertisement")	16
jamak ("plural")	[džamʻ] ("gathering; collection")	16
layak ("fit")	[la:ʾiq] ("suitable")	16
kaum ("race")	[qawm] ("people")	15
baki ("remainder")	[ba:qi:] ("remainder")	14
waris ("heir")	[wari:θ] ("heir")	14
eja ("spell")	[hidža:ʾ] ("spelling")	12
rakyat ("citizens")	[raʻijja] ("subjects; citizens")	12
hafal (*hafaz*) ("to memorise")	[ħafiðʻa] ("to protect; to memorise")	11
jamin ("guarantee")	[dʻami:n] ("responsible; liable")	11
akal ("intelligence")	[ʻaql] ("mind; intelligence")	10
matlamat ("target")	Malay *mata* ("eye") and Arabic [ʻala:ma] ("sign")	9
sah ("valid")	[sʻaħħa] ("to be correct")	8
hajat ("intention")	[ħa:dža] ("need")	7
perlu ("necessary")	[fardʻ] ("duty")	7

in meaning can hinder Arabic-speaking learners of Malay. The [l] Malay word *perlu* ("necessary"), which was originally [d'] in Arabic, might have prevented the participants from correctly guessing the word's meanings as well as those of *aral* ("obstacle"), *peduli* ("to care") and *rela* ("willing"), as listed in Table 7.

CONCLUSION

The present study used a multiple-choice vocabulary survey containing 40 Arabic loanwords in Malay to examine the usefulness of the explicit presentation of Arabic-origin Malay loanwords and their etymologies in the teaching of Malay as a foreign language to Arabic-speaking beginning students. The participants averaged 24.4 correct answers and 17.6 newly learned vocabulary items. At the 5% significance level, a clear significant difference was found between the participants' scores before and after they were given the original Arabic words (p = .000). From these results, the present study concludes that the introduction of Arabic-origin Malay loanwords and their etymologies can facilitate Malay teaching and learning for Arabic speakers learning Malay as a foreign language. The results of this study suggest that Malay words such as *lahir* ("born; birth") from [ð'a:hir] ("distinct"), *sejarah* ("history") from [šadžara] ("trees") and *kuliah* ("lecture") from [kullijja] ("college; school/faculty of a university") should ideally be taught without etymological explanation or should be presented as Arabic loanwords with very different meanings from their original forms. On the other hand, the results also indicate the usefulness of the explicit presentation of etymologies for Malay words with meanings similar to those of the original Arabic words but slightly different phonetic forms, such as *pakat* ("agreement") from [muwa:faqa] ("agreement"), *adat* ("custom") from ['a:da] ("custom; habit"), *seluar* ("trousers") from [sirwa:l] ("trousers") and *iklan* ("advertisement") from [i'la:n] ("announcement; advertisement"), because the recognition of such similarities can promote faster vocabulary learning.

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Assessment of the Resource Potential of Sal Seeds, Existing Market Mechanism and its Role in Livelihood Generation of Rural Communities in Kumaun Himalaya

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ABSTRACT

Sal seeds are an important Non Timber Forest Product (NTFP) and are an important livelihood resource for about 90,000 forest fringe villages with a combined population of 56 million. During the month of May and June, when there is almost no other source of income, rural people are engaged in seed collection which provides them with a crucial bridge income before the commencement of the agricultural season. Hence, a study was conducted at three sites in the mixed Sal forest of Nainital district of Uttarakhand (India) to assess the present and future resource potential of Sal seeds, existing market mechanism and its role in livelihood generation of rural communities in Kumaun Himalaya. Seed fall was more in June accounting for more than 50% of annual seed fall. The average dry weight of seed wings was 21.33%, kernel 64.83% and shell 13.83% at the study sites, and the average biomass of seed was 722 kg ha^{-1} seed collection $year^{-1}$. Sal seed collection work in Kumaun is capable of generating about 146,025 man-days of employment in a collection season.

Keywords: Sal seed, Non Timber Forest Product, biomass, marketing, livelihood generation

INTRODUCTION

The genus Shorea (family–Dipterocarpaceae) is a large genus of 103 species and, in India, the genus is represented by four species viz. *Shorea robusta, S. assaamica, S. talura* and *S. tumbuggaia* (Troup, 1921). *Shorea robusta* is a native species of India, Myanmar and Nepal. Sal seed is one of the important produce obtained from Sal (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn. f.*)*. Sal forests are classified into two types i.e. dry and moist and occupy an area of 1,14,000km^2 in India. Sal forests extend into tropical and sub-tropical regions where precipitation ranges from 1000 to 2000mm and above, and the dry period does not

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exceed 4 months (Tewari, 1995). Sal seeds are collected in the Sal belt of central, eastern and northern India. The income from sale of the forest products for households living in and around forests constitutes about 40 to 60% of their total income (Sadashivappa et al. 2006; Bahuguna, 2000). In India, the estimated annual production of Sal seeds was 200,000 tons generating a revenue of Rs.100.20 million with 1.30 lakh man-days of employment (Anon, 1972). The economic importance of Sal seed is mainly due to its oil, which has tremendous potential for the export market due to its low price. Its thorough assessment and inventory is necessary in order to know the supply to fix the yield for sustained management (Gusiya, 1990). The International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) has developed guidelines for the sustainable use of all natural resources. These guidelines specifically stress the need for estimation of the present and potential values of NTFPs (Arnetz, 1993).

Since Sal seeds are significant for the livelihood of millions of people and play a vital role in forest ecosystems, sustainable management of Sal seeds is essential. Hence, there is a need for comprehensive study of Sal seeds to assess production potential as well as current extraction level, current collection and management techniques for establishing the trade and its role in livelihood generation of rural communities in Kumaun Himalaya. Against this background, this study was taken up.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study Sites

Sal forests are distributed in 1110396.64ha (77.05% area of the total forest area) in Kumaun Himalaya (Table 1). The maximum area under Sal forests is in Ramnagar (74.75%) and the minimum in Almora (2.12%). These forests are dispersed in all forest divisions except in Bageshwar and Tarai Central divisions. Three study sites were selected in the mixed Sal Forest of Nainital District for the present study, which represents the major section of Sal forest, having high density in the foothills, subjected to minimal biotic disturbance in terms of grazing, lopping and easy approach (Table 2). Rural communities of the study area have experience in Sal seed collection and trading. The major villages of the areas involved in the extraction of Sal seed are Kaladungi, Choti Haldwani, Musabunger, Chorgaliya.

Sampling Procedure

One plot of 0.22ha (110mx20m) area was demarcated at each study site and 30 permanent subplots of 1m² areas were laid out within each of these plots. The tree density in the area was estimated by placing 10 random quadrates of 10x10m² area (Saxena & Singh, 1982). The fallen Sal seed, from each permanent subplot, were collected fortnightly (represented on monthly basis) during May-June in the years 2008 and 2009. Fallen Sal seeds on the ground were collected carefully and were placed in polybags for further study. Fresh

weight of the collected seeds was taken at the site using an electronic balance and was oven dried at 60ºC for 48 hours till constant weight in the lab. Seasonally collected fallen Sal seed samples were weighted separately.

A questionnaire was prepared to collect the primary information on the traditional method of Sal seed collection, transportation, resource use pattern, socio-economic status of Sal seed collectors, ecological impacts of Sal seeds and to identify the marketing channels, price spread and prospective markets in order to know the quantum of trade of Sal seeds in Kumaun. The primary information was collected from the traditional collectors, store keepers, packers, transporter from forest to collection point/store house and the local contractors of Sal seed. There were a total of 60 randomly selected respondents who provided information during the interview. The information was collected through personal discussion and interview. The interview session was conducted in person by the author. Each respondent had a session of about 30 minutes. The interview was guided through a pre-structured open-ended questionnaire. Fortnightly information on climatic conditions of the area was also gathered. The data were

TABLE 1
Distribution of Sal forest in Kumaun Himalaya

S. No.	Name of Forest Division	Total Area of forest Division (ha)	Area under Sal Forest (ha)
1	Ramnagar	48736.90	36431.45 (74.75)
2	Almora	61196.62	1297.00 (2.12)
3	Civil Almora	11108.00	903.40 (8.13)
4	Pithoragarh	75196.61	869.20 (1.16)
5	Champavat	65980.12	20303.67 (30.77)
6	Nainital	59552.50	2371.20 (3.98)
7	Haldwani	59578.80	27745.70 (46.57)
8	Tarai East	82429.92	15742.73 (19.10)
9	TaraiWest	34806.63	4732.29 (13.59)
10	Bageshwar	66236.20	0
11	Tarai Central	40496.97	0
	Total	143268.90	110396.64 (100)

Note: Area under Sal forest in percentage is given in parentheses
Source: Uttarakhand Forest Statistics 2008-09 (UFD, 2009)

TABLE 2
Details of Sal Seed Collection Sites

Name of sites	Elevation (m)	Distance From road (km)
Kaladungi	325	1.0
Musabunger	275	1.5
Chorgaliya	330	1.0

collected on various aspects viz. the visit of troop of monkeys, heavy rainfall, strong wind blowing, hails, human activities (such as harvesting of fodder, lopping of branches for fuel wood, timber) etc. by interacting with local people. In order to gather the information about the quantum of trade of Sal seeds in Kumaun and to identify the marketing channels, price range and prospective markets, primary collectors, contractors (middlemen), small and big traders and commission agents from two trading centres (Ramnagar and Tanakpur) were interviewed. The respondents from the area were selected randomly on the basis of their involvement in the Sal seed collection and trading. Secondary data was collected from Uttarakhand Forest department.

RESULTS

Tree Composition at the Study Sites

Across the study sites, the tree density varied between 852 and 1095 trees ha^{-1} *Mallotus phillipensis* was dominant in the understory tree spp. in all the three sites. The other tree species viz. Cassia *fistula, Legersrtomia parviflora*, *Syzygium cumini, Bauhinia varigata* etc. had varying densities (Table 3).

Seed Fall Density and Production Potential of Sal Seed Fall Biomass

Maximum collectors were of the view that flowering in *S. robusta* generally begins after about 15 years and a good seed-bearing year can be anticipated every 3-5 years. Production potential of Sal seed depends on the weather condition prevailing during flowering and fruiting. Profound flowering

TABLE 3
Tree Composition at the Three Study Sites

S. No.	Species	Study sites		
		Chorgalia (tree ha^{1})	Kaladungi (tree ha^{1})	Musabunger (tree ha^{1})
1	*Shorea robusta*	495	691	131
2	*Mallotus philippinsis*	125	127	9
3	*Cassia fistula*	85	56	42
4	*Legersrtomia parviflora*	68	68	57
5	*Syzygium cumini*	26	27	34
6	*Litsea polyantha*	16	-	11
7	*Pterocarpus marsupium*	15	-	-
8	*Bauhinia varigata*	14	16	19
9	*Butea monosperma*	3	-	-
10	*Terminalia bellirica*	5	-	-
11	*Bomax ceiba*	-	2	3
12	*Schlichera oleosa*	-	4	6
13	*Agle marmelos*	-	9	2
14	*Terminalia tomantosa*	-	6	-
	Total	852	1006	1095

is usually associated with the preceding drought time. Therefore, its production varies from year to year. Results obtained from the analysis of data collected from the three different study sites suggest that seed fall density of Sal seeds varies between 238 seeds ha^{-1} (Chorgaliya) and 276 seeds ha^{-1} (Musabunger). The annual seed fall was minimum (500 seeds ha^{-1}) and maximum (741.13 seeds ha^{-1}) during May and June, 2008. The average weight of the Sal seed was 1.31g. at Chorgaliya, 1.30g at Kaladungi and 1.36g at Musabunger. Seed fall density in May-June for 2009 was maximum 317 seeds ha^{-1} and minimum 247 seeds ha^{-1} at Chorgaliya site among all the three sites. The annual seed fall was minimum (562 seeds ha^{-1}) at Chorgaliya and maximum (567 ha^{-1}) at Musabunger (Table 4). The average weight of the Sal seed was 1.29g at Chorgaliya, 1.36g at Kaladungi and 1.35g at Musabunger.

The total annual seed fall biomass from trees varied between 654.10 kg ha^{-1} at Chorgaliya and 766.01 kg ha^{-1} at Kaladungi. Sal seed fall was highest in the month of June, which accounted for an average of more than 50% annual Sal seed fall. During the interview, respondents informed that monkey troops often visit the Sal forest but there was no menace from them nor were conflicts with humans noticed.

Ratio of Dry Weight of Seed Wings, Seed Kernel and Seed Shell

The study indicated that the average dry weight of seed wings was 21.33%, the dry weight of seed kernel was 64.83% and the dry weight of seed shell was 13.83 at the study sites (Table 5).

Process for Decortications of Sal Seeds

From the winged Sal fruit, seed is processed in the following two continuing stages:

- *De-winging:* This process is done after the fruit is completely dried either by beating on plain hard ground with a wooden stick so that the wings break and the round seed pods with shell and little covers get separated, or by spreading the seed on dry, hard ground and putting a light fire to the fruit so that the wings can burn.

TABLE 4
Seed Fall Density (No. of seeds / ha) and Biomass of Seeds (kg/ha) in Sal Forest

Year	Month	Chorgaliya		Kaladungi		Musabunger	
		Seed fall density	Dry weight of seed	Seed fall density	Dry weight of seed	Seed fall density	Dry weight of seed
2008	May	238	306.90	275	349.06	269	368.53
	June	262	347.20	265	353.40	276	372.60
	Total	500	654.10	540	702.46	545	741.13
2009	May	247	335.92	265	371.00	280	378.20
	June	317	389.91	297	395.01	287	384.58
	Total	564	725.83	562	766.01	567	762.78

- *Separation of shell and pods:* When the wings are broken, the round seed enclosed with shells and pods remain behind and these are collected by picking up manually or by blowing. These seeds are spread on hard ground. The shells are rolled under pressure by a roller and the pods break and the kernels come out. Then by blowing the kernels or Sal seed are collected, and after being dried for some time they are ready for sale.

Trend of Market Price Change of Sal Seeds in Kumaun Himalaya

In Kumaun, trading (auction and collection) of Sal seed was approved only from 2001-02 to 2003 in Ramnagar and the Tarai east forest division of the Uttarakhand Forest Department. The data regarding quantity of Sal seed collected and sale price obtained is presented in Table 6. After 2004-05, the trading of Sal seed was stopped due to conservation measures for regeneration of Sal forests.

Availability of Sal Seed for Collection and Generation of Employment

Most of the 60 respondents who were interviewed were of the view that flowering of the *S. robusta* and the intensity of fruiting is affected by the seasonal condition at the time of flowering and fruiting. Children, men and women from poor or marginalised households in the study area are engaged in collecting Sal fruits. The socio-economic profile of the respondents is presented in Table 7. *S. robusta* bears fruit regularly from 15 to 16 years of age. In successive years, the intensity of fruiting also varies. The Sal seed collection season lasts for two months in a year, mainly May and June, after which

TABLE 5
Ratio of Dry Weight of Seed Wings, Seed Kernel and Seed Shell in Collected Seeds

Name of the study Site	Ratio of Different Parts Dry Weight (%)		
	Seed Wings	Seed Kernel	Seed Shell
Chorgaliya	23.00	62.00	15.00
Kaladungi	23.00	63.00	14.00
Musabangar	18.00	69.50	12.50
Average weight	*21.33*	*64.83*	*13.83*

Table 6
Sal Seed Collection and Sale Price in Kumaun Himalaya

S. No.	Year	Ramnager Division		Tarai Division	
		Quantity (qtl.)	Sale rate (Rs./qtl.)	Quantity (qtl.)	Sale rate (Rs./qtl.)
1	2002	0	0	420.75	242.42
2	2003	627	242.42	454.75	226.50
3	2004	671	226.50	0	0
4	2005	359	111.42	0	0

Source: Forest Department Uttarakhand (UFD, 2009)

collection of Sal seed is not possible due to the monsoon season.

It was found that one person could collect around 8-10kg of Sal seeds in an 8-hour working day. Thus, a primary collector can collect a maximum of about 549kg of Sal seed in one collection season (in a 61-day collection season). The collection rate for Sal seed was about Rs.2.50 per kg in the study area. Thus, a collector / villager can earn a maximum of Rs.22.50 per day or Rs.4941 in a collection season from Sal seed collection, which was found to be very low compared with the minimum wages fixed by the Central Government for NREGA in 2009 (Rs.100 per day for unskilled workers). The sale rate for Sal seed in the market is about Rs.1000 per quintal. The annual production of Sal seeds has been estimated to be about 80168 t yr^{-1}. Thus, in Kumaun, Sal seed collection work, at present, can generate about 146,025 man-days' employment in a Sal seed collection season year. For primary collectors, Sal seed selling has been an important resource of livelihood generation in the agricultural lean seasons of May and June. However, due to low returns, workers were not interested in Sal seed collection work.

DISCUSSION

Beating on plain hard ground is the best recommended process for manual collection of Sal seed as the quality and nature of the kernels remain unaffected. Though spreading the Sal fruit on dry hard ground and setting fire to it is an easy method of de-winging, it is an unsafe process as sometimes fire affects the quality of the seed as this process leads to the oil content of the seed being reduced. Burnt seeds often mixed with sand or stones are rejected by the local agent at collection centres. Now, mechanical decorticators are available in the market that are able to decorticate about 1-2 tons of Sal seed per hour. However, a collector friendly de-winging facility is yet to be developed. The collectors require training and infrastructure for decortication and storage of kernels, which may be provided either by the trading agencies or concerned government agencies. The daily collection is not more than 6-8kg per day (Saxena, 2003; Saigal, 2008), which is much closer to the observations of the study i.e. one villager can collect 8-10kg of Sal seeds in a working day. The variation may be due to seed production which varies from year to year and from tree to tree (Tewari, 1995).

TABLE 7
Socio-economic Profile of the Respondents

Name of the Village	No. of Respondents	Male	Female	Occupation			
				Agriculture	Livestock	Self-employed	Business
Chorgaliya	20	12	8	15	3	1	1
Kaladungi	15	10	5	10	1	2	2
Musabangar	25	17	8	14	2	6	3
Total	60	39	21	39	6	9	6

Due to low returns, primary collectors were not interested in Sal seed collection work as collectors can earn only a meagre amount of Rs.22.50 per day. Therefore, most people collect Sal seed for sale or barter simply because of lack of alternative employment opportunities, especially during the lean agriculture season. NTFPs were regarded as poverty avoidance, filling gaps during periods of low income and functioning as a safety net and natural insurance (Pattanayak & Sills, 2001, Paumgarten, 2005). Unless the issue of low collection rates is not solved, it will be difficult to address the issue of poverty alleviation through the Sal seed collection.

In the study, a mean biomass of Sal seed was found to be 722.38kg ha^{-1} seed collection $year^{-1}$. Seed production varies (up to 500kg ha^{-1} was recorded during the early 1980s) from year to year and from tree to tree (Tewari, 1995). The seed yield is up to 500kg ha^{-1} (Gautam & Devoe, 2006). The average seed production ha^{-1} is estimated to be 720kg ha^{-1} in a good seed year (banjata. org). Contribution of seed wings was 21.33%, seed shell 13.83% and seed kernel 64.83% in a Sal seed at study sites. It is reported that in a Sal seed, the wings contribute to about 20.8%, shell 12.8% and kernel 66.4% (Pant, 2011). Tewari (1994) has reported 47% contribution of kernels (by weight) and 23% of wings. In the study sites, trading of Sal seed was carried out only up to 2005. The major reasons for no collection and a consequent reduction in the production are a result of the procurement policies of the state government, which forced traditional Sal seed collectors to opt for other more remunerative occupations.

There is a vast potential for Sal oil and fat in Kumaun Himalaya because of large Sal forest areas and the presence of thousands of collectors. The Sal kernels yield 10.5-17.1% of oil (Anon, 1998) and about 84% of de-oiled cake is obtained from Sal seed (Rai & Nath, 2006), which is used in boiling plants, as a sizing material in textile industries and as cattle feed after standardisation. Sal seed oil is customarily organic and free from pollutants and fertilisers. Sal fat is economically viable in the export market due to its low price. The superiority of Sal fat depends on how the kernels have been stored. Primary collectors and local traders are unaware about the end-use and quality requirements of Sal seed that they collect and trade. Due to this reason, they do not follow correct collection and storage methods and consequently, the marketability of their harvest suffers badly. Thus, the training of primary collectors can play an important role in enhancing oil quality such as for timely collection of dry kernel, avoiding burning of the seed (this affects the quality of the kernel and enhances the free fatty acid content, making it highly uncompetitive in the export market), moisture content (high moisture content in the kernel increases the free fatty acid quantity, making it unhealthy for use in the food sector), collection and crushing time (the oil quality is high if the gap between collection and crushing is kept to a minimum). Domestic legislations like the Prevention of Food Adulteration (PFA) Rules, 1954 prohibit use of Sal fat

in a number of prospective industries like chocolates, ice creams etc. The fluctuations in Sal oil export due to the accessibility of cheaper substitutes and the indifference of governments has created an impression that Sal seed is losing demand.

The annual production of Sal seed is estimated to be about 80168 t yr^{-1}, which generates about 146,025 man-days of employment in a Sal seed collection season year. The prevailing market rate is about Rs.10 per kg. This information may be helpful for the policy makers to fix the minimum price of Sal seed and in encouraging the Sal seed processing activities in the region to make it a viable livelihood option for rural communities of the Terai region of Kumaun, Himalayas.

Namdeo and Pant (1994) has concluded that Sal seeds have the potential to provide employment to 4.5 million persons for a period of 40 days and regular employment of 300 days per year for 0.436 million persons in processing of Sal seed. Hence, there is an urgent need for intervention with regard to legislation and trade of Sal seed for ensuring not only greater returns to the primary collectors but also employment in the processing and end use industries development in the Kumaun Himalaya.

CONCLUSION

Collection of Sal seed is an important activity for the livelihood of people in Kumaun Himalaya. There is an urgent need to attract villagers to Sal seed collection work, fix the procurement rates at a level that allows at least a minimum wage to be collected by the collectors (this price should be revised every season to adjust for inflation and other market changes), assess the sustainable harvesting levels and practices to ensure timely processing of the seeds to preserve their quality and to increase awareness among the collectors to avoid the use of unhygienic sacks and pesticides for storing kernels. There should be clear-cut guidelines for the estimation of collection quantities of Sal seed so that planning for collection and marketing can be prepared accordingly. The government should review the decision to ban Sal seed collection in Kumaun and allow the use of Sal fat in food items such as chocolates and ice creams along with enhanced opportunities for domestic and international trade of Sal seed for ensuring greater returns to the primary collectors for livelihood generation in Kumaun Himalaya. However, prior to any large-scale increase in Sal seed procurement, its ecological impact, especially on regeneration, should be cautiously considered.

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Preliminary Exploration of a Semai Musician's Transmission of Indigenous Musical Traditions in Peninsular Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the pioneering outcomes of a non-interventive ethnographic observation of a Semai musician's transmission of indigenous musical traditions using selected indigenous musical instruments from his community. The musician, who is primarily a performer, was placed in the role of teacher. Fifteen Semai children from his village between the ages of six and nine were involved. The Semai musician conducted the workshop in his village hut in Tapah, in the state of Perak, over a period of six months. Findings showed that teacher-student mobility, freedom of choice, intuitive responses, integration of cultural concepts, flexibility and adaptability were approaches utilised by this Semai musician in response to the children and particular situations. This paper further posits that teachers need to consider cultural nuances and differences in musical experiences when designing their music curriculum and assessment approaches for music education. Furthermore, this paper argues for versatility and adaptability of the teacher to actively construct and reconstruct his/her teaching approaches by accessing the musical understanding, talents and competencies of children from various cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: Indigenous music transmission, multi-cultural music education, Orang Asli, teaching approaches, world music

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INTRODUCTION

This article is based on eight months of research (April 2012 to November 2012) funded by the *Komuniti Inovasi Amanjaya* grant (Research code: 2012-0010-106-16), sponsored by Institut Perak Ridzuan. The investigation examines the musical

transmission of an indigenous musician from the Semai ethnic group of Malaysia. This particular musician, who primarily performed for recreation, leisure and entertainment, assumed the role of teacher for the first time in his career. The research aimed to identify how indigenous music can be transmitted in its most 'original' approaches, capturing the ways in which cultural nuances shape the transmission of indigenous music to indigenous children. In traditional societies, musicians learn to play music through oral tradition that comprises listening, observing and imitating. Research observations on the teaching approaches of exceptional teachers are not new; however, observing the teaching approaches of an indigenous musician who has not been formally trained as a teacher is relatively new. In searching for an alternative approach to pedagogy, we specifically selected a candidate who was not grounded in Western educational concepts and philosophies of teaching utilised in most schools today. We also specifically chose the non-interventive methodology as not to influence or dominate the indigenous musician with our Western-trained music pedagogy as that would have defeated the purpose of the study. We acknowledge that this approach marks an interruption to the indigenous oral tradition of learning, and may be seen as hegemonic or interpreted as patronising, but this research addresses the concerns of the discourse of ethnomusicology in academia over the decline in the transmission of traditional music among the Orang Asli. Therefore, ethnomusicologists are conducting research on the variety of ways in which traditional music may be transmitted in its most 'original' context to children in national schools or at community-based educational settings. Rather than examine an outsider's teaching of indigenous music in schools, we chose to analyse the teaching approaches of a Semai musician. This research is an initial exploration that addresses the decline in the continuity of traditional musical practices among indigenous communities.

The approach taken in this research may be considered new because the musician, whose name was Alang, was not a trained teacher. Alang transferred his knowledge and skill of performing indigenous music through 'formal' classroom teaching. This research addresses the lack of knowledge of the various ways music may be transmitted and celebrates the multiplicity of musical transmission methods in response to the diverse background of Malaysian children. The focus of this research is on indigenous music taught to indigenous children. The following section describes the background of the Semai, the status of music in their community and in schools attended by the children.

BACKGROUND

The Semai are the largest group of Orang Asli (literally translated as 'original people') or indigenous minorities of Peninsular Malaysia. In 2004, the Orang Asli numbered 149,723 (0.6%) of the national population of 23,953,136 (JHEOA, 2004) and were divided into three main categories based on physical and language affiliations: Negrito,

Senoi or Semang and Aboriginal Malays. The Semai are classified under the Senoi (Seng-oi) group and are a Mongoloid people believed to be descendants of Hoabinhian and Neolithic cultivators who migrated from the north into the Malaysian peninsula around 2000 BC (Nicholas, 2000, pp. 1-4). The Semai language is affiliated with the Mon-Khmer languages of Cambodia and Thailand (Benjamin, 1972). The Semai people are slightly taller with lighter skin and their hair is wavy rather than frizzy in comparison with the Negritos (Skeat & Blagden, 1906; Dentan, 2000, p. 209; Nicholas, 2000, p.2).

Most Semai villages are found along the foothills and mountains of southern Perak and northwest Pahang. Located in the lowland and upland rainforests, the Semai live in an environment surrounded by the Malaysian rainforest with its rich and diverse flora and fauna. Before 2500 B.C., the Semai were believed to have lived near the western coastal areas of central Peninsular Malaysia. Between 2500 B.C. and 1500 B.C, Austronesian immigrants from the islands of Indonesia drove the Semai inland toward the foothills of Malaya's Central or Titiwangsa Range (Bellwood, 1997; Dentan, 2000, 2008). After Malaya's independence from the British in 1957, the Orang Asli were placed under the care of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs (JHEOA), known today as the Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA). Due to the nation's aim of achieving developed-country status by 2020, JAKOA focused on 'developing' the Orang Asli through a process of resettlement, assimilation, integration, Islamisation and modernisation. It is hoped that the introduction of modernisation schemes such as introducing modern agricultural methods along with commerce and industry, upgrading

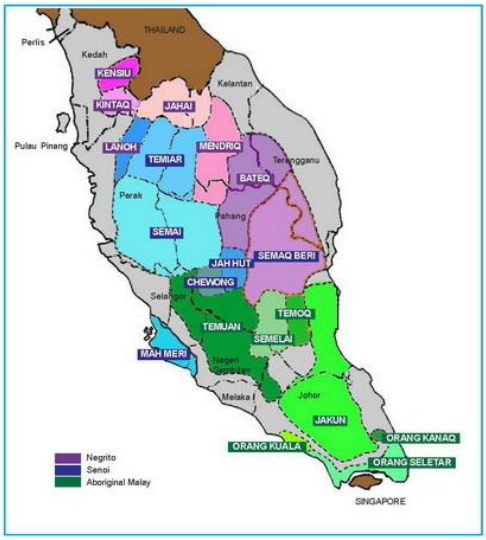

Fig.1: The eighteen Orang Asli subgroups in Peninsula Malaysia (Source: Centre of Orang Asli Concerns).

medical and health services, improving skill development and education opportunities, encouraging entrepreneurship, supporting the sustainability of the arts and culture and eradicating poverty would eventually lead to the construction of an improved livelihood (Nicholas, 2000).

Through the development plans of JAKOA, primary schools were built near Orang Asli villages. At present, Orang Asli children from various villages attend the nearest national primary school in their vicinity and travel further distances to attend secondary school in the nearest town. In national schools, Orang Asli children are moulded by the national curriculum that utilises a standardised syllabus of textbooks, curricula and teaching materials provided by the Ministry of Education. This standardised curriculum provides little flexibility for the diversity of learners from different cultural backgrounds, learning capacities and competencies. A selective syllabus has yet to be developed for those living in rural vicinities that may have a poor command of Bahasa Melayu and the English language but are equipped with living skills encultured from home.

OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The initial and primary aim of this research was to examine an alternative pedagogy to the formal, Western method of teaching the music of specific cultures in classrooms. Secondary indirect aims included: 1) to empower indigenous agency to construct their own community-based music education programme and; 2) to sustain and transmit Semai musical heritage among Semai children through the learning and appreciation of indigenous musical instruments and music.

In response to a long history of colonisation, marginalisation and subjugation, the research began as a community project that paved the way towards sustaining Semai instrumental music and singing through formalised education processes conducted by Orang Asli musicians themselves. Community-based education facilitates the recognition of human diversity and distinct socio-cultural identities in the context of a socio-capitalistic environment. Indigenous communities often yield to outside pressure to conform to a dominant educational and cultural ideology, leaving indigenous cultural values to decline and dissipate. Accordingly, "when schools become organic to their local indigenous communities, such communities are able to insist on the insertion of their own values into the school's organization, management, pedagogy, curriculum, and modes of evaluation" (Corson, 1999, p.3). This research aimed to motivate the Orang Asli to 'reclaim' or 'rediscover' their musical heritage through oral tradition. It was hoped that through this research the Semai would be able to regain some control over the musical development of their children as part of the educational process impacting their children's lives. The outcome of the research is the observation of the approaches of an indigenous Semai musician who assumed the role of educator.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Several issues pertaining to the status of the Semai people and the music curriculum in Malaysia's national schools inspired this research. The research addresses: 1) the decline in the transmission of Semai musical heritage during the JAKOA phase of development and modernisation; 2) the lack of multi-cultural music taught in national schools; and 3) issues of transmitting world music in the classroom.

Decline of traditional music

Prior to 1957, the Semai lived in small, nomadic communities. Their music was transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition. The Semai played instrumental music during the course of their daily lives to accompany work routines. Music and songs accompanied animistic rituals, rites of passage and festive celebrations while Semai children grew up learning and performing the music of their community. Semai traditional songs supported the transmission of traditional cultural values of social responsibility, gender roles and the egalitarian life-style of the Semai peoples (Chan 2012, p.18).

However, in the first decades of the current century, Semai children learned songs sung in church or taught to them in the national schools. Popular songs are regularly heard on radio and television and children listening to them rarely perform Semai music or sing songs from their own cultural heritage. The musical experience of the Orang Asli is increasingly being subsumed by a modern culture of popular music that is influenced by local and global media. Selected popular music performed by Orang Asli live bands played on CDs or sung in a karaoke style has replaced the indigenous music performed during festivals and rites of passage. Orang Asli youth and children are more interested in Malay and Indonesian popular music than in the indigenous music of their community (Chan, 2012, p.18) because it situates them in the current modern life-style. Many of the song texts of these popular songs revolve around loss of love, consumerism and materialism, and may not necessarily provide positive values to living.

Semai instrumental music and songs are rapidly declining today due to the transformation of Semai lifestyle and livelihood. The documentation of Orang Asli music in audio-visual recordings and writing is sparse and scattered among local and international researchers and institutions. The Malaysian goverment pay little attention to sustaining Orang Asli music and songs. The Orang Asli are regularly invited by government agencies to perform at tourism-related activities with the aim of constructing an image of a harmonious multi-cultural Malaysia rather than fostering cultural sustainability through traditional music education.

Music education in national schools

The second issue that motivated this research was the lack of multi-cultural music and pedagogical diversity in Malaysia's music education curriculum. The music syllabus in the elementary national curriculum

focuses on teaching Western classical music theories, singing and playing Malay folk songs and music. While some English songs are taught, there is little attempt to teach songs of ethnic groups living in Malaysia or at least songs in the original languages of the Chinese, Indian and indigenous communities of Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak as well as the techniques of playing musical instruments of the various ethnic groups. Music is a compulsory subject in primary schools (ages 7-12) but is an elective subject in lower secondary (ages 13-15) and higher secondary schools (ages 16-17). Primary schools allocate only 30 minutes a week for the arts (Tan, 2008). This category comprises the subjects of music, sports and arts alternating weekly. Some schools undermine the importance of the arts and replace it with supposedly more 'important' activities. The national music curriculum is designed by the Curriculum Development Centre (*Pusat Perkembangan Kurrikulum*) and focuses on the teaching and learning of Western classical music theories. Concurrently, common Malay folksongs, patriotic songs and the national anthem are sung in mainly Bahasa Melayu. The music curriculum encourages school personnel to incorporate the teaching and learning methods of the traditional groups in their region. Selecting a traditional ensemble depends on sponsorship and other funding and the availability of traditional music experts in their location (Tan, 2008, pp. 249-252). Some vernacular Chinese primary schools in Malaysia have formed their own traditional ensembles such as the *Hua Yu Tuan* (Chinese Orchestra) and 24 *Jie Ling Gu* (24 Festive Drums), along with Chinese traditional dances as part of their extra-curriculum. While multi-culturalism and the *1Malaysia* concept are promoted at national events, implementing multi-cultural music in schools is still practised in its infancy .

This paper posits that culture plays an important role in creative teaching and learning. According to Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi and Yoon (1994), traditional societies are rooted in collectivist culture compared to the individualist culture of industrial and post-industrial societies that emphasise self-discipline, self-sufficiency, personal accountability and autonomy. Cultural variations ranging from belief and value systems, material culture, enculturation systems and education training are derived from different physical and environmental backgrounds of the indigenous communities. Cultural belief systems and lifestyles form strong influences in children's response towards their teachers. Different approaches may be required to nurture the variety of musical competencies among children from differing backgrounds.

Issues in teaching world music

According to Pecore (2003), music education in the United States before the 1920s centred mainly on formal learning using music methods and approaches by Kodaly, Dalcroze and Orff. In the 1920s, music educators took a keen interest in Intercultural Education and World Music as a tool to promote better cultural understanding between and among the diverse groups

of ethnic and immigrant children in the United States (p. 31). During the 1930s, this interest spurred the teaching of "songs of many lands " (Campbell, 1996) and folk music of various cultures (Volk, 1998) in American schools. In the 1950s, the teaching of world music was dominated by methods of recognition and representation. From the 1960s onward, the importance of teaching music in its cultural context gained serious attention (Pecore, 2003, p. 30). This focus was asserted by Brinner (1995) who wrote that, "musical competence is an integrated complex of skills and knowledge upon which a musician relies in a particular context" (p.1). Shepherd and Wicke (1997) also suggested that "a viable understanding of culture requires an understanding of its articulation through music just as much as a viable understanding of music requires an understanding of its place in culture" (p. 33-34). Many world music classes were taught using transcriptions of fieldwork recordings into western music notation and taught through either the Kodaly, Dalcroze or Orff approaches. During the 1990s, issues of 'authenticity' and accuracy in representation were raised in regards to this mode of transmission. To address this issue, culture bearers were invited to join forces with music educators in teaching and producing classroom resource guides for the teaching of World Music (Campbell & Nguyen, 1990; Campbell & Sam, 1991; Campbell & Kuo-Huang, 1992). The debate on whether culture bearers, cultural context, methods of transmission (oral versus visual) or notation systems are integral to the teaching of world music continues to be assessed and reassessed today. Schippers (2009) states that it is becoming harder for cultures to establish what is authentic; therefore, authenticity in a narrow sense is becoming unsustainable. He suggested that authenticity can be represented as a "continuum, ranging from interpretations tending toward reproduction to emphasis on originality" (p.53). Schippers challenged what he referred to as "stifling directives to recreate 'authentic' contexts" in world music pedagogy, arguing that this approach changes the original context. Rather than subject themselves to stringent performing styles, he urged music educators in schools, communities or professional training programmes to "seek with integrity appropriate ways of presenting music " (Schippers, 2009).

In music education research today, cultural diversity in music is taught through different musical approaches and pedagogy. A number of music educators have emphasised the importance of adapting music pedagogy to the various ethnic and cultural backgrounds and competencies of different children. Burnard (2013) stresses the utilisation of appropriate teaching methods in nurturing children's talents and intelligences. Sheets (2005) suggested that "diversity pedagogy" as a developmental approach to the teaching-learning process can help advance cultural competency in class (Sheet, 2005, xxi). Green (2008) showed how informal learning such as self-motivation, student autonomy as learners and the ability to work independently and

co-operate in groups, can be incorporated in the classroom as an important and alternative pedagogy. Gardner (1983) asserted that the diverse range of intelligences inherent in each child should be nurtured and cultivated. Although Gardner's division of multiple intelligences is criticised for lack of empirical evidence (Waterhouse, 2006) along with the notion that humans have different intelligences, recognising and nurturing areas of strength are crucial in helping shape a child's future. Gardner's theory supports the aim of this paper to delineate the importance of the teacher's understanding of a student's cultural background and innate intelligence with his or her potential.

Various researchers have addressed the debate over whether or not culture bearers are important in the transmission of 'authentic' musical knowledge from respective cultural traditions. Ryan (2013) compared the effectiveness of learning Andean music using Western transmission methods over a transmission process modelled after indigenous Andean musicians. Her findings showed that a student learnt Andean rhythm with more accuracy and ease if the student performed the dance associated with that rhythm simultaneously. Montague (2011) made a comparative observation of the pedagogical approaches and of the teaching values and beliefs of three traditional Ghanaian master musicians living in the United States. Unlike the traditional Ghanaian teaching approach whereby rhythm is taught in its entirety and students were not allowed to ask questions, the influence of Western teaching techniques such as demonstrating rhythm part by part, critiquing and correcting the students was infused into the musician's pedagogy. However, through some traditional practices such as not allowing students to notate rhythm, singing vocables to rhythm patterns, not having written lesson plans, taking into account ability levels and the importance of participation in musical activities, focus and alertness still remained (pp. 97-100). Kreutzer (1997) showed that children of the Nharira community in rural Zimbabwe were capable of singing as well as the adults by the age of five and a half because music was informally nurtured in a culturally musical environment (pp. 264-266). Kreutzer's research highlights the fact that musical abilities vary according to the enculturation process that each child is exposed to in their early years. What seems impossible for one cultural tradition can be a normal practice in another.

While Ryan (2013), Montaque (2011) and Kreutzer (1997) were among those who examined traditional approaches to teaching, one aspect that still needs to be addressed is the different approaches of teaching and learning in different cultural traditions. It has often been taken for granted that traditional music is transmitted through oral tradition and rote learning but there is little research to show the actual processes of how traditional musicians transfer their knowledge to the children of his or her community. How do older musicians disseminate musical knowledge to the young? Do they actually formally instruct, demonstrate and correct?

Do the young acquire musical skills through an enculturation system of rote learning, participation and repetition throughout their early years? While this paper does not address these questions directly, it examines how an indigenous musician adapted his knowledge as a pedagogical tool.

This paper propounds the importance of awareness and understanding of the student's cultural and musical background in optimising classroom learning outcomes. While the educators' training in Western classical music theories and fundamentals of pedagogy is important, adapting pedagogy to enhance learning velocity and capacity is also important. This paper continues below with a brief introduction of the indigenous Semai of Peninsular Malaysia and their traditional form of musical enculturation and current musical acquisition.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative and ethnographic research was conducted by utilising a non-interventive observation method between the researchers and the musician Alang for a period of eight months. The research was conducted in a Semai village located in Tapah town, in the state of Perak, Malaysia. The main subjects were Alang and a group of 15 Semai children ranging from ages 6 to 12. The research project created a platform for the indigenous musician to explore and formalise his pedagogical skills in developing the musical potential of the children of his village through teaching the playing of ethnic instruments particular to their community. The instruments taught were the *pensol* (nose flute), *kereb* (heterochordic bamboo zither) and *centong* (bamboo-stamping tubes).

Several workshop sessions were held in the home of the Semai musician who, for the first time, conducted a series of music lessons for the children in his village. The researchers observed and examined the Semai musician's ways of teaching, including his regular references to the symbolism of musical instruments. The musician introduced the physical structure, hand and finger positions and techniques of playing Semai musical instruments. Simple melodic motives and rhythmic patterns embodying Semai musical structures were presented. The close associations of songs with Semai culture and the environment were evident.

Since a non-interventive approach was adopted, the indigenous musician developed different approaches based on self-evaluation in reviewing methods that appeared more effective. Self-cognition and communication with the community and other indigenous musicians influenced his development. The outcomes of this research were limited to observations by the two researchers over an eight-month period of weekend workshops conducted by the Semai musician. In the following, we outline four approaches to our research observation.

Pedagogical Setting

To maintain proximity to the context in which Semai music was transmitted, the researchers outlined a few fundamental approaches to research including the

pedagogical setting, learning from a familiar face, original learning context and the use of natural acoustics. The pedagogical model for the study was premised on the ideas of familiar space, familiar learning environment and a collaborative approach in indigenous community-based music learning and teaching. Three important approaches were identified in the construction of this model. First, teaching and learning should occur in a naturalistic environment, one approximate and similar to the natural musical acquisition environment of the Semai children. Secondly, utilise an alternative teaching and learning approach to the existing Western pedagogical model used in national schools attended by the Semai children. Thirdly, an indigenous musician should transmit the teaching of music to the Semai children from their own village. It is the intention of this research to revive ways of teaching and learning that encourages intuitive perception and cognition, a method that places the Semai child at the centre of the learning process. Learning through observation, imitation and creative interpretation together represents the essence of musical experience.

Learning from a familiar face: The musician

An indigenous musician from the same village was selected to teach the children in his village rather than an indigenous musician from another village. This choice was made based on opinions from the Orang Asli themselves. They believed that the children would be less reserved and inhibited if they were comfortable with the teacher. The Semai children are generally shy and reserved with outsiders. The children chose to attend the music classes based on interest. Each student also selected the instrument he or she was keen on playing.

Alang the musician inherited his musical knowledge from an ancestral lineage passed down from generation to generation. He learnt to play Semai traditional musical instruments and songs through oral tradition and rote learning. Since Alang was self-trained and acquired his musical skills through listening, this indigenous musician ventured into 'unfamiliar territory' by participating in this study that required him to conduct musical workshops for several Semai children. Embodying an Orang Asli heritage of adaptability and versatility, Alang appeared to constantly analyse and (re)construct his teaching approaches at each progressive workshop over a period of six months. Several techniques were observed in Alang's pedagogy. He experimented with issues of space, intuition, flexibility, improvisation and creative strategies in his teaching pedagogy as he assessed the Semai children's response to his teaching. Possessing the indigenous Semai's innate sense of intuition, adaptability and improvisatory skills, Alang constantly adapted his teaching methods to suit the indigenous children's level of development and progress. Through trial and error, he rectified and constructed different ways of transmitting musical knowledge to the children. Observations of Alang's musical pedagogy affirm theories from the field

of evolutionary psychology that problem-solving and adaptation mechanisms are important to the survival of a culture (Buss, 2004; Evans, 2000).

Original learning context

The teaching-learning workshops were conducted in Alang's bamboo hut in his village. This setting provided a space whereby Semai musical heritage could be transmitted within as naturalistic a place and familiar a manner as possible. The bamboo hut was familiar to the children and they were able to enter or leave at will. The approach was based on the philosophy that musically-informed practitioners of that culture might successfully transmit the acquisition of cultural and musical heritage in a naturalistic environment that is conducive, comfortable, friendly and akin to the Semai home environment. Alang invited 15 children for the sessions, as this number was an ideal fit for the size of his bamboo hut. This space allowed interaction, closeness and communication between the teacher and the children. The children were comfortable in a teaching space that shifted according to the needs of the instruments and songs learnt.

Natural acoustics

An important aspect of Alang's bamboo hut was its acoustics. The Semai musical instruments were originally performed in the context of small nomadic settlements in the rainforests of Peninsular Malaysia. These instruments produced soft yet organic, mellow, and soothing sounds that penetrated across the quiet mountains and forests, the ideal context for the performance of these instruments is a village space in a natural environment. These instruments were not designed for a school hall or stage and therefore not suitable to be performed in those kinds of space. Many Orang Asli performances for tourists are performed in large halls and open air with large audiences. They are amplified for audibility that changes the natural acoustic and aesthetics of the natural organic nature of the instruments. Many modern visitors may find it hard to appreciate Semai music because of its repetitious melismatic motives, perceived as being boring by some. This misperception may be due to the fact that modern visitors are not exposed to the music performed in its original environment or cultural context. If one were to listen to the sounds of these instruments penetrating across the stillness of the village, one could experience the natural organic sounds of bamboo and its spiritual connection with nature and the environment as believed by the Semai.

Outcomes of Research

The research explored the cultural and musical sensitivities of the Semai children and the Semai musician's gradual development of his own musical pedagogy. The research showed that Alang, the musician-cum-teacher, demonstrated versatility, adaptability and intuition in his pedagogy. The outcomes of this research also exemplified the importance of utilising the language and cultural learning systems of the children. The next section illustrates how

the culture of a collective society influences the spatial domain between the teacher and students and the enculturation system of imitation and adaptation embedded in pedagogy and creativity through trial and error.

Teacher and Student Mobility

The physical and pedagogical space between Alang and the students shifted based on the instruments or songs taught. Unlike common classroom teaching where there is a clear separation between the teacher and student, the space between Alang and his students was less demarcated. There was no central authoritative teacher-space reserved for the teacher. Alang was mobile and adjusted his position to suit the musical instrument he was teaching while taking into account the number of children in attendance. The children were also free to move around Alang if they wanted to get a better view of his teaching tools or the song text he held in his hand. Alang did not reprimand the children if they crossed boundaries of physical space. It is important to note that the cultural background of the children played an important role in Alang's approach. The Semai children are usually obedient, less outspoken and respectful towards their elders. Alang's approach seemed congruent with the Semai children's upbringing.

When Alang taught the *pensol* (nose flute) (Fig.2) the students seated themselves in front of him but more on his right side. This was because they were trying to mirror Alang's demonstration of the side-blown nose flute. The nose flute he held was extended towards his right. Later, the children shifted their seating position and positioned themselves on Alang's right to watch and imitate his demonstration from a non-mirrored view. This natural intuitive shift may have occurred as the children found it easier to imitate Alang on a non-mirrored view (Fig.3). Alang did not dictate the teaching space and the children accommodated themselves around him based on ease of visibility and comfort. The side-blown nose flute held perpendicular to the nose hole created a linear position among the children. They tried to observe the finger position by watching Alang while he played. However, since this was more a solo instrument, it was difficult for Alang to provide personal attention to each of his students. Therefore, Alang focused on several children who were able to produce good sounds and allowed the others to experiment with ways of producing a good tone. The nose flute produces a soft tone and individual children experimented on producing a sound from the *pensol*.

When the *centong* (bamboo stamping tubes) was taught, the children formed a semi-rectangular position (Fig.4). During this workshop, Alang utilised only two woodblocks that accommodated two pairs of bamboo stampers on one block. The length of the woodblocks was flexible. This was due to the fact that the pairs of *centon*g were stamped on two different blocks of wood. The length of the two woodblocks allowed each to be placed perpendicular to each other. This space between the teacher

Fig.2: Children seated opposite and learning to mirror Alang's fingering position.

Fig.3: The children shifted to sit on Alang's right to observe him teaching from the corner of their eyes

Fig.4: Children seated in a semi-rectangular formation while Alang is seated opposite them

and children was a negotiated place, with the children having the freedom to adjust and position themselves according to the musical instrument for convenience and efficacy. Alang guided the singing and musical skill of performing the *jenulak* song in front of the children. Since he was mobile, Alang sometimes guided their hand movements from behind (Fig.5).

Many of the children were attracted to strumming the *kereb*. One of the reasons for the popularity of the *kereb* is that popular songs comprising a melodic line accompanied by chordal progressions could easily be produced on the *kereb*. The children held on to the *kereb* and began to sing and strum in rhythm to songs they enjoyed such as 'Budak Kampung' (Village Boy). They strummed in rhythm to their singing and it did not matter whether they were strumming the right chords as their enthusiasm to play an instrument overruled the need to be 'in-tune'. In learning the *kereb*, the children automatically positioned themselves on Alang's right, sitting parallel or behind him. This provided them with a better sense of strumming and plucking patterns. Alang taught the children to strum to the *jenulak* song, 'Sangkut dipulai yang debor', the same song he used to teach the *centong*. Utilising the same song for different instruments showed that Alang's intuition when teaching was based on ingraining the familiar.

The teaching space and less authoritative approach used by Alang allowed a process of self-elimination or participation based on interest. We observed that only specific children maintained their attention and interest on the *pensol*. Only a few children were persistent enough to keep experimenting with their breathing to achieve a smooth tone on the *pensol*. Alang focused on teaching the first few children who were able to produce a steady and good tone on the *pensol* and allowed the others to self-experiment. Other children were also more attached to the *kereb* while some showed better skills in mastering the rhythmic stamping of the *centong* (Fig.6). Some children became restless and wandered outside to play. One may see this as a natural elimination or selection of potential *pensol* players based on interest, determination and persistence. This phenomenon is one of the significant observations of this research. It suggests that children should be encouraged to continue learning an instrument not by force but by self-directed interest. Children should be nurtured to pursue something they enjoy learning. A similar situation was observed during the teaching of the *kereb*. Since Alang focused on only some children, the others began to form their own groups and strummed the *kereb* to their own song repeatedly (Fig.7).

Embracing music across cultures. To play the *pensol*, one has to master: 1) breathing techniques; 2) harmonics; and 3) ornamented passages. Most of the music repertoire for the *pensol* utilises harmonics and are highly ornamented with turns. Alang had learnt these songs by rote and there was no documented sequential approach to learning the *pensol*. When Alang began teaching one of the Semai *pensol* songs to

Fig.5: Alang guiding the child in stamping a rhythm pattern

Fig.6: Children seated parallel and behind Alang while learning the kereb (plucked bamboo zither).

Fig.7: Children trying to improvise their own song on the kereb.

the beginners, he began to realise that it was far beyond their level even as beginners. Therefore, he quickly chose a song that was familiar to the children to teach the four basic tones of the *pensol*. Interestingly, the song Alang chose was *Wau Bulan* (*wau*: type of kite; *bulan:* moon), one of the most popular Malay folk songs learnt and sung by Malaysian children in national primary schools. This intuitive reaction showed that the indigenous musician was adept at making independent decisions in response to the current situation, and was not fixated on references from books nor theories. Growing up in a multi-cultural environment, Malaysians are subconsciously exposed to folksongs from various ethnic groups, especially the Malay ethnic group. These songs have become embedded in the Malaysian sub-consciousness. Music and songs across cultures are shared, while some music and songs may be politically

charged, they may also be aesthetically pleasing or catchy enough to override its political content.

Culture in pedagogy. One of the most important objectives of this research was to sustain Semai cultural heritage through their music. In his pedagogy, Alang utilised many Semai words to instruct the children. These words are windows into the value system of the Semai. Alang utilised terms such as *nanek na ne* (one, two, three) to queue the entry into the music. He often asked the children to *cerngai* (listen) and *neng* (see). For the learning process, Alang asked the children to *kerlos* (repeat), *cok beh* (try to play it), *beh nej* (play the song) and *kennem-kennem* (play together). He praised the children using the word *gabor* (good). The instruction of *cerngai* points to the importance of listening carefully before imitating, an important Semai musical pedagogy that stems from their cultural practices. *Neng* stresses the importance of watching and observing before doing, as a practical yet meticulous way of learning passed on from generation to generation. The skills of making bamboo houses, hunting with a blowpipe, killing a wild boar or chopping down trees were transmitted from father to children through observation and experience. Alang emphasised these skills in his musical pedagogy. The constant instruction to *kerlos* (repeat) and *cok beh* (try to play it) indicated that mastering a skill requires trial and error, acute observation and repetition. In their traditional subsistence livelihood, children sharpen their living skills by continuously repeating the act. Every Semai child has to learn survival skills such as hunting and fishing in order to survive with others as a community. Therefore, pampering or spoiling a child does not benefit the child nor the community. Alang's musical transmission encouraged and nurtured the innate qualities of a human being through his or her five senses.

Mnemonic sounds from natural resources. Alang began by introducing the names of the longer and shorter bamboo stampers. The longer bamboo stamper was called *jantan* (male) and the shorter called *betina* (female). Alang created his own mnemonic sounds to accompany the stamping of the *centong*. These sounds were *dung* for *jantan* and *deng* for *betina*. He indicated that the *jantan* should be stamped first for the 'Sangkut dipulai yang debor' song. The *jantan* was commonly held with the right hand, while the *betina*, with the left. Alang said,

> *Ada beberapa teknik, cara dia, dan yang jantan, cara dia, pegang dia, separuh orang, yang jantan pegang kiri. Yang penting ialah bunyi dia.*
>
> (There are many techniques and ways of holding the centong, some people hold the jantan in the left hand, but more importantly, the sound must be right.)

Similar to the *centong* is the *kereb*, a bamboo plucked zither that has two strings. The longer string is called *jantan* and the shorter string is called *betina*. Alang began by plucking the *jantan* string, which he

referred to constantly the string closest to the musician's heart as the longer string, the string on top (*atas*) or the string closest to the musicians chest. Using the mnemonic sounds *dung* (*jantan*) and *deng* (*betina*), Alang instructed the student to pluck the 'top' string or the *jantan*. The *kereb* is held perpendicular and across the musician's chest from waist to shoulder. The calling out of musical instruments during practice using cultural metaphors assists in the sustainability of belief systems associated with the culture.

Creative symbolic notation. Most *jenulak* songs are sung to *centong* accompaniment. The challenging part of performing *jenulak* songs is to sing while simultaneously stamping the *centong* in rhythm. As some children had difficulty stamping the correct rhythm, Alang created his own visual notation system for the stamping patterns to a familiar Semai *jenulak* song titled 'Sangkut dipulai yang debor'. He admitted that he did not know how to write the 'speed' (or rhythm in Western musical terms) for the *centong*. The visual notation was divided into two sections: *kentop* (right) and *kenvil* (left). *Kentop* was marked with the number 1 and *kenvil* with the number 2. There were

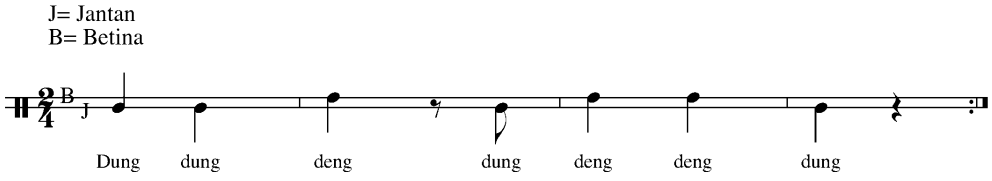

Fig.8: Centong accompaniment to the 'Sangkut dipulai yang debor' song (notated by researchers for the purpose of explaining Alang's visual notation).

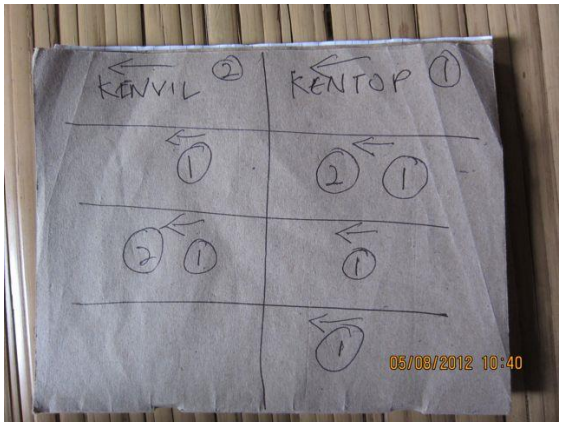

Fig.9: Alang's visual rhythm pattern guide.

Guide:
Kentop = Right
Kenvil = Left

a number of discrepancies as to how the notation was written in relation to how it should sound. Basically, a player needed to stamp twice on the *kentop* or right bamboo stamper (1) once at a longer duration on the *kenvil* or left bamboo stamper (2). The shorter duration is likely to be two quaver values, while the longer duration is a crochet value. He then stamped again on the *kentop* for a longer duration and twice on the *kenvil* for a shorter duration. This notation does not indicate the rhythm of the notes. A comparison of Fig.7 and Fig.8 shows this discrepancy. In Fig.7, we utilised Western classical music notation to illustrate the rhythm that Alang attempted to teach in his diagram, Fig.8. Trial and error are part of the process of mastering this particular pedagogy. Problem-solving through experimentation and creation embodies the nature of Orang Asli communities that adapted their livelihood and survival to the changing environment and social surroundings.

CONCLUSION

This research manifests the importance of taking cultural nuances into consideration, appreciating and being adept to learning through diverse methods. The teacher's flexibility is important in the process of nurturing those who possess different musical competencies and addresses the diverse background of children around the world, specifically that of indigenous children as it is based on intuition and versatility.

During the research period, the Semai children went through individual learning experiences aimed toward personal mastery of a musical instrument. They also experienced group instruction through collaborative learning and group learning. The workshops promoted the sustainability of the Semai cultural heritage by reviving traditional music and songs, hence keeping oral tradition alive. While the musician experimented with teaching, he also explored and developed a simple repertoire to facilitate the teaching and learning process. The process of developing a new repertoire by the indigenous musician led to the composition and performance of a combination of new and old pieces of music. Making music as an act of social cohesiveness and solidarity through creative cultural transmission and affirming (Semai) cultural aesthetics, worldviews and wisdom through the children was achieved in this research.

This paper discussed the preliminary stages in the development of an indigenous community-based musical pedagogy. The discussion explored the areas of individual instruction by observing how an indigenous musician explored his pedagogical potential. The outcome of this pioneering research revealed an alternative approach to musical transmission that could be used as a reference for potential research and paves the way for future research. These outcomes affirm the importance of culture and enculturation systems in the construction of musical pedagogy. Furthermore, the outcomes exemplify the importance of utilising the

local language along with cultural learning systems in musical pedagogy. Awareness of the diversity in pedagogy to accommodate different musical competencies and cultural systems is a responsibility that needs to be cultivated among teachers. This paper shows that culture and context play an important role in nurturing and developing the musical abilities of the indigenous Semai children in their own musical tradition.

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Regional Disparities in the Magnitude of Orphanhood in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

Orphanhood is a vast problem in the world with impacts on the social and public health sectors. Evidence-based information on the geographic distribution of orphans is an important information gap in Nepal. The present study aimed to identify the proportion of children who are orphans and their geographic distribution in Nepal. This study used the population subset of 0-17 year olds from the nationally representative Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2011, Nepal. The Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) method was used while fitting a logistic regression model to adjust for the correlation among children in the same household. The result was adjusted for age and sex of a child and wealth index of the household. The analysis was further stratified by age groups. Of the total 21,484 children, 1,142 (5.3%) were orphaned. Among the 13 sub-regions, Western Mountain and Eastern Terai had higher and Central Hill had lower proportions of orphan children than the overall mean. However, the results differed in age-stratified analysis. The study also explored possible factors related to orphanhood: poverty and famine, conflict and displacement, a high adult mortality related to HIV/AIDS and maternal causes. In conclusion, the distribution of orphan children in households was found to vary by sub-regions. Therefore, orphan welfare programmes should be focused on those regions with higher proportions of orphans.

Keywords: Orphans, poverty, disparities, Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE), Nepal

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INTRODUCTION

Orphanhood is a vast problem in the world with specific impacts on the social and public health sectors. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), children who have lost one or both parents

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are defined as orphan children. Orphanhood is the condition of being an orphan. So, these two words are often used interchangeably in the literature and shall be as well in this study. It is estimated that 153 million children worldwide have lost one or both parents (UNICEF, 2010). Although different sources provide different counts on orphan children, Asia is home to the largest number of orphans worldwide, where 60-80 million children are orphaned (UNICEF, 2010). In 2003, due to various causes, 87.6 million orphans were identified in Asia, while sub-Saharan Africa had a total record of 43.4 million orphans (*UNAIDS*, UNICEF and USAID, 2004). However, the proportion of orphans due to AIDS in Asia is much lower than in sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF EAPRO, 2005).

Nepal, a country which overcame a decade-long political conflict, is now facing a concentrated epidemic of HIV/AIDS, high adult mortality including high maternal mortality and severe forms of poverty and famine. These factors may have resulted in many orphan children in Nepal. According to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Nepal conflict report (2012), more than 13,000 people were killed during the civil war and many people disappeared. Thousands of children became orphans and were internally displaced (Joshi, 2008; Sing, Dahal, & Mills, 2005). According to the World Food Programme, Nepal (2009), severity of hunger in Nepal is alarming with a global hunger index score (GHI) of 20.6. The World Health Organisation (2004) categorised Nepal as a high mortality developing country. Globally, communicable diseases contribute to 32.3% of total deaths; however, 41% of deaths are concentrated in South Asia and 49.7% in Nepal (Suvedi, 2007). The World Bank estimation of maternal mortality in 2010 is still high (170/100,000 live births) in Nepal. According to the Nepal country progress report 2012, HIV/AIDS is another cause of adult death mainly concentrated in the western part of the country where male migration to India is common. The estimated deaths from HIV/AIDS are 4,796, which are 3.25% of total deaths from 50 causes (world life expectancy, 2013)**.** There is, however, no information on the total number of children who have lost their parents from AIDS and other causes.

Nepal is a small country with immense cultural and geographical diversity. It is situated in South Asia and surrounded by two large countries, China on the north and India on the south, east and west. It has been divided by latitude into three ecological zones (Mountain, Hill and Terai) and by longitude from east to west into five development regions (Eastern, Central, Western, Mid-western and Far-western).The cross section between three ecological zones and five development regions formed the 15 sub-regions. In this study, Mid-western and Far-western Mountain combined into Western Mountain and created 13 sub-regions (Ministry of Health and Population (MOHP) [Nepal],

New ERA, & ICF International Inc., 2012). There are 75 administrative districts that are further divided into smaller units, called Village Development Committees (VDCs) and Municipalities. The VDCs are rural areas, whereas municipalities are urban regions. Only 17% of the population lives in the urban areas (National Population & Housing Census 2011; MOHP Nepal et al., 2012; Nepal Population Report, 2011).

In many developing countries including Nepal, the children under the age of 18 represent about 50% of the total population. These children are at high risk and are less likely to have basic needs met to achieve a normal and healthy development. Among them, orphans who lost one or both parents are most vulnerable (Maluwa-Banda & Bandawe, 2004; United Nations, 2003) and frequently face many challenges. Because they have lost their parental support, these children have limited access to nutritious food, basic health care, formal education and safe shelter with behavioural ramifications of the absence of support. They may have to undertake various illegal activities like pick-pocketing, robbery or drug transport as a means of survival that may increase their vulnerability (The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief Office, 2006). Such activities not only increase their vulnerability but also increase their tendency to turn to criminal activities. Orphans get involved in such activities generally when they have little or no social support (Maluwa-Banda & Bandawe, 2004). Therefore, these children have to be taken care of by the state, community or social organisations.

Unfortunately, to date, ample steps have not yet been taken to remediate this situation due to the lack of empirical information on the magnitude of the problem and its geographic distribution in Nepal. Measuring the spatial distribution of any social or public health problem is the primary step in addressing it. The significance of such geographic information is twofold. Firstly, it identifies the area of high prevalence and secondly, it reflects the possible determinants. Hence, this study aimed to identify the sub-regional level variation in distribution of orphans staying in households. Although an investigation of the overall status of these children, including orphans who reside in the children's homes is also essential, this is not the focus of this study and is left to future work. It is expected that the findings of this study will be a useful reference for the concerned authorities or institutions to draft robust policies, set some strong strategies and implement priorities to offer basic standards of food, shelter, health, education and welfare for the overall development of orphans in Nepal. Furthermore, the information will be valuable to accelerate ideas to investigate possible causes of orphanhood and prepare an action plan with appropriate intervention activities in order to prevent or reduce the number of orphans in the country.

METHODS

Data, Sample Size and Sampling Method

This study analysed the most recent data available from the Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), 2011. A two-stage stratified cluster sampling method was used to select a nationally representative sample of 10,826 households (MOHP Nepal et al., 2012). There were 49,791 individuals in total from 10,826 surveyed households. Since this study concerned only children 0-17 years, households that did not have children were automatically excluded from the study. Therefore, 21,484 children (43.1% of total individuals) from 8,682 households were considered as the sample size for this study.

Variables Under Study

The outcome variable was defined as "non-orphan" and "orphan" and coded respectively as "0" and "1", based on parents' survival status. All the children aged 0-17 years from surveyed households were asked about the survivorship of their biological parents with three alternative answers to choose from "Yes, "No" and "Don't know". The internationally recognised and widely used (Bicego, Rutstein, & Johnson, 2003) definition of orphans, a child who has lost one or both parents, developed by UNAIDS, was used to define the outcome variable. However, we extended this definition and included those 17 children whose parents' survival status was "Don't know" into orphan. In Nepal, a large number of citizens disappeared during the conflict, and it is suspected that these persons were kidnapped, tortured and killed by both state and rebel groups (UNHCR, 2012). The variation in distribution of orphans was assessed in different geographic levels like Ecological, Developmental Sub-regions and urban-rural.

Statistical Methods

Chi-square tests were used to explore the factors associated with orphanhood status. Since the outcome variable is binary, a logistic regression model is appropriate (McNeil, 1996). Separate logistic models were fitted for two geographic variables, development regions and sub-regions, including covariates found associated with orphanhood in chi-square tests.

The logistic regression analysis assumes that observations are independent or uncorrelated. However, this assumption was not met by this data as the children from the same household shared common characteristics. To analyse correlated observations, Liang and Zeger (1986) introduced the Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) method. This study applied the GEE method when fitting the logistic regression model to control the effect of correlated data (Desilva et al., 2012; Halekoh, Hojsgaard, & Yan, 2006; Hanley, Negassa, Edwardes, & Forrester, 2002).

Each determinant does not have a control or reference group. So, instead of using the treatment contrasts, the present study used sum contrasts. This method gives a measure of its difference for each

level of each determinant factor from the overall mean of the outcome. The estimated proportion of orphans with 95% CI in each geographic parameter was calculated by using coefficients and standard errors obtained from the model. The statistical software system R version 2.15.2 was used for managing and analysing all data (R Core Team, 2012).

RESULTS

Background Characteristics and Geographic Location of the Study Population

Of the total 21,484 children, 1,142 (5.3%) were orphans who had lost either one or both parents. Among the 1,142 orphan children, 30% had lost only their mother, 64% had lost only their father and 6% had lost both parents. Table 1 presents the socio-demographic information, including geographic location of the children. Almost half (46%) of the children were 10-17 years, while one quarter (25%) were under 5 years of age. There were almost equal numbers of children of each sex. Since there is considerable variation in distribution of the population in ecological zones, development regions and in urban and rural areas of Nepal, the number of children in this study also varied across regions. Only 18% of the children were from the Himalayan region and nearly half (42%) were from the Terai region. Similarly, three quarters (76%) of the total number of children were from rural areas. However, almost equal (5-10%) percentages of children were selected from each sub-region.

Exploring the Association (Bivariate Analysis)

Table 1 also presents the results obtained from chi-square tests. Age groups, wealth index, development regions and sub regions were significantly associated ($p<0.05$) with orphanhood whereas place of residence (urban/rural), ecological region and sex of the child were not associated ($p >0.05$).

TABLE 1
Bivariate Analysis Between Orphanhood And Demographic, Economic and Geographic Factors, Nepal Demographic Health Survey-2011

Factors	Total Frequency (%[a])	Non-orphan Frequency (%[b])	Orphan [a] Frequency (%[b])	P values
Demographic factor				
Age groups				< 0.001
Under 5 years	5444(25.3)	5367 (98.6)	77 (1.4)	
5-9 years	6118(28.5)	5888 (96.2)	230 (3.8)	
10-14 years	6606(30.8)	6098 (92.3)	508 (7.7)	
15+ years	3316(15.4)	2989 (90.1)	327 (9.9)	
Sex				0.069
Male	10844(50.5)	10298 (95.0)	546 (5.0)	
Female	10640(49.5)	10044 (94.4)	596 (5.6)	

TABLE 1 (*continued*)

Factors	Total Frequency (%[a])	Non-orphan Frequency (%[b])	Orphan [a] Frequency (%[b])	P values
Economic factors				
Wealth Index				< 0.001
Poorest	5913(27.5)	5521 (93.4)	392 (6.6)	
Poorer	4283(19.9)	4050 (94.6)	233 (5.4)	
Middle	3743(17.4)	3554 (95.0)	189 (5.0)	
Richer	3662(17.0)	3490 (95.3)	172 (4.7)	
Richest	3883(18.1)	3727 (96.0)	156 (4.0)	
Geographic factors				
Place of residence				0.112
Urban	5231(24.3)	4930 (94.2)	301 (5.8)	
Rural	16283(75.7)	15412 (94.8)	841 (5.2)	
Development Region				< 0.001
Eastern	5004(23.3)	4734 (94.6)	270 (5.4)	
Central	4837(22.5)	4631 (95.7)	206 (4.3)	
Western	3524(16.4)	3356 (95.2)	168 (4.8)	
Mid-western	4325(20.1)	4055 (93.8)	270 (6.2)	
Far-western	3794(17.7)	3566 (94.0)	228 (6.0)	
Ecological Zone				0.448
Mountain	3889(18.1)	3681 (94.7)	208 (5.3)	
Hill	8538(39.7)	8066 (94.5)	472 (5.5)	
Terai	9057(42.2)	8595 (94.9)	462 (5.1)	
Sub-regions				< 0.001
Eastern Mountain (EM)	1361(6.3)	1303 (95.7)	58 (4.3)	
Central Mountain (CM)	1090(5.1)	1048 (96.1)	42 (3.9)	
Western Mountain (WM)*	1438(6.7)	1330 (92.5)	108 (7.5)	
Eastern Hill (EH)	1772(8.2)	1671 (94.3)	101 (5.7)	
Central Hill (CH)	1596(7.4)	1539 (96.4)	57 (3.6)	
Western Hill (WH)	1720(8.0)	1627 (94.6)	93 (5.4)	
Mid-Western Hill (MWH)	1788(8.3)	1693 (94.7)	95 (5.3)	
Far-Western Hill (FWH)	1662(7.7)	1536 (92.4)	126 (7.6)	
Eastern Terai (ET)	1871(8.7)	1760 (94.1)	111 (5.9)	
Central Terai (CT)	2151(10.0)	2044 (95.0)	107 (5.0)	
Western Terai (WT)	1804(8.4)	1729 (95.8)	75 (4.2)	
Mid-Western Terai (MWT)	1792(8.3)	1674 (93.4)	118 (6.6)	
Far-Western Terai (FWT)	1439(6.7)	1388 (96.5)	51 (3.5)	

NOTE: [a] The figures in parentheses are the column percentages.
[b] The figures in parentheses are the row percentages.
* Western Mountain includes the Mid-Western and Far-Western Mountain

Distribution of Orphan Children by Development Region (Multivariate Analysis)

The association found in bivariate analysis was further assessed in multivariate analysis. Table 2 presents the coefficients, standard errors and p values for all the parameters obtained from three different statistical models fitted between development regions and orphan status. Model 1 was the null model, Model 2 included covariates age, sex and wealth index while Model 3 was further adjusted with correlated observation using GEE methods. The association found in the chi-square test and logistic regression Models 1 and 2 could not be verified in Model 3. The fitted percentage including

TABLE 2
Statistical Modelling of Children by Development Regions Adjusted with Age, Sex and Wealth Index, Nepal Demographic Health Survey-2011

	Coefficient (Standard error)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 (geeglm)
Development regions			
Eastern	0.022 (0.057)	0.009 (0.058)	0.039 (0.079)
Central	-0.227 (0.063)***	-0.196 (0.064)**	-0.119 (0.085)
Western	-0.108 (0.069)	-0.068 (0.070)	-0.087 (0.095)
Mid-western	0.177 (0.058)**	0.154 (0.059)**	0.092 (0.086)
Far-western	0.136 (0.061)*	0.101 (0.063)	0.077 (0.088)
Age groups			
Under 5 years		-1.229 (0.089)***	-1.156 (0.084)***
5-9 years		-0.214 (0.061)***	-0.135 (0.041)**
10-14 years		0.569 (0.050)***	0.488 (0.045)***
15+ years		0.874 (0.057)***	0.803 (0.052)***
Sex groups			
Male		-0.034 (0.031)	-0.019 (0.023)
Female		0.034 (0.031)	0.019 (0.023)
Wealth index			
Poorest		0.315 (0.055)***	0.272 (0.076) ***
Poorer		0.084 (0.062)	0.076 (0.086)
Middle		-0.014 (0.067)	-0.001 (0.090)
Richer		-0.116 (0.069)	-0.096 (0.090)
Richest		-0.269 (0.072)***	-0.251 (0.090)**
P values from model			
Development region	7.203e-05 ***	7.203e-05***	0.1077
Age groups		< 2.2e-16***	<2e-16***
Sex groups		0.181	0.3716
Wealth index		2.652e-08***	0.0012**
Number of cluster			8682
Maximum cluster size			20

NOTE: *=p<.05, **=p<.01 ***=p<.001
Contrast= Used sum contrast while fitting the model.

a 95% confidence interval obtained from Model 3 is also presented in Fig.1. The overall percentage of orphans was included in the confidence interval for all five regions, so the variation is not statistically significant. The figure shows that the proportion of orphans found was significantly lower in <10 years age group and significantly higher in >10 years age group compared with the overall percentage (5.32%). This result was expected as older children are more likely to be orphans due to the longer exposure time for their parents to experience mortality and to the fact that the parents are older. But the result shows no variation by sex. Significantly, a higher and lower proportion of orphan children was found respectively in the poorest and the wealthiest households.

Distribution of Orphan Children in Sub-Regions Stratified by Age Groups (Multivariate Analysis)

The association between sub-regions and orphan status, explored in preliminary analysis (Table 2), was also proved in multivariate analysis. Four models were fitted by stratifying by age groups, and results were presented in the thematic map (Fig.2). The pink, yellow and blue colours in the thematic map indicate the higher, average and lower proportion of orphan children compared with the overall proportion in that specific age group. Significantly, a high proportion of orphans in children of all ages was concentrated in Western Mountain and Eastern Terai regions whereas a significantly lower proportion was found in Central Hill region. The scenario was a little different

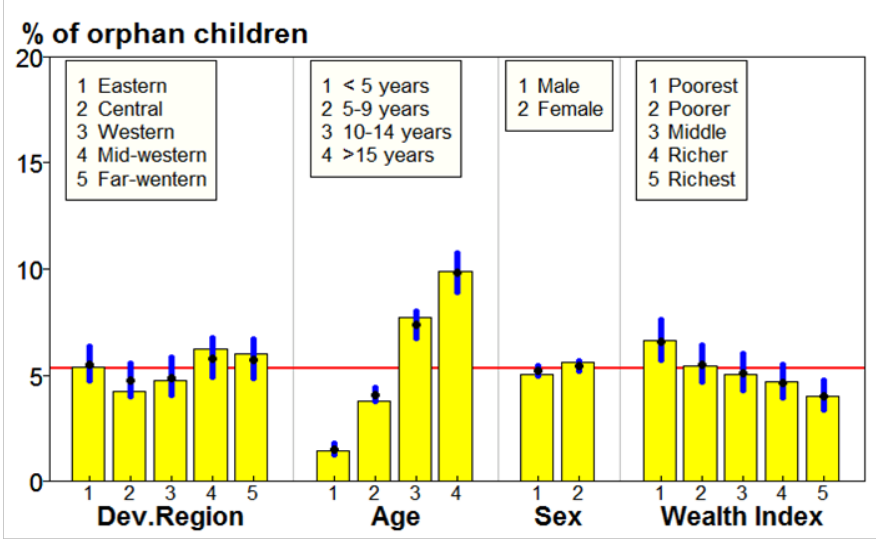

Fig.1: Percentage distribution of orphan children with 95% confidence interval from model, DHS 2011, Nepal.

in age-stratified analysis. In the 0-4 years age group, the proportion was found high in Western and Far Western Hills. However, in the 5-9 years age group, it was found high in Mid-Western and Central Terai. Among the children above 10 years of age, a higher proportion was found in Western Mountain region.

DISCUSSION

The present study found that 5.3% of children are orphans in Nepal. This figure is lower in comparison to some Asian countries like Afghanistan, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Laos (>10%) but similar to neighbouring countries like China (5%), India (6%) in 2010 and Bangladesh (5.8%) in 2006 (BBS & UNICEF, 2007; UNAIDS, UNICEF, & USAID, 2004). Similar to the findings of studies conducted in Cambodia (The National Multi-sectoral Orphans and Vulnerable Children Task Force, 2008) and in India (SOS Children Villages, 2008), this study found that the likeliness of being an orphan increases as the child grows older. This finding is also consistent with the findings from sub-Saharan African countries where the parents died due mainly to AIDS and the children were also likely to be affected by HIV (*Bicego et al., 2003;* Monasch & Boerma, 2004).

Similar to the findings in Cambodia (UNICEF EAPRO, 2009) and Bangladesh (BBS & UNICEF, 2007), this study found evidence of sub-regional level variation in distribution of orphans in Nepal. It is common to find such a type of variation in distribution of any social or public health problem within a country. But the important thing here is to understand the

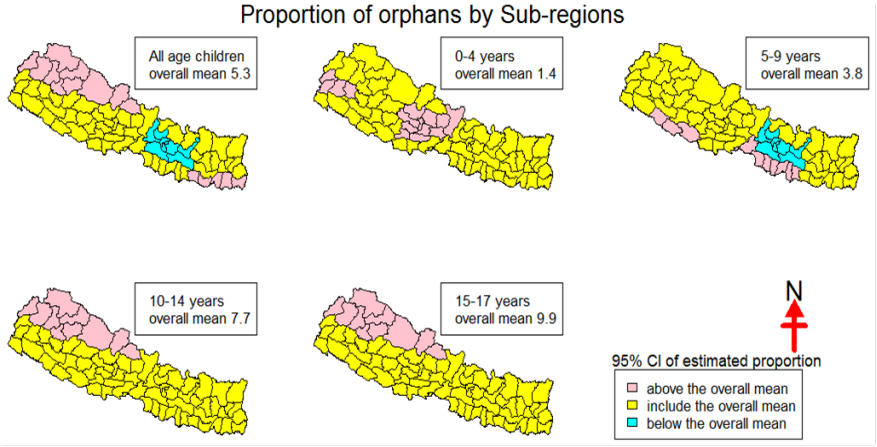

Fig.2: Thematic map from model on variation in distribution of orphan children by sub-region and age groups in Nepal 2011

possible reasons behind such a variation and to best utilise this information to address that problem. Therefore, this study further discusses the possible reasons behind the inequality in distribution of orphan children based on evidence from literature reviews.

One of the most probable reasons for a high proportion of orphans in the Western Mountain sub-regions could be hunger and famine. Nepal ranks 57th out of 88 developing countries with a GHI of 20.6. The highest prevalence of poverty and hunger, which is an extremely alarming situation (GHI≥30), was found in Far- and Mid-Western Hills and Mountain regions (WFP Nepal, 2009). Due to an inadequate nutritional diet, people die at a young age. According to a human development report, the life expectancy of people from this area is lowest (50-52 years) compared with other sub-regions, and the overall life expectancy of Nepal (United Nations Development Program, 2004). This finding corroborates the findings of neighbouring country India, where the prevalence of orphans is high in the poorest districts like Bihar, followed by Orissa and Jharkhanda (SOS Children's Villages of India). The Central Hill region, having a significantly lower proportion of orphans, was in the first rank of the hunger index that indicates better food security conditions compared with other sub-regions in Nepal (WFP Nepal, 2009). This result also proved that hunger is the main reason behind orphanhood.

Other than poverty, HIV/AIDS might be the cause for premature adult death among male labour migrants (particularly to India) and their wives from the Western part of the country. According to the National Centre for AIDS and STD Control (2012), around 50,000 people are living with HIV with an overall national HIV prevalence of 0.3% among adults aged 15-49 years in Nepal. But the prevalence was found to be 2.8% in 2006 and 1.8% in 2010 among male labour migrants in six districts of Mid- and Far-western regions (Nepal country progress report 2012).

The high rate of premature female death in Nepal is due to maternal causes. The Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) is still high (170/100,000 live births) in the country (World Bank, 2012). The significant variation in MMR by caste/ethnicity was found in a survey conducted in 8 districts (FHD, 2009). Muslim and Terai/Madhesi groups have very high (>300/100,000 live births) maternal mortality. The higher proportion of orphans found in Mid-Western Terai and Central Terai in the 5-9 years age group might be due to high maternal mortality.

One of the possible reasons for a high proportion of orphans in the Eastern Terai could be the displacement of conflict-affected families. However, although the effect of conflict was throughout the country, the impact was found most severe in Far West and Eastern Terai. A high number of widows and orphans have been reported in the Far and Mid-Western regions due to conflict (WFP and OCHA, 2007). According to UNFCO, Biratnagar (2013), more than 1,991 individuals were killed and 3,979 people were displaced during the decade

long conflict only in this region. Civil unrest continues today through the identity-based groups in this region. There was no age-specific high magnitude of orphans in these sub-regions; however, the proportions in the <5 year (p=0.07) and in 10-14 years (p=0.06) age groups were borderline.

The strengths of this study are the use of advanced stratified statistical analysis and the use of sufficient subjects for such analysis from the most recent nationwide population-based study. Since information on the distribution of orphans in different geographic area is lacking, the results of the study would help in understanding the prevalence of orphans, particularly in different sub-regions of Nepal.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In conclusion, the proportion distribution of orphan children in households varies by sub-regions and age groups in Nepal. The proportion was found high in the poorest region. Hence, priority should be given to planning and implementing welfare programmes to those pocket areas where the proportion is higher. This study explored the possible factors of poverty, conflict and displacement, HIV/AIDS and maternal mortality. It would be of interest and useful to learn if there were any patterns in levels of armed conflict, HIV and other infectious disease outbreak and other possible related causes in a further study. This study identified and compared the proportion of orphans in households; estimating the absolute number of orphans in the population including institutional and street children would provide more valuable information for planning programmes.

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Incidental Learning of Vocabulary through Computer-Based and Paper-Based Games by Secondary School ESL Learners

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ABSTRACT

This quasi-experimental study attempted to investigate which mode of language games, paper-based or computer-based, can better expand the English vocabulary size of Form Four students especially at the 2000 word-level. Seventy students were involved in this study i.e. thirty-five in each group. The study was conducted in three stages. First, the participants sat for the Productive Vocabulary Levels Test (PVLT) as a pre-treatment measurement. Then the Experimental Group 1 played the computer-based games and the Experimental Group 2 played the paper-based games for seven weeks before sitting for the first post-treatment parallel PVLT. After that, both groups switched treatments before they were assessed again using the second parallel PVLT. The statistical analysis of the pre- and post-treatment test scores were done using the *t*-test. The results show a significant gain for both modes of games, but the computer-based games had a higher mean gain. The study provides evidence that the computer-based games had better influence on students' vocabulary enhancement than the paper-based games.

Keywords: Vocabulary, incidental learning, games, computer-based, paper-based, Productive Vocabulary Levels Test

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INTRODUCTION

Words are tools used to communicate with others as well as to explore and connect with the world. Most people who have learnt a language and tried to use it for their daily tasks are aware of how insufficient vocabulary can retard their communication

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(Raimes, 1985); this is usually the case of less proficient writers who are unable to express their ideas due to insufficient vocabulary. As a result, their messages are not delivered. The most obvious effect of an under-developed vocabulary is seen in speaking and writing (Read, 2000). Therefore, vocabulary is increasingly viewed as crucial to language learning. Acquisition of a word requires deeper understanding of different aspects of word knowledge before complete mastery of a word is obtained (Nation, 2001; Schmitt, 2000). However, the actual process of how words are acquired is still unknown (Nation, 1995). The development of second language vocabulary can be summarised as follows:

> *There isn't an overall theory of how vocabulary is acquired. Our knowledge has mainly been built up from fragmentary studies, and at the moment we have only the broadest idea of how acquisition might occur. We certainly have no knowledge of the acquisition stages that particular words might move through. Additionally, we don't know how the learning of some words affects how other words are learnt.* (Schmitt, 1995, p.138)

There is, therefore, a need to view vocabulary development seriously and to introduce strategies that would interest learners. Strategies to promote vocabulary development need to be creative, imaginative and innovative, and should contain activities that engender excitement and fun. The strategies used should also motivate learners to participate in vocabulary learning so that they can learn better and use the vocabulary effectively in speaking and writing. This study was part of a larger research on vocabulary learning strategies and the effects of games based techniques on the lexical repertoire of ESL learners.

OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTION OF THE STUDY

The objective of this study is to investigate if learners are able to increase their vocabulary size incidentally through two different modes of vocabulary games. Specifically, the study seeks to answer the research question: How do learners perform on the Productive Vocabulary Levels Test (PVLT) before and after they play the computer-based and paper-based language games?

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section studies related to vocabulary acquisition activities, incidental learning of vocabulary as well as incidental vocabulary learning in second language contexts are discussed.

Vocabulary Acquisition Activities

One does not have knowledge of the complete English vocabulary because knowledge of individual words grows over time, both in one's ability to use the language receptively or productively. A second language learner needs to know about 3000 high-frequency words of the language (Nation & Waring, 1997) and he/she needs

to develop strategies to comprehend and learn low-frequency words to become a competent language user (Nation, 1990). The learning of new words or deepening the knowledge of already known words is through extensive listening and reading in the target language.

Learning from context is found helpful and successful as native speakers learn most words this way (Sternberg, 1987; Krashen, 1985). Other sources of vocabulary learning include problem-solving (Joe, Nation & Newton, 1996) and formal classroom activities where vocabulary is not the main focus. When learners do not focus on the form but the meaning, vocabulary learning is more effective (Krashen, 1985).

Some research using language games in classroom to acquire vocabulary has shown positive results in improving learner vocabulary building. For example, Yip and Kwan (2006) showed how students preferred acquiring vocabulary through digital educational games. The study showed that web-based games were more effective than activity-based lessons. More than 70% of the participants regarded the games they played as effective in helping them to increase their vocabulary.

Incidental Learning of Vocabulary

When vocabulary is learnt as a by-product of activities that do not have a primary focus on vocabulary development, the activities are called incidental (Nakata, 2008). In other words, the learners find themselves 'picking up' words and structures simply by engaging in a variety of communicative activities during which attention is focused on the meaning rather than form of the language (Hulstijn, 2001). Incidental learning is also referred to as learning from context where vocabulary is acquired through reading and listening while "the main focus of learner attention is on the message of the text" (Nation, 2001, p. 232). Learning from context can be derived from activities that include extensive reading, conversations, listening to stories, music, films, television or radio (Nation, 2001).

Likewise, Laufer (2003) defined incidental vocabulary acquisition as "the acquisition of vocabulary as a by-product of any activity not explicitly geared to lexical acquisition" (p. 574). However, incidental learning does not mean that learners do not attend to the words during the task. They may attend to the words, for example, using them in sentences or looking them up in the dictionary, but they do not deliberately memorise the words (Laufer, 2003). Read (2000) has stated that the notion of incidental learning is that it "does not mean that any vocabulary learning which occurs is 'unconscious' from the learner's point of view" (p. 44). Although the task given to learners is meant to be unconsciously learnt, learners are consciously engaged in the given task as the focus is on the message.

Although incidental learning makes a significant contribution to second language lexical development (Nation, 2001), it is not without limitation. The outcome from incidental learning has attracted mixed views from researchers in the field of linguistics. Firstly, knowledge of words does not occur

among learners unless they consciously notice them in some form (Schmidt, 1990). On the other hand, if semantic aspects of vocabulary are consciously acquired, word forms are learnt, as well as how they collocate with other words in a largely unconscious way (Ellis, 1997). Besides this, acquisition depends on other factors such as type of text (Nagy, 1997), learner's skills such as the ability to guess from context and the proportion of the words learners already know in the text (Nation, 2001).

Finally, one of the major shortcomings of incidental learning is that it is slow and haphazard (Nakata, 2008). It is anticipated that ESL/EFL learners may need to read a text of 200,000 words in order to acquire 108 words (Laufer, 2003), which is not possible in most classrooms.

Incidental Vocabulary Learning in Second Language Contexts

In the field of computer technology, specifically computer-assisted language learning, many studies have observed how computers can facilitate incidental learning. Studies have shown that providing multimedia annotations such as pictures or video-clips promote the richness of recall cues and increase the likelihood of retention because they provide learners with multiple access routes and leave a deeper memory and understanding in second language vocabulary learning (Al-Seghyer, 2001; Chun & Plass, 1996; Yoshii, 2006). There was also evidence in their studies that numerous annotations of words allowed the learners to show a more active learning behaviour and obtain relatively higher scores in the vocabulary post-test.

Evidence that incidental learning of vocabulary yields positive results was confirmed in a study conducted by Day, Omura and Hiramatsu (1991). In the study, a group of Japanese university learners was given a story to read. They demonstrated understanding of a few unfamiliar words. The learners were not cautioned that they would be tested on their vocabulary after reading the story. The results showed that they did learn some words through reading the story. Similar results were found in the research of Hulstijn (1992), who conducted a study on incidental learning through reading in Holland. The subjects in his experiment were not informed that they would be tested on the story after they finished reading the text. However, Hulstijn provided some assistance in the margin of the text to help the subjects understand the meaning of the target words. The results showed that the subjects not only demonstrated understanding of the lexis but were also able to retain the meanings of the target words.

The present study hopes to provide ESL learners with another method of acquiring vocabulary which is through playing language games. Vocabulary is believed to be learnt unconsciously through game play as learners do not know that they will be tested at a later period. Playing games provides the context for learning vocabulary incidentally as "learning from context does not include deliberate learning of words and their definitions or translations even if these

words are presented in isolated sentence contexts" (Nation, 1990, p. 232). Learning from reading texts and conversations and listening to stories, films, television or radio are some examples of learning in context. Following Nation's notion of contexts, this study seeks to investigate if incidental vocabulary learning could occur among ESL learners through playing vocabulary games.

Research on Language Games

Language games can be in printed form on paper or presented on the computer screen or any electronic devices. In a study conducted in Poland, Uberman (1998) compared the use of paper-based vocabulary games with other methods such as visual techniques, verbal explanation and dictionaries. The objective of the study was to determine whether games are more successful in presenting and revising vocabulary than other methods. The test results showed that the experimental group who learnt through paper-based games performed significantly better than the control group. It also showed that the use of games for teaching vocabulary is very effective and enjoyable for learners.

The second part of her study was vocabulary revision that aimed to help learners in their active and productive vocabularies using crossword puzzles. At the end of the study a short test was administered and the results showed that the games were effective for vocabulary revision. The learners also preferred games than other activities. The results of the study illustrate that games not only motivate and entertain learners, but also aid the retention and retrieval of the words.

A similar study on vocabulary development was carried out in Vietnam by Nguyen and Khuat (2003). They explained why learners in Vietnam were not very keen on acquiring vocabulary. Their main objective was to find out if games helped learners learn vocabulary effectively and if so, how. In the study, they introduced different vocabulary games to their learners over a period of two weeks. It was found that even the quiet and shy learners collaborated actively in the games. More importantly, the relaxed ambiance, the element of competition and the motivation the games brought into the learning environment induced positive perception towards learning the English language and vocabulary from the learners. The learners agreed that games helped them a lot in learning the vocabulary and they were able to recall the learnt words later.

Recently, Luu (2012) conducted a similar study in Vietnam on vocabulary retention. The main aim of the study was to find out if games could be an effective method to reinforce vocabulary recollection. The result showed that the experimental group recollected the learnt vocabulary better than the control group in both immediate retention and delayed retention.

The researchers of the above studies agreed that games promoted vocabulary learning. Vianna (1994) believed that games were very useful in the revising stage of vocabulary learning as learners felt

more at ease. Uberman (1998) supported Vianna's (1994) finding that games could be used for revision exercises because games were entertaining and motivating, and they could be used to promote fluency and communicative competence among learners. Uberman (1998) further concluded that games should be an interesting part of a lesson, providing the possibility of intensive practice and, at the same time, greatly enjoyable.

Research on Computer-based Games

In language learning, not every exercise is good or suitable for improving communicative competence (Macedonia, 2005). Sometimes, learners' emotional needs are not attended to as they need to be actively and creatively involved in lessons. In this aspect, computer-based games can address the learners' emotional needs. Besides this, games also help in eliminating anxiety among learners (Uzun, 2009). Generally, learners who are free from anxiety feel more relaxed and more willing to take part in activities. Games are capable of reducing the fear of making mistakes and so they lower the affective barrier in learning (Jones, 1982; Nemitcheva, 1995).

In a research study conducted on 100 undergraduates of engineering in the University of Hong Kong, the results showed that the learners preferred to learn vocabulary through digital educational games rather than traditional activity-based lessons (Yip & Kwan, 2006). The games were of the drill-and-practice type. Learners who learnt through the computer games were more successful in learning new words compared to those who learnt the same words through the traditional approach.

Another study reported that computer games sustained the interest of learners and helped them acquire more words in a shorter time (Uzun, 2009). In the study, Uzun created a computer game called VocaWord, which has been positively endorsed by consultants. The game allows learners to practise the word they have learnt, provides opportunity to challenge other players and also learn new words from others. The game also helps in spelling, which improves writing skills and minimises spelling errors. Besides this, the 'luck' factor reduces learner anxiety (Uzun, 2009, p.5).

Another study was conducted in Turkey on young children learning English as a foreign language (Turgut & Irgin, 2009). It was reported that Turkish children spent many hours playing computer games in cafes. The study showed how the learners benefited by learning not only new words but also pronunciation (Turgut & Irgin, 2009). By playing the online computer games, the learners were able to make use of the learnt words for "their own purpose in complex and pleasurable ways" (p. 761). The element of repetition in computer games allows the learners to be endlessly exposed to the target language and thus provides more opportunity for vocabulary learning.

Failure to get the correct answer provides a situation for learners to learn from their mistakes. In game play, learners can get feedback after a series of trials and errors. This is a primary way to learn and

is considered a motivation for learners to keep on trying. In game play, feedback is provided in the form of action as opposed to feedback in the form of text explanation in instructional material (Prensky, 2000).

Based on the discussion above, computer games can be used to teach vocabulary to both L1 and L2 learners. The use of computer games as an effective tool to teach vocabulary or a language is being recognised especially for the current generation of digital learners. The present study focuses on the use of selected computer games in the form of language learning activities that can be played without Internet connection.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was guided by the input-process-output model developed by Garris, Ahlers and Driskel (2002). The game model illustrates the effectiveness of learning vocabulary through computer-based games and paper-based games. The game model comprises three parts i.e. input, process and output.

The input domain comprises various language games that the learners can play during their leisure time or in the classroom. When playing the games, the learners will experience a process that is shown in the process domain of the model, Game Cycle. This game cycle includes user judgment or reactions, user behaviour and system feedback or reflection. A key characteristic of game play is that learners will not play a game and stop immediately but rather they will play the game repeatedly as game play is often engaging, engrossing and even addictive (Garris *et al*., 2002). They are engrossed in the game play because they are highly motivated. When learners play the games, they make individual judgment or provide rating about the game and determine if it is fun, interesting, enjoyable or engaging. Positive judgments will result

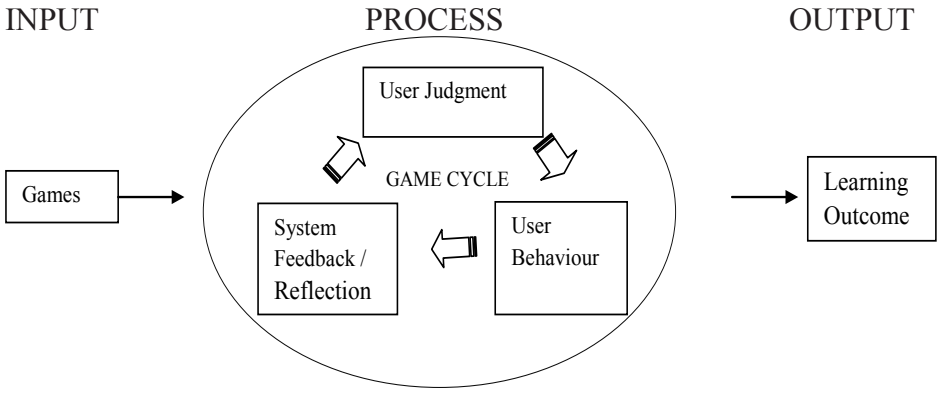

Fig.1: Input-process-output game model (adapted from Garris *et al.*, 2002, p. 456).

in positive behaviour, and it will further motivate learners to be engaged in the target activities in the games. It will further encourage the learners to continue playing longer compared to the less motivated learners (Garris *et al*., 2002). Learners' behaviour in playing the games can also be observed when they show more interest and involvement in the games. Feedback received from the system or reflections from the learners with regards to the game decide the judgement-behaviour-feedback cycle.

Feedback received by the learners regarding their progress towards their learning goals motivates them to increase their effort and attention on the tasks (Garris *et al*., 2002). This engagement in game play leads to specific objectives or learning outcomes that can be observed in the output domain as illustrated in Figure 1. Cognitive learning outcomes are expected to take place when learners use the newly acquired vocabulary in their writing.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study adopted a quasi-experimental design that employed a counter-balanced method to compare the effects of two modes of language games on participants' vocabulary size.

Participants and Sampling Method

A semi-urban secondary school was randomly selected from the list of schools within the district of Petaling Jaya. Two intact classes of Form four learners (sixteen years old) of the school were involved as the experimental groups, and both groups were exposed to the two treatments (computer-based and paper-based games). Each experimental group consisted of 35 learners. Intact classes were used in this study as they "[rotate] out any differences that might exist between groups" (Ary *et al*., 2002, p. 320). This is because the treatments were administered to all the learners, so the result for each treatment cannot be due to pre-existing differences in the subjects. The subjects had studied English as a second language for eight years, and they were taught English for 90 minutes a week from Year Three in the primary school and 150 minutes per week in the secondary school. Most of the participants in the study were of average proficiency level in English.

The Experimental Group 1 received Treatment A (Computer-based Games) first followed by Treatment B (Paper-based Games), while the Experimental Group 2 were exposed to Treatment B first followed by Treatment A. At the end of the experiment, both the experimental groups had been exposed to both treatments of learning vocabulary and this is the counterbalancing design. This simple form of counterbalancing is called AB-BA counterbalancing and it accomplishes two goals. First, every condition occurs in every position equally. Hence, in AB-BA counterbalancing, A occurred in both the first and last position. This is also true for B. Secondly, each condition precedes every other condition just as many times as it follows that condition. Therefore, in AB-BA counterbalancing, A precedes B once and

follows B once. This symmetry is called balanced (Mitchell & Jolley, 2007, p. 412).

Each treatment was conducted for seven weeks. Seven types of games were played for each treatment and each game was played for the duration of 30 minutes once a week during English lesson. Both the treatments for the experimental groups were conducted by the researcher to reduce researcher bias.

Research Materials

Students' vocabulary growth was measured by the Productive Vocabulary Levels Test (PVLT). The PVLT (see Appendix 1) that was used as a measurement in this study was designed by Laufer and Nation (1999). This test was a reliable, valid and practical measure of vocabulary growth. It was used in the study to discover the state of learner vocabulary knowledge (Laufer & Nation, 1999). This vocabulary test format has been used previously in an examination of lexical richness in writing by Laufer and Nation (1995).

The PVLT used in this study was similar as the pre- and post-tests were parallel because the words used for these tests were from the 2000-word level from West's (1953) General Service List. The learners had to take the PVLT before and after the treatment and Version C was found suitable as it had three parallel versions, namely, Parallel Version 1, Parallel Version 2 and Parallel Version 3 (combination of questions from Version 1 and 2). Parallel Version 3 was used as the pre-test before the treatment. Parallel Version 1 was used after the first treatment as post-treatment Test 1 and Parallel Version 2 was used after the second treatment as post-treatment Test 2.

The PVLT consisted of 18 items and was adapted for the purpose of this study. The adaptation was made, for example, on names of local people for learner familiarity. For each item a meaningful sentence context was presented, and some of the letters of the target item were provided. "The number of letters provided for each targeted item was decided by the elimination of possible alternatives to the tested words" (Laufer & Nation, 1999, p.37). The initial letters that were provided prevented participants from filling in another semantically suitable word in the given context that may come from other word frequency levels. This is because the test intended to test the learners' ability to use a specific word when required to do so (Laufer & Nation, 1999, p. 37). According to Laufer and Nation (1999), when learners are competent, they should be able to provide words in such manner.

The computer-based games used in the study were those that could be freely downloaded from the Internet (see Appendix 2). The study also used paper-based games (see Appendix 3) provided on game sheets to the learners. Both the computer and paper-based games were similar because they included crossword puzzles, word maze, mystery games, identifying jumbled words, matching exercises and riddles. The computer-based games were animated, interactive and colourful with interesting audio effects, while the paper-based games had appropriate picture clues.

Both the computer and paper-based games were parallel in nature. The computer-based games that supported the use of General Service List (GSL) words were appropriate to the level of the participants. A list of unrepeated words found in the games had a total of 189 word families from the 1000-word level and 321 word families from the 2000-word level. The word list also included words from different levels of difficulty to make the games more challenging. The paper-based games had a total of 186 word families from the 1000-word level and 279 word families from the 2000-word level. Further, the paper-based games had words from different levels of difficulty. Table 1 shows the summary of the word list used in both modes of games.

Research Procedure

The study was conducted in three stages. At first a Pre-treatment Test on vocabulary was given to the participants to determine their current state of vocabulary knowledge. The subjects were given the Productive Vocabulary Levels Test (PVLT). In the test, the initial letters were provided and participants were required to complete the words based on the context of the sentences. After the Pre-treatment Test, Experimental Group 1 played the computer-based games and Experimental Group 2, the paper-based. Both the groups were exposed to the treatments for seven weeks. After the seventh week, Post-treatment Test 1 comprising a parallel Productive Vocabulary Levels Test was conducted. After the first Post-treatment, the Experimental Groups 1 and 2 switched treatments for another seven weeks. After the fourteenth week, another parallel assessment (Post-treatment Test 2) on vocabulary was administered to both the groups. The results of the assessments were used to compare the effects of both treatments on the participants' vocabulary performance.

The data collected from the study was analysed statistically using the Statistical Programme for Social Studies (SPSS). The pre- and post-PVLT was first marked manually and the scores were recorded. These scores were computed to show the total scores, the mean and the standard deviation for each of the tests. Based on the pre- and post-treatment data, a further statistical analysis using the paired-sample *t*-test and independent sample *t*-test was carried out to obtain the *t*-values of the three sets of PVLT to investigate if there was any significant difference in the vocabulary

TABLE 1
Summary of Word Lists Used in the Games

Games	1000-word level	%	2000-word level	%	Beyond 2000
Computer-based Games	189	22.7	321	38.5	39%
Paper-based Games	186	22.3	279	33.4	44.3%

knowledge of the learners. The *t*-value obtained from each paired and independent sample also indicated the treatment that had produced the most significant difference in the learners' vocabulary knowledge after the game treatments.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

During the study, the vocabulary level of the participants at three different stages was tested. In order to determine the homogeneity of vocabulary level of the two groups, an independent-sample *t*-test was conducted to compare the pre-test scores between the two groups before the treatment. There was no significant difference between the scores for Group 1 (M=11.11, SD=2.74 and Group 2 M=11.71, SD=2.61); t(68)=-.938, p=0.35. These results suggest that both the groups had similar language proficiency levels at the beginning of the study. The significant *p*-value for the group was .35, which was higher than the p<.05. It indicated no significant difference in pre-test scores between the two groups.

After Group 1 played computer-based games, there was a significant difference in the result of the PVLT (MD=3.60, SD=1.98, t(35)=10.71, p=.000) (see Table 2). The mean score was bigger (M=14.71) than for the Pre-treatment Test (M=11.11). A similar comparison was made with the Post-treatment Test 2 (see Table 3) after the learners had played paper-based games where there was a significant difference in the mean scores (MD=0.83, SD=2.24, t[35]=2.19, p=.036). The mean score of Post-treatment Test 2 showed a slight decrease (M=13.89) when compared to that of the Post-treatment Test 1. Thus, the result shows that although there is a significant gain for Group 1 after both treatments, they show better improvement in their PVLT after they played computer-based games (Post-treatment Test 1) since their mean score was higher (M=14.71) than for the paper-based games (Post-treatment Test 2).

Likewise, for Group 2 who played paper-based games first, the PVLT mean scores showed a significant difference (MD=1.66, SD=2.58, t[35]=3.80, p=.001)

TABLE 2
Changes in Productive Vocabulary Levels Test of Group 1 after Playing Computer-based Games (n=35)

Pre-Treatment Test Mean	Post-Treatment Test 1 Mean	Mean Difference	*t*-value	SD	*p*-value p<.05
11.11	14.71	3.60	10.71	1.98	.000

TABLE 3
Changes in Productive Vocabulary Levels Test of Group 1 after Playing Paper-based Games (n=35)

Post-Treatment Test 1 Mean	Post-Treatment Test 2 Mean	Mean Difference	*t*-value	SD	*p*-value p<.05
14.71	13.89	0.83	2.19	2.24	.036

(Table 4). The PVLT of Group 2 showed a bigger mean score (M=13.37) when compared with the Pre-treatment Test (M=11.71). A similar comparison was made with the Post-treatment Test 2 after they had played the computer-based games. There was also a significant difference in the scores (MD=3.23, SD=2.42, t[35]=7.89, p=.000). Between the two treatments, the result showed that Group 2 had better gain in their PVLT after they had played the computer-based games (M=16.60) compared to paper-based games (M=13.37) (see Table 5). Therefore, the results suggest that both groups had significant improvement in their productive use of vocabulary after playing the computer-based games.

After both groups went through the first stage of treatment, whereby Group 1 played computer-based games and Group 2, paper-based games, there was a statistical significant gain between the two groups as reflected in their Post-treatment Test 1. The statistical difference in their mean scores was (MD=1.34, SD=2.20, t[35]=3.62, p=.001). The mean score of Group 1, who played the computer-based games (M=14.71), was higher than Group 2, who played paper-based games (M=13.37). Thus, the result shows that computer-based games were more effective for the participants' vocabulary enhancement at the 2000 word-level.

The Productive Vocabulary Levels Test was conducted to access the participants' ability to use a target word correctly from the 2000 word-level. The result showed that both the experimental groups had attained

TABLE 4
Changes in Productive Vocabulary Levels Test of Group 2 after Playing Paper-based Games (n=35)

Pre-Treatment Test Mean	Post-Treatment Test 1 Mean	Mean Difference	*t*-value	SD	*p*-value p<.05
11.71	13.37	1.66	3.80	2.58	.001

TABLE 5
Changes in Productive Vocabulary Levels Test of Group 2 after Playing Computer-based Games (n=35)

Post-Treatment Test 1 Mean	Post-Treatment Test 2 Mean	Mean Difference	*t*-value	SD	*p*-value p<.05
13.37	16.60	3.23	7.89	2.42	.000

TABLE 6
Changes in Productive Vocabulary Levels Test after First Treatment

Test	Group 1 Mean n=35	Group 2 Mean n=35	Mean Difference	SD	t-value	*p*-value p<.05
Pre-Treatment Test	11.11	11.71	-0.6	0.135	-.938	.035
Post-Treatment Test 1	14.71	13.37	1.34	2.20	3.619	.001

active productive vocabulary use at the 2000-word level (see Tables 2-6). Having the knowledge of 2000-word level was significant because the participants had "the ability to use a word when compelled to do so" (Laufer & Nation, 1999, p.37). This was shown by the mean differences between pre-treatment and post-treatment test scores.

The analysis of the results also shows that the participants from Group 1 had attained slightly higher improvement in their active productive use of the 2000-word level after they had played the computer-based games (see Table 2). This difference caused by the mode of games could be due to the nature of computer-based games, which were more interactive, allowing the participants to use multisensory elements, text, sound, pictures and animation, thus providing meaningful contexts to facilitate comprehension (Butler-Pascoe & Wilbur, 2003). Besides, it has been reported that learners who used computer games were more successful in learning new words as compared to those who learnt the same words through a more traditional approach (Yip & Kwan, 2006).

Thus, the study indicated that vocabulary games were able to increase the vocabulary size of the participants. The findings also suggested that the game cycle in the input-process-output game model (see Figure 1) had been effective. As mentioned earlier, the game cycle enables the participants to play the vocabulary games repeatedly, and the nature of repetition allows the participants to give informational feedback regarding the games. Feedback also evoked the correct behaviour, thoughts and actions of the players (Kapp, 2012). When they played the game for the first time, some participants were unable to complete the games correctly but through the feedback and judgments they gathered from the game cycle, they were guided towards completing the game tasks. When the tasks were accomplished successfully, incidental learning took place. The participants were unaware that they had actually learnt a few words after a number of trials and errors.

CONCLUSION

The findings showed that the participants exhibited an increase in their vocabulary level after playing the computer and paper-based games. Therefore, language games can be a useful strategy for learners to acquire vocabulary in a fun-filled and non-threatening environment. Even slow and shy learners continue to play the games at their own pace. Learners also become autonomous as they are able to refer to the dictionary in both modes, electronic or print, to find out meanings if they have problems with understanding the words. Both the computer and paper-based language games can be used by educators to promote vocabulary acquisition. Policy makers can consider including games when designing new English language textbooks. Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) should be more sensitive towards the needs of today's digital learners or Net Generation by incorporating language games in the syllabus so that vocabulary can be learnt more interestingly.

LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study has a few limitations. Firstly, the number of words in the 2000-word level was not the same for both types of games. One of the reasons was both the treatments used seven types of games within the seven-week duration. So, it was not possible to increase the number of words in the 2000-word level for the paper-based games. Furthermore, the games used were not designed by the researcher but had been carefully selected from readily available resources online and books.

The homogeneity of learners in both the groups were determined through an essay test which was part of the main research and the results showed that the learners in both the groups were at similar proficiency level.

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A Preliminary Analysis of Securitising Mental Health in LAMICs Regional Groups: The Case of ASEAN

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ABSTRACT

The new century has witnessed unprecedented efforts by both international institutions and mental health movements to promote and prioritise mental health at the same level as other priority health issues, especially HIV/AIDS. The release of the highly influential *Lancet* series on global mental health in 2007 highlighted these efforts, and the slogan "no health without mental health" became widely known. Despite success in developed regions, mental health and illness have been largely neglected in lesser developed areas made up mostly of low- and middle-income countries (LAMICs). This preliminary research explored the efforts to prioritise mental health through securitisation and attempted to determine why such efforts are not successful in LAMICs regions, focusing on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a case study. According to our findings, a primary reason mental health is not prioritised in ASEAN is the difference in the values and social norms of LAMICs versus liberal-Western values and norms. These liberal-Western values and norms are the root of securitising, prioritising efforts. Securitisation can be considered a humanitarian effort, because the process is grounded in moral arguments and a universal value of human rights and dignity. For such securitisation efforts to succeed, however, a region must share the values at its roots. The final recommendation is that mental health advocates find a more pragmatic strategy in order to make the efforts workable within LAMICs regions.

Keywords: Mental health, human security, securitisation, ASEAN

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INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, mental health has gained attention in the context of global health, a critical component of human security. A report by the World Health Organisation

(WHO) in 2001 underlined an urgent need to handle mental health problems, particularly reducing the treatment gap between higher- and lower-income countries, since mental illness affects one in four people globally and increases the risk of other diseases. Thus, as Prince *et al*. suggested, there is "no health without mental health" (2007).

In a liberal-Western context, humanitarian securitisation is a process of shifting humanitarian issues out of the normal political realm into the realm of necessity and urgency by presenting such issues as an existential threat to the rights and dignity of human persons, for example, those with disabilities. This process is different from traditional securitisation in that the referent object is neither the state nor the community, but the individual; in addition, humanitarian securitisation efforts are mostly performed by international institutions and social or people's movements. Notwithstanding the growing international awareness, the concern over mental health issues has remained less substantial outside more developed regions.

This study aimed to investigate the relevance of humanitarian securitisation of mental health in regions with low- and middle-income countries (LAMICs) through a case study of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In Southeast Asia, mental health has long been neglected as low priority, even though the region's sociopolitical conditions may impact—or be impacted by—the population's mental health. Given the issue's sociopolitical significance, it deserves to be securitised throughout the region. Although some evidence suggests that mental health has gradually attracted more attention through ASEAN, it still remains insufficiently addressed.

This article is divided into three main sections. The first section examines contemporary attempts to prioritise mental health globally and regionally through the lens of securitisation. The second section explains the research methodology used in this study. The third section appraises efforts by non-state actors and ASEAN to address mental health issues and explores the possibility of a justification for securitisation within the organisation's framework. The final section provides some recommendations and concludes the article.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

In this analysis, the author draws primarily, but not exclusively, on the concept of "securitisation." Securitising refers to a security-making process and is one of the most innovative concepts to come out of the contemporary debate over the complexion of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2010). The concept of securitisation was originally formulated by Wæver (1995) but became widely known in Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde's *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* in 1998. They and their works are often called the Copenhagen School (CS) of security studies. According to the CS, no issue is a security problem per se. Rather, something becomes a security matter because someone identifies it as valuable and, therefore, of possibly being in danger,

requiring extraordinary means beyond the normal scope of the political system to protect.

The word "security," as argued by Wæver (1995, p. 55), is "not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance itself is the act. By saying it, something is done." Briefly, security is a speech act (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, 1998; Wæver, 1995). As security is, at heart, about survival; an issue becomes a security problem only after it is enunciated by the "securitiser" or securitising actors as an existential threat to the survival of a referent object, and this claim that the issue poses a threat is accepted by the audience (Buzan *et al*., 1998; Wæver, 1995). For this reason, securitisation is inevitably an intersubjective process; a successful securitising attempt is not decided by the securitiser but by the audience (Buzan *et al*., 1998). In short, "the issue becomes a security issue—not necessarily because a real threat exists but because the issue is presented as such a threat" (Buzan *et al*., 1998, p. 24).

Nevertheless, the social power relationship among securitising actors in the field is varied and asymmetrical. Some securitisers—for example, those nominated as experts in a given issue or in a position of sufficient social and political authority—have more power to convince the audience (Buzan *et al*., 1998; Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2010; Wæver, 1995). As a result, to study securitisation "is to study the power politics of the concept" (Buzan *et al*., 1998, p. 32).

Understanding the logic of security "in a way that is true to the classical discussion" is essential in examining how "the *same* logic" may apply to non-traditional security issues (Wæver, 1995, p. 51). Security, like all other concepts, has its own historical connotations, largely concerned with military security practices. Understanding these connotations allows us to examine how the traditional conceptions of security i.e. national security, state sovereignty and threat take on new forms under new circumstances (Buzan *et al*., 1998; Wæver, 1995).

In sum, security for the CS is a more extreme form of politicisation going beyond normal political procedures and practices. Accordingly, the process of securitisation can be considered in terms of the linear spectrum running from non-politicised through politicised to securitised (Buzan *et al*., 1998). When an issue (the existential threat) is successfully securitised as threatening to something that must be protected (the referent object), it is prioritised with the same degree of urgency as a military problem and becomes a security issue. Peoples and Vaughan-Williams (2010) reduce this to a brilliantly simple formula: "Existential Threat to a Referent Object = A Security Issue".

Apart from the securitisation concept, Acharya's "norm localisation", a concept developed from norm diffusion (Acharya, 2004), was also used in the study as a supplementary to discuss the outcomes of securitising process.

Traditional perspectives on norm diffusion often have a problem of binary opposition. Moral cosmopolitanism, for example, is premised on "good" universal norms prevailing over "bad" local values and practices. Liberal-Western norm entrepreneurs are seen as the key actors who influentially disseminate the norms. They also tend to believe that local norms are passive, and presume that a local society is receptive to the universal norms because of their more desirable values (Finnemore, 1996). In reality, however, such new norms are seldom entirely accepted. As indicated by Acharya (2004, p. 248), "[the] stronger the local norm, the greater the likelihood that new foreign norms will be localised rather than accepted wholesale."

Unlike norm diffusion, the concept of norm localisation emphasises the role of local actors and the linkages between the preexisting local norms and the emerging international norm. According to Acharya (2004), norm localisation is a process starting with the selection, reinterpretation and re-representation of foreign norms, which reconstructs such norms to make them harmonious with preexisting normative order. The localising process is facilitated or impeded by societal conditions, particularly the social credibility of local agents and the power of preexisting local social norms (Acharya, 2004).

POLITICIZATION OF (MENTAL) HEALTH ISSUES

The link between international relations and health is not new (McInnes & Lee, 2012), but the connection to mental health is. It was not until the early 1990s that mental health issues gained attention from international policy institutions. Nevertheless, it remained a relatively low priority. This growing interest in mental health was encouraged largely by the release of the Human Development Reports issued annually by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) during the first half of the 1990s, which articulated the so-called "human security" that shifted focus of security from the state to the individual in response to the changing nature of insecurity following the Cold War (Owen, 2010).

The attempt to promote human security can be traced back to the 1991 Pan African conference, co-sponsored by the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation for African Unity (OAU). It called for a major revision in the way of thinking about security:

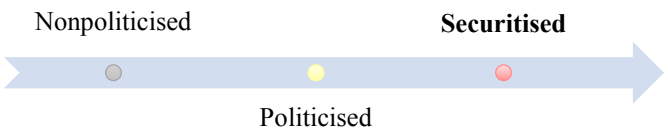

Fig.1: The spectrum of securitisation.

Adapted from Security: A new framework for analysis pp. 23-24, by Buzan *et al.*, 1998, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner

> *[the] concept of security goes beyond military considerations. [It] must be construed in terms of the individual citizen to live in peace with access to basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of his/her society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human rights.* (Hough, 2008, p. 14)

Accordingly, the concept "must change—from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial to food, employment and environmental security" (UNDP, 1993, p. 2).

It was the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, however, that concretised the concept of human security, setting out the two main aspects: first, the freedom from chronic threats such as hunger and disease, and second, the protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in daily life. The report identified the seven components of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security (UNDP, 1994). The conceptual boundary, as Owen states, is "very [broad], clearly separating itself from past security reconceptualization" (2010, p. 43), thus broadening the security agenda.

Though mental health is always included in the term "health" as defined by the UN (Izutsu & Tsutsumi, 2014), more often than not its schemes are fragmented, residing within a wide range of UN initiatives. The new security paradigm proposed by the UNDP helps to consolidate the existing efforts in prioritising mental health within the UN system as well as integrating them into the human security discourse.

Like the UNDP Human Development Reports, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the most recent human development project established by the UN, do not specifically include mental health. Some call this "a lost opportunity for mental health" (Minas, 2014, pp. 151) as it fails to generate an international political commitment (de Almeida, Minas, & Cayetano, 2014; Lund, 2012; Miranda & Patel, 2005; The PLOS Medicine Editors, 2013). Others argue that it is a considerable contribution to promote mental health as almost all of the MDGs are implicitly associated with social determinants of mental health and contribute to mental illness prevention (Jenkins, Baingana, Ahmad, McDaid, & Atun, 2011; Sachs & Sachs, 2007). Despite this indirect benefit, however, mental health and illness have not been specifically addressed (Miranda & Patel, 2007).

In recent years, health-security linkage has become more tangible. Health, as a component of human security, is now a security issue. Human security discourse, including health security, strongly connects to international languages of the new millennium i.e. human rights and human development (Koehler, Gasper, Jolly, & Simane 2012; McInnes & Lee, 2012) and has been adopted as an international political agenda. Considering that the MDGs target

health issues such as improving maternal health and combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other major diseases, securitising health is not exaggerated (Burgess, 2008; Mclnnes & Lee, 2012).

However, according to the CS, in an international interstate system, security is placed into five sectors on the basis of a particular type of interaction among its constituent units, reflecting different traits of an international security issue (Buzan *et al*., 1998); neither health nor human security are included. This might derive from the fact that human security, together with health security, comes with a domain contrasting with the CS concept; human security shifts the referent object away from the state and onto the individual. While this concept is contested and divergent, this shift in the referent object is always at the heart of human security discourse (Liotta & Owen, 2006; Owen, 2004; Owen, 2010). It is this deepening approach to the referent object i.e. the ordinary person that distinguishes human security from the security concept of the CS (Hough, 2008).

Due to the lack of consensus on the nature of threats to the individual, the concept of human security has been widely used as everything from a rationale for international institutions' policies and projects to a guiding principle for foreign policy to campaigns for non-governmental organisations (Owen, 2010). Japan's government, for instance, has made an umbrella of human security a basic official development assistance (ODA) policy (Gilsona & Purvis, 2003). The people-centric discourse of human security has usually been seen as a practice of humanitarian intervention – the "saving the strangers" trend of the 1990s (Wheeler, 2000). As health is closely linked to human security, if not one of its components, health security shares the same foundation of putting the focus on the individual. Moreover, some types of health problems apparently have been securitised at all levels; the global HIV/AIDS epidemic is a good example (Burgess, 2008; Hough, 2008; Mclnnes & Lee, 2012).

Mental health and illness have received much less attention than other kinds of disease in the international political agenda (de Almeida, Minas, & Cayetano, 2014; Lund, 2012; Miranda & Patel, 2005; The PLOS Medicine Editors, 2013). This leads to greater efforts among health professionals, mostly psychiatrists, to push the mental health agenda into national, regional and international platforms to prioritise, if not securitise, mental health. The new epoch of these efforts is marked by two milestones. The first is the release of the *Mental Health Gap Action Programme* (mhGAP) published by the WHO in 2008; the programme addresses the gap between the global need for mental health treatment with a special emphasis on LAMICs and the available treatments. This was followed by the mhGAP Intervention Guide (mhGAP-IG), which provided a model for the treatment of individuals with mental disorders and a framework for coping with disease entities. These show the WHO's efforts to systematically address the priority and importance of mental health problems

(Okpaku & Biswas, 2014).

The second milestone is the launch of the *Lancet* Series on Global Mental Health in 2007 (Okpaku & Biswas, 2014; Lancet, 2007). The series is grounded on the fact that "…disturbances of mental health remain not only neglected but also deeply stigmatised across our societies… Mental health disorders represent a largely hidden, if not substantial proportion of the world's disease burden. They can often be neglected, especially in [LAMICs]." Hence, "[the] Lancet Series on Global Mental Health draws together leading experts…to highlight the gaps in mental-health services worldwide, and to formulate a clear call to action" (Lancet, 2007).

The series calls for a new broad social movement aiming to strengthen mental health (Horton, 2007). This became the Movement for Global Mental Health (MGMH), a network of mental health professionals and allied experts. The MGMH consists of two fundamental principles: "scientific evidence and human rights" and has announced the commitment to improve the poor conditions of individuals with mental illness worldwide, especially in LAMICs. This movement has also contributed to the establishment of "global mental health" as a new field of study (Okpaku & Biswas, 2014; Patel & Prince, 2010).

In practice, global mental health is:

> *…a range of activities concerned mental health that meet five principal criteria: (1) The problem/ issue should have a universal or transnational aspect…(2)…The problem should have a population basis e.g., violence as a public issue. (3)…The composition of the stake holders should be international in either bilateral or multilateral arrangements…(4)…The problem should be owned by the recipient organization, institution, or country. (5) The team engaged in the project should be multidisciplinary and multi-party.* (Okpaku & Biswas, 2014, p. 2)

TABLE 1
Traditional vs. Human Security

Type of security	Referent object	Value at risk	Possible threats
Traditional security	The state	Sovereignty, territorial integrity	Interstate and civil war, nuclear proliferation, terrorism
Human security	The individual	Survival, quality of life, human rights and dignity	Globalisation, disease, poverty, natural disaster, human rights violation, violence

Adapted from "Why Human Security?" by P. H. Liotta and T. Owen, 2006, *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, *7*(1), p. 38.

Like the discourse on human security, this framework shows that the discourse on securitising mental health is made up of moral arguments and the belief in the value of human rights and dignity i.e. a people-centred security. Furthermore, almost all strategic campaigns calling for securitising mental health are rooted in such moral arguments and individual-orientated beliefs (Aggarwal & Kohrt, 2013). Kleinman, for example, strongly contends that it is essential to prioritise "moral transformation as the foundation for reform of global mental health, much as it was for the reform that spurred HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa and Asia" (2009, p. 603); otherwise, humanity's moral failure on mental health in the past might repeat itself. In the same way, but more radically, Abed (2004) calls for an amendment of the UN Charter allowing the international community to intervene in state-committed gross violations because tyrannical regimes typically cause citizens severe mental ill-health through various forms of violence. The discourse of mental health security is, therefore, considerably idealistic.

Although it is a specialised agency, the efforts made systematically by the WHO and the new social movement formed by mental health professionals can be seen as human securitisation since the security they believe is threatened by mental health and illness is that of the individual not the state (Hough, 2008). The author of this article termed such systematic efforts as the "humanitarian securitisation" to better reflect the visions and missions of the securitisers.

The humanitarian securitisation has been successful or, to large extent, prioritised, in developed countries. Nonetheless, this study argues that promoting the human securitisation of mental health in LAMICs would not lead to a favourable outcome since its basic arguments and premises are opposed to the idiosyncrasies of LAMICs, especially the countries in Asia and Africa where securitisation has been overshadowed by the state.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The question of this study is whether the human securitisation of mental health is considered relevant under ASEAN, the case study representing regional groups of LAMICs. The following two hypotheses are proposed:

> *H1: With a less democratic regime, a country is less likely to securitise non-security issues at both national and regional levels.*
>
> *H2: With a lower freedom status, a state organisation is strong and has high social control. Hence, there is a lesser degree of openness for a country to participate with non-state actors from civil societies to international institutions in securitising non-security issues at both national and regional levels.*

A country's regime type is classified by its polity score, as recorded on 31 December 2013 in the Polity IV dataset of the Polity IV Project created by the Centre

for Systemic Peace or CSP. An upper case "AUT" indicates the country is governed by an institutionalised autocratic regime (POLITY -6 to -10); a lower case "aut" indicates that the country is governed by an uninstitutionalised, or weak, autocratic regime (POLITY -5 to 0). An upper case "DEM" indicates an institutionalised democracy (POLITY 6 to 10) and a lower case "dem" indicates an uninstitutionalised, or weak, democratic regime (POLITY 1 to 5). Countries listed with a "SF" (state failure) are experiencing a "collapse of central authority" such that the regime has lost control of more than half of its territory (Marshall & Cole, 2014, p. 53)

A country's freedom status is classified based on *Freedom in the World 2014* created by Freedom House (2014). "Free" indicates a country where there is a broad scope for open political competition, a climate of respect for civil liberties, significant independent civic life and independent media; "Partly Free" indicates a country characterised by some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties, often in a context of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic strife, or civil war; "Not Free" indicates a country where basic political rights are absent and basic civil liberties are systematically denied (Freedom House, 2014).

Qualitative content analysis was used as a research method to collate and analyse the data, as this methodology might best address the research question. The data were derived from both primary and secondary sources (e.g., the ASEAN Secretariat website and the world's leading scholarly journals) and compared with observation implications (OI). OI are possible instances in which expected political outcomes ought to occur, or where significant relationships ought to be upheld, and include the following:

OI1: If a country's regime is not democratic, a priority of mental health is low, if not marginalised; key indicators for this include mental health policies and legislation.

OI2: If most of the member countries' freedom status is not "Free," the participation of non-state actors within the regional policy-making process to promote mental health is decreased; key indicators for this are the roles of non-state entities in the regional organisation.

OI3: If most of the member countries' freedom status is not "Free," a priority of mental health is low and unlikely to be politicised or securitised within the regional arrangement; key indicators for this include the strategic frameworks and the policies and projects.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Southeast Asia is a heterogeneous region with distinct cultural, political and socioeconomic diversity. With the exception of Brunei and Singapore, all countries in the region are LAMICs.

Countries' healthcare systems diverge due to diverse backgrounds and historical legacies. The total health expenditure, as a percent of GDP, of Southeast Asian countries ranges from 1.9 to 17.7%. In spite of increasing risk factors, such as rapid urbanisation and sociopolitical change, mental health has been considered a low priority (Maramis, Tuan, & Minas, 2011). Both LAMICs and high-income countries allot only a small portion of their overall health expenditure to mental health (less than 1% and 5%, respectively) (Thronicroft *et al*., 2011); with 80–90% allocated to mental hospitals (Maramis, Tuan, & Minas, 2011).

Regarding the regime type of Southeast Asian countries, Lao PDR, and Vietnam are indicated as "AUT," institutionalised autocratic regimes, while Myanmar and Singapore are indicated as "aut," a weak autocratic regime. Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand are identified as "DEM," institutionalised democracy, while Cambodia is identified as "dem," weak democratic regime. The polity score of Brunei and Timor-Leste are not available (Marshall & Cole, 2014, pp. 45-51). However, considering both countries' freedom status, which is "Not Free" for the former and "Partly Free" for the latter, one could reasonably infer that Brunei is classified as "AUT" and Timor-Leste as "aut" or "dem." Apart from Brunei, the countries of Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam are indicated as having "AUT" freedom status. The remaining countries are indicated as "Partly Free" (Freedom House, 2014).

In terms of legislation and policy, there are only six countries enacting mental health legislation or legal provisions concerning mental health: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. In other countries, excluding Timor-Leste, some form of mental health policy and programme exists (Thronicroft *et al*., 2011). Interestingly, mental health policy and plans do not exist in Brunei, although the kingdom does have mental health legislation (WHO, 2011).

Apart from governmental neglect, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) focusing on mental health advocacy are few and far between. Except for the professional association of psychiatry in each country, NGOs and CSOs working on mental health in Southeast Asia have gone mostly to Cambodia and Timor-Leste for post-conflict reconstruction purposes (Ito, Setoya, & Suzuki, 2012). Consequently, they lack the ability to share the work of government.

Despite such inadequacies, the international collaboration between national psychiatric associations in Southeast Asian countries is intriguing. Such collaboration efforts can be traced back to the idea of Asian Psychiatry uniting, which started in the late 1960s in Asia among the newly trained psychiatrists (Dev, 2008). In Southeast Asia, it was R. Kusumanto Setyenegoro, the Director of Mental Health in the Ministry of Health, Indonesia and professor of psychiatry at the University of Indonesia, who brought psychiatrists from the five founding ASEAN countries together to several meetings in the early

1970s, subsequently leading to a tentative proposal for the ASEAN Association of Psychiatrists. However, the proposal was eventually annulled (Dev, 2008; Udomratn & Deva, 2007).

In 1977, the ASEAN Forum on Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AFCAP) was introduced for the first time in Jakarta. It was during the Third AFCAP held in Bangkok in 1981 that Setyenegoro's endeavours finally succeeded with the establishment of the ASEAN Federation for Psychiatry and Mental Health (AFPMH). The federation aims to improve "psychiatry and mental health in ASEAN countries through better collaboration between psychiatrists" (Udomratn & Deva, 2007, p. 36).

Although the door is always open to new ASEAN countries, they apparently lack interest in taking part in the AFPMH. Brunei and Vietnam have not officially joined the federation partly because they have no psychiatric associations (Udomratn & Deva, 2007).

The AFPMH is a non-governmental entity and can be categorised as either a CSO or an NGO. The structure of the federation is described by Udomratn & Deva (2007) as simple, less bureaucratic and apolitical, and the constitution is based on the principles of consensus and friendly compromise. In 1984, the AFPMH officially registered as an ASEAN-affiliated CSO and an ASEAN link body in the Senior Officials Meeting on Health Development (SOMHD; ASEAN Secretariat, 2008). Recently, the AFPMH expanded its cooperation with the national psychiatric associations of three ASEAN Dialogue Partnership countries i.e. China, Japan and South Korea in keeping with ASEAN's policy (Udomratn & Deva, 2007). The federation has indirectly collaborated with the ASEAN Secretariat for over three decades.

Despite relatively little recognition, mental health has been addressed within the framework of ASEAN, predominantly the ASEAN Health Ministers Meeting (AHMM), an ASEAN ministerial body on health, for more than three decades. It appeared for the first time in 1980 in the Declaration of the ASEAN Health Ministers on Collaboration on Health as one of the programme areas of technical collaboration. However, it took another twenty-two years for mental health to be mentioned again.

In 2000, Healthy ASEAN 2020 was proclaimed at the Fifth AHMM in Yogyakarta, corresponding with the ASEAN Vision 2020. The result of this was the Vientiane Declaration on Healthy ASEAN Lifestyles (2002), which refers to "basic human functions and the patterns linking various activities of everyday living in the ASEAN context ." Twelve health areas were identified as priority issues for promoting healthy lifestyle, including mental health (ASEAN Secretariat, 2002a). In support of mental health, indicated by the 2002 Action Plan, ASEAN committed to "collaborate on providing environments that promote social participation, minimise discrimination, and enhance economic opportunities." To operationalise this, a

five-year programme would be prepared by SOMHD, linkages and interactions between ASEAN and dialogue partners and other international institutions would be intensified, relationships with ASEAN-affiliated health professional associations would be strengthened and new partnerships with relevant partners such as the WHO would be initiated (ASEAN Secretariat, 2002b).

It was not until 2009 that ASEAN action on promoting mental health made further headway as policy advocacy was enacted into the blueprint of ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) under section B4, "Access to healthcare and promotion of healthy lifestyles." A year later, more progress was made by an endorsement of the ASEAN Strategic Framework on Health Development (2010-2015). The framework cites mental health as one of the "un-implemented areas needed to be focused" and places it under the same section of the ASCC Blueprint (Globinmed, n.d.). It is this framework that led to a significant step forward in the establishment of an ASEAN Mental Health Task Force (AMT), a health subsidiary body under SOMHD, in 2010. For the first time, an ad-hoc technical body was created to work specifically on mental health.

The AMT's mission is "to ensure access to adequate and affordable healthcare, mental and psychosocial services, and promote healthy lifestyles for the people of ASEAN" (ASEAN Secretariat, 2012, pp. 136-137). The task force also provides

> *...a unique policy-relevant and policy-led opportunity to engage actively and share experiences to develop and evaluate current programs, develop strategies to integrate mental health into general health care, and to strengthen capacity of researchers and decision makers at individual and organizational levels*. (ASEAN Mental Health Taskforce, n.d.)

Apichai Mongkol, Director-General of Thailand's Mental Health Department, was appointed as the AMT First Chair, and the First AMT meeting was held in Hanoi in May of 2012 (ASEAN Mental Health Taskforce, n.d.).

DISCUSSION

In order to test our hypotheses, this section will start by comparing the findings with OI1.

The empirical data in some measures disprove OI1. With the exception of Timor-Leste, all Southeast Asian countries do have either mental health legislation, legal provisions concerning mental health and/or mental health policy and programmes, regardless of their regime type. Accordingly, there is no direct relationship between a regime type and enactment of mental health law and policies.

However, law enforcement and policy implementation are a different story. In countries like Myanmar, mental health law is a colonial heritage and, therefore, is

outdated (WHO, 2006). Though progress has been made within some countries, such as Indonesia, it seems the benefits from the existing legislation and policy have largely remained on paper (Ito *et al*., 2012; Maramis *et al*., 2011). It is fair to say that for some, if not many, countries in Southeast Asia, a governmental commitment to mental health is a matter of form over substance. Furthermore, as Abed (2004) proposes, the countries with autocratic regimes likely cause acute mental ill-health due to the utilisation of physical force and coercion as a mode of ruling. By inferring Abed's argument, Southeast Asian governments may themselves be the root cause of psychological distress in their countries. This also may be true in countries with democratic regimes.

In contrast to North American and European democracies, in LAMICs, electoral democracy and liberties do not go hand in hand. Election with the absence of constitutional liberalism usually brings about illiberal democracy i.e. a centralised regime. The institutionalisation of an electoral democracy does not necessarily mean the democracy is a liberal one. The Southeast Asian states of Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are an example of this illiberal form of democracy (Zakaria, 1997). Focusing merely on the formal-legal mode of regime type is therefore insufficient; rather, its actions in the state-society relations must be paid attention to.

For this reason, OI1 is not entirely contradicted. Rather, the key indicators, mental health legislation and policy, widely used by international institutions are deficient under LAMIC conditions, especially the countries whose regime is an institutionalised, or weak autocracy.

The data support OI2. As the findings demonstrate, the AFPMH is the only major CSO working regionally on mental health. Despite the AFPMH's remarkable effort, it is still far from successful since psychiatric communities in less developed countries are not convinced to play active roles in the federation's activities. More importantly, the AFPMH has no place within ASEAN's bodies and policy-making process since the establishment of ASEAN's policy on mental health advocacy has been overshadowed by technocrats from health and foreign ministries; this likely occurred because ASEAN is a community of the states rather than people.

As a securitising actor, the AFPMH has less power to prioritise or securitise mental health within ASEAN or even outside its federation. In the power structure of ASEAN, the only voices speaking out loud come from the governments, the solely authoritative actors. Even in Southeast Asian societies, the AFPMH's psychiatrists are unlikely to be capable of either prioritising or politicising mental health due to the common characteristics of the LAMICs. Thus, the power of the AFPMH and their psychiatrists is confined to communities of health professionals.

The data disproves OI3 to some extent, but, as with OI1, this is because of a problem with some key indicators. Like LAMICs, Riggs (1961) suggests that

regional organisations of such countries share the same complexion in that formal authority and power in implementing policy are somewhat disassociated: there is a high degree of formalism and a low degree of realism. Thus, policy and project, especially concerning non-traditional security issues, are a matter of form over substance.

In the case of ASEAN, although mental health has been significantly politicised for the last five years (as marked by creation of the AMT), it is not entirely appropriate to call this prioritisation. It is not mental health but communicable diseases like HIV/AIDS and the outbreak of H1N1 flu that actually have been prioritised (and securitised in the latter case).

There are several reasons for the failure of mental health to call for political priority from governments and intergovernmental organisations. Often cited is the way mental health is traditionally portrayed; the portrayal of mental disorders whose causes were contentious or unknown, making prioritisation impractical, creates an inability to see the current situation (de Almeida *et al*., 2014). Such oversight also results in overlooking the significant sociopolitical and economic burdens of mental illness (Jenkins *et al*., 2011; Minas, 2014). Also impactful is the fact that mental illness cannot be analogous to HIV/AIDS, a communicable disease frequently given as an example for securitising mental health, because of a simple but important distinction: that mental illness neither crosses borders (Aggarwal & Kohrt, 2013) nor constitutes an epidemic. In this regard, the referent object threatened by mental illness, articulated by the movement, is typically an individual, and the value at risk is human rights and dignity. However, outside developed regions, both have fewer facilitating conditions and are even antithetical to the nurture of security in Southeast Asian context.

Although the process of securitisation is by no means unique to Southeast Asia, the facilitating conditions, particularly social norms, are significantly different. Notwithstanding the diversities and disparities, common social norms do exist as "Asian values." These deny the norms of the liberal West, particularly the ethos of individualism, (liberal) democracy and human rights. Rather, Asian values emphasise order, hierarchism, discipline and the oneness of organic entities from community through society to state (King, 2008). Understanding the social norms, therefore, would offer more insight into the reason why securitising, or prioritising, mental health, morally based on universal norms, is unlikely to succeed.

As one in a domestic mélange of social organisations, local social norms are foundational to a state organisation i.e. the legitimacy of the regime to control and be autonomous of other, particularly liberal-Western norm entrepreneurs like NGOs, which compete with state leadership. As Southeast Asian historiographies suggests, the states in the region are not passively receptive to foreign norms (Acharya, 2004); this may derive from the fact that Southeast Asian nations have their own well-established social norms and identities.

Nevertheless, liberal-Western norm diffusion does take place but in the form of localisation. Take democracy for instance; it is reinterpreted and re-represented merely as an electoral system and is incorporated into a preexisting normative order. Singapore is a classic example.

Nonetheless, the state can benefit from selectively adopting the international norms, propounded by the UN specialised agencies, that inspire the role of the state in setting the rules within the state-society relations, hence increasing central power. The international prescriptions from those norms include issues of health (Migdal, 1995). However, as already indicated, such prescriptions do not necessarily lead to law enforcement and policy implementation. The raison d'être of the law and policy is rather for the sake of political interests both domestically and internationally. All of these make liberal-Western norm diffusion with its own form to Southeast Asia very difficult, if not impossible.

The author argues that it is the local social norms i.e. Asian values that are the footing of the Southeast Asian tradition of securitisation. Accordingly, an existential threat to the individual person, for the Southeast Asian states, is nonessential to be securitised at all. It would become a priority only for the sake of social order, political interest and economic progress, not because an individual is at risk. This is also true of ASEAN.

Apart from the aforementioned, the power of ASEAN to bring about securitisation is impeded by two long-cherished principles i.e. non-interference and consensus. In the regional, organisational level, it is ASEAN that is a securitising actor, while the member countries are the target audience. It is the task of the organs and bodies of the organisation for instance, the ASEAN Secretariat, to convince all governments to unanimously accept the proposed recommendation for the prioritisation of a specific issue (Yuk-ping & Thomas, 2010). A lesson learned from the history of ASEAN is that the organisation has not acted beyond the interests of its member countries. For this reason, the potential of the organisation to prioritise mental health is minimal at best. Thus, it is not an exaggeration to say that the word "priority" concerning mental health in the ASEAN context does not mean a priority in common sense; though something is done, nothing is considered urgent.

In sum, by comparing the findings to all the OIs, OI2 is supported, while OI1 and OI3 are disproved. In this case study, these OIs were not sustained because the key indicators were ultimately unsuitable to the reality of LAMICs and their regional groups, or Southeast Asia's ASEAN. However, as the discussion implies, the proposed hypotheses are almost supported if the formal legal forms were to be replaced with more fitting variables: the state-society relations and norm diffusion.

From overall discussion, the author argues that as long as humanitarian securitisation is grounded on moral arguments and a value of human rights and dignity, it will remain irrelevant within the context of the regional organisation of

the LAMICs, and a successful securitising attempt is far from being a reality.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is not the author's intent to be overly pessimistic. As one who has lived with a major depressive disorder for several years, the author wholeheartedly realises a desideratum to securitise mental health for the sake of humanity and sincerely encourages any attempts to promote better mental health and well-being. As an international relations scholar by training, the author has to recall Morgenthau's words that

> *...universal more principles cannot be applied to the action of states in their abstract universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place... while the individual has a moral right to sacrifice himself in defense of such a moral principle, the state has no right to let its moral disapprobation of the infringement of [such moral principle] get in the way of successful political action.* (Morgenthau, 1973, p. 10)

In international relations, there is only national interest "defined in terms of power." The findings of this preliminary study support this fact.

Despite such gloomy findings, the road ahead is not that murky. Mental health promoters must be less idealistic and more pragmatic to facilitate a viable solution in the context of LAMICs and their regional organisations. Such an achievable solution, the author proposes, is a compromise with the state. As the case study shows, the social power to securitise an issue is almost entirely in the hands of the state. Non-state entities have less, if not no, social power to do so. Insisting firmly upon the same maneuver (overemphasis on moral and humanitarian justifications for securitising mental health) is counterproductive. Rather, all advocates, particularly psychiatrists and experts in related fields whose voices are socio-politically louder, should flag the consequences of mental ill-health upon social order, political stability, and economic progress, the major security concerns for the LAMICs, based on scientific research. For example, an evident relationship must be spotlighted between mental illness, disability, a perpetual cycle of poverty and a loss of economic productivity. Furthermore, governments have received vast evidence that treatment of mental disorders generally improves physical health (remarkably in those with HIV/AIDS) and, often, economic efficiency. In short, mental health promoters have to adjust their strategies to meet the state halfway, maneuvering harmoniously with political interest and economic progress, the major ingredients of substantial security concerns for LAMICs. Doing this will create opportunities to negotiate with governments and, thus, a greater chance to successfully prioritise mental health.

Machiavelli may have been right that "the end justifies the means;" understanding that evil in exchange for the interest of humanity is perhaps the best possible solution for humanitarian efforts to securitise mental health and well-being outside developed countries.

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Pertanika policy prohibits an author from submitting the same manuscript for concurrent consideration by two or more publications. It prohibits as well publication of any manuscript that has already been published either in whole or substantial part elsewhere. It also does not permit publication of manuscript that has been published in full in Proceedings. Please refer to Pertanika's **Code of Ethics** for full details.

Editorial process

Authors are notified on receipt of a manuscript and upon the editorial decision regarding publication.

Manuscript review: Manuscripts deemed suitable for publication are sent to the Editorial Board members and/or other reviewers. We encourage authors to suggest the names of possible reviewers. Notification of the editorial decision is usually provided within to eight to ten weeks from the receipt of manuscript. Publication of solicited manuscripts is not guaranteed. In most cases, manuscripts are accepted conditionally, pending an author's revision of the material.

Author approval: Authors are responsible for all statements in articles, including changes made by editors. The liaison author must be available for consultation with an editor of *The Journal* to answer questions during the editorial process and to approve the edited copy. Authors receive edited typescript (not galley proofs) for final approval. Changes **cannot** be made to the copy after the edited version has been approved.

Manuscript preparation

Pertanika accepts submission of mainly four types of manuscripts. Each manuscript is classified as **regular** or **original** articles, **short communications**, **reviews**, and proposals for **special issues**. Articles must be in **English** and they must be competently written and argued in clear and concise grammatical English. Acceptable English usage and syntax are expected. Do not use slang, jargon, or obscure abbreviations or phrasing. Metric measurement is preferred; equivalent English measurement may be included in parentheses. Always provide the complete form of an acronym/abbreviation the first time it is presented in the text. Contributors are strongly recommended to have the manuscript checked by a colleague with ample experience in writing English manuscripts or an English language editor.

Linguistically hopeless manuscripts will be rejected straightaway (e.g., when the language is so poor that one cannot be sure of what the authors really mean). This process, taken by authors before submission, will greatly facilitate reviewing, and thus publication if the content is acceptable.

The instructions for authors must be followed. Manuscripts not adhering to the instructions will be returned for revision without review. Authors should prepare manuscripts according to the guidelines of *Pertanika*.

1. Regular article

Definition: Full-length original empirical investigations, consisting of introduction, materials and methods, results and discussion, conclusions. Original work must provide references and an explanation on research findings that contain new and significant findings.

Size: Should not exceed 5000 words or 8-10 printed pages (excluding the abstract, references, tables and/or figures). One printed page is roughly equivalent to 3 type-written pages.

2. Short communications

Definition: Significant new information to readers of the Journal in a short but complete form. It is suitable for the publication of technical advance, bioinformatics or insightful findings of plant and animal development and function.

Size: Should not exceed 2000 words or 4 printed pages, is intended for rapid publication. They are not intended for publishing preliminary results or to be a reduced version of Regular Papers or Rapid Papers.

3. Review article

Definition: Critical evaluation of materials about current research that had already been published by organizing, integrating, and evaluating previously published materials. Re-analyses as meta-analysis and systemic reviews are encouraged. Review articles should aim to provide systemic overviews, evaluations and interpretations of research in a given field.

Size: Should not exceed 4000 words or 7-8 printed pages.

4. Special issues

Definition: Usually papers from research presented at a conference, seminar, congress or a symposium.

Size: Should not exceed 5000 words or 8-10 printed pages.

5. Others

Definition: Brief reports, case studies, comments, Letters to the Editor, and replies on previously published articles may be considered.

Size: Should not exceed 2000 words or up to 4 printed pages.

With few exceptions, original manuscripts should not exceed the recommended length of 6 printed pages (about 18 typed pages, double-spaced and in 12-point font, tables and figures included). Printing is expensive, and, for the Journal, postage doubles when an issue exceeds 80 pages. You can understand then that there is little room for flexibility.

Long articles reduce the Journal's possibility to accept other high-quality contributions because of its 80-page restriction. We would like to publish as many good studies as possible, not only a few lengthy ones. (And, who reads overly long articles anyway?) Therefore, in our competition, short and concise manuscripts have a definite advantage.

Format

The paper should be formatted in one column format with at least 4cm margins and 1.5 line spacing throughout. Authors are advised to use Times New Roman 12-point font. Be especially careful when you are inserting special characters, as those inserted in different fonts may be replaced by different characters when converted to PDF files. It is well known that 'μ' will be replaced by other characters when fonts such as 'Symbol' or 'Mincho' are used.

A maximum of eight keywords should be indicated below the abstract to describe the contents of the manuscript. Leave a blank line between each paragraph and between each entry in the list of bibliographic references. Tables should preferably be placed in the same electronic file as the text. Authors should consult a recent issue of the Journal for table layout.

Every page of the manuscript, including the title page, references, tables, etc. should be numbered. However, no reference should be made to page numbers in the text; if necessary, one may refer to sections. Underline words that should be in italics, and do not underline any other words.

We recommend that authors prepare the text as a **Microsoft Word** file.

1. Manuscripts in general should be organised in the following order:

    - **Page 1: Running title.** (Not to exceed 60 characters, counting letters and spaces). This page should **only** contain the running title of your paper. The running title is an abbreviated title used as the running head on every page of the manuscript.

      In addition, the **Subject areas m**ost relevant to the study must be indicated on this page. Select the appropriate subject areas from the Scope of the Journals provided in the Manuscript Submission Guide.

    - A **list** of n**umber of black and white / colour figures and tables** should also be indicated on this page. Figures submitted in color will be printed in colour. See "*5. Figures & Photographs"* for details.

    - **Page 2: Author(s) and Corresponding author information**. This page should contain the **full title** of your paper with name(s) of all the authors, institutions and corresponding author's name, institution and full address (Street address, telephone number (including extension), hand phone number, fax number and e-mail address) for editorial correspondence. The names of the authors **must** be abbreviated following the international naming convention. e.g. Salleh, A.B., Tan, S.G., or Sapuan, S.M.

      Authors' addresses. Multiple authors with different addresses must indicate their respective addresses separately by superscript numbers:

      George Swan[1] and Nayan Kanwal[2]
      [1]Department of Biology, Faculty of Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, USA.
      [2]Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (R&I), Universiti Putra Malaysia, Serdang, Malaysia.

    - **Page 3**: This page should **repeat** the **full title** of your paper with only the **Abstract** (the abstract should be less than 250 words for a Regular Paper and up to 100 words for a Short Communication). **Keywords** must also be provided on this page (Not more than eight keywords in alphabetical order).

    - **Page 4 and subsequent pages**: This page should begin with the **Introduction** of your article and the rest of your paper should follow from page 5 onwards.

Abbreviations. Define alphabetically, other than abbreviations that can be used without definition. Words or phrases that are abbreviated in the introduction and following text should be written out in full the first time that they appear in the text, with each abbreviated form in parenthesis. Include the common name or scientific name, or both, of animal and plant materials.

Footnotes. Current addresses of authors if different from heading.

2. **Text.** Regular Papers should be prepared with the headings **Introduction**, **Materials and Methods**, **Results and Discussion, Conclusions** in this order. Short Communications should be prepared according to "*8. Short Communications."* below.

3. **Tables.** All tables should be prepared in a form consistent with recent issues of *Pertanika* and should be numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals. Explanatory material should be given in the table legends and footnotes. Each table should be prepared on a separate page. (Note that when a manuscript is accepted for publication, tables must be submitted as data - .doc, .rtf, Excel or PowerPoint file- because tables submitted as image data cannot be edited for publication.)

4. **Equations and Formulae.** These must be set up clearly and should be typed triple spaced. Numbers identifying equations should be in square brackets and placed on the right margin of the text.

5. **Figures & Photographs.** Submit an original figure or photograph. Line drawings must be clear, with high black and white contrast. Each figure or photograph should be prepared on a separate sheet and numbered consecutively with Arabic numerals. Appropriate sized numbers, letters and symbols should be used, no smaller than 2 mm in size after reduction to single column width (85 mm), 1.5-column width (120 mm) or full 2-column width (175 mm). Failure to comply with these specifications will require new figures and delay in publication. For electronic figures, create your figures using applications that are capable of preparing high resolution TIFF files acceptable for publication. In general, we require **300 dpi or higher resolution for coloured and half-tone artwork** and **1200 dpi or higher for line drawings**.

   For review, you may attach low-resolution figures, which are still clear enough for reviewing, to keep the file of the manuscript under 5 MB. Illustrations may be produced at extra cost in colour at the discretion of the Publisher; the author could be charged Malaysian Ringgit 50 for each colour page.

6. **References.** Literature citations in the text should be made by name(s) of author(s) and year. For references with more than two authors, the name of the first author followed by *'et al*.' should be used.

   Swan and Kanwal (2007) reported that …
   The results have been interpreted (Kanwal *et al.,* 2009).

   - References should be listed in alphabetical order, by the authors' last names. For the same author, or for the same set of authors, references should be arranged chronologically. If there is more than one publication in the same year for the same author(s), the letters 'a', 'b', etc., should be added to the year.

   - When the authors are more than 11, list 5 authors and then et al.

   - Do not use indentations in typing References. Use one line of space to separate each reference. The name of the journal should be written in full. For example:

     - Mellers, B. A. (2006a). Choice and the relative pleasure of consequences. *Psychological Bulletin, 126,* 910-924.
     - Mellers, B. A. (2006b). Treatment for sexually abused children and adolescents. *American Psychologist, 55,* 1040-1049.
     - Hawe, P. (2005). Capturing the meaning of "community" in community intervention evaluation: Some contributions from community psychology. *Health Promotion International, 9,*199-210.
     - Braconier, H., & Ekholm, K. (2006). Swedish multinationals and competition from high and low wage location. *Review of International Economics, 8,* 448-461.

   - In case of citing an author(s) who has published more than one paper in the same year, the papers should be distinguished by addition of a small letter as shown above, e.g. Jalaludin (1997a); Jalaludin (1997b).

   - Unpublished data and personal communications should not be cited as literature citations, but given in the text in parentheses. 'In press' articles that have been accepted for publication may be cited in References. Include in the citation the journal in which the 'in press' article will appear and the publication date, if a date is available.

7. **Examples of other reference citations**:

   Monographs: Kalimapour, Y.R. (2004). *Images of the U.S. Around the World: A Multicultural Perspective*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

   Chapter in Book: Bjork, R. A. (2007). Retrieval inhibition as an adaptive mechanism in human memory. In H. L. Roediger III & F. I. M. Craik (Eds.), *Varieties of memory & consciousness* (pp. 309-330). Hull: Hull University Press.

   - ***Proceedings***: Amir Awang. (2006). Counseling, human resources development and counseling services. In Sulaiman M. Yassin, Yahya Mat Hassan, Kamariah Abu Bakar, Esah Munji and Sabariah Mohd. Rashid (Eds.), *Proceedings of Asia Pacific Conference on Human Development* (p. 243-246). Serdang: Universiti Putra Malaysia.

8. **Short Communications** should include **Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results and Discussion, Conclusions** in this order. Headings should only be inserted for Materials and Methods. The abstract should be up to 100 words, as stated above. Short Communications must be 5 printed pages or less, including all references, figures and tables. References should be less than 30. A 5 page paper is usually approximately 3000 words plus four figures or tables (if each figure or table is less than 1/4 page).

   *Authors should state the total number of words (including the Abstract) in the cover letter. Manuscripts that do not fulfill these criteria will be rejected as Short Communications without review.

STYLE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Manuscripts should follow the style of the latest version of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA). The journal uses American or British spelling and authors may follow the latest edition of the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary for British spellings.

SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

All articles should be submitted electronically using the ScholarOne web-based system. ScholarOne, a Thomson Reuters product provides comprehensive workflow management systems for scholarly journals. For more information, go to our web page and click "**Online Submission**".

Alternatively, you may submit the electronic files (cover letter, manuscript, and the **Manuscript Submission Kit** comprising *Declaration* and *Referral* form) via email directly to the Executive Editor. If the files are too large to email, mail a CD containing the files. The **Manuscript Submission Guide** and **Submission Kit** are available from the *Pertanika*'s home page at http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/home.php or from the Chief Executive Editor's office upon request.

All articles submitted to the journal **must comply** with these instructions. Failure to do so will result in return of the manuscript and possible delay in publication.

Please do **not** submit manuscripts to the editor-in-chief or to any other office directly. All manuscripts must be **submitted through the chief executive editor's office** to be properly acknowledged and rapidly processed at the address below:

Dr. Nayan KANWAL
Chief Executive Editor
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or visit our website at http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/ for further information.

Authors should retain copies of submitted manuscripts and correspondence, as materials can not be returned. Authors are required to inform the Chief Executive Editor of any change of address which occurs whilst their papers are in the process of publication.

Cover letter

All submissions must be accompanied by a cover letter detailing what you are submitting. Papers are accepted for publication in the journal on the understanding that the article is original and the content has not been published or submitted for publication elsewhere. This must be stated in the cover letter.

The cover letter must also contain an acknowledgement that all authors have contributed significantly, and that all authors are in agreement with the content of the manuscript.

The cover letter of the paper should contain (i) the title; (ii) the full names of the authors; (iii) the addresses of the institutions at which the work was carried out together with (iv) the full postal and email address, plus facsimile and telephone numbers of the author to whom correspondence about the manuscript should be sent. The present address of any author, if different from that where the work was carried out, should be supplied in a footnote.

As articles are double-blind reviewed, material that might identify authorship of the paper should be placed on a cover sheet.

Peer review

Pertanika follows a **double-blind peer-review** process. Peer reviewers are experts chosen by journal editors to provide written assessment of the **strengths** and **weaknesses** of written research, with the aim of improving the reporting of research and identifying the most appropriate and highest quality material for the journal.

In the peer-review process, three referees independently evaluate the scientific quality of the submitted manuscripts. Authors are encouraged to indicate in the **Referral form** using the **Manuscript Submission Kit** the names of three potential reviewers, but the editors will make the final choice. The editors are not, however, bound by these suggestions..

Manuscripts should be written so that they are intelligible to the professional reader who is not a specialist in the particular field. They should be written in a clear, concise, direct style. Where contributions are judged as acceptable for publication on the basis of content, the Editor reserves the right to modify the typescripts to eliminate ambiguity and repetition, and improve communication between author and reader. If extensive alterations are required, the manuscript will be returned to the author for revision.

The Journal's review process

What happens to a manuscript once it is submitted to *Pertanika*? Typically, there are seven steps to the editorial review process:

1. The executive editor and the editorial board examine the paper to determine whether it is appropriate for the journal and should be reviewed. If not appropriate, the manuscript is rejected outright and the author is informed.

2. The executive editor sends the article-identifying information having been removed, to three reviewers. Typically, one of these is from the Journal's editorial board. Others are specialists in the subject matter represented by the article. The executive editor asks them to complete the review in three weeks and encloses two forms: (a) referral form B and (b) reviewer's comment form along with reviewer's guidelines. Comments to authors are about the appropriateness and adequacy of the theoretical or conceptual framework, literature review, method, results and discussion, and conclusions. Reviewers often include suggestions for strengthening of the manuscript. Comments to the editor are in the nature of the significance of the work and its potential contribution to the literature.

3. The executive editor, in consultation with the editor-in-chief, examines the reviews and decides whether to reject the manuscript, invite the author(s) to revise and resubmit the manuscript, or seek additional reviews. Final acceptance or rejection rests with the Editorial Board, who reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. In rare instances, the manuscript is accepted with almost no revision. Almost without exception, reviewers' comments (to the author) are forwarded to the author. If a revision is indicated, the editor provides guidelines for attending to the reviewers' suggestions and perhaps additional advice about revising the manuscript.

4. The authors decide whether and how to address the reviewers' comments and criticisms and the editor's concerns. The authors submit a revised version of the paper to the executive editor along with specific information describing how they have answered' the concerns of the reviewers and the editor.

5. The executive editor sends the revised paper out for review. Typically, at least one of the original reviewers will be asked to examine the article.

6. When the reviewers have completed their work, the executive editor in consultation with the editorial board and the editor-in-chief examine their comments and decide whether the paper is ready to be published, needs another round of revisions, or should be rejected.

7. If the decision is to accept, the paper is sent to that Press and the article should appear in print in approximately three months. The Publisher ensures that the paper adheres to the correct style (in-text citations, the reference list, and tables are typical areas of concern, clarity, and grammar). The authors are asked to respond to any queries by the Publisher. Following these corrections, page proofs are mailed to the corresponding authors for their final approval. At this point, only essential changes are accepted. Finally, the article appears in the pages of the Journal and is posted on-line.

English language editing

Pertanika **emphasizes** on the linguistic accuracy of every manuscript published. Thus all authors are required to get their manuscripts edited by **professional English language editors**. Author(s) **must provide a certificate** confirming that their manuscripts have been adequately edited. A proof from a recognised editing service should be submitted together with the cover letter at the time of submitting a manuscript to Pertanika. **All costs will be borne by the author(s)**.

This step, taken by authors before submission, will greatly facilitate reviewing, and thus publication if the content is acceptable.

Author material archive policy

Authors who require the return of any submitted material that is rejected for publication in the journal should indicate on the cover letter. If no indication is given, that author's material should be returned, the Editorial Office will dispose of all hardcopy and electronic material.

Copyright

Authors publishing the Journal will be asked to sign a declaration form. In signing the form, it is assumed that authors have obtained permission to use any copyrighted or previously published material. All authors must read and agree to the conditions outlined in the form, and must sign the form or agree that the corresponding author can sign on their behalf. Articles cannot be published until a signed form has been received.

Lag time

A decision on acceptance or rejection of a manuscript is reached in 3 to 4 months (average 14 weeks). The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 5-6 months.

Hardcopies of the Journals and off prints

Under the Journal's open access initiative, authors can choose to download free material (via PDF link) from any of the journal issues from Pertanika's website. Under "Browse Journals" you will see a link entitled "Current Issues" or "Archives". Here you will get access to all back-issues from 1978 onwards.

The **corresponding author** for all articles will receive one complimentary hardcopy of the journal in which his/her articles is published. In addition, 20 off prints of the full text of their article will also be provided. Additional copies of the journals may be purchased by writing to the executive editor.

Why should you publish in *Pertanika*?

BENEFITS TO AUTHORS

PROFILE: Our journals are circulated in large numbers all over Malaysia, and beyond in Southeast Asia. Our circulation covers other overseas countries as well. We ensure that your work reaches the widest possible audience in print and online, through our wide publicity campaigns held frequently, and through our constantly developing electronic initiatives such as Web of Science Author Connect backed by Thomson Reuters.

QUALITY: Our journals' reputation for quality is unsurpassed ensuring that the originality, authority and accuracy of your work is fully recognised. Each manuscript submitted to Pertanika undergoes a rigid originality check. Our double-blind peer refereeing procedures are fair and open, and we aim to help authors develop and improve their scientific work. Pertanika is now over 35 years old; this accumulated knowledge has resulted in our journals being indexed in SCOPUS (Elsevier), Thomson (ISI) Web of Knowledge [BIOSIS & CAB Abstracts], EBSCO, DOAJ, Google Scholar, AGRICOLA, ERA, ISC, Citefactor, Rubriq and MyAIS.

AUTHOR SERVICES: We provide a rapid response service to all our authors, with dedicated support staff for each journal, and a point of contact throughout the refereeing and production processes. Our aim is to ensure that the production process is as smooth as possible, is borne out by the high number of authors who prefer to publish with us.

CODE OF ETHICS: Our Journal has adopted a Code of Ethics to ensure that its commitment to integrity is recognized and adhered to by contributors, editors and reviewers. It warns against plagiarism and self-plagiarism, and provides guidelines on authorship, copyright and submission, among others.

PRESS RELEASES: Landmark academic papers that are published in Pertanika journals are converted into press releases as a unique strategy for increasing visibility of the journal as well as to make major findings accessible to non-specialist readers. These press releases are then featured in the university's UK-based research portal, ResearchSEA, for the perusal of journalists all over the world.

LAG TIME: The elapsed time from submission to publication for the articles averages 4 to 5 months. A decision on acceptance of a manuscript is reached in 3 to 4 months (average 14 weeks).

An
Award-Winning
International-Malaysian
Journal
—MAY 2014

About the Journal

Pertanika is an international multidisciplinary peer-reviewed leading journal in Malaysia which began publication in 1978. The journal publishes in three different areas — Journal of Tropical Agricultural Science (JTAS); Journal of Science and Technology (JST); and Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH).

JTAS is devoted to the publication of original papers that serves as a forum for practical approaches to improving quality in issues pertaining to **tropical agricultural research-** or related fields of study. It is published four times a year in **February**, **May**, **August** and **November**.

JST caters for **science and engineering research-** or related fields of study. It is published twice a year in **January** and **July**.

JSSH deals in **research or theories in social sciences and humanities research**. It aims to develop as a flagship journal with a focus on emerging issues pertaining to the social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities, particularly in the Asia Pacific region. It is published four times a year in **March**, **June**, **September** and **December**.

PERTANIKA JOURNALS

Call for Papers 2015-16

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Pertanika invites you to explore frontiers from all key areas of **agriculture**, **science and technology** to **social sciences and humanities**.

Original research and review articles are invited from scholars, scientists, professors, post-docs, and university students who are seeking publishing opportunities for their research papers through the Journal's three titles; JTAS, JST & JSSH. Preference is given to the work on leading and innovative research approaches.

Pertanika is a fast track peer-reviewed and open-access academic journal published by **Universiti Putra Malaysia**. To date, Pertanika Journals have been indexed by many important databases. Authors may contribute their scientific work by publishing in UPM's hallmark SCOPUS & ISI indexed journals.

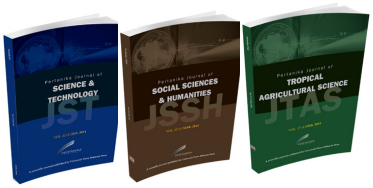
Our journals are open access - international journals. Researchers worldwide will have full access to all the articles published online and be able to download them with **zero subscription fee**.

Pertanika uses online article submission, review and tracking system for quality and quick review processing backed by Thomson Reuter's ScholarOne™. Journals provide rapid publication of research articles through this system.

For details on the Guide to Online Submissions, visit
http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/guide_online_submission.php

Questions regarding submissions should only be directed to the **Chief Executive Editor**, Pertanika Journals.

Remember, ***Pertanika*** is the resource to support you in strengthening research and research management capacity.



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