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**VISION2020 AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE : A STUDY OF THE  
ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**VOL. 1**

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**Doctor of Philosophy**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM**

**March 1996**

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**Summary**

The research reported here is an investigation into the problems of social and economic development of a multiethnic and multicultural country which has the added challenge of adopting a non-indigenous code to facilitate the development process. Malaysia's power to negotiate outcomes favourable to the interest of the country is critical for the successful attainment of the goals and objectives of VISION2020. Therefore the mechanisms of the human resource development programme have to be efficacious.

The three hypotheses of this study are as follows :

1. there is a fear that the problems and challenges posed by the development plans, have been conceptually trivialised;
2. based on (1) above there is a concern that solutions proposed are inadequate and inappropriate and
3. the outcome of both (1) and (2) can lead to the potential underachievement of national goals and objectives.

The study proposes a complex model for conceptualising the problem which looks at the relationship between society and language, which any solutions proposed must take into proper consideration. The study looks at the mechanisms available for the smooth absorption of new Malaysian members to new and international communities.

A large scale investigation was undertaken with the researcher functioning as a participant observer. An in-depth study of one particular educational ecology yielded approximately 38 hours of interviews and 100 questionnaires. These data were analysed both for explicit information and implicit implications. By some criteria national policies appear to be having the desired effect, and can be given a clean bill of health. By others it is clear that major adjustments would be necessary if the nation is to achieve its objectives in full.

Based on the evidence gathered, the study proposes an apprenticeship approach to training programmes for effective participation of new members in the new ecologies.

**KEYWORDS**

Human resource development  
Apprenticeship model  
Training  
*Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*  
new ecologies

**To my parents**

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Purpose of Research

The research reported here is a critical investigation into the economic wealth and social health of a developing nation which, due to the global challenges, needs to import a non-indigenous code for the successful attainment of its national goals and objectives. It constitutes a consultancy report on the potential risks of under-achievement of these goals in a multiethnic and multicultural society with particular reference to the role of language in the planned development programme. In particular, it examines the nation's exercise in human resource development which could be impaired by the failure to make adequate provision with regard to the linguistic vehicle selected to aid in the development process. The investigation examines the nature of the current policies proposed as the solution to the problems conceived, and addresses the relationship between these policies and the human resource development strategies of the country with regard to their suitability and effectiveness in propelling the country to achieve the goals of national development. There is a fear that remedies may have been formulated based on a simplification of the problems.

The main objective of this chapter is thus to present informal statements of the problems facing a developing and multiethnic country aspiring to achieve national goals and objectives stipulated in planned development programmes. It aims to show how the problems may have been superficially or trivially conceptualised, and based on these conceptually trivial representations, the various solutions proposed may also be

inappropriate and inadequate. Hence, there is a need for more rigorous and formal statements of the problems. These will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

## **1.2 Informal Statement of the Problem**

Critical to the economic development of a developing country are the following factors : national unity, economic and political stability, and a competitive and efficient workforce. All these are vital ingredients if a country aspires to be competitive in the ever changing demands and formidable challenges of the global market. It is possible to foster national unity through a national identity and a national culture with which the peoples of the country can identify themselves. The desired unity can be served by a common language. It is for such purposes that a language is often designated as a national as well as an official language. Language policies in these countries are formulated to ensure that appropriate steps are taken to foster the acquisition of the national language by the peoples of the nation.

National unity is generally conceived as a prerequisite for political stability and this in turn can enhance economic prosperity whereby the former can facilitate the country's entry into the increasingly competitive world market. Interfacing with the global market is an inevitable step in a country's stride towards economic development. Active and effective participation in the international community demands an efficient and effective workforce. Only then can successful negotiation outcomes be attainable and development objectives achieved.

In order to generate an effective and efficient workforce the country's human resource development programmes must contain rigorous training programmes that will equip the workforce with the necessary and sufficient skills. These programmes must ensure that provision available is sufficient for imparting the necessary technical knowledge and skills to the workforce. The nature of these programmes will significantly determine the

competitiveness and effectiveness of the vital workforce.

It is commonplace that factors like those outlined above are taken into account in the planning of national development programmes. However, it is less usual to suggest that language factors have a significant role to play. One of the reasons for the apparent neglect of the role of language in such programmes is that they are generally discussed in the context of a monolingual country where language does not manifest itself as a problem. In a multilingual and multicultural setting however, language issues are much more complex. Crucial decisions must first of all be made concerning which languages will be regarded as official for the purposes of administration, education and the mass media (Watts, 1988). And language issues have generally been listed as one of the major contributory factors to national and social conflicts and economic retardation of countries (e.g. Uganda) which are laden with language, ethnic and cultural diversity. The role of language deserves serious attention in the framing of development programmes for these countries. Attention to this aspect of the maturation process of the country is necessary for the country's development plans. For such countries suitable language training programmes which will help guarantee that development plans are not impaired by linguistic factors must form a vital part of the human resource development schemes.

The question is, however, are the problems appropriately conceived?, or have they been inadvertently simplified or trivialised? Some of the problems faced by a variety of environments are considered below. These are aimed at highlighting the complex problems and the further complexity of proposing appropriate remedies to these problems.

### **1.2.1 Negotiations in a Relatively Monoglot Society**

In the section above it is suggested that in a developed relatively monoglot society (e.g. Japan, Germany, France) it is assumed that language does not manifest itself as a problem for the achievement of national goals and objectives. It is not considered as a

significant component in the development process because everyone speaks the same language. The monolingual country is able to concentrate on its effort for national unity and economic development without serious drawbacks as far as the linguistic perspective is concerned because (virtually) everyone is assumed to be able to function in the same code.

However, consider this American advertisement on skills training course:

**"In business you don't get what you deserve, you get what you negotiate"** (Karras, 1992).

The same notion was also recently broadcasted in one of the Channel 4 programmes but it substituted "life" for business. Nevertheless, the advertisement highlights the need for native American employees to be trained in skills of negotiation. This need arose out of the realisation by various American firms that "successful negotiators are successful people. And successful negotiators aren't born - they're trained" which strongly suggests that successful attainment of goals is through negotiations for which command of the code is a necessary but by no means a sufficient condition. This means that even in a relatively monoglot environment (e.g. native English speaking Americans) we may still be unable to negotiate competitively even if we fully master the code. Thus the word negotiate is here being used in a specific sense. It is the conscious exploitation of the rules of a speech exchange system for personal (or group) advantage in which much depends on the successful outcomes of the decision-making process. The notion of negotiation will be revisited in the following chapter.

The main point to note here is that mastery of code of negotiation and the negotiation skills are two important and distinct pre-requisites of successful outcomes. These are crucial even in a monoglot environment. However, what happens in an environment where there is more than one language ?

### 1.2.2 Negotiations in a Multilingual and Polyglot Society

For a developing country with more than one indigenous language often competing, for example, Algeria and Morocco with Arabic, French and Berber; Uganda with Luganda, Nyoro and Teso and Paraguay with Spanish and Guarani, the problems mentioned above are greatly compounded. The choice of codes to be used can affect the efficiency of the country's communication system and especially the attainment of national goals and objectives. To be efficient requires, not only efficient control of the codes, but more importantly, control of the necessary negotiation skills appropriate for both code and culture.

The selection of codes from the various indigenous languages available can be a problematic, sensitive and emotive issue as there may be other languages equally competitive. There is often the fear that in countries in which the language of one ethnic group has been chosen over that of all the others native speakers of that language tend to attain a position of socio-political dominance over other groups. The countries which have selected one of these ethnic languages as opposed to others as the national and official language will also have the added challenge of ensuring that this particular language is efficiently mastered by the people.

Mastery of this code is essential mainly for the purpose of national unity and to some extent, national identity. Understanding and acceptance of the goals of the development programme by the peoples of the country is certainly an important condition to mobilise the whole country to work towards the same goals. This can foster national unity which is crucial for such developing countries to strive for economic development. Such understandings and cooperation can be enhanced if it is done through a common language, a national language.

However, mastery of the national code may be sufficient only for negotiations within the national arena. What do these countries need in order to function in the international



environment? It was suggested earlier that even in a monoglot society mastery of the code is not a sufficient condition for successful outcomes. The problem is compounded for a multilingual and polyglot society confronted with the necessity to master another code which is not indigenous to the country as an essential requisite for participation in the international community. Inability or inefficiency in meeting the requirement will result in non-effective participation in the international community and more importantly, non-achievement of goals of development programmes, and economic setback.

### **1.2.3 Negotiations in a Non-Indigenous Code**

As mentioned in the discussion above the situation described in 1.2.2 becomes more complex still when one considers organisations or nations where negotiations and the achievement of goals of national development plans have to be done in another language, this time a non-indigenous one. Non-indigenous languages vary from one country to another, but a typical example of this in many countries of the world today is that English is not the mother tongue of any of the indigenous communities. In former colonies in which the language of the colonial power retains high prestige and/or is in use as an official language, it tends to be used as a marker of socio-economic and educational prestige (Watts, 1988). It is even more problematic if the language is singled out as the language of negotiations with people from other areas/communities. Many developing countries which do not have English as a mother tongue cannot escape from having to have recourse to this language when interacting with other nations at the international level. Consider for instance the impact of the need to negotiate in English on the complex and delicate linguistic environment of for example, Algeria, Brazil and China.

The situation is further aggravated when it becomes necessary to have to recourse to a non-indigenous non-mothertongue code for the achievement of the nation's development objectives. Mastery of a non-indigenous code is crucial in order for the nation to succeed in the negotiations with other nations since development involves active and effective participation in these negotiations. Inefficient code control and negotiation skills can

seriously affect the outcome of the negotiation. The outcome may not be favourable to the country and may even cause the retardation of economic growth of the nation. The process of development for these countries is therefore very complex. Not only does the country need to ensure that the human resource programmes are adequate but it also needs to be equipped with a new code and negotiation skills in this new code within the already complex and delicate linguistic environment.

#### **1.2.4 The Negotiation Complexity**

The discussion thus far has outlined in general terms the nature of the negotiation complexity in nations where more than one language exists. These languages are often part of the communication system of the country, although one language may be designated as the national and/or official language. The decision to select only one of these will have to take into account many factors for instance, the efficiency of the chosen language in aiding the unifying process of the nation. The situation becomes more complex when the nation, due to market forces, needs to have recourse to a language non-indigenous to the country to negotiate with other nations. Thus the degree of the negotiation complexity and potential difficulty represented by a given language environment can be seen as an equation with three main variables. The first variable is the number of languages involved i.e. a multilingual and a polyglot environment, the second variable involves the degree of mastery of the different codes and the third variable is the degree of mastery of the negotiation skills in the new code. Added to this complexity equation is the further sub-division of languages into those which are indigenous and those which are imposed from outside. A country risks non-achievement of national goals and objectives if such complexities are not properly addressed.

### 1.3 The Anticipated Risks of Non-Successful Negotiations

For a country where there already exists a complex linguistic environment, considerable risk is involved in the need to import a further system of communication not native to the society. Mastery of this other code is considered as one of the primary factors in obtaining negotiation outcomes favourable to the nation. The other is mastery of negotiation skills in the other tongue. In this case it is therefore essential to master the imported 'other tongue' and to be fully equipped with the art of negotiation through the imported code if the country is to achieve success. The anticipated risk of non-mastery of the new code and negotiation skills in the imported code is either (a) non-achievement of goals and objectives; (b) inefficient achievement of specified objectives or (c) achievement of goals but at the cost of the culture and character (e.g. Singapore, Benson, 1990), and perhaps the stability of the nation. The alternative is stagnation.

Many developing countries are faced with similar challenges in their development enterprises. It is also not uncommon to find that linguistic factors are listed as part of the problems of efficient execution of such plans. Appropriate measures have to be taken to ensure development targets are not jeopardised by linguistic factors. However, it is also important to ensure that before any solutions can be proposed the problem is properly diagnosed. Otherwise, remedies proposed may only treat the symptoms but not the cause.

One country which has taken positive steps to propel the nation forward to face new challenges in the name of national and economic advancement is Malaysia. The vital question however, is Malaysia adequately prepared to face these new challenges? Does the country have the necessary mechanisms to qualify itself to join and compete in the international community? Are the present mechanisms adequate in propelling Malaysia into achieving the goals of the development plan?

## 1.4 Focus of the Study

Malaysia is one country which seems at first glance to have the worst of all possible worlds. The country has a complex language situation where there are a number of indigenous codes in the sense that they are mother tongue for a significant proportion of the community. These indigenous codes have existed in the country for several centuries. At the same time there are also other non-indigenous languages but these are mother tongue to a large number of the people in the country. This situation exists through the historical development of the country (see Chapter 3).

Malaysia is also a polyglot country, but with one dominant indigenous language in the sense that it is designated as the national and official language. It has been suggested that the national language has successfully fulfilled its role in the cohesion of the nation and is also successful in many domains of language use in the country (Nik Safiah, 1994). Unfortunately, due to the needs of the development plan which entails participation in negotiations with other countries, especially the international community, the nation is forced to master another language. The country is forced to negotiate its passage in the world through the medium of a language spoken as a mother tongue by a negligible number or by only a tiny minority of the community. Non-indigenous here means that the language is not mother tongue to any local populace and in this context non-mother tongue means that the language is not the first language of the populace concerned. It is the language superimposed on the people by the need to negotiate outcomes with the international community.

Malaysia is a developing country faced with the challenges posed by its ambitions of becoming an industrialised country by the year 2020. Collaboration and active participation in international markets are prerequisites of the successful attainment of such targets. A multilingual and multiethnic country like Malaysia needs to be competitive, productive and innovative in order to compete in the world market. The country needs to be able to do so through the superimposed non-indigenous code. Malaysia cannot

achieve this if her power to compete and to participate actively is seriously threatened by language factors. A developing country with such aspirations can only achieve the goals if the linguistic vehicle of that planned development is efficient and effective. It cannot afford to pay the cost of inefficiency.

The focus is therefore to investigate the extent to which the goals and targets of Malaysia's latest development scheme framed as VISION2020 would be jeopardised. This is a country faced with challenges of becoming a developed country forced to import a non-indigenous linguistic vehicle in order to make the vision an attainable goal. At the same time the country has a language policy which places the national language as the sole and official language of the country. Its purpose in the main is for national unity. The question thus, does this policy threaten the achievement of goals stipulated in VISION2020 ? Is it adequate to empower Malaysia to become an active member in new, competitive and international communities ? Is VISION2020 attainable in the imported code? Is there adequate provision for Malaysia to function effectively in this new code? Although English has existed in the country for a long time it is not indigenous and not mother tongue to the society. Only a very small percentage of Malaysians can claim mastery in this code. Fewer still when it comes to the cut and thrust of negotiation. It is therefore imperative for Malaysia to ensure that the development plan is not encumbered by the inefficiency of the human resource specifically from the linguistic point of view.

The development process as viewed in this study would involve becoming effective members of international communities where the speech repertoire will vary as will inevitably the discourse repertoires. However, the most important single part of the discussion is the absorption of new or "naive" members (neophytes, Swales, 1990) of significant discourse communities forced to use a new code and master negotiation skills in this new code by virtue of the participation of non-indigenous community members. It concerns the way in which future Malaysian members of such international communities acquire their expertise needed to achieve outcomes favourable to their interests.

The focus of this investigation is thus to seek evidence of possible dangers in the national development process with a focus on a particular area that is, the human resource programme. Specifically the study concentrates on the process of the preparation of new members (neophytes) for absorption into new communities. It focuses on the effective and efficient absorption of neophytes with reference to their professional competence in terms of code-competence and negotiation competence. The investigation will look specifically at future members in terms of how they acquire :

- (a) the code of the new community,
- (b) the specific discourse repertoires relevant to the community concerned,
- (c) the necessary negotiation skills as they draw on these codes and discourse repertoires, and
- (d) their effectual community roles as they draw on all the three parameters (a, b, and c) stated above.

## **1.5 Restatement of the Threat**

A developing country with a clear development programme can only achieve its objectives if the mechanisms of the plan are effective and efficient. One of these mechanisms would be its human resource development. This programme must be dynamic enough to meet the manpower requirements of the development plan as well as the changing demands of the international business and industrial communities. It must be able to equip the workforce with necessary and sufficient skills to function in the new community. The provision of skills required are not limited to technical ones but must also include linguistic skills especially if this involves a code that is not indigenous to the country. Inefficiency to function in this particular code can result in non-achievement of outcomes favourable to the health and wealth of the nation. Effective and efficient participation in these communities is therefore vital for the success of the development programme.

Successful passage into new communities will only be achieved if the linguistic vehicle of that development is efficient and effective. The role of language is normally excluded from the development equation because it is assumed not to be a problem. However, it has been noted earlier that even native Americans in a largely monoglot environment needed training in negotiation skills. That is, mastery in the code of negotiation is not itself a sufficient condition for successful outcomes. Competence in the code must be adequately nourished with negotiation competence.

However, in a country where there already exists a complex linguistic situation language factors can seriously affect the achievement of national goals. Development programmes must take into account linguistic factors if goals and objectives are to be successfully achieved. A further imposition of a non-indigenous language as the linguistic vehicle for the development will add to the existing development problems. The human resource plans would have to consider the nature of the provision for mastery of this new code to ensure that economic and social development goals are not jeopardised by this inefficiency. Failure to do so will result in outcomes not favourable to the health and wealth of the nation.

Development as discussed thus far in this research involves the necessity to collaborate with and the ability to participate in new and international communities. Active participation implies membership to the communities. If the criteria of the communities are not met the risk is non-absorption as members. Negotiations for membership involve adopting the community's shared goals and objectives. Development also means membership absorption into not one but a plethora of communities. These adopt different codes and negotiation skills to distinguish members from non-members. In order to achieve the goals of development, code control and negotiation competence are essential ingredients.

To reiterate, modern Malaysia can be seen globally as a social group motivated by the goals and objectives of a planned development programme conceptualised as

VISION2020. The focal point of this vision is the transformation of Malaysia into an industrialised nation by the year 2020. Malaysia cannot wait for twenty-five years to see the result of inefficiency. Therefore it must ensure that the mechanisms of the progress are adequate and efficient.

As a social group its members will commonly be drawn from various communities and ethnic backgrounds as well as possibly to lesser extent non-overlapping communities. Being a multilingual and multicultural country the languages between these groups will vary as well. To this complex and delicate linguistic environment is added the complicated factor of the extension of the social group to the international arena - a prerequisite for the success of VISION2020. Added to this is the imposition by forced measure of a language where code may be only modestly mastered by a small proportion of the indigenous population and of these only a small minority will have acquired mastery of the language that is necessary for the development process (as defined above). Therefore the dangers anticipated are three-fold :

1. Malaysian members of the international discourse community may fail to negotiate outcomes critical to the success of VISION2020.
2. Malaysian members may succeed but inefficiently, that is, the cost of the enforced mastery of the new code and the negotiation skills in the new code may be unnecessarily excessive.
3. The addition of the new code and negotiation in this code to the speech and crucial areas of the discourse repertoire of the nation may be so successful that a point is reached where the choice of the new code is increasingly and inevitably perceived as the preferred option with consequent effect on the role of indigenous repertoires.

A developing country such as Malaysia cannot afford these risks and must ensure that the mechanisms of the development plan are adequate in safeguarding the economic wealth and social health of the nation. The purpose of this study is thus to seek evidence of these potential dangers. In order to look at the situation in more detail within the scope of this study an examination of a particular segment of the social group will be undertaken. It is suspected that the dangers may manifest themselves in this particular segment of the global development process. The suspicion here is based on anecdotal feedback received



from the members of this community. Therefore, an investigation has to be undertaken for the purpose of providing a more accurate diagnosis of these dangers and for suggesting appropriate remedies specific for the situation.

## **1.6 Primary Motivation of Research**

The initial interest for the research is based on the strong suspicion that dangers of underachievement may manifest themselves at one level of the global development process. The unfavourable anecdotal feedback obtained from a group of university students who had to attend a six-month industrial attachment at various industrial and manufacturing firms in Malaysia fires this grave suspicion. The feedback obtained from them through personal communication was not very encouraging. In fact, a few of these neophytes communicated that the training was not very useful and that a few encountered difficulties in executing tasks delegated to them. Feelings of unhappiness and dissatisfaction were expressed by a significant number of them. From these anecdotal responses received there were reasons to suspect that language is part of the problem of non-effective execution of tasks. These responses were not formally documented and thus remain as hearsay, but it is against this background that the current detail investigation into the nature of the human resource process is undertaken.

Wilson (1984 : 8) states that

The notion that a problem can be defined suggests that a solution can be found which removes the problem. This is not unreasonable at the 'hard' end of the problem spectrum, but at the 'soft' end problems do not occur in a way which enables them to be readily isolated. It is more usual to find sets of problems which are highly interactive and it has been found to be more useful to examine, not a problem, but a problem situation, i.e. a situation in which there are perceived to be problems.

It is suspected that the problems confronting the efficient transformation of neophytes into effective participants are not restricted to code alone. Therefore, in order for more

appropriate remedies to be proposed which take into account all the dimensions of the problems, these need first to be more accurately conceptualised. A more comprehensive account of the problem areas has to be obtained for more precise diagnosis of these inadequate provision. In addition to the three problems generally stated there exists a possibility that provision made with regard to dangers 1 and 2 may be conceptually trivial based on the simplification of the problems. The problems therefore need to be stated in more formal and significant terms.

The study acknowledges the on-going and current debate on "English as the dominant language" and the "linguistic imperialism" of English as argued extensively by Phillipson (1992), Pennycook's (1994 : 186) "cultural politics of English" which argues against linguistic imperialism, and Kachru's support for (1986 : 8) "local varieties". These however, are seen as falling outside the scope of this current investigation. These issues, although of the greatest importance, are regarded as a subject of a different debate and a decision-making process at higher levels than the one considered in this study. The decisions on these issues made by recent Malaysian governments are taken without further discussion.

## **1.7 Outline of the Report**

A conceptual framework for restating the issues mentioned above is established in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents the current conceptualisation of the problem and the solutions promulgated, as a contrast to the formal description conceived in Chapter 2. In the light of these, the study will discuss the possibilities of inadequate provision and the possible trivialisation of development problems and remedies proposed. The machinery for drawing evidence from one particular segment of the global human resource development scheme is described in Chapter 4. Findings of the investigation are presented in Chapter 5 and the significance of these are elaborated in Chapter 6. Recommendations and future research areas related to the study are offered in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 Introduction

Some potential problems of human resource and social development were highlighted in the previous chapter. Here a notional framework to conceptualise the potential dangers involved is presented. The significance of this framework is to illustrate the complexities of the situation and to demonstrate the potential difficulties in more formal and significant terms. In what follows the various constituents of the framework for this more detailed study of the factors that confront a developing country entering new and international communities are discussed. Regarding the components from different standpoints will highlight the many facets of the problem and will enrich the understanding of the problem further. The various constituents are approached by examining some of the numerous explanations currently available. Thurman suggests that a

definition is ordinarily supposed to produce clarity in thinking. It is not generally recognised that the more we define our terms the less descriptive they become and the more difficult we have in using them (Thurman, 1937 : 180).

Nevertheless, it is essential in view of the fact that there are various different aspects to these constituents which in turn highlight the complexity of conceptualising the problems. Karl Popper warns that

definitions are dogmas, only the conclusions drawn from them can afford us any new insight (Popper, 1959 : 55).

Thus the main purpose of viewing these notions is to highlight the complexity of conceptualising the problems previously stated. The discussion that follows examines the various mechanisms by which the newcomer enters into the life of a new ecology, where :

The newcomer may be the growing child as he comes into contact with an ever-widening circle of social groups....the student new to his college. ....In every case where an individual enters a new social context, a process of social learning must take place, for he has to discover how to meet the demands of the interaction to which this new context gives rise (Doughty, Pearce and Thornton, 1972 : 101).

In this study the newcomer is Malaysia or Malaysian citizens aspiring to become participants to negotiations in the international arena. And the "ever-widening circle of social groups" is the international communities. What Malaysia does to "meet the demands of the interaction" is one of the main concerns of this investigation. Concerning this process Berger (1966) says that

What happens in socialisation is that the social world is internalised within the child. The same process, though perhaps weaker in quality, occurs every time the adult is initiated into a new social group.

The question is, what is involved in the process and is it necessarily "weaker" for an adult entering a new community ? In order to suggest solutions to these and other questions a more detail investigation into the different aspects of the problem is essential. The other aim of initiating this examination is to show that provision for "meeting the demands" may have been trivialised because formulations of the provision may have been done with the exclusion of some of the factors discussed in this chapter.

As a starting point it is worthwhile to note Chaika's observation (1982 : 1) where she states that

language and society are so intertwined that it is impossible to understand one without the other. There is no human society that does not depend upon, is not shaped by, and does not itself shape language.

It is clear here then that language is as complex as the society which it reflects. Appreciating the complexity of the social construct will inform us how complex the language dimension is. In order to appreciate the complexities of society and language, and how these are intertwined, the following discussion begins by examining the first variable, i.e. society. Beginning with the analysis of the social construct would cast light on how rich the language dimension is conceptualised.

## **2.1 Society**

A nation, or as Anderson (1983 : 15 - 16) defines it, "an imagined political community....conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" may also be conceived as one massive group, a society, made up of different peoples with different values and beliefs. However, the existence of various explanations of this notion attests to the fact that society is a highly complex notion. An analysis of this concept may be dichotomised into the static and dynamic constructs.

### **2.1.1 The Static Conceptualisation of Society**

Although it may be the case that "no basic agreement exists in sociology about perhaps its most fundamental concept - the very idea of society itself" (Frisby and Sayer, 1986 : 7) there are a few which draw attention to its complexity. To begin with, the term society has been employed

in the widest sense to include every kind and degree of relationship entered into by men, whether these relationships be organised or unorganised, direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious, cooperative or antagonistic. It includes the whole tissue of human relations and is without a boundary or assignable limits (Rumney and Maier, 1953 : 74).

Here society is used to describe nearly every kind of activity that human beings are capable of. However, the study seeks a deeper understanding than the one offered here.

For instance, how can we describe the nature of the human relations? Are they the same in every society? What principles govern these relationships? For what purposes are these relationships established? How do we distinguish one society from another? Other descriptions need to be sought which may offer some answers.

Early descriptions of society developed from the attempts to specify the character of social relations. The theory of the social contract was described as one of the first theories of the concept of society. From the political perspective philosophers of the Enlightenment sought secular explanations for the existing political institutions. Hobbes sought to establish the inseparable unity of the social contract, the law of nature and society. Opposing this view, Locke distinguished a layer of natural order outside of and prior to the state. However, these philosophers are criticised for failing to give a satisfactory account of society. Furthermore, although ideas from the political perspective can be adopted to describe one dimension of social relations within a nation, the nature of the study demands a more sociological description.

Comte in the early nineteenth century saw society as a system of common opinions about man and society, that is, society is consensus. This consensus must be embodied in a complex of religious, familial, educational, and political institutions which symbolises, teaches, enforces, and implements moral ideas and rules. Idealism too stressed the cultural distinctiveness of each society. The Idealist, Hegel, for example, regarded society as underlying continuous transformation according to the logic of development. The suggestion that society changes or transforms as part of the logical growth can be used to support the contention that a nation with its different social contracts between the different peoples undergoes a consensual transformation in the process of development. However, can consensus be easily and smoothly achieved? For what purposes are consensus sought?

A different concept of society stems from the theory of conflict. The Marxian approach to society is the classic example of this. According to this theory men, because they are

organisms, must compete for access to the sources of life (Mayhew, 1971 : 6). The struggle is between groups and as these conflicts become stabilised a society will emerge. Society, therefore becomes a device for relating populations of organisms to an environment. This relation of population to the environment gave rise to the ecological perspective of society. The idea of conflict appears to be a practical one where it could be used to describe what happens when a member of one society wishes to join another society which has different rules of competition for access to resources. For example, Malaysia's set of cultural values may be in conflict with those of other communities it wishes to join and because of this may not have the appropriate means to compete in the new society. And in order to have a chance of winning the competition, Malaysia must consider the new "rules of competition" which may be in conflict with the rules that Malaysians have experienced.

Socio-psychological perspectives of society come from the American tradition. From this point of view society is regarded as a symbolically regulated process where a person comes to acquire a social personality as he learns to communicate symbolically (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). As he learns to adopt the perspectives of others toward himself, he also learns to regulate symbolically his own activity, for he comes to define and evaluate himself and his activities in appropriate ways. It is by participating in the differentiated and interrelated roles and activities we call society that we develop our distinctively human capacities and identities. The question then, does participation presuppose membership to the society? Or are there other "rules" of participation or requirements for membership ? It is also suggested that identities are defined by participation in the differentiated activities and roles. But, how does a member acquire these differentiated roles ?

A natural scientist's view is that society is a set of people with common ends getting along with one another. It is people doing things with and to and for each other to the interests of each and all in ways that those people have come to accept (Redfield, 1962 : 418). In other words there is consensus among the people (a characteristic of society

already introduced earlier) and with such consensus there is a shared goal in the society.

This view suggests that there are other aspects to consider. It is people sharing common convictions as to the good life. A society exists in the fact that its members feel that certain conduct is right and other conduct wrong, and act more or less accordingly. Also the members share the sentiments of belonging together as against other people who do not belong, that is, people feeling solidarity with one another. This view supports the idea that there are different societies and that different people belong to different ones depending on the consensus and shared rules of conduct. And one is not a member of the other unless one shares the same purpose and goals, and behaves accordingly. Therefore the view of society is further enriched by the inclusion of the dimension of common goals and shared experience to achieve this goal.

The position so far in the research of an understanding of the complex social maelstrom into which unprepared Malaysian members or negotiators may find themselves propelled is as follows. In order for a successful consensual transformation, Malaysians will have to be equipped with means to compete in the field. With this, a new member of a new community s/he also has to contend with factors such as roles, identities, values and the shared understandings between mature members of the community. Roles and identities will only be defined by participation in the activities of the society. All these have to be taken into consideration when moving from one society to another as each society attaches different values to each of these factors. When there is more than one society adhering to different sets of consensus there may be conflict between the members and the different groups. So, how does a society initiate new members to acquire these "rules of conduct"? The shared goals (refer Redfield above) may be one way of obtaining consensus between the members and of initiating new members. Nevertheless, the reality is more complex still and other factors need to be considered.

From a sociological perspective society is considered more than just a collection of individual wills as argued by some social analysts. Emile Durkheim insisted that society



is a set of persons who are drawn together in a web of interdependency and they interact as moral beings. George Simmel argued the mutual influence of the persons interacting have upon each other (Mayhew, 1971 : 8). It is as a form of organisation involving relatively sustained ties of interaction among its members and involving a relatively high degree of interdependence among them. Interaction can now be regarded as another constituent of society. It also seems to carry the idea that this is one way a society maintains its existence that is, by means of constant interaction between members and mutual interdependence between them.

Another sociological viewpoint is that in a society an individual's actions are constrained by extra-individual factors and that these define the roles and relationships of its members (Lenski and Lenski, 1970). From this viewpoint, the individual will have to accept the traditional values and behaviours approved by the society as depicted in the diagram (Figure 2.1) below. Actions approved by the society are rewarded and those that fall outside the society's approval are not. This explanation also subscribes to the idea of consensus (see Comte earlier) and common goals and shared rules of conduct (see Redfield above) mentioned earlier.

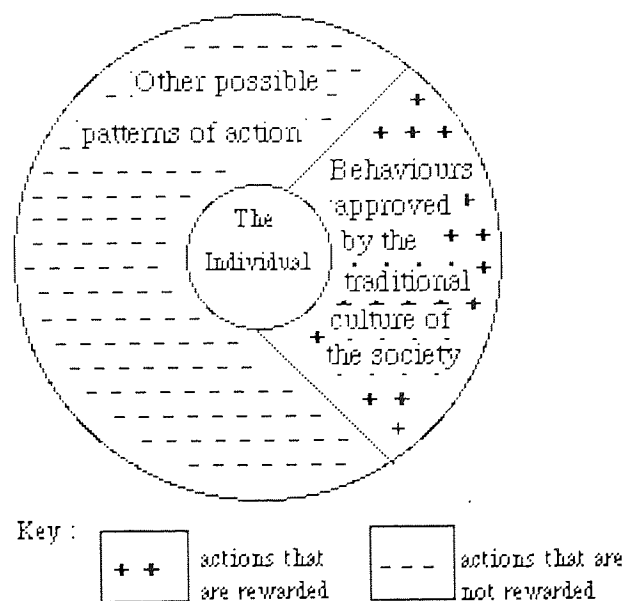


Figure 2.1 The Sanction Systems Surrounding the Individual  
(Adapted from Figure 3.2. Lenski and Lenski, 1970 : 55)

Tumin (1973) proposes that a society is the largest aggregate that defines human identities and roles. For each role there will be norms of behaviour to which the individual will be expected to conform (compare "approved" behaviour above) and that some of these norms will be norms of linguistic behaviour - appropriate language codes. Although the notions of "behaviours" and "approved" are behaviouristic in nature, the analysis so far has highlighted the importance of role, relationships, ties, association and "norms of linguistic behaviour" within a society. These therefore are salient aspects that have to be taken into account in conceptualising the problem of social development of a group of members belonging to a particular society.

These so far "static" views of society suggest that new and unprepared members will have to acquire the rules to compete, ascribe to common goals, have effectual roles and legitimate identities, learn the "approved" behaviours, and participate in interactions. And code is only one of these factors. However it may be suggested here that society is not an inert entity, it has an "amorphous structure" (Rumney and Meir, 1953) and more importantly, it is a "web of social relationships and it is always changing" (Maciver and Page, 1961 : 5). The notion of change was briefly introduced (refer Hegel above) but it is one that must be explored further as it demonstrates the dynamic nature of society.

### **2.1.2 Society as a Dynamic Entity**

The description of change that is considered most dynamic and highly useful in the context of this study is the one expressed by Rene Thom's (1972) mathematical theory on structural stability and morphogenesis. This theory of change has been applied to explain the evolution of forms in nature, the growth and change in living organisms.

His notion of change is based on a theory that describes the sudden changes in form and these sudden changes produce sudden effects which he termed as catastrophes in keeping with their discontinuous nature. The theory suggests insights not only into discontinuities with respect to time, but into the differentiation of forms as the result of

bifurcation - that is, morphogenesis (Renfrew and Cooke, 1979 : 421).

Thom explains that

it is indisputable that our universe is not a chaos. We perceive beings, objects, things to which we give names. These beings or things are forms of structures endowed with a degree of stability; they take up some part of space and last for some period (Thom, 1975 : 1).

He further emphasises that the objects or beings have boundaries; and a boundary implies a discontinuity. When there is discontinuity there is change. Morphogenesis, a term employed by biologists to refer to the shaping of developing tissues into recognisable forms such as those of particular bones, tissues, and the like, is more widely used in Thomian catastrophe. He explains that

whenever the point  $m$  meets  $K$ , there will be a discontinuity in the nature of the system which we will interpret as a change in the previous form, a *morphogenesis* (Thom, 1975 : 7).

Here the space of observables  $M$  contains a closed subset  $K$  called the *catastrophe set*, and as long as the representative point  $m$  of the system does not meet  $K$ , the local nature of the system does not change. Morphogenesis here denotes "any process creating (or destroying) forms" (Thom, 1983 : 14).

Applying his idea of morphogenesis, a society he explains is a metabolic form :

Une société est une forme métabolique d'abord parce qu'elle survit aux individus qui la constituent; il y a un flux permanent d'individus, constamment renouvelés, qui assurent la permanence de la forme sociale. De plus, il existe entre ses membres une interaction continue qui assure la stabilité de la forme (Thom, 1972 : 318).

It is a metabolic form because it survives the different individuals that constitute it and there is a constant renewal of members of the society (Thom, 1975 : 318). The interaction between the members ensures the stability of the social form (compare "interaction" in the static representation of society above).

To illustrate his theory Thom differentiated two basic types of societies which he dichotomised as "la société militaire" and "la société fluide". In the former type each individual occupies a specified position and governs his movement so that the global form of the society is preserved as well as his position within the society :

Chaque individu y occupe une place déterminée, et règle son mouvement de manière que la forme globale de la société soit conservée ainsi que sa position dans l'ensemble (Thom, 1972 : 319).

The individuals organise themselves according to the guides or paths described by the authority and each one patterns his movement on that of his hierarchical superior. In this type of society the social stability is guaranteed, in principle, by the imitation of the movement of the hierarchical superior.

In contrast, a cloud of mosquitoes is given as one type of a fluid society where :

....chaque individu du groupe se déplace aléatoirement jusqu'à ce qu'il voie tous ces congénères dans un même demi-espace; alors il s'empresse de modifier son mouvement de manière à rentrer dans le groupe (Thom, 1972 : 319).

Based on the fluid principle the stability of the group is assured in catastrophe by a barrier causing a discontinuity in behaviour :

Là, la stabilité est assurée en catastrophe par une barrière assurant une discontinuité du comportement (Thom, 1972 : 319).

In human societies this barrier is fixed and so Thom explained that human societies are not rigorously fluid because they are "stratified into social classes separated by shock waves that are difficult for an individual to cross" (Thom, 1975 : 319) i.e. the differences in values and barriers at the meeting of different societies. So how does a new member overcome these "shock waves" when entering a new ecology ?

From here the understanding of the concept society can thus be reformulated. Society can now be conceived as a metabolic social consensus which is constantly regenerated by the renewal of its members. New members of this metabolic entity experience morphogenesis when there is a shedding of or discontinuity of non-consensual behaviour of the previous society when the new member meets the new sets of "K" of the new society. Hence, the change in the new member is effected by this discontinuity in behaviour. There will be a readjustment of roles and reassessment of values of new members joining a new society.

In a slightly different vein

Change is always a threat when it's done to me or imposed on me, whether I like it or not. But it is an opportunity if it's done by me. It's my chance to contribute and be recognised. That is the simple key to all of this : make it an opportunity for people and reward them for it (Kantar, 1985).

This was stated in the context of organisational changes in the American corporate world. However, it is particularly relevant in this discussion because it suggests that change can be an unpleasant experience especially when it is in conflict with set norms and values. A social change also suggests that there are long term goals and objectives. Change also suggests the readjustments of sets of norms and values. In order to be accepted as members of a new community, the new member will experience certain changes. As quoted above, the new member must first be given the opportunity to change. There must be goals to effect the changes and there should be some period of adjustments. Only then can change be meaningful and objectives achieved. Thus, for a society seeking to achieve national aspirations, what are the rewards of change ? Can this particular metabolic entity support this change and does it have the necessary mechanisms for this change to take place ?

Another dimension to the problem mentioned previously is the idea of conflict. There is conflict because a society is considered "as an ecology of interdependent regions of

different discourses" (Shotter, 1993 : 96), it is

best thought of as a whole 'multiverse', or 'social ecology' of unique but dynamically interdependent regions and moments of human communicative activity. And in such multiverse....language is neither primarily for the representation of the world, nor for the achievement of shared understandings : it is used much more practically....it is primarily for the coordination of diverse social actions for materially 'moving people' (Shotter, 1993 : 121).

More significantly, it means that in a society

one must live within a number of conflicting and competing 'forms of life' with their associated 'language games' (op.cit. : 163).

This view of society considers it

as consisting not just in a set of orderly institutional structures, but as an ecology of self-sustaining orderly centres of activity, interactively embedded within a more disorderly flow of surrounding activity (op.cit : 161)

and by the "continuous regulation of countless individual transactions *at their boundaries*" a society maintains its integrity (refer Thom above).

Thus from here the attributes of society can again be reconstructed. It is a metabolic multiverse or social ecology which is constantly regenerated by the renewal of members and continuous regulation of activities of the members each with different discourses for the purpose of diverse social actions. There is "conflict" and discontinuity of or a change in behaviour when the different and diverse social actions or different societies meet. And the conflict may be managed or resolved by active participation in the "associated language games".

The discussion thus far can provide a reconstruction of what a society is, based on the theory of catastrophe and the idea of multiverse. These insightful and useful descriptions are adopted to form the constituents of the theoretical framework of the study. Without

abandoning the notions already noted, both the static and dynamic natures of society can also be examined at a more micro level. It is believed that the examination of the issues and problems raised in this study would be more practically done at this lower level of analysis. A micro look into society will help highlight the actual experience of an individual with regard to the bonds and relationships that are created within a society.

To revisit what has been presented so far the nature of the challenges to the new Malaysian negotiators are thus : various factors have to be taken into consideration when negotiating entry to new ecologies and these include aspects such as the role of the new member or neophyte, the values that the neophytes has, the roles and identities s/he ascribes to, the "interdependent regions of different discourse" and the rules to the "associated language games" for effective management of conflict. In order to look at the real experience of new members within a society who are moving from one ecology to another the notion of community is now examined.

### **2.1.3 The Nature of Communities**

In the previous sections some aspects concerning the macro ecology or multiverse were considered useful in the construction of the theoretical framework of the present study. These include ties, interdependent relationships, roles, identities, and continuous interactions. But the single most powerful idea is the metabolic nature of society expressed by Thom. This is further supported by Shotter's notion of "multiverse" or "social ecology" with interdependent regions of different discourses and the "associated language games" which arose as a result of the conflict between ecologies. In order to formulate a more useful framework for the study it would be very beneficial to look at the multiverse on a smaller scale. It is believed that the complex nature of the multiverse would be further magnified if viewed at the level of community.

The idea of community has been the concern of sociologists for nearly 200 years but considerable maelstrom still surrounds attempts to provide a satisfactory account. From

a sociological point of view a community can mean several things. A static and traditional definition offered is that it is :

a group of people living in the same piece of land, sharing the same aspirations and interests, participating in the same activities, feeling the same pride, love and fears and united by a strong sense of loyalty (Iwanska, 1963 : 205).

This is similar to the description of a society but with a smaller focus. From this viewpoint the core characteristics of a community are people who compose a community and who have beliefs and values in common (compare Redfield above); the relation between members should be direct and they should be many-sided and there is reciprocity, that is cooperation, sharing, mutual aid and other types of exchanges and relations (Iwanska, 1963 : 210). In other words there is a consensus among members, a property of society mentioned earlier, and they are interdependent (see Durkheim above) on each other.

A community is also referred to as a local social system that is a set of social relationships which takes place wholly, or mostly, within a locality. A community in this sense then, may be said to exist when a network of interrelationships is established between those people living in the same locality. The value of the two definitions presented here lies in their recognition of sets and networks of relationships, common beliefs and values as part of the properties of a community. However, the research is less interested in the physical aspect of community which is the context in which these sets of values have been discussed.

Community has also been described as a type of relationship, that is, it is defined as a sense of identity between individuals (compare Cooley and Mead above). This approach to community is more closely linked with the idea of communality and gives rise to the sense of a "community spirit". This explanation of a community is not unlike the ones given above although it includes the notion of community spirit. However, it is felt that this idea of community spirit can be better explained elsewhere in the discussion.



Another representation includes the idea of networks and construction of bonds between members where

A community is an experience, not a place...is a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds. These bonds exist among limited number of people who form a restricted social network and are held together by shared understanding and sense of obligation (Bender, 1978).

Although this definition does not incorporate the concept of change as described by Thom earlier it explains that community is an experience and this includes the ideas of bonds, shared understanding and social networks. These are seen as especially important within the Malaysian context. For instance adherence to certain principles (for instance Thom's military and fluid principles) means committed to different bonds and these bonds may not extend beyond the boundaries of an individuals' ethnic community. However, how do the members have "shared understandings" ? More importantly, how do new members acquire the "shared understandings" without prior experience of the new ecology/multiverse ? Garfinkel (1987) suggests that "shared understandings are developed or negotiated between participants over a period of time in the course of an ongoing conversation". However, the reality is suspected to be far more complex than this and other factors are involved.

The other dimension to this notion can be illustrated by the ideas of community distinguished by Tönnies (1955) who describes the rise of urban-industrial societies and the changes that was sweeping across Europe in the nineteenth century. The changes he says are marked by a break in human history and with the continuity of the past (compare Thom's idea of discontinuity equals change). In order to describe the differences between the past and the present industrial society he coined the twin terms of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Based on this, two fundamental types of social relationships that develop among human beings were identified and how these relationships change through time were specified. *Gemeinschaft* is usually translated as "community" and *gemeinschaftlich* or community type relationships which he associated

as pre-industrial relationships were more intimate, enduring and based upon a clear understanding of each individual's position in society (compare Thom's military principle). Culturally *Gemeinschaft* type of community is relatively homogeneous since the culture is enforced quite rigidly by well-recognised moral custodians for example, the church (Newby, 1980 : 14). There are many *Gemeinschaft*-like relationships, for instance,

The *Gemeinschaft* of blood, denoting unity of being, is developed and differentiated into *Gemeinschaft* of locality, which is based on a common habitat. A further differentiation leads to a *Gemeinschaft* of mind, which implies only cooperation and co-ordinated action for a common goal. *Gemeinschaft* of locality may be conceived as a community of physical life, just as *Gemeinschaft* of mind expresses the community of mental life. In conjunction with the others, this last type of *Gemeinschaft* represents the truly human and supreme forms of community (Tönnies, 1963 : 42).

Societies characterised by *Gemeinschaft* relationships had greater emotional cohesion, greater depth of sentiment, greater continuity and hence more meaningful (see Iwanska, above).

Opposed to *Gemeinschaft* is *Gesellschaft*, that refers to the large-scale, impersonal, calculative and contractual relationships which according to Tönnies were on the increase in the industrial world at the expense of *Gemeinschaft*. *Gesellschaft* is often translated as "association". With the impersonality of the character of the relationship it is more easily regulated by contracts so that *gesellschaftlich* relationships were more calculative and more specific. In other words the relationships were "restricted to a definite end and a definite means of obtaining it" (Tönnies, 1955 : 192). All actions are taken in light of their potential benefit for the individual. "Because of this, the relationships that emerge between members of the *Gesellschaft* are contractual and functionally specific" (Poplin, 1979 : 128). The idea of *Gemeinschaft* can be used to account for the different ethnic groups and the different *Gemeinschaft* values and principles adhered to by these different ethnic groups that exist in Malaysia. *Gesellschaft* on the other hand can account for other groups that may comprise people from different *Gemeinschaft* communities who have

come together based on certain "contracts" for specific ends or some common goals.

The different types of social relationships that Tönnies differentiated are based on the assumption that all social relationships are "willed", that is they exist because individuals want them to exist. Although the idea of "will" has been mentioned above, the notion is much more usefully explained here. There are various reasons why individuals wish to associate with each other and Tönnies differentiates these into two types : one type of relationship has its basis in natural will and the other has its basis in rational will. The relationship that rests on natural will or *Wesenwille* becomes an end itself rather than a means to an end. An example of this type of will is the family. Opposed to this is the rational will or *Kurwille* which is based on the desire to reach some specific end. Based on these notions of wills Tönnies calls

....all kinds of association in which natural will predominates *Gemeinschaft*, all those which are formed and fundamentally conditioned by rational will, *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1955 : 17).

This notion of wills, the idea of contractual and functional relationship based on specific objectives seem useful in explicating the purpose of engaging in the "associated language games" for membership to the "ecology of interdependent regions". It also aids in highlighting the difficulty of becoming members of a new ecology because of the conflict between the purposes of these two communities.

To recapitulate, the discussion so far has shown that different "wills" may create different bonds. However, in a given community an individual cannot be said to have a single "will" which results in different bonds and relationships with others. An individual is assumed to have more than one type of bond and relationship within a community. The potential multiplicity of bonds and relationships that an individual creates within the ecology may be illustrated further by the notion of social networks.

#### 2.1.4 The Multiple Bonds - Social Networks

An examination of the concepts society and community provides some insights into what constitute these multiverses and the dynamics of such entities. In order to obtain a further in-depth view of the nature of the bonds and relationships within competing ecologies, the notion of social networks may offer some assistance.

In simple terms a social network is a means of viewing how an individual relates to other individuals in an ecology, that is, bonds between one individual and another (Wardhaugh, 1986 : 123). Albrecht and Adelman (1984 : 4) describe network as a "configuration of personal ties where affect and/or instrumental aid is exchanged", a suggestion that there is reciprocity in the bond (compare Tönnies' *Gemeinschaftlich* relationships). In other words the networks can be considered as the sum of the bondings and relationships referred to above which an individual has contracted with others (Milroy, 1987). It can be seen as a set of nodes linked by a set of social relationships of a specified type (compare Tönnies' reciprocal and contractual types). These show that a social group exists in a field, a social space. Individuals will tend to form groups determined by sets of relationships defined above (compare Tönnies' idea of "wills" above). This notion "offers a procedure for dealing with variation between speakers at the level of the individual rather than the group" (Milroy, 1987 :109). One of the motives of engaging in a network is when "actors begin making transaction-specific investment of sufficient magnitude to commit themselves to relations" (Aldrich, 1982 : 287) (compare Tönnies rational will above).

Most network studies have shown that close-knit, territorially based social networks "act as norm-enforcement mechanism by exerting pressure on their members to adopt the network norms, values and behaviours, including those pertaining to language" (Hamers and Blanc, 1983). This external pressures (see Lenski and Lenski's notion of extra-individual factors above) may explicate how a new member "acquire" the norms and values of the new ecology. Milroy (1980a) employed the concept of social networks in

her study of linguistic variation in three Belfast working-class communities. She herself became part of the network system that she tried to study. The concept of social network is a useful one because it focuses on the individual's relationship to society at large through the individual contacts that a member of the community has.

More importantly, in terms of social networks language use is

a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or "social network"....(Gee, 1990 : 143).

Social networks can be employed to explain the different bonds and relationships that members of different *Gemeinschaft* communities may have and values and bonds of one network may not overlap with those of another. In other words these different and diverse types of bonds and relationships together create the different and interdependent multiverse or social ecology already discussed above.

The types of bonds and relationships or "catastrophe sets" within the many *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* ecologies can be further described by looking at one aspect which underlies both societies and the communities within the metabolic multiverses. This notion provides further insight into the intricate nature of the shared understandings or the consensus, the existence of different types of bonds and relationships, the external factors that may govern members of different ecologies. This notion emphasises the complexity of the metabolic multiverse and the difficulty of becoming legitimate members of a particular ecology. The notion referred to here is the idea of culture.

### **2.1.5 The Cultures of Ecologies**

Addressing the idea of culture may cast some light into what differentiates these *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* communities. these interdependent but distinct metabolic multiverses and the different "rules" governing the various "associated language games".

A simple description of culture has been offered as

....a way of life,....that defines appropriate or required modes of thinking, acting, and feeling (Chinoy, 1967 : 97).

This explanation however, is too general. Furthermore, it does not incorporate the notions of bonds and relationships between members.

Goodenough (1957 : 168) regards culture as a socially acquired knowledge :

....a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members....Culture being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end-product of learning : knowledge, in a most general....sense of the term.

However, what mechanisms within the multiverse help a new member "to operate in the manner acceptable" to its members" ?

The term culture is used differently by different anthropologists, but always refers to some "property" of a community, especially those which might distinguish it from other communities (Hudson, 1980 : 73). From the viewpoint of cultural anthropology, it is

the learned, socially acquired traditions and life-styles of the members of a society, including their patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Harris, 1983 : 5).

These views on culture share Goodenough's idea where it is regarded as something to be learned and acquired socially. Again, how does one acquire or learn the "the traditions and lifestyles" of a multiverse if one is a new member ? To acquire it socially suggests participation in the "life styles", their "patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling and acting" of the mature members. And how much time is available to the neophyte to acquire these "traditions and life-styles" before s/he can have the "required modes of thinking, acting and feeling" ?

Culture is also regarded as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. Again culture is something to be acquired and all the factors above are shared with other members of the community, it

...is the organised set of symbols, together with the emotional weights which are attached to them, that the member of a group share and feel they have a right to expect other members to know and accept (Storer, 1973 : 43)

and it is a

....total way of life shared by a people in a society. It is their customs, traditions, and above all, their values (Liazos, 1989 :105).

Culture therefore in simple terms is a way of life shared by the members of the particular society. It includes many aspects and the main ones are values and traditions which members are expected to learn and acquire socially. But what about the notions of "will" (Tönnies) and the idea of change (Thom) above ?

From a sociologist's point of view culture is a "complex set of learned and shared beliefs, customs, skills, habits, traditions, and knowledge common to the members of a society" (Landis, 1986 : 107). It has also been referred to as the ideology of a society which is defined as a society's basic belief systems and their application to daily life. And this includes world views, values and norms (Lanski and Lenski, 1970 : 41).

Thornton (1988) argues that culture is best thought of as a resource and like other resources it does not belong exclusively to any one group or individual. He explains further that

one thing that culture does is create boundaries of class, ethnicity (identification with a larger historical group), race, gender, neighbourhood, generation, and a territory within which we all live. Boundaries are created and maintained when people observe, learn and finally internalise the rituals and habits of speech, the disposition and dress of their bodies and modes of thought to the extent that they become

entirely automatic and unconscious. These boundaries come to be uniquely real and permanent. Their creation through cultural means is only obvious when we step outside our normal day-to-day interactions (Thornton, 1988 : 27).

This description of culture elaborates the complexity of the notion. It draws attention to the idea that cultures create "boundaries" (compare Thom above) and new members have to learn the acceptable manners of a particular ecology in order to take a confident step inside this boundary. The question is, however, how does a new member pass through the "uniquely real and permanent boundaries" of another ecology which he or she wishes to join ? How much time does the new member have to acquire or learn the "rituals and habits of speech" so that these would become "automatic and unconscious" ? Does the new culture have "ways of life" to accommodate new members? The difficulty is aggravated for a newcomer who may have only a limited notion of the "ideology of the society" but has absolutely no prior experience of the customs, traditions and values of the new ecology.

Perhaps it would be more helpful to regard culture as a guideline, as

a set of principles for creating dramas, for writing scripts, and of course, for recruiting players and audiences....Culture is not simply a cognitive map that people acquire, in whole or in part, more or less accurately, and then learn to read. People are not just map-readers; they are map makers. People are cast out into imperfectly charted, continually revised sketch maps. Culture does not provide a cognitive map, but rather a set of principles for map making and navigation designed to cope with different terrains and seas (Frake, 1977 : 6 - 7).

The discussion so far has introduced various facets of society and the many different communities within the multiverse. The encompassing notion of culture shows that different ecologies have different values, roles, beliefs and traditions, different catastrophe sets that have to be taken into account when engaged in "associated language games". Different ecologies have different values and roles for the people that belong to them. These ideas of roles and values are considered to be important components of the theoretical framework for the present study as these are the catastrophe sets that might be



affected when different social ecologies meet at the boundaries.

Conceptualising culture within an organisational ecology may be relevant for the present undertaking. Within this micro-ecology culture can express itself in many ways. Bank (1992 : 113) offers six of them which in fact contextualise what has been presented above :

1. regular ways of doing things (compare with "way of life", Liazos)
2. work group norms (refer "required modes of thinking, acting and feeling", Chinoy)
3. main values espoused by the company (see "shared values", Liazos)
4. philosophy that shapes a company's policies towards its employees or customers (refer "ideology of society", Lenski and Lenski)
5. rules of the game for getting along well in a company (compare "acceptable manner", Goodenough)
6. feeling or atmosphere created by the physical layout and decorations in a company (refer "territory within which we live", Thornton)

Describing culture in the organisation, which is considered here as one type of *Gesellschaft* ecology with its "contractual bondings", Handy refers to it as the set of norms, ideas, beliefs about "how things ought to be done" in the organisation. He expresses that

in organisations there are deepest beliefs about the way work should be organised, the way authority should be exercised, people rewarded, people controlled. What are the degrees of formalization required? How much planning and how far ahead? What combination of obedience and initiative is looked for in subordinates? Do work hours matter, or dress, or personal eccentricities? What about expense accounts, and secretaries, stock options and incentives? Do committees control, or individuals? Are there rules and procedures or only results ? (Handy, 1976 : 186 - 187)

These capture some of the extra-individual factors mentioned earlier and also, ways and manners acceptable.

He explains further that every organisation has its own distinctive culture which both gives rise to and in turn arises from its particular structure. He characterises four types : power, role, task and person culture. Each of these cultures has its own characters which define the way people work. For example, in the role culture, rules and

procedures are the main methods of influence and the efficiency of this culture depends on the rationality of the allocation of work and responsibility rather than on the individual personalities. As a contrast the individual is the central point in the person culture. Many organisations contain more than one culture and structure so that a differentiated culture/structure system prevails. The existence of more than one organisation culture in fact highlights the difficulty of "acquiring" or "learning" the "habits" and certainly, the rules of the game, of a particular ecology, and of "adapting" to new ecologies.

From the discussion above, it is clear that in order to present a more formal statement of the problem investigated in this study, all the different aspects of the ecology presented above have to be considered. Two other aspects of culture that need to be discussed further here are the notions of value and, the more significant notion of role which have been mentioned in passing in most of the earlier discussions.

### **2.1.6 Value Within an Ecology**

A simple definition of value states that it is the generalised moral beliefs to which members of a group subscribe (Lenski and Lenski, 1970 : 42). Liazos (1989 : 119) speaks of the "certain unspoken assumptions, ideals, and choices" which "color each culture and act as guides for people" as values. It is considered as the "basis upon which an individual chooses one course rather than another, judges as better or worse, right or wrong" (Lee, 1976 : 106). Therefore, different sets of values will create different sets of bonds and relationships, will differentiate members of one social ecology from another. Will these values undergo morphogenesis when members of one social ecology join another multiverse ? Will there be a change in value if there is a change in role? How is role defined within the ecology ?

### 2.1.7 Roles Within the Ecology

As with the concepts of society and community, there is also a considerable confusion and ambiguity surrounding the definition of the term role. Consider, this dialogue :

Hollis : I have heard it said that a man is the sum of the roles which he plays. Could you please explain this implausible doctrine to us ?

Heading : Certainly, but I must start by telling you what I understand by 'role', since sociologists use the terms in different ways. First I distinguish social positions from the individuals who occupy them. ....Secondly, behaviour in each position is neither completely idiosyncratic nor random. Let us *start* by calling the active dimension of a social position a 'role'.

Hollis : You seem to imply that there is a role wherever there is predictable behaviour. My neighbour regularly passes my door at noon each day. Yet surely it does not follow from this alone that there is a role of neighbour....(Bradbury, Heading and Hollis, 1972 : 41).

The above serves to highlight the multiple role that a person may have. So what is a role? It is quite important to know what roles are ascribed to a particular person when he or she joins a new ecology or what role is he or she expected to play in this new multiverse. It was suggested earlier, roles can only be defined by participation in the activities of the multiverse.

After surveying the literature, Neiman and Hughes, in 1951, came to the conclusion that

the concept role is at present still rather vague, nebulous, and non-definitive. Frequently the concept is used without any attempt on the part of the writer to define or delimit the concept, the assumption being that both writer and reader will achieve an immediate compatible consensus. Concomitantly, the concept is found frequently in popular usage which adds further confusion (Neiman and Hughes, 1951 : 149).

However, it is believed that in order to perform effectively in the "rituals and habits of speech" a member has to know his or her role. One definition of role that can be offered here is that it is "the norms that govern the occupant of a particular status when he is interacting with someone in a related status" (Storer, 1973 : 33). So here, role is closely related to the status of a person.

Role is a term borrowed from theatre which means a position which can be filled by an individual and to which distinctive behavioural expectations and requirements are attached (Lenski and Lenski, 1970 : 40). This notion has also been illustrated by Shakespeare's famous lines in *As You Like It* (Act II Scene VII) :

All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players:  
They have their exits and their entrances;  
and one man in his time plays many parts,  
His acts being seven ages.

That is to say, when someone has a role there are also expectations of "norms of behaviour" and that one can also have more than one role. And without role, a new member may not be an active player in the games. The new members must be perceived by the mature members of the community to have a role to play, to have a function within the community, only then can negotiations be successful.

Perhaps Turner's (1956, as quoted in Gordon, 1972 : 74) conceptualisation of role can provide some help :

By *role* we mean a collection of patterns of behavior which are thought to constitute a meaningful unit and deemed appropriate to a person occupying a particular status in society (e.g. doctor or father), occupying an informally defined position in interpersonal relations (e.g. leader or compromiser), or identified with a particular value in society (e.g. honest man or patriot). We shall stress the point that a role consists of behaviors which are regarded as making up a meaningful unit. The linkage of behaviours within roles is the source of our expectations that certain kinds of action will be found together. When people speak of trying to 'make sense' of someone's behaviour or to understand its meaning, they are typically attempting to find the role of which the observed actions are a part.

Role refers to behaviour rather than position, so that one may *enact* a role but not occupy a role. So what role does a new member of a new ecology have ? Can a new member exist in the new multiverse and be engaged in the game without a role ? How does a neophyte negotiate his or her role in the new ecology ? What criteria have to be met before the new member is ascribed a role to play ?

From the discussion so far it can be surmised that the existence of different values and roles, different sets of beliefs and ways of doing things or in terms of the conceptual framework, the different catastrophe sets, suggest the possibility of disagreements or non-consensual actions between members of different multiverses. This may result in conflicts between different social ecologies and renewal of members will be made much more difficult if there is intense conflict between mature and new members of the multiverse. There will therefore be conflict in roles, values, beliefs, "ways of doing things", "rituals of speech and habit", different rules to the "language games", different principles and "wills" of participants. So how do members of different ecologies manage these "conflicting forms of life" ? How would they arrive at a consensus for achievement of some specified goals ?

### **2.1.8 The "Conflicting Forms of Life"**

Revisiting the notions of community and culture it is quite clear that there are different kinds of ecologies which are based on different sets of bonds, relationships, networks, wills, values, roles "modes of thinking, acting and feeling" and "rituals and habits of speech". These are a result of the different cultures, the different "schools of navigation". When one set of values of one community does not reflect the sets of values of another community there is a possibility of a disagreement. Within the field of community studies such disagreements between communities is commonly referred to as conflict.

With regard to the reassessment of roles and readjustment of values or in terms of the framework thus far constructed, the "discontinuities of behaviour" when different and diverse social ecologies with different values attached to the catastrophe sets (i.e. bonds, relationships, roles) meet some form of conflict is anticipated. "Solving the conflict" may affect changes in behaviour of new members to the multiverse. Change describes the metabolic nature of the multiverse. In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of conflict between different ecologies it is worth probing into a few explanations

that are currently available in the literature.

It has been described that conflict can arise from three different sources : it can rise when two individuals or groups seek contradictory goals (perhaps, conflicting wills); it may rise when different groups pursue the same goal by contradictory means (conflicting rules) and it may arise when "two individuals or groups pursue the same goals, but only one party can win" (McCord and McCord, 1977 : 5). These remind us of the ecological conflict advocated by the Marxian view of society presented earlier. The stress here is that conflict always involve interaction between two or more individuals or groups (Coser, 1956 : 37) or in terms of this study, when two or more members of "regions of different discourses" interact. However, it is believed that the sources of conflict between a new and mature member of an ecology lies elsewhere although goal may be one of them.

Coleman (1957) gives three basic sources of conflict at the macro level of society and these are : conflict arising from economic issues; conflict springing from issues that involve power or authority and conflict rising from differences over cultural values and beliefs. While Howard (1974 : 3 - 4) writing about the social movements and social change in America distinguishes four main types of conflict : substantive conflict which centres around the control of valued and scarce resources (compare the Marxian ecological notion of conflict); conflict over symbolic issues for example, refusal of people of certain religious parties to pay allegiance to the national flag; conflict of ideologies for instance a dominant group that develops a set of ideologies to justify their superior positions, and cultural conflict where for example a segment of the population advocates the adoption of new life styles.

In terms of the notions presented so far there is bound to be conflict between the different ecologies or between different *Gemeinschaft* and different *Gesellschaft* ecologies where principles and types of bondings differ. There is also the possibility of more intense conflict when these *Gemeinschaft* communities that are required to "bond" together and

engage in the associated games for *Gesellschaft* interests/goals. What would happen to the different catastrophe sets as these convene at the boundaries of the social ecologies ? Do the members of the ecologies have the ability or mechanisms to change when the communities experience this conflict ? How do these ecologies manage the conflict to accommodate the differences to arrive at a consensus ?

One way to resolve the "conflicting forms of life" may be through the process of negotiation.

### 2.1.9 Managing the Conflict - Negotiations

It has been said that

negotiation goes by many names, is referred to by many synonyms : bargaining, wheeling and dealing, compromising, making deals, reaching agreements after disagreement, making arrangements, getting tacit understanding, mediating, power brokering, trading off, exchanging, and engaging in collusion (Strauss, 1978 : 1).

But how does a new member without prior experience of the new ecology acquire the rules of negotiations of this ecology? How does s/he "bargain", "wheel and deal", or "mediate" membership to an ecology?

Ikle (1968, quoted in Bazerman and Lewicki, 1983 : 19) has said that a negotiation situation involves "diverse parties bound together by a mix of common and divergent interests" or perhaps, different *Gemeinschaft* members for *Gesellschaft* goals. Pfeffer (1981) describes the effect of the "diverse" and "mix" nature of the parties in negotiations as follows :

the more heterogeneous the cultural, social, economic and demographic characteristics of the participants....the greater the potential for conflict. In contrast, the more homogeneous the participants, the more they can be influenced by the same influence strategies, and the lower the level of conflict.

In other words the more diverse the regions of different discourses the more intense the negotiation will be. So with such great potential for conflict how can a new member from a different ecology manage it without prior experience to the rules of the games of the new ecology and negotiate effectively outcomes favourable to his interests, i.e. how does s/he negotiate membership ?

Rojot (1991 : 20) considers negotiation as a process where it is

a dynamic situation, on-going, involving moves and countermoves, and not a static one. It is a joint process which occurs between one or several parties, or their representatives. No one negotiates alone, but negotiation is not reduced to dyadic situations.

What "moves" and "countermoves" would a new member have to make in the negotiation for membership ?

A negotiation process is structured by the relationship between the parties, the resources and constraints within the environment, and bargaining power. The relationship depends on the degree of permanence of the relationship and attitudes of the parties towards each other. Here there is a suggestion that the nature of a "relationship" between the negotiating parties needs to be established prior to the negotiations. This is required in order to engage in the proper "rules of the game". The last element of negotiation is also particularly helpful in discussing the problem posed in this study. How much "bargaining power" does Malaysian negotiators have in order to negotiate with the members of international ecologies ?

Pruitt (1981 : xii) describes negotiations as " a form of decision-making in which two or more parties talk with one another in an effort to resolve their opposing interests". However, what happens when members of "opposing interests" are required to assemble for a specified or common goal ? An extended definition is offered by Fowler (1986 : 5) where he suggests that



Negotiation is a process of interaction, by which two or more parties who need to be jointly involved in an outcome but who initially have different objectives, seek by the use of argument and persuasion, to resolve their differences in order to achieve a mutually acceptable solution.

The question is how does one become "jointly involved" to resolve the differences ? And what is the nature of "argument and persuasion" needed or the mechanisms necessary for achieving a "mutually acceptable solution" ? As noted earlier, the role of the member would only be defined by active participation in the differentiated activities. Can effective negotiations be achieved with the absence of this element ?

The notion of negotiation is based on the idea that there is conflict between different ecologies or communities with different catastrophe sets, uncommon interests, different and conflicting values, diverse regions of discourse, different wills and rules of the games from each other. An "agreement" of some nature is sought as the outcome of negotiation. One such "agreement" as viewed in the context of this study is the successful membership of new and different multiverse and hence, successful achievement of some stipulated goals. However, how is the business of negotiation mediated ? How does a society, a community, a group of social networks mediate the norms, values, and roles of the specific ecology, negotiate outcomes, arrive at a consensus, achieve acceptable solutions and resolve opposing interests ?

So far the discussion has shown the richness of descriptions for the notion of society. More importantly, the analysis has drawn attention to the complexity of this entity and hence, the complexity of conceptualising the problem presented earlier. It has exposed what a new member would have to contend with when entering a new ecology, an inventory of "shock waves" in keeping with the different and diverse ecologies. And the analysis has also shown that society is not a static entity, it is constantly changing with the renewal of members. The following discussion aims to look at the other variable in the equation, i.e. language. It proposes to examine how rich language itself is viewed compared with the rich views already presented for society. The analysis is done in

order to gain conceptualisation of a notion that is "ineluctably local, indivisible from (its) instruments and (its) encasements" (Geertz, 1983 : 4). It is to look at how complex language is "intertwined" with its encasement, the multiverse, to observe language in vivo.

## 2.2 Language - the Vehicle of the Business of a Multiverse

The business of a multiverse and negotiations is mediated to a large extent by language. Locke in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* says of the relationship between language and society as

God, having designed man for a sociable creature, made him not only with an inclination and under a necessity to have fellowship with those of his own kind, but furnished him also with language, which was to be the great instrument and common tie of society.

The "status" and the function of language are clearly stated here.

In 1921, Sapir (quoted in Edwards, 1985 : 16) noted that

...language is a purely human and non-restrictive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.

Morris (1946, quoted in Edwards, 1985 : 16) describes language as "composed of arbitrary symbols possessing an agreed-upon significance within a community". Here there is a suggestion that language and its meanings are negotiated between members. Saussure (1916), on the other hand, distinguishes between *langue*, the system of a language, and *parole* which is the executive side of language, the actual speech (Culler, 1976 : 29).

Language has also been described as

a system of arbitrary, vocal symbols which permit all people in a given culture, or other people who have learned the system of that culture, to communicate or to interact (Finocchiaro, 1964 : 8).

It is

a system of communication by sound, operating through the organs of speech and hearing, among members of a given community, and using vocal symbols possessing arbitrary conventional meanings (Pei, 1966 : 141).

Language is also described as

....a conventional system of habitual vocal behaviour by which members of a community communicate with one another (Chao, 1968 : 1)

and it is seen as

a system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for human communication (Wardhaugh, 1972 : 3).

However, these explanations have restricted language to vocal sounds only, associated perhaps, with the static notions of society. The study demands a more dynamic view of language, one that would show its relationship with the metabolic multiverse.

Relating language to society, Kress (1976 : xx) suggests that

Language is a social activity. It has developed as it has, both in the functions it serves, and in the structures which express these functions, in response to the demands made by society and as a reflection of those demands.

The communicative purpose of language is again highlighted here where

Language is a system, it is arbitrary and is used for communicative purposes by a group of people who constitute the speech or language community (Edwards, 1985 : 16).

With regard to language as part of understanding the community that one is in, Hodge and Kress (1988 : 1) summed up language as

one of man's most remarkable attributes. It is an absolute precondition for nearly all our social life, and it is the medium in which most organised thought and communication proceed. So, the study of language, linguistics, ought to be an acknowledged part of any human education designed to lead to an understanding of one's self and one's world.

So language is a "precondition" to life within an ecology. This is not however the necessary and sufficient condition as there are all the other attributes of society already discussed above.

Roe (1993 : 2) however, treats language as the

complex web of interlocking systems - the lexicon, the morphology, syntax, phonology...., its discourse conventions, the constraints of the speech exchange systems within which we operate

This view suggests how language functions within specific ecologies.

Hymes (1986) distinguishes between language field and speech field where

....language field is the total range of communities within which a person's knowledge of varieties and speaking rules potentially enables him to move communicatively

and within the speech field is the "speech network i.e. the specific linkage of persons through shared varieties and speaking rules across communities".

In terms of the functions of language Malinowski as early as 1923, distinguishes two functions : the practical or pragmatic and the magical or ritual use of language. The term "context of situation" was coined to explain how language is used. For example, the language (Kiriwinian) used in a fishing expedition of the islanders that he studied is an example of a pragmatic use of language. This is to show that it is impossible to

understand the message that these islanders were giving each other unless "what was happening at the time....the cultural background" of these islanders are known (Halliday and Hassan, 1985 : 6); hence, highlighting the importance of culture previously discussed.

Bühler (1934, quoted in Halliday and Hassan, 1985 : 15) on the other hand is more interested in the function of language from the standpoint of the individual. He distinguishes three functions : expressive, conative and representational (Halliday and Hassan, 1985 : 15). Brown and Yule (1983 : 1) differentiate the functions of language, the transactional function where language is used to convey "content" or "factual or propositional information" and the interactional function where language is used to express social relations and personal attitudes. Austin (1962) stresses the functions of speech as a way of "doing things with words". So, how does a new member "do things with words" in a new ecology ?

On a different note, Chomsky (1968 : 7) says that

Normal mastery of a language involves not only the ability to understand immediately an indefinite number of entirely new sentences, but also the ability to identify deviant sentences, and, on occasion to impose an interpretation on them.

One other useful look at language is that "the use of language in everyday life contributes to the realisation of goals - this is "power to" (Ng and Bradac, 1993 : 5) that is, power to produce intended effects (Russell, 1938). Thus supporting the importance of mastery of code plus the skills in this code in negotiations. All of the above, nevertheless, have indicated that language is "intertwined" with society and this relationship is a complex one as discussed in greater depth below.

## **2.3 Language and Society - a Complex Relationship**

There are differing views on the marriage between language and society. It has been said that the social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviours or that particular ways of speaking are determined by certain social requirements. The Whorfian hypothesis states that linguistic structure and/or behaviour may either influence or determine social structure. One extreme view is that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other.

As can be seen from the previous discussions there exist different and diverse ecologies. And each ecology has its own set of values, norms, and roles for the members. Another difference that can be added to the equation is language. Language, like society, as seen above, is also viewed in a rich manner, and notions such as speech and discourse communities have been used to explain the relationship between society and language, the former relating to the wider society, and the latter, to a more purpose-oriented community.

### **2.3.1 Speech Community**

A macro look at the relationship between society and speech is by examining what is commonly known as speech community. A simple explanation of speech community is given by Lyons (1970 : 326) and it is "all the people who use a given language (or dialect)". Hockett (1958 : 8) offers a slightly more complex description where he suggests that

Each language defines a speech community : the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language.

Although the second definition speaks of communication within the community, both definitions so far give the impression that there is one language only within the speech community. The situation is perceived to be more complex than this.

In contrast, Bloomfield (1933 : 42) posits that "a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech". This description recognises the fact that there might be more than one language in the speech community. Gumperz (1962) discusses the possibility of people interacting in more than one language within a community :

We will define it as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication.

Later, he (1968) defines speech community as

any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage.

Here there is a suggestion of shared language. However, bearing in mind all the various attributes of community (role, value, culture), does sharing a language mean sharing all these different parameters ?

Labov's description of speech community gives emphasis on shared attitudes to language. For example, New York City is defined by Labov (1966 : 125) as a single speech community because it is "united by a common evaluation of the same variables which differentiate the speakers". And in keeping with this

the speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms, these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage (Labov, 1972a : 190).

Saville-Troike (1989 : 17) states that it is "useful to distinguish between participating in a speech community and being a member of it; speaking the same language is sufficient (yet not necessary) for some degree of participation, but membership cannot be based on knowledge and skills alone".

With such differing descriptions of speech community Fasold (1990 : 62) summarised the whole problem by stating that

speech community is difficult to define, but most ethnographers would agree that it refers to a group of people who share the same rules and patterns for what they say, and when and how to say it.

The speech community has also been described as made up of people who "share the rules of interpretation and usage of at least one language" (Gumperz, 1972 : 16). In other words, a speech community depends on two elements : "shared structure of language variation, that is, one form of speech, and cooperative communication strategies enabling identification as co-member of the community, that is, knowledge of patterns of use" (Ager, 1995). These are helpful as they suggest that members of communities have general agreements of concepts within the community. This notion also refers to people who share a code or speech repertoire and members are identified by these. But what about members of more than one ecology ?

The idea that an individual may belong to several communities and thus, have different discourse is also stated by Saville-Troike (1989 : 20). She observes that individuals can belong to more than one community :

Individuals, particularly in complex societies, may thus participate in a number of discrete or overlapping communities....which set of rules he or she uses is part of the strategy of communication.

This is also the position that Bolinger (1975 : 333) takes where he states that there are various speech communities and that



There is no limit to the ways in which human beings league themselves together for self-identification, security, gain, amusement, worship, or any of the other purposes that are held in common; consequently there is no limit to the number and variety of speech communities that are to be found in society.

Here there is the suggestion that there are more than one speech community. However, code is not useful without the purpose for which it is used or "for the coordination of diverse social actions" (refer Shotter above). In addition there are "interdependent regions of different discourses" and their different "associated language games". It would be helpful to look at how members of an ecology use language as a "power" to obtain intended goals or outcomes. Bringing together the idea of purpose or goal and social ecology it would be beneficial to look at the relationship of social ecology and speech at the more dynamic level of discourse community.

### **2.3.2 Discourse Community**

Herzberg (1986 : 1, as quoted in Swales, 1990 : 21) explains that a

'discourse community' testifies to the increasingly common assumption that discourse operates within conventions defined by communities, be they academic disciplines or social groups.

This means that a specific discourse community would have its own community mechanisms which are different from other discourse communities. It is a type of speech community where discourse is equated to purposive language. In a discourse community therefore, language use is a form of social behaviour, shared discourse is the group's knowledge and this defines membership of the group (Ager, 1995). And diverse ecologies have different discourses (refer Shotter). In keeping with this idea

language use in a group is a form of social behaviour, that discourse is a means of maintaining and extending the group's knowledge and initiating new members into the group, and that discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge (Herzberg, 1986 : 1, quoted in Swales, 1990).

Therefore, a particular discourse community would have its own code of conduct, its own agenda for maintaining membership of the group, its "principles", its "will" and its ways of initiating new members. The mechanisms for renewal of members would differ from one community or ecology to another. A new member would be required to "acquire" the discourse of the new ecology, in order for code to be meaningful and for participation to produce outcomes intended by an individual or a group.

Johns (1993) disagrees with Prior (1993) who suggests that we should not use the term community because they do not exist, but argues that the difficulty in defining "community" is that

there may be communities of one - or there may be huge, broad amorphous communities - and we all belong to some of each.

She compares the example of her children and herself as constituting a community with the vast shared experience of the notes she writes to her children with communities of many people who do not even know each other, but that share a set of interests and values across national boundaries.

Widdowson (1993 : 34) also notes the connection between communities and their genres where communities are

subcultures that manage their communicative affairs in certain ways; in other words, they can be defined in terms of their generic inclinations.

In terms of this study, the sub-cultures are the sub-ecologies who have their ways of conducting their affairs via the discourses selected by the members of the particular sub-ecology.

With reference to discourse as purposive language it is useful at this stage to invoke Swales' (1990) notion of a discourse community which he defined as having six characteristics. These characteristics he proposes will be necessary and sufficient for

identifying a group of individuals as a discourse community. The first characteristic of discourse community and by far the most helpful is that "a discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals" (Swales, 1990 : 24). This powerful concept of common public goals was absent from Thom's notion of society. It not only distinguishes speech community which is regarded as a static model of community from discourse community but more importantly, it highlights the dynamic notion of purpose of the community. This notion has been referred to earlier but here the idea underscores the notion that code would be meaningless without its purpose for example as Shotter (refer above) has said code is for the "coordination of diverse social actions".

Swales develops the idea of discourse community further by proposing that the community has at its disposal certain community mechanisms to distinguish between members and non-members : "A discourse community utilises and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims (Swales, 1990 : 26)". For example, he suggests that

the thesis or dissertation can either be a *rite de passage* into the targeted discourse community or an exit qualification that enables the holder to leave the university world and enter another one (Swales, 1990 : 187).

At this level of the argument it is worthwhile to revisit Thom's notion of society as a metabolic form, the idea of renewal of members and the mechanism that a society possesses in regulating this constant influx of members. Not only that but also membership can mean membership to more than one community or social ecology (refer Shotter above, Saville-Troike and Bolinger, earlier).

Individuals do not belong to just one community (refer to Saville-Troike's "discrete or overlapping communities" and Bolinger's "no limit to the number and variety of speech communities) but to several and each of these communities would have its own "shared goals" referred to in the notion of social networks above. More importantly, when we map the notion of purpose onto the notion of social networks the enormity of the problem

becomes more apparent.

Returning back to Roe's (1993) "complex web of interlocking systems", he suggests further that language is "accessed by people who wish/need to communicate." And discourse communities "select whatever elements of these systems they see as most appropriate for the job in hand." Furthermore,

Each community, whether mature or ephemeral, seeks to harness part of the resource as a vehicle for the "business", and their selections become their "variety"....That is, the "value" carried by their selections, the value for which they sought a linguistic vehicle in the first place, specific to their community (Roe, 1993 : 2).

The card-game analogy is used to illustrate the different values carried by each selection where the values of the four suits in the cards will sometimes have equal values and sometimes different and the natural order of the cards can change depending on the game. Roe (1995) proposes that "in most games for more than one person, not only card games, one can distinguish six levels in their rules". These are shown in the Figure 2.2 below :



Figure 2.2 Levels of Analysis of Games for More than One Person  
(Source : Figure 1. Roe, 1995 : 6)

So, "without a community (the "players"), a purpose (the object of the game) and a frame of reference .....,there cannot be a "game". And language is an integral aspect of "the game in its playing" (Roe, 1995 : 5) or "....the contested activity of words in their

speaking....their use as means or as 'tools' in effecting everyday communicative processes" (Shotter, 1993 : 20).

With regard to joining new ecologies, Roe (1995) suggests that the

New (would-be) members of a discourse community, the neophytes, thus need to learn how the mature members match their values (purposes, etc.) to their linguistic selections.

So how does new (would-be) members learn which "card games" to play, "match their values" ? Should the new players first of all be invited to play the game ?

It has been stated that the purposive nature of discourse community distinguishes it from the more general concept of speech community. Before departing from the notions of speech and discourse it would be useful to review another way of inspecting how language or speech is categorised. With regard to the present study, it is quite relevant at this point to invoke the notion of repertoire. It is anticipated that members of different ecologies would have at their disposal different and diverse repertoires.

For any individual he/she is regularly a member of a number of communities (social networks). In as much as the "business" of each such community will generate discourse which to some extent is at least characteristic to the particular community, each group can be conceived as a discourse community and each mature member (non-neophyte - refer Swales above) can be seen as commanding the discourse of the community as appropriate to his/her role as a member of the discourse community. Here it is useful to mention the notion of speech repertoires. Competing ecologies give rise to different repertoires. Membership to more than one ecology commands different repertoires. And to each repertoire a specific role and a set of values are expected. The first macro description of repertoires concerns the differences between speech and verbal repertoires relating to speech community, and these are distinguished from the more micro look at repertoire, that is, discourse repertoire, relating to discourse community.

### 2.3.3 Speech and Verbal Repertoires

Platt and Weber (1977) distinguish between a community's repertoire and an individual's speech repertoire. At the macro level, they suggest that in a society where there exist more than one language, an individual's linguistic repertoire can be classified into two : speech and verbal. According to them the term "speech repertoire" refers to the "repertoire of linguistic varieties utilised by a speech community which its speakers, as member of the community, may appropriately use" and verbal repertoire refers to "all the language (or even sub-varieties) that an individual is able to speak or understand". They suggest that the typical verbal repertoires would be influenced by the ethnic background though this is not the only criterion - age, sex, socio-economic and educational background often play a part as well.

The suggestion that repertoires would be influenced by certain factors is useful. But do these factors include role, value and the purpose of engaging in the language games ? It is believed that the analysis becomes more complex when a "new" and non-native repertoire has to be imported to facilitate the metabolic process. How then does this "new" repertoire become the verbal repertoire of a member of a community ? What mechanisms does the ecology have in ensuring that this new repertoire would be used successfully by the members to win the game since language is an "integral aspect of the game in it's playing" ?

### 2.3.4 Discourse Repertoire

The above notions of verbal and speech repertoires offer some insight into the range of repertoires that a member of one ecology has at his or her disposal. However, these are considered the properties of or the repertoires of the larger community, that is, the speech communities, which in turn is associated with the static model of society. A more dynamic notion would be discourse repertoire in keeping with the dynamic entity of discourse communities. This repertoire refers to the discourse of specific discourse

ecologies where purpose of discourse, public goals (Swales) and negotiation (referred to earlier) are involved. Different and competing ecologies will demand different and diverse discourse repertoires from the members and different language games. Referring to Roe earlier, discourse communities make a selection of the language needed to mediate the business of the community and this selection gives the "value" or the purpose of the different repertoires.

When examining different repertoires of different and diverse ecologies it is difficult to ignore what speakers do when different repertoires are needed for different games. Alternating between repertoires may occur when we consider all the different aspects (roles, values, bonds) that a new member has to consider when joining a new community as these change, from one "terrain" to another. It may be considered as what players do with the "Kit" to agree on the "value" in order to know which "rules" to play and to adopt strategies to reach a specific end. The notion is more commonly known as language mixing. This language activity highlights the existence of different ecologies and that each ecology selects the use of different codes for different goals. More importantly, knowing which code or repertoire to use is regarded as a one of the "strategies of the games". Within the particular context of this research it would be useful to discuss the phenomenon of language mixing. It may be helpful in describing how members of different ecologies negotiate their membership of an ecology by moving between repertoires.

## **2.4 Moving Between Ecologies**

Language mixing is the term used to refer to moving from one repertoire to another, to the alternating use of two or more languages or varieties of language in the same speech event. Generally two common types of "movements" are recognised and these are : code-mixing and code-switching. "Code-mixing" is where the alternating use of two languages is described to be intrasentential, switchings which occur in the middle of

sentences and "code-switching" is where the alternating use of two languages is intersentential, switching between sentences. Another type of codeswitching has also been identified and this is "tag-switching" or "emblematic switch" (Poplack, 1980) which involves an exclamation, a tag, or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentence (Appel and Müysken, 1987 : 118). However, there are still considerable confusion regarding these language activities and as Eastman (1992 : 1) states in the Editor's introduction to a collection of papers on these two areas "that efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed". The nature of the confusion can be seen from the following discussions.

It has been expressed that the language activity of codeswitching is a very significant aspect of bilingualism and multilingualism. Di Pietro (1977) defines it as the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act. Kachru (1978 : 28) distinguishes between codeswitching and codemixing where the former is used "to denote the functional contexts in which a multilingual person makes alternate use of two or more languages", and the latter is "the use of one or more languages for consistent transfer of linguistic units from one language into another, and such a language mixture developing a new restricted - or not so restricted - code of linguistic interaction". Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) agrees with Kachru where they emphasised that code-mixing is not accompanied by a shift in the speech situation and occurs intra-sententially while code-switching usually occurs in response to some change in speech situation and does not usually occur intra-sententially. Furthermore, they add that code-mixing entails bilingual education while code-switching does not. And a bilingual speaker code-switches only when interacting with another bilingual speaker.

Gumperz (1982 : 59) describes codeswitching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems". Singh (1985 : 4) contrasts codeswitching and codemixing in terms of speech events and speech act where he says that



it is useful to reserve the term 'code-switching' to the diglossia situation in which only one code is employed at any one time or in which the code alternation corresponds to the structurally identifiable stages or episodes of a speech event, and to use the term 'code-mixing' for situations in which alternation occurs within the same speech act.

Faltis (1989 : 119) argues that

when bilingual speakers code-switch, they stop speaking one language and begin to speak another, or they insert unadapted patterns of one language into the pattern of the other.

This view of code-switching entails the "shifting" to another language as suggested by Torres (1989). Codemixing or intrasentential switching however, refers to "the embedding or mixing of linguistic units" and these units consist of "morphemes, words, phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence and the same speech situation" (Tay, 1989 : 408).

Another explanation of code-switching is that it is the "use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other (Scotton, 1988 : 157). Heller (1988 : 1) refers to it as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode."

Hamers and Blanc (1983) offer a schematised distinction between codeswitching and codemixing which can be seen below. However, they also remind that the distinction is not absolute and some instances can be analysed in either category :

CODEMIXING : /L<sub>x</sub>/(L<sub>x</sub>L<sub>y</sub>)/L<sub>x</sub>/(L<sub>y</sub>L<sub>x</sub>)/L<sub>x</sub>/etc.

CODESWITCHING : /L<sub>x</sub>/L<sub>y</sub>/L<sub>x</sub>/L<sub>y</sub>/etc.

From these descriptions several types of code-switching have been categorised in the literature. For instance, Gumperz (1982 : 75 - 81) refers to the switching within single sentence as conversational code-switching and this includes : quotations, addressee specification, interjections, and message qualification. Blom and Gumperz (1971)

suggest metaphorical switching where a variety normally used only in one kind of situation is used in a different kind because the topic is the sort which would normally arise in the first kind of situation. An example of this arises from the research they did in a town in northern Norway, Hemnesberget, where there is a diglossic situation, with one of the two standard Norwegian languages as the high variety and a local dialect as the low variety. This type of codeswitching is distinguished from "situational switching" where it involves clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations.

Platt and Weber (1980) suggest that code-selection in an ecology which has more than one verbal and speech repertoires depends on the

- (a) speaker's own verbal repertoire
- (b) recognition of general situation
- (c) awareness of the codes that are appropriate for that particular situation  
and
- (d) verbal repertoire of the interlocutor.

In addition to such a myriad of different explanations, these two language activities, especially codeswitching, also serve various functions. Appel and Müysken (1987 : 119 - 120) summarise the following functions for code-switching in general. These are : (a) a referential function when the speaker cannot find the appropriate expressions in the base language (in terms of a new member this may be the result of the inefficient code control); (b) a directive function which is quite similar to what Gumperz (1982) refers to as addressee specification; (c) an expressive function when the speaker stresses his mixed identity through his use of two languages in the same discourse (in the context of the study, this could be translated into his/her uncertainty of his/her identity in the new ecology); (d) as a phatic function when it indicates a change in tone of the conversation; (e) metalinguistic function when the speaker uses code-switching to comment directly or indirectly on the language involved and (f) as a poetic function when switching involves the verbalisation of puns, jokes, etc. in another language.

Heller (1988 : 1) on the other hand proposes that

code-switching is seen as a boundary-levelling or boundary-maintaining strategy, which contribute, as a result, to the definition of roles and role relationships at a number of levels, to the extent that interlocutors bear multiple role relationships to each other. It is an important part of social mechanisms of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries.

Here codeswitching is related to the roles that speakers have when using one code or another. This view is quite meaningful as it associates movement from one code to another with the changes in roles. With reference to new members of ecologies the ability or inability to move from one code to another may affect his/her role in the new ecology.

Legenhausen (1991 : 61) refers to the performance aspect of codeswitching which is similar to what Appel and Müysken's category of referential codeswitching. Here it is suggested that speakers code-switch during a conversation when they have run into word-finding problems or when the intended meaning can be expressed more precisely in the other language. Romaine (1989) suggests that sometimes speakers tend to code-switch at specific points in the interaction to achieve certain conversational goals, mainly as a discourse strategy. It has also been suggested that perhaps the resultant discourse constitutes a mode of expression or register in its own right. This third language variety (apart from the two languages they have at their disposal between which they can alternate) is perhaps felt by its speakers to be the only appropriate mode of speech in many informal situations (Legenhausen, 1991 : 62). According to Poplack (1980 : 614) :

The very fact that a speaker makes alternate use of both codes, itself has interactional motivations and implications, beyond any particular effects of specific switches.

Scotton and Ury (1977 : 6 ) suggest that a speaker switches codes for the following two reasons : to redefine the interaction as appropriate to a different social arena or in other words, different social ecologies (refer to Heller's "boundary-levelling"), or to avoid,

through continual code-switching, defining the interaction in terms of any specific social arena/social ecology. Code-switching back and forth reflects the speaker's uncertainty concerning which assumptions about the social ecology are the best ground on which to carry out the interaction with a view to the speaker's long term and short term goals. Here, social arena refers to a different set of norms and each set of norms represents what behaviour is expected for interaction, along with the limits for tolerable behaviour deviating from this expectation. So code-switching can be used for "boundary-maintaining" serving as a strategy to identify and determine "social roles, networks and (social) boundaries" (Heller, 1988 : 3) among speakers to a way of providing "flexibility" in the communication process by the help of resources in two languages (Scotton, 1993b : 1). Compare what has been said about the "associated language games" that members of different ecologies have to know the rules of.

In addition to the above motivation for codeswitching others have suggested that speakers may switch codes depending on the domains of interaction (compare Scotton's social arena). These domains are considered here as smaller units of ecology within a larger ecology unit. The idea of domain was first introduced by Fishman (1965). He proposes that domains refer to certain institutional contexts in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another, one code would be selected by players of a certain game. Factors such as location, topic and participants define a particular domain. Domain analysis he related to diglossia. However, where the speech repertoire of the members of the domains or smaller units of ecology are very dissimilar the situation is likely to become more complex. Bearing in mind the diverse characteristics of different ecologies, different roles, values and bonds, what code will be selected for the negotiations, for the "associated language games" ?

Platt and Weber (1980) also utilise the notion of domain in their study of language use in a multilingual and polyglossic society or multiverse. They suggest that the domains of family, friendship, transactions, employment, education, media, government, law and religion will affect language choice. Language choice in different domains can be

affected by the factors mentioned above (Fishman). However, in reality the situation is much more complex than this. A look at the potential complexity of each domain or sub-ecology will draw out the nature of this complexity. The difficulty is complex still for a new member to a "domain".

Combining the domain (Fishman) related codeswitching and the functional perspective (Appel and Müysken) the code selected would range from being the most formal in the institution domain where there is likely to be more referential codeswitching to being intimate in the family domain where there is likely to be more poetic codeswitching. The relationship (suggested by Appel and Müysken) is shown in the diagram below (Figure 2.3) :



Figure 2.3 An Integration of the Domain and the Functional Perspective  
(Source : Figure 3.2, Appel and Müysken, 1987 : 30)

This highlights the difficulty of selecting an appropriate code. How does a new member make this selection without prior experience of code selection within the new ecology ?

The complexity of selecting a code within a particular ecology is further highlighted when speakers have choices of codes or repertoires at their disposal. In such cases the speaker or member of the ecology will have to decide which code or repertoire is best for the situation. This idea of choices conceptualised as a decision tree was used by Rubin (1968b : 526) in her analysis of language choice in Paraguay. In this model of language

selection a speaker is faced with a hierarchical set of binary choices in the form of a tree. Some of the nodes of the tree are the same as the components of domains. Factors such as the ethnicity of the interlocutor, the style and the topic of conversation determine which language is finally chosen. The choices that are at the speakers disposal are those shown in Figure 2.4 below :

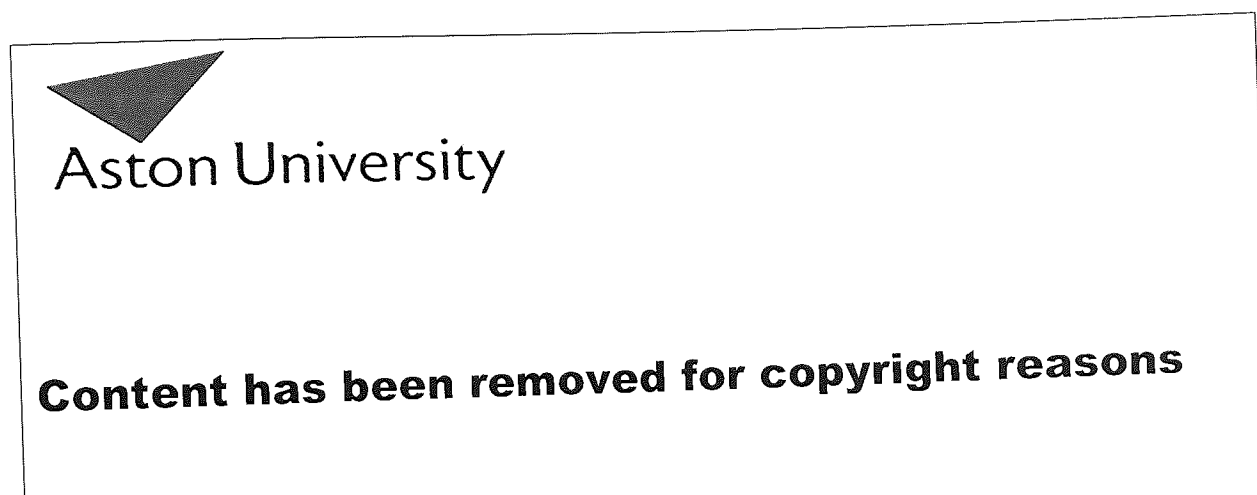


Figure 2.4 Language Choice in Paraguay  
(Source : Figure 3.1, Rubin, 1968 : 109)

The decision tree suggests that language choice is non-random and is heavily influenced by external factors (see extra-individual factors that define roles and relationships of members, Lenski and Lenski above). It appears useful because it includes the ethnicity factor in the set, a factor which has been left out in the previous discussions. But which branch of tree would purpose be attached to ?

The model has also been applied to the Moroccan ecology as shown in the tree diagram below (Figure 2.5). However, on which branch of the tree would shared experience, shared values, common goals be placed ?

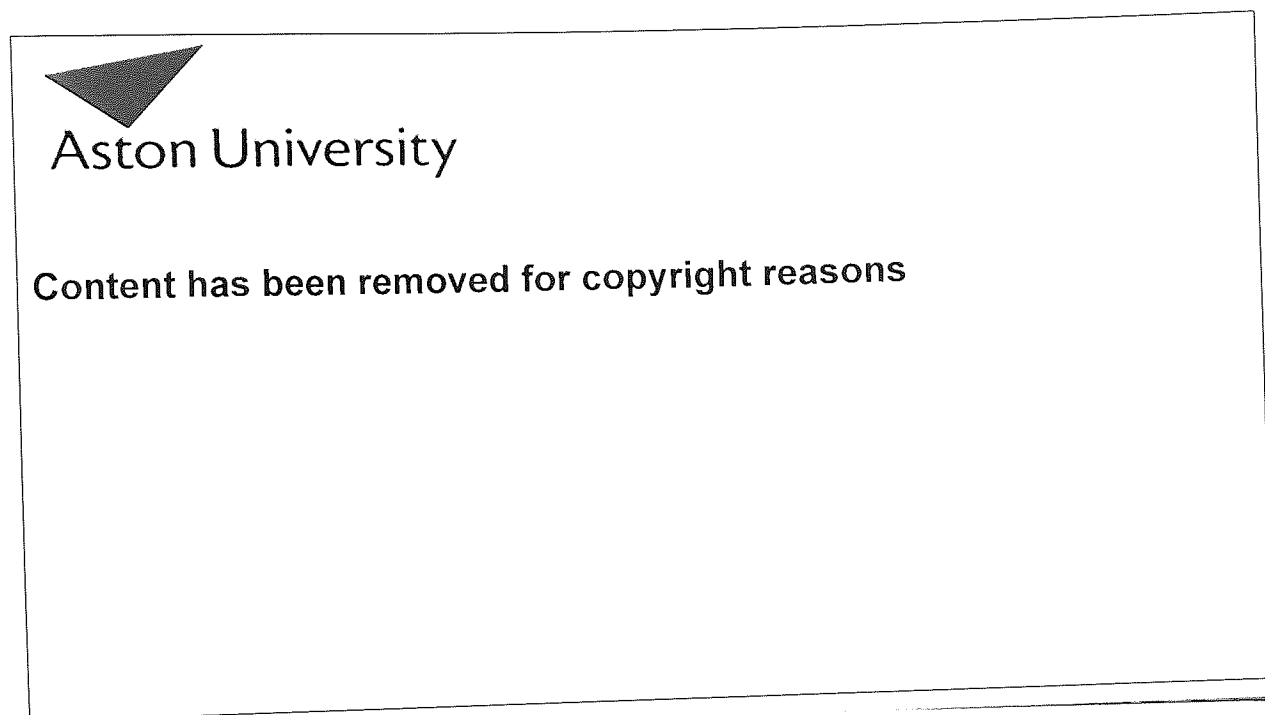


Figure 2.5 The Decision Tree Model for the Language Choices of Moroccans in Netherlands  
(Source : Figure 3.1, Appel and Müysken, 1987 : 27)

A rather more meaningful justification of code selection for the purpose of the present discussion is when it involves the relationships that speakers have with other speakers. Individuals moving from one ecology to another negotiating membership of new ecologies will have to adjust to new rules for the language games, new rule of social engagements, the nature of bonds and relationships established within the ecology and the new values to the "suit of cards". As these neophytes negotiate relationships with other mature members of the ecologies, certain aspects of the relationship would affect the language choice that s/he makes. Such a strategy has been described as *The Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory* developed by Giles and his colleagues (1973). This theory which was used to explain accent change within one language, stresses the relation between the participants. They showed that language choice cannot

be explained adequately by referring to situational or external factors only. Aspects of the interpersonal relation have to be taken into account, in other words the bonds and relationships between the members, the "value-bonding of the set of pieces of the game" would affect the selection of code.

According to this model speakers will automatically adjust themselves to each other, both in gestures and type of speech. The process of adjustment called *accommodation* works in two ways : the speaker will either *converge* when the speaker uses the language that the hearer knows best or *diverge* when the speaker tries to create distance between himself and the hearer by maximising differences in language use. According to them this may happen when the speaker wants to emphasise his loyalty to his own group and dissociate himself from his listener's group.

In terms of the bonds and relationships created in the different ecologies this strategy may be one of the mechanisms of the particular ecology to regulate membership and to "accommodate" new members. It could also be one that is adopted by new members in order to adjust or match values of the new ecology for establishing bonds and relationships with mature members of the ecology. Or do new members remain neutral to the rules and values of the different ecologies ?

When diverse and non-overlapping ecologies meet, the repertoires may also be diverse and different to the extent that none of the members of any ecology share any speech repertoires. What happens when members of these ecologies meet? One strategy for language choice that may account for this is the one posited by Scotton (1976). It is the "strategy of neutrality" which she first used to describe the intertribal interaction in Africa. Two types of neutrality are described : *neutralisation in in-group communication* where a "neutral" communicative mode expresses a group's mixed ethnolinguistic identity; for instance, in diffused communities, as shown below :

A/B -----> X <----- A/B



*Neutralisation in situations of intergroup communication* is where two groups of speakers with clearly separate ethnolinguistic identities do not speak the same language and this is shown below :

A -----> X <-----B

These strategies may help explain the situation where a certain language is used to reduce "tension" between different ecologies with no shared speech repertoire. The question is are the members of the different ecologies equally capable of negotiating in the "neutral" code ? More importantly, is the neutral code selected the code for winning the game ?

The problem with language choice and membership could also mean that individuals are restricted to particular communities and do not have access to the appropriate speech repertoire or more significantly, the appropriate discourse repertoire of other ecologies because of non-overlapping discourse ecologies. Bernstein (1971) has shown that there are different languages associated with members of different ecologies. He distinguishes these codes as restricted and elaborated. These codes are considered the property of two separate ecologies and members are distinguished by the use of either of these codes. However, although there is a suggestion that "the ability to switch codes controls the ability to switch role and if one cannot manage the role one cannot produce the appropriate codes", these codes have also been associated with the "decisive cause of social inequality of opportunity", where the elaborated code is conceived to be a better code.

The discussion so far has elaborated on aspects of different ecologies or multiverses. These include the different roles, the conflicting values, the multiple bonds and relationships and the use of different codes for different purposes. More importantly, is the idea that the active metabolic nature of these diverse ecologies is regulated by the constant renewal of members. However, how can new members have experience of playing the game in the new ecology without prior experience of the ecology ? How do

the neophytes adopt the "ways of doing things" or adopt the code-selection strategies of a new ecology ? How do they learn the rules of the games and use language as the "contested activity of words in their speaking" in a particular ecology and match the community values ? What mechanisms are there to make this happen ?

The main motivation for the analyses on the notions of society and language is to show the complexity of the relationship between these two concepts. Different aspects of the social ecology affect the selection of code. It is obvious from the discussion that membership of an ecology requires not only "knowing" the code/repertoire of the ecology but also, all the other complex parameters associated with the ecology itself, especially those that are associated with role. And for a new member of a new ecology these are the factors that have to be taken into consideration if the neophyte wishes to function effectively in the new ecology. So how does this new member "learn" or "acquire" the rules of the "associated language games of the new ecology ? How do they gain security or be engaged in the game in the new ecology ?

A conventional practice of "acquiring" the rules of the game of a new ecology is commonly termed as training. But what does this actually involve ? Does this organised process of absorption and optimisation of new members take all the above factors into consideration ? Does the training contain adequate mechanisms to transform these neophytes into effective players with successful strategies for winning the game ? Can the mature members of the ecology in which the training is done "accommodate" these newcomers without readjusting the values placed on the "cards" ? More importantly, can a neophyte learn to play the game by participating as a bystander, without being a player, without actually playing ?

## 2.5 Gaining Experience of a New Ecology - Training

A main part of the current study is the investigation into the mechanisms of the human resource development plan for the achievement of national goals and targets. One of the mechanisms under study is what is generally referred to as training that is, equipping the workforce with the necessary skills to cope with the challenges of the development process. It is believed that effective and efficient training can lead to successful attainment of goals and objectives and the country will be able to reap the benefits of this. However, if provision to make this a reality is inadequate, the cost of failure will be too high to pay. Therefore, it would be highly relevant for the formulation of the framework to embark on a further analysis of this issue.

The term training is quite freely used and most of the time the user of the word is not required to give the definition of the concept. Most textbooks too avoid giving any explanations assuming their readers know what it is all about. However, there are a few conventional descriptions that could indicate how training has been conceived.

A very restrictive view of training is that it is "the acquisition of skills, concepts or attitudes that result in improved performance in an on-the-job situation" (Goldstein, 1980 : 230). This suggests that training is limited to on-the-job situation only. Another quite general definition refers to training as a "relatively systematic attempt to transfer knowledge or skills from one who knows or can do to one who does not know or cannot do" (Meggison, Joy-Matthews and Banfield, 1993 : 10). But what about the role of the newcomer ?

The systematic nature of training is referred to in this description where "training is the systematic development of the attitude/ knowledge/ skill behaviour pattern required by an individual in order to perform adequately a given task or job" (Department of Employment, 1971). Here the elements of skill and task are mentioned. Skills have been described as an organised and co-ordinated pattern of mental and/or physical activity

in relation to an object or other display of information, usually involving both receptor and effector process. It is built up gradually in the course of repeated training or other experience. A major element of work or a combination of elements of work by means of which a specific result is achieved is one description of task. However, how is the dimension of code dealt with ?

In her book *Training and Development* (1988 : 5) Harrison also conceives training as

the short-term, systematic process through which an individual is helped to master defined tasks or areas of skill and knowledge to pre-determined standards.

Here the time factor is included. There are also definite set of tasks which have to be executed according to standards. In terms of training in the organisational context, Harrison explains that two major aspects have significant influence : culture and structure. The suggestion that the culture of the organisation affects training is useful here as it attempts to relate some of the factors discussed such as roles, values, ways of doing things and manners acceptable; hallmarks of culture already noted.

"The process of bringing someone to a level of competence" (Torrington, Weightman and Johns, 1989 : 186) is another definition of training. In the next description the activity of learning is included as part of the training process. According to this view, training is

overcoming "blocks" in the path of effective learning. It is concerned with direct job performance but it can also be effective in changing attitudes (Singer, 1969 : 16).

Are the "blocks" similar to the "shock waves" (Thom, above) that a new member has to cross at the boundaries of two different ecologies ?

Learning is also highlighted in the next description of training which is considered as a process for "providing the conditions in which people can learn effectively" (King, 1964

: 125). In terms of company training, King states that it

implies the provision of conditions in which people in a company can learn effectively. Company training must thus be related not only to the needs of the individual learner, but also to the organisational requirements.

But the question is, how are these conditions provided ? Are there adequate conditions to transform neophyte to non-neophyte status ?

It seems clear then that learning is considered as a fundamental concept underlying training. However learning itself is a complex activity. Culture has been conceived as something to be learned or acquired socially. Is the learning of this catered for in the present conceptualisation of training ? Bass and Vaughan (1967) refer to learning as a relatively permanent change in behaviour that occurs as a result of practice or experience. But, can this occur outside of the ecology concerned ?

Gagne (1965) considers learning as deriving from motivation : social motivation and motivation related to mastery of tasks. The former refers to the social situation in which the learners are placed : their social needs, characteristics, problems and types of relationship with each other and with the training staff. The issues of what drives different learners to succeed arises from the motivation related to task mastery or perhaps, the motivation to win the "card game".

Although learning underlies training, the latter involves more than just learning because

since training has, or should have, the goal of improved performance at some specified task. Learning is therefore a necessary but not sufficient condition for training to take place (Patrick, 1992 : 2).

With all the theoretical definitions of learning that are available, Patrick (1992) then resorts to a more operational definition which he quotes from Bower and Hilgard below :

Learning refers to the change in a subject's behaviour or behaviour potential to a given situation brought about by the subject's repeated experiences in that situation, provided that the behaviour change cannot be explained on the basis of the subject's native response tendencies, maturation, or temporary states (such as fatigues, drunkenness, drives, and so on (Bower and Hilgard, 1981 : 11).

Here there is a recognition that learning should take place in "that situation", i.e. within a certain ecology.

The descriptions so far have highlighted some aspects of the process of training. A few have attempted to contextualise it in terms of company training (refer Harrison, King above). For the purpose of this study it is believed that the idea of purpose and membership of a particular organisation or company plays a major role in the training process. For instance, Glen (1975 : 24) suggests that

the adoption of the norms of a group of which the individual is not a member is of particular significance when a change of role is required. His perception of the norms of the new group serves as a model in terms of which he can develop the new forms of behaviour which facilitate his acceptance as a group member. This process is sometimes formalised in training situations.

This view of training appears to acknowledge some of the issues elaborated with regard to members of a society. Is adopting the norms of a group similar to learning how the mature members match their values ?

Membership of an ecology, serves the purpose for training. Extending the arguments in the veins of the framework, training also results in changes in the new member. The idea of change effected by training has been referred to above (see Singer, 1969 - change in attitude, Bass and Vaughan, 1967 - change in behaviour above). And Jinks (1979) also discusses change and purpose in his conceptualisation of training which he refers to as

an organized procedure which brings about a semi-permanent change in behaviour, for a definite purpose. The three main areas involved are skills, knowledge and attitudes, but always with the objective of a definite purpose in mind. It differs from education in many ways, but for all practical purposes training is aimed at specific, job-based objectives....(Jinks, 1979 : 2).

However, this "semi-permanent" change in behaviour can only be supported by a stable entity. From what has been discussed above, a society has been shown to be a dynamic entity.

A very different way of looking at training is from the point of view of systems. The system of cybernetics gave rise to the concept of the black box. This concept regards a system, or sub-system within a system, as a totally enclosed unit that is, a black box, which has certain inputs into it and outputs from it. "We may be able to define how the outputs will vary if we vary the inputs in a particular way and we may indeed be able to control this process, but to do this we may not necessarily even have to know exactly what goes on within the black box" (Romiszowski, 1970 : 19).

This approach conceives the whole idea of training in terms of a transformation and this, according to Wilson (1986 : 25) is

The most basic concept related to a model of human activity system is that it is a transformation process. This means that the set of activities contained in the model represent that interconnected set of actions necessary to transform some input(s) into some output(s).

This notion is captured in the diagram below :

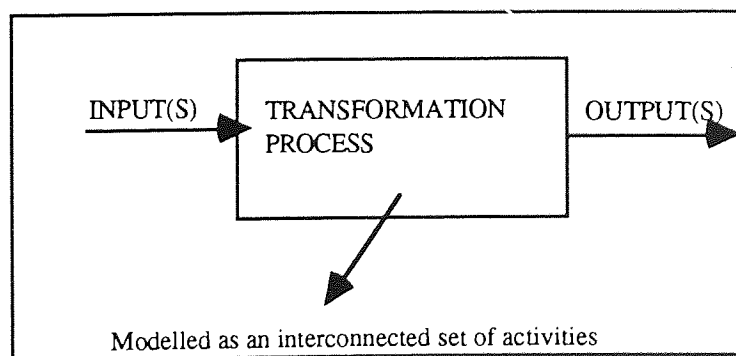


Figure 2.6 The Transformation Process  
(Source : Wilson, 1984 : 25)

Here the idea is that some entity "the input" is changed or transformed into some new form of that same entity "the output" (Checkland and Scholes, 1990 : 33). The

transformation is based on the idea of purposeful action or activity to improve the part of real life which is under scrutiny. It means that "for any relevant purposeful activity there will always be a number of different transformations by means of which it can be expressed, these deriving from different interpretations of its purpose" (Checkland and Scholes, 1990 : 34). Based on this, the transformation is described in the mnemonic CATWOE which is made up of several factors. However, the core of CATWOE according to this approach is the pairing of transformation process T and the W, the *Weltanschauung* or world view which makes the transformation meaningful.

Bearing in mind the complex social construct, the varying roles associated with different "language games", the metabolic characteristics of "interdependent regions", the intricate "web of interlocking systems", the training scheme required will have to be highly sophisticated to ensure that there is smooth consensual transformation of new members, so that their manners will be acceptable to mature members of the ecology and there is efficient "learning" of the rules of the games, in order to be conceived as members of the ecology. So far it seems that these have not been adequately incorporated into the representation of training presented above. Therefore how can there be efficient, effective and smooth transformation and absorption of new members to new ecologies if these factors are absent in the conceptualisation and hence, not adequately, catered for in the training process ?

## **2.6 Reconceptualisation of the Problem**

Wilson (1984 : 8) states that

a model is the explicit interpretation of one's understanding of a situation, or merely of one's ideas about that situation. It can be expressed in mathematics, symbols or words, but it is essentially a description of entities and the relationships between them. It may be prescriptive or illustrative, but above all, it must be useful.



The main thrust of the analyses into the complex relationship between the metabolic multiverse and language is precisely to draw attention to the complexity of conceptualising the problem posed at the beginning of this chapter. It is also aimed at identifying the essential constituents of the model by which the problem will be reconceptualised in this study.

To recapitulate what has been mentioned in Section 2.0 the current research is conceived as an investigation into the economic health and wealth of the national and social development programme in Malaysia, or in other terms, the health and wealth of the consensual transformation of Malaysians joining new and international ecologies for the purpose of common national goals. The global focus is on the human resource development plan. It is especially concerned with the linguistic aspect of this plan. The research seeks evidence to the possible underachievement of the goals and targets of a planned programme which may be impaired by linguistic factors, by inefficient use of language in the new ecologies. The study looks at the issues from the point of view of

(a) how the problem is currently conceptualised, by looking at the national policies, which include the national language policy, and to see whether there is a balance in the policy between the goals of national unity and the targets of VISION2020 especially with regard to effective participation in international communities,

(b) what solutions have been suggested to address the problems conceptualised and diagnosed in (a), and,

(c) how these remedies in (b) are actually implemented, by looking at the nature of the ecology's mechanisms at preparing future Malaysians to become members of new ecologies, that is, the strategies of the current human resource development programme.

To successfully achieve the goals of becoming an industrialised nation by the year 2020 entails the inevitable negotiations with other non-Malaysian or international nations/organisations or playing the card games where values to the suits may not coincide with the values placed by Malaysian members. In a paper presented at a national seminar on "Towards A Developed and Industrialised Society : Understanding the Concept, Implications, and Challenges of VISION2020", Othman Ayub (1991)

commented on nations that do not try to capitalise on the human resource. He says that these countries

....remain observers, not partaking in the exploitation of their resources. They choose by their own default to remain on the fringes of progress. They are content to oscillate between developing and under developed status, utterly dependent on foreign technology and expertise to exploit their dwindling resources. These countries have failed to develop effectively their human resources, to capitalise on their natural wealth and to steer their own destiny (Othman Ayub, 1991 : 1).

Malaysia has no intention of remaining on the fringes of progress. The nature of the programme for Malaysians has been planned in the latest development pronouncement, known as VISION2020. So, the question is : is there adequate provision for Malaysia to capitalise on the available human resource ? More importantly, is the linguistic provision structured by the policy adequate in equipping future Malaysian members of new and international communities to negotiate outcomes favourable to the goals of VISION2020, adequate to be effective players in the associated language games of different ecologies ?

In terms of the framework of this research national development is captured as the metabolic process that a group of players or nation experiences in the efforts of successfully achieving the national goals and targets, or winning the game. In the same vein, human resource development is conceived as the gradual and efficient absorption by the metabolic process of larger communities with regard to given roles. These different ecologies (*Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*) have diverse and different cultures (especially those pertaining to roles and values), repertoires, and may play the games with different rules. This suggests that previous experience in one ecology may not correspond to the criteria of the international ecology. The rate of absorption of members into new ecologies (*Gesellschaft*) depends on the degree of morphogenesis of the new members as provided by the ecologies to which they are members. These changes depend on the mechanisms available within the *Gemeinschaft* ecology. Absorption into new ecologies refer to adapting or acquiring socially the experience or the rules of the game of the new ecology. To experience the new ecology infers that the *Gemeinschaft*

will (*Wesenwille*) and interest may become subservient to the will (*Kurwille*) of the *Gesellschaft* ecology.

The research therefore, is conceived as the investigation into the metabolic process related to the international ecology/community. Does the Malaysian multiverse have the necessary and sufficient mechanisms to transform Malaysians so that there will be a smooth absorption by new ecologies in which the rules of the game are different? How does the Malaysian multiverse provide the "experience" of playing the game prior to becoming a member of the new ecology? It is suspected that the new ecology may not have the mechanisms for smooth absorption of neophytes. The mechanisms of these metabolic multiverses may not cater specifically to new or naive members. Malaysia therefore, has to take compensatory actions to cater for effective, metabolic functioning of its ecologies for providing experience of playing the game for its neophyte members. Otherwise it may be too late and the cost to be paid may be too high.

It is suspected that where there is intense conflict between the diverse ecologies there is less likely to be adequate mechanisms to transform members of competing ecologies. Therefore, the mechanisms for the metabolic processes must be catered by each particular ecology. In this case Malaysia must have the appropriate and effective mechanisms to adequately transform the members of the Malaysian multiverse into effective negotiators, so that there will be a smooth rate of absorption by the new ecologies.

The metabolic process involves the "catastrophe sets" which in this study include code, role and values which constitute culture, bonds and relationships (social networks), negotiation skills and discourse repertoire. How are these affected in the metabolic process? Does change in code mean change in role or value? Does change in code mean change in bonds and relationships? Does change in bonds and relationships mean change in code? What happens to these sets at the meeting of different and non-overlapping ecologies?

The length of time available for absorption of new members to new ecologies is considered to be short. Furthermore, the metabolic process will occur as long as there is a stable ecology/community. And it has been shown that a society or ecology is a dynamic entity, continually changing. Accommodation for new members would not have a chance to take place due to this high metabolic rate. In fact, it is anticipated that accommodation would reduce, if not, retard the speed of the metabolic process. Malaysia cannot be independent of these communities if the goals of the development plan is to be achieved. This was recognised as one of the essential elements in the plan. Malaysia cannot afford to remain at the fringes of these ecologies. Malaysia cannot adopt the neutral strategy. Prolonged neutrality strategies will be ineffective for Malaysia's transition from the *Gemeinschaft* ecology to the *Gesellschaft* ecology. Malaysia will be accorded the "observer" status if there is non-absorption by the communities and non-effective metabolic process will result in non-effectual notional roles designated to Malaysian members in these ecologies. If Malaysian members have no roles to play, they cannot be part of the ecology, they cannot negotiate outcomes of interest to VISION2020, and it follows that they cannot play the game, they may not even be invited to one.

The problem of smooth transformation does not affect all sectors of the Malaysian ecology. Nevertheless, in order to ensure that there will be smooth absorption for all new Malaysian members, the problem must be formally conceptualised, solutions proposed must be adequately conceived and the implementation of these solutions must be efficacious. The current conceptualisation and the solution offered are feared to be inadequate in addressing the complex problems of social and national development by virtue of the complex characteristics of society and language as presented in this chapter.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

An examination of a particular section of the ecology is proposed in order to investigate evidence for furthering the metabolic functions in the interest of Malaysian members with regard to role awareness, negotiation control that draw on the discourse of the community which in turn draws on the code control of these new members. The following chapter presents research into how the problem is currently conceptualised and how the solutions to these are conceived. The chapter discusses Malaysia's attempt at capitalising the human resource of the country by looking at some of the available mechanisms that Malaysia has to facilitate the metabolic process of the nation in order to achieve the goals of VISION2020. The analysis is aimed to show how the problem and the solutions may have been inadequately conceived with reference to all the parameters presented in this chapter. Chapter 3 also serves as an answer to the first of the three questions posed in Section 2.6 of this chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

# THE CURRENT CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE CHALLENGE

### 3.0 Introduction

It is believed that an appropriate and effective remedy could only be proposed if there is accurate diagnosis of the problem. Therefore, the conceptualisation of the problem must first be formally and precisely described so that there would be no risk of a mismatch between problems and solutions proposed. The aim of this chapter is precisely to examine this relationship, in the context of the Malaysian development plans, seen here as a metabolic process. It is argued here that the current conceptualisation and the steps taken to counter these problems within the Malaysian context are feared to be insufficiently sophisticated, with reference to the complex nature of the metabolic process as considered in Chapter 2. Language is as complex as society it mediates, and society cannot exist outside of the language. To teach language involves all the factors discussed earlier. Provision that is restricted to language code is considered to be trivial solutions in the light of the other factors. The added dimension to this mismatch is the question of how these conceptualisations and solutions are maintained throughout the Malaysian development mechanisms.

The analysis offered here surveys the present policies that have been formulated in order for Malaysia to cope with the complexities of the diverse ethnic and code varieties in the metabolic process. These policies are formed mainly for the purpose of unifying the nation as one multiverse, a condition perceived as essential for promoting the economic

and social development of the whole nation. Added to this aspiration Malaysia is now faced with the challenges posed by a new and progressive plan, discussed in greater depth later in this chapter. The questions then, does the conceptualisation of the needs of the Malaysian multiverse reflect the true complexity of the training task for example, as discussed in Chapter 2 ? Do the existing training schemes (with particular reference to the linguistic provision) reflect the needs or, is the provision likely to meet the training needs ?

Malaysia has the largest range of ethnic, linguistic, economic, religious and political diversity to be found in the Southeast Asia region. In order to illustrate this, and the further complexity imposed by the adoption of an additional code to facilitate the development process, the following sections give a brief description of the nature of the various *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* communities that exist within the Malaysian multiverse which, in turn, give rise to the "different discourses" or codes as well as the different roles and values that the members of these different communities adopt or may have to adopt in order to consensually achieve the public goals of the multiverse.

### **3.1 The Malaysian Multiverse**

The interdependent regions of different discourses of Malaysia's multiverse has come into being over the course of the last 150 years. The Malay Peninsula has been described as a bridge which was used by successive generations of migrant peoples in passage southwards from the Asian mainland to the islands archipelago of South-East Asia.

The Malaysian multiverse is made up of thirteen states, each with its own regional codes and thus, form the interdependent regions and different codes of the country (see Section 3.2 below). Together the different states constitute a multiverse unique to Malaysia. In the Malaysian development process, this particular multiverse is "forced" to interact with the international multiverse. The question is does Malaysia provide members of the

multiverse with the required skills for this new form of interaction ?

The thirteen interdependent regions are made up of members of different *Gemeinschaft*, ranging from the indigenous to the non-indigenous (Asmah, 1983) communities. The earliest of the present-day inhabitants of Malaysia are the orang asli of the Peninsula and people such as the Penan of Sarawak and the Rungus of Sabah. The next arrivals to the country, the Malays, represented the second and third wave of movement. Together with the orang asli the Malays make up the indigenous members of the Malaysian multiverse today. They are also referred to as bumiputera (sons of the soil). The third bumiputera category is the Malay-related people who have settled in the country since 1850. These include the Javanese, the Banjarese, Boyanese, Bugis and Minangkabau. The quick assimilation of these groups into the Malay community is a result of common cultural traits and above all, the bond of Islam. In other words they could be conceived as members of one particular *Gemeinschaft*, with Islamic values, bonds and cultural influences and thus, may share the experience of this particular social ecology.

The non-Malay bumiputera category consists of ethnic communities found in the Borneo Territories of Sarawak and Sabah. These are separated at the closest point from the Peninsula by over 650 kilometres. In Sarawak the largest of these communities is the Iban and in Sabah, the Kadazan form the largest single ethnic community, with the Murut, Kelabit, and Kedayan forming a significant minority. These different *Gemeinschaft* communities have different bonds and values from the ones on the mainland. It could be argued here that these people would have different ecology experience from the peoples on the Peninsula.

The non-Bumiputera consists primarily of the Chinese and the Indians, with much smaller communities made up of Arabs, Sinhalese, Eurasians and Europeans. The reason for the massive immigration of Chinese and Indians in the nineteenth century was the rapid economic development that began under the impact of the forces of the Industrial Revolution and the laissez-faire policies followed by the new British colonial



administration in the Straits Settlements in Malaya. Immigration into the Malay Peninsula and into the Borneo territories remained unrestricted until 1931 when the impact of the Great Depression forced the imposition of controls. The outbreak of the Second World War and the Japanese Occupation ended Chinese and Indian immigration (Information Malaysia, 1992 : 73).

All this shows how complex the Malaysian multiverse is, where members of different *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* communities may have some shared ecology experience, overlapping networks or non at all. So, how can Malaysia unite members of these different ecologies to aspire to the same public goals and objectives that are stipulated in the development plans ? Table 3.1 below illustrates the nature of the diverse *Gemeinschaft* communities described. The names in capitals refer to the main *Gemeinschaft* communities :

NAME	GROUP	AREA	NAME	GROUP	AREA
1. BAJAU	Bumiputera	Sabah	33. Kwiiiau	Bumiputera	Sabah
2. Bangladeshi	Indian	Malaysia	34. Lotud	Bumiputera	Sabah
3. BIDAYUH (LAND DAYAK)	Bumiputera	Sarawak	35. Mah Meri	Orang Asli	Peninsula
4. BISAYAH	Bumiputera	Sarawak/Sabah	36. MALAY	Bumiputera	Malaysia
5. Brunei	Bumiputera	Sabah	37. Malayalee	Indian	Peninsula
6. Cantonese	Chinese	Malaysia	38. Mangka'an	Bumiputera	Sabah
7. CHINESE	Chinese	Malaysia	39. Maragang	Bumiputera	Sabah
8. Cocos Islanders	Bumiputera	Sabah	40. MELANAU	Bumiputera	Sarawak
9. Dumpas	Bumiputera	Sabah	41. Minokok	Bumiputera	Sabah
10. Eurasians	Others	Malaysia	42. MURUT	Bumiputera	Sabah
11. Europeans	Others	Malaysia	43. NEGRITO	Orang Asli	Peninsula
12. Foochow	Chinese	Sarawak	44. Orang Sungei	Bumiputera	Sabah
13. Hainanese	Chinese	Malaysia	45. Paitan	Bumiputera	Sabah
14. Henghua	Chinese	Peninsula	46. Pakistani	Indian	Malaysia
15. Hokchia	Chinese	Peninsula	47. Filipino	Others	Sabah
16. Hokchiru	Chinese	Peninsula	48. Penan	Bumiputera	Sabah
17. Hokkien	Chinese	Peninsula	49. Rumanau	Bumiputera	Sabah
18. IBAN	Bumiputera	Sarawak	50. Rungus	Bumiputera	Sabah
19. Idahan	Bumiputera	Sabah	51. Semai	Orang Asli	Peninsula
20. Ilanun	Bumiputera	Sabah	52. Semelai	Orang Asli	Peninsula
21. INDIAN	Indian	Malaysia	53. Sikh	Indian	Peninsula
22. Indonesian	Bumiputera	Malaysia	54. Sinhalese	Indian	Peninsula
23. Jaffna Tamil	Indian	Peninsula	55. Sino-Native	Bumiputera	Sabah
24. Jahai	Orang Asli	Peninsula	56. Sulu	Bumiputera	Sabah
25. JAKUN	Orang Asli	Peninsula	57. Tambanuo	Bumiputera	Sabah
26. KADAZAN	Bumiputera	Sabah	58. Tamil	Indian	Malaysia
27. KAYAN	Bumiputera	Sarawak	59. Telegu	Indian	Malaysia
28. KEDAYAN	Bumiputera	Sabah, Sarawak	60. Temiar	Orang Asli	Peninsula
29. KELABIT	Bumiputera	Sarawak	61. Teochew	Chinese	Malaysia
30. KENYAH	Bumiputera	Sarawak	62. Thai	Others	Peninsula
31. Khak (Hakka)	Chinese	Malaysia	63. Tidong	Bumiputera	Sabah
32. Kwongsai.	Chinese	Peninsula	64. Vietnamese	Others	Peninsula

Table 3.1 *Gemeinschaft* Communities

(Source : Population Groups Malaysia (Classification based on 1991 Census)

The composition of the Orang Asli communities in Peninsula Malaysia is categorised in three main groups : Negrito, Senoi and Proto-Malay. The distribution of these communities in the Peninsula also varies and this is shown in the following table :

Group	Area	Estimated Population*
<b>NEGRITOS</b>		
Bateq	Kelantan, Pahang, Terengganu	988
Jahai	Kelantan, Perak	782
Kensui	Kedah	134
Kintak	Perak	107
Lanoh	Perak	218
Mendriq	Kelantan	135
<b>SENOI</b>		
Che Wong	Pahang	204
Jahut	Pahang	2,885
Mah Meri	Selangor	1,960
Semai	Pahang, Perak, Selangor	25,248
Semoq Beri	Kelantan, Pahang, Terengganu	2,486
Temiar	Kelantan, Pahang, Perak	12,826
<b>PROTO-MALAY</b>		
Jakun	Johor, Pahang	14,263
Orang Kanaq	Johor	37
Orang Laut	Johor	1,625
Orang Seletar	Johor	1,088
Semelai	N.Sembilan, Pahang	3,320
Temuan	Johor, Melaka, Pahang, N.Sembilan, Selangor	14,501

\* Figures taken from the 1991 Census Report

Table 3.2 Orang Asli Groups in Peninsula Malaysia  
(Source : Information Malaysia, 1992-93 : 74)

The composition and the percentages of the three major ethnic *Gemeinschaft* communities, the Malays, Chinese and Indians in Malaysia according to the 1980 census is shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below :

	PENINSULA				SABAH			SARAWAK		
	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others	Bumi	Chinese	Others	Bumi	Chinese	Others
(000)	6,315	3,865	1,171	75	838	164	9	906*	385	17

\* = Iban : 396,280; Malays : 257,804; Bidayuh : 107,549; Melanau : 75,126; Other Bumiputera : 69,065.

Table 3.3 Ethnic Composition : Malaysia (according to 1980 census)  
(Source : Information Malaysia, 1992-93 : 76)

Percentage	Peninsula	Sabah	Sarawak	Malaysia
Malays	55.25	--	--	--
Malays and other Bumiputera	--	82.9	69.3	59.0
Chinese	33.9	16.2	29.4	32.1
Indians	10.2	--	--	0.7
Others	0.65	0.9*	1.3*	0.7
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

\* including Indians

Table 3.4 Percentage of Ethnic Composition : Malaysia  
(Source : Information Malaysia, 1992 - 1993 : 76)

The members of the Malaysian multiverse is projected to increase from 18 million in 1990 to 22.7 million in the year 2000. The growth of the population, however, will be at a slower rate of 2.3 per cent per annum compared with 2.6 per cent during the decade of the eighties, as shown below :

	1990		2000		Average Annual Growth Rate (%) 1991-2000
	('000)	%	('000)	%	
Total Population	18,010.2	100.0	22,660.5	100.0	2.3
Age Group					
0 - 14	6,752.0	37.5	7,890.1	34.8	1.6
15 - 64	10,589.7	58.8	13,773.5	60.8	2.6
65+	668.5	3.7	996.9	4.4	4.0
Age Dependency Ratio*	70		64		

\* The age dependency ratio is the ratio of dependants to every 100 persons of working age. Dependants refer to those age below 15 and those 65 and above.

Table 3.5 Population Growth  
(Source : Table 6.1 Population Structure 1990-2000 in OPP, 1991 : 160)

### 3.2 The Diversity of Codes in the Malaysian Multiverse

With such ethnic diversities Malaysia has about eighty languages and these do not include the foreign languages, such as French, German and Japanese. The count includes

Bahasa Malaysia, all the vernacular languages (indigenous and non-indigenous), Arabic, English and Thai, plus the creoles namely, Baba Malay and the Portuguese creole. With such diverse code and ethnic varieties, Malaysia has been described as a "multi-modal nation" (Fishman, 1972b; Rustow, 1968). With so many codes how do the different social ecologies share ecology experiences, values, establish bonds and relationships ? What code is selected for such interactions ?

Such diverse "web of interlocking systems" pose Malaysia with the enormous challenge of uniting the different ecologies to aspire to one goal, viz., the public goals of VISION2020, Malaysia's latest development plan. What has Malaysia done towards achieving this goal ?

The following gives a brief background of the various codes that exist within the Malaysian multiverse. This however, concentrates on the four main codes, namely, Malay, Chinese, Indian and English. Following that the current solution to the challenge of uniting these different ethnic *Gemeinschaft* communities is presented.

### **3.2.1 The Malay Language**

Malay is the indigenous language of Peninsular Malaysia and the islands south and southeast off this peninsula. The records of the Chinese traveller I-Tsing of the seventh century A.D. certified the existence of this language and its function as the lingua franca of the region, and of the language of philosophy and religion. The language flourished as the language of administration during the Srivijaya rule of the Malay Peninsula and the archipelago from the 7th to the 13th century A.D. It continued this function in the time of the Melaka empire in the 15th and 16th centuries. It had always been the language of the courts of the kingdoms of the Malay archipelago, and the language of administration and official business by Malay empires and royal houses not only in Peninsular Malaysia but also in Sumatra, Brunei and Sulu.

The spread of religions in the early centuries to the Malay archipelago from India was done through this language. The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism during the Srivijaya empire in the early centuries AD to the Malay Archipelago from India was conducted in Malay. Christian missionaries chose High Malay (refer Asmah, 1986 below) to disseminate Christianity. As a rule at that time groups who are visited by these missionaries are those who have not been visited by Islam and such groups were those whose first language was not Malay but needed Malay as a form of interecology communication. The Muslim missionaries also saw it fit to use this language and not any other in spreading the Islamic teachings to the natives of the Peninsula and the islands.

Malay continued to be the language of communication between the natives and between the people and the foreigners during the next Malay empire, the Melaka empire. This was after the decline of the Srivijaya empire and this latter empire lasted until 1511 when Melaka fell into Portuguese hands. Thus it seems clear here that the discourse repertoire during that time was Malay although there were non-overlapping networks and diverse *Gesellschaft* goals/purposes.

The Malay Peninsula, due to its geographical position, was also an important anchorage for traders who came from India and Europe. Trading in the ports of the Malay Peninsula and the various islands of the region was reported to be in Malay. The first important trading settlement on the Malay Peninsula, the Sultanate of Malacca, already had a number of different *Gemeinschaft* communities in the fifteenth century.

It has also been documented that the early Chinese settlers who have been in the Peninsula for hundreds of years did not complaint about having to use Malay in their daily trade and communication. They appeared to have accepted the fact that for them to stay in Malaya they had to have at least a knowledge of spoken Malay, a knowledge of the *Gemeinschaft* code, although it was for a *Gesellschaft* interest.

Prior to the "settlement" and to the "protectorate" which led to the establishment of British settlements and protectorate, Malay was also already established as an intellectualised language at that time. It was the medium used in communication on topics pertaining to religion and philosophy. During that time, Javanese had the largest population of speakers of more than seventy million. With such a long history, Javanese would have been the language of the Archipelago, it would have been the logical choice. However, Malay with its simpler phonological system compared with Javanese became the lingua franca of the entire Malay archipelago. It is this simplicity which made Malay more accessible and easier to master by non-native Malay speakers.

Although during the British colonial government and prior to 1957 Malay was considered as vernacular specifically in the education system of Malaya, it was in fact the official language of the Malay states, in particular, the unfederated Malay states of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu and Johor. This means that Malay had already gained the status of official language long before the colonial government.

On a more current note Malay has been shown to have several varieties and these have different functions in different environments within the Malaysian multiverse. The varieties and sub-varieties of Malay are presented here based on the categories differentiated by Asmah (1986) :

Variety	Sub-varieties
Royal Malay	No sub-variety
Commoner's Malay	Refined Malay Educated Malay Coarse Malay Colloquial Malay

Table 3.6 Varieties and Sub-varieties of Malay

In terms of Ferguson's notion of diglossia Royal Malay is classified as the H (high) variety and depending on some factors Refined Malay, Educated Malay or Colloquial Malay can be the L (low) variety.

A different variety of code is selected based on the context, social distance between social actors, topic of interaction and the mood of the interactors. These varieties of Malay highlight the complexity of using one language which is a language native to the country. Bahasa Malaysia however, is not the only code in the country. Furthermore, how do the different members of different communities who do not have shared ecology experience of Malay select the different Malay codes ? Do members of the Chinese and Indian *Gemeinschaft* community select these codes when interacting with members of the Malay *Gemeinschaft* ? Is there provision in the Malaysian ecology for selection of Malay by non-members of this *Gemeinschaft* ? With such complexity of selecting a variety of one code, how then, does Malaysia cope with the imposition of another non-indigenous code, this time to facilitate national development ? How efficient and effective are members of the various *Gemeinschaften* in using this new code ?

### **3.2.2 Other Indigenous Codes**

Other indigenous codes of Malaysia have not acquired any other status other than that of the vernacular. These languages predominate in the Borneo territories of Sabah and Sarawak. Some of these native codes are Iban, Land Dayak, Melanau, Bisayah, Murut, Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah, and Punan or Pennan. Other indigenous codes on the mainland are the codes of the aborigines or orang asli who inhabit the jungles. They are classified into four major groups : Negrito, Senoi, Proto-Malay and tribes which do not fit into the three groups : the Semelai of Negeri Sembilan, and the Jahut, Che Wong and Semoq Beri of Pahang (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 above).

Apart from these indigenous codes, the Malaysian multiverse also sustains a rich variety of non-indigenous codes. The three most important ones are Chinese, Tamil and the code of the colonial heritage, English.

### 3.2.3 The Chinese and Indian Languages

Chinese language with its various dialects and the languages of the Indian Peninsula and Ceylon which comprise Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu and Sinhalese (refer Table 3.1) are the most important of the non-indigenous languages. Speakers of these languages are found all over the country. Initially the Chinese languages were mostly found in the urban and tin-mining areas. However, the languages have gradually spread into the rural areas as well. The nature of the immigration of the Indians themselves resulted in Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam to be concentrated on the rubber estates while the Sikhs whose language is Punjabi are mainly concentrated in big towns and cities.

In terms of the research framework, these people are members of different ethnic *Gemeinschaft* communities and may not have shared or overlapping ecology experience. They would have differing *Gemeinschaft* interests, contrasting social actions, conflicting values, different principles, non-overlapping bonds and varying roles. Therefore are there adequate mechanisms to unite members of these different ecologies when they have to "bond", to compromise their *Gemeinschaft* values, to adopt different values, establish different bonds, adopt new roles for attainment of *Gesellschaft* goals ?

### 3.2.4 English - the Colonial Heritage

To add to the existing diversity of codes Malaysia sustains another non-indigenous code. For Malaysia, English is a code inherited from the British who came to Malaysia in the eighteenth century. It has been described as the most valuable legacy of colonialism (Asmah, 1982 : 53). The Peninsula Malaysia during that time had consisted of a number of states with its own form of government independent of one another. The adoption of the whole peninsula as a protectorate of the British colonial government was among the first attempts to unite the states.



With the advent of colonial power English was established as a language of administration in the late 19th and early 20th century as British control and influence extended to the Malay Peninsula. The British initially came as tenants who leased land from the Sultan of Kedah. However as time went by, they became "protectors" to the Malay states.

In colonial times, the two official languages in use were English and Malay. Malay was retained as an official language of the Malay States and expatriate officials as well as the employees of trading, mining and rubber companies were expected to learn Malay, Chinese or Tamil in order to communicate with their employees. During this time, English was the dominant language of power among the non-Europeans involved in the administration of colonial Malaya. It was used at all levels of government transactions (e.g. revenue collection and supervision of mining), i.e. for *Gesellschaft* interests.

English was mainly used in the former Federated Malay States (Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang and Perak), The Straits Settlements (Penang and Melaka), Sabah and Sarawak. Malay was mostly used in the Unfederated Malay States (Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu). However, correspondence among the Sultans at all times was in the Malay language.

In terms of the social functions of the different ethnic codes during the colonial times the situation has been described as such that Malay was spoken by sultans, paddy farmers and fishermen, the Chinese languages were spoken by gambier farmers, tin miners and merchants and the Indian languages were spoken by rubber tappers, railway workers and policemen. English in those times was restricted to British governors, bureaucrats and schoolboys (de Terra, 1983 : 533).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, English was taught and then used as the medium of instruction of schools in the urban centres. By the end of the colonial era, English had become "a lingua franca among the more educated sections of the

community" (Le Page, 1964). However, with the departure of the colonial power the majority of those who can claim genuinely English as mother tongue left the country and the considerable motivating factor for maintaining its place as an indigenous language disappears. Nevertheless, for the purposes of developing the Malaysian multiverse, English retains its importance.

### 3.2.5 Other Non-Indigenous Codes

To add to the diverse codes within the Malaysian multiverse, it is also quite common to meet Thai-speaking Malays in the northern states of Kelantan, Perlis, and Kedah, who are immigrants from southern Thailand. This is the effect of Siamese imperialism on Kedah in the nineteenth century. Villages of Thai-speaking Malays are commonly found in this northern state.

Arabic is also considered as a non-indigenous code but it has a greater bearing on the Malays. Although the early Muslim missionaries from Arabia and India were traders, Arabic was not transmitted to the Malays through buying and selling. It was passed on as part and parcel of Islam via the religious teachers of the religious schools. Arabic is taught and is the medium of instruction in the Arabic schools run by Malays. The main purpose of learning Arabic was to understand the Quran and Hadith and all those concerned with the teaching of Islam. Hence, what was taught to the Malays was the language that was used in the religious texts and not the Arabic that was used by the Arabs in day to day communication. It is therefore, not a code for intra-*Gemeinschaft* interaction or the social networks.

Other non-indigenous and immigrant languages such as Javanese, Achenese and Mandailing have migrated from Java and Sumatra. Javanese speakers are commonly found in various parts in Selangor, the Achenese speakers are scattered all over in Kedah while Mandailing speakers are mostly found in Southern Perak.

### 3.2.6 Pidgins and Creoles

Creole languages are also in existence in Malaysia and the most significant one is the Portuguese Creole which is spoken in Malacca by a very small community of the descendants of Portuguese colonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Speakers of this language refer to it as Kristang which means "Christian speech" and is said to have developed from pidginised Portuguese of the fifteenth century which is also spoken in other Portuguese colonies in Asia and Africa. During Portuguese rule Portuguese was used by the rulers in their communication with their own people but pidginised Portuguese and the local language, Malay, was used in their interaction with the common people.

Bazaar Malay is said to be the most common pidgin language in Malaysia. It is commonly used as a tool for interecology communication. This code is said to have Malay as the basis while there is a free inflow of English, Chinese and Tamil vocabulary. It is not uncommon to find members of the Malay *Gemeinschaft* using this lingua franca when they interact with non-members.

### 3.2.7 A Categorisation of the Codes within the Malaysian Multiverse

The description of the different and diverse codes given above has been categorised into Indigenous, Chinese and Indian/Pakistan/Sri Lanka/Bangladesh as shown in the table that follows :

Indigenous	Chinese	Indian/Pakistan/Sri Lanka/Bangladesh
Malay	Cantonese/Kwongsai	Tamil
Bajau	Hokkien/Fukkien/Amoy	Telegu
Bisayah	Hailam/Hainanese	Malayali
Jakun	Hakka/Khek	Sinhalese
Kayan	Hikchia/Henghua	Punjabi
Kedayan	Hokchiu/Foochow	Bengali
Kelabit	Teochew	Bangladeshi
Kenyah	Mandarin	Urdu
Melanau		Gujerati
Murut		Benarese
Negrato		Maharata
Senoi		

Table 3.7 A Summary of the Diverse Codes within the Malaysian Multiverse (not including English)

In terms of repertoires introduced by Platt and Weber (1980) the various repertoires of the different social ecologies are categorised as follows :

ETHNIC GEMEINSCHAFT COMMUNITY	VERBAL REPERTOIRE OF THE COMMUNITY (usually contains)	VERBAL REPERTOIRE OF THE COMMUNITY (may contain)
MALAY	(a) Bahasa Malaysia (b) Regional /(dialect) Malay	(c) English
CHINESE	(a) Native Chinese Dialect (b) Dominant Chinese Dialect (c) One or more additional Chinese dialect (d) Bazaar Malay	(e) English (f) Baba Malay (g) Bahasa Malaysia (h) Mandarin
INDIAN	(a) An Indian Language (especially Tamil) (b) Coarse/Bazaar Malay	(c) Bahasa Malaysia (d) English (e) Another Indian Language (f) A dominant Chinese Dialect

Table 3.8 Verbal Repertoires of the Different Ethnic *Gemeinschaft* Communities within the Malaysian Multiverse  
(Adapted from Table 2.3, Platt and Weber, 1980)

Although this is the situation approximately fifteen years ago and may not reflect the present language ecology it is quite obvious that there is language diversity not only between one individual and another, but also, within one individual. Not only that but there appears to be no overlapping communities. They each have different sets of networks and bonds. Bahasa Malaysia which is the national language is not categorised as one of the main repertoires of the Chinese or Indian community. Thus, how effective

has this been as the mechanism for national unity ? In addition, English is not considered as one of the main repertoires for any of the members of the various *Gemeinschaft* communities. Yet, for the purposes of negotiations with the international multiverse, a prerequisite of the goals of national development, this code has been selected as the code to facilitate the development process. This is an inherited code mastered by only a small fraction of the members of the different *Gemeinschaft* . Therefore, how successful will Malaysia be in the global negotiation process if mastery of the code of negotiations is less than efficient ? Are there adequate mechanisms in the Malaysian multiverse to ensure that this code is efficiently "mastered" by members of the local multiverse for the purpose of negotiating the goals of interest to VISION2020 ? Also, is mastery of the code sufficient for such purposes ?

In order to illustrate further the complexity of the communication patterns in the country, Asmah (1985) has suggested that this can be viewed at two levels : the official and the unofficial. In the Malaysian context, official refers to

the communication used in the conduct of official ceremonies and meetings, in the writing of reports such as documents and correspondence at the governmental level as well as in the communication between the government and the people.

The choice of code at the official level is said to be Bahasa Malaysia (refer to Section 3.4.1). The complexity is significant when the pattern is viewed at the unofficial level where *Gemeinschaft* bonds and relationships would influence the choice of codes :

CODE	ETHNIC <i>GEMEINSCHAFT</i> COMMUNITY
<b>Malay</b>	(i) within the Malay group
<b>English</b>	(ii) among the non-English educated people of various groups among English-educated people at the intra- and inter-group level
<b>Mandarin</b>	among Chinese-educated Chinese
<b>Tamil</b>	among Tamil-educated Indians and among first speakers of Tamil
<b>Mother tongue</b>	within each specific group
<b>Neighbour's</b>	various groups
<b>Mother tongue</b>	
<b>Pidgins</b>	all groups with pidgins of their choice

Table 3.9 Code Choice of Different Ethnic *Gemeinschaft* Communities  
(Source : Table 1 Language choice at the unofficial level in Malaysia, Asmah, 1985 : 21)

To aggravate the complexity even further, Asmah (1985) also exposes different formats of communication. These formats are the result of "not only of the policy but also of the attitudes of the users" and it depends on the "the situations, the ethnic membership and the educational background of the interlocutors." The three formats described are : *letterhead format* where the formal address of welcome and words of good wishes in for example, award-giving ceremonies conducted by private bodies, are given in Malay; a *patchwork format* where it involves bilingual (English and Malay) code-switching and code-mixing among homogeneously Malay groups and *stripe format* in the communication over Radio Malaysia where each of the four languages in Malaysia (Malay, English, Mandarin, Tamil) has its own networks. However are these formats of communication to which members of the Malaysian multiverse have experience adequate for them to participate efficiently in the international *Gesellschaft* multiverse ? Also how does Malaysia cope when the international dimension is added to this communication system ? What is the format for negotiations with new *Gesellschaft* communities at the official level ? What code is adopted in the interface community ? How does Malaysia prepare the members of the multiverse with the skills for participation in the new *Gesellschaft* ecology with regard to code ? An answer to the last question could be formulated by viewing the nature of the education system discussed below.

### **3.3 The Different Education Systems (Prior to Independence)**

An initial reaction to such diversities is the setting up of four different school systems. In terms of the education system prior to the Independence, the British introduced a formal system of education which at that time was administered in accordance with the colonial policy of *divide et impera* which meant that education was available in four language media namely Malay, Chinese, Tamil and English. These are four separate schemes serving different *Gemeinschaft* purposes, thus creating non-overlapping social networks and ecologies. During this time, education was viewed "as a means of assuring a people contented in their assigned lot" (Andaya and Andaya, 1982 : 264).

The colonial policy towards education was very much affected by the various ethnic *Gemeinschaften*. Only a small local élite would be given the privilege of an English education to equip them for clerical duties within the colonial government. For the vast majority of the local people, the government believed it as enough that each group be educated in its own language and learn to accept its allotted *Gemeinschaft* role and purpose in life as conceived by the colonial rulers. In short, the Europeans were to govern and administer, the immigrant Chinese and Indians to labour in the extractive industries (mining and rubber) and commerce, and the Malays to till the fields (Andaya and Andaya, 1982: 222).

These four systems were the Malay education system, the English education system using English as the medium, the Chinese education system with Mandarin as the medium and the Indian education system which had Tamil as the medium. In order to illustrate this diversity a brief history of the system is presented beginning with the Malay Language schools.

### **3.3.1 The Malay Language Schools**

During the pre-British Period some form of Malay education had existed among the local population. The form of education was non-formal which emphasised Quranic teachings, good behaviour and morality, spiritual knowledge and martial arts, i.e. concentration on *Gemeinschaft* principles, values and rules of conduct. Skills were learnt largely in the performance of the daily tasks of the village and special skills, like metal-craft and the more exotic art of Malay medicine, sorcery and letter-writing or the warrior skills of fencing, the making of talismans and fine daggers (*kris*) were taught by recognised master craftsmen. Upward mobility through education was then a virtually non-existent phenomenon.

At a more formal level there was the religious system of education known as the *pondok* (hut) school established by the local *ulamak* (Islamic scholar) and the students would

build huts around the *madrasah* (religious school). A notable feature of the Malay society then as now, was Islam and traditional Malay education was primarily concerned with the transmission of Quranic teachings.

A formal system of essentially secular Malay education was gradually introduced with the beginnings of British rule. When the British returned after the Japanese occupation of the region, they came with a commitment to prepare the country for self government and eventual full independence. The proposals for reorganisation of the school system and for Bilingual Education appeared in Post-War Malaya in a report called the Cheeseman Programme 1945-1949. In it contained the plans to have four types of school at the primary level and two types only at the secondary level. The primary schools were identified as English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools. According to this Programme, the vernacular schools would have to be turned into bilingual schools by introducing English as another medium of instruction in each one of them.

Two types were allowed at the secondary level : an English medium school with the teaching of the mother tongue as a subject, and a school with the mother-tongue. These have Malay, Chinese or Tamil as the main medium of instruction but have English as the second language.

### **3.3.2 The Chinese Language Schools**

Chinese education in the Peninsula remained for a long time in the hands of the Chinese communities themselves. The curriculum of Chinese schools for more than a thousand years focused essentially in the Chinese classical teaching, and rote-learning remained the basic method. Prior to 1900 the first Chinese schools established in the Federated States of Malaya were of this type. There were referred to as "old type" schools to distinguish them from the "modern" Chinese schools of China that were developed from about 1903 onwards. The old type schools were nothing more than a group of about twenty children in a makeshift classroom within the precincts of a temple, an ancestral hall, a business



house or the residence of some local leader. Pupils were taught the precepts of the Chinese classics through persistent repetition.

Chinese education had its beginnings in Singapore in 1829. In Sabah and Sarawak the earliest Chinese schools were located at Paku in 1872 and Bau in 1874. Following this during the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century several private institutions, financed by Chinese parents themselves, employing both teachers and textbooks imported from China sprung up to serve the Chinese community in the Peninsula and also in British Borneo territories.

From the viewpoint of national unity, the Chinese language schools posed several problems. Their curriculum focused on China not Malaya, so the students were better prepared for life in China than in Malaya. In addition there was no higher education in the Chinese language in Malaya then, so the graduates of the Chinese language secondary schools had to travel to China for higher education. Their study in China further alienated them from life in Malaya.

### **3.3.3 The Tamil Language Schools**

Formal Indian education in Malaysia was pioneered in the first half of the nineteenth century by missionaries who opened Tamil schools in Penang, Melaka and Singapore. These proved unsuccessful and only after the 1870s did Tamil schools become established in these areas.

Like the Chinese, the Tamils showed no interest in the Malay schools. Unlike the Chinese community the Tamil population did not have its own educational resources nor the relatively tightly-knit social framework of the Chinese mining settlement. In 1900 the provision of state funds for Tamil education was part of British policy. The predominant type of Tamil school was the estate school, often a makeshift arrangement. Primary text books were acquired from India or Ceylon. Under such conditions the type of education

supplied in the estate school at the time was at best of an extremely rudimentary nature. The Tamil language schools which were mostly located in the rubber plantations enabled the children to maintain links with their Indian heritage and the Hindu religion. They did not, however, promote a sense of unity within Malaya.

### 3.3.4 The English Language Schools

During the British administration, English was considered a language to be taught to the élite only. Training in English and English-medium education was provided only to heirs of the royal and aristocratic Malay families to prepare them for employment as minor officials on the colonial civil service and the state governments. In 1870, Frank Swettenham, at that time the Resident of Perak, was among those who warned against teaching English to the people :

....I do not think that it is advisable to attempt to give the children of an agricultural population an indifferent knowledge of a language that to all but the very few would only unfit them for the duties of life and make them discontent with anything like manual labour (*Perak Annual Report*, 1890, quoted in Sadka, 1968 : 292).

The authorities encouraged Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools, but provided only as many English-medium schools as were necessary to furnish the colony with clerks and civil servants.

English education was first introduced in Malaysia when Penang Free School was established in 1816. These schools were set up mainly in the urban areas. The curriculum in these schools was patterned after the grammar school curriculum in Great Britain. The main aim of these institutions is to produce junior administrative officers to support the British administration.

Thus, it seems quite clear from the history of the diverse ethnic *Gemeinschaft* communities and codes within the Malaysian multiverse, and the separate education

systems set up to cope with these diversities described above that, policies formulated must have national unity as its first objective in order to smooth the path of development. Policies formulated would have to consider the nature of the diverse *Gemeinschaft* communities and codes.

The following section shows Malaysia's effort in uniting these various members of different *Gemeinschaft*. These efforts are conceived in the form of a National Language Policy and the National Education Policy which are perceived as the essential mechanisms for Malaysia's national economic and social development.

### **3.4 The Malaysian Mechanisms for the Metabolic Process**

In the light of the diversity of the Malaysian multiverse, Malaysia has adopted several strategies to create a competitive ecology within the Malaysian multiverse in order to compete with members of the international ecology, and for Malaysians to negotiate successful outcomes for the development of the country. With reference to the diversity of the ecologies within this local multiverse, the first and universal objective of the policies formulated is the unification of the members of the different *Gemeinschaft* communities that exist in the country. The next set of objectives is to prepare Malaysia for entry into a new multiverse, the international business multiverse, in line with the new development plan to be discussed later.

#### **3.4.1 The National Language Policy**

In terms of a national language Appel and Müysken (1987 : 46) have highlighted what governments can or must do in multilingual countries, particularly in third world or recently independent countries. These countries

often have to choose a national language, they have to further develop or cultivate it to make it more useful for various communicative needs, they

have to foster its spread, they have to make decisions with regard to the position of the minority languages, etc.

The need to unify all the members of the various *Gemeinschaft* communities gave rise to the formulation of a policy that established one national code for the country. Realising the need for a unifying tool for a newly independent nation the first Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Rahman suggested that the country has a national language. He stated that

It is only right as a developing nation we should want to have a language of our own....If the national language is not introduced, our country will be devoid of unified character and personality - a nation without a soul and life (quoted in Noss, 1967 : 12).

Here there appears to be a strong perception of the problems facing Malaysia in adopting the language policy to unify the nation, a perception of the notions highlighted in Chapter 2.

Within the context of a developing country with diverse linguistic heritage Fishman (1968 : 6) has said that

in the absence of a common, nation-wide, ethnic and cultural identity new nations proceed to plan and create such an identity through national symbols that can lead to common mobilisation above, beyond, and at the expense of pre-existing ethnic-cultural particularities. It is at this point that a national language is frequently invoked....as a unifying symbol.

And Kelman (1971 : 71) argues that

language is a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system.

Malaysia realises the need for a national language and the language policy after the independence in 1957 placed Malay as the sole national language "to unify the cultural and national aspirations of Malaya". The decision to make Malay the national language

and the sole official language ten years after Independence was among the recommendations of the Reid Constitutional Commission set up in the name of the Queen of England and the rulers of the Malay states. This status of national language for Malay was provided for in Article 152 Clause (1) of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia or better known as the Language Act.

Various definitions have been assigned to these nomenclatures : national and official languages. A language is official because it has been declared so in authoritative policy statements, or because it is used for official purposes (Conrad and Fishman, 1977 : 8). Keller (1983 : 255) illustrates the second usage of official when he suggests that Spanish has attained a "sort of official status" because of its use in certain domains, especially education, media, civil rights, and voting. Ruiz (1990 : 18) summarises official languages as official language -(d) which refers to a language declared official for public governmental functions by an administrative authority and, official language -(p) which refers to a language used for official governmental purposes. Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) in Malaysia, Quecha in Peru and Pilipino in the Philippines according to this categorisation is official language -(d) where the language is indigenous. Official language in the Malaysian context has been specified as in Section 3.2 above.

In terms of the national language Asmah (1985) argues that it is natural that Malay be the official language of the Malaysian multiverse since, as the "national language" it is symbolic of nationhood:

To the Malays and the bumiputera people, that the choice fell on Malay was the most natural thing. It is the language of the soil....Superficially, it would have been fair to choose a language which is not identifiable with any community - fair and square. However, traditions die hard. The Malays, as a race would rather die than lose their language to a foreign one. The motto Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa ('Language is the soul of the nation') is deeply ingrained in them....Besides, the national language not only has a utility role; it also has a symbolic function. It exudes emotion - one that gives the feeling of pride and attachment to one's country (Asmah, 1985 : 45 - 46).

Edwards (1985) and Kelman also discuss the role of language as a symbol of nationalism. Kelman (1971 : 31) states that a "national language serves as a major object and symbol of attachment by bridging immediate loyalties with transcendent ones". Ness (1987 : 9) identifies "national language : as a language the use of which is geographically or functionally extensive" and Ruiz (1990) suggests that an example of this is the way the people in the United States speak of English as the national language.

The difference between the national and official language within the Malaysian multiverse has been defined by the Attorney-General in 1972 where he announced that

National is to be taken in its emotive or moral rather than legal connotation. Therefore, as opposed to the concept of Official Language, meaning the language to be used by the Government in the conduct of its business, the expression 'National Language' is to be taken to mean a language which should be used by individuals, by groups, private and public bodies, and in a particular nation in every field and activity of life. It is a national language; it belongs to the nation and of anyone who considers himself as a loyal national of that country. In my view, the drafters of the Constitution wanted the National Language as a catalyst in the moulding of a nation in this country (Attorney-General, Tan Sri Abdul Kadir bin Yusof (1971), quoted in Asmah, 1979 : 32).

As a developing nation Fishman (1968 : 7) also stated that

....the immediate operational needs of the country may well necessitate the short-term recognition of another or multiple languages.... Thus some nations have hit upon the expediency of recognising several local languages as permissible for early education (i.e. grade one to three or even six), whereas the preferred national language is retained for intermediate education and a non-indigenous language of international significance is retained (at least temporarily) for government activity and higher education.

With regard to the immediate operational need of the country Malaysia thus recognised the functional importance of English. The adoption, however, is not temporary. Clause (2) of the Act accorded English the status of an official language for a transition period of ten years after Independence. It stipulated that

Notwithstanding the provision of Clause (1) for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, The English language may be used in both Houses of Parliament, the Legislative Assembly of every State for all other official purposes.

"Official purposes" here is as explained above.

In September 1967, ten years after Independence, a new Language Bill was issued, which was a revised edition of the Language Act of 1957. This Bill, while seeking to make the national language as the one and only official language of the country also allowed the retention of English (and other languages). Clause (3) of this revised Bill gave the right to the federal Government or any State government to use any language of any other community in the Federation for such purposes as may be deemed necessary to the public interest. However, the revised National Language Act in 1971 rendered Malay the status and role of the sole official language. This was provided for in Clause (2) of the revised Act which stated that

Save as provided in this Act and subject to the safeguards contained in Article 152 (1) of the Constitution relating to any other language and the language of any other community in Malaysia the national language shall be used for official purposes.

In terms of Ruiz's (1990 : 20) typology of language policies Malaysia's strategy would be the national language -(s) which refers to a language symbolic of national language is designated as an official language -(d), a policy similar to one adopted for Burmese in Burma, Quecha in Peru and Swahili in Kenya and Tanzania.

Clause (3) of this Act permitted the use of translation in any other language of official documents, or communications by the Federal or State Government for such purposes as may be deemed necessary in the public interest. The use of English for official purposes is permitted when the situation demands it and only the Paramount Ruler who can authorise it.

Clause 61 of the Malaysia Bill 1962 made special provision for the use of the English language in the two Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak. In Sabah and Sarawak, the implementation of Malay as the official language was much later than in Peninsular Malaysia. These two states which became independent of the British rule on entering

Malaysia in 1963 had a grace period of ten years for phasing out the use of English as an official language.

In addition to the provision on the English language, Clause 61 also provided for the use of the native languages in legal affairs in the Borneo States. The provision stated that

(5) Notwithstanding anything in Article 152, a native language in current use in Borneo State may be used in native courts or native law and, in the case of Sarawak, until otherwise provided by enactment by the State legislature, by a member addressing the State Legislative Assembly.

The state of Sabah has been able to meet the deadline of the implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as the only official language within the period provided for in Clause 61 of the Malaysia Bill 1963. Sarawak however, had prolonged the transition period. It was only in 1985 that Sarawak was able to see the situation in which Malay was the sole official language.

Article 152 of the Constitution of Malaysia specified the position of the national language and English. The subsequent clauses also provided for the use of English as the language of legislation. This was endorsed by Clause (3) which stated that

Notwithstanding the provision of Clause (1) for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, the authoritative texts

(a) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament, and

(b) of all Acts of Parliament and all subsidiary legislation issued by the Federal Government,

shall be in English. Clause 8 of the National Language Act 1967 secured the continued use of English where it was stated that

All proceedings (other than the giving of evidence by a witness) in the Federal Court, the High Court or any subsidiary court shall be in the national language or in English language or partly in the national language and partly in the English language.



As a result of this the implementation of the national language as the official language in the law courts is somewhat staggered. Some cases were heard in the national language before the October 1981 Directive requiring the use of Malay was issued.

A new language Bill was passed which contained an amendment to Section 8 of the National Language Act. This was done towards the end of 1989 when the Parliament passed the National Language (Amendment) Act 1989 which clearly elevated the position of Malay to the context of court proceedings. The amendment changed the status of Malay in the courts. Before the amendment, English and Malay were the languages of the courts. However, after the amendment all proceedings of the courts should be in Bahasa Malaysia.

Such legislation however could not of itself transform members of the Malaysian multiverse into native speakers or even ensure that they have adequate control of English as a code for negotiations with members of the international multiverse. This was the task henceforth left to schools. A task which cannot be said to have achieved exemplary success.

The above stipulations have resulted in plurality in the use of codes in the country. Allowance for plurality however, has its drawback. Pool (1972 : 222) has said that

....language diversity of one sort or another is held to cause the retardation of development, both political and economic....slows economic development, by for example, braking occupational mobility, reducing the number of people available for mobilisation into the modern sector of economy, decreasing efficiency, and preventing the diffusion of innovative techniques.

And that "a country that is linguistically highly heterogeneous is always underdeveloped, and a country that is developed always has considerable linguistic uniformity" (ibid. : 222).

He claims that language uniformity is the necessary but not sufficient condition of economic development. This suggestion however, is not applicable to Malaysia, it is an unattainable goal for one important reason : Malaysia does not have a single speech repertoire for a simple reason that it does not have a single *Gemeinschaft* community and code (see Tables 3.1 and 3.7). Furthermore, the country has opted to import another non-indigenous code to facilitate in the development process. In addition, the adoption is not temporary and more importantly, it is forced upon the community already pressured by the complexity created by other codes already in existence in the multiverse.

In the Malaysian language planning every language is given a place within the context of local culture it contains. The freedom of every language to develop in the country gives rise to a multilingual and polyglossic society. Malay was adopted as the national language mainly because of the following reasons :

- a. Malay is the language of the major ethnic group.
- b. Malay is a language indigenous to the soil and this gives identity.
- c. Malay for centuries has been the medium of communication or lingua franca of most intergroup communication (see for example, Section 3.2.1 above).
- d. Malay is the language of administration in the Malay states before the coming of western power (refer again to Section 3.2.1).

A number of factors have been considered which made the inclusion of either English, Chinese or Tamil as the national language unsuitable for a country that needs an efficient unifying tool. In addition to this there was also the question of national identity. However, it was not making Malay as the national language that received opposition but it was the idea of making Malay the official language and the medium of instruction that was strongly opposed by the other ethnic groups. For instance a member of the opposition party, the Democratic Action Party or D.A.P stated that

the D.A.P has always unconditionally accepted Malay as the National Language, as a vital factor for unification in a multiracial society. What the D.A.P opposes...is the use of the National Language as an instrument for the eventual annihilation of the other languages and cultures in Malaysia (Parliamentary Debates, 1971, quoted in Asmah, 1979 : 40).

There are reasons against making either of the two languages (Chinese or Tamil) as official language. One of them was that there would be less difficulty in discontinuing English as one of the official languages (the other is Malay) after the transitional period of ten years. This discontinuation could be carried out in a more academic way than if the same was to be done for either Chinese or Tamil. The main reason is because English has a very small, if not negligible, mother tongue community. There would have been less emotional conflict and trauma if English was discontinued.

Another factor is the difficulty in hiring conference interpreters for either Chinese or Tamil. It is not uncommon to find Chinese or Tamils who are English-educated who were not necessarily good at their own mother tongue. These groups of people would prefer to use English in their interaction.

The other deciding factor is that there would have been a difficulty in choosing which of the Chinese languages to be the official language. The choice would have fallen between Mandarin and Kou-Yu. Unfortunately, proficiency in these two languages are confined to the Chinese-educated people only and the majority of the Chinese speaks other dialects. Due to the heterogeneity of the Chinese they would not have an easy flow of communication between them. Such heterogeneity is not very marked in the Indian population. However, there are still a few languages to choose from, namely, Tamil, Malayali, Telegu, Singhalese, Pakistani, Urdu and so on (Asmah, 1979).

Malaysia was also not in favour of adopting Singapore's policy of admitting four different official languages, namely, English, Chinese, Tamil and Malay. This policy was to serve pragmatic goals of Singapore. The English Language "will link Singapore to the rest of the world. In addition, English is a neutral language, not belonging to most of the ethnic groups, could help to promote unity among such diverse communities" (Pakir, 1994 : 53). Later developments in Singapore revealed that English is more effectively used as the official language than the other languages. Even Chinese was not frequently used although it is the language of more than 80% of Singaporeans. The

increase in the use of English leads to a concern about too much westernisation introduced with English. And moves to counter excessive westernisation and for preserving cultural roots were launched. One example, "The Speak Mandarin Campaign" launched in 1979 was to increase its use among Chinese Singaporeans to replace the other dialects of Chinese that they were speaking.

Within the Malaysian multiverse, English has not attained the status it formerly enjoyed in the colonial and post-independence period, when it was a high (H) status language, above Malay, which was as a low (L) status language together with the other languages, schematised as follows :

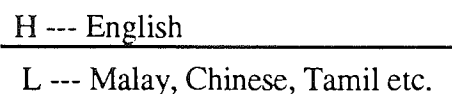


Figure 3.10 Malaysian Diglossia Before the Implementation of the National Language Policy (Source : Diagram 1, Asmah, 1992 : 79)

Today, Asmah suggests that the status of English can be viewed from two platforms : to view the situation within the framework of a triglossia, where English occupies the middle stratum Figure 3.11 (Diagram 2) or to look at the phenomena as a diglossia within a larger diglossia as in Figure 3.12 (Diagram 3) below :

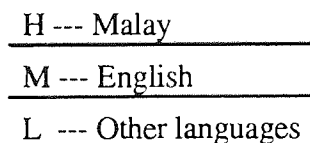


Figure 3.11 Malaysia's Triglossia (Source : Diagram 2, Asmah, 1992 : 79)

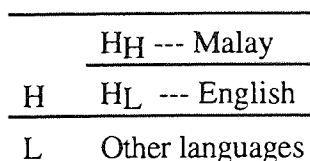


Figure 3.12 Diglossia within a Large Diglossia (Source : Diagram 3, Asmah, 1992 : 79)

Asmah suggests that Diagram 3 (Figure 3.12) is a closer portrayal of the actual situation compared to the triglossia (Diagram 2). This is so because

English is definitely a high status language due to its continuous existence in the various domains....viz., legal and judiciary, business, banking, diplomacy, etc., as well as the emphasis of its significance in internationalism to which the country is directing itself (ibid.).

Some of the current uses of English are illustrated here below. These tables (although consisting almost exclusively of ticks!) do help to make the situation clear.

Situation		Medium	Teaching Subject
Government Schools	BM	√	√
	ENG	---	√
University Undergraduate	BM	√	√
	ENG	√	√
University Postgraduate	BM	√	√
	ENG	√	√
Private	BM	√	√
	ENG	√	√

Table 3.13 Status : Language of Education  
(Source : Table 2, Asmah, 1992 : 97)

Language \ Situation	Government Administration			Legal Profession		
	Meeting	Minutes	Reports	Act/Regulation	Registration	Courts
Bahasa Malaysia	√	√	√	√	√	√
English	√	√	√	√	√	√

Table 3.14 Status : Official Language  
(Source : Table 3, ibid.)

Language \ Situation	Electronic Media		Print Media	
	TV	Radio	Newspaper	Magazines
Bahasa Malaysia	√	√	√	√
English	√	√	√	√

Table 3.15 Status : Language of Mass Communication  
(Source : Table 4, ibid.)

Language \ Situation	Malaysian Firms	Multinational Firms
Bahasa Malaysia	√	---
English	√	√

Table 3.16 Status : Language in Business  
(Source : Table 5, ibid. : 98)

From here it seems clear that English has retained its importance and maintained its status within the Malaysian multiverse. And Malay has still to find its place in the multinational *Gesellschaft* (as shown in Table 3.16).

The need for national unity was paramount in the midst of such ethnic diversity. It is conceived as necessary in order to promote the development process. Without such unity, no progress can be successfully achieved. However, Malaysia is now confronted with another dimension to the complex process of manpower development, the international focus of the current national advancement plan more commonly known to the members of the Malaysian multiverse as VISION2020. How has the needs of Malaysia been conceptualised in the process of achieving the goals of this programme? What are the parameters involved in the process? How do the development plans provide for efficient transformation of Malaysian into effective negotiators for outcomes favourable to the interest of VISION2020?

### **3.4.2 The National Development Plan**

Under the First Outline Perspective Plan (OPP1) covering the period 1971-90 the Government of Malaysia has implemented four development plans from the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75) to the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986-90). These plans have been implemented within the framework of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which was introduced by the Government in 1970, after the racial riots in 1969, with the objective of fostering national unity among the various members of non-overlapping *Gemeinschaft* communities.

The Second Outline Perspective Plan (hereafter, OPP2) which embodies the National Development Policy (hereafter, NDP), sets the broad objectives, strategies and targets that will guide the development of the nation in the 1990s. The Sixth Malaysia Plan (SMP), covering the period 1991-1995, presented to Parliament on 10 July 1991, is the first phase in the implementation of the OPP2, 1991-2000. It elaborates on the strategies

as well as, the programmes and projects designed to achieve the objectives of NDP. The NDP is to build upon the achievements during OPP1, i.e. to accelerate the process of eradicating poverty and restructuring society so as to correct social and economic imbalance.

National unity remains the ultimate goal of the Malaysian socio-economic development because Malaysia recognises that a united society is fundamental to the promotion of social and political stability, and sustained development. This is emphasised in the NDP as follows :

National unity remains the ultimate goal of socio-economic development because a united society is fundamental to the promotion of social and political stability and sustained development. Development policies and strategies under the NDP take cognisance of the diversities of Malaysians - ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious as well as regional - so that a harmonious, tolerant and dynamic society could be progressively created (OPP, 1991 : 3).

Continued social and political stability as well as the efficient management of the economy are factors crucial to the realisation of national goals and objectives, more specifically the mission or the *Kurwille* of VISION2020.

The NDP is to set the place to enable Malaysia to become a fully-developed nation not only economically, but in all aspects by the year 2020. The Government envisions that by the year 2020, Malaysia will become a united multiverse, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values living in a democratic multiverse, liberal and tolerant, caring, emotionally just, and equitable, progressive and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic, robust, resilient and socially just (OPP, 1991 : 4). Negotiations for membership of new multiverse will involve a considerable amount of adjustment time. However, Malaysia only has the next 25 years to become fully equipped for this challenge, its mechanisms for development have to be efficient and effective to ensure smooth absorption of Malaysians by new ecologies. Are the factors highlighted in Chapter 2 catered for in these policies ? How

do the "liberal, tolerant, caring and emotionally just" members of the Malaysian multiverse become the "competitive, dynamic and robust" participants in the new ecology, related to VISION2020 ?

The focus on human resource development as a fundamental requirement for achieving the objectives of growth and distribution is a new dimension in the NDP. The objective of the NDP is to attain a balanced development in order to establish a more united and just society. It encompasses many critical aspects and these include :

- promoting and strengthening national integration (promoting shared experience)
- developing a progressive society (developing shared *Gemeinschaft* values and norms)
- promoting human resource development (promoting proper planned development of the human resource)
- making science and technology an integral component of socio-economic planning and development (creating a new social ecology to support the metabolic process).

The total Malaysian workforce is expected to increase from 7 million in 1990 to 9.4 million in the year 2000. This includes those aged 15 - 64 who are both employed and unemployed. There is an increase of 2.9 percent per annum and the profile of the labour force participation is shown in the tables below (Tables 3.17 and 3.18) :

	1990		2000	
	(`000)	%	(`000)	%
<b>Total Labour Force</b>	7,046.5		9,364.5	
<b>Age-Distribution</b>		100.0		100.0
15 - 24	2,029.5	28.8	2,454.5	26.2
25 - 34	2,169.6	30.8	2,758.6	29.5
35 - 54	2,417.4	34.3	3,569.9	38.1
55 - 64	430.0	6.1	581.65	6.2
<b>Educational Structure</b>		100.0		100.0
Primary	3,558.5	50.5	2,528.4	27.0
Lower & Middle Secondary	2,994.8	42.5	5,806.0	62.0
Upper Secondary & above	493.2	7.0	1,030.1	11.0
<b>Labour Force Participation Rate %</b>		66		68
Male		85		86
Female		47		49

Table 3.17 Profile of Workforce

(Source : Table 6-3 Profile Of Labour Force 1990-2000 (OPP : 162)



Sector	1990		2000		Average Annual Growth Rate (%) 1991-2000	New Jobs	
	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)		('000)	(%)
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, LIVESTOCK & FISHING	1,837.6	27.8	1,799.9	20.0	-0.2	-37.7	-1.6
MINING & QUARRYING	39.1	0.6	42.3	0.5	0.8	3.2	0.1
MANUFACTURING	1,290.2	19.5	2,143.9	23.9	5.2	853.7	36.1
CONSTRUCTION	426.9	6.4	664.4	7.4	4.5	237.5	10.0
SERVICES	3,027.2	45.7	4,335.8	48.2	3.7	1,308.6	55.3
a. Electricity, gas & water	45.9	0.7	50.2	0.6	0.9	4.3	0.2
b. Transport, storage & communication	285.4	4.3	410.5	4.6	3.7	125.1	5.3
c. Wholesale and retail trade, hotels & restaurants	1,239.4	18.7	2,049.8	22.8	5.2	810.4	34.3
d. Finance, insurance, real estates & business service	231.3	3.5	306.5	3.4	2.9	75.2	3.2
e. Government services	850.2	12.8	894.2	10.0	0.5	44.0	1.9
f. Other services	375.0	5.7	624.6	7.0	5.2	249.6	10.6
TOTAL	6,621.0	100.0	8,986.3	100.0	3.1	2,365.3	100.0
Labour Force	7,046.5		9,364.5		2.9		
Unemployment*	425.5		378.2				
Unemployment Rate (%)		6.0		4.0			

\* Estimates of unemployment in Malaysia follow the internationally accepted definition of unemployment and include all persons in the labour force who during the reference period were without any work although available for employment. The estimates cover those who were not actively looking for work and these accounted for about half of the total unemployed.

Table 3.18 Employment Structure

(Source : Table 6.2 Employment Estimates by Sector 1990-2000, OPP, 1991 : 161)

The high growth trend of the Malaysian economy in the 1970s continued in the early 1980s until recession in the mid-80s. The Malaysian economy is targeted to grow at an average of 7 per cent per annum in the decade of OPP2 as compared with the average growth rate of 6.7 achieved during the 1971-90 period. The capacity of growth will depend increasingly on an efficient Malaysian labour market which is able to match the supply of trained manpower with the requirements of the private sector. High priority

will therefore be given towards human resource development so as to ensure the availability of a well-educated and trained quality labour force to meet the requirements of the rapidly growing economy. This is supported by Ball (1990 : 744) who has emphasised that

the quality of the education and training of the workforce is the single most important factor in determining economic competitiveness.

The new dimensions and challenges of the nation have been brought into focus in VISION2020. In this, the present Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, on 28 February 1991 at the Inaugural Meeting of the Malaysian Business Council, has outlined in unequivocal terms the "thoughts on the future course of our nation and how we should go about to attain our objective of developing Malaysia into an industrialised country ". The new areas of development presuppose the important role of the international language. For instance, Malaysians are encouraged to

....persist with export-led growth....We simply have no choice but to be more lean, more resourceful, more productive and generally more competitive, more able to take on the world (para 55 : 20 - 21).

Malaysians are also encouraged to develop the economy where

Entry into the world market pit our companies against all comers and subjects them to the full force of international competition. This is a challenge we must accept not only because the domestic market is too small but because in the long run it will actually enrich our domestic market and reduce our dependence on export. (para 54 : 20).

In addition, Malaysians are persuaded to diversify exports and penetrate new markets :

Just as we must diversify the products we export so must we diversify the markets we export to. Malaysian exporters must look also at the non-traditional markets. It will require new knowledge, new networks, new contacts and new approaches....(para 53 : 20).

So, have the challenges been adequately conceptualised here ? It is suggested that the concepts in the discussion of training in Chapter 2 are adequately if only indirectly,

reflected in such language : "new markets, new contacts, new networks", which reflect the dynamic nature of the challenge. And the the single most important notion is economic competitiveness : "more productive", "more resourceful", "more able to take on the world", which again appear to reflect the complexities of the notions discussed in Chapter 2. However, there remains a further problem of the conceptualisation of the language challenge for these new competitions. How is the linguistic challenge perceived in the light of the rather conflicting aims of the language policy so far presented ?

With such diversifications the number of diverse codes would also increase as further emphasised below :

In international relations, the emphasis should be less on politics and ideology and more on economic imperatives. Small though we may be we must strive to influence the course of international trade. To grow we have to export. Our domestic market is far too small. It is important to us that free trade be maintained....A country without adequate economic defence capabilities and the ability to marshal influence and create coalitions in the international economic arena is an economically powerless state. This Malaysia cannot afford to be. (para 81 - 82 : 28 - 29)

With such new dimensions added to the Malaysian multiverse, Nesamalar (1993 : 32) aptly explains that

....VISION2020 catapults the entire nation into realms of action, often not within the experience of the majority of Malaysians. Most Malaysian businessmen have not been involved in export....

So how does Malaysia provide for this need for manpower development ? This need is crucial as VISION2020 also expects Malaysia not only to engage in export-led production but also to "marshall influence and create coalitions in the international economic arena". The question then must be, what are the linguistic parameters involved here ? What does it mean for the role of language in this development ?

With the need to diversify the export markets Nesamalar (1993) also asks how does Malaysia maintain good interpersonal relations with these countries which have different

and diverse cultures ? Does Malaysia need to adjust, accommodate or conform to other communities' "ways of doing things" ? How does Malaysia adjust, conform or become absorbed by the new multiverse ?

With the need to create a competitive workforce within the Malaysian multiverse, how is the manpower training conceptualised ? VISION2020 states that there is a need to create a fully developed multiverse that is fully equipped along all the dimensions : economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally. It is acknowledged that :

....the most important resource of any nation must be the talents, skills, creativity and will of its people....In the 1990s and beyond, Malaysia must give the fullest emphasis possible to the development of this resource

because

During the decade of the nineties, human resource development will assume new importance. Competitiveness, productivity, innovativeness and capability in management of new technologies in Malaysia will be determined by the quality of its human resources.

And in order to cope with the challenges, it has been stipulated that the

....human resource development must contain policies and programmes to continuously upgrade and improve the education and training programmes and facilities to meet the changing skill requirements....

The nature of the demand

indicates the need for a labour force with broad-based education emphasising mathematics, science and communication abilities as well as **proficiency in English as a second language**. These attributes will provide the foundation for a trainable labour force which can adapt swiftly to the changing technological needs of the country. In this regard improvements in the school curriculum will continue to be made, particularly at the primary and secondary levels, and teachers will be better equipped to teach mathematics, science and communication skills (OPP, 1991 : 170).

When it is examined, the conceptualisation of the language dimension does not reflect the earlier complexities acknowledged for manpower training with reference to notions such as "proficiency in English" and "communication skills" stated above. It appears that in the midst of the complexity, the proficiency in English is left unexamined.

In a seminar on "Towards A Developed and Industrialised Society : Understanding the Concept, Implications and Challenges of VISION2020" a conceptualisation of the human resource strategy of this vision was proposed. It should be a

strategy based on the effective inculcation and strengthening of basic core values in the society as a whole, and the satisfactory development of an adequately qualified workforce capable of fully meeting the country's commercial and industrial needs and beyond. It is a two-pronged strategy : requiring value strengthening and workforce development (Roxburgh, 1991 : 2).

Here there is a perception of the notions discussed in Chapter 2, i.e. rich notions of "basic core values" and "value strengthening" related to the planned manpower training.

It has also been proposed that the human resource development within the Malaysian context would involve four elements. Firstly it should include all forms of education and training (E & T). Secondly, it should embrace the whole spectrum of the discrimination of knowledge and skill to learners of all ages. The third and the fourth elements differentiates education which should imply the transfer of knowledge and the expansion of the learners' mind from what training should be, that is, imparting skills in all manner of operations from the manipulation of tools to the use of information technology (Ungku Aziz, 1991 : 2). However, how is the linguistic challenge conceived in relation to all these forms of education and training ?

The creation of national wealth through proper management of natural resources can only be achieved if the nation is able to acquire fluency in science and technology (S & T) and research and development (R & D). Malaysia is still short of high level manpower specialised in S & T and R & D. In order to keep up with foreign technologies and

advancements and to reduce dependence on imported technology, increased efforts will be made to enlarge the pool of Malaysian scientists and specialists, and provide them with proper incentives to serve and develop their professional careers in the country. The capacity of the local institution to meet this demand for the workforce is shown in the table below :

Occupations	Stock 1990	Employment 2000	Net Increase 1991-2000	Output (1991-2000)*	
				Local Public	Local Private
<b>ENGINEERS</b>	26,500	56,600	30,100	21,000	—
Civil	11,100	19,500	8,400	3,700	—
Electrical & Electronic	6,200	14,600	8,400	4,200	—
Mechanical	5,200	10,800	5,600	4,000	—
Chemical	800	2,000	1,200	900	—
Others	3,200	9,700	6,500	8,200	—
<b>ENGINEERING ASSISTANTS</b>	72,400	195,300	122,900	84,070	20,900
Civil	27,100	58,500	31,400	20,400	600
Electrical & Electronic	32,300	75,900	43,600	21,200	8,800
Mechanical	6,400	32,400	26,000	11,600	9,600
Chemical	600	6,000	5,400	570	—
Others	6,000	22,500	16,500	30,300	1,900
<b>MEDICAL AND HEALTH</b>	11,600	17,600	6,000	6,200	—
Physicians & Surgeons	7,900	12,300	4,400	4,600	—
Dental Surgeons	1,700	2,200	500	700	—
Pharmacists	2,000	3,100	1,100	900	—
<b>MEDICAL AND HEALTH ASSISTANTS</b>	47,300	57,400	10,100	5,660	1,050
Medical & Lab. Med. Assts.	9,500	13,000	3,500	1,000	—
Dentists & Dental Nurses	2,000	2,700	700	200	—
Pharmaceutical Assts.	1,500	2,400	900	360	—
Professional Nurses	34,300	39,300	5,000	4,100	1,050
<b>SCHOOL TEACHERS</b>	177,600	252,500	74,900	74,900	—

\* Output does not include graduates from education and training institutions overseas.

Table 3.19 Capacity of Local Institutions to Meet the Demands for Selected Professional and Technical Occupations 1991-2000 (Source : Table 6-5 OPP, 1991 : 167)

With reference to the needs of VISION2020, the role of English was emphasised. It was stated that

with increasing globalisation and internationalisation of the world economy, the country will face more and more competition in trade and investment. In view of the challenges ahead, Malaysians should be well equipped with a strong base in education and training, including the ability to communicate in a second language, for example, English which is an international language of commerce.

Here, in the midst of the complex conceptualisation of training, the need for English has not been sufficiently examined and such need has been simplified to the "ability to communicate in English". What does "ability to communicate" refer to? Does it involve all the various complex parameters associated with training?

The importance given to English is said to extend the spirit of the Second Five Year Malaysia Plan (1970-1975) which along with its emphasis on science and technology highlighted the acceptance of a foreign language, in this case English, for the purpose of modernisation (development) of the nation. Then, English was considered as indispensable for the acquisition of knowledge and for the accessibility to the latest developments in science and technology. Again, there appears to be a simplification of the need for a foreign language. And what are Malaysian chances of participating in the competition, are Malaysians equipped with the skills of the competition in the new *Gesellschaften*, in the new multiverse, and are Malaysians likely to be successful in the competition? And is mastery of the code the main rule of the game? How are Malaysians prepared for the new game in the new code?

The danger here is that the linguistic vehicle chosen to facilitate development is the language in which Malaysians do not have efficient command. Referring back to the advertisement presented in Chapter 1, mastery of the code plus the negotiation skills are essential for successful negotiations. Successful negotiations is an important ingredient in the development process. However, Chapter 2 underscored other factors that must be taken into consideration in order for successful negotiation outcomes, in this context, successful attainment of goals of development.

With such national aspirations it is inevitable that Malaysians would have to interface with non-members of the Malaysian multiverse i.e. members of the international ecology. Malaysia has acknowledged that the goals of VISION2020 cannot be achieved solely through the national language alone. Malaysians therefore, need to be efficiently equipped with the code of the competition and success will be constrained by the inability

to use this code as an effective weapon for negotiations. With regard to the use of English the Prime Minister has said that "Malaysians should not be too fanatical over the spirit of nationalism to the extent that they did not want to use English all together" (*New Straits Times*, 10/9/1992). Here again, the conceptualisation of the "use of English" seems to have been trivialised.

Newspaper reports have also highlighted some of the concerns presented in VISION2020. Recently, the Information Ministry Parliamentary Secretary Datuk Fauzi Abdul Rahman spoke about diversity in Malaysia : "Malaysians should be proud that there is unity in diversity and they must continue to maintain it in order to achieve VISION2020". With regard to human resource development Tan Sri Ani Arope said that "a quality workforce is the basis for our success in becoming a fully developed nation by the year 2000". The issue here is are there effective, efficient and efficacious mechanisms for producing the workforce with international quality. Given the current inadequate provision for code-control and even less negotiation control, there is an urgent need to redress the situation before it is too late.

Khemlani (*New Straits Times*, 9/10/1992) reported that "if Malaysia is to take an active part in international communication, it is imperative that Malaysians should be able to speak English effectively". In other words it is necessary that in those *Gesellschaften* where outcomes are crucial to the realisation of VISION2020 it is imperative for Malaysian members to master the mechanisms of negotiation so as to maximise the chance of successful outcomes.

The Deputy Director-General of Education, Datuk Dr. Wan Mohamad Zahid has also commented on the importance of English to the country

English has an international dominance which will be to the country's disadvantage to ignore and Malaysians need a **very high level of competency in the language** to realise the country's aspirations of becoming a developed nation (*New Straits Times*, 2/11/1992).



However, the conceptualisation of this need for high level of competence does not reflect the complexity of the notions that are related to the complexity of manpower development. There is a simplification of the issues at stake. Furthermore, is the code provision currently available reflect this urgent need for "high level of competency" ?

From the survey of these statements it appears here that the need of the manpower development has been quite adequately framed at the level of leadership of the country. However, reference made to the importance of English is not done with the same sophistication as that captured for the complexity of training. Although the PM has again highlighted the importance of English, the need to negotiate with new multiverse and the need for Malaysians to be proficient in English in every important aspect such as

delivering speeches, conducting negotiations, preparing drafts of agreements and in routine business communication....If they do not reach **that level of proficiency**, especially in international business, our trading will be confined to domestic transactions....and if we want to be good managers, we have to master English (*New Straits Times*, 3/12/1994),

the conceptualisation is still trapped in the simplistic notions of "level of proficiency" and "to master English".

He emphasised further that there should be improvement in the teaching of English in universities as this is essential in stimulating the nation's growth. Are improvements in the teaching of English alone going to be appropriate ? The references to new markets, new exports and new international relations suggest that much more is needed than knowing the new code. As shown earlier there is diversity within the Malaysian multiverse, how much more in these new ecologies.

The concern here then has this conceptualisation been maintained throughout the Malaysian development mechanisms ? How has the education system coped with the complexities of the multiverse noted earlier and more importantly, how has the system reacted to these new and demanding challenges with regard to negotiation competence.

discourse competence which draws on code-control of new Malaysian members ?

### 3.4.3 The Present Malaysian Education Scenario

The Malaysian National Education Philosophy reads as follows :

Education in Malaysia is an on-going effort towards further developing the potential of individuals in a holistic and integrated manner, so as to produce individuals who are intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically balanced and harmonious, based on a firm belief in and devotion to God. Such an effort is designed to produce Malaysians citizens who are knowledgeable and competent, who possess high moral standards, and who are responsible and capable of achieving a high level of personal well-being as well as being able to contribute to the betterment of the society and the nation at large (ICSS, 1990 : 1).

With such aims there is an increased effort of making the national language the official language and the task of establishing the language as the main medium of education from the primary up to the tertiary level. In preparation for Independence an education committee was formed to look into and make recommendations on the education of the country. The report of the Education Committee 1956 or better known as the Razak Report was the result of this committee's work. It recommended certain changes in the education system of Malaya and these changes in effect involved a change in the status of the various languages in Malaya. This language planning was motivated by the premise that national unity could only be achieved by a single uniform system of education using only one language as the medium of instruction. It is acknowledged that in the light of the diversity of the education system which existed prior to Independence, that the challenge for establishing a single uniform education system is a formidable one. With this effort, the committee recommended that a common syllabus with common goals to promote a common national outlook.

The official government stand on educational objectives in the Educational Act of 1961 is as follows :

The education policy of the Federation originally declared in the Educational Ordinance, 1957 is to establish a national system of education

which will satisfy the needs of the nation and promote its cultural, social, economic and political development....and for the progressive development of an educational system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction (Education Act 1961 : 1, quoted in Asiah Abu Samah, 1994 : 54).

So the underlying rationale of Malaysia's educational policy has been described as

education with a common content syllabus, reinforced by a common language, would promote the growth of a nationally homogenous outlook, and the development of a core of shared values leading eventually to the evolution of a common culture which would then provide the basis for social cohesion and national unity (Chai Hon-Chan, 1971a : 37).

The development of "shared values" is achieved with Bahasa Malaysia only.

#### **3.4.3.1 At the primary and secondary level**

In the old education system up to 1961 primary education was provided for 6 to 12 year-olds. In 1962 universal education was extended up to the age of 15 with primary school leavers being channelled into academic secondary schools and secondary continuation school for another 3 years. In 1964 the Malaysian Secondary School Examination (MSSEE) and the secondary continuation schools were abolished and were replaced by a comprehensive system of lower secondary education in 1965. Thus by 1965, the objective of providing 6 years of primary and 3 years of lower secondary education has been achieved.

In 1957 the national language was first made a compulsory subject in all assisted primary and secondary schools, followed in 1958 by the establishment of Malay-medium secondary classes which eventually developed into National Secondary Schools. Progressive implementation of the use of Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction at various education levels began in Standard One in National-Type English Primary Schools in 1970, culminating in 1984 with first and second years courses at university level being taught in Bahasa Malaysia, followed by third-year course in 1985 and fourth-

year course in 1986 and so on.

The education system was reviewed by a Cabinet Committee To Review The Implementation of Education Policy and in 1979, a comprehensive report on the various aspects of the education system of the country was presented. Weaknesses in the pre-1983 primary school curriculum were identified and a New Primary School Curriculum (hereafter, NPSC) was introduced. The first cycle of the implementation of the NPSC was completed in 1988 at year 6 and in 1989, these pupils gained admission into the secondary schools.

The Cabinet Committee also reviewed the secondary school curriculum and recommended that the lower secondary school curriculum was to be an extension of the primary school curriculum. And the nature of the upper secondary curriculum is to be suitable for pupils who are going to work and for those who are furthering the education. Nevertheless it has been reported that, although the aim of this new curriculum is for the overall development of the pupil covering intellectual, physical, emotional, social, moral and aesthetic aspects, it does suffer from major weaknesses. One of them is that classes remain large around 45-50 pupils.

Bahasa Malaysia has been given its due place as the medium of instruction right from Standard One up to the second year university level in Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah and up to Form Two in Sarawak. Nevertheless, English as a second language continues to be given emphasis. In National Primary Schools, pre-1983 non-NPSC classes in Standard One and Two were allocated only 180 minutes a week for English, while under the NPSC system, this has been increased to 240 minutes per week (for second half or first year and whole of second year). Similarly there is an increase from 180 to 240 minutes in the 3rd year, from 160 to 270 in the 4th year, from 200 to 270 minutes in the 5th and 6th years. However, in Chinese and Tamil-medium primary schools, because more time is allocated to teaching Chinese/Tamil languages, English is taught only beginning in the 3rd year under the NPSC system and for only 60 minutes per week,

increasing to 90 minutes for 4th, 5th and 6th years.

The Cabinet Committee had emphasised that the individuals who emerge from the national school system must conform with the purpose of human development. Hence,

education is viewed as an endeavour to successfully develop a balanced, integrated and well-rounded individual. Correspondingly, the curriculum at the secondary school level has been formulated to realise this aspiration in which a complete education encompasses acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and **the effective use of language** (Ministry of Education, 1989 : 3).

In this conceptualisation of the situation, there seems to be a clear perception of the complex notions with regard to developing a "well-rounded individual" but there is still an urgent need to address what "effective use of language" actually involves. Also, is there appropriate provision available for the "effective use of language" within the school curriculum ?

The aim of the new Integrated Curriculum for Secondary School (hereafter, ICSS) is

to further develop the potential of the individual in a holistic, balanced and integrated manner encompassing the intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical aspects in order to create a balanced and harmonious human being with high moral standards (Ministry of Education, 1989 : 2).

The curriculum was formulated based upon several principles :

- continuity of education between the primary and secondary schools;
- general education for all students;
- subject disciplines;
- integration of the intellectual, spiritual, emotional and physical aspects;
- emphasis on values
- upgrading the use of Bahasa Malaysia
- lifelong education

The aim and principles of the new curriculum appear to reflect those notions noted in Chapter 2 earlier. Nevertheless, it may be noted that there seems to be a contradiction between the aim of this curriculum and the need for English for VISION2020 since no

provision was allotted to "upgrading English".

This absence is again seen in the first two objectives of education at this level which are geared towards enabling students

- (i) to increase their proficiency in language in order to communicate effectively.
- (ii) to upgrade their competence in and use of Bahasa Malaysia as the national and official language toward the acquisition of knowledge and the achievement of national unity (Ministry of Education, 1989 : 2).

One of the main features of the new Curriculum is the use of the integrated approach which "entails the integration of knowledge, skills, and values, the integration of theory and practice; and the integration of curriculum, the co-curriculum, and the school culture" (op.cit). One of the main factors emphasised in the development of a positive school culture is the proper use of language, specifically, Bahasa Malaysia and English, as specified in the table below :

Characteristics	Specifications
a. Bahasa Malaysia	The language used both in and out of the classroom should be good, accurate, apt and refined.
b. English Language	English should be used whenever the situation warrants.

Table 3.20 The Use of Language in the ICSS

Elsewhere it is stated that the use of Bahasa Malaysia as a language to acquire knowledge is to be upgraded and that English (together with Arabic) is to be used to acquire further knowledge. However, although English is mentioned here, the need does not reflect the needs of the development programme, as it is to be "used whenever the situation warrants" suggesting the inadequate provision for experience in the use of this code within the school curriculum.

The allocation of teaching periods of core subjects in a week at the lower and the upper secondary school levels according to the new curriculum is as follows :

Subjects	Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary
	No. of teaching periods	No. of teaching periods
Bahasa Malaysia	6 (5 + 1 Literature)	6 (5 + 1 Literature)
English Language	5 (4 + 1 Literature)	5 (4 + 1 Literature)
Mathematics	5	5
Islamic Education	4 (3 + 1 Practical) 2 additional periods for co-curriculum	4 (3 + 1 Practical)
Moral Education	3	3
History	3	3
Geography	3	(3 - as Elective)
Science	5	4
Physical and Health Education	2	2
Time allotted for each period	40 minutes	40 minutes

Table 3.21 Allocation of Teaching Periods in the Lower and Upper Secondary Schools

The aims of the English syllabus in the ICCS (see Appendix 1 for the detail syllabus) are to build upon and extend the proficiency of the students from the primary schools, so as to equip them with the skills and knowledge of English to communicate in certain everyday activities and certain job situations, and also to provide points of take-off for various post secondary school needs. The syllabus emphasises the teaching of both the oracy and literacy skills. And in the content, teachers are encouraged to use the Malaysia setting as a base to teach the four language skills and should emphasise the principles of good citizenship, moral values and Malaysian way of life (Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1987 : 2 - 3).

However, although English seems to be given some attention in this new curriculum, it does not illustrate how this code is integrated into the system. It seems that to do so would be in conflict with the national language policy mentioned above. Furthermore, the attention given to this code in the current education system does not reflect its importance in facilitating the development programme. The conceptualisation of the

importance of code is not done with the same sophistication as that for the need for training.

### 3.4.3.2 At the tertiary level

The discussion has given a brief overview of the education system at the secondary level. The concern however, is the nature of the provision available at the tertiary level. Although there is still a need for adequate provision of code training to cope with the needs of VISION2020, there are however, local efforts to fill this need.

The table below shows the enrolment to the seven universities throughout Malaysia. Each university offers various courses which include provision for the *Gesellschaft* code, i.e. English. And this provision has been referred to as ESP courses to cater for the various subjects offered at these institutions.

Level of Education	Male	%	Female	%	Total	% Enrolment
University :						
University of Malaya	5 119	45.3	6 189	54.7	11 308	0.3
University of Science Malaysia	6 650	54.3	5 599	45.7	12 249	0.3
National University of Malaysia	5 576	48.9	5 827	51.1	11 403	0.3
University of Agriculture Malaysia	5 474	55.5	4 395	44.5	9 869	0.2
University of Technology	7 808	80.0	1 950	20.0	9 758	0.2
Northern University of Malaysia	1 747	44.9	2 148	55.1	3 895	0.1
International Islamic University	1 605	44.2	2 026	55.8	3 631	0.1
Sub-total	33 979	54.7	28 134	45.3	62 113	1.5
Grand Total	2 056 168	50.7	1 997 187	49.3	4 053 355	100.00

Table 3.22 Enrolment in Government Assisted Educational Institutions - the University Level 1991

(Source : Table 1.1 Information Malaysia, 1992 : 22)



At the tertiary level the national language is also the medium of instruction. Language training at this level of education has been given a lot of emphasis. For instance, English is a compulsory course (in some cases, an option) at the tertiary level of education. "Exposure" to English in the form of EAP and proficiency courses extends for another three years. These courses are aimed at bridging the gap between school English and English used at the university level.

As early as 1975 the University of Malaya English for Special Purposes Project (UMESPP) was set up aimed at developing materials and methodologies to equip students with the necessary reading skills to access science and technology texts. This was followed by the University of Malaya Spoken English Project (UMSEP) in 1980, a complementary course to the UMESPP, which catered for the oral needs of students in the economics and law faculties. The project researched into English as spoken by executives and professionals. Materials that were produced under these two projects are used in the training of undergraduates in the various faculties at the university in these two skills. These two projects are said to be "a set of examples of efforts made by Malaysians to offset the 'decline-in-standard factor'" (Asmah, 1992 : 87). One observation here is that these courses do not seem to reflect the notions noted in Chapter 2.

Currently it has been documented that there are 28 ESP courses offered by the Centre for Languages and Translation at the University of Science Malaysia (USM) designed in 1987

to meet the specific need of USM students, i.e. their academic, social and occupational needs (Wang and Rosy, 1994 : 132).

These 28 courses are grouped into seven different "bands" which coincide with the respective disciplines of students of the various Schools in USM. But does "social needs" take into account the notions discussed earlier ?

A course with an ESP orientation was set up at the University of Technology Malaysia (hereafter, UTM) in 1991. The course referred to as the Reorganised English Language Programme (hereafter, RELP) aims at the provision of faculty-biased skills in English.

Two of the aims of RELP are

1. To accelerate the acquirement of skills and proficiency in the reading and comprehension of scientific and technical texts and
2. To achieve a more realistic and effective language teaching-learning behaviour at the receptive level with production skills at a lower level of competence.

The other aim is to meet the university's aim of reducing the number of courses per semester to a maximum of 5 three credit subjects. However, do these aims reflect the aims of the various faculties who may have different demands on their students ?

To meet the increasing need for specific English courses for students at the tertiary level of education, other ESP oriented courses have also been set up at UTM. A case in point is the course in Business Communication set up in 1991. The main aim of this course is

to create future managers in business and industry who are well-informed of the latest technological development and who are competent negotiators at all levels of communication and communities in which English serves as the lingua franca. Specifically, they should be efficient and skilled negotiators in various business environments (Noor Abidah, 1990 : 1)

Here there appears to be some perception of the complexities of training but this conceptualisation still suffers with the generalisation of such difficulties.

In 1994 an evaluation study was done by one of the facilitators of this course. In her analysis she "proposes that the Service Quality Loop or SQL which is inherent in the ISO 9000 series and which is part of quality system procedures be adopted as a model for evaluating ESP programmes" (Hadina, 1994 : 118). This approach takes the needs of the customer or the users of the "product" into consideration. She states that

unless the "product" of the training and education is marketable, the service provided i.e. language teaching will not be acceptable in the markets. Therefore, the customers who consume the "product" of training and education should have a say in shaping the ingredients for teaching (ibid. : 119).

An important observation here is the attention given to the "marketability" of these students which reflect the ideas noted in Chapter 2. She also recommends that there should be a closer collaboration between the supplier and the user of the service.

A course for Air Traffic Controllers for the Diploma in Air Traffic Control from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering was also set up at the same institution. Materials for the course were developed and designed based on an ethnographic study undertaken by the facilitators of the course. This involved observations of the air traffic controllers at work at three target discourse communities namely, Subang Control Tower, Senai Control Tower and as the DCS College. The ATCs were also interviewed to gain better insights into the nature of their work (ESP Malaysia, 1994 : 146). The use of code is highly vital for the smooth functioning of air traffic control and "any inappropriate teaching could lead to legal implications and consequences" (NST, 16/11/1995). This was said by one of the facilitators responsible for the set up of this course at a recent 1995 International Seminar on ESP in Malaysia.

A new three-semester course of English for Civil Engineering commenced in July 1995 at UTM. Two of the aims of the course are to :

1. complement the Faculty of Civil Engineering's overall plan for producing efficient Civil Engineering graduates by equipping them with the communication skills needed in their learning environment.
2. enhance the marketability of UTM Civil Engineering graduates in the labour market by equipping them with the necessary communication skills for efficient participation in the academic and professional community of civil engineers.

And the main role of the programmes which is considered as an inherent part of the mainstream Civil Engineering Curriculum is to facilitate the acquisition of technical

content through English (CICHE, 1995 : 1). This is an actual and on-going course which is still at its experimental stage and this effort cannot be regarded as reflecting the effort of the nation as a whole.

In order to meet the increasing demands of such courses at the tertiary level, research has been undertaken to take the "guesswork" (Roe, 1993 : 10) out of the nature of the target discourse community. For example, questionnaires designed by members of staff at UTM were used to elicit responses from university graduates on the skills they need in their work place. However, the study suffered where the findings of the studies were constrained by "the objective type of questionnaire and did not obtain a comprehensive enough picture of discourse communities and critical speech events in action....and it needs to be tempered with more qualitative research data" (Louis, 1991 : 15).

Recently another project aimed at developing writing skills for profession purposes was undertaken by a group of researchers at the University of Malaya. The general objective of this project is

to identify the transactions in which sectors of the economy are crucial in the achievement of the economic aspirations of the country and then to investigate a heuristic for developing a training programme to enable people....to acquire the type and level of written competence they themselves feel is essential for success in these transactions (CICHE Project, 1991 : 3).

The project which is divided into professional and academic writing is meant for people who have already graduated with their basic degrees.

Other local English for Specific oriented research have also been undertaken. Research into ESP can serve as a "tool for human resource development in (Malaysia's) progress towards being a modern and progressive society" (ESP Editorial, 1993 : i). And "Research is being localised, both in terms of context and student needs so that Malaysian ESP, at least at the advanced level will reflect directly the aims of that society and its citizens" (Johns, 1993 : 89).

There are examples of local investigations into language needs. For instance, Imran Ho's (1993) research was done on issues and problems of English for Legal Studies in the Law Faculty of the National University of Malaysia (UKM). Ainol Haryati's (1993) ethnographic study of a specific discourse community in the Display Monitor Department of a Japanese multinational manufacturing company revealed the significant influence of the management culture on the organisational communication system. A strong indication of the importance of the notions noted in Chapter 2.

Sharon Goh and Chan (1993) surveyed the use of English in the commercial sector of the Malaysian economy from the perspective of the potential employees and employers. Data was drawn from 158 undergraduates from the Faculty of Economy and Management of UKM who underwent their practical training and the 137 companies to which they were attached. Their findings illustrated that English was important for job interviews (83.3%) and job promotion (70.8%). The study also revealed that the students needed to use English during their practical training (89.2%).

A study on the language needs of 50 apprentices in the engineering industry by Lim (1994) examined to what extent the communications skills were important at the workplace. In addition to documenting the varied and demanding language skills needed by apprentices in the engineering industry, it particularly highlighted the "mismatch between what is practised across the curriculum in most secondary schools, and what is required of these students immediately on leaving school" (Lim, 1994 : 68). Based on these findings, Lim suggests that "practise in certain general skills, based upon a recognition of the real-life purposes of language, would equip students more effectively to cope with what they will meet in whatever work they will enter on completion of their school education" (op.cit). Here there seems to be a perception of the complexities already noted earlier.

Other research include one that investigates the type of human resource training programme in industry and the role of English in ensuring the success and efficiency of

such programmes. In addition, this study also examines the "extent to which the practices and expectations of human resource training in industry differ from those of "academic ESP courses" (ESP Malaysia, 1994 : 73). The investigation is initiated by two members of the Modern Language Department of UTM and they hoped that "insights from human resource training in industry could be used to inform ESP course so that ESP practitioners could better prepare their students for participation in the workplace" (ibid.).

Beyond the shores of Malaysia, Chan (1994) conducted a needs analysis survey for Computer Technology undergraduates in Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. The focus of the survey was on the workplace, and hiring executives, fresh graduates and undergraduates on industrial attachment were involved. Findings showed that

effective communication skills in the workplace are essential prerequisites for employment, even for professions which are highly technical....that oral communication should be given priority in training and abundant practice provided. Students need to be trained to write effectively,...and among the most important interpersonal activities in the workplace are negotiating at all levels, dealing with clients, making effective oral presentations, giving logical explanations and asserting oneself within appropriate contexts (Chan, 1994 : 42).

Here there is reference to the need for effective writing but the notion does not seem to be integrated into the community.

Some of the recommendations obtained from the participants include those from the

1. hiring executives who suggested that
  - (a) undergraduates should be trained to be more sensitive, adaptable to organisation culture and
  - (b) there should be more practical training on how to deal with people;
2. young executives who recommended that
  - (a) there should be more opportunities given to interact with people in the industry during the course and
  - (b) industry-related projects should be given;
3. industrial attachments undergraduates who felt that they should be given more practical training in oral presentations, group discussions, human interactions, tactfulness, face-to-face interaction, responding to real-life situations and communicating with difficult people.

The suggestions showed a strong perception of the complex concepts discussed in Chapter 2. And the researcher suggested that "in an ESP course whose target needs are more significant one needs to place emphasis on teaching communication and interpersonal skills over inculcating linguistic accuracy" and in order for this to be effective, "course designers need to interface with the target end-user, i.e. the industry" (ibid.).

Referring to graduates in Malaysia, the Bank Negara Governor, Tan Sri Jaafar Hussein said that

....the present education system had already produced graduates proficient in Bahasa Malaysia but most employers found it advantageous to have their employees with a good command of other languages (*STAR*, 13/10/1992).

In this case the "other languages" strictly means, English.

Apart from the rather limited "exposure" of the code in the education system there is no other significant natural environmental factors or motivation for "acquisition" of the "second language". A look at the education system gives a picture of the inadequate code provision and much less, negotiation competence, within the school curriculum and at the tertiary level. This could clarify why provision of code-mastery is less than efficient to meet the needs of the Malaysian metabolic process.

### **3.5 The Reality**

The discussion so far has shown that, although there are local efforts being undertaken at the tertiary level to redress this imbalance, there are some areas of mismatch between the curriculum in the education system and the statements on the needs of VISION2020. The national language policy appears to have placed some constraints on what language should be used for within the Malaysian multiverse. The reality is somewhat more

complex as there are two codes, Bahasa Malaysia and English, as could be clearly seen from the discussion so far.

It has been reported that officially the language policy has succeeded. Datuk Musa Hitam claimed that

Malaysians must accept the reality that Bahasa Malaysia is no longer the language of one race but that of all Malaysians....It is "our" language in every sense of the word....It is not far-fetched for me to say that we have successfully revived Bahasa Malaysia, both physically and mentally, in an amazing short period (*STAR*, 25/2/1981).

And two academics have attributed this success to the

feeling of unity that this language has instilled in the hearts and minds of the people of Malaysia as a national language. It has managed to maintain its position as a lingua franca and as an official language among the different races (*NST*, 22/11/1980).

However, there has been a suggestion that the establishment of Bahasa Malaysia as the only official language has resulted in serious tensions between the different ethnic *Gemeinschaft* groups and has had a negative impact on these groups. And this leads them to "cling stubbornly to their traditional languages" (Davey, 1990 : 102).

With regard to the use of English in present-day Malaysia, some statistics have shown that English is essentially considered as an urban middle-class language. Many Malaysians could be described as English speakers

by inclination, reading English language newspapers, listening to the English language 'Blue Network' radio, watching English television news broadcasts and using English in conversations with friends and family. Among the younger generation, a significant number have learned to use it as a lingua franca (Benson, 1990 : 21).

Although the national language is to be used in the education system, the situation is quite different at the tertiary level where English is still the language of international colleges. English remains the language of medical and legal professions and in firms and business



organisations. These communities involve participation of speakers of the "other tongue" i.e. English.

This language is also still widely used but not as a mother tongue by the current Malaysian elites from the three major ethnic *Gemeinschaft* groups most of whom received their education in the old English-medium schools. In this context we would like to consider to what extent has English become the second important language ?

In contrast to the above there have been reports that a spread of Malay codes into Indian and Chinese *Gemeinschaft* communities, evidence in favour of the National Language Policy. Students of various ethnic groups who have experienced their primary and secondary school education in the national language would have found themselves to be at ease with communication in the language. This was found in the research findings presented in Chapter 5.

However, the general trend in communication among Chinese and Indian government officials is reported to be English. They choose English rather than the national language as their medium of communication. A study by Tan, for example, (1983, quoted in Asmah, 1985 : 22) shows that two Chinese of different dialect groups would rather communicate in English or break off contact altogether than speak in Malay which both can use. Evidence of this was also found in the research data.

With the new challenges posed by VISION2020, certain changes are expected to be made in certain areas of the policies. For instance, the Malaysian Deputy Education Minister, Dr. Leo Michael Toyad has said that

Colleges and universities should take a more active role in English Education by collaborating closely with English Language teachers and researchers to ensure that students coming in for tertiary education are **proficient in English** (NST, 23/11/1993).

Such a recommendation again reflects the conceptually trivial notion of the need for mastery in the code.

In 1994, it was reported that the Universities and Universities Colleges Act 1971 will be amended to provide wider use of the English Language as a medium of instruction to enhance the development of teaching at that level. The Prime Minister has also said elsewhere that the Act, which specified that the medium of instruction in universities must be in the national language, had hampered the development of teaching at the university level (*NST*, 6/12/1994). This however, is considered as a very simplistic view of the solution to the complex problems explicated in the previous chapter.

Recently, the Chief Minister of Johor, one of the states in the south of Malaysia has emphasised that English as an international language is important for Malaysia's modernisation plans, and therefore it was imperative that Malaysians be proficient in English to cope with the globalisation of the economy and rapid developments in science and technology so that "Malaysia's development would not be short-circuited" (*NST*, 15/11/1995) by inadequate language skills.

From the discussion presented above it seems quite clear that Malaysia gives emphasis on the importance of the code of the international *Gesellschaft*. Malaysia acknowledges the challenges of the development programme, seen here as a metabolic process, as outlined in VISION2020. Malaysia also perceives that interface with the international community is inevitable in order to achieve the objectives of this vision. All these are highlighted in the government statements presented.

Based on the history of the country the policies formulated for modernising Malaysia gives priority to unifying members of the different *Gemeinschaft* that make up the unique Malaysian multiverse. These mechanisms also give emphasis on the upgrading of the national language as one of the unifying mechanisms. However, there still seems to be minimal provision of the code for participation in the new ecologies and even less, the

preparation for negotiations with the international community. It appears that the present scenario carries some dangers in the efficiency which militate against the national efforts of becoming a developed country.

Furthermore, code is considered not memorable if taught in isolation. A community makes "idiosyncratic selections" (Roe, *NST*, 15/11/1995) of the finite varieties of codes. Moreover Chapter 2 has shown that other factors are involved in the game. Based on these, how does Malaysia cope with the different values of the international ecology as opposed to the *Gemeinschaft* values emphasised in the education system, how does Malaysia establish the different bonds and relationships in the international networks and how do Malaysians cope with the new roles stipulated in VISION2020 within the international *Gesellschaft*? What mechanisms does Malaysia have to provide future Malaysian members with experience of playing the game in the new ecology?

### **3.6 The "Malaysian English" Issue**

In all the discussion presented above, the issue of "local varieties" (Kachru, 1986, 1990), nativisation of English and the idea of "new Englishes" (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984) have not been specifically addressed. As in the case of the debate on linguistic imperialism (refer Chapter 1, Section 1.6), the questions of "ownership" and norm-givers are seen as highly significant in some contexts, for example, the political and international contexts. However, these issues are not considered as impinging on the issues of training and language provision addressed in this current study.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The main purpose of this Chapter was to highlight how Malaysia conceptualises the current challenges that are posed by the new development programme, VISION2020.

The analysis was done from two points of view : on the one hand, it looked at how and what was stated, and on the other hand, it looked at the language used to describe the notions of training and the language challenge. It is suggested here that those who have conceptualised training have done so with the awareness and the kind of explication done in Chapter 2 whereas those for the language challenge are conceptually trivial. Therefore the formulation of the solutions would be trivial. There is an adequate conceptualisation for Bahasa Malaysia as the national language. On the basis of this, it would be expected that the perceptions of VISION2020 and the training needs are relatively sophisticated and the role of the national language is likewise. But it is difficult to see how, on the basis of the discussion above, successful training of code, discourse and negotiation skills can be achieved.

Based on these, an investigation is proposed to find out how the trivial conceptualisation of the language problems and the mismatch of provision and policies discussed above, affect the preparation of the new Malaysian members of new ecologies, with reference to their code-control, discourse control, negotiation competence and their role.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE INVESTIGATION

#### 4.0 Introduction

The arguments presented so far, the complex nature of the problem of social and economic development presented in Chapter 2 and the current formalisation of the problems and solutions detailed in Chapter 3 are paraphrased in the three theses in this investigation :

1. the simplified or trivialised conceptualisation of the linguistic challenge and hence, the inadequate and inappropriate solutions proposed,
2. the mismatch between the provision promulgated in the policies and that actually implemented and currently available and
3. the possible ineffective performance of those affected by the mismatch stated in 2 above, not exclusively code.

The investigative procedure for this study proceeded with the following considerations. To investigate objective 3 it would be plausible as evidence to observe neophytes engaged in natural interaction. Data to support objective 2 are available from both the direct statements of policies and the supporting objectives as translated in the curriculum, both the secondary and the tertiary, the allotted timetables for provision and courses conducted. Overt statements of conceptualisation relating to objective 1 are not in themselves adequate evidence but inferences can be made from the terminologies used to describe the problems in as much as these do not reflect the complexities exposed in the conceptual framework chapter. The evidence of public statements in this regard has been partly dealt with in Chapter 3. It may be feared that solutions proposed could be equally

inappropriate.

These objectives then, give rise to two levels of investigation, the explicit and the implicit. This meant that the explicit focus of the research would be to gain evidence on provision available but the way data is presented would give insight on the conceptualisation of the problems, while the neophytes' performances would provide natural evidence on their attitude, confidence, code-control and code preference. Therefore the task for the researcher is to proceed with a single plausible task involving all those affected and which would provide evidence on all the three objectives stated. Based on these criteria : the nature of the investigation pursued, the aims of the research, the setting in which the research takes place and the resources available, it was plausible for the researcher to proceed as a participant observer. The following discusses these issues in greater depth.

#### **4.1 Main Issues in the Investigation**

Human resource development as conceptualised in Chapter 2 is the gradual and efficient absorption of neophytes by the metabolic processes of new and larger communities with regard to given roles and effective participation in the associate language games or successful negotiations of outcomes favourable to the interest of the new member.

Malaysian members wishing to join new ecologies would have to be equipped with the proper metabolic functioning in the new community. This includes the purpose or the "will" for negotiation for membership which would have strong influence on the outcomes; access to the community's mechanisms, which largely depends on the roles of the new members of the new community and the bonds and relationships established with the mature members of the community to smooth the absorption process. For this to happen new members must be conceived themselves as members of the community. In order to be regarded as players in the game the diverse parties must be able to negotiate

non-redundant outcomes relevant to the respective role(s).

It is also acknowledged that there is a difference between the international community with international participants and the local community with Malaysian participants only. The nation has no control of the former community. It may be unrealistic for the nation to cater for the metabolic functioning of these communities at the international level. It is at the national level where the "training" is done, absorption to communities which form sub-sets of these international communities. Therefore, the nation must ensure that the mechanisms at the level of national communities can cater for the metabolic functioning of these local communities. The sub-communities anticipate the discourse of the international communities. The training is not to make the full metabolic functioning of the international community but to train new members for the sub-communities, and planned manpower programmes should cater for such needs.

Underlying all these issues is the notion of a preferred code for negotiations for membership of the new ecology, for creating bonds and relationships between new and mature members of the community and for playing an effective role in the negotiation process or the associated language games. In terms of the model formulated it is strongly suspected that the nature of bonds and relationships created is a significant variable for the selection of a particular code. The question is what other factors motivate the selection ?

Based on these there were essentially two aspects to the research :

- (a) With reference to becoming effective members of a new ecology one needs to investigate the mechanisms available in order to provide neophytes with the proper experience as effective and efficient players in the game or the negotiations in the new ecology.

Evidence to this would provide insight into the first two objectives of this investigation.

(b) With regard to code-control and preferred code there is a need to investigate the efficiency of code-control of these new members and the extent to which the catastrophic situation whereby English effectively displaces the national language has already taken place.

Evidence to this would cast light on the third objective.

Based on the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 and the two aspects of the research stated above, certain questions were dealt with throughout the investigation. These were reflected in the design of the research instruments which acquired evidence in terms of provision of both code and negotiation competence and the effect of the provision on the effective functioning of the neophytes in the new ecology.

The study was also designed to acquire evidence of discourse at two levels where the first (the explicit) level will facilitate the research into the second (the implicit) level of inquiry. For the former, the research concentrated on four major areas pertaining to the training provision for training of new members of a sub-ecology which would be a component of the international community, namely, the provision for :

1. the acquisition of appropriate code of the new ecology,
2. the discourse that draws on the code,
3. the essential negotiation experience of the new ecology,
4. the role experience which affect their negotiation competence.

That is to say, in the absence of role, no form of negotiation can be effective, without any negotiations there is no need for discourse, and code is not meaningful without discourse. Hence, there would be no code-control and code-selection.

The procedures for acquiring evidence were guided by the following questions pertaining to code and negotiation competence :

1. What are the criteria that determine *de facto* membership of neophytes to the ecology ?
2. Does code determine membership of new members into the ecology ?



With reference to (2) :

- a. What code(s) is selected by mature members of the ecology when new members are involved ?
  - b. Following from (a) what code is adopted when non-Malaysian members or members of the international community are involved in the negotiations vis-a-vis Malaysian participants?
  - c. How efficient are Malaysians in their code-control?
  - d. What determines the selection of a particular code?
3. How efficient are they as negotiators in the sub-ecology with a view of the international ecologies (*Gesellschaften*) in terms of their :
- (a) code-control ?
  - (b) discourse control ?
  - (c) negotiation competence ?
  - (d) role in the ecology ?

Data from these areas provided evidence on the mechanisms available for the effective participation of neophyte members of the new ecologies (*Gesellschaft*) that is, the business and industrial communities. Investigation at the implicit level was to elicit data on code preference. Data from the first level of investigation provided some of the required evidence.

## 4.2 The Researcher as Participant Observer

Based on the nature of the investigation, the constraints of the setting and the resources available, an appropriate and plausible procedure for acquiring evidence has to be adopted for the study. Smircich (1983) proposed that there are three main approaches available to the researcher. These are observation, participation and gathering reports from informants. The various methods of gaining observational data are

participation observation, field observation, qualitative observation, direct observation, or field research. All these terms refer to the circumstances of being in or around an on-going social setting for the purpose of making a qualitative analysis of that setting (Lofland, 1971 : 93).

And these approaches use

the capacity that any social actor possesses for learning new cultures and the objectivity to which this process gives rise. Even where he or she is researching a familiar group or setting, the participant observer is required to treat it as anthropologically 'strange' in an effort to make explicit the assumptions he or she takes for granted as a culture member. In this way the culture is turned into an object of study (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983 : 8).

Advantages of this method of inquiry include the researcher's ability to better "understand the context within which program activities occur" which is "essential to a holistic perspective" (Patton, 1987 : 73). Also in this approach the researcher is able to make his or her own perceptions as a part of the data. By doing this the researcher is able to present a more comprehensive view of the program being studied (Patton, *ibid.*).

The extent of the researcher's involvement in the setting being studied depends on the nature of the investigation. For instance, participation observation is a strategy which

simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection (Denzin, 1978 : 183).

The focus of this is to understand meaning of human existence as seen from the standpoint of insiders (Znaniecki, 1934; Spradley, 1980). The roles of the participant also range from the performance of nominal and marginal roles to the performance of native, insider, or membership roles (Junken, 1960; Gold, 1958). The researcher's involvement may therefore be "overt" (with the knowledge of insiders) or "covert" (without the knowledge of insiders) (Jorgensen, 1989 : 21). The participant observer will therefore have to perform multiple roles during the course of the investigation in order to gain at least a "comfortable degree of rapport, even intimacy, with the people, situation, and settings of research" (Jorgensen, *ibid.*).

It has been argued that people may behave quite differently when aware that they are under observation. Labov (1972 : 112) advocates that in order

to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed.

This dilemma which refers to what he calls the "observer's paradox" leads him to conclude that

no matter how insightful or productive these studies may be, they do not bring us much closer to the fundamental data of language in use than we were before.

With regard to obtaining "natural data" Labov suggests that it is necessary to minimise outside intrusion and to find an occasion when the data collected has every chance to be as natural as possible. The classic participation observation case is his department store survey (Labov, 1966 : 63 - 89).

For the purpose of acquiring the natural data needed the argument goes that covert observations are more likely to capture what is really happening than are overt observations which allow people in the study to become aware that they are being studied. However, there have been arguments for and against covert observations. Shils (1959, quoted in Webb, *et al*, 1966 : vi) argue against

any observation of private behaviour, however technically feasible, without explicit and fully informed permission of the person to be observed.

He argues further that participant observations are "morally obnoxious...manipulations". However, Douglas (1976, quoted in Gill and Johnson, 1991 : 109) proposes that participant observation can enable the researcher to penetrate the various complex forms of misinformation, fronts, evasions and lies that are considered endemic in most social settings.

In terms of participation, Gill and Johnson (1991 : 76) also point out that there is the common fallacy of thinking that the ideal qualitative research is "always and only full and complete participation in the program, what is often called "going native". Thus they advocate that

the ideal is to negotiate and adopt that degree of participation which will yield the most meaningful data given the characteristics of the participants, the nature of questions to be studied, and the socio-political context of the setting (ibid.).

In order to proceed with a plausible task of gaining the necessary naturalistic evidence for the investigation, it is believed that the researcher meets all the criteria of a participant observer set up above (Hammersley and Atkinson; Patton; Znaniecki; Spradley; Junken; Jorgensen; Labov, and Douglas) and therefore, it would be appropriate for the researcher to adopt this role in the investigation.

By adopting this role in the investigation would help the researcher to reduce the risk of Labov's "observer's paradox". Van Lier (1982 : 136) argues that in addition to selecting the participants for the study another major consideration is how to gain their participation, in other words

the issue of access is closely related to sampling and even sampling is to some extent dependent upon access.

Gaining the various participants for this investigation was facilitated by the fact that the researcher is a member of staff of the Modern Language Department who had a previous experience of conducting a course in Business Communication (hereafter, BC) for the SPT students. More importantly, the researcher's task would be conceived as a natural undertaking of one who have been responsible for setting up and developing materials for this course and the investigation would be regarded as an evaluation exercise into the effectiveness of the course which would yield an evaluation report for the benefit of all the participants concerned. With this in mind, the researcher's role would have to be balanced between "being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation" (Spradley, 1980 : 60). Furthermore, having the experience of teaching the participants, the researcher is more familiar with the climate of the course, the students involved and the "comfortable degree of rapport, even intimacy with people, situation" would be more easily achieved. The researcher's experience in conducting the course

would provide the data from the researcher's point of view, as a member of the "culture", i.e. the insider's perceptions.

In order for a more comprehensive evaluation of the course, the SPTs would be considered as the natural participants in the investigation and they would also constitute the "insiders" point of view. In terms of the roles of the researcher, this would alternate between being the researcher (the outsider) and the member of staff (the insider) in the investigation. With the two levels of inquiry (the explicit and the implicit) the researcher therefore would have to adopt a covert observation for acquiring the implicit evidence and to partake in a "moderate participation" (Spradley, *ibid.*) for acquiring the explicit evidence in the investigation. Proceeding with such roles and having the opportunities for such an undertaking, it would be natural to have the SPT students, the course, the Language and SPT lecturers, as well as the training supervisors as the field of investigation (described in greater detail below).

### **4.3 The Field of Investigation**

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.6) it was stated that the dangers of underachievement of national goals and targets may manifest themselves at one level of the global Malaysian metabolic or development process. This fear was founded on the basis of the anecdotal feedback received from members of one of these communities. They expressed some unfavourable aspects of the nature of their industrial training at various business and industrial organisations.

The current investigation was undertaken to seek evidence of these potential dangers within the context of the national development process with a focus on a particular area that is, the absorption of new or naive members (neophytes) into new local sub-ecologies. It focused on the effective and efficient absorption of neophytes with reference to their professional competence in terms of code, discourse and negotiation

competence, related to their role. The research looked specifically at these future members in terms of how they :

- (1) acquire the new code of the new ecology,
- (2) acquire the specific discourse repertoires of the new ecology which draw on this code,
- (3) acquire the negotiation skills in this new code and discourse repertoires of the new ecology and
- (4) acquire their effectual role in the new ecology.

It is important to view the training in terms of these four parameters because of the dependency relationship between them; it is believed that if there is no role ascribed to the new members, they would not be able to negotiate outcomes; if they are not able to negotiate, they would not be able to acquire the range of discourse repertoires of the ecology and, if they do not have the experience of the use of discourse, the new code would not be perceived as meaningful.

With reference to the Malaysian human resource scheme, the metabolic or development process is regarded as occurring at different levels. Within the global metabolic process there are at least three phases of the process perceived which relate to the different stages of the education process in Malaysia. The first phase concerns the transition from school to the university environment, from school academic skills and code provision of English to skills and code provision in the university. The next phase is the transition from the university to the training environment, from the academic skills and code provision to ecology-specific skills and code provision. The third phase in the process is from the training environment to subsequent employment, from neophyte to non-neophyte environment. With each transition there is a change in their roles and a change in all the rules that govern participation in the environment, the culture and the "manners acceptable".

The investigation here is concerned with one particular segment of the global metabolic process namely the transition of Malaysian youths from the school environment to active members of Malaysian communities faced with the necessity of interfacing through the

superimposed non-indigenous code of new *Gesellschaft* ecologies that is, English, with communities of other regions.

The focus of the study is in the area where successful outcomes of negotiations is very important with reference to the needs of the national goals. These are the international business and industrial ecologies. And the study here focused on the management training attachments recognised here as the second level of transition. It is believed that successful negotiations at this level will help expose the nature of negotiations at the third level of the metabolic process. Therefore, the in-depth study done investigated the training for absorption of linguistically, conceptually and experientially immature members into specific ecologies. The research evaluated the community role of the naive members with reference to code and negotiation control in the new ecology.

It was stated earlier that the possible dangers of underachievement may manifest themselves at one level of the Malaysian development process. It is obvious that the global metabolic process would involve a large portion of the population of the national multiverse. To have access and more importantly to gain data from these ecologies would mean a more wide scale research. This enterprise is beyond the scope of this study. Based on the researcher's status as a member of staff at the university, it would be appropriate to select the participants that the researcher had the experience of teaching (see Section 4.2). Any problems diagnosed here may provide valuable insight into the efficiency of the global metabolic process and hence, the possible underachievement of national goals and targets. Investigation done seeks to determine to what extent these neophytes are initiated to become effective members of the new ecology in terms of the four parameters elaborated above.

The new members concerned here are the Sarjana Pengurusan Teknologi (hereafter, SPT) or the Management (Technology) degree students at UTM, Malaysia. These are students of the relatively new management course which was initially set up in Kuala Lumpur in July, 1987. Its initial intake was only twenty-nine students. But, after the

major move in 1988, from the Kuala Lumpur campus to the present main campus in Skudai, Johor Bahru, all SPT courses are now offered in Skudai only. Since then the number of the SPT intake has risen and it is projected to increase in the coming academic year where there will be an intake of 120 first year students instead of the usual 60. Although it is nearly nine years since the course was offered, there is still a growing concern for the effectiveness of this course in producing the desired management graduates that the country needs. The students selected for this study constitute the fourth intake to the course. Therefore it is believed that an investigation into such concerns should be conducted for the betterment of the SPT course which in turn may provide some input to the global metabolic process.

These students have to attend a six-month industrial attachment at places of their choice as their course requirement. The attachment is perceived (by the neophytes and the lecturers) as a form of preparation for their eventual employment. Based on the researcher's role as a member of staff (see Section 4.2 above) and the research agenda, it would be natural for the study to select these students and the provision for proper functioning of these neophytes, as the field of investigation. Their opinions and attitudes to the provision, not exclusively code, would provide the database for this research.

The investigation would also involve the SPT lecturers and the training supervisors. Involvement of these participants is considered to be a good coverage for the study. The researcher's own perceptions as an insider and observations as an outsider would present a more comprehensive evaluation of the setting under studied. The various categories of participants are elaborated in the following sections.

#### **4.4 Participants in the Investigation**

The participants involved in this study include the SPT students, the members of the Language and Management Departments and, the UTM and in-house supervisors at the



places of attachments. Brief descriptions of each group of participants are presented here. Following that, the procedures followed for gaining their participation are also discussed.

#### **4.4.1 Participants : The Neophytes**

The SPTs at UTM are the main participants in this investigation. As stated earlier these are students pursuing the course in Management with a technology bias at the main UTM campus in Skudai Johor Bahru, a state in south Malaysia. They are the product of the current education system where Bahasa Malaysia is the medium of instruction. Their exposure to English would be limited to their English courses only. Although the current system gives a strong emphasis on English, it is suspected that the medium of instruction has a strong influence in the use of Bahasa Malaysia in their everyday communication. It is believed that these students would be more proficient in the national code than in the code for internationalism, i.e. English. Therefore, data obtained might reveal the suitability and the effectiveness of the national education policy and the national language policy as mechanisms for the global metabolic process.

The population investigated was taken in entirety, the neophytes were not sampled. They are those who have the golden opportunity to reassess themselves and to reflect on their attachment after the six-month period. This is possible because the attachment was done in the second semester of their fourth year which means that they have at least another one academic year (two semesters) before they actually seek employment (see Table 4.1 below). This arrangement is unique to UTM only. Students from other local universities do not have this opportunity as their attachment is done in their last semester/term prior to graduating.

The attachment carries eight credits towards their final grade which suggests the importance placed on such attachments. It is believed then, that this will be a prime motivating factor for active participation during the attachments. The in-house

supervisor's assessment carries about 20% towards their final grade. More importantly, active participation and significant contributions towards the company may result in the offer of a job later. Therefore students are encouraged to grasp this opportunity to "learn" as much as they can.

The industrial training is done during the second semester of their fourth year. The table below shows a summarised structure of the SPT courses. As shown, they are also required to attend three two week practical at three engineering workshops in the three faculties, namely, the Mechanical, Civil and Electrical. These are included as part of the course which are aimed at providing them with the knowledge of technical skills although no credits are awarded for attendance.

<----- ONE ACADEMIC YEAR ----->			
Year	Semester 1 (July - 16 weeks)	Semester break	Semester 2 (December - 16 weeks)
1	SPT lectures 1st year Common English course	2 weeks practical (Civil department)	SPT lectures 1st year Common English course
2	SPT lectures RELP	2 weeks practical (Mechanical department)	SPT lectures RELP
3	SPT lectures RELP	2 weeks practical (Electrical department)	SPT lectures RELP (Business Communication I)
4	SPT lectures (Business Communication II)	Some students begin their attachment	<b>Training attachment - 24 weeks</b>
5	SPT lectures Public Speaking (Business Communication III)	Thesis/Project work	Thesis/ Project work

Table 4.1 Summary of the SPT Courses for One Academic Year

Currently all 1st year students including the SPTs, have to attend a matriculation course referred to as First Year Common for two semesters in their first year. Here the course includes English, Mathematics and Science subjects. In their second and third year all students are required to attend the English course conducted by the Modern Language

department more commonly known as RELP (Reorganised English Language Programme). In this course the four language skills are emphasised (refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.2).

According to the former SPT syllabus, students were required to attend three courses in Business Communication shown in parentheses in the table above. These are courses designed specifically for the SPTs and a pass is required for each of these courses in order to proceed to the next one. Prior to the abolishment, two courses (BCI and BCII) were conducted before the training attachment with the aim of providing some of the negotiation skills, code and discourse strategies needed while on training. The last course (BCIII) is conducted after their training attachment. In these courses, students were allowed to operate at their own level of ability and this gives rise to criterion-referenced form of evaluation (Roe, 1989). Courses offered practice in tasks such as participation in meetings and performing assigned roles, presenting proposals and reports, and writing business correspondences (Noor Abidah, 1990). These were integrated into the three courses and each one builds on the previous course. However, these courses are no longer offered to the students and BCIII is now replaced by a single Public Speaking course in the fifth year as shown above.

Although no sampling was done, participation however, was open to the 3rd, 4th, 5th SPTs and SPT graduates only. The first and second years were not involved in the study based on the level of maturity of their responses in the interviews done in stage 1 of the study (see Section 4.6.1). It was found that their responses were very limited in range and depth compared to those offered by their senior peers. And with reference to the different phases in the training, the students selected for the study were categorised into different training environments (hereafter, TE).

TE1 comprise the 3rd years or the pre-trainees. Depending on which semester they are in (refer to Table 4.1) they have another two/three semesters before their training attachment. By the end of the second semester they would have completed the three two-

week practical at the three engineering workshops. In terms of the provision of code at this level of their training they have an English course (RELP) to attend (refer to Table 4.1 and see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.2).

The 4th year students (in the first semester of their fourth year) make up TE2 who would have one semester prior to their attachment. According to the current SPT syllabus, there is no code provision in terms of English courses (either RELP or BC) at this level of their training. At this stage they are required to begin their negotiations (applications) with various places of attachments of their choice. Early negotiations may result in obtaining the attachment at places of their choice. Otherwise, and this is quite common, they would have to rely on places that accept their applications but not necessarily the place of their choice. Also, it is quite common for students not to get any offers at all. As a consequence, these students would have to rely on offers obtained by other applicants who have more than one offer. Failure to obtain a place for attachment will result in a failure of the whole 4th year course and the student would have to repeat the whole academic year.

Members of TE3 comprise students who are attending the six-month or 24 week industrial attachment (from November to April). Some of them extended their training period for another month based on the request of the respective organisation. TE3s were interviewed during their training attachments

The students who are categorised as TE4 are the ones who were interviewed immediately after their return from the training attachment. They are previously the members of TE3 above. They were interviewed again to obtain their immediate reaction to the training they have gone through.

Members of TE5 are the final year students who had done their training the year before and who are looking forward to subsequent employment. At this level of the training, there is a provision of the code in the form of a course called Public Speaking.

For reasons of uniformity the graduates in early employment were also categorised as one of the training environments, TE6. They are at their early employment stage (between 6 to 8 months). They would have done their required six-month industrial attachment at least six months before obtaining employment.

These six categories of training environments are summarised as in Table 4.2 below :

TE	Year of Study	Training Level
1	3rd Year	Pre-training
2	4th Year	Pre-training
3	4th Year	During training
4	4th Year	After training
5	5th Year	Post-training
6	Graduate	Early employment

Table 4.2 Categories of Participants - the Neophytes

These categories are then divided into the three main ethnic *Gemeinschaft* groups, namely Malay, Chinese and Indian. This was necessary since membership to different *Gemeinschaft* communities is considered as one of the factors affecting the selection of codes in the interviews. The participants are further categorised in terms of the sex. These divisions yield the various categories as shown in Table 4.3 below.

The total number of participants from all the TEs is roughly the same. The lists of students were obtained from the registration list of intakes in the Management department. Students were first divided into the categories above. Then the researcher selected every second student from the list to participate in the interviews and those to respond to the questionnaires.

(TE)	Ethnic <i>Gemeinschaft</i> Group	Sex (Male/ Female)	Number of Participants	Total Participants
1	Malay	M	24	60
		F	14	
	Chinese	M	8	
		F	10	
	Indian	M	3	
		F	1	
2	Malay	M	23	59
		F	15	
	Chinese	M	10	
		F	9	
	Indian	M	3	
		F	1	
3	Malay	M	22	60
		F	16	
	Chinese	M	9	
		F	10	
	Indian	M	1	
		F	2	
4	Malay	M	22	60
		F	16	
	Chinese	M	9	
		F	10	
	Indian	M	1	
		F	2	
5	Malay	M	20	54
		F	11	
	Chinese	M	12	
		F	7	
	Indian	M	3	
		F	1	

Table 4.3 A Breakdown of the Participants from TEs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

#### 4.4.2 Participants : Members of Staff of the Language Department

Interviews in stage one of the study was conducted by the researcher herself. With hindsight, it was discovered that students who participated were those who knew the researcher from their experience of the BC courses. This was thought to have affected their participation. Furthermore, the bonds created between the researcher and the neophyte would have been established prior to the interviews. Hence, there would be less negotiation in terms of code. In order to observe how these are established between members of different *Gemeinschaft* other participants were involved. This was

necessary on the basis of the researcher's field of investigation as explained earlier. The involvement of other interviewers would also help reduce the influence of interviewer "bias". The total number of interviewers nominated for participation in the in-depth study is six (3 females and 3 males).

The interviewers, were identified in terms of their sex, membership of ethnic *Gemeinschaft*, age, status and their familiarity with the members of the university, i.e. the neophytes participated. These are believed to have some effect on the neophytes' and interviewers' choice of code when engaged in the interview. These are variables that would trigger off assumptions about shared beliefs, common customs, shared "rules of conduct", "acceptable manners", roles, bonds and relationships, which would affect the possibilities of codeswitching.

#### **4.4.2.1 Membership of ethnic *Gemeinschaft***

The choice of interviewers based on ethnicity is to highlight the saliency of ethnic identification in the choice of code. Such a selection would not be so marked with students from the Chinese or Indian *Gemeinschaft* where rules or shared experience differ from those of the Malay *Gemeinschaft*. Thus their code selection is open to both English and Malay.

For instance, members from the Malay *Gemeinschaft* would have a strong tendency to select Malay when interacting with members of the same *Gemeinschaft* (refer to Chapter 3, Table 3.9 on language choice at the unofficial level). For these participants there is a choice of sub-varieties of Malay from the refined Malay to the colloquial variety depending on the assumptions of bonds and relationships (refer Chapter 3, Table 3.6 on variety and sub-variety of Malay). Whilst with the others, their choice of Malay, if it is selected, is suspected to be restricted to the educated Malay or perhaps, the standard Malay based on the education background of these neophytes.

#### 4.4.2.2 Sex

This factor is suspected to be an important trigger to the assumptions on shared and common experience between the participants of the interview. For example, it would be interesting to see the code selected by a male member of the Malay *Gemeinschaft* when interacting with a female member of the same *Gemeinschaft* or even between a female Malay interviewer and a female Chinese interviewee.

#### 4.4.2.3 Age (seniority)

The saliency of age in affecting code-selection would highlight the principles (refer to Thom in Chapter 2) governing the different *Gemeinschaft* where age is closely related to the rank and status of a particular member within the community. For example, age would be the trigger for selection of the refined Malay variety to show respect within the Malay *Gemeinschaft*. Age which is also a significant principle within the Chinese *Gemeinschaft* would also be a trigger for members from this *Gemeinschaft*.

#### 4.4.2.4 Status

Closely related to rank is status which in turn affects the credibility of the interviewer. It is suspected that the higher the interviewer is in the departmental ranks, for example, if he or she is/was a Head of Department, the more likely that the language selected for the interview would be Malay. This variable would emphasise the effect of *Gemeinschaft* principles which gives priority to status, adhered to by members of the different communities. With that, the refined Malay variety and/or educated variety would be selected in the interview to show the formality of the bonds between neophytes and the interviewers, and also to show respect. Therefore *Gemeinschaft* principles may operate and influence the opportunities of codeswitching.



#### 4.4.2.5 Familiarity

One of the variables that might have an effect on the assumptions on bonds, shared experience and code-selection is the degree of familiarity of the interviewers with the neophytes involved in the interviews. This was observed during the initial study. Two of the interviewers have had experience in teaching some of the SPT students the BC courses in the previous years. Such familiarity would trigger different assumptions on bonds and relationships and shared experience. Although factors such as age, ethnicity, status may affect codeswitching, familiarity between the participants may trigger other assumptions. For instance, there is suspected to be more codeswitching and codemixing in these interviews where code-selection would not be restricted to that of the refined/educated variety of Malay alone.

It is suspected that there will be less codemixing and codeswitching in interviews conducted by the other interviewers who have not had the experience of teaching the SPT students. Nevertheless, the other interviewers may have had the opportunity of teaching the SPT students (depending on the allocation in the timetable) the mainstream English language course (i.e. RELP). The nature of this familiarity might trigger the selection of English in the interviews, regardless of ethnic, age, status of the interviewers, i.e. other rules may be in play.

A summary of the interviewers is given in the table below. "Interviewer code" is an identification code for the transcription files. The table also shows (in the last column) the nature of their participation in the interviews.

Sex	Ethnic Gemeinschaft Group	Interviewer Code	Brief Description	Participated in Interviews with Members of
M	Malay	ar	- a former head of the Modern Language department currently a senior lecturer in the same department	TEs 1, 2 & 5
M	Malay	fr	- a lecturer in the Modern Language department with no prior teaching experience with the SPTs but is currently one of the training supervisors.	TE5
M	(Chinese)	kh	- a senior lecturer in the Modern Language department who is also a Muslim convert	TEs 1, 2 & 5
F	Eurasian	ad	- a senior lecturer in the department and who was recently appointed the associate professorship.	no interviews done
F	Malay	hd	- a junior lecturer in the Modern Language department who has taught the SPTs the course in Business Communication	TEs 1, 2 & 5
F	Malay	ab	- the researcher who is also a lecturer in the Modern Language department and also has taught the SPTs the course in Business Communication	Members of all TEs

Table 4.4 A Brief Description of the Interviewers from the Language Department

#### 4.4.3 Participants : the SPT Lecturers

As part of the field of investigation the other participants in the study are the SPT lecturers. Participation from them are in the form of lectures they give as part of the SPT course. This is conceived as part of the provision available for the students prior to and after the training, and for subsequent participation in the new ecology. Therefore, the research needed evidence of the provision, viz. the lectures.

#### 4.4.4 Participants : the Training Supervisors

Participation from the training supervisors (both UTM and in-house) was also necessary. Input from them would provide further insight into the provision currently available and

the nature of the neophyte's performances based on their evaluations and assessments.

In order to do this and to reduce "intrusion", the researcher had to attend meetings between the UTM and in-house supervisors at the attachment places. The UTM training supervisors were also interviewed.

#### **4.4.5 Meeting the Participants**

Prior to data collection, the researcher met with all the participants involved, with the exception of the in-house supervisors. These meetings were different with each category of participants as described below.

##### **4.4.5.1 Meetings with neophytes**

The initial negotiation for gaining participation from the students on campus and those on attachment were done with the Head of the Management Department. The Head was very forthcoming and could not envisage any problems regarding the needs of the research. However, the researcher was advised to consult individual lecturers to avoid misunderstandings. The negotiations had to be done with the respective management lecturers, and those who are acting as training supervisors.

The researcher then met the 3rd, 4th and 5th years during a ten minute briefing for each group. These briefings were possible through the courtesy of three SPT lecturers. In the briefing, the research aim was explained and students were informed that some of them have been selected to participate in the interviews and some were selected to respond to the questionnaires. They were then notified by a memo through the internal post. These memos state the name of the student, the name of the interviewer and the interviewer's room. The time of the interview was not stated. This was deliberately done in order to allow the students some freedom in determining/negotiating the interview time with the respective interviewers. It was quite necessary to make such allowances because each

student and interviewer had different time-tables and hence, their free time would not coincide. For the researcher to dictate the time would disrupt both their schedules.

However, allowance for such freedom (and, to some degree, trust) had its disadvantages. On the one hand, the selected students had to take extra initiative in approaching the interviewers. It is believed that their full time-table may have discouraged participation because it would incur extra time to be set aside for the interviews, time which they are very much hard-pressed to relinquish. On the other hand, the interviewers themselves were not always available for negotiation due to their respective workload and responsibilities. They too had to set aside time for the interviews. Nevertheless, some neophytes participated and the numbers of TEs 1, 2 and 5 who participated are as follows :

TE	Ethnic <i>Gemeinschaft</i> Group	Participants Interviewed		Total
		M	F	
1	Malay	1	1	2
	Chinese	4	6	10
	Indian	0	0	0
2	Malay	3	3	6
	Chinese	4	0	4
	Indian	1	1	2
5	Malay	4	0	4
	Chinese	6	3	9
	Indian	0	0	0
Total		23	14	37

Table 4.5 Number of Neophytes Participated (TEs 1, 2 and 5)

Participation from members of TE3 was based on access to the students which was initially granted by the Head of the department. However, the respective UTM supervisors were also consulted. Consultation with the six supervisors involved was done during which the purpose of the research and what is involved were carefully explained. They were further assured that the interviews will not last for more than thirty minutes.

Out of the six consulted, four expressed some reservations about the researcher's visit/interview. They argued that such visits would unduly disrupt the student's training routine. After further discussion the supervisors suggested that perhaps the interview could be done during the last week of the attachment period when they believed the students would have completed most of their work and would have more time to accommodate the researcher. The researcher had no other choice but to comply to this suggestion. As a result a majority of the students under their supervision could not be interviewed.

The other two supervisors were more forthcoming and welcomed such interest in their students. This was very encouraging and they understood the researcher's need to include discussions with supervisors as part of the database of the investigation. Based on this understanding, one of them invited the researcher to accompany her during her second supervisory visit. The invitation was accepted and the researcher was able to interview all the eight students under her supervision. More visits of this nature would have been advantageous to the study.

As explained earlier the students participated in the interviews at different times. Some of them were interviewed at least one month before the end of the training period (in May) but others had to be interviewed during their last week at their respective attachments. For those who requested for extension of their training period stayed until the end of June.

Participation from other neophytes (not the eight who participated earlier) was negotiated with respective students. Personal telephone calls were made by the researcher to the trainees at their respective attachments. A few were unable to be reached. But those who were contacted were willing to assist. Out of the 59 trainees, the number participated was 24 and this yield the breakdown as shown in the following table :

TE	Ethnic <i>Gemeinschaft</i> Group	Participant Interviewed		Total
		M	F	
3	Malay	12	4	16
	Chinese	4	3	7
	Indian	0	1	1
Total		16	8	24

Table 4.6 Number of Neophytes Participated (TE3)

Similar problems were encountered with regard to participation from members at the employment stage i.e. the SPT graduates. There was first the main difficulty of determining their present places of employment. Members of the teaching staff were consulted but up-to-date information was not available. The researcher also consulted with some of the members of the university environment. A few of them supplied some addresses. Apart from these problems, their work schedule also did not permit their participation. As a result two participated in the interviews. However, only one was recorded. The other was not done due to a faulty tape recorder.

#### 4.4.5.2 Meetings with the interviewers

One interviewer (ad) who was selected for the study opted out of the interviews due to personal reasons. It was suspected that the nature of the interview, especially its code requirement, was the main deterrent. The suspicion developed after a lengthy discussion with the respective interviewer on the matter of the code of the interview. The interviewer insisted that the interviews were designed to "test" her language abilities although the aim of the interviews was specifically explained.

The choice of code was also one of the aspects of the interview that was discussed with the other interviewers. In order not to disclose the hidden agenda (the implicit inquiry) of the investigation (that is to highlight code and code-control based on the assumptions of bonds, and common experience) the interviewers were assured that the interviews are not designed to expose their inaccuracy or non-fluency in either Malay or English. The research is more concerned with the assumptions that trigger their choice of codes.

A week prior to the interviews the selected interviewers were briefed on the requirements of the investigation. This was done on a one-to-one basis so as to allow each interviewer to discuss any aspect of the interview more freely. Each of them was given a set of detailed instructions on how the interviews are to be conducted (refer to Appendix 2 for the instructions). They were briefed on the procedure of negotiating the time of interview between them and the students. Different sets of the interview scripts (depending on the neophytes to be interviewed by them) were distributed. As a reminder they were given the "stock advice" (Foddy, 1993) to tell the students that any responses they gave would be treated in confidence.

Apart from these, tapes for recording the interviews were also supplied but it was left to the individual's initiative to supply the tape recorder. Each was given at least four 60 minute tapes at the initial stage and were informed to request for more as the need arises.

#### **4.4.5.3 Meetings with the SPT lecturers**

SPT lecturers met were informed of the need for their contributions. Here the researcher had to "participate" as a researcher investigating provision of lectures. However, because the researcher was conceived as a member of staff of the Language Department this triggered the assumption that the aim of the investigation was to evaluate the lecturers' code-control in the lectures. Although the aims of the research were explained they were still quite reluctant to participate. As a result, only three lecturers agreed to participate.

#### **4.4.5.4 Meetings with the training supervisors**

The UTM supervisors were approached but as explained earlier only two agreed to participate. Out of these two the researcher were able to accompany only one of them. At the same time the researcher also discussed the need to attend meetings with the respective in-house supervisors as input for the research. All but one in-house

supervisors agreed to participate.

#### **4.5 Scope and Limitations of Study**

For any research which involves participation from informants, access to them is a crucial aspect of the research. Access to particular participants in many cases may involve negotiations with "gatekeepers". This notion applies to the present study as the participants not only involve those at the university but also, participants at the respective training attachments. Based on the researcher's role and identity as a member of staff (refer Sections 4.2 and 4.3) the question of access was not an issue, since the study was conceived as a natural undertaking by the researcher and the neophytes involved are regarded as natural participants to the investigation. Nevertheless, the research acknowledged that some problems were encountered with gaining more members of the early employment to participate in the study. It is believed that more participation from them would further enrich the findings of the study. However, the rich evidence obtained in this study was not marred by this.

The study is further limited to only the 3rd, 4th, 5th SPTs and graduates only. These particular students were selected on the assumption that they are considered to be more matured than the 1st and 2nd years. These two years were not considered helpful as they are relatively very new to the course and still have at least two more academic years (five semesters) before they embark on their training attachment. This was evidenced from the responses obtained from the interviews in the initial investigation. The other SPTs are expected to have more ideas on the aims of the training and their contribution to the study is anticipated to be more matured and would be more useful.

The 4th year trainees are the focus of the study and participation from them was crucial. The 5th years were involved in order to collate their experience and their considered views on the attachment as well as their projection for the future. The SPT graduates



were selected in order to obtain first hand experience of being new participants to the games in the new ecology. Experience from them regarding the efficacy of the training attachments would be regarded as highly informative.

In addition to the holistic nature of the investigation there was also no control imposed on the variables of the neophytes, the SPT lecturers and the training supervisors participated. Some consideration was however, imposed on the interviewers.

Another limitation to the study is that it involved participants from one university only. It has not included neophytes from other local institutions and therefore, does not claim to represent the views and problems of other neophytes. Nonetheless, some findings reported (see Chapter 3) by researchers from other universities suggest similar concerns of underachievement at this level of the metabolic process.

#### **4.6 The Two Stages of Investigation**

Based on the nature of the investigation and the researcher's roles as participant observer, the data was gained by interviews, questionnaires, observations of meetings and recorded lectures. These were thought to be useful and comprehensive coverage, and serve triangulation purposes. These would allow the researcher to "get close to the data and to look for patterns of interrelationships between many categories" (McCracken, 1988 : 16). The investigation was done in two stages. The first stage of investigation was aimed at exploring the general areas of concern for potential underachievement of negotiations for membership to new ecologies. The feedback from this project was used to set up the second in-depth inquiry into these issues.

#### **4.6.1 The Initial Investigation**

In the first investigation the research was done to seek out the nature of the problem in terms of code and negotiation skills in this code and the effect of the provision. This was conducted with the aim of developing appropriate research instruments for the second in-depth study. This involved the SPT undergraduates at UTM who did their six-month practical attachments. The investigation took place during the first week of July of the new academic year 1993/1994.

##### **4.6.1.1 The interviews**

The main method employed for data collection in this initial investigation was interviews. These were of an exploratory nature in order to seek as much information as possible about the training provision in terms of content and linguistic provision, and to develop ideas in the research. This type of interview was adopted for the purpose of providing the opportunity for the identification and selection of the most useful and productive questions to be used in the interviews for the subsequent detailed investigation.

The SPTs were approached during their lecture periods. The aim of the investigation was explained to them and they were also informed that participation is on a voluntary basis. It was thought necessary to explain this in order to ensure that the interview is done in a relaxed atmosphere and to assure them that the interview was not a form of a "test" of their proficiency in English. It is believed that students may approach the interview with this assumption because of the background of the researcher who is from the Language Department, UTM and has been teaching streamline English courses plus the BC courses.

Out of the 50 SPT students of the different ethnic *Gemeinschaft* approached, only 24 actually volunteered. It is suspected that their full lecture time-tables affected their participation. More importantly, the fact that it is a voluntary involvement, and no formal

identification was done, most of the students may not have felt committed to participate. Nevertheless, those who participated were very responsive and were eager to relate their experience. A few even conveyed that they liked being given the opportunity to talk about their experience, which has never been initiated by the department.

Nine interviews were conducted and these were done in the language laboratory. A suitable place where there is minimum interference from the environment was necessary to ensure a good quality recording of the interviews. Most sessions were done during the day time and between lectures. Two interviews were done during the lunch hour and these extended to one hour each. The other seven sessions lasted approximately 55 minutes.

As there were students of various ethnic backgrounds and who may have some reservations about talking in public, they were given a choice as to whether to be interviewed on a one to one basis or if they prefer, to be interviewed in groups. This choice was explained to them during the initial briefing session. Only two out of the 24 students opted for the individual interview session. The rest were either in twos or more. Out of the seven group interviews only one group had a mixed ethnic composition. This was an all female group with one member from the Chinese *Gemeinschaft* and five from the Malay *Gemeinschaft*. The others were members of single ethnic *Gemeinschaft*.

In addition to these choices, the students were also briefed that they are free to select the language they wish to respond in the interviews. The language choice however, was restricted to only two : English and Malay, since the researcher's speech and verbal repertoire are restricted to these two languages only. The interviews however, were mainly conducted in English.

Acting on Oppenheim's (1992 : 67 - 68) suggestion that exploratory interviews should be recorded for purposes of detail analyses, for broadening and deepening original plan of research and for throwing up new dimensions to be studied all interviews in this study

were recorded. Permission to do this was obtained before commencing with the interviews. It was discovered that this did not pose as a major problem and the students were quite happy to participate and have their interactions recorded. Although a few of them felt slightly intimidated by the obvious presence of the tape recorder at the initial stages of the interview, this feeling was short-lived as the interview progressed, and as they became deeply engaged in the discussion.

Questions for the interview were mainly designed on the basis of the conceptual framework formulated at that particular stage of the research. The questions focused on the neophytes' experience, attitudes and opinions of the training attachment specifically in terms of the purpose of their attachments, the tasks they were engaged in, plus, the nature of their participation and relationships with other members of staff. At this stage there was no specific attention to the code used in the interviews. And since it was considered as an exploratory interview, questions were open-ended to encourage students to contribute. However, observation from this study regarding their code-control guided the design of the research instruments for the in-depth study to acquire evidence for both code-control and code-selection.

All the interviews were transcribed. Transcription though was limited to the content of the interview rather than the actual speech production. Nevertheless, codeswitching and codemixing were noted whenever these occur in the interview.

#### **4.6.1.2 Document analysis**

In order to support data from the interviews, samples of the supervisors' reports were also obtained and analysed. Eight in-house supervisors' reports and six students' reports were obtained for analysis based on the criteria proposed. Access to more students' reports were not possible at this time since most of these were still being examined by the respective supervisors.

#### 4.6.1.3 Observation of the initial investigation

In terms of the method employed for data collection the following observations were made :

(a) There was no difference in terms of the nature of the responses obtained in the individual and group interviews. Students were generally very responsive and were very eager to relate their experience. Nevertheless, the main disadvantage of the group interview was that the discussion was soon dominated by one or two students only. And this somewhat discouraged others to participate. Therefore, the interviews in the in-depth study were designed for individual sessions only for the purpose of obtaining maximum output from each participant.

(b) As for the choice of language used, with the exception of two Malay students ( one male and one female, in separate interviews, who switched their languages between Malay and English), the students responded in English to questions in English. The researcher switched to Bahasa only when the student responded or requested to respond in Bahasa. Nevertheless, they switched back to English during the latter course of the interview. Evidence of code-switching in this context is considered quite significant in terms of the notions of bonds and relationships described in Chapter 2. One example of where the participant switched to Malay is observed in the extract given here :

"...conclusion that you don't have to go to the university to be like that *maksudnya apa yang saya buat itu apa tak perlu kita masuk universiti untuk buat sesuatu perkara tersebut maksudnya gini...pada mulanya lah kan memangnya saya rasa dia orang layan saya seorang sebagai as a management student....they don't have to direct me to do this do that I have to manage myself and to plan what I have to do even my supervisor do not have any plan any schedule....so that if I not ask him to do some things I can sit down relax myself....there are no specific job that I have to do up to me.*

There is considerable anecdotal evidence to suggest that a choice of language (English/Bahasa) seriously affects the community seen both as *Gesellschaft* and

*Gemeinschaft*. Academic interviews (for e.g. Annie and Louis, 1993) conducted with speakers of Bahasa were all done in English. The researcher's intuition is that if the interviews had been done in Bahasa their importance would be seriously downgraded. If this suspicion is well-founded it has profound implications for the third anticipated danger expressed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5 earlier.

Based on the methodological experience the research instruments for the in-depth study were designed to take into account the dynamics of code-selection observed in the initial investigation. The interviews were designed to acquire samples of natural discourse to show the codes used in the interviews are attributed to factors such as the bonds, relationships and roles of the new members as well as their control of this code for effective participation in the new ecology.

#### **4.6.3 The Second Stage of Investigation**

In Section 4.1 above it was explained that the investigation operates at two levels : the explicit and implicit. In the overt level, the inquiry focused on acquiring data on the various provision of code, code-control and negotiation control of the new ecology that are available within the SPTs' training environment. These include investigating into the nature of provision for these neophytes to acquire their negotiation control related to the tasks delegated to them, the nature of their perceptions on their membership to the new ecology in terms of the bonds and relationships established during training, the roles entrusted to these new members, the provision of codes of the new ecology and the opportunities for participating in the ecology's associated games in this new code. Questions on these constitute the main agenda of the in-depth interviews (see Section 4.7.1).

The implicit or covert level of inquiry was aimed at investigating the dynamics of code selection during the interaction between both the participants in the speech event : the students and the interviewers, from different *Gemeinschaft* communities. It is to

investigate to what extent English is selected and preferred in the interactions and to what extent they feel "at home" with this code or regard it as one of their *Gemeinschaft* codes.

Therefore based on these two levels of inquiry the interviews had to be designed in a manner that would ensure data for both levels of investigation could be gained as efficiently as possible. The interviews designed for the detailed study were also guided by the researcher's previous experience in the initial investigation noted earlier. The dual levels of inquiry were also incorporated into the design of the questionnaire sets described in Section 4.7.2 below. The design of the research instruments for the second stage of investigation is discussed in greater detail below.

## **4.7 The Acquisition of Evidence from Participants**

With reference to the nature of the investigation it was necessary for the research to adopt an efficient form of data collection which would yield maximum natural spoken discourse. It was decided that interviews would be the appropriate means to gain both the explicit and implicit evidence of skills and code provision, code-control, attitudes and confidence in this code. To support these, data was also obtained from questionnaires. Further evidence was acquired from observations of meeting and lectures recorded.

### **4.7.1 Interviews**

Interviews, as research tools, have often been compared and contrasted with natural conversations. Ferguson (1975 : 10) thinks that interviews, in general tend to be structured in a way that casual conversations are not. He states that

there are such considerable differences between the interview and the everyday casual conversation that some investigators feel obliged to draw a sharp distinction between them.

Wolfson (1976 : 192) on the other hand points out that the differences between interviews and conversations lie in the fact that the subject does not have the right to introduce new topics during an interview, severely restricts his opportunities for introducing narratives and the subject in the interview knows that what he is expected to do is to give answers to a series of questions.

A different image of interview is given by Gorden (1969 : 3) who states that the term interviewing

evokes images of a person taking a census, doing a sample opinion poll, interviewing prospective employees - all done in some setting in which the person's major activity is interviewing.

Wolcott (1988 : 194) on the other hand regards interviews as

anything that the fieldworker does that intrudes upon the natural setting and is done with the conscious intent of obtaining particular information directly from one's subjects.

However, Denzin (1970 : 123) characterises an interview as the

face-to-face verbal exchange in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions or opinions or beliefs from another person or persons.

According to Levinson (1983 : 318) the interview and conversation are two general conversational activities. They both involve the use of direct face-to-face interaction with the exchange of turns and other necessary features of verbal and non-verbal interactions. Khan and Cannell (1957) consider the difference between interviews and conversations as being essentially that of expression. The interviewer's problem is to induce a sequence of communication in a relatively short span of time and consisting as far as possible of items relevant to the topic under investigation.



They also highlight the difference in the relationship between the participants in a conversation and in an interview. They stress that

whereas two people conversing ordinarily are talking for their own and each other's benefit, the participants in the interview are oriented primarily towards the audience (Khan and Cannell, 1957 : 23).

In terms of the nature of contribution, Zora (1986) refers to the higher frequency of pausing in interviews than in conversation to the amount of time available to interviewees to plan their utterances before delivering as opposed to its relative lack to conversation. He refers to "monitoring" where interviewees in general are always aware that they are being monitored which makes them always conscious of what they say whereas in natural conversation the participants are less conscious of their speech.

Denzin (1972 : 142) states that normal conversations give each interactor freedom to choose topics and to range widely in discussions. Interview talk, on the other hand, violates both of these assumptions - the respondents is not free to carry a topic through to completion and the interviewer controls what is discussed.

Writing on qualitative research in the marketing context, Robson and Foster (1989 : 26) emphasise that

the essence of any qualitative project is the interview stage. The interview process is the opportunity to listen, observe, question freely and in the light of what is said, interpret the individual's behaviour....the strength and weakness of qualitative research lies in the interviewing and interpretative skills of the researcher.

In this method of approach interviews or "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984 : 102) have been described as a valuable data collection tool. It is sensitive to their effects on the people they study. In-depth interviewing is modelled after normal conversation rather than a formal question and answer exchange (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984 : 6). It is said to be flexible where interviewers can probe for more specific answers, can repeat a question and can elicit greater response rate. There is also the opportunity to observe the

non-verbal behaviour of the respondents.

Perhaps the most attractive aspect of an interview is that it is a special case of social interaction between two persons and that the qualitative interview gives the respondent the opportunity to engage in an unusual form of sociality. The closeness of the nature of interviews with conversations as a research tool shows that it is a complex process in which much more than information is being sought or communicated. Interviews are favoured especially when the informants are accessible and when more "humanistic" approach to research is valued.

With reference to the objectives of the study the interview or "conversation with a purpose" is selected as the main format of participation from the neophytes, the SPT lecturers and the training supervisors. The flexibility of this purposeful conversation provides opportunities for the researcher to probe for more specific information from the participants. More importantly, the interviews would allow for the acquisition of samples of natural discourse to serve the two levels of investigation. On the one hand, the interview is used to gain the desired data on the provision of code and negotiation skills available at this level of the metabolic process. On the other hand, code-control and code-selection i.e. their performance can be observed without "further intrusion" into the neophytes' training environment. In order to allow for these the interviews are designed (see below) to acquire the maximum information needed for the overt level of inquiry and the "most natural discourse" possible for the second level of investigation.

#### **4.7.1.1 The different sets**

The interviews in this study were firstly distinguished into different sets corresponding to the six training environments (see Table 4.2 above). As stated the study examined the SPT neophytes at different stages of the negotiations to become members of the new ecology. This leads to the design of different sets of interview questions as shown in Table 4.7 below :

TE	Sets
1	1/2
2	1/2
3	3a
4	3b
5	4
6	5

Table 4.7 Sets of Interview Scripts

Nevertheless, all the interview scripts had similar structures and formats. The interviews were designed with specific features in order to replicate as closely as possible that of a conversation, to gain natural discourse.

#### 4.7.1.2 The structure

As previously explained, at the explicit level, the interviews were formulated to obtain the needed data on the nature of the provision available to the neophytes, their opinions and attitudes which would furnish insight into objectives 1 and 2 of the investigation (see Section 4.0). For this purpose, the interview questions were structured in terms of ascertaining the following aspects of the training environment :

- a) provision for effective functioning of new members of the new ecology in terms of code-control and negotiation-control,
- b) provision of community roles of these new members in the new ecology and
- c) the neophytes' perception of their roles and membership of the new ecology based on (a) and (b) above.

At the implicit level, the interviews were used to gain evidence for the hidden agenda, that is, the dynamics of codeswitching or the notion of preferred code of the new ecology. These interviews were aimed to expose the neophytes' performance in terms of code and code-control, to expose the effect of the provision described at the overt level of inquiry. Evidence for codeswitching and codemixing was found in the initial study although this was not the main focus of that particular investigation. The evidence

suggests that codeswitching occurs at particular points in the interview. For instance, codeswitching was observed at different topics in the exploratory interviews. Also, the fact that the students were engaged in an interview, a kind of *Gesellschaft* relationship is suspected to have affected the selection of code in the speech event. It was observed that there was a frequent selection of English in these interviews, suggesting the assumptions about the speech event. All these suggest that there are different kinds of bonds and relationships perceived between the interviewees and the interviewer. In order to gain further support of such perceptions, the conduct of the interviews in the in-depth study was orchestrated for efficient acquisition of samples of natural discourse.

#### **4.7.1.3 The format**

All the six interview sets had the same organisation format. Questions were divided into three main parts : A, B and C. Part A serves to gather the general information on the interviewees, namely, the name, year of study and wherever appropriate, the name of the supervisor (refer to Appendix 3 for samples). The interviewers were advised to spend as little time as possible in this part but at the same time to try to make the students feel more comfortable and relaxed.

Part B constitutes general knowledge questions which all the students were required to answer as best as they could. It contained a question on the neophytes' background as well as questions on what they know about VISION2020 with reference to two specific areas : their views and opinions on the role and the importance of training for the human resource and the role and the importance of a second language that is English as an important tool in achieving the objectives of this vision. These questions were also meant to lead the students gradually to the more specific questions in Part C. More importantly, related to Objective 1, they were also meant to reveal if the objectives of this planned development programme are understood and accepted by the new members of the ecology. It is to investigate if it has any unifying potential for the new members.

Questions in Parts A and B are therefore meant to put the interviewees at ease, they are "ice-breaker" questions for interviewer to gain rapport with the interviewee before concentrating on questions in Part C. These also provide the opportunities for establishing bonds between the participants and it is suspected that selection of codes would be negotiated at this stage, if not earlier, in Parts A or B. Questions here were also aimed at allowing the neophytes as respondents to "trust the researcher....and define the request for information as being legitimate" (Foddy, 1993 : 123). It is crucial for both participants especially the neophytes, not to perceive the questions as "threats" to them because "questions per se sometimes threaten respondents in a way that either influences their willingness to give answers at all or determine the nature of the answers that they do give" (ibid. : 112).

Therefore, as Douglas (1985 : 25 - 26) expresses that interviewing

involves the use of many strategies and tactics of interaction, largely based on an understanding of friendly feelings and intimacy, to optimise cooperative, mutual disclosure and a creative search for mutual understanding. It certainly does not always start out with a high degree of cooperation; and like any relationship, including the most friendly, it always involves some potential, or actual, conflicts that must be assiduously and creatively managed. However, it always involves some trust and cooperation....and....cooperation, like everything else, is created and recreated as we go along.

This "trust" is considered quite relevant in this study as information sought in Part C may be perceived as "threatening" to the participants. As Fowler and Mangione (1990 : 78) have observed that "it is well documented that material that is likely to be sensitive or embarrassing tends to be underreported in surveys".

Part C contains questions that reflected the different training environments and questions were organised into four sections :

- Section 1 General questions on training attachment,
- Section 2 Questions on tasks,
- Section 3 Questions on language use and
- Section 4 Questions on supervisor.

The interview questions in the initial study did not cater for the different students at the various stages of the training process. Differences in the responses were observed with different groups of students at these different levels. The interview questions for the in-depth study were thus designed to reflect these stages. The details of the different sections vary according to the different sets.

At the end of each interview script there was an open-ended question for each neophyte to express anything else that s/he feels relevant to the research.

#### **4.7.1.4 The style of questions**

The interview questions were prepared based on the initial study done. In this exercise questions were more exploratory in nature and were neither structured in any specific manner nor were they formulated in exact question statements. Nevertheless, the investigation was guided by specific areas pertaining to the nature of the training attachments. Experience from this has guided the researcher to reformulate the interview structure, the format, as well as the style of the interview questions for the in-depth investigation.

In order to gain samples of natural discourse that replicate a conversation while aiming at acquiring data for the overt inquiry, the style of the interview questions was designed in such a way that freedom was given to the respective interviewers to phrase the actual questions themselves. It is aimed at allowing the interviewer to "move naturally from topic to topic, maintaining the fiction of an interesting conversation" (Oppenheim, 1992 : 70). That is to say, the interview questions for all the sets contained prompts or instructions for specific topics and not the actual question statement. For example, the first question in Section B is about the student and the question is given as follows :

Part B (a) Get the student to talk a little bit about himself/herself.

The interview questions were also supplied with "running prompts" (Oppenheim, 1992 : 90) for the neophytes. The interviewers were briefed not to mention these when asking the question but to use them as guidance for the neophytes in cases where they may not have any ideas or responses to the questions. These prompts were obtained from the responses in the initial study and were found to be quite useful in encouraging the neophytes to respond. These therefore were incorporated into the questions wherever necessary.

The next two questions in Part B are about VISION2020 and the prompts for these are given as follows :

- Part B (b) Invite him/her to talk about WAWASAN 2020
- Part B (c) Elicit reactions to these areas in WAWASAN 2020 :
  - the role of training
  - the role of English

This style of interview questions was done for a specific purpose. It was for the interview to replicate as close as possible to a natural discourse. It is suspected that with such freedom given to the interviewer to formulate the questions would yield a more "natural" dialogue between the participants. It is thought that this would encourage the neophyte to talk more freely and not to feel like they are being tested on their language performance and their knowledge of their training attachment. This is crucial because a majority of the students felt very conscious about their language and tried to impress the interviewer in the initial study. The main aim of this interview format was to draw their attention away from their language although the research does seek evidence of their code and code-control.

Another reason for allowing such freedom to the interviewer is to allow them to select whatever code s/he wishes to use in the interview. Although all the interview scripts were set in English, they were free to conduct the interview in either Malay or English (see 4.7.1.5). This required them to translate the questions into Malay if this code is selected in the interview. Again it is suspected that such a task would yield a more

natural output from the interviewers.

The interviewers were also given the freedom to select those questions that he or she would like to ask the students. Although they were encouraged to begin the session with Parts A and B, they did not have to follow the order of the questions or sections provided that all the questions were asked at the end of the interview. The motivation for this is again to disguise the interviews as natural discourse. In order to fulfil the two levels of inquiry, seeking explicit evidence on provision and implicit evidence on code-control this style of questioning was considered to be appropriate for the study.

#### **4.7.1.5 The conduct**

In contrast to the group interviews in the initial investigation the interviews in the in-depth study were done on an individual basis. Group interviews were considered not suitable based on the previous experience where the interview was gradually dominated by only one or two of the students to the extent of discouraging others to participate.

The interviewers were briefed to alternate the conduct of the interviews between Malay and English and to observe consequent codeswitching. For example, if the first interview was conducted in English then the next one should be in Malay. This was necessary for the purpose of observing code-selection between the two participants in the interviews and for inferring the assumptions that govern such selections.

The interviewers were also explained the dynamics of the interview especially in giving the freedom to the interviewee to select the interview code. This would be either English or Malay. The freedom of choice was to be done very carefully so as not to draw the interviewees' attention to this aspect of the investigation. The interviewers were briefed to use whichever language that the interviewee selects at the absolute beginning of the interview. The language selected at this stage will be the code for commencing with the interview. However, the interviewee is also allowed to mix or more importantly, to



switch the language during the course of the interview. The switch could either be non-negotiated, that is the interviewee would do it "naturally" or negotiated which would involve in the interviewee overtly asking the interviewer if he or she could use another code. This was observed in the initial study where students actually requested to change code. In the latter case, the interviewer was requested to permit the switch and he or she was also asked to continue the interview with the new code selected.

#### **4.7.1.6 The codes**

As mentioned above both the interview participants were given the freedom to select the code of the interview. The interviewers were briefed before hand (see Conduct) that the language of the interview is not restricted to either Bahasa Malaysia or English alone and that the interviewees are free to answer in any language they select. However, although the neophytes are from different *Gemeinschaft* communities and may have access to more than two codes (see for example, Chapter 3, Table 3.8), the interviews were strictly confined to two codes only, namely, Malay and its sub-varieties and English with the exception of one interviewer (kh, see Table 4.4 above) who may have access to another code (Chinese).

#### **4.7.1.7 The duration**

The duration of the interviews depends on the different sets of participants (neophytes). The interviews for the trainees during the training attachment were structured so as not to last for more than thirty minutes for the obvious reason of not taxing too much of their training time. The other interviews were designed to last between thirty and forty-five minutes although in some cases these extended to nearly an hour, depending on the amount of contributions. Based on the previous experience where one interview lasted for more than 60 minutes, all the interviewers were advised to conduct the interviews between a minimum of 20 minutes and a maximum of one hour only. This is considered to be quite a reasonable period of time in which participants are able to give substantial

contribution to the topics discussed but short enough period for critical awareness not to lapse (Measor, 1985).

#### 4.7.1.8 The distribution of participants

As shown in the table below the participants (neophytes) were assigned to the respective interviewers. Only members of TE3, TE4 (during and after training) and TE6 (the graduates) were interviewed by the researcher alone. It was considered not feasible for the other interviewers to participate in these interviews, especially those during training, as this would involve extra hours outside the interviewers' normal working schedule. The researcher did not have the liberty to request such commitment from these interviewers as this would certainly disrupt their work routine.

TE	Training Level	Interviewer
1	Pre-Training	All Interviewers
2	Pre-Training	All Interviewers
3	During Training	The Researcher only
4	After training	The Researcher only
5	Post-training	All Interviewers
6	Early Employment	The Researcher only

Table 4.8 Distribution of Participants

The table above shows the distribution designated prior to the interview. However as a result of some of the difficulties encountered in getting the neophytes to participate in the interviews (see 4.4.5.1) the actual number of participants is as those shown in Tables 4.5, 4.6 above, and Tables 4.11 and 4.12 below.

#### 4.7.1.9 The recording of interviews

All the interviews were tape recorded for maximum input. The findings in the initial investigation which provided evidence of code-selection and code-control made recording

of the interviews in the second investigation an essential requirement. With such recordings it will be possible for further observations to be done on the dynamics of code-selection and code-control in the interaction.

Both sides of sixty and ninety minute tapes supplied by the researcher were used by all the interviewers. In total there are 40 tapes with varying degrees of efficiency. Although the interviewers were reminded to ensure that both the tapes and the tape recorders are in good working condition before commencing with the interviews, quite a number of them were badly recorded and as a result, it was very difficult to transcribe the interviews. A few other interviews were not recorded due to the faulty tape recorders. These faults however, also affected the interviews conducted by the researcher herself.

#### 4.7.1.10 The interview period

Most of the interviews were conducted during the second semester of the academic year 1993/1994 from the months of April to May with participants at the university, and from April to May, with those on attachments. However, a few were conducted during the first semester of the new academic year 1994/1995. Interviews with members of TE4 was done as early as possible in the new semester in order to acquire their immediate reactions to the attachments. The following table gives the general chronological account of the interviews (the numbers in parentheses refer to the different Training Environments) :

1993/1994 - Semester 2			1994/1995 - Semester 1			
April	May	June	July	August	September	October
<-----	(1)----->		<-----	-----	(2)-----	----->
<-----	(3)-----	----->	<---(4)-->			
<-----	(5)----->		<-----	-----	(6)-----	----->

Table 4.9 The Interview Schedule

Based on the research requirement for data from the written output, questionnaires were also designed.

#### **4.7.2 The Questionnaires**

Questionnaires were also developed to gain data on the dynamics of code-control and code-selection in the written data. These were based on the different interview sets. It was explained earlier that questionnaires were administered and distributed to neophytes who were not participants in the interviews (see Appendix 4 for samples).

##### **4.7.2.1 The different sets**

The different sets of questionnaires were also distinguished in the same way as those of the interview scripts. However no questionnaires were administered to members of TEs 3 and 4 because the training attachment has ended in April and since these were administered in October, the time lapse for members of TE4 is considered to be too long. Therefore questionnaires were administered only to members of TEs 1, 2, 5 and 6 only.

##### **4.7.2.2 The format**

The questionnaire sets had the same format as the interview scripts. Each had the same three major parts with the four sections in Part C. The questionnaires were also punctuated at the end by the same open-ended question inviting the neophytes to contribute other aspects not asked in the main questionnaire.

##### **4.7.2.3 The style of the questions**

The questions in the questionnaires were in contrast to those in the interview scripts. These were presented in actual interrogative statements. However, they were still designed as open-ended questions. Fixed or multiple choice questions would restrict the

nature of the responses where the main objective is to observe codeswitching in the written data.

For instance, the questions were formatted as follows :

- Part B 1. Describe briefly a little bit about yourself.
- Part B 2. Explain (briefly) what you know about VISION2020 (include your opinion).

#### 4.7.2.4 The codes

With regard to code this feature had to be adapted in the design of the questionnaire. In order not to draw the students' attention to this the different sets of questionnaires corresponding to the different training environments were formatted in two codes as follows :

TE	Training Level	Code of Questionnaire
1 and 2	Pre-training	Bahasa Malaysia and English
5	Post-training	Bahasa Malaysia and English
6	Early employment	Bahasa Malaysia and English

Table 4.10 Code of Questionnaires for TEs 1, 2, 5 and 6

The ones in Malay are referred to as "Soalselidik".

#### 4.7.2.5 The administration and distribution of questionnaires

Respondents were briefed for five minutes before the questionnaires were administered. Questionnaires for TEs 1, 2 and 5 were administered during three separate lecture periods. These were then collected at the end of the hour.

Two sets of questionnaires were posted to members of TE6. 10 were sent questionnaires in Malay and the same number again in English. Approximately two months were given for feedback from them.

#### **4.7.3 SPT Lectures**

Three SPT lecturers agreed to participate in the study by recording their lectures. They were given tapes and tape recorders by the researcher for this purpose. The lectures to be recorded were left to the discretion of the respective lecturers. They were also given the opportunity to review their own lectures before surrendering them to the researcher.

#### **4.7.4 UTM and In-house Supervisor Meetings**

As a natural task for the study the researcher needed to attend meetings between the UTM and in-house supervisors at the respective attachment places. In each of these meetings the researcher was regarded as another member of staff who had experience in teaching the SPTs and who are evaluating the efficiency of the training for the benefit of the department. With this role the researcher was able to participate and contribute in the discussions whilst at the same time had a covert observer role observing the choice of code and code-control of the different participants involved.

### **4.8 Participation Obtained**

The total number of participants (neophytes) from the different TEs interviewed is as tabulated below :

TE	Participants Interviewed						Total		Grand Total
	Sex	Male			Female		Male	Female	
Ethnic Gemeinschaft	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Malay	Chinese	Indian			
1	1	4	0	1	6	0	5	7	12
2	3	4	1	3	0	1	8	4	12
3	12	4	0	4	3	1	16	8	24
4	7	1	0	2	0	1	8	3	11
5	4	6	0	0	3	0	10	3	13
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	27	20	1	10	12	3	48	25	73

Table 4.11 Total Number of Interview Participants - Neophytes

The total number of respondents to the questionnaires is as follows :

TE	Participants Responded to Questionnaire						Total		Grand Total
	Sex	Male			Female		Male	Female	
Ethnic Gemeinschaft	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Malay	Chinese	Indian			
1	9	7	3	5	2	0	19	7	26
2	13	7	3	3	0	1	23	4	27
5	8	10	0	11	7	1	18	19	37
6	2	5	0	1	2	0	7	3	10
Total	32	29	6	20	11	2	67	33	100

Table 4.12 Total Number of Questionnaire Respondents

Three lectures were recorded by three different SPT lecturers. These were different subjects in the course and each lasted approximately 50 minutes. Five meetings with the in-house supervisors were recorded in which five in-house supervisors participated. Two supervisors had two trainees under their supervisions. And one in-house supervisor had a private meeting with the UTM supervisor which the researcher was not able to attend. The UTM supervisor is the same one in all meetings recorded.

## 4.9 Data Analysis

The main data source for this study is the spoken data, i.e. the interviews, and these were supported by the meetings and the recorded lectures, and the written data from the

questionnaires. Before any data analysis could be done spoken data had to be transcribed. Data acquired from the questionnaires were tabulated in Excel 4 spreadsheets for database and percentages calculated for the various criteria.

#### **4.9.1 Transcription of Spoken Data**

The use of various transcription conventions depends on the aim of the research as does the degree of accuracy which is appropriate. Richards (1989 : A3-15) argues that

the point which needs emphasising is that transcription is not objective or fixed, it belongs properly at the theoretical level and is never really complete. No two people will come up with the same transcription and, on an individual level, each return to a transcription will usually produce further refinement. More importantly than this, though, the nature of the transcription should reflect the decision made by the researcher about the data.

It has also been said that the idea of a "correct transcription" is an illusion. As Richards points out above, the same data can be transcribed in different ways by different people and there can also be variation even if done by the same individual at different points in time. Stubbs (1983 : 228) points out that problems can manifest themselves at both the practical as well as the theoretical level :

auditory hallucinations are real problems, both practically and theoretically....there is no method of transcription which is appropriate for all studies of discourse.

Therefore the transcription system adopted will usually be dictated by the purpose of the research at hand. The goals and assumptions of the research affect the product of the transcription.

Transcription is also where we try to get our hands on actual occurrence in order to study social order in fine detail. It is not only a time-consuming process, but also affects the process of analysis. "It is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions" (Ochs, 1979 : 44).



Based on the research aims, the interviews were transcribed to highlight both the overt and covert levels of inquiry. For evidence of the overt inquiry, neophytes' awareness, reactions, perceptions and attitudes to the provision available to them at both the university and the training places were noted. For the implicit evidence, their performance of code and code-control were transcribed. The transcription took into account pauses that were present in the interviews. These are places where students paused for a few seconds before responding to particular questions. The time lapse was noted and shown in parentheses. Other conventions such as overlaps and latching were not transcribed as the research needs do not require such a detailed transcription of each interview, meetings and lectures recorded. The transcription mainly highlighted the turn-taking sequence which generally corresponded to the question and answer sequence.

All the transcriptions were saved and edited in Microsoft Word 5.1 files and were identified as follows :

File Code Number	Transcription of	Number of Word 5 Files
*1	Interviews in Bahasa Malaysia	34
*2	Interviews in English	39
*3	Meetings (supervisors & trainees)	12
*4	SPT lectures	3
	Total	88

Table 4.13 Files of Transcription of Spoken Data

The files of the transcribed interviews, meetings and recorded lectures were distinguished by four letters and code number identifying the interviewer and the student interviewed, for example, a file with these letters and code number **abrd1**, indicate **ab** as the interviewer, **rd** as the neophyte interviewed and Malay as the interview code (code **1**). The transcribed meetings between the supervisors and the trainees also had four distinguishing letters to denote the supervisors and the trainee concerned. The code number for these files is **3** (see Table 4.13 above). The recorded lectures were each coded the four letters to denote the lecture and the lecturer and were distinguished by the code number **4**, for example, **lcza4**, where **lc** denote lecture and **za** the lecturer.

In order for further output, these Word files had to be transferred and stored in a recognisable format for computational analyses. These were transferred through the File Transfer Protocol (FTP) and stored as text only using the Aston Corpus of Scientific and Technical English (ASTECC,1995) tool.

#### 4.9.2 The Unix files

All the 88 edited files were saved in Unix files as texts only for computational analyses. Each corpus was then further saved according to the code numbers initially assigned to them. They were then stored as four separate corpus under the directory Mohdona1 in the Unix system. The corpora were identified as follows (refer to Tables 5.29 and 5.30 for the complete list of files).

File Code Number	Unix Corpus Names	Number of Unix Files
*1	<b>BM</b> (interviews in Bahasa Malaysia)	34
*2	<b>ENG</b> (interviews in English)	39
*3	<b>DISC</b> (meetings)	12
*4	<b>LECT</b> (SPT lectures)	3
	Total	88

Table 4.14 Unix Corpus Filenames

These corpora were then copied into the directory "corpus" for analysis. The total corpora (figures obtained from Unix syntax : `wc ~/corpus/filename`) is as follows :

CORPUS	*1	*2	*3	*4	TOTAL
Total token	84470	98849	30856	7391	221566
Total type	4898	4651	2837	1171	-----

Table 4.15 Total Corpus of Spoken Data

### 4.9.3 The Computational Analyses

A series of computational analyses was done using the ASTEC research tool, UNIX commands. A directory, "work", was created where all the text processing was done and another directory "list" was where the results were saved.

#### 4.9.3.1 Relative frequency lists

The text processing included creating frequency lists and collocational and concordance outputs. The frequency lists i.e. the raw frequency lists and the two converted frequency lists (relative frequency out of 10 000), one of descending frequency order (corpusname.num) and the other in alphabetical order (corpusname.alph), for all the four corpus were then stored in the directory "lists". Also, an analysis on the distribution of specialised vocabulary (for the data in English) was also done which yielded three other files. These were created based on the comparison of the four alphabetical frequency lists (BM.alph, ENG.alph, DISC.alph and LECT.alph) with the COBUILD alphabetical frequency list, cob.alph. As a result of these frequency analyses the following files are created :

<b>BM</b>	<b>ENG</b>	<b>DISC</b>	<b>LECT</b>
BM.raw	ENG.raw	DISC.raw	LECT.raw
BM.num	ENG.num	DISC.num	LECT.num
BM.alph	ENG.alph	DISC.alph	LECT.alph
BM.common	ENG.common	DISC.common	LECT.common
BM.spec	ENG.spec	DISC.spec	LECT.spec
BM.spec100	ENG.spec100	DISC.spec100	LECT.spec100

Table 4.16 Frequency Lists Files

An analysis (syntax : **grep keyword -c**) which gives the number of lines that contain a certain keyword identified by the researcher, was also done on the four corpus. This analysis provides the line number as well as counts the number of lines this keyword occurs. This word count facility was used to count the number of the keywords

identified that occur in each of the files in each corpus.

#### 4.9.3.2 Collocational and concordance analyses

Further analyses for certain keywords were done in order to obtain further concordance and collocation outputs. The concordance facility (syntax : **CONC ~/corpus directory/\***) was used to obtain a very fast result on the occurrences of codeswitching between the interviewer's question and the neophytes' answers. This was done by entering the letters that identified the neophyte in the interview. For example, the letters **FK** which is recognised as the keyword was entered at the prompt and a concordance of this was obtained. Part of the concordance of FK in the English interviews (\*2) to show codeswitching at the turn-taking or the question and answer exchange sequence is shown below :

#### FK.cnc\*2

<p>lace for bahasa or chinese there  a little bit about what you know  and the place is artwright right  - - - - ehem  - - - - (LAUGHS)  - - - - i see  right you feel like a big family  hat how you got your present job  - what is it that you have to do  d you do your practical training  - - - between  - - - now  - and while you were on training  h during your practical training  how did you get your present job  - apart from over time what else  so mostly english is used there  t to tell me about your work now  - - - - yes  - - what about the other people  - - - - ok you've told me a lot  - - - ahah so you go to karaoke  - - - achieving our vision  task what does it mainly involve  - - - - what is your post there  lse before you went to artwright  how does he give you that advice  e supervising you in any way now</p>	<p>FK- aah yes yes erm for malay when deal with  FK- about the vision - yes - - -  FK- artwright marketing - erm where did you  FK- but is a good training ground he's the o  FK- but not overtime - apart from over time  FK- but one thing i would say this kind of c  FK- ehem is like everyone is working with th  FK- erm additional advantage - so how did yo  FK- erm as i mention already everything meet  FK- erm cannon marketing - cannon marketing  FK- erm i think three maybe four - it's clos  FK- erm i'm given a task to ok the main task  FK- erm the workload and of course the expec  FK- erm yeah because the whole office use en  FK- from the campus interview they had a cam  FK- general benefit transportation (...?) a  FK- hah yes yes unless we deal with the fact  FK- i think a lot of complaint - complaint -  FK- i think is a good good in the sense not  FK- i think the same everyone have the same  FK- i've told you a lot - yeah i think we sh  FK- if necessary it's part of our job it's p  FK- is one of the ingredients is one of the  FK- mainly - what is it that you have to do  FK- marketing executive and yeah is also kno  FK- no - you went straight into artwright no  FK- not in a very serious way - does he talk  FK- now - is there anyone looking after you'</p>
--	---

Figure 4.17 Part of Concordance for FK

For some high frequency words (selected from corpusname.num) synoptic profiles (**Syntax : SYN keyword**) of these keywords were also obtained. One of the high frequency keywords selected was the Malay particle "lah" and the output is presented in Chapter 5, Table 5.31.

Other analyses were also done, for example, **Syntax : grep keyword1\ keyword2 filename** was used to give outputs of the number of lines the keywords of more than one word occur, **wc ~/corpus/filename**, for the size of files and **Syntax : grep -c keyword filename** for frequencies.

#### 4.9.4 Identification of Relevant Questions

Due to the large amount of spoken and written data available the analyses on these had to be limited to a more manageable size. Certain questions had to be selected from both the interviews and the questionnaires. The questions selected from each section of the interview topics are considered to be those that are most relevant to the key questions posed earlier in the chapter and those that provide the most spoken input for the research. Also, with the vast quantity of spoken data it would be rather impossible to analyse, within the scope of this study, all the instances of codeswitching. Therefore observations of code-control at the selected questions would make the analysis more manageable.

Two questions in Part B were selected to show to what extent VISION2020 is a unifying factor in the global metabolic process and to show to what extent the *Kurwille* of the programme coincides or matches the "will" of the neophytes. It is also to investigate their perception of their role in the whole development process.

The two questions selected are as follows, where P1 indicate the page number and Part B, where the question exists in the interview scripts:

P1 Part B

(b) Invite him/her to talk about WAWASAN 2020 :

- how much he/she knows
- his/her opinion

P1 Part B

(c) Elicit reactions to these areas in WAWASAN 2020 :

- the role of training
- the role of English

All the interviews and questionnaires contained these questions.

Questions to expose their awareness and perceptions of the provision available and those needed for their planned absorption by the new ecology were selected. These included those regarding their practical training, the tasks and their language use.

Depending on the different training environments identified above the members of the different TEs were asked different aspects of the practical training. For the pre-trainees (TEs 1 and 2) they were asked to respond to this question :

P1 Part C Section 1

Ask the student :

(b) what he/she feels about the practical training he/she has to do as part of the course.

For members of TE3 (trainees during training) the interview question was on their main activities at the place of attachment :

P1 Part C Section 1

(b) Can you describe to me the main activities of your day here.

- outline what happens in a typical working day

The question for members of TEs 4 (set 3b - after training) and 5 (set 4 - post-training) is as follows :

P1 Part C Section 1

Invite the student to talk about

(c)/(d) anything he/she particularly liked or disliked about the training

- the work he/she had to do
- his/her supervisor
- the people he/she worked with
- the place he/she did the training

For TE6 the question was formulated as thus (in the interview) :

P1 Part C Section 1

Elicit graduate's reactions/feelings about his/her attachment :

(d) what the training has prepared him/her for.

Two other questions regarding their training : (1) a question on their expectations from the attachment and (2) a question on the training received prior to their attachment were selected to highlight further their perception of the purpose of the training and to find out their awareness of their needs in order to become effective members of the new ecology.

For sets 1 and 2 the question was framed as follows :

P1 Part C Section 1

Ask the student :

(f) what he/she expects to achieve from the training attachment.

In set 3b for TE4 the question in the interview is formulated as follows :

P2 Part C Section 1

Invite the student to talk about :

(d) what he/she expected from the training attachment.

The interview question for set 4 (TE5) was constructed as :

P1 Part C Section 1

Discuss :

(f) what he/she thinks the training has prepared him/her for.

In the questionnaire the same question was framed as :

P2 Part C Section 1

(5) What do you think the training has prepared you for?

The question for TE6 was asked in a different way taking into account their early employment stage. The question in the interview is :

P1 Part C Section 1

Elicit graduate's reaction/feelings about his/her training attachment :

(d) what benefits obtained from the training

And in the questionnaire it was framed as :

P2 Part C Section 1

(3) Looking back, what did you gain from the training attachment?

Questions on tasks and language use were also selected for the purpose of exposing the neophytes' perceptions of their own performance with reference to the provision available. Their performance of tasks may highlight the nature of the provision, or the lack of it, with regard to becoming effective participants in the ecology. Again different interviews had different formats of the question. The interview questions for TEs 1 and 2 are as follows :

P2 Part C Section 2

(b) find out what happens in the classes

- what does he/she have to do

(c) Invite the student to talk about he/she does after lectures

- does he/she go to see the lecturers/tutors/supervisors
- does he/she go to the library etc.

These questions took into account their pre-training (attachment) stage.

The same question was asked differently to members of TE3 (during training) :

P1 Part C Section 2

Encourage the student to talk about his/her tasks for the day or the recent past.

For members of TEs 4 and 5, those who have done their training, the question on tasks in the interview is framed as follows :

P2 Part C Section 2

(a) Find out what he/she expected to do while on training

- did he/she have a chance to do them

In the questionnaire, the question was more clearly constructed as :

P3 Part C Section 2

(1) What are the jobs you expected to do while on training attachment?



For members of the early employment stage they were asked to respond to the following question :

P1 Part C Section 1

Elicit graduate's reactions/feelings about his/her training attachment :

(c) the kind of tasks involved

TEs 4, 5 and 6 had two extra questions to respond to. These concerned their reactions to the tasks done and any problems they had. These are as follows :

Set 3b/4 P3 Part C Section 2

Elicit the student's reaction to the tasks he/she indicated above

- messy job/not our job
- exactly what i expected
- not enough
- others (please state)

and

Set 3b P3 Part C Section 2

Discuss about :

(d) any difficulties the student had in doing the tasks

Set 4 P2 Part C Section 2

Discuss any problems he/she had.

Set 5 P1 Part C Section 2

Talk about his/her responsibilities or his/her daily routine there

(b) any problems

Questions in Part C Section 3 were also selected. These are those concerning the neophytes' language use at the university and the other training environments. These questions are identified to expose their perceptions of their own code and code-control and their awareness of the provision needed for effective use of the code in the new ecology.

The two questions identified from the interviews for TEs 1 and 2 are :

P2 Part C Section 3

Discuss the language used by the student :

(b) what language(s) does he/she normally use :

- at the university
- at home
- in class
- with friends

(f) Identify reasons why he/she changes language.

The interview questions for the members of TEs 3, 4 and 5 are framed as the following :

P3 Part C Section 3

Identify the language(s) used by the student :

- (c) Ask what language does the student normally use when he/she talk :
- to his/her supervisor
  - to other people in the office
  - with friends at/from the university
- (e) If his/her answer for (d) is YES, ask the student if he/she remembers why he/she had to do so ?
- the other person does not speak your language
  - the other person cannot speak your language
  - you do not speak the other person's language
  - he/she is your supervisor

For the members of TE6 (the early employment stage) the question on their language use is stated as the following :

P2 Part C Section 3

Talk about the language used in the place :

- what language is used in the daily routine
- how confident he/she is with the language (e.g. English)
- how often does he/she has to use English

Questions on the supervisor were also identified to highlight the nature of the supervision available for these neophytes within the university and the training attachment. Negotiations with the respective supervisors may show their initiation for membership to the new ecology.

Two questions were identified for the members of the pre-training stage (TEs 1 and 2).

These are :

P3 Part C Section 4

Outline the kind of supervision he/she is getting at the university :

- (b) Find out how often he/she consults the supervisor
- (c) Encourage him/her to describe what he/she does when he/she goes to see the supervisor.

The same questions were also formed for TEs 3, 4 and 5:

Set 3a P2 Part C Section 4

Talk about the kind of supervision the student gets during the training

attachment :

- (a) how often does he/she see the supervisor ?
- (b) what does the student normally do when he/she sees the supervisor ?

Set 3b/4 P3 Part C Section 4

Talk about :

- (a) How often does he/she consult the supervisor
  - everyday
  - only when you have a problem
  - twice a week
  - others
- (e) what he/she does when he/she consult the supervisor.

As for the members of TE6 the question on supervisor was asked in this manner :

P2 Part C Section 4

Identify the kind of supervision the graduate received:

- during training
- now

All the interview and questionnaire sets had the same last question whereby they were given the opportunity to express anything that has not been discussed in the interview. It is meant to act as a control for all the questions and it was not categorised into any specific sections. It is also meant to create opportunities to readjust bonds, relationships and perhaps change codes previously established during the interview. This was evidenced in the initial investigation where students responded differently in terms of code used from the code they used to answer the other questions in the specific sections. Therefore, the same kind of opportunity was incorporated into these interviews and questionnaires. The question asked at the end of the interview is as follows :

At the end of the interview ask if the student has anything else to say

In the questionnaire, the question is formed taking into account the training levels. For TEs 1 and 2 the last question is stated as :

P4 Please write any comments and/or suggestions you may have regarding the SPT course and your studies at UTM in general (e.g. about the lectures, lecturers, or the subjects).

For the other sets the question is stated in the following format :

P5 Please write (in the spaces below) any suggestions or comments you have regarding your practical training and/or your SPT course in general.

All the interviews and questionnaires also incorporated an opportunity for the neophytes to grade the nature of training available to them at both the university and the training places. This is to further highlight their perception of the provision. The question in all scripts (except for TE3) is as follows :

Set 1/2 P2 Part C Section 1

Ask the student :

(g) to grade the kind of preparation (for the training attachment) he/she is getting at the university on a scale of 1 - 5 below (circle the number) :

Set 3b/4/5 P2 Part C Section 1

Ask the student to grade the training attachment on a scale of 1 - 5 below (circle the number) :

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

This task would provide opportunities for the interviewer to observe non-verbal behaviours such as hesitations or doubts the neophytes have about their training. Hesitations may suggest the gravity of the problem which they may be reluctant to discuss in the interviews. However, it is acknowledged that the same observation could not be done with the grading in the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the grades given may help support their responses in the questions.

The following chapter presents the research findings based on the evidence obtained from the interviews, meetings, recorded lectures and questionnaires described here. These are presented in terms of the research questions posed earlier in this chapter. Evidence will be discussed in two categories : the neophytes' awareness and perceptions of the provision available, their performance with regard to code and code-control, and the researcher's observation of their performance.