

A REMOTE BIDAYUH AREA IN SARAWAK AND
SCHOOLING: A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION
OF SOCIO-CULTURAL TRANSMISSIONS, WITH
REFERENCE TO CHANGE, CONFLICT AND
CONTRADICTION

by

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.
APRIL, 1981. INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The theoretical exploration attempts to explain the structure, and changes in the structure, of socio-cultural transmissions between a socially unstratified cognatic social structure and different levels of schooling.

Using models based on Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing, it is argued that the village communities have integrated codes of socio-cultural transmissions and production. Between the two categories of transmission and production a simple systemic relationship exists. Egalitarian relations are shown to typify Bidayuh society and to constitute the dominant socio-cultural category reproduced by the transmission code.

Schooling as an intrusive social institution is relatively autonomous of production. It is shown that the socio-cultural transmissions of schooling are based on a collection code, which reproduces inegalitarian relations. This reproduction was initially a refraction of alien British society and culture; but latterly became a reflection of local communal ethnicity as socio-historical formations and Malaysia's national ideology (Rukunegara). These reflections are affected by development capitalism, Chinese economic power, Malay political power and Melanau political leadership.

The school's collection code is in conflict with and contradictory to the integrated codes of the Bidayuh village communities, and whilst inhibiting successful schooling, it also precipitates social de-regulation of the person. Additionally, the relative autonomy of schooling and its extended systemic relationship with modes of production in Sarawak are potential social de-regulators of the person for the majority in a complex social structure with few common values. A general conclusion is that schooling will remain a serious threat to social order and that the policy of promoting national unity and a national culture through schooling is not likely to succeed.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the advice and encouragement given to me over several years by my supervisor, Dr. P.C.C. Evans. The development of my own 'sociological imagination' owes much to Professor Basil Bernstein, as the thesis clearly reveals.

The Sarawak State Government's permission to carry out the research is most gratefully appreciated. Its operationalization owes much to the help and friendship of a great many people in Sarawak, which were of inestimable value.

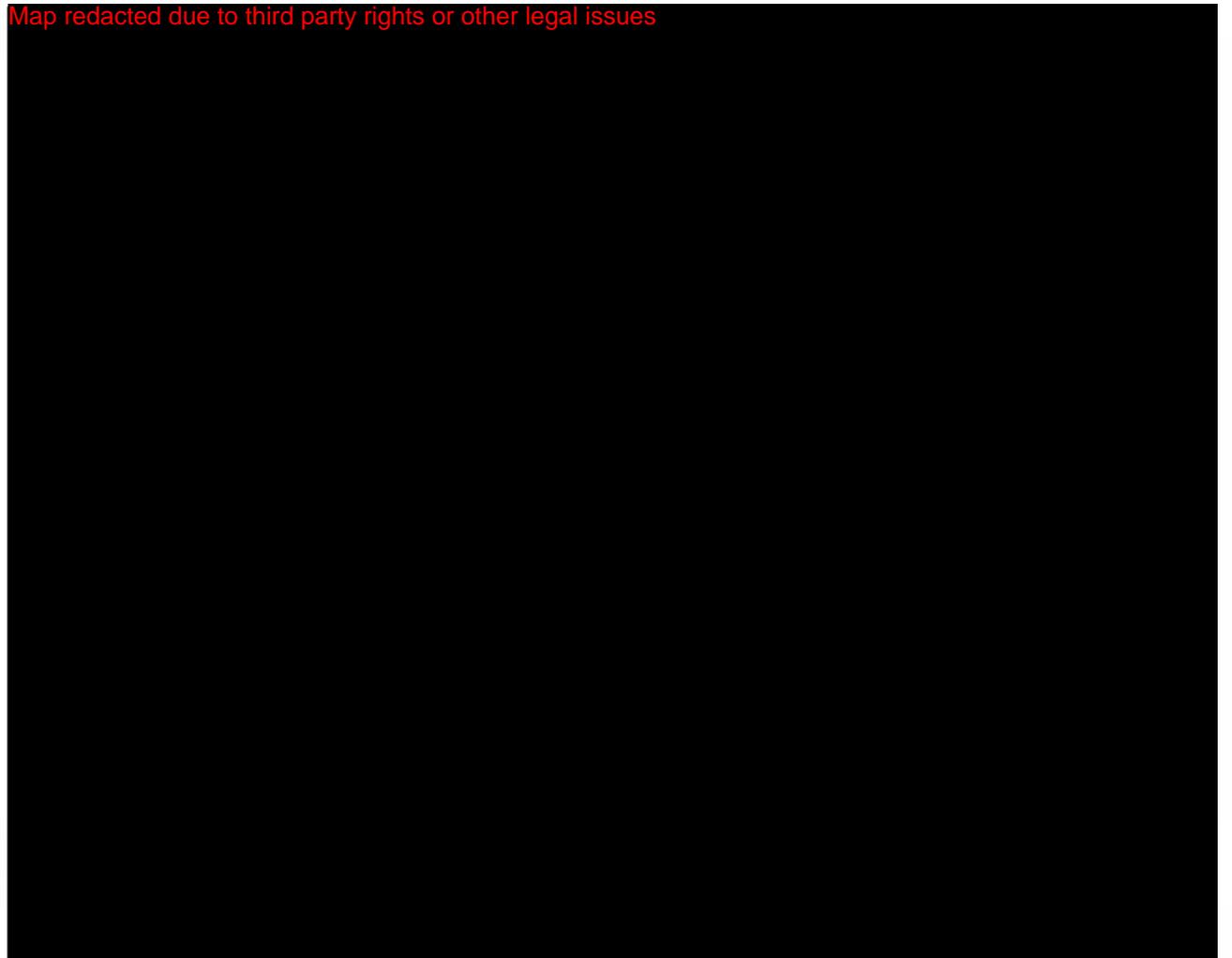
INTRODUCTION

The problems and problematics of tropical rural areas and schooling have a long history.¹ It is a history concerned with the encounter of Western and non-Western societies and cultures in predominantly colonial and post-colonial contexts, which in recent times has assumed new modes of economic and political organization adopted for national development. The development of a national system of schools has been one of the priorities of the new nations, and in the past decade or so a rapidly rising proportion of those attending primary and secondary schools has been drawn from remote areas, in which social structures differ significantly from the modern urban areas. These pupils are now an important feature of the school scene in Sarawak, a former British colonial territory which became a state within the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. Located in the northern part of the island of Borneo, Sarawak and its sister state Sabah are geographically separate from peninsular or West Malaysia (Malaya) and therefore sometimes are referred to as East Malaysia.

During the 1970s, school provision and enrolments at the secondary level have shown a very rapid increase. This can be seen as a reflection of Malaysia's attempt to move from a political legitimacy based on tradition and hierarchy to one based on participation and egalitarianism within a framework of development capitalism.

Colonial officialdom tended to view schooling purely as a social service, something good and desirable but offering few direct economic returns.² In the 1960s this view was overshadowed by econometrics and its manifestation in manpower planning.³ The new view received explicit expression in the First Malaysia Plan (1966-70): 'the traditional system of education is (now) being reoriented to achieve not only the objectives of nation-building and universal literacy but

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POLITICAL MAP SOUTHEAST ASIA

also the economic goals of the country'.⁴ In essence, this was an early articulation of simplistic utilitarian faith (not uncharacteristic of the Malay leaderships' political style in the 1950s and 1960s) in what some sociologists of education later referred to as the 'correspondence principle'. Here schooling is regarded as creating and changing psychological dispositions which are appropriate to changes in the organization of production, a view that is most clearly expressed in the writings of Bowles and Gintis.⁵

Although the 1970s in Malaysia have seen a definite move towards the rationalization of levels and types of post-primary schooling in terms of the manpower requirements of the economy, an equal and perhaps more vital concern has been given to the promotion of the national ideology (Rukunegara) or political socialization. This involves fostering national unity and a national culture, for which making Bahasa Malaysia the truly national language is seen as a pre-requisite.⁶ A specific manifestation of Rukunegara has been the New Economic Policy which seeks to eradicate poverty and reduce the significance of ethnicity in relation to economic function.

The 1970s in Sarawak have been most noted for a more strenuous reassertion of Malay norms of statehood, with Melanau political leadership, over a social structure fractured by ethnic pluralism and with few common values. In Sarawak's social structure, in particular, ethnic pluralism is much more marked than in peninsular Malaysia, and because the Malays constitute only about twenty per cent of the population, the assertion of their norms has been rendered more difficult. In this situation schooling may be regarded as in an Althusserian type of analysis, which takes schooling as a crucial means of ideological control, transmission and reproduction,⁷ or, as Bourdieu would put it, a distributor and legitimator of cultural capital.⁸ However, a much more perceptive aspect of Bourdieu's analysis is his concern with the relatively 'autonomous' relationship between schooling and a material base, which was accepted also by colonial officialdom, albeit in a non-theoretical manner.

Bernstein points out that Bowles and Gintis, Althusser, and Bourdieu do not give much space in their theorizing to change, conflict and contradiction.⁹ In his most recent writing, Bernstein has considered the relationships between education and production (school and work), with the intention of making a theoretical exploration of change,

conflict and contradiction, and he cautions that theorization must be validated at every step by empirical exploration.¹⁰

In arriving at a theoretical model which made sense of the data collected for this thesis, the guideline has been that an anthropological approach cannot be justified theoretically or methodologically without an understanding of what is happening in the wider social structure. Asad has argued recently that self-consciousness about ideology and about meaning by social or cultural anthropologists should be situated within 'the historical forces of world industrial capitalism and the way they have impinged upon particular political and economic conditions'.¹¹ Kathleen Gough has made similar points in her article 'Anthropology: Child of Imperialism'.¹² Therefore, concepts had to be formed or found which would provide a good chance of being applicable to both interactional and macro-structural levels of analyses, within a temporal dimension. Any study which concerns itself with the development of schooling by definition must have a temporal dimension; that is, it must be socio-historical, with the constraint upon the researcher to attempt to find out what actually happened.

This thesis justifiably may be called a theoretical exploration because it is an attempt to extend Bernstein's analysis of the organization, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge onto what he sees as the larger question of the structure, and changes in the structure, of cultural transmission.¹³ To explore this larger question requires moving the analysis into a cross-cultural context, such as is afforded by Bidayuh society and culture, and by the complex social structure of Sarawak as a whole. By taking Bidayuh society and culture, as characterized in a remote area of the country, the analysis was concerned with a predominantly non-literate population, and therefore with a neglected dimension in Bernstein's theorizations, namely the social consequences of literacy. In respect of the social consequences of literacy, Goody and Watt have made a seminal contribution.¹⁴

In this thesis, 'socio' in the term socio-cultural refers to the structure of the culture. More specifically, 'socio' refers to Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing, which he sees as

being the structural principles underlying relationships intrinsic to the social division of labour. These structural principles constitute a code, which is a form of semiotic regulation underlying all culture; that is, culture in a material and non-material sense. It must be stressed that the structural principles are also a part of the cultural transmission, and because of this the term socio-cultural is taken as conveying the idea of inclusion more clearly than 'structure of cultural transmissions'. This thesis is a theoretical exploration of the structure, and changes in the structure, of socio-cultural transmissions; that is, an investigation into the values of the structural principles of socio-cultural transmissions in the community and at different levels of schooling. Therefore 'schooling' refers to the socio-cultural transmissions - that is, their structural principles and cultural content - which take place within a space designated a school. Because the term socio-cultural covers all culture, it is obviously broader than the terms formal and non-formal education or educational knowledge, and it includes that which is defined as the school's 'hidden curriculum' by sociologists of education.¹⁵ While the term socio-cultural is seen as having greater purchase than the term education for both description and analysis with reference to the community and the school, it must be stressed that 'education' is used unavoidably in some parts of the thesis where this usage is seen as the commonly accepted practice or where referencing demands such usage. In Chapter One, brief consideration is given to some historical and anthropological perspectives, before introducing the theoretical concepts and models upon which my arguments are based.

(* See footnote page 35)

CHAPTER ONE

SEARCHING FOR THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The Historical Perspective

The importance of a historical perspective for the understanding of current problems of schooling in the new nations has been recognized. This was clearly stated by Margaret Read in 1950. She wrote:

'In colonial education we are dealing with a historical process which began on a certain date, and has certain defined and recognizable stages which follow one another chronologically..... In this historical survey the initial impetus and motives for introducing 'Western' education, as well as the agencies by which it was introduced need making clear..... It should be possible to get some idea of the ideology held at different stages in educational development by those responsible for its planning and practice'.¹

Commercial companies were the first providers of Western schooling in most colonial territories, particularly in the East, but on a small scale. These companies required a few of the local population to be literate, numerate and disciplined for minor positions in their organizations. These provisions were primarily in the interests of Western commerce and trade, and not ostensibly to spread Western culture.

The deliberate spread of Western culture through the schools followed the arrival of the Christian missions, usually in the wake of an established colonial administration. Mission ideology was to spread the Christian faith, to civilize, and to give sufficient numeracy and literacy to afford some pupils the opportunity of achieving minor positions in the mission and the lower levels of the colonial administration.

Referring to the early pioneer days of mission activity, Margaret Read points out that 'it was taken for granted that the mission school curriculum would be the three Rs with some religious knowledge', although some pioneer missions did set up apprenticeship systems for building and carpentry.² Mission activity and concomitant mission schooling gradually spread, following their expansion from town to countryside. Later, in most colonial territories the government supplemented the mission schools with a combination of support grants and the establishment of a few schools under direct government control.

With the approach of political independence, it was typical for government provision to increase, and a common pattern was the creation of local education authorities for primary schools and to begin to provide secondary schools. This was the pattern in Sarawak between 1946 and 1963, and will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Debates over the purpose of schooling developed during the nineteenth century, and with the notable exception of Macauley on India, the debates were usually between the missions and the colonial governments.³ In Sarawak these debates began in the 1870s: the Brookes, who had established the state of Sarawak in 1841, propounded an ideology of cultural pluralism, in which the traditional cultures of the various groups were to be preserved and the role of Western knowledge was seen as a means of helping to ameliorate poor living conditions rather than of effecting major structural and cultural change.⁴ Thus the 'natives of the soil should undergo a practical and agricultural training and not be stuffed with a lot of subjects that they do not need to know'.⁵ The semi-official Sarawak Gazette lent support to this view in asserting 'that the boy or man who has not pride instilled or born in him towards his own blood and kin is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils'.⁶ This characterized what was, for the Brookes, the main problem of Western schooling - that it would precipitate rural disaffection and by encouraging a drift from country to town, would lead to political and socio-economic instability. These fears have been borne out in varying degree in most new nations, but the implication is that the school to some extent must be adapted to the child and the community. With reference to British African territories and Sarawak, the Phelps-Stokes Commission (1924-26) and the Hammond Report (1937), respectively, preached this view of adaptation, but their recommendations fell on stony ground. Later, Margaret Read and others made the same plea in respect of early schooling.⁷ In essence, this view failed because parents and pupils responded negatively to the experiments and projects intended to relate schooling to their environment.⁸ The social demand for schooling

as an aid to mobility, which the above negative responses were expressing, was given considerable impetus by the determinant expansive impact of manpower-planning on educational policies in the late 1960s. Although this greatly exacerbated rural-urban drift and its attendant social problems, L.J. Lewis could still state quite explicitly in 1971 that 'education must be a process of education for mobility', and 'the belief that the purpose of the curriculum in rural schools, whether primary or secondary, is to educate for rural living.....is a fallacy'.⁹

Among the consequences of this view has been the inauguration throughout most of the 'Third World' of 'mass schooling' in the 1970s (the third development decade) and the emotive and unrealistic reactions of the 'de-schoolers'. Interestingly, Dore, in his book 'The Diploma Disease', while strongly criticizing schooling as qualification-earning by comparing it with the idealist notions of the term 'education' during the Enlightenment, fails to see that schooling is but a part of the larger question of the structure, and changes in the structure, of socio-cultural transmission in the development of human society.¹⁰ Durkheim, Bernstein and Bourdieu, the main theorists in this field, are neglected by Dore.

The historical process to which Margaret Read refers needs to be examined before considering the introduction of Western schooling to colonial territories. In this respect the work of Goody and Watt on the social consequences of literacy is crucial, as is Durkheim's observation that when education as a specialized and separate agency (schools) was first constituted in Europe it was subordinate to the church.¹¹ The important contributions of these authors will be referred to in some detail in various sections of this thesis; what follows is a selection of points to illustrate the relevance of their contributions.

Goody and Watt, in examining the consequences of literacy, are obliged to examine the transmission of what they call the 'cultural repertoire' in non-literate societies, and it is the verbal elements which are of particular interest to them. They point out that the intrinsic nature of oral communication has a considerable effect upon both the content

and the transmission of the cultural repertoire:

'There is a directness of relationship between symbol and referent, and meanings are ratified in a succession of concrete situations, accompanied by vocal inflections and physical gestures, all of which combine to particularize both (its) specific denotation and (its) accepted connotative usages. This results in the totality of symbol-referent relationships being more immediately experienced by the individual and thus more deeply socialized'.¹²

Although there are mnemonic devices in oral cultures, for example the formalized patterns of speech associated with rituals, it is the case that what is transmitted is largely a function of memory and forgetting. What continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory, while the rest is usually forgotten. How social relevance might be affected by the mode of production, and more specifically, what are the possible relationships between transmission and the mode of production, are not explored by Goody and Watt. As will be argued later, this is one area in which Bernstein's recent work is very significant.

The literacy which forms the basis of Western schooling is clearly the result of Greek civilization. Goody and Watt state that the effect of writing was 'to establish a different kind of relationship between the word and its referent, a relationship that is more general and more abstract, and less connected with the particularities of person, place and time, than obtains in oral communication'.¹³ The Greek philosophers were in most cases critical of writing and writers. For example, Socrates was suspicious of the new professional teachers and authors because they had turned wisdom into a market-place commodity, one which was dangerous unless the buyer already had 'understanding of what is good and evil'. Of written words, Socrates says that 'they seem to talk to you as though they were intelligent, but if you ask them anything about what they say, from a desire of being instructed, they go on telling you the same thing forever'.¹⁴ This is a clear indication of the inadequacy of written words alone to convey ideas, and the inherent advantages of living speech in having a more immediate connection with the act of communication. The solitary privatized learning situation of the pupil with a textbook is clearly implicated here.

Once committed to written words, the cultural repertoire becomes subject to unlimited proliferation: it has enormous bulk and vast historical depth. There is also inconsistency, for, as Jefferson remarked 'The printers can never leave us in a state of perfect rest and union of opinion'.¹⁵ These points show clearly that, unlike an oral society, in literate society the lack of a system of elimination (structural amnesia) prevents a person from participating fully in the total cultural tradition to anything like the extent possible in a non-literate society.

Achievement in handling the tools of reading and writing obviously is one of the most important axes of social differentiation in modern societies, and this extends to more minute differences between professional specializations, so that even members of the same socio-economic groups of literate specialists may hold little intellectual ground in common. As Goody and Watt have written: 'This specialization of knowledge is the result of its continual categorization and the abstractness of the syllogism means that there is little direct correspondence with experience'.¹⁶ The stratification of knowledge and how this relates to the distribution of power and the principles of control in society are important social consequences of literacy. These points have received some attention by sociologists.¹⁷

Social tensions between the oral and literate orientations in Western society are well illustrated by the public literate tradition of the school and the very different, and indeed often contradictory, private oral traditions of the pupil's family and peer group. As Margaret Read has pointed out: 'Primitive education was a process by which continuity was maintained between parents and children.... Modern education includes a heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities to turn the child....of the illiterate into the literate'.¹⁸

Durkheim demonstrates in 'The Evolution of Educational Thought' that only in certain social formations did the school become an 'organized moral milieu'.¹¹ Durkheim shows how, around the year 1500, this 'organized moral milieu' arose in the context of the destruction of certain categories of collective thought (community) and the emergence

of others, especially competitive individualism. The spirit of emulation became the dominant disciplinary mode in schools, and the system of prizes and competitions, unknown in the Middle Ages, first made its appearance around this time and spread to all school activities. From the mediaeval pedagogic relationship, in which the master had addressed a crowded lecture theatre, teaching became individualized and personalized, on the basis of subtle distinctions of age and intelligence - the full logical consequences of which were to be drawn by the Jesuits. In their ideological struggle against the teachings of Luther and Calvin, Durkheim claims that the Jesuits argued that the fulcrum to transform society was neither preaching nor catechesis, but the schooling of the young. To achieve the control of minds and souls, the Jesuits made use of one of the cardinal notions of humanism, the cult of classical letters, while ignoring the Greco-Roman pagan content inherent therein. The Jesuits introduced religious discourse into the curriculum, unheard of in the Middle Ages, and established new disciplinary techniques such as memory exercises and written homework, also unknown in the Middle Ages. As Cherkaoui states: 'At the pinnacle of this new edifice stood the principle of unbridled competition governing relations among pupils: each individual pupil remained in a state of bated breath and perpetual tension, knowing that not the slightest failure would be permitted'.¹⁹ Undoubtedly, boarding-schools became the most powerful expression of an 'organized moral milieu' because the pupils were a captive audience.

Two specific aspects of Durkheim's socio-historical account of how schools developed in Europe are relevant to the theoretical arguments of this thesis. First, Durkheim shows that the school will 'form its own traditions and physiognomy and acquire its own distinctive character in spite of the surveillance to which it was constantly subject'.²⁰ Second, this 'organized moral milieu' included, as Bernstein makes clear, 'the hierarchical features of the school, the gradual separation and distinctiveness of specialized forms of discourse, the valued attributes of acquirers' (pupils), and these were 'already constituted before entrepreneurial capitalism'.²¹ Therefore Western schooling tends to be autonomous because it never had a direct and specific relationship with a material base, or in

other words to a mode of production. Glass indicates that 'gentling the masses' was a reason for compulsory schooling; however, as Bernstein observes, the British work-force is not particularly docile.²² One contention in this thesis is that the relationship between Western schooling and the material base of Bidayuh traditional society and culture is one of autonomy and contradiction.

In this brief discussion of the historical perspective, the aim has been to show that Durkheim, as sociologist, and Goody and Watt, as anthropologists working with a socio-historical perspective, have the potential of providing deep insight into and understanding of schooling in colonial and post-colonial situations. A salutary point about Durkheim's contribution is that he was a sociologist of both consensus and conflict, but he concentrates on control and neglects power.

The Anthropological Perspective

One significant feature in the relationship between anthropology and education is its transatlantic divergence. In America the relationship has been a relatively close one, but in Britain neither educationalists nor anthropologists have taken a consistent interest in each others' work. Anthropologists in America have made a serious attempt to develop an Anthropology of Education, and during the 1970s several publications have appeared in this field.^{23,24}

It can be argued that the American anthropologists' stress on culture facilitated a responsiveness to developments in other fields of knowledge, and that this, together with a concern for description rather than theory (particularly theory at a high level of abstraction) made anthropology receptive to and acceptable by American educationalists. By contrast, British anthropologists have stressed social structure and have been more concerned with theory and description. British social anthropologists have favoured the study of a relatively small number of topics or issues, with the general aim of developing anthropological theory, and over which the profession has shown some consensus.²⁵ However, as Vincent comments: 'in recent years there has been considerable questioning of the unit of analysis and an increasing emphasis on ideology (both indications of a growth in the cultural element in societal analysis); a re-examination of the colonial situation in the light of contemporary events, an increase.... ... in the ethnographies of peasant society which are heavily influenced by the politics of economic development'.²⁶ Nevertheless, apart from Margaret Read, the anthropologists' interest in education has been only partial, and has been matched by the British educationalists' general distrust of theory. Moreover, in the past there has been an inherent conflict of interests between anthropologists and colonial educationalists.²⁷

Although American and British traditions in anthropology provide some useful conceptualizations of education, I will argue that neither tradition is adequate for integrating interactional and macro-institutional levels of analysis for the purpose of theorizing about

change, conflict and contradiction with regard to schooling and its relationship to the wider social structure, either synchronically or diachronically.

The American anthropological tradition accepted the concept of culture as developed in the work of Edward Tylor and Franz Boas, and then, under the influence of the structural-functionalism of American sociology, added to it the study of social structure within a totality of inter-related systems covering personality, culture and structure.²⁸ This eclectic approach, and traditional American interest and faith in education (and possibly the easy access to North American Indian communities) assisted an early interest in education. Middleton's bibliography for 'Anthropology and Education' cites 28 American studies for northern and central America, as against 12 for all other ethnographic regions in the world.²⁹

American anthropologists traditionally have considered education to be a cultural process or cultural transmission, and a distinction is made between enculturation and acculturation. Singleton states that cultural transmission includes 'both the transmission of tradition from one generation to the next and the transmission of knowledge or cultural patterns from anybody who 'knows' to anyone who does not'. He goes on to say that 'enculturation refers to the process of generational continuity and acculturation refers to the process of individual and group change, caused by contact with various cultural systems'.³⁰ To this can be added Redfield's view of education as being the 'process of cultural transmission and renewal', which acknowledges the dynamics of cultural systems of transmission, in that people are both products and creators of culture.³¹

In America, these conceptualizations not only freed the concept of education from the formal context of the school, but also helped to stimulate interest into cultural continuity and discontinuity between the community and the school. However, the general focus has been on values, attitudes, roles and content of transmissions and there has been a continuing concern with description rather than theory. Singleton acknowledges that 'anthropological studies in isolated social

systems provide a useful background for understanding the mechanisms and meanings of cultural transmission but we cannot apply the original model of culture to modern mass social systems'.³² In other words, theories at the macro-sociological level require the development of other concepts, and, as contended in this thesis, concepts which show promise of integrating interactional and macro-structural levels of analysis. As yet, American anthropologists have not developed concepts at a sufficiently high level of abstraction to analyze the relationships between community, school and the wider social structure, and which have applicability for synchronic and diachronic levels of analyses.

The British anthropological tradition, which is referred to by Kuper as 'the British School of Social Anthropology' has very different intellectual roots from its American counterpart.³³ It is acknowledged that Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski were the founding fathers of the school. Their combined intellectual interests, though divergent, meant that the discipline would be an empirical and theoretical science of society and culture.

Education for the British social anthropologists is similar to the cultural anthropologists' concept of a process which is wider than the school. However, this process is social rather than cultural, and is seen by Firth to 'include all social processes which serve to fit the human individual more adequately for his social environment'.³⁴ Of the social anthropological works which provide a specific analytical framework for this social process, that of Fortes is the most instructive. By using social space as a structural concept, Fortes examines the socialization of the child within the family, the kinship group and the community. The social process is characterized by time and change, and the social relationships through which the process is articulated are a function of the social space. The child creates his social space and is in turn formed by the structural framework within which teaching and learning proceed.³⁵ Unfortunately, Fortes never continued his research in this area and one is left with the impression that he was constrained by the more dominant epistemic interests of British social anthropology.

In 1967, the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth held a conference on socialization, and most of the material presented was published in 1970.³⁶ The conference noted the 'current lack of interest in socialization', and the perceptive reviews by Mayer and Richards appeared to signal a change. That change has been slow to come about and the impact upon social anthropology of interactionist approaches, influenced in part by the theoretical orientation of phenomenology, is only recent. A growing interest in symbolic anthropology, particularly in America, could assist in developing more interest in the theory of socialization.³⁷

The failure to develop an Anthropology of Education in Britain can be explained by the lack of interest of both educationalists and anthropologists. As mentioned previously, Margaret Read was an outstanding exception, but her interests and efforts were eclipsed by the change of focus to educational planning and manpower studies during the 1960s. The lack of interest in education in Britain and in the colonies was matched by a similar lack of interest in administration in general: as Audrey Richards confessed, 'the anthropologist often offers his help, but seldom condescends to give it'.³⁸ In 1956, Barnett, who had been an American government anthropologist, reviewed the progress of anthropology in administration throughout the world. He concluded: 'No matter how tactfully it is phrased, the truth is that anthropologists and administrators do not, on the whole, get along well together'.³⁹ Kuper has made a number of perceptive comments on this point. For example, he points out that many colonial district officers believed that they knew the 'native' and that their years of experience made them far better experts than the anthropologist who had been resident for only one or two years. Also, the anthropologist often upset local white opinion by hobnobbing with the 'natives', and one consequence of this was that the anthropologist was caricatured as a romantic reactionary who wanted to preserve 'his tribe' from any outside contacts, and to keep them as museum exhibits in splendid isolation from trade, government, and Christianity. Asad appropriately summarized this view: 'The scientific definition of anthropology as a disinterested, objective, value-free study of other cultures helped to mark off the anthropologist's

enterprise from that of colonial Europeans, the trader, the missionary, the administrator, and other men of practical affairs'.⁴⁰

Although the anthropological traditions on both sides of the Atlantic have so far failed to provide an adequate theoretical framework for developing a theory of social and cultural transmissions at an interactional and macro-institutional level, their conceptualizations of education as a process or transmission which is wider than the school enables one to think in terms of analytical concepts which can help us to understand the process of transmission in different contexts. Many attempts have been made to compare community and school; for example non-formal and formal education have been contrasted, socialization compared with education, and enculturation with acculturation, but these attempts have rarely extended beyond a descriptive level or a low level of analytical abstraction. For comparative analysis, conceptual explanatory power is more likely to be attained with a conceptual scheme affording both high and low levels of abstraction, and ideally would cover all aspects and contexts of the transmissions. Because of this, the transmission cannot be adequately conceptualized only in cultural or in social terms; both are required. 'Social' would refer to the structural principles of the transmissions and 'cultural' to the content. Therefore I would argue that education should be seen as a socio-cultural transmission, and the contextual differences (for example as between community and school or different societies and cultures) entail differences of both structure and content.

From the earlier discussion of the work of Goody and Watt, it should be clear that I consider that they provide a discussion of the consequences of literacy, rather than an adequate analysis upon which to base a theory of socio-cultural transmissions. Their arguments point to the importance of directness of semantic ratification in an explanation for the relative integration of transmissions in non-literate societies, compared with literate societies. However, their stress on writing systems as the prime causation in the separation of symbols from their referents neglects other changes in the division of labour and also changes in modes of production. Bernstein gives

recognition to these and has written that 'How society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control'.⁴¹ From the anthropological perspective, it would be legitimate to substitute 'socio-cultural transmissions' for 'educational knowledge' and thus push Bernstein's theoretical explorations in the direction of cross-cultural comparison.

Socio-cultural Transmissions: Classification and Framing

Classification and framing are for their conceptualizer, Bernstein, the most recent stage in nearly two decades of theoretical exploration, the overall aim of which is to provide a sociological explanation 'of the structure and changes in the structure of cultural transmissions'.⁴¹ This theoretical exploration has moved consistently toward integrating interactional with macro-institutional levels of analysis, which are seen as different levels of abstraction and not as paradigmatic opposites. Therefore, social theorizing in terms of an exclusively interpretative or normative paradigm would be misguided, if not a betrayal of the relationship between man and society.

For Bernstein, theoretical exploration and empirical exploration must go together, on the grounds that conceptual elegance is attractive, but only when it has the living quality which comes from empirical exploration. His exploratory theorizations have been supported and modified by a substantial amount of empirical work, but not in a non-Western setting. Therefore, it can be argued that there is a need to push the theoretical and empirical exploration in the direction of non-Western societies and cultures if the overall aim is to be achieved.

To date Bernstein has written three main articles using the concepts classification and framing, though with some change in their usage.⁴² This change involves a move from a concern with specific transmission agencies (schools) to a macro-institutional exploration of relationships between agencies - for example, a sector of the 'new' middle class and infant education, and education and production. This has necessitated moving the concepts to a higher level of abstraction, which is indicative of the explanatory power demanded of them.

Classification and framing are structural principles and they are both rooted in what is intrinsic to society itself, the division of labour. The division of labour can be seen as an endless process of social categorization associated with the symbolic creativity of man, and it is Bernstein's view that its ordering is fused with power and control. From this point of view, social categorization is the ordering of human

culture, and a possible explanation for its endless nature has been given by Cassirer's observation that human symbolism is characterized not by its uniformity but by its versatility.⁴³

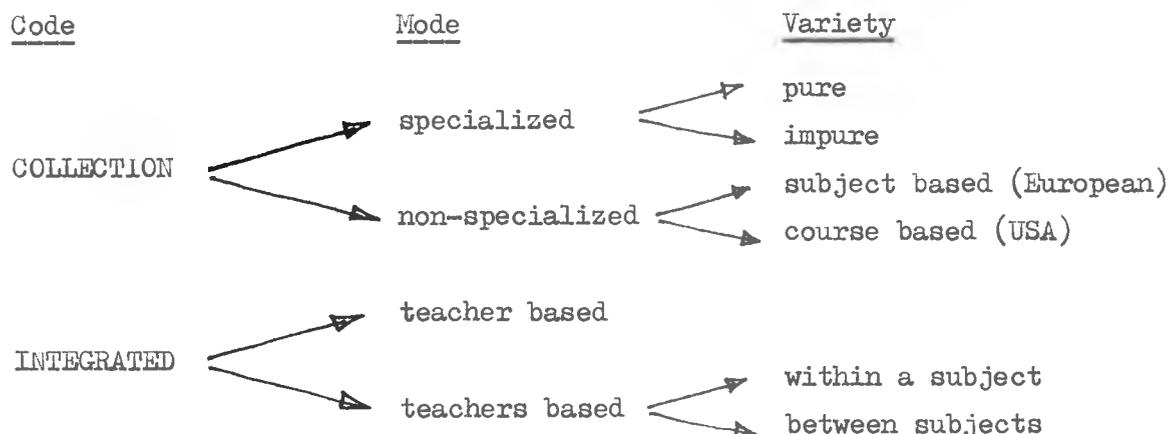
Classification refers to the relationship (principle) between categories and framing refers to the relationship (principle) which regulates the process of communication or transmission between categories. The usage of the term 'category' appears to follow the idea of symbolic object, and permits the categorization of all aspects of culture (material and non-material). In this way spaces can be turned into symbolic objects and categorized on the basis of the division of labour. For example, in a modern house one usually finds spaces designated kitchen, bedroom, dining room, and these are separate from each other. Similarly, a room, a school, a village, a town, a country, and so forth, can be seen in terms of a spatial division of labour. Bernstein specifically mentions agencies (family, community, school, work, peer group, mass media); agents (parents, children, teachers, pupils, workers); discourses - spoken and written - (subjects); practices; activities and material objects as significant examples of 'things' which are classifiable. The structural principle between categories refers to the degree of strength in the insulation or boundary between them (some 'things' are kept apart, others go together) and this is expressed in the concept of classification. Classification (power) is a socially static concept. When 'things' are kept apart the classification principle is strong, but when 'things' go together or are put together the classification principle is weak. The classification principles, weak (-C) and strong (+C), refer to the ordering or positioning of 'things' and reflect the distribution of power in society. Framing (control) is a socially dynamic concept and can be seen as power in action. The framing principles, weak (-F) and strong (+F), refer to the regulation over what is made available and how and when it is made available. For example, the relationship between the categories of teacher and pupil is weak F when the pupil has more control than the teacher over the regulation of the process of communication. Conversely, strong F is when the teacher has more control.

Referring to the school, Bernstein has stated: 'Classification tells us something fundamental about the relationships between categories which create the context of the school, and framing tells us something about the form of the content in the process of its transmission'.⁴⁴ In creating the context of the school, relationships between some categories are dominating: for example, relationships between teachers and pupils, between teachers, between pupils and between subjects. It has been shown how Durkheim accounted for the development of the school as an 'organized moral milieu' or, in other words, how some of the dominating Cs and Fs were initially produced. This provides a useful illustration of how Cs and Fs are (at the same time) a deep structure (socio-historical) and a part of the surface structure of everyday social life. An important point is that the Cs and Fs which underlie order and regulation in social life are affected by the flow of historical actions by individuals and social groups, which creates, recreates, sustains, revises or disrupts them. Historical actions arising from charismatic legitimacy and authority could be taken as outstanding examples of the voluntaristic element in social action causing change in the positioning of 'things' (categories). The structural principles set limits, but within those limits the versatility of human symbolism is endless. In other words, the limits do not make men and women 'cultural dopes'.

Bernstein takes curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation as constituting three message systems by means of which educational knowledge is realized on the part of pupils. The message systems refer to what counts as valid knowledge (curriculum), valid transmission (pedagogy), and valid realization (evaluation) of this knowledge by pupils.⁴⁵ Valid realization refers to the pupil's performance in whatever examinations or tests are being used. For example, in an examination, candidates might be required to attempt five questions within a period of three hours.

Classification and framing underlie each message system and, when taken together, represent an educational code. Two codes are identified, namely collection and integrated. These codes, and their types, modes and varieties, have been arrived at from an examination

of formal educational institutions in different Western societies. They have been set out as follows:⁴⁶



Pure: e.g. Chemistry, physics, mathematics

Impure: e.g. Religion, biology, economics

Non-Specialized: e.g. Many subjects examined

Integrated: e.g. Infant/primary school/'integrated day'

For Bernstein, the terms collection and integrated are explicable with reference to Durkheim's study 'The Division of Labour in Society', and the above key gives some indication of how they are empirically grounded.⁴⁷ For example, the ideas of collection and integrated have their genesis in Durkheim's concepts of organic and mechanical solidarity, respectively. Mechanical solidarity arises from the social homogeneity of social units, whereas organic solidarity arises from social heterogeneity of social units. Therefore, collection code transmissions have a curriculum in which subjects are insulated from one another by clear-cut boundaries, which are strongly maintained. In this situation, status is made clear by streaming and/or a system of grading, and each step in the school career moves towards a narrowing range of subjects, thus subject loyalty is systematically developed and specific identities established. This is typically the case in most secondary schools in England, in which the minority who do enter the sixth form usually take three 'A' levels. Tracking into arts or sciences is also typical of some secondary schools in England. By contrast, secondary pupils on the European continent or in the USA typically study a wide range of subjects/courses (discourses) throughout their school careers, and therefore retain the non-specialized

collection code which is universal for most pupils in junior school.

Specialized and non-specialized modes of collection code transmissions encourage and require for their effective realizations on the part of pupils the adoption by pupils of the role of solitary privatized learner. Here the pupil is encouraged to view the knowledge to be acquired as the acquisition of private property. Bernstein makes the point that collection code transmissions also require for their effective realizations on the part of pupils an appropriate organizational context (strong classification), involving strong subject loyalties and identities on the part of teachers and strong vertical work relationships within departments.

The pedagogical relationship between teacher and pupil under a collection code is usually one of strong framing, such that the pupil has little control over the form of the content or the process of its transmission. This means that the teacher and not the pupil controls the selection, organization, pacing and timing of transmission of knowledge. The graded organization of this knowledge involves the pupil in moving from the surface structure to the deep structure of knowledge, or in other words, from having states of knowledge to states of knowing and understanding in terms of general principles. Therefore the problematic nature of knowledge is not seen until the higher levels of the school system and/or higher transmission level (e.g. university).⁴⁸

Bernstein indicates that an integrated code arises when subjects are subordinated to some relational idea, and therefore the particularity of each subject is likely to have reduced significance. To effect this subordination, the focus is upon the deep structure of each subject rather than upon its surface structure, and learning becomes an exploration of general principles and ways of knowing, rather than states of knowledge.⁴⁸ To get this focus requires teachers of different subjects to enter into social relationships with each other, based on a shared, co-operative educational task. Therefore the stress is on bringing things together; hence the concept of weak boundary maintenance is the core principle and is realized both in the

structuring of knowledge and in the organization of relationships.

Although it is often found empirically that pedagogy retains relatively strong framing, the theoretical implication of the integrated code is that classification and framing will be weak for all three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. Because the criteria of evaluation are implicit and diffused, and because the child is a more active participant in the pedagogical relationship, more of the child's thoughts, feelings and values are available for control.⁴⁹ As a result, socialization can be more intensive and penetrating. However, this is contingent upon a high level of ideological consensus among teachers, so this code carries the potential for creating social instability for pupils because it weakens specific identities, at least initially.

Bernstein has established differences in the concepts of time, space and control by distinguishing two types of pedagogy: visible and invisible. The manner in which the structural principles of classification and framing are transmitted, and the degree of specificity of the evaluation criteria, point to the basic difference between the two pedagogies. The more implicit the manner of transmission and the more diffuse the evaluation criteria, the more invisible the pedagogy and, conversely for visible pedagogy. Collection codes give rise to visible pedagogy. Communication in visible pedagogy is regulated by explicit sequencing rules; that is, the progression of the transmission is ordered in time by explicit rules. The syllabus regulates the progression of the subject and the curriculum regulates the relationship between subjects. In both, classification and framing are strong.⁵⁰

In terms of space, visible pedagogy requires only a small fixed space, minimally a table, a book and a chair. Space is strongly classified, with strong boundaries between spaces and objects. Specialized rooms, the physical layout of the school is that of strong classification which creates the contexts for movement in space of persons and objects according to timetables. The principle regulating communication between spaces, persons and objects is strong framing. Visible pedagogy

has the notion of things being in place and out of place.⁵¹

The explicit hierarchy in space and time, with strong boundaries between them and also between acts and communications, determines the nature of social control. Because the stress is on the apartness of things and categories, control is exercised by bringing things into place when they get out of place. The child learns to accept but not necessarily understand the ordering principles, and this acceptance is assisted when infringements result in some form of punishment. Motivation is linked to a system of graded privileges and rewards. The language of social control is relatively restricted (e.g. commands) and the relationships of control are explicitly hierarchical.

The invisible pedagogy which arises from an integrated code has so far been described by Bernstein only in respect of a section of the 'new' middle class and infant school theory and practice. In this pedagogy the aspects of the child which are conceptualized by the teacher are 'readiness' and 'busyness'.⁵² These aspects are collapsed into the concept of 'ready to do'. Readiness is deduced from inferences made from the developmental stages of the child (e.g. physical, cognitive, psycho-motor); hence 'readiness' carries different notions of childhood and its stages than those found in visible pedagogy. Busyness refers to the external behaviour of the child, in the sense of doing things, and readiness is inferred from the doing of things.⁵³

Play is the basic concept in invisible pedagogy because it is through play that the child exteriorizes himself. Play is seen not only as a spontaneous activity, but also as entailing a theory of interpretation, evaluation and diagnosis, which also indicates progression. Play is a socialized act which is personalized and in which interaction is that of weak framing.⁵⁴

For time, space and control, Bernstein instances the following characteristics for invisible pedagogy. Timing is by means of implicit sequencing rules which are based on the child's inner development -

cognitive, moral, emotional, physical, etc. The learning environment is usually quite large and the spaces and objects can be rearranged or interchanged. Consequently, the relationships and communications between objects and spaces are those of weak classification and weak framing. This is 'open-plan living' and the child learns to understand the possibilities of weakly classified spaces and objects and the rules upon which such learning is based. The learning context is provided for the child to explore; therefore the regulation of the child's acts, communications, objects, spaces, timing and progression is that of weak framing. Control is vested in inter-communication in a context in which the child and his behaviour is continuously visible, so much more is available for direct and indirect surveillance and control than obtains in a normal classroom.⁵⁵

In most non-Western societies and cultures in which school is an intrusive Western institution, its arrival has meant the introduction of collection codes. In the case of Sarawak (and Malaysia), it will be shown in later chapters of this thesis that the school's collection code is reinforced by changes in the mode of production (based on a capitalist model) and also by the dominant power group's attempt to universalize its own specific cultural ideal. The latter point, which has been stressed by Max Weber in his study of 'The Chinese Literati',⁵⁶ has been neglected by Bernstein, but it is crucial for an understanding of recent changes in the structure and content of the school's socio-cultural transmissions in Sarawak.⁵⁷

It is almost an anthropological truism that the societies and cultures traditionally studied by anthropologists are characterized by a very high level of institutional integration in terms of roles, values, attitudes, beliefs, etc. Similarly, it can be claimed that knowledge is also highly integrated and that these societies tend to have explicit and closed ideologies, which are also characteristic of integrated codes.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Goody and Watt's point that socialization for oral socio-cultural transmissions is deep and penetrating could be explained by the existence of invisible pedagogy. If so, it could be argued that invisible pedagogy is necessary to ensure the transmission of the strong classification of some social

categorizations which are intrinsic to all societies and cultures. Hence socio-cultural transmissions in the community are such that the child acquires not so much states of knowledge as an understanding of the general principles of social structure and culture - the deep structure - at a fairly early age.

It has already been stated that Bernstein's theorizations are rooted in the division of labour. In developing the distinction between integrated and collection codes and, by implication, invisible and visible pedagogies, it has been shown that their genesis can be found in Durkheim's concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity. Bernstein, unlike Durkheim, distinguishes two types of organic solidarity: personalized and individualized. Bernstein argues that the two types of organic solidarity he discusses develop out of the increasing complexity of the division of labour within class societies. He observes that Durkheim's individualized organic solidarity developed out of the increasing complexity of the economic division of labour, and suggests that personalized organic solidarity arises out of increases in the complexity of the division of labour in cultural or symbolic control.⁵⁸ An important point here is Bernstein's observation that the personalized form celebrates the apparent release, not of the individual but of the person, and new forms of social control.

The concepts of individual and person point to the differences drawn between individualized and personalized organic solidarity. An individual is only a part (or parts) of a person and is associated with role specialization. By contrast, a person is a moral entity and can be seen as a dynamic centre of awareness, emotion, judgment and action, organized into a distinctive whole. Competition is between individuals rather than between persons, and the Western school as an 'organized moral milieu' produces individuals rather than persons. It is true that the English public-school tradition did show a concern for producing persons, or Weber's 'cultivated man', but this gave way to a concern with producing individuals, or Weber's 'specialists'.⁵⁹

Bernstein illustrates the distinction between the terms personalized and individualized by pointing to differences in patterns of

socialization of the young among various sections of the middle-class. There are conceptual connections between individualized/personalized and Bernstein's earlier distinction between positional/personal control, respectively. The conceptual conversion into classification and framing would be +C+F (individualized/positional) and -C-F (personalized/personal). This means that the old middle-class stressed clear-cut and strong boundaries between categories which led to specific, unambiguous role identities and relatively inflexible role performances. In the old middle-class, the ideological stress is upon radical individualism and meritocracy. By contrast, a section of today's middle-class is seen by Bernstein as showing in its socialization patterns concern with self-expression and exposure of feelings, and Bernstein suggests that this leads to ambiguous personal identity and flexible role performances.⁵⁸

Referring to the school, Bernstein argues that collection codes and their visible pedagogies produce in the classroom an overt structure of mechanical solidarity and a covert structure of individualized organic solidarity. The covert structure of individualized organic solidarity is a preparation for the wider social structure, particularly the mode of production and institutions of higher education, because of its specialized outputs (skills and dispositions). These outputs are individuals rather than persons. By contrast, integrated codes and invisible pedagogies produce in the classroom (infant school) overt personalized organic solidarity and covert mechanical solidarity.⁶⁰ Covert mechanical solidarity refers to less specialized outputs. These outputs are persons rather than individuals. Bernstein makes the point that this 'covert mechanical solidarity' will depend upon an ideology which is 'explicit, elaborated and closed and effectively and implicitly transmitted through its low insulations' (-C). Bernstein goes on to say: 'Inasmuch as integrated codes do not accomplish this, then order is highly problematic at the level of social organization and at the level of person'; and 'Inasmuch as integrated codes do accomplish such socialization, then we have the covert deep closure of mechanical solidarity'.⁵⁷

Although some doubts have been raised about the existence of invisible pedagogy in the infant school,⁶¹ that does not invalidate the concept because any appreciative acquaintance with Bernstein's thought would

suggest that this pedagogy is more likely to be found elsewhere. This is one of the major contentions of this thesis. MacRae makes the point that 'Bernstein's work is creation, creation..... sometimes disguised by the necessary masks of scientific procedure so that its true nature does not always at first appear'.⁶²

The focus can be changed by studying not formal education in the modern industrial West, but instead socio-cultural transmissions in non-Western societies and cultures in which the school is an intrusive Western institution, and in which remote rural communities are characterized both by predominantly subsistence economies and by predominantly oral socio-cultural transmissions. In such a setting an integrated code for the community is a possibility.

It will be argued in later chapters that the empirical data on the villages in the remote area researched in this study can be analyzed by reference to integrated codes and invisible pedagogy for socio-cultural transmissions.* It will be shown that production is also based upon an integrated code. Supporting data is provided by Geddes,⁶³ whose study of a Bidayuh community, carried out almost thirty years ago, carries the imprint of a professional anthropologist (which is not claimed here).

*Footnote

'Socio' refers to the structural principles of classification (C) and framing (F), which together represent a code. The principles are conceptualizations of the relationship between (C) categories and the relationships regulating (F), the process of communication or transmission between categories. 'Cultural' refers to the content of the transmissions, in both a material and non-material sense. All culture potentially is able to be categorized; therefore the 'socio' is part of culture and its transmission. It must be stressed that Bernstein's structuralism, a form of semiotic regulation, is not only the logic behind (deep structure) everyday life's negotiated meanings and situated activities but also a part of those (surface structures) meanings and activities.

Production and Transmission: Classification and Framing

The importance of production in Bernstein's exploratory theorizations reflects the place of Marx in his thinking, and production is integral to an understanding of what the socio-cultural transmissions are repeating. The mode of production in any society constitutes the material base of the power (classification) and control (framing) relations of the socio-cultural transmissions and gives rise to what Bernstein calls the dominant or dominating cultural category. In capitalist societies this dominant cultural category is class, and Bernstein states that

'Class structure and relationships constitute and regulate both the distribution of power and the principles of control; that is, constitute and regulate the relationships between categories, the hierarchical form of their constitution and regulate the realization of the categories - that is, the principles of control'.

He also states:

'Class relations constitute inequalities in the distribution of power between social groups, which are realized in the creation, organization, distribution, legitimation and reproduction of material and symbolic values arising out of the social division of labour'.⁶⁴

Codes of education (which were introduced in the preceding section) and codes of production are both conceptualized in terms of classification and framing. Now it is necessary to consider the relationship between the code regulating the form of education (socio-cultural transmissions) and the code regulating the form of production for any category of pupil (acquirer) in the social division of labour of socio-cultural transmissions, and for any category of worker in the social division of labour of production.

In considering the social division of labour of production, the concern is with 'the relationships between the various categories of production; that is, the relationships between the various agents, unskilled, skilled, technologists, managers, administrators, etc.'⁶⁵ These relationships can be strongly or weakly classified. If strongly classified, 'the relationships are stable and sharply distinguished, the functions well insulated from each other, and the agents are not interchangeable'. If weakly classified, 'The relationships between agents are less sharply distinguished, there is reduced insulation

between functions and agents are more interchangeable between categories'.⁶⁶ The mode of production can be considered in terms of framing, which refers to the regulation of the realization of the categories: that is, to the form of communication constituted by the category system of the mode of production. Where framing is strong, 'The primary unit of production is a repetitive, individually performed, strongly paced, explicitly sequenced divisive act' (for example, a car assembly-line). Where the framing is weak, 'The unit of production is relatively co-operative, group based, where there is opportunity to vary conditions and perhaps sequencing and pacing, where the outcome is less a fraction of the total object of production but bears a more direct relation to it'⁶⁶ (for example, some types of cottage industry in England before the onset of the Industrial Revolution). What is produced is the social act of production - a realization of an agent which is socially regulated. The relationships between agents (classification) have two features, one horizontal and one vertical: 'The horizontal feature refers to the relationship between agents who share membership of a common category, e.g. unskilled, skilled, supervisory, managerial. The vertical feature refers to the relationship between agents who are members of different categories'.⁶⁷

Bernstein's codes of production are arrived at by putting together the primary act in terms of framing (divisive/integrated), and the form of the relationship between agents in terms of the principle of their classification (isolated/integrated). Bernstein details the following production codes:⁶⁸

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1. | Isolated agents; divisive act. | ++C++F |
| 2. | Related agents <u>within</u> a category; divisive act. | +C +F |
| 3. | Related agents <u>between adjacent</u> categories; integrated act. | +C -F |
| 4. | Integrated agents <u>across</u> categories; divisive act. | -C +F |
| 5. | Integrated agents <u>across</u> categories; integrated act. | -C -F |

Note: ++ very strong; + strong; - weak.

These codes of production represented by codes 1 to 3 are developmental, a historical process from entrepreneurial to corporate capitalism. Codes 4 and 5 would constitute a qualitative change in the production code, were they to be fully implemented and generalized throughout the system of production. Therefore, in class societies this change would involve a change in the dominant cultural category - that is, a change in the class structure.⁶⁹ For rural economies in non-Western societies and cultures, with a mode of production which is wholly or predominantly at a subsistence level, the existence of different categories of skill is not easily substantiated empirically (apart, perhaps, from fishing communities). It will be argued later that among the Bidayuhs, whose traditional mode of production centres on shifting hill padi (rice) cultivation, there are only general skills, with weak classification between sexes. Because of this, the axis of sex, which is basic to the division of labour, is taken as an intra-category category, so that the agents are integrated across this categorization. It is possible to argue that weak or very weak classification could be demonstrated using the axis of age, in the sense that differences between older child and adult workers are in capacity rather than in type of production activity undertaken. Unlike the categories male/female, the child/adult categorization is less distinct because there are no age-sets. The importance of older children in the household economy can be accepted on the integration of the two agents (child/adult) across the intra-category category of age. Both older children and adults are involved in integrated acts of production. However, the more crucial axis is seen as sex rather than age. The empirical evidence will be shown to support a socially regulated realization of production acts by integrated agents characterized by weak or very weak framing. Therefore, the code of production for Bidayuh society may be given as:

6. Integrated agents across an
intra-category category (sex);
integrated act. -C -F

Regarding the introduction of small-scale cash crops, it will be shown that this has been accommodated by this code of production. The dominant cultural category (or, as is argued in this thesis, dominant

socio-cultural category), for Bidayuh society is egalitarian relations. That this is so will be substantiated by later empirical data, by the work of Geddes referred to earlier, and by recent commentary on the theory of cognatic social structures, which are optative and uncircumscribed.⁷⁰ It must be stressed that the theoretical arguments advanced in this thesis in relation to Bidayuh traditional society and culture are concerned with a cognatic social structure, without a system of social stratification. Readers are referred to Appendix D of this thesis for a more detailed discussion of some of these arguments than is given in the main text.

In his discussion of the relationships between education and production, Bernstein has been concerned with education as school-based socio-cultural transmission in a society in which class is the dominant cultural category. Education and production, as categories, are subject to the structural relationship of classification. Education is a class-allocatory device, socially creating, maintaining and reproducing non-specialized and specialized dispositions and skills which have an approximate relevance to the mode of production. Bernstein points out that 'Whereas the device may be highly efficient in regulating the class basis of the social relations of the mode of production, education may and does create contradictions and discrepancies with reference to:

- (a) the relationships between the distribution of the categories it creates and the distribution of the required categories of the mode of production;
- (b) the relationships between the categories it creates and the relationships between the categories required by the mode of production;
- (c) the realization of its categories (skills and dispositions) and the expected realizations of the categories of the mode of production'.⁷¹

With reference to (a) and (c), Bernstein states that these 'constitute the systemic relationships between education and the mode of production', or 'the role of education in its approximate reproduction of the work force'.⁷²

The systemic relationships between education and production create for education the form of its economic or material base. But from what Durkheim sees as the origins of the essential features of Western schooling, it can be inferred that these features were created before the advent of entrepreneurial capitalism (see page 17). From this, Bernstein makes the point that while Western education became increasingly dependent on this mode of production, it retains - because of its anterior creation - a relative independence of production, or relative autonomy. From this, a few initial points can be made on the Sarawak material.

It will be argued that in traditional Bidayuh society and culture the relationship between production and socio-cultural transmission is weak classification. In other words, there is what Bernstein would call a simple systemic relationship, in contrast to the extended systemic relationship he sees as obtaining between education and production in class societies. A simple systemic relationship is one in which there is directness and specificity between education and production, and between their respective outputs and a local material base. Here, education would reproduce the work force. By contrast, an extended systemic relationship between education and production is less direct and less specific because their respective outputs are in relation to a generalized material base. Here, education would produce only an approximation between the realization of skills and dispositions and those required by the mode of production.

Apart from the Chinese community schools, the school in Sarawak is an intrusive Western institution brought there initially by Church and Mission in the 19th century. Therefore, schooling lacked a (local) material base, and the structure and content of its socio-cultural transmissions were primarily a refraction of British society and culture. As rays of light are refracted through a prism, so the structure and content of Western socio-cultural transmissions could be seen as being refracted through those societies and cultures over which the West exercised colonial domination. A higher degree of refraction could be taken as indicating more resistance from indigenous societies and cultures (Islam, for example), or greater concern with

adaptation by the transmitters. Whatever the degree of refraction or its explanation, it could be argued that initially Western schooling (not Chinese schools) in Sarawak had a very extended relationship with the capitalist mode of production prevailing in Britain, and in fact was repeating the dominant socio-cultural category of class. Although the appropriate mode of production was lacking locally, the colonial administration - and mission administration to a lesser extent - for which most products of schooling were and continued to be primarily destined until relatively recently, could be seen as an attenuated reflection of the hierarchy of class relations. In this sense, schooling had an approximate relevance to the categories and their expected realizations in the administration. However, during the past decade, schooling has become dependent on and reflective of a small but expanding material base of production codes 1 to 3, and has also become dependent on the State and its rapid bureaucratization. At the same time, the politically dominant social group is attempting to make its own 'socio-cultural ideals' universal through schooling, the mass media and Islamic expansionism.

Considering the dominant socio-cultural category being repeated in the socio-cultural transmissions of Sarawak's schools today, it will be argued that it is inegalitarian relations. At the moment, class is inappropriate to Sarawak's social structure as a whole, although there is some evidence that it is emerging under the growing impact of development capitalism. Inter-ethnic socio-economic relations and the spatial distribution of the various ethnic communities are the structural features to which inegalitarian relations primarily refer; and with respect to some of them, their internal social hierarchies - for example, the Chinese and Malays. That is, apart from production codes 1 to 3 and the state bureaucracies.

Before setting out the theoretical models, it is necessary to introduce two further concepts which relate more clearly to transmission. These concepts are positional structure and transmission field. The positional structure refers primarily to the structural relationships between the fundamental categories of the social division of labour, and their principle is given by the strength of classification.⁷³ The

qualification 'fundamental' is necessary because categorization, as it applies to the division of labour, is potentially unlimited. For example, the fundamental categories of a school are the relationships between teacher and pupils, between teachers, between pupils, and between discourses (subjects). Pedagogic practice makes the power relationships (classification) which constitute, maintain and reproduce the relationships between categories substantive and everyday interactions between transmitters (teachers, parents, etc.) and acquirers (pupils, children). The pedagogical practices create the transmission field, and the principle of transmission (framing) is the regulation on communication. Bernstein states that 'Where framing is strong, then the acquirer has little control over the selection, organization (sequencing) and pacing (rate of expected acquisition) of the transmission. Where framing is weak, then alternatives (options) are made available so that the acquirer has greater control over the selection, organization and pacing of the transmission'.⁷³ Framing regulates the form of socialization into the category system; that is, into the positional structure and into the form of the power relationships which constitute, maintain and reproduce the structure. An important point about positional structure and transmission field is that they constitute the macro-representation of the code, and are therefore at a higher level of abstraction than the codings of local pedagogical relations. In acquiring the Cs and Fs (codings) of local pedagogical relations, Bernstein's view is that 'the pupil is also acquiring the macro-representation of the code, the positional structure and the transmission field: the relations between the structure of power and the structure of control'.⁷⁴ However, the child/pupil may acquire the macro-representation of the code without transmitting intermediaries (teachers, parents, peers, etc.), and in the diagrams below this type of acquisition is indicated by the semi-circular arrow. In essence, this is a child - rather than a pupil - learning through play in a natural environment which is clearly distinguishable from the infant classroom.

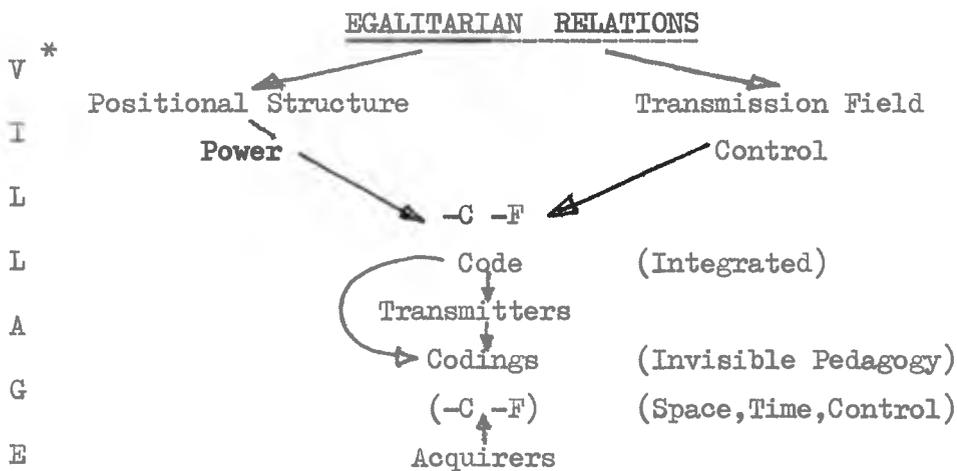
The theoretical models given below refer to

- (a) socio-cultural transmissions in the village communities of the research area;

- (b) production (rice) in the village communities of the research area;
- (c) production and transmission - village community;
- (d) socio-cultural transmissions at the local primary school;
- (e) socio-cultural transmissions at the secondary school; and
- (f) changes in the code of socio-cultural transmissions from village community to primary school to secondary school.

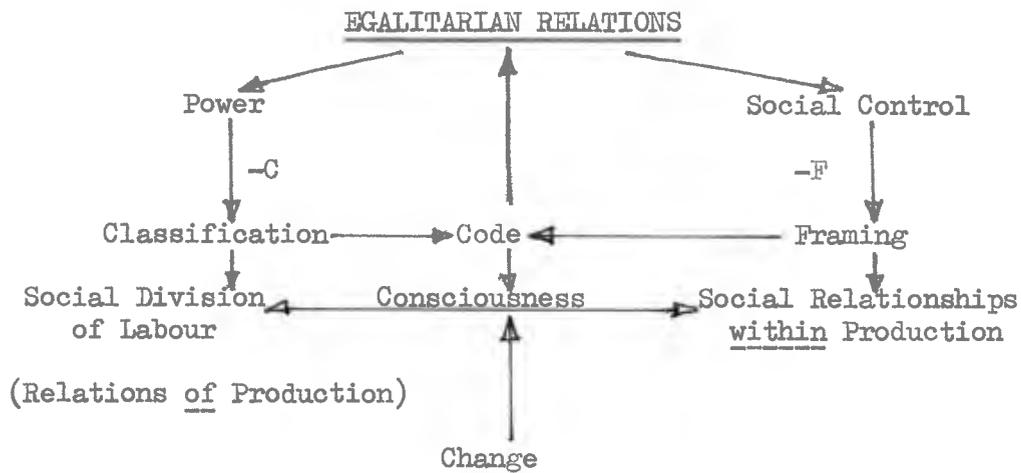
THEORETICAL MODELS

(a) Socio-cultural Transmissions - Village Community

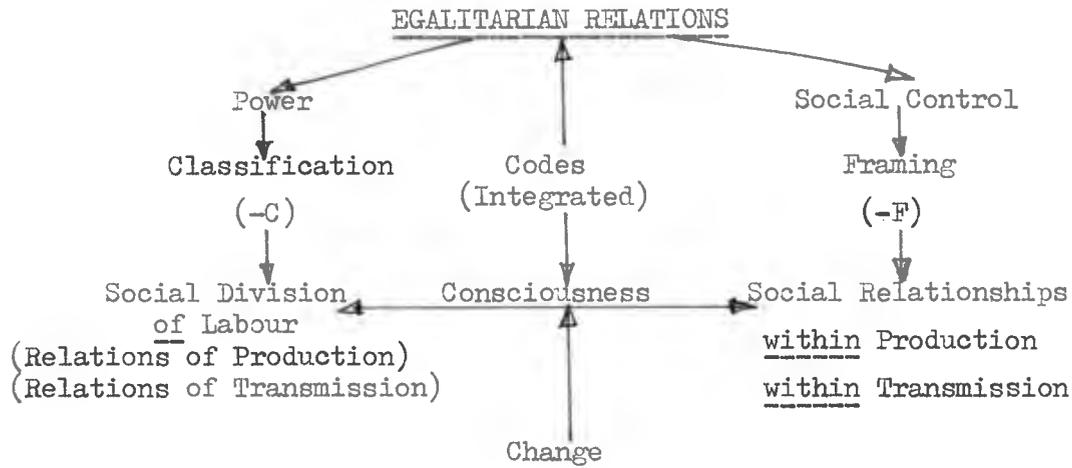


* Kampong

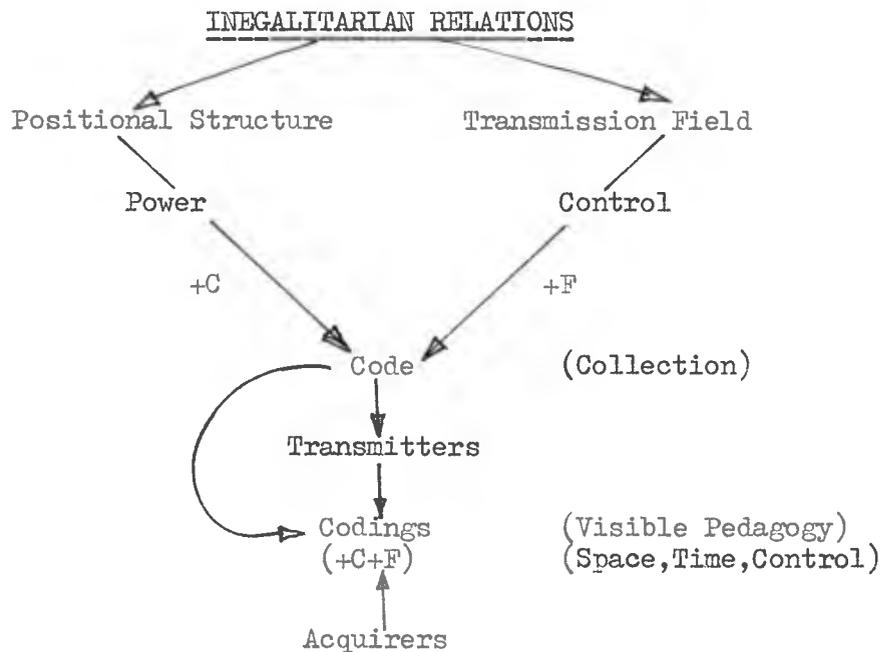
(b) Production (Rice) - Village Community



(c) Production and Transmission - Village Community

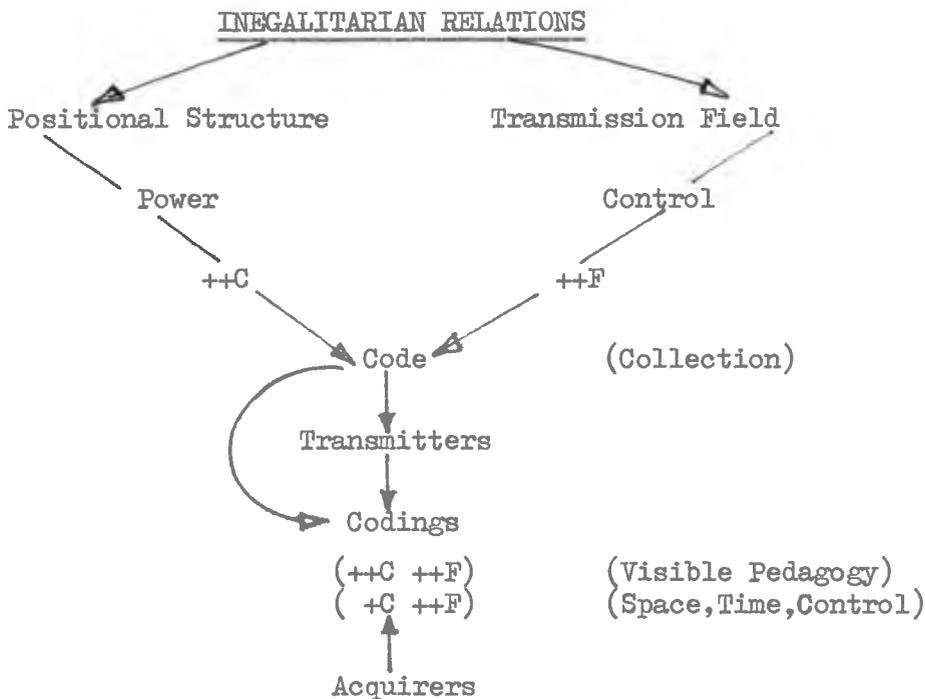


(d) Socio-cultural Transmission - Local Primary School

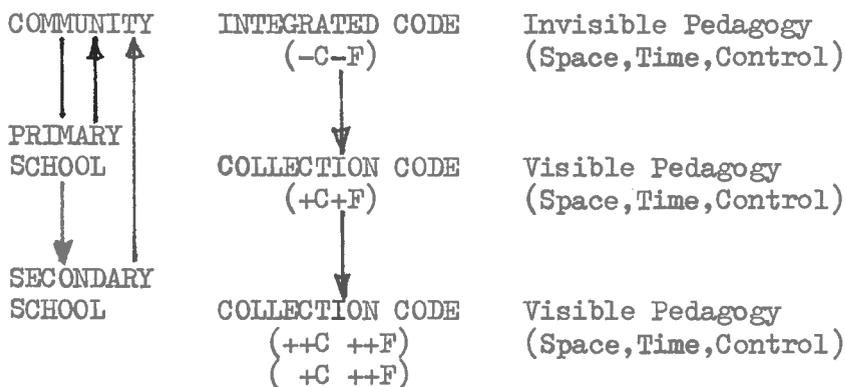
Footnote

All the models refer to dominating code modalities. In all societies and cultures some strong Cs and Fs must exist and for the Bidayuh it will be suggested later that these strong Cs and Fs are located primarily in various taboos. Whether age, gender and generation social categorizations are strong or weak in terms of classification and framing will depend on the situated activity and meanings. A contention of this thesis is that gender is subject to weak C and weak F in respect of the economic roles found in the mode of production (rice).

(e) Socio-cultural Transmission - Secondary School



(f) Change of Code of Transmission - Community and School
Change in Code Strength (CsFs) from Primary to Secondary Schools



In the last model (f), the arrows running from the primary school to the community and from the secondary school to the community refer to those pupils who are obliged to return to the community after attending school for varying periods of time and for various reasons. At the secondary stage there are three distinct levels: junior secondary (three years), senior secondary (two years) and sixth form (two years).

The relations of transmission and the relations of production in models (b) and (c) above refer to the relationships between categories which create the contexts at the level of interactions. Social relations within transmission refer to the form (regulation) of the child's realizations of these categories making up the contexts, so that the code becomes part of the child's consciousness. Social relations within production refer to the regulation on the realizations of the categories or agent(s) (workers) involved in the social acts of production. The outputs of production are objects (in this case, rice), and in carrying out the social acts of production the code is made substantive at the level of agent/worker interactions and brought into consciousness. In diagram (c), production and transmission are put together because it will be shown that the same people are concerned with both production and socio-cultural transmission. The household is the basic unit of production and consumption, and in subsistence conditions the main concern is with survival. The subsistence household economy and the oral culture have a directness in semantic ratification and should be seen as crucial to any explanation of the direct and specific relations (codings) of both transmission and production to a local material base.

It has been stated previously that power (classification) and social control (framing) are analytically distinct. For this reason, and because of Bernstein's view that the code can be received direct into consciousness - semi-circular arrows in diagrams (a) (d) (e) - the arrows in models (b) and (c) point inward to the code(s) and then downward to consciousness. In both models the arrows running across and underlining consciousness indicate again that the social division of labour (categories) and the principle of classification (degree of insulation between categories) are realized through social relationships (discourses/activities/practices), and hence made substantive at the

level of interactions.

In the diagrams of models (b) and (c), change is shown as affecting consciousness. Change may be due to imposition or provocation. If, as a result of change, framing weakens and the classification remains unchanged, then at some point the classification will be challenged because the relationships between categories will be challenged. Politically dominant groups may attempt to create new categories, change the strength of classification of existing categories, and also change the strength of framing.

This chapter has provided a selective discussion of some historical and anthropological perspectives in order to highlight certain issues and points which contribute to the theoretical explorations of this thesis. Particular importance has been attached to the work of Goody and Watt on the consequences of literacy and the nature of non-literate society and culture. How that nature is seen to relate to Bernstein's concept of invisible pedagogy has been discussed briefly, and it will be shown in later discussion how many of Goody and Watt's points on literacy relate to the concept of visible pedagogy. The importance of Durkheim, and to a lesser extent Marx, has been shown to be integral to Bernstein's own theoretical explorations. However, the work of the sociological theorist Max Weber has been neglected by Bernstein. Weber's argument has been put very succinctly by Karabel and Halsey as: 'If dominant social groups have the power to determine what is valued in the educational system at a particular historical juncture, it would not be surprising to find that subordinate social groups are 'deficient' in terms of criteria set by the powerful'.⁷⁵ This has relevance for the situation in Sarawak, and in Malaysia as a whole. The dominant social group's superiority ultimately is based on the power to determine what is admissible as 'cultural capital'. But this relevance is not clear-cut because, while it will be shown that the Bidayuh (and by implication other similar societies and cultures) have a transmission code which is in conflict with the schools' transmission code, it will be suggested in the concluding chapter that those who have the power to determine what is admissible as 'cultural capital'

also have a transmission code which is inappropriate to visible pedagogy. By contrast, it will be suggested - again in the concluding chapter - that the Chinese have a very appropriate transmission code for the schools' visible pedagogy, but lack the power to determine most of the content of the schools' socio-cultural transmissions, which increasingly are being appropriated by the Malays in an attempt to make their own 'socio-cultural ideals' universal. Although a comparative study of different ethnic groups is not within the terms of reference of this thesis, these brief comments are given to suggest the possible explanatory power of the theoretical explorations for such a study.

CHAPTER TWO

ENGAGING THE FIELD

Sensitization and Preliminaries

Sensitization is seen here as a general sociological perspective, focusing on a general question or problem, which the researcher takes into the field. The nature of this sensitization obviously arises from the researcher's professional socialization.

Almost certainly, it would be agreed among sociologists that, as Bernstein points out 'an exciting sociological account should be comparative and historical and should reveal the relationships between structural features and interactional practices in a context of change'.¹ The various 'approach paradigms' in sociology which have characterized the 1970s in particular, afford little purchase for such an account because they are fundamentally political, as are the fierce ideological debates to which they have given rise. They reveal the dilemma of being a sociologist. Who does the sociologist serve? Which side is the sociologist on? The stance adopted in the present research was to avoid 'approach paradigms', on the grounds that exploratory theorization should be conducted from a variety of perspectives - anthropological, sociological and historical - and that at every step it must be substantiated empirically and, where relevant, supported by historical evidence. With regard to sociology, Bernstein points out that 'most explanations will be weak and often non-comparable, because they are approach-specific' and that 'once the ideological stance is exposed, then all the work may be written off'.²

The choice of Sarawak as the location for the research arose from prior interest in and knowledge of the ethnography of south-east Asia, including a study of the socio-historical development of Chinese education in Sarawak referred to previously.³ It was also necessary to find a location where English was still the predominant medium of instruction in schools, where schooling was undergoing rapid expansion and involving increasing numbers of children from relatively remote areas, and where capitalist enterprise was being promoted by the government. Hypothetically, change, conflict and contradiction in respect of socio-cultural transmissions would be clearly manifest in these circumstances.

There were two general questions or problems which formed part of the initial sensitization. What were the unintended consequences, if any, of government actions on educational development and the modernization process in general for socio-cultural transmissions, as seen from the Durkheimian perspective of social integration and social consensus? What were the implications for social control and social order? These questions were very relevant for the new nation which was attempting to establish national unity and a national culture out of a very complex social structure with few common values.

The Bidayuh were chosen for several reasons. First, Geddes had carried out a detailed anthropological study of one village community in 1949-51, which would provide useful comparative data to supplement the specific focus of the research.⁴ Geddes' work also supplied a large amount of data on the traditional economy, but little on socialization. Second, the Bidayuh were within relatively easy access of the state capital, Kuching; the most remote village (Kampong) being no more than a two-day journey. This was an important consideration because of the need to study schooling at the secondary level, and also the need to gather data from various government departments. Third, the relative proximity of the Bidayuh to the capital suggested that movement between the more rural villages and Kuching was already a significant feature of social experience. Finally, schooling for children living in remote villages had only assumed significance in the late 1960s.

Initial planning for the project was done early in 1973, with a view to spending fifteen months in the field, including a preliminary visit of ten weeks to assess the feasibility of the project and to find a suitable location. Dates were finalized as July to September 1973, inclusive, for the preliminary visit; and August 1974 to August 1975 for the main fieldwork. The preliminary visit was duly carried out and the feasibility confirmed. In search for a suitable location, six different areas were visited in the company of officials from the divisional Education Office. The area finally selected was actually the first one visited and the most difficult for accessibility. There were two main reasons for this choice. The area consisted of several villages served by one primary school and it appeared to be geographically

compact. But of particular significance from the point of view of historical data, the area had been part of the Padawan Development Scheme between 1957 and 1963, for which a detailed report existed.⁵ Prior to that scheme, access to the area had been extremely difficult.

Having been lead to expect that a year's paid study leave would be granted for the main fieldwork period, I learned early in 1974 that this was not possible. The determination to carry on with the study led to a revision of fieldwork schedules, so that instead of one twelve-month visit, two visits were made in 1975 and 1976, for which paid leave was granted. This revision also permitted an interim visit of about three months in 1974. The fieldwork period amounted to about seventeen months, and the schedules were as follows:

10th July to 30th September 1973
 12th July to 15th October 1974
 11th April to 30th September 1975
 24th July to 7th January 1977

These revisions, though costly, brought great benefits to the research because they increased the temporal aspect of the fieldwork at the time of most rapid increase in secondary-school enrolments. They also permitted some cohort analysis.

Methodology and Problems

The perspectives used in this research project required various methodological approaches for data collection: these were as follows:

The Kampongs

1. A household survey in the research area, by questionnaire.
2. Participant observation in several households.
3. Participant observation of various activities in two of the villages.
4. Unstructured interviews with those defined as 'key informants', e.g. Headman, secondary students, people of the research area who were working residents in Kuching.
5. A photographic record of various activities in one village, of its spatial arrangements, and of the spatial arrangements in two homes (ramins) and of most objects in these homes.
6. A colour movie film (Super 8) of some children's activities and of their long walk to school.

The Primary School

1. Participant observation of all classes.
2. Participant observation of extra-curricular activities.
3. Data from various school records, e.g. Timetables, attendance registers, internal examination/test results, circulars.
4. Samples of art work, essays and other course work.
5. Complete sets of all books used (1973-1977).
6. Primary Five Assessment papers.
7. Primary Five Assessment results.

8. Observation at meetings of the School Management Committee.
9. Informal interviews and casual discussion with all members of staff in various social situations on aspects of schooling and relationships between the school and the village communities.
10. Map of school campus and plans of all buildings.
11. Photographic and film record of aspects of school life.
12. Residence on the school campus.

The Secondary School

1. Participant observation of a selection of classes at the junior secondary stage of schooling.
2. Cohort study of pupils from the research area.
3. Data from various school records (as for Primary school).
4. Informal interviews and casual discussion with various members of staff and pupils on aspects of schooling.
5. Map of school campus and photographic record of a selection of buildings, classrooms, including specialized teaching space (e.g. woodwork, home science).
6. Photographic record of aspects of school life and of campus.
7. Complete sets of all books in use at the junior secondary and senior secondary levels; complete sets of papers in all subjects for all public examinations taken, entry regulations, etc.
8. Annual school magazine for the period 1973-76.

In addition to the above, I also held informal interviews and casual discussions with various Education Department personnel whose purview

of responsibility included the two schools. Some of these had special knowledge of the research area.

Macro-structural level

1. Data from various Education Department publications.
2. Data from various federal and state government publications.
3. Data from journals, newspapers and books.
4. Data from other research reports.
5. Informal interviews and casual discussion with various government officials.
6. Informal interviews and casual discussion with various members of the Bidayuh community.
7. Casual discussion with various members of the Chinese, Iban and Malay communities.

4 5

Before entering the 'field', I assumed from prior knowledge that research of any type in Sarawak would be treated with some suspicion there, and that schooling was a very sensitive issue. It was anticipated that, being a member of the former colonial power, I would be viewed with acute sensitivity by some people. Therefore, one reason for the feasibility visit in 1973 was to locate potential sources of hostility so that they could be avoided. That procedure proved successful, and good rapport was established with all social contacts. To establish similarly good rapport with education officials, teachers and others, the role of researcher was 'played down' and I avoided the term in conversation. Instead, I stressed my other role as a teacher-educator in England, with substantial experience in the classroom, and I explained that interest in undertaking the project arose from these experiences. This assisted in putting informants at ease in an overall methodological approach which stressed informality rather than formality. An important corollary to the above methods is that some of the best evidence may be gathered in an 'unthinking' way, when the observer has simply recorded the item although it has no place in the system of concepts or hypotheses he is working with at the time. Such evidence is valuable because it may contain less bias than in methodically recorded evidence, when bias may be introduced by the wish to substantiate or repudiate

a particular idea. This was certainly the case throughout the period of fieldwork, and is an important part of the 'sociological imagination' which 'should make visible what is rendered invisible through the society's institutional procedures, and through the daily practices of its members'.⁶ What is made visible refers to what Bernstein sees as the 'news' the sociologist brings, which is 'about the nature of constraint, of control, of the ways in which man's symbolic arrangements at one and the same time shape his innermost experience and yet create the potential for change'.⁶ To gather that 'news' in social situations which were a potential constraint upon the researcher's role meant that for the most part the methods used must be informal.

The survey of households (see Appendix C) in the research area was carried out in 1975, the work being divided between the researcher and two assistants, both of whom lived in the area. One of these assistants acted as an interpreter when necessary, but fortunately most 'key informants' spoke English. The interpreter was also a 'key informant', and some time was spent with him in his household as a temporary resident. I found that he was able to intuit, to some extent, the theoretical ideas being explored, which suggested that the structural principles were part of his social reality. The good rapport established between the researcher and all social contacts in the research area was symptomatic of Bidayuh friendliness and hospitality, albeit that they are known to be reticent and undemonstrative. The British were generally popular with the Bidayuh, and that popularity greatly assisted in my gaining social acceptance. The project's concern with children was stressed, and this, together with the making of a movie film of children walking to school, probably assisted in creating a favourable social image.

Contact time was necessarily divided between the village communities, the primary school (which was about two miles from the nearest village), the secondary school (a thirty-mile journey from the area) and Kuching (fifty-six miles from the area, by foot and bus). The rapid changes which were taking place in the two schools over the period from 1973 to 1977 necessitated allocating some time to them on each of the four

fieldwork trips, and moving in and out of the research area. Total contact time in the villages and the primary school amounted to about seven months. This time was split into periods varying between one and three weeks. Nine months were allocated to Kuching and the secondary school; the rest of the time was absorbed by engaging and disengaging the field. Research at the secondary school was carried out by means of daily visits from Kuching, which took about 40 minutes by bus.

Making Sense of the Data

The theoretical models which are set out in the last section of Chapter One were developed during the course of data collection and were not finalized until after the fieldwork had been completed. They are based, of course, on models developed by Bernstein, and in that sense are a priori to this research; but in order to make sense of the data on the village communities a change in dominant cultural category, or, as argued here, a change in dominant socio-cultural category, was required.

Egalitarian relations are given as the dominant socio-cultural category for the village communities. This arose from empirical data, with support provided by the classic anthropological study made by Geddes and more recent commentary on the theory of cognatic social structures. Similarly, the applicability of 'invisible pedagogy' also arose from the empirical data, and that applicability was considerably strengthened by the seminal work of Goody and Watt referred to previously. How to make sense of the data on the communities was not finally resolved until I read Bernstein's article 'Aspects of the relations between education and production', which was made available to me by the author before its publication.⁷

The historical perspective of the research originated in an earlier study of the Brooke period referred to previously, which presented a clear case for schooling being an intrusive Western institution, without a local material base. Earlier discussion should have made clear that it is unlikely that schooling can be directly related to a local material base, and that this would most probably happen only where the school is a

community institution. In Sarawak, the best example of this type of institution is the Chinese community school, but a discussion of these schools is not within the terms of reference of this thesis. More recently, it can be shown that a material base - that is, production codes 1 to 3 - is being expanded or created, but that this is not general throughout the social structure. It will be shown that the empirical data support the proposition that change, conflict and contradiction apply to the relationships between the different contexts of socio-cultural transmissions examined, and that these propositions apply (as suggested by Bernstein) to the systemic relationships between the categories of school-based socio-cultural transmissions and production.

Inegalitarian relations are given as the dominant socio-cultural category at the macro-institutional level on the grounds that the data show clearly that structural inequality is increasing between the different ethnic communities and within ethnic communities. Rural-urban differences are also increasing, and intra-rural differences in terms of structural inequality are also becoming a significant feature of the social structure. As mentioned previously, inegalitarian relations also apply to the internal social hierarchies of some ethnic communities, for example Chinese and Malay, in relation to production codes 1 to 3 and the state bureaucracies.

It has already been stated that the sociological theorist Max Weber is particularly relevant to the situation in Sarawak and Malaysia, and it will be shown that recent developments in schooling can only be understood with reference to the attempt by the politically dominant group to make its socio-cultural ideal universal through those agencies of socio-cultural production and reproduction which it can control; for example, the schools and mass media. However, the empirical evidence shows that as yet the politically dominant group lacks an adequate material base, and being a minority group in Sarawak, its power base is located in the state bureaucracies and in the military and paramilitary forces, as well as in receiving support from other communities, or sections of them. But, as will be argued in the conclusion, the inference of the theoretical explorations is that

schooling, which was shown on Durkheim's evidence to be anterior to entrepreneurial capitalist production, will continue to generate social de-regulation of the person - and hence social disorder - rather than create national unity and a national culture.

Although Bernstein discusses the importance of the textbook in visible pedagogy, it will be argued on the basis of the data on socio-cultural transmissions that textbooks are transmitters in their own right. This argument will draw on the nature of the inter-cultural classroom (which is typical at the secondary level), centralized syllabus construction, specially written textbooks, and the trend towards objective types of examination. A major conclusion in this respect is that excessive reliance upon the textbook, by increasing the strength of the framing, has had the unintended consequence of subverting the objectives of political socialization - national unity and national culture.

CHAPTER THREE

ASPECTS OF SARAWAK'S CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

In this chapter examination is made of the macro-structural features and their historical background within which the study of change, conflict and contradiction in the structure of socio-cultural transmissions between Bidayuh remote areas and schooling (and between schooling and production) is situated. Though mostly descriptive, the chapter attempts to demonstrate the complexity of Sarawak's changing social structure and the relevance of inegalitarian relations as the rapidly emerging dominant or dominating socio-culture category.

It has been established that inegalitarian relations refer to the apartness of 'things' and social hierarchies. The descriptions provide evidence of inegalitarian relations and also the creation of new categories, with strong classification and strong framing, for a population characterised by ethnic diversity, youthfulness and a predominantly rural distribution, with low density. In the political section it is shown how Brooke government policy largely shielded the indigenous cultures from Western developments and modernization and, at the same time, encouraged Chinese immigration. By 1939, the order of the five main ethnic communities (as a percentage of the total population) was as follows: Iban (34.2), Chinese (25.2), Malay (18.9), Melanau (7.5) and Bidayuh (7.5).¹

Research has shown that overseas Chinese communities have developed social structures and cultures which are typified by inegalitarian relations and values. In Sarawak, apart from the Chinese communities, the Malay and Melanau communities are the other main examples of inegalitarian relations and values.^{2,3} However, Harrison has provided conclusive evidence to show that the Malays, apart from their bangsawan who have Arab ancestral roots, are basically native Bornean of pagan ancestry. Harrison summarises his argument with the following statement:

'The Sarawak Malays do not to any significant degree represent any kind of evolutionary group, or even relic, of a distant 'Malay' people Rather they reflect the movements of a few authoritative, aristocratic or able (guru, trader, etc.) Moslems - not necessarily always from Malaya or elsewhere in Indonesia. These individuals or small groups converted or led local, indigenous populations, or parts thereof, to embrace Islam, become Moslem, and thus in latter-day terminology masok Malayu, become Malay'.⁴

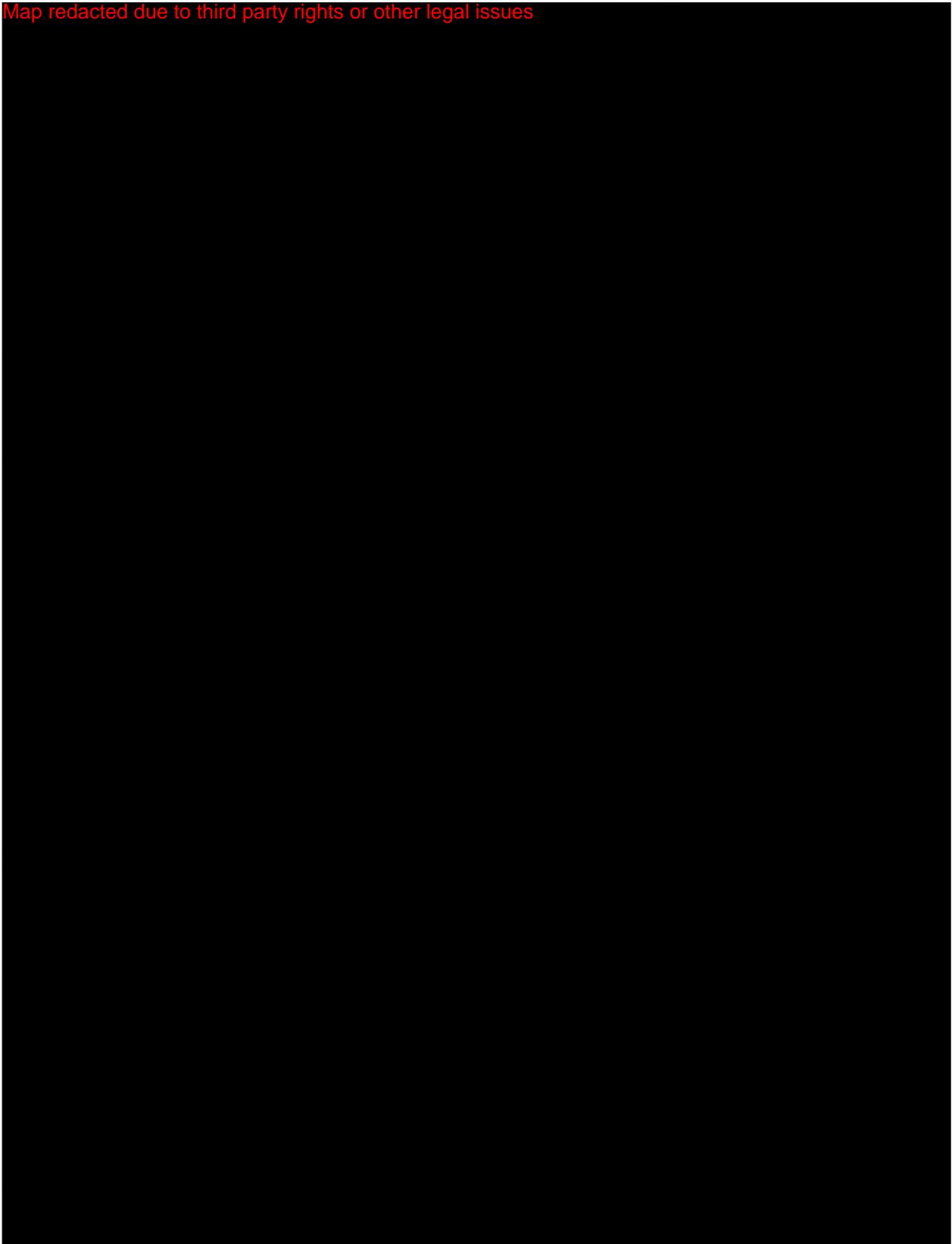
The relations between most ethnic communities (categories) are affected by strongly maintained boundaries, in both a physical and a symbolic sense. Apart from some modern sector work situations, trading activities, leisure activities and political party situations, the relations between most ethnic communities can be seen in terms of strong classification and strong framing. Christianity and Islam have in most instances created new categories or reinforced old categories, with strong boundaries on both an inter- and intra-ethnic community basis.

Western colonialism introduced inegalitarian relations and values primarily through schooling and administration, and to a lesser extent through religion and the small-scale modernization of agriculture. Since Sarawak became a Malaysian state in 1963, entrepreneurial capitalism and a rapid growth in state bureaucracies and in 'white collar' occupations generally have become increasingly important in the creation of inegalitarian relations and values. In the 1970s, a significant trend has been the growth of state and private corporate capitalism, particularly in petroleum and liquified natural gas.

The advent of Malaysia in 1963 introduced a social category hitherto absent in Sarawak. This is the distinction between what are now officially termed the bumiputras (natives) and non-natives (primarily the Chinese). Bumi means earth and putra means prince. The bumiputras or princes of the earth enjoy special rights which have a special significance in so far as these rights are not enjoyed by the Chinese.⁵ The concept of bumiputra is a cornerstone of the national ideology, Rukunegara, and demonstrates a repositioning of things (categories) by facilitating the creation of social hierarchies between bumiputras (turning weak Cs into strong Cs) in order to reduce the strength of classification (inegalitarian relations) between themselves (bumiputras) and primarily the Chinese.

Sarawak constitutes a portion of the western part of the island of Borneo and covers an area of 48,300 square miles (see map overleaf). The interior frontier is the central Borneo watershed, so the country is traversed by a number of rivers. Except in a few localities, the immediate coastal belt is swampy, but behind this stretches a belt of low hills, 20 to 100 miles wide. The interior is dominated by bush, jungle and mountainous terrain.

Map redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



Political

The State of Sarawak was founded by James Brooke in 1841. Brooke, an English adventurer, after intervening in a dispute between Brunei and dissident Dayaks, was installed as Rajah of Sarawak on 24th September 1841, and in the following year his appointment was ratified by the Sultan of Brunei. Great Britain recognized the country as an independent State in 1863 and granted protectorate status in 1888. Charles Brooke, the second Rajah, ruled from 1868 to 1917 and was succeeded by Vyner Brooke, whose rule effectively ended with the Japanese occupation in 1941. After the war the country became a British colony, retaining this status until 1963, when it became part of the Federation of Malaysia.

In 1841 the State covered an area of only 2,500 square miles; the population of 10,500 consisted of 8,000 Dayaks, 1,500 Malays and 1,000 Chinese.⁶ By the end of Brooke rule the country had expanded to its present area, and in 1939 had a population of 490,585. Brooke territorial expansion was largely at the expense of the Sultanate of Brunei, and during the course of this expansion the country established a common frontier with the British colony of North Borneo, in addition to its original frontiers with Dutch Borneo and Brunei. Today its frontiers are the same, but the political status of Dutch Borneo has changed to that of Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan) and that of North Borneo to the Malaysian State of Sabah.

The Brooke regime was based on indirect rule, though the Rajahs themselves viewed their rule as direct. For purposes of administration the country was divided into five divisions, with Kuching as the main administrative centre and capital town.⁷ All executive powers were vested in the Rajahs, but they received advice from a Supreme Council, consisting of five Malays and two senior European administrators, and this was later supplemented by a Committee of Administration. A national body - the Council Negri - was established in 1867 and met periodically. The Council Negri consisted of various community leaders, and its main purpose was to promote inter-communal understanding. In 1941, under pressure from the British Government, Vyner Brooke

promulgated a new constitution which gave apparent executive power to the Supreme Council and Council Negri, but as Runciman states: 'the Rajah, in fact, surrendered his absolute power to a bureaucracy which he himself nominated'.⁸

Politically, the Brooke period may be characterized by its relative stability, mainly achieved by ruthless suppression of rebellion and subversion. Of the indigenous communities, the Bidayuh (Land Dayaks) were perhaps the main beneficiaries of Brooke 'law and order' policy, because in pre-Brooke times they had experienced subjugation from the coastal Malays and were the main victims of aggressive Iban (Sea Dayaks) expansionism. Ideologically, the Brookes maintained an anti-modernist and conservative stance because they feared the social and political effects of intrusive Western institutions. Their ideological position was underwritten by a firm commitment to the values of cultural pluralism and self-help. A protective shield was placed around the traditional cultures and societies, which effectively stunted their socio-political and economic growth. Though the Rajahs allowed and encouraged the work of the Christian church and missions, their attitudes were distinctly ambivalent: on the one hand they were persistently critical of the Western literary bias of mission schooling. The Brookes never resolved this ambivalence.⁹

Historically, one of the most important actions taken by the Brookes was in the field of economic development. They resisted Western economic investment, defined indigenous communities as largely inappropriate for economic development, and placed responsibility for this development in the hands of the Chinese immigrant communities. In 1880, Charles Brooke stated: 'the more Chinese labour that comes into the country the better for it'.¹⁰ Between 1909 and 1939 the Chinese population rose from 45,000 to 123,626.¹¹ Land was apportioned to the Chinese immigrants, and various incentives were given by the government, for example, passage assistance from China and tax relief. By the end of Brooke rule, the Chinese had achieved a totally dominant position in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy and in education. Under the umbrella of cultural pluralism and self-help, the Chinese were greatly assisted in their desire to establish closely-knit communities

with highly developed community organizations and leadership patterns, and their own community school system.

A hundred years of Brooke rule resulted in the development of a very complex social structure, the greatest inter-ethnic structural inequality being between the Chinese and the indigenous communities. Chinese predilection for the towns exacerbated the nature and extent of this inequality, but as T'ien points out, structural inequality within the Chinese community was very significant and still remains so.¹²

After the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, the Brooke doctrine of cultural pluralism gave way to the progressive imposition of Western institutions. Colonial government policy toward the indigenous communities was concerned with change rather than preservation, through the promotion of cash crops, primary schooling, health programmes and a small number of community development projects. A major innovation in the field of administration was the creation of local authorities in 1948. The effect of these policies in the rural areas was variable and selective; difficult communications exercised a major constraint.

The development of ethnic-group political consciousness and nationalism centred on the Chinese and Malay communities, but the colonial authorities resisted the formation of political organizations until the late 1950's. In the mid-1950's, the government was forced to move against a new militant left-wing Chinese leadership, who were opposed to the older and wealthier government-sponsored leaders; but most government concern was with the Chinese school-system.¹³ Earlier, in the late 1940's, the government had expeditiously split the Malay leadership in order to neutralize the largely Malay-sponsored anti-cessionist movement, with which a number of organizations were involved, such as the Malay National Union, originally established in 1939.¹⁴

During the last five years of colonial rule, six political parties were formed and their main support groups at the first elections in 1963

were as follows:¹⁵

<u>PARTY</u>	<u>MAIN SUPPORT GROUP(S)</u>
Sarawak United Peoples Party (SUPP)	Chinese/Bidayuh
Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA)	Chinese
Party Negara Sarawak (PANAS)	Malay/Bidayuh
Barisan Ra'ayat Jati Sarawak (BARJASA)	Melanau/Malay
Sarawak National Party (SNAP)	Iban
Partei Pesaka anak Sarawak (PESAKA)	Iban

Political development at this time was characterized by political divisions mostly within ethnic communities and the absence of a unifying ideology within and between these communities. This pattern has persisted and is seen by Leigh as 'a multiplicity of disagreements which promoted conflict resolution through a process of flexible realignments, so that various factions sought allies outside their community in the quest for political power'.¹⁶

The first elected state government was a SNAP and SCA combination, mostly of Ibans and Chinese. Composed mainly of inexperienced leaders, the new government relied heavily on the advice of remaining expatriate officers. Malay influence was minimal, although at the Federal level their interests were more strongly represented. This situation was of particular concern to the Malays, who had looked forward to the formation of Malaysia as providing considerable improvements in their position vis-a-vis the Chinese. A particular grievance was that whereas under the Brookes the Malays were favoured and dominated the civil service (numbering 1,371 out of 2,302 in 1939), the Chinese, having a stronger educational position, had seized the new opportunities under the colonial policy of open recruitment and were now dominant.¹⁷

Up to September 1966, and coinciding with the period of confrontation with Indonesia, there was continual conflict between the Federal and Sarawak State leadership. Controversy centred particularly on the National Language Policy and the reorganization of school provision. On joining Malaysia, Sarawak accepted Malay as the national language, but not as the official language, at least for the time being. It was

agreed that no act terminating or restricting the use of English should be applied before 1973, and then only after enactment by the State legislature. It was this safeguard which was seen by the Federal government as a serious obstacle to the creation of national unity and to supplanting ethnic identification and loyalties by those directed towards the nation. In his 1966 presidential address to the United Malays' National Organization (UMNO) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia's premier stated: 'A factor which can bring about the unity of the people is the adoption of a national language, for language is the soul of the nation'.¹⁸ However, the State leadership was adamant that English was essential if the Dayaks* were to catch up educationally with the Chinese and Malays.

In 1965, a Sarawak Land Bill which would have permitted the Chinese to purchase 'native land' unified Malay and Dayak groups against the State leadership, and in the following year the Federal government declared a state of emergency, which forced the Chief Minister to resign.¹⁹ A new Alliance government was formed under an Iban, with strong Malay representation in the cabinet. The tone of the new Alliance was well stated by a cabinet member, Abdul Taib, who declared: 'Sarawak is now in the process of setting up a political government.....and the fate of the country lies with the politicians'.²⁰ The unification of Malay and Dayak interests precipitated by the Land Bill crisis was to some extent cemented by a merger of the BARJASA and PANAS parties to form 'parti BUMIPUTRA', and this new party took a leading role in the new Alliance government, with SNAP and SUPP in opposition.

With the emergence of constructive co-operation within the Federation, the first Malaysian-wide elections of 1969 were approached with an air of self-confidence. However, that self-confidence was severely shaken when the Alliance in West Malaysia suffered a sharply reduced majority. On May 13th, two days after the result was known, severe communal rioting broke out in Kuala Lumpur, to which the government responded by suspending the constitution and invoking emergency powers. Polling was suspended in Sarawak on May 15th, and in July the State Operations Committee became the supreme executive authority until elections were

* A generic name for Bidayuh and Iban.

resumed in 1970. This period coincided with the growth of alleged communist-inspired anti-government forces in Sarawak's rural areas, mainly under Chinese Leadership.²¹

In Sarawak, the 1970 elections saw the formation of a new coalition government consisting of BUMIPTRA and SUPP, with support from PESAKA; but SNAP continued in opposition. PESAKA merged with BUMIPUTRA and formed Parti PESAKA BUMIPUTRA and this party and the new coalition government was headed by a Melanau, Abdul Rahman Ya'kub, a charismatic personality and social visionary. Abdul Rahman Ya'kub social vision received clear expression in the 1970's with the creation of the concept of the Barisan National Alliance and with the resiting of new government buildings, including the State Legislature and the Bangunan Tunku Abdul Rahman complex. At the next election in 1974, the coalition's mandate was renewed, under the banner of the Barisan National Alliance (BNA), but with a reduced majority. SNAP took several seats from SUPP and assumed a significant presence in Council Negri, the State legislature. Under the very skillful and firm leadership of Abdul Rahman Ya'kub, Federal and State policies were progressively brought into line, and the insurgency problem was rendered dormant. In 1976, SNAP joined the BNA, which ended any significant opposition politics in the State. This move was probably an attempt to establish internal opposition, that is, internal to the 'consensus politics' of the BNA.

The political acumen of Abdul Rahman Ya'kub is not easily matched in Sarawak. Although since late 1976 his leadership has been subject to some criticism from sections of the Chinese, Iban and Malay communities, he demonstrated his political muscle in leading the BNA to a resounding victory in the State elections of September 1979: the BNA won 45 of the 48 seats.²² Abdul Rahman Ya'kub has demonstrated that his charismatic leadership and bringing Federal and State policies into line have had a vital role in containing and restraining the disruptive free play of inter- and intra-ethnic group political conflict in order to achieve political stability.

Demographic

The general characteristics of Sarawak's demographic structure are ethnic diversity, youthfulness and predominantly rural distribution, with low density. As in Malaysia as a whole, the median age is low and has shown a decline from 18.1 years in 1960 to 16.9 years in 1970.²³ However, in ethnic composition and rural-urban distribution, the State contrasts significantly with peninsular Malaysia. Unlike the latter, where in 1976 the Malays and Chinese numbered 5.49 and 3.69 million, respectively, out of a population of 10.27 millions, in Sarawak there is no overall ethnic majority.²⁴ In 1970, the percentage of the population classified as urban was 16.7, compared with 12.6 in 1960. Although Sarawak is the largest state in Malaysia in terms of area, in 1970 it had the lowest population density, at 18.5 persons per square mile.²⁵

Sarawak's ethnic-group structure for the census years 1947, 1960 and 1970 was as follows:²⁶

	1947		1960		1970*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Malay	97,469	18.9	129,300	17.9	181,426	18.6
Melanau	35,560	7.5	44,661	6.5	53,379	5.5
Iban (Sea Dayak)	190,326	34.8	237,741	31.9	303,461	31.1
Bidayuh (Land Dayak)	42,195	7.7	57,619	7.7	83,612	8.6
Other Indigenous	29,867	5.5	37,931	5.1	50,696	5.2
Chinese	145,158	26.6	229,154	30.8	293,949	30.1
Others	5,119	.9	6,492	.9	9,210	.9
European	691	.1	1,631	.2	536	.05
Total	546,385		744,529		976,269	

*Footnote : see page 71

*
Footnote

The above Table and comments overleaf are based on the figures from the official Census Reports. However, there are very significant discrepancies between the 1970 Census Report and the Report of the Registrar General and the Population for 1971²⁷ in respect of the Chinese and the Iban ethnic groups. The Registrar General's report gives Chinese and Iban populations on 31st December 1970 as 325,527 and 272,861, respectively. Accordingly, the Chinese and the Iban, as percentages of the total population (1,004,300) on that date, were 33.31 and 27.2, respectively. In view of the authoritative demographic study of Sarawak carried out by Jones in the early 1960s,²⁸ which gave the 1970 population projections for the Chinese and the Iban as 34 and 29 per cent, respectively, the Registrar General's figures would appear more accurate than those of the 1970 Census Report. This raises the question of under-enumeration and over-enumeration of the Chinese and Iban populations, respectively, in the 1970 Census returns.

Comparing the percentage figures for 1947 and 1970, a number of trends are discernible. First, apart from the Bidayuh and Chinese, all other major groups have shown a decline. Second, the Iban position was only marginally greater than the Chinese in 1970 and 1960, compared with their clear lead in 1947. Third, the Malays, though showing a fall in 1960, had nearly regained their 1947 position by 1970. Fourth, in contrast to the Malays, the Chinese gained significantly between 1947 and 1960 and then experienced a marginal decline in 1970, though still showing a significant gain over their 1947 position. Finally, the Bidayuh showed only a small positional gain but had the highest community growth-rate. Between 1960 and 1970 their numbers increased by 45 per cent, compared with 36 per cent between 1947 and 1960. Historically, this community has shown a steep upward trend in growth rates, as the following table demonstrates.

Bidayuh Population 29

	<u>Enumerated</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
1876	18,379		
1939	36,963	18,584	
1947	42,195	5,232	14.2
1960	57,619	15,424	36.6
1970	83,612	25,993	45.1

Though some doubt has been expressed about the accuracy of the 1876 and 1939 figures, the subsequent trend is clear and significant. Referring to the increase between 1939 and 1947, the 1960 Census Report comments: 'Observers with a substantial knowledge of these people generally agree that they live under unhygienic conditions and as a group they appear of physically low standard. It is generally agreed that the best efforts of the past administration have not been directed towards them. One would expect this neglect to have an adverse effect upon their natural increase.'³⁰ The report went on to say that the increase cannot be explained by under-counting or immigration, and alludes to their geographical position as an explanatory factor.

At the time of the 1970 Census, the State was divided into five administrative divisions and each division into a number of districts. In 1975 two more divisions were established by the subdivision of divisions 3 and 4. The table below gives the divisional distribution in 1970 of the main ethnic groups:³¹

Division	Ethnic Group*					Division Total
	Malay	Melanau	Iban	Bidayuh	Chinese	
1	98,487	494	28,289	81,828	129,109	338,207
2	36,362	133	84,757	335	15,315	136,902
3	16,273	44,858	138,114	694	109,134	309,073
4	17,521	7,812	47,380	640	34,184	107,537
5	12,721	78	4,759	92	5,086	22,736

* Slight variations exist for these figures in different sections of the Census Report.

The above distribution shows that over two-thirds of the population are concentrated in divisions 1 and 3, but it is division 1 which is of particular interest for this research because of the highest concentration of Bidayuh, Malay and Chinese. The significance of the ethnic composition and distribution in division 1 is clearly revealed when the population is given by district, and the figures for 1947, 1960 and 1970 are compared (see overleaf).³¹

Division 1 - Main Ethnic Composition by District

Division 1 Districts	MALAY		BIDAYUH		CHINESE	
	1947	1960	1947	1960	1947	1960
Kuching Municipality	13,992	10,396	na	579	21,699	43,818
Kuching Rural	19,360	54,837	11,837	16,151	23,695	60,711
Bau	1,588	1,510	9,525	13,057	7,222	8,196
Iundu	2,921	4,242	2,812	4,035	1,903	3,315
Simunjan**	12,377*	12,672	17,674*	76	7,602*	3,263
Serian		2,870		23,102		6,627
		5,068		32,223		9,231

* Composite figures for Sadong and Serian Districts

** In 1947 and 1960 this district is given as Sadong

na = Not available

Kuching Municipality covers an area of eight square miles, with a density per square mile of 6,322 and 7,455 persons in 1960 and 1970, respectively.³² However, the urban population is considerably greater because the Municipal/Kuching Rural boundary cuts through several predominantly Chinese housing estates and Malay kampongs. In recent years most new housing developments have been in a belt approximately one mile wide beyond this boundary. No figures are available for this suburban population, but using the municipal figures alone some significant trends are shown quite clearly.

After declining by 20 per cent between 1947/1960, the Malay population in the municipal areas increased sharply by 37 per cent in the shorter period 1960/1970. The Bidayuh recorded nearly a threefold increase between 1960/1970. By contrast, the Chinese, though nearly doubling between 1947/1970, showed only a 19 per cent increase between 1960/1970, compared with 69 per cent in the period 1947/1960. In the Kuching Rural district, the Chinese and Malays recorded increases of two-and-a-half times for 1947/1970, compared with a two-times increase among the Bidayuh for the same period. For the other districts (Bau, Lundu, Simunjan and Serian) the pattern is reversed, the Bidayuh recording the highest increases and the Chinese only a small increase. What appears to be happening is that the Malays and Chinese, who have always established communities in and near Kuching, are concentrating more in these areas. A similar pattern has emerged in the other two major towns of Sibuan and Miri, in divisions 3 and 4, respectively, and is to be accounted for by natural increase and rural-urban drift. The Bidayuh and other indigenous communities are also showing a more significant presence in Kuching and nearby locations, but in their case it would be explained mostly by rural-urban drift. The Chinese are maintaining their traditional dominance in the towns.

It is clear from the following tables that the overall increase among the Malay and Bidayuh is accounted for by a decline in the crude death and infant mortality rates, and a temporary increase in crude birth rate.

Crude Death Rate (CDR)³³ per 1,000 Population

	1960	1963	1970	1972	1974	1976
Malay	10.6	9.3	7.3	5.9	5.8	5.8
Bidayuh	9.1	8.6	6.1	6.9	5.4	5.4

Crude Birth Rate (CBR)³⁴ per 1,000 Population

	1960	1963	1970	1972	1974	1976
Malay	34.2	na*	41.9	40.3	37.5	35.6
Bidayuh	36.7	na	42.8	40.0	35.4	33.3

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR)³⁵ per 1,000 live births

	1963	1965	1968	1970	1971	1972	1976
Malay	98	59	49	36	41	35	34
Bidayuh	71	62	50	41	49	53	39
Chinese	28	21	18	18	17	na	19

Note: IMRs rounded up to nearest whole number

* Not available

The CDR and IMR are related, but the CDR alone would reflect indirectly an increase in average life-span. IMRs for Malay and Bidayuh have fallen between 1963 and 1976, but it is important, and disturbing, to note that the rate increased sharply between 1970 and 1972 for the latter, and in 1976 it was still the highest of all communities. The Chinese figures, given for comparison, have been traditionally much lower than those for all other communities, which is an important indicator of socio-economic inequality. Any explanation of the Bidayuh position must be connected with the findings of a recent Nutritional Survey, which designated the Bidayuh areas as having the highest rates of chronic malnutrition in the State. In a preliminary report, the survey team concluded that the main

problem was food shortage rather than parental ignorance.³⁶ Given their very rapid population increase and the relatively fixed area of cultivatable land, with poor soil, these findings are not surprising.

The low median age of the population, and hence its youthfulness, is best examined in terms of age distributions for the three census years. The following table gives these details for the four main ethnic groups.³⁷

Age Distributions for 1947, 1960 and 1970

	Aged	0-4	5-14	15-44	45-59	60+	All Ages
Malay	1947	147	261	451	89	52	1000
	1960	178	266	420	89	47	1000
	1970	177	285	407	89	42	1000

Bidayuh	1947	na*	na	na	na	na	
	1960	192	275	419	79	35	1000
	1970	194	312	372	87	35	1000

Chinese	1947	150	294	421	98	37	1000
	1960	173	330	351	101	45	1000
	1970	151	309	399	84	57	1000

Iban	1947	132	227	462	118	61	1000
	1960	165	232	435	103	65	1000
	1970	169	277	388	106	60	1000

* Not available

The most striking feature of these figures for this study is the trend of the ratio between the 0-14 and the 15-59 age-groups (those dependent on the economically active age-groups) for the Bidayuh. Although it is true that many children under 15 are economically active, it is also clear that their contribution has been significantly reduced because of the rapid rise in fulltime schooling. Specifically, this dependence

problem is much more severe for the Bidayuh population, of whom 51 per cent were under 15 years of age in 1970.

Religion is an important aspect of Sarawak's social structure. For convenience, it is discussed here under demography. The tables given below show the pattern of religious affiliation, but it must be noted that the 1970 census data include a self-enumerated return covering 9.1 per cent of the population in areas affected by internal security (i.e. curfews) at that time. This self-enumerated return (Form 56) was a shorter census compared with that used to enumerate the rest of the population (Form 5a). Religion was not included on Form 56, which explains the shortfall in the 1970 data on religion. Unless otherwise stated, all other statistical data are based on the complete census, i.e. Forms 5a and 56, of the 1970 census.

Religion and Population³⁸
Percentage of Total Population*

	1947		1960		1970	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Christian	43,069	7.9	117,755	15.8	171,335	17.6
Muslim	134,318	24.6	174,123	23.4	229,590	23.6
Buddhist)					76,334	7.8
No Religion)	368,998	67.5	452,651	60.8	147,191	15.1
Other)					262,842	26.9

* Not for 1970 figures

Religion of Total Population, by Main Community (1970)³⁹

	Malay	Melanau	Iban	Bidayuh	Chinese	Others
Muslim	177,374	38,155	648	170	465	12,778
Christian	209	4,152	51,774	39,203	45,329	30,668
Buddhist	12	14	244	187	75,664	213
No Religion	369	5,150	69,046	7,823	61,753	3,050
Other	224	4,822	152,177	35,930	56,358	13,334

The above data show that the Christians have made a very significant advance since 1947, mostly among the Iban, Bidayuh and Chinese. In 1970, 46.68 per cent of the Bidayuh were Christian, compared with 17.1 and 15.4 per cent of the Iban and Chinese, respectively. Muslim advance has been less significant, and this can be attributed to their traditional lack of interest in conversion. However, there is growing evidence that Islam is showing a new interest in conversion: the local press now reports periodic group conversions. The organization dedicated to conversion is known as Dakwah ('to claim') and this is usually most active during Ramadan (Moslem fasting month). Apart from the Malays, who are almost all Muslim, the main Islamic support comes from the Melanau. Of interest in the 1970 data is the number claiming 'no religion' since this might indicate a trend toward the secularization which is usually seen as a concomitant of modernization. The 'other religion' category refers principally to Dayaks and others holding so-called 'traditional' beliefs, and there is little doubt that they have provided most of the converts to Christianity.

From the demographic data given and the comments made upon those data, the complex nature of Sarawak's social structure has been substantiated. That socio-economic inequality is growing is clearly to be inferred from the differential trends in infant mortality rates. That the Bidayuh community has experienced a 'population explosion', with consequent pressure on limited land resources, has been established. This, and the extreme youthfulness of the Bidayuh community, are strong indicators that growing socio-economic problems will be faced by this community.

Economic

Economic development in Sarawak has shown a progressive movement from the anti-Western and anti-modernist policy of the Brookes to a post-independence policy of modernization, with commitment to socio-economic reconstruction based on a capitalist model. Current economic development is subject to the New Economic Policy (NEP) of Malaysia, which 'seeks in the context of an expanding economy, to eradicate poverty irrespective of race and to restructure society so that the identification of race with economic function is reduced'.⁴⁰

Sarawak's economy, in the context of South-east Asia, appears to be prosperous, with a per capita national product of US\$ 442 in 1974 as shown in the following table:

Per Capita GNP : US\$ 1974 at Current Prices⁴¹

Singapore	1545
Malaysia	577
Sarawak	442
Phillipines	263
Thailand	231
Indonesia	110
Burma	86

This relatively high level of income was the result of the rapid and largely export-led growth which took place from the early 1960s. Between 1961 and 1973, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) went up from \$438 to \$1177 million - an average growth rate of 8.7 per cent.⁴¹ The growth was achieved through a heavy dependence on primary exports, particularly petroleum and timber. The contribution of the various industries to the GDP are shown overleaf for the period 1967 to 1973.⁴²

Crude petroleum output accounts for the sharp rise in the contribution of mining and quarrying, and results from the discovery of off-shore deposits in 1968. This rise has been sustained, the output being about 100,000 barrels per day in 1976, compared with 20,000 per day in 1970.⁴² In 1974, the export value of petroleum and petroleum products had reached

Industrial origin of GDP at factor cost (u.s.\$ million and %)

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Agriculture and Livestock	158 (23.0)	150 (19.7)	186 (22.4)	168 (19.4)	168 (17.6)	169 (16.4)	184 (15.6)
Forestry and Logging	93 (13.5)	118 (15.5)	126 (15.1)	133 (15.5)	103 (10.8)	74 (7.2)	124 (18.0)
Mining and Quarrying	3 (0.4)	9 (1.1)	16 (1.9)	30 (3.5)	129 (13.5)	185 (17.9)	212 (18.0)
Manufacturing	88 (6.9)	71 (9.3)	78 (9.4)	81 (9.4)	81 (8.5)	83 (8.1)	85 (7.2)
Construction	34 (4.9)	39 (5.1)	42 (5.0)	46 (5.4)	56 (5.9)	52 (5.0)	58 (4.9)
Transport and Communication	47 (6.8)	48 (6.3)	51 (6.1)	56 (6.5)	63 (6.6)	66 (6.4)	72 (6.1)
Wholesale and Retail Trade	94 (13.7)	115 (15.1)	115 (13.9)	116 (13.5)	119 (12.4)	123 (11.9)	129 (10.8)
Services	78 (11.3)	84 (11.0)	81 (9.7)	90 (10.5)	92 (9.6)	111 (10.8)	141 (12.0)
Others	103 (16.4)	126 (16.4)	136 (16.2)	140 (16.2)	146 (15.2)	168 (16.3)	174 (4.7)
GDP at factor cost	688	760	831	860	957	1031	1177

₹753.6 million (Malaysian) compared with ₹218.6 million in 1965.⁴³

The increase in the contribution of forestry and logging reflects the second largest position in total exports of timber and timber products. Agricultural products continue to be significant exports, and though declining up to 1972 to an export value of ₹7.65 million, has increased to ₹168 million in 1974. However, as a percentage of total exports, the decline has been consistent and significant, from 52.2 in 1965 to 12.2 in 1974.⁴⁴

For a modernizing economy, the most significant trend is the decline in the manufacturing sector. This indicates that development of the economy has been directed significantly toward capital-intensive primary industry, i.e. petroleum, and prospective natural-gas investments are likely to further this trend. The trends in sectoral growth are clear and contrast markedly with those in peninsular Malaysia, as the following tables show:

Sectoral Growth in Sarawak⁴⁵

Sector	1965	1968	1970	1973
Primary	39.1	38.6	40.6	46.2
Secondary	18.1	14.4	14.7	12.1
Tertiary	42.7	46.7	44.6	41.7

Sectoral Changes in Peninsular Malaysia⁴⁵

	1962	1965	1968	1970
Primary	43.6	40.5	31.8	37.1
Secondary	12.5	14.5	16.8	17.1
Tertiary	43.9	45.0	46.4	45.9

The sectoral changes in Sarawak are the reverse of those in peninsular Malaysia. For Sarawak, the current oil bonanza has pulled the primary sector upward, and this trend is likely to continue, at least in the short term.

Since 1966, overall development in Malaysia has been subject to national planning, and so far there have been three Malaysia Plans: 1966-1970, 1971-1975 and 1976-1980. An earlier development plan for Sarawak (1964-68) was integrated into the first Malaysia Plan. Ideologically, the 1966-1970 plan was characterized by laissez-faire capitalism and can be seen as a historical outgrowth of British colonialism and mercantalism, which in peninsular Malaysia was based on a plantation and mining economy. One of the consequences of this historical background has been large inequalities in income distribution. The extent and nature of this were revealed by the Household Budget Survey of 1957-1958 and the Post Enumeration Survey of 1970. Although these surveys were made in peninsular Malaysia, some inferences can be drawn for Sarawak. It was shown that whereas in 1957 the top 20 per cent of households received almost half of the total income, the bottom 60 per cent received only 30 per cent; and that by 1970 this discrepancy had increased to 56 and 26 per cent, respectively. Comparing the decile extremes, the top 10 per cent increased their average incomes from \$M 766 in 1957-1958 to \$M 1,130 in 1970 and the income of the bottom 10 per cent declined from \$M 48 to \$M 33 during the same period.⁴⁶ These differences assume more significance when analysed in terms of inter- and intra-ethnic groups and for rural-urban sectors. From these analyses it was concluded that most of the total inequality is found within sectors and within ethnic groups.

Given the demographic patterns and trends examined previously, inequality in income distribution in Sarawak would be significantly greater than in peninsular Malaysia. From the economic data, it is clear that the rise in income has centred on the petroleum and timber industries and in the urban areas: the traditional economically backward sector of small-scale agriculture in the rural sector largely has been unaffected. Data on income distribution in Sarawak are scarce, but the findings of the Kuching Urban and Regional (Kuching Rural) Surveys of \$M 168 and \$M 526 for average household monthly incomes in rural and urban areas, respectively, give some indication.⁴⁷ However, Kuching Rural District is atypical of rural areas in general, and certainly differs greatly from the remote areas, because of the high concentration of Chinese and of cash crops, which pull the rural income

upward. Consequently, rural-urban income disparities in general are almost certainly much greater.

For intra-group income differentials, the findings in peninsular Malaysia are probably repeated in Sarawak, on the grounds that in both cases the recruitment of Bumiputras into the government service is likely to have created differentials between those few who are modern-sector employees and the majority who remain in agricultural or similar pursuits. The significance of this socio-economic inequality can be revealed by examining the structure of the population according to industry and selected occupations.

A selected breakdown of the labour force has been abstracted from the 1970 Census Report, in terms of industry for each main community, and by sex. This table is given overleaf and the following patterns are clear.⁴⁸ The Chinese clearly dominated manufacturing (55 per cent) and commerce (80 per cent) in 1970. Compared with the other indigenous communities, the Malays were also strongly represented, with 23 and 10 per cent of total involvement in manufacturing and commerce, respectively. In government services, Malay involvement is 51 per cent of the total, compared with 20 per cent for the Chinese. For agriculture, fishing, etc., the Bidayuh and Iban together account for 65 per cent, and this is raised to 82 per cent if the four main indigenous communities are taken together.

Some comparative data abstracted from the 1960 and 1970 Census Reports for three selected industries and for an occupational category described as 'professional, technical, related workers' are given on page 86:⁴⁸

Selected Industry according to Main Community and Sex (Sarawak)

	MALAY		BIDAYUH		IBAN		MELANAU		CHINESE		TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry, Hunting	16,715	9,200	13,246	11,683	61,476	57,890	6,329	3,163	15,906	6,536	202,144
Agricultural products processing	2,494	1,032	1,624	873	5,377	5,214	716	806	2,808	7,472	28,416
Manufacturing	3,402	863	132	40	1,222	76	1,500	649	8,099	1,945	17,928
Commerce	1,424	294	168	38	436	131	414	99	11,942	2,603	17,549
Government services	9,102	290	1,213	40	2,497	69	606	21	2,906	709	17,363
Business services	573	39	33	4	121	4	141	-	693	288	1,896
Total services	12,209	1,247	1,817	845	3,850	657	1,137	220	9,966	6,090	38,038

Professional, Technical, Related Workers in 1960 and 1970,

By Community

	1960	1970
Malay	1,017	1,817
Chinese	3,194	5,708
Bidayuh	319	632
Iban	712	1,384
Melanau	214	451
Other indigenous communities	764	1,052
Total	6,220	11,044

Selected Industry According to Main Community in 1960 and 1970

	Manufacturing		Commerce		Services	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
Malay	2,937	4,265	1,143	1,718	4,087	13,456
Chinese	6,630	10,044	11,572	14,545	8,202	16,056
Bidayuh	67	172	113	206	731	2,662
Melanau	1,141	2,149	276	513	494	1,357
Iban	364	3,960	352	567	1,585	4,507

Some significant trends emerge from the above data. For professional and similar occupations the indigenous communities have made substantial gains and, except for the Malay, have about doubled their involvement. The Chinese show a 79 per cent increase and were still maintaining their dominant position vis-a-vis all other communities combined. For industry (modern), the indigenous communities have made very substantial gains in services and manufacturing, turning Chinese majorities in 1960 into minorities by 1970. However, although these indigenous communities increased their involvement in commerce, the Chinese retained their very dominant 1960 position.

The above patterns and trends must be seen in the light of the current

situation and direction of economic development in Sarawak, and in Malaysia as a whole. The New Economic Policy, which is the economic manifestation of Malaysia's national ideology (Rukunegara), aims at a 30 per cent Bumiputra involvement in entrepreneurial capitalism by 1990, and the eradication of poverty among all ethnic groups.⁴⁹ In putting this New Economic Policy into operation, greater reliance has been placed on the private economic sector.⁵⁰ The Third Malaysia Plan sets a total investment target of around \$M 44,000 millions, of which 40 per cent is to be undertaken by the public sector and 60 per cent by the private sector.⁵¹ However, the mid-term review in mid-1978 showed that targets for the public sector were likely to be met, but not those for the private sector. This reflects the slow-down in foreign and domestic investment in 1976 which resulted from the world economic recession, from internal and external security problems, and from some hesitation on the part of the Chinese as to the viability of the objectives of the New Economic Policy. Apart from this, assumptions vary widely as to how much capital will be required to ensure a 30 per cent Bumiputra equity ownership by 1990.⁵¹ As a counter to some of these uncertainties, the Federal political leadership has stressed that Malaysia is 'an open economy and it can only prosper and thrive if there is understanding and co-operation between the government and the private sector'.⁵² Self-reliance was a major theme in many political speeches made during 1977 and 1978 and addressed primarily to the Bumiputras. The Prime Minister punched the point home on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the United Malays' National Organization (UMNO) in April 1977, when he said:

'Time will move on and will not wait for us. Opportunities which have been set aside especially for us will go to others if we do not make use of them. We cannot progress if we want others to remain backward like us'.⁵³

Early in 1979, the tone of the Federal leadership's political speeches on socio-economic matters had become belligerent, amid continuing efforts to encourage foreign investment.⁵⁴ Although Malaysia as a whole has a strong - and potentially very strong - economy in terms of resources, the future is made uncertain by internal political struggle and the possible long-term aims of Russian-backed Vietnamese expansionism in south-east Asia.

The achievement of the New Economic Policy's objectives in Sarawak is more doubtful than in peninsular Malaysia because of the more complex social structure. However, the Bumiputras made some significant advances between 1960 and 1970, and this trend has certainly continued given the political dominance of the Malays and the primacy of Melanau political leadership. However, because of the youthful structure of the population, the disturbing feature of economic development is that the high-income earners, petroleum and natural gas, are capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive investments. In the absence of labour-intensive schemes on a substantial scale, it is inevitable that very serious unemployment and underemployment will occur. Finally, from the above summary description and discussion of Sarawak's changing economy, it has been substantiated that production codes 1 to 3 are being created and/or expanded.

Educational

The development of schooling in Sarawak over the past hundred years or so illustrates both the important relationship between history and structure and the effect of ideology on educational policy. In describing this development, the focus will be on the macro-structural and historical features and the main changes.

At the end of Brooke rule in 1941, the pattern of school provision was as follows:⁵⁵

	Schools	Staff	Pupils
Chinese	158	572	13,416
Church/mission	45	na*	4,097
Government	54	146	4,831

* Not available

The diversity of the agencies providing schools and the inequalities that have arisen between the Chinese and other communities are explained by the ideological doctrines of cultural pluralism and self-help underlying Brooke government policy. These doctrines allowed and encouraged the Chinese to develop their own school system, which mirrored the system in China, while allocating to the Christian church missions the provision of Western schooling.⁵⁶ The government schools mainly served the Malays and had been established because Islamic parents objected to any significant Malay enrolment in church mission schools. The media of instruction corresponded to the three providing agencies: the Chinese schools used one of the Chinese dialects; the church mission schools used English, with some use of one of the vernaculars in lower primary classes (standards); and the government schools used mainly Malay, with some use of the vernacular in the very few schools located in Bidayuh and Iban areas. Apart from a few church mission schools, the schools served a specific community. Prior to the 1930s, teaching did not extend beyond Standard VI or Upper Primary Two.

Within the overall pattern of school provision, the nature and extent of inequality was compounded by a predominantly Chinese enrolment in the

mission schools, and the location of most schools - and certainly those with better resources - in the towns. In these respects the Chinese were advantaged because of their predilection for the towns. However, as argued elsewhere, it was the Chinese economic advantage, arising from Brooke economic policy and their own industry, that permitted a rapid growth of their community schools from the early 1920s onward. This enabled Chinese Christians, in particular, to give financial support to the church mission schools, without which the development of these schools and the advance of Christianity would have been retarded. Consequently, it can be argued that a relationship of mutual indebtedness was created between the Christians of the Chinese community and the church mission authorities.⁵⁷

The popularization of Western English-medium schooling by the church and missions was strengthened in the 1930s with the establishment of post-primary courses, leading to the local Cambridge Examination. These examinations were first held in 1935 and most candidates were Chinese.⁵⁸ After the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, candidates began entering for the Higher Cambridge Examination, which was one of the gateways to higher education overseas. External control of the curriculum became firmly established.

Brooke government financial support for the schools was very small, amounting in 1935/36 to only 22 cents per head of population, or 1.82 per cent of government revenue.⁵⁹ However, the Chinese predominance in the church/mission schools skewed the grant-in-aid support scheme in their favour. This is shown by the following data:

<u>Annual Cost to Government for Each Pupil - 1935</u> ⁶⁰	
	Malay Dollars
Government schools	16.00
Aided Chinese schools	3.19
Aided mission schools	18.50

In 1935, the Le Gros Report on Education in Sarawak recommended the development of 'elementary village schools on sane industrial and agricultural lines', and 'the provision of facilities for the training

of native teachers'.⁶¹ The report argued that this was the best way to improve the educational position of the indigenous communities, on the grounds that a 'purely literary education for an agricultural community is apt to foster ambitions which are destined to be frustrated'.⁶² In 1937, Hammond advised a more extensive use of vernacular language in lower primary classes, and that this should be followed by at least two years intensive teaching of Malay language. The implication of this advice was that English should be phased out of primary schooling, but retained as a medium and subject for secondary forms on a selective basis. No action was taken on the issues of language or curricular, but the government did establish a Malay Teacher Training College in 1939. During the Japanese occupation this college and all church/mission schools were closed, and most other schools suffered severe disruption.

Educational policy under colonial rule (1946-1963) can be seen as a progressive move against the Brooke ideology of cultural pluralism, and to a much lesser extent also against their reliance on self-help. The main ideological thrust was to expand schooling in the direction of an elitist English-medium Western literary type, thereby developing the model established by the mission schools. In general terms, this was done by increasing indigenous community participation through a local-authority system of voluntary provision, encouraging the expansion of aided church mission schools, and then persuading Chinese secondary schools, by means of improved aid grants, to change to English medium and curricula.⁶³ The Chinese-medium secondary schools were under considerable pressure to comply because of rising costs, the increased necessity of English for government service, economic and educational advancement, and the lack of local recognition of Chinese university degrees. As a measure of growing Chinese interest in English medium, secondary schooling enrolment in Chinese transition classes from Chinese primary schools had reached 3,378 in 1964.⁶⁴

Some effects of this changing educational policy on the pattern of schooling are shown clearly by the following data:

School Enrolments by Agency⁶⁵

<u>Agency</u>	1953		1964	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
District (Govt.)	3,367	167	-	3,199
Local authority	3,608	-	51,963	-
Private	2,400	-	1,043	5,233
Mission	7,767	1,697	20,688	7,322
Chinese	27,357	2,727	38,141	6,223

School Enrolments by Medium⁶⁶

<u>Medium</u>	Primary		Secondary	
	1955*	1964	1953	1964
English	21,417	73,694	1,679	19,036
Indigenous				
Vernacular		none	167	none
Chinese	31,840	38,141	2,727	2,941

* 1953 figures not available

Enrolments by Stages - Selected Years⁶⁷

Year	Primary	Secondary	Total
1948	32,414	1,050	33,464
1952	41,914	3,537	45,451
1956	61,852	7,174	69,026
1960	94,773	9,266	104,039
1964	111,835	21,977	133,812

The medium trend shows English replacing Chinese and the disappearance of Malay and other vernacular tongues. Government provision switched from primary to secondary schools, but the non-government agencies continued to make most secondary provision in 1964. By that year, unaided primary school enrolments had declined to 1,598, but those in

unaided secondary schools had increased to 10,761, nearly half being in the private sector.⁶⁸ This increase is explained by the government's acceptance of the McLellan Report in 1959, which recommended a 30 per cent provision in government and aided secondary schools for those completing primary level schooling and that pupils take a Common Entrance Examination.⁶⁹

Between 1948 and 1963, teacher training was centred at Batu Lintang Training College (BLTC) in Kuching and at Sarawak Teachers' College (STC) in Sibü. BLTC was opened in 1948 to train Malay vernacular teachers, but changed soon afterwards to a two-year English-medium course. STC was opened in 1957 and trained teachers for Chinese-medium primary schools, and for those secondary schools converting to English. By 1964 the problem of untrained teachers in aided primary schools remained serious, 62.5 per cent being in this category. Of those trained, only 37.5 per cent had passed the Sarawak Junior examination, which had replaced the old Cambridge Junior examination. In the government and aided secondary schools the staffing position was better; of the 457 staff 184 were approved graduates, and of these graduates 63 were trained. A large majority of the non-graduate staff were trained and held the Sarawak Junior certificate or a higher qualification. In 1956 the service conditions and salaries of all teachers in aided schools were improved with their transfer to government scales, etc., as recommended by the Woodhead Report in 1955.⁷⁰

The large number of untrained teachers in the primary schools and the low standard of English shown by the results of Common Entrance Examinations prompted the government to introduce a new primary English-medium syllabus for lower primary classes, initially on an experimental basis. This syllabus, known as PEMS, was a modified version of the PEAK scheme devised in Kenya, with the stress on spoken rather than written skills, and by early 1970 most primary schools were using it. PEMS was incorporated into teacher-training programmes by the mid-1960s, and for those untrained in these methods guidance was given by primary group supervisors working at divisional level, with some assistance from Peace Corps volunteers.

The increasing participation in schooling by all indigenous groups was

most notable at primary level, but in the more rural or remote areas progress was very slow. A major constraint in these areas was the very low population densities, which meant that schools with upper primary classes served large catchment areas, and in some instances this was also the case for lower primary classes. Another consequence of low population densities was the common occurrence of alternate intakes for primary schools in remote areas, and this exacerbated the problem of over-age pupils. By 1963 there were 7,447 boarders in the primary schools and nearly all of these were in rural aided schools. In the following year the number had risen to 9,099.⁷¹ At the secondary school level, indigenous group participation remained very low and in terms of enrolments the Chinese had a near-monopoly. The 1960 Census Report gives the total indigenous secondary-school attendance figures as 1,108 against 7,919 for the Chinese.⁷²

By 1963 the colonial government's Education Department had established a dominating structure of English-medium Western literary schooling extending over 13 years, in which the values of elitism and competition were central. Unlike the Brooke government schools, which had been non-fee paying, all schooling during the colonial period was subject to fees. Though the fees were lower for 'native' pupils, with maximum remissions set at 10 per cent of what would have been received if all had paid full fees, the financial constraints on the rural populations undoubtedly slowed the progress of school enrolments. In 1955, Woodhead had drawn attention to the very low government expenditure on education in the previous year, only 3.7 per cent of total government expenditure. However, in 1959 this had risen to 19.2 per cent and reflected improved aid grants, rising salaries and relatively new recurrent expenditure on government secondary schools.⁷³

The transfer of power to the Federal and State governments on 1st September 1963 resulted in no immediate change in educational policy or administration. In 1962, the Inter-Government Committee on Malaysia stipulated that 'although Education.....will be a Federal subject, the present policy and system of administration of education in North Borneo and Sarawak (including present Ordinances) will be undisturbed and remain under the control of the Government of the State until that Government otherwise decrees'. More specifically, the Committee stated:⁷⁴

- '(i) the present policy in the Borneo states regarding the use of English should continue, and
- (ii) knowledge of the Malay language should not be required as a qualification for any educational opportunity until such time as the State Government considers that sufficient provision has been made to teach Malay in all schools in the State, and
- (iii) there should be no application to the Borneo States of any Federal requirements regarding religious education, and
- (iv) the Directors of Education in the Borneo States who would be officers serving in Federal posts and responsible to the Federal Minister of Education through the Ministry of Education should carry out the same duties as they do at present in consultation with the State Government concerned, and
- (v) to enable local wishes to be fully consulted and taken into account as far as possible the Directors of Education of the Borneo States should continue to be advised by the respective existing Boards of Education and local Education Committees, and
- (vi) in the case of Sarawak the local authorities should continue to be used as agents for primary education, and
- (vii) State provisions for the special provision of the indigenous peoples should continue to apply, and
- (viii) when expansion of higher education facilities was being considered by the Malaysian Government the requirements of the Borneo States should be given special consideration and the desirability of locating some institutions in the Borneo States should be borne in mind'.

After the collapse of the dominantly Chinese and Iban State government leadership in 1966, and the relatively quick transfer of power to the Malays, educational policy took a progressively more radical departure from that pursued by the colonial authorities. The chronicle of these changes can be set out as follows:

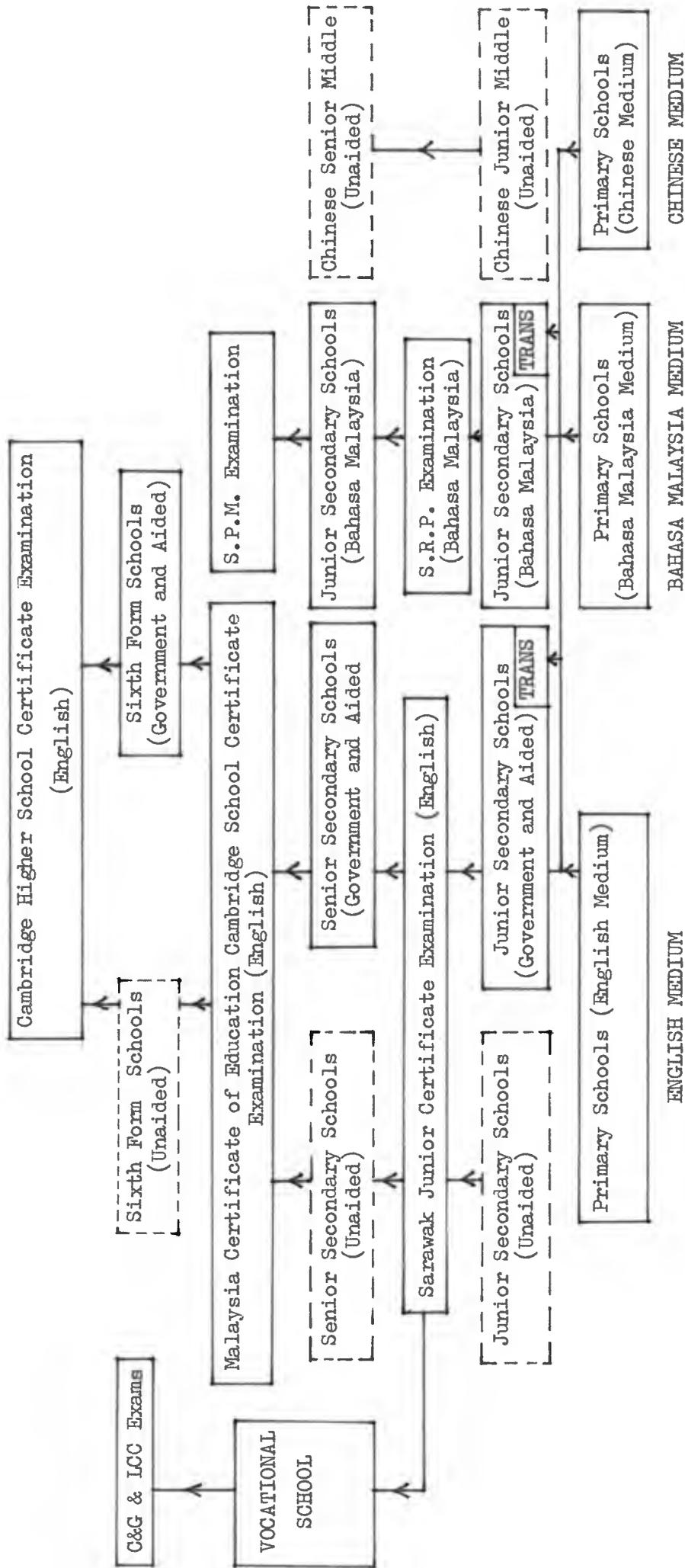
- 1966 Abolition of fees in local-authority and other aided primary schools.
- 1971 Use of Bahasa Malaysia as the medium in those primary schools in which management and parents request it.
- 1972 New allocation of subject teaching time in English-medium aided primary schools.
- 1973 State legislature agrees to change of medium from English to Bahasa Malaysia.
Government takes over all local-authority primary schools.
Sarawak Education Service Scheme introduced, making all teachers in aided schools government servants, with reclassification to categories recommended by the Aziz Commission.
Integrated primary and junior secondary training courses, with subject pass in Bahasa Malaysia for Certification.

- 1974 Common Entrance Examination abolished after phased increase in pass quotas to 50 per cent in 1973 and 70 per cent in 1974. Primary Five Assessment Test introduced.
- 1975 District-level education administration established. Expansion and reorganization of secondary-school inspectorate, with projection to divisional decentralization and establishment of primary-school inspectorate.
- 1976 Education Ordinance governing administration of education in peninsular Malaysia extended to Sarawak. (This removed the powers vested in school Boards of Management accorded by the Sarawak Government Education Ordinances of 1951 and 1961.)
- 1977 Bahasa Malaysia medium in all government and English-medium aided primary-one classes, with projected change at all levels by 1989. Sarawak Junior Examination replaced by Malaysian Lower Certificate of Education. Primary Five Assessment Test modified.

From the above chronicle of events and the tables on page 98 it is clear that the ideological concern is with national unity and a national culture by means of a progressively more uniform system of schooling, and a concomitant reduction of inequalities in educational opportunity.⁷⁵ The overall effect of the policy (as can be seen in the two tables) on school enrolments has been quite dramatic at junior secondary level, the universal provision of nine years schooling being achieved in 1977. However, schooling remains voluntary.

The pattern of schooling is set out in the diagram overleaf. This, together with the above tables on enrolments, shows that while the Chinese-medium primary schools continue to increase, the Chinese secondary sector is declining. Although the Government and aided English-medium schools in due course will become Bahasa-medium schools, it is possible that the unaided English-medium schools will continue to attract support. These schools might experience a renaissance if the acknowledged decline in English language competence in all other schools becomes more than a temporary phenomenon.⁷⁶ For Chinese language and culture, the present educational policy is less of a threat than is

THE PATTERN OF SCHOOLING IN SARAWAK - 1976



Note: All English-medium primary 1 classes changed to Bahasa medium in 1977.

ICC = LONDON Chamber of Commerce; C & G = City & Guilds of London Institute; SPM = Sijil Malaysia; SRP = Sijil Rendah Pelajaran.

School Enrolments for Selected Years

Year	Primary			Secondary		
	Govt./IA	Aided	Unaided	Govt.	Aided	Unaided
1964	51,963	57,503	1,598	3,199	8,017	10,761
1965	60,723	57,239	1,454	4,487	8,454	13,118
1966	74,357	59,612	1,145	5,975	9,143	15,096
1970	81,446	61,799	762	10,438	11,247	13,774
1972	88,741	61,901	671	13,291	12,356	12,368
1973	94,504	62,766	597	16,810	13,249	12,039
1974	101,456	63,366	662	23,294	15,394	11,514
1976	122,170	66,741	436	40,961	20,203	9,003

School Enrolments by Medium for Selected Years

Year	Primary		Secondary	
	English	Chinese	English	Chinese
1964	70,554	41,181	14,806	3,889
1970	99,994	44,013	31,353	4,061
1974	98,768	47,287	45,945	3,017
1976	99,781	52,960	59,339	2,717

Bahasa
Malaysia
none
45
1,240
8,111

popularly supposed, because the primary schools remain intact and Mandarin is available as a subject at secondary level. Apart from this, Chinese-medium kindergarten or nursery-school provision is growing rapidly in the towns.⁷⁷

The staffing position in the primary schools has shown a very significant improvement since 1963, and in 1976 there were 4,252 trained teachers, as against 1,055 untrained.⁷⁸ However, the change in language medium, which has necessitated in-service training crash courses, raises the question of language competence. At secondary level the staffing position has temporarily deteriorated in the junior secondary schools because of the necessity of employing temporary untrained teachers with Higher School Certificate or below in order to cope with the rapid expansion since 1972. In January 1976 there were 382 of these out of a total of 2,035 teachers in the government and aided secondary schools.⁷⁹ At that time the teacher:pupil ratios in the government and aided primary and secondary sectors were 35.9:1 and 30.1:1, respectively, as against 34.8:1 and 27.3:1, respectively, in 1974.⁸⁰

There has been some reduction in the gross educational inequalities between the Chinese and other communities in the 1970s, but data recorded by the 1970 Census shows that very wide gaps still remained at that time. These data are given below:

Highest Level of Schooling Completed: Total Population by Selected Community⁸¹

	Malay	Bidayuh	Chinese	All Communities
No schooling	107,821	56,400	106,356	581,182
Schooling	73,605	27,212	187,593	395,087
Completed primary schooling	13,372	4,480	36,963	70,698
Completed secondary form 5 and above	2,287	881	13,773	21,270

The weak position of the non-Chinese communities for secondary schooling has improved since 1970 as a consequence of educational policy; and in 1975 these communities had a total of 28,105, as against 32,837 Chinese,

at this educational stage.⁸² In the government and aided secondary schools, the indigenous were in a slight majority, with 25,662 as against 24,826 for the Chinese.⁸²

The progress of the Bidayuh in terms of school enrolment is given below. At secondary level, pupils from remote areas were a significant minority by 1976.

Bidayuh: School Enrolments (Selected Years)⁸³

	Primary	Secondary
1960	4,907	168
1966	9,783	1,247
1969	12,915	1,328
1972	14,274	1,975
1976	15,351	4,725

This concludes the summary description of aspects of Sarawak's changing social structure. It is in this macro-institutional context that the theoretical explorations of this thesis are situated.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESEARCH AREA

Introduction

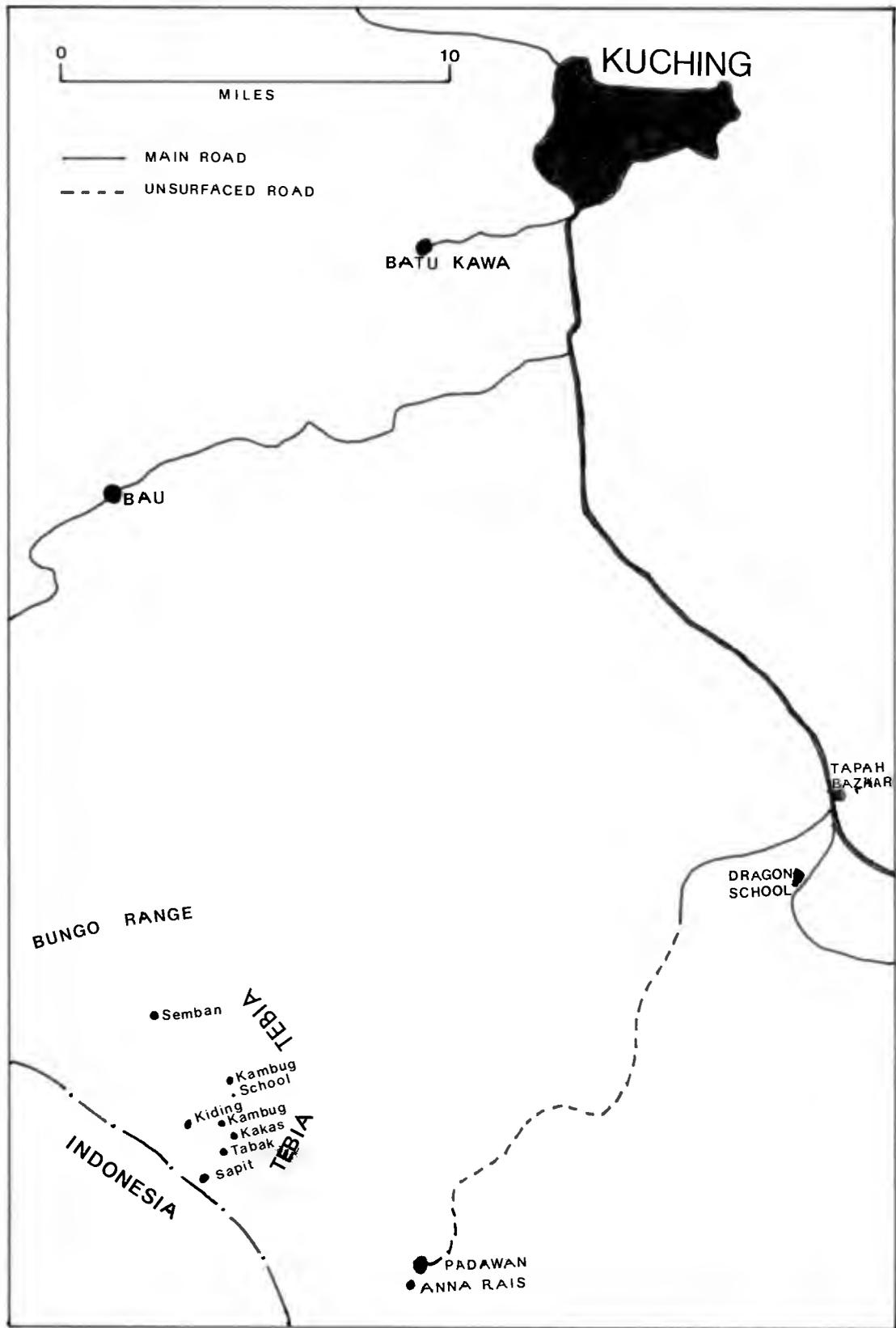
Physical Features

Tebia or Tibia, the name given to the hilly and mountainous area in which the kampongs researched are located, covers about 63 square miles. The research area runs up to the border with Indonesia and forms an enclave broken by hills and mountains, but Tebia itself covers a much larger area. The whole Tebia area constitutes an important part of the interior watershed of the Sungei (river) Sarawak, which bisects Kuching, and a number of its smaller tributaries. Most of the research area is about 2,000 feet above sea level, and about three miles to the south Mount Penrissen rises to 4,350 feet. The equator is about 100 miles to the south. A map of the locality is given overleaf.

In the past the area was covered by primary jungle, but today, because of the relatively sedentary nature of the Bidayuh and their practice of shifting 'slash and burn' agriculture, only small pockets of primary jungle remain. Only in the immediate vicinity of Mount Penrissen can one find dense primary jungle with an abundance of wildlife, but few local people venture there. Wildlife in Tebia is conspicuous by its absence, and men who do go hunting usually return home empty-handed. However, though the area is now one of secondary jungle, many varieties of bamboo grow in abundance. This means there is no shortage of what is still the most important material for building construction and fuel in the area.

At 2,000 feet above sea level the climatic conditions are more pleasant than in lowland areas like Kuching, and the evenings and nights tend to be cool. The mean annual temperature is 76°F, and the night temperatures can fall to below 65°F. The mean annual rainfall for the area is 160 inches, heaviest during the period between late November and early February.

The terrain makes communications difficult, and it is common for Tebia to be cut off for several days during the monsoon rains because of swollen rivers. Access to the area is by road as far as Padawan, where there is a small immigration and customs office, and then by means of narrow, twisting jungle paths for a distance of about eight miles.



TEBIA THE RESEARCH AREA

During the hot season between May and August, walking conditions are relatively easy, but at most other times prolonged periods of rain turn the flat stretches into a quagmire and make the frequent steep slopes extremely treacherous. The Pidiah, which is the old Bidayuh name for those living in Tebia, frequently complain about this path and the condition of the many bridges to be crossed, but few are prepared to do anything about it.

The road from Padawan is mostly an unsurfaced feeder road which, at a distance of 20 miles, intersects the main Kuching-Serian road at its 24th mile from Kuching, thus making the distance to Kuching 44 miles. The Padawan road was opened in 1963, and by the late 1960s public transport became available. Today there is a regular bus service. The first bus from Padawan at 8 a.m. is the only one travelling direct to Kuching and at other times it is necessary to change at Tapah, the Chinese bazaar at the 24th mile on the Kuching-Serian road. Before the completion of the Padawan road, Tebia, and Padawan itself, were very isolated, the journey to Kuching by the Upper Sungei Sarawak taking five days under ideal conditions. This river is only navigable by flat-bottomed boats of up to 10 piculs. The main alternative route at that time was to walk to the 24th mile intersection.

The People and their Kampongs

The Bidayuh are not keen wanderers or travellers, although like most of the Dayak groups, they migrated from the Balai Kerangan area in what is now Indonesian Borneo, where they are also called Bidayuh. These people have a great love for the land, as is evidenced in their songs, in which more types of trees and plants are named and descriptively treasured than in the songs of other indigenous groups.¹ It is this, as much as the more commonly expressed sentiments towards kith and kin, which accounts for their strong reluctance to be moved elsewhere under any government resettlement scheme.

According to local informants, there have been people in the Tebia area for several hundred years and, as mentioned above, they are known as Pidiah. Their kampongs or rais are perched high up on the mountain-side. The reasons why these locations were preferred (and are still so by the majority of the old people and some of the young), rather than the lowland river locations favoured by most Bidayuh, is not easily ascertained. Initially it was probably due to a desire for the best protection against headhunters, or at least, against surprise attack. In the past, headhunting took place between different Bidayuh kampong communities, but their greatest traditional enemies were the more mobile and much more aggressive Iban. In pre-Brooke times, another reason for desiring a mountain stronghold was probably to avoid subjugation by the Brunei sultanate, against which some of the Dayak groups were in periodic revolt.

One major problem confronting mountain communities is that of an adequate water supply. In the Tebia area the source is springs, and although this is invariably clear, cool and uncontaminated water (unlike river water upon which most Bidayuh rely), during periods of severe drought there can be serious water shortage. In Tebia the water is brought to the kampongs by means of bamboo gutters, raised five feet or so above the ground and supported by crossed bamboo poles. Each kampong has several water points. At one kampong sited lower down the mountain-side than the rest, severe water shortage was experienced in 1974/75, which caused a number of Christian families/households to move

to lower ground in the vicinity of a small river in 1976.

The Bidayuh are of small-to-medium physical build, with an average height of about 5' 3". In the mountainous areas one observes a muscular, stronger type in males and a wiriness in females. Obesity is definitely not a problem! Although outwardly they appear to be strong, general health standards in the rural areas are low; there is a high incidence of various skin diseases, intestinal worm infections and goitre. Smallpox, tuberculosis and malaria were once endemic, but since the 1950s various health programmes have reduced their incidence significantly. However, the number of reported cases of malaria rose in 1975/76, which may indicate a resurgence of the disease. The local people attribute the rise to infected visitors and travellers from Indonesia.

In 1976, the Sarawak Flying Doctor service was extended to Tebia after a formal request by the Headmaster of the local primary school. However, from observation, it is clear that this service is more concerned with cure than with prevention of ailments not covered by vaccination or inoculation. Very serious cases may be evacuated by air to Kuching General Hospital.

Malnutrition is certainly a problem in Tebia, but in the absence of a nutrition survey its nature and extent are impossible to assess. As mentioned earlier, however, deficiencies were recorded by the Medical Department for sample kampongs in the Serian area and the main cause was given as food-shortage rather than ignorance: this indicates that for Tebia, where food-shortages are more severe, chronic malnutrition could be of serious proportions.²

The Bidayuh are divided into five dialect groups and each one (except for Lundu) is in a separate district of the 1st Division. These are: Kuching District, Biatah; Serian District, Bukar-Sadong; Bau District, Singei Jagoi; and Lundu District, Silakau and Lara. Each area speaks a dialect distinctly its own, and communication between people of different dialects is difficult: it has been estimated that only 30 per cent of words are generally understood.³ Apart from this, there are sub-dialect differences within districts: although in Tebia the

people speak Biatah, they are not readily understood by those living in Padawan, though they are easily understood by Bidayuh in Indonesia living near the Tebia Border area.

All five dialects are written, but the number of publications in them is small and mostly in Biatah, Bukar-Sadong or Bau-Jagoi.⁴ For these three dialects the Borneo Literature Bureau has published short dictionaries. In 1973 the Sarawak Museum published two volumes of indigenous poems, songs, etc., compiled by Carol Rubenstein, and these include some of the Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects.⁵ A less well-known collection on the Bidayuh was compiled by Peter Howes and published in 1952.⁶ The Borneo Literature Bureau has published several Bidayuh stories, but these and the other materials are rarely used in schools. Few literate Bidayuh appear to be aware of this material so although a partly written culture exists, apart from texts on Christian religion it is not used.

There are five kampongs (rais) in the research area namely Kiding, Kakas, Tabak, Kambug and Sapit. Kakas, Kambug and Tabak are in close proximity and have a common headman (tuai kampong). Of these three, Kakas was the original kampong; Tabak was established about 80 years ago and Kambug in the late 1950's. It is believed by the old people that Kiding is the oldest of all the kampongs and several thought that 200 to 300 years was a good estimate of its age. The original site of Kiding was on a high mound about a quarter of a mile from its present position, standing about 400 feet above Kakas, Tabak and Kambug. The last 200 yards or so of the climb is almost vertical, involving careful negotiation of narrow crevices. In this situation it is doubtful that Kiding people experienced surprise attack by headhunters, and more likely that they themselves were feared for this practice over a wide area. Some of their stories and songs attest to this fact. Whereas Kiding can claim the longest connections with the area, Sapit is a relative newcomer, having been established in the 1930's by people from kampong Goon, about a mile inside Indonesia. The original site of Sapit was astride the border, but during the Confrontation between the two countries the kampong was moved to its present site about a quarter of a mile inside Sarawak. One consequence of this recent move is that the people in Sapit suffer from very serious

shortage of land, as they are now discouraged from farming on the Indonesian side. If they do farm there they are now obliged to pay 40 dollars per household to the village of Goon.

The demographic structure of Tebia reflects the patterns discussed earlier, applying to the Bidayuh as a whole. In 1955 the Padawan Development Scheme Report gives the population as 592, with 75 in Sapit, 205 in Kakas (including Tabak) and 312 in Kiding.⁷ My household survey in 1975 recorded a total population of 1,014, with 163 in Sapit, 84 in Kakas, 43 in Kambug, 226 in Tabak and 502 in Kiding. This represents an increase of 71.3 per cent over the twenty-year period. The 1975 figures refer to those normally resident, and include those at secondary boarding-school. Between 1955 and 1975, 46 persons moved away for reasons of marriage and/or work. Some of these had had full primary schooling, three had had teacher training and one had had a university education. Key informants told me that the only inward migrants during this period were women who had married into the area. Though some caution is required about the accuracy of ages reported, the data revealed 53.7 per cent to be under 15 years of age, compared with 51 per cent for the Bidayuh as a whole at the 1970 census.

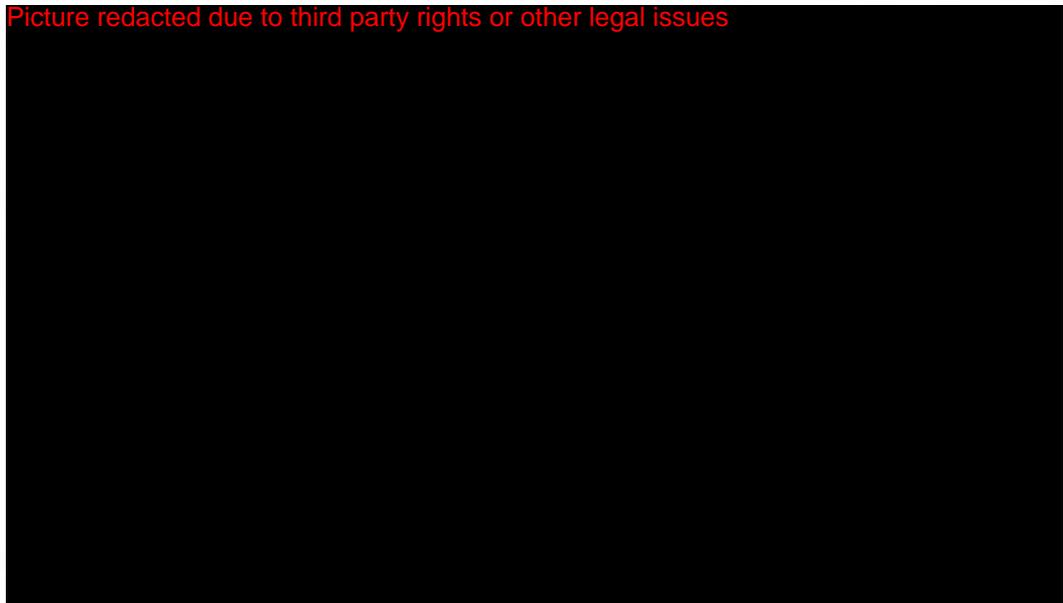
Although in recent years the Bidayuh have shown a trend toward living in independent dwellings, many in the more rural areas still continue to live in their traditional longhouses. These longhouses, which can be up to 200 feet in length, are raised on stilts about 15 feet above the ground and are divided by partitioning walls into a number of separate family/household apartments (ramins). Each ramin has a separate entrance onto a common open area (tanju), over which the longhouse roof extends for a few feet (awah), but most of it is uncovered. Access from the ground is usually by means of a notched log at either end of the tanju. Walls and floors are made of split bamboo with wooden frameworks for support, and the stilts are of large, roughly-cut hardwood logs or trunks. The roof is made of palm branches (atap) which are laid like tiles onto wooden rafters. Within the ramin a loft is constructed, covering about a third of the area and open at one end. This loft is used to store rice (padi) in a special bin

(buruh padi), as well as items not in regular use. Access is again by a notched log. Fireplaces are positioned at the front or rear of the ramin, but usually not under the loft, and are built on an earthen base. Bamboo firewood is stored above the fireplace for drying.

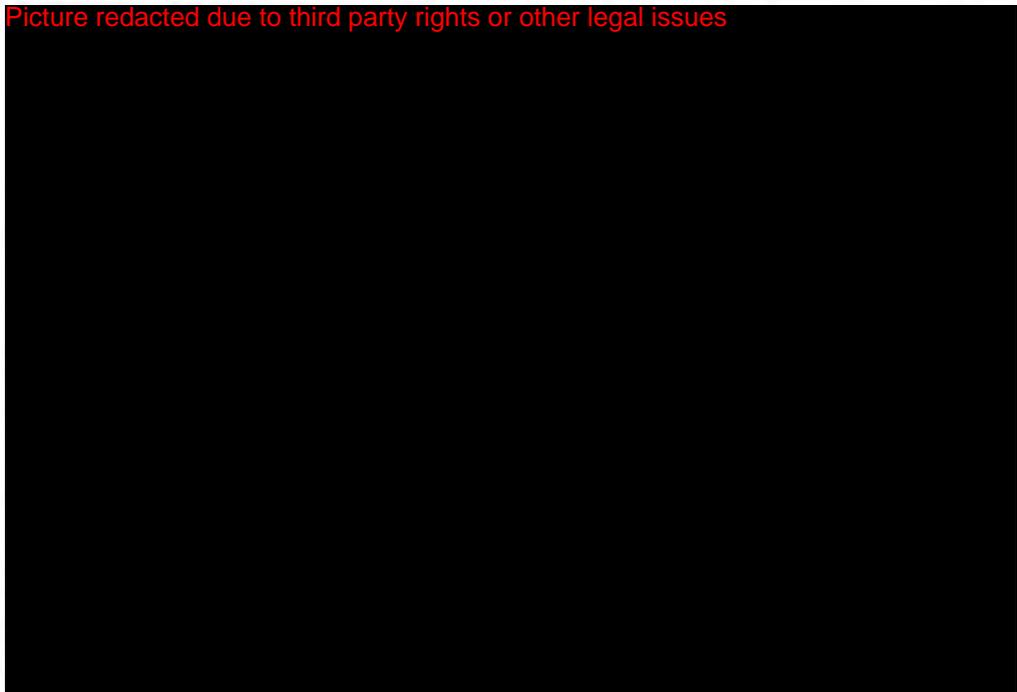
This type of structure and the materials used provide good protection against the elements and an airy interior, and although windows are only sometimes placed at the rear, a fair amount of light enters through the chinks in the bamboo walls. In terms of modern design planning, it is clear that the Bidayuh prefer 'open-plan living' and that the physical structure of the longhouse encourages social intimacy, as well as giving protection against intruders. On the other hand, fire and infectious diseases are two serious hazards.

In Tebia, the sharply broken terrain made it difficult to construct the level type of longhouse described above. Consequently, longhouses there were of shorter length and built in a series of steps. None of these remain, the last one at Kakas being gutted by fire about 40 years ago. Today the residential pattern is a dispersal to independent houses and/or a number of lineal series of houses at different levels. Houses in a lineal series may share common partitioning walls, but others are separated by several feet, though usually joined externally by bamboo bridges between the tanjus. The photograph overleaf indicates the residential pattern of a lineal series. Tabak retains a longhouse-like appearance, whereas Sapit is more dispersed. Kambug and Kakas are both arranged in a lineal series, and the former, being small, is more socially compact than any of the other kampongs. Kiding is the most widely dispersed, with three separate lineal groupings and many separate houses. As mentioned before, a number of families/households moved from Tabak to lower ground and these have established themselves in a cluster of separate houses.

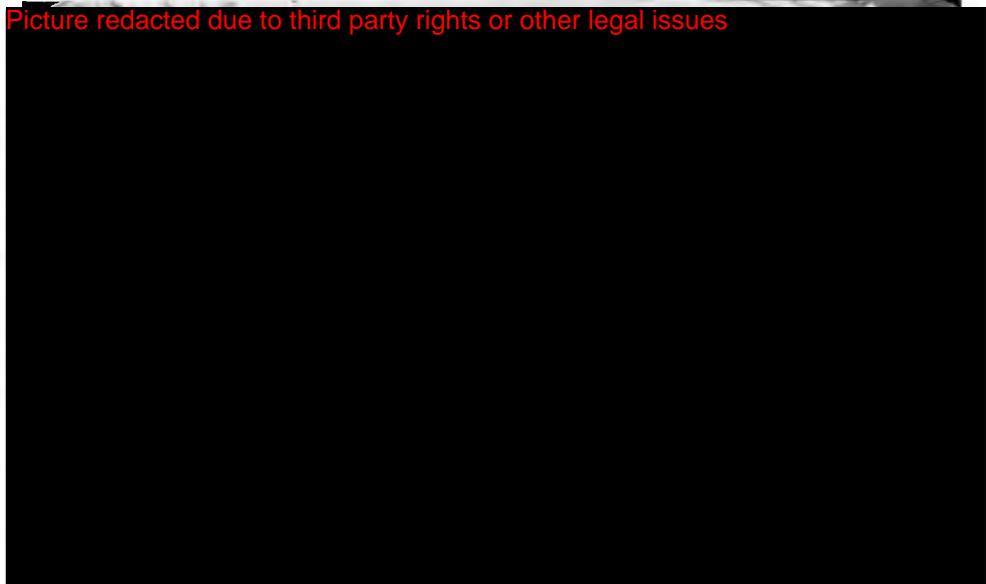
The construction of the houses (ramins) in Tebia is very similar to that of the traditional longhouse ramins. They are raised on stilts but the stilts are much lower, at least at one end, because of the sloping ground. However, unlike the traditional longhouse ramins, there is more variation in size, with the result that the smaller ones are usually without the



TEBIA



KAMPONG SCENE (Above)



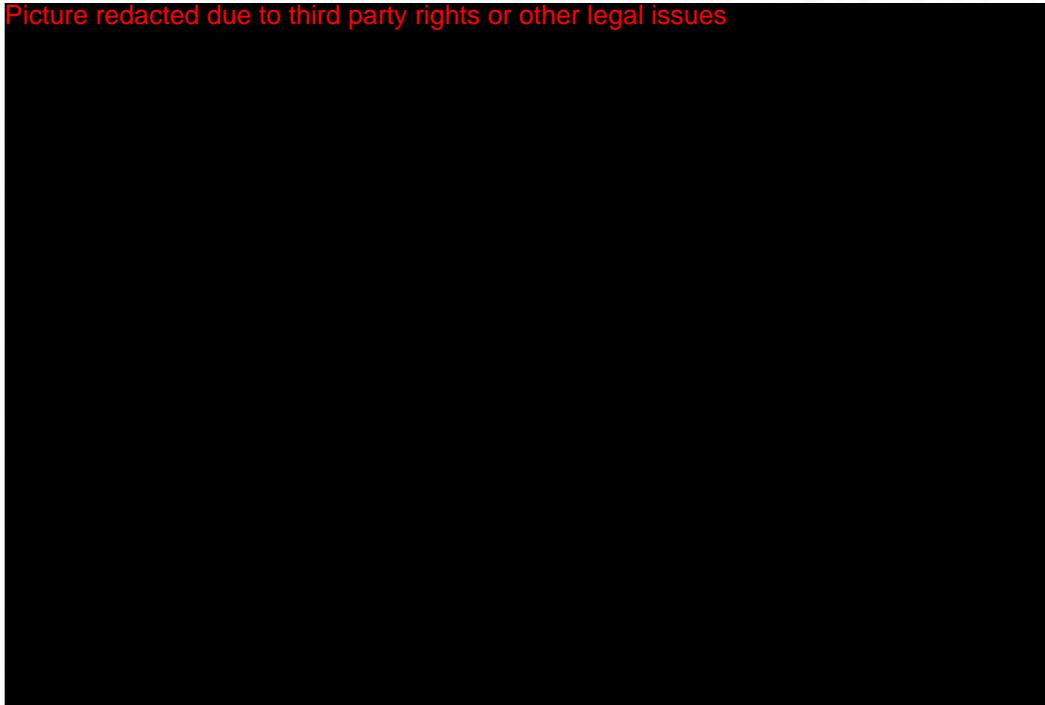
KAMPONG SCENE (Below)

traditional loft for storing padi, etc. For these houses padi is stored in a small shed located at the end of the tanju. Internally, the ramins retain their open-plan features and only in three were partitioned-off bedrooms observed. Bamboo remains the main material for floors and walls, but most atap roofs have been replaced by zinc sheeting. Durability is the reason for this change, and the people acknowledge that during a heavy rainstorm the noise on the zinc sheets can be quite deafening. Zinc is also an absorber and reflector of heat, which can be a source of discomfort, particularly in lowland areas. For the few who can afford it, wooden boards have wholly or partly replaced the traditional split bamboo floors and walls. Windows are a new structural feature in many ramins, as is the use of squared timber for rafters, joists, etc. Many of the boards and squared timbers were acquired when various military installations at Sapit were dismantled towards the end of the Confrontation (between Indonesia and Malaysia) in 1965.

Headhouses were once a central feature of every Bidayuh rais and they are still commonly found in the more rural areas. In Tebia each rais, apart from Kambug, has one. Each continues to house a big drum, which is suspended through a hole in the floor, and several gongs of various sizes. These are used for specific social activities (gawais), mostly concerned with ritual aspects of the agricultural cycle and involving the community as a whole. Drums and gongs are the two most important musical instruments, and also serve for making social announcements. The headhouses at Kiding, Kakas and Sapit still have a few skulls, mostly incomplete, but those belonging to Kiding are now kept in a wooden box on a raised platform, rather than being suspended inside in a bunch from the roof apex, which is the traditional way.

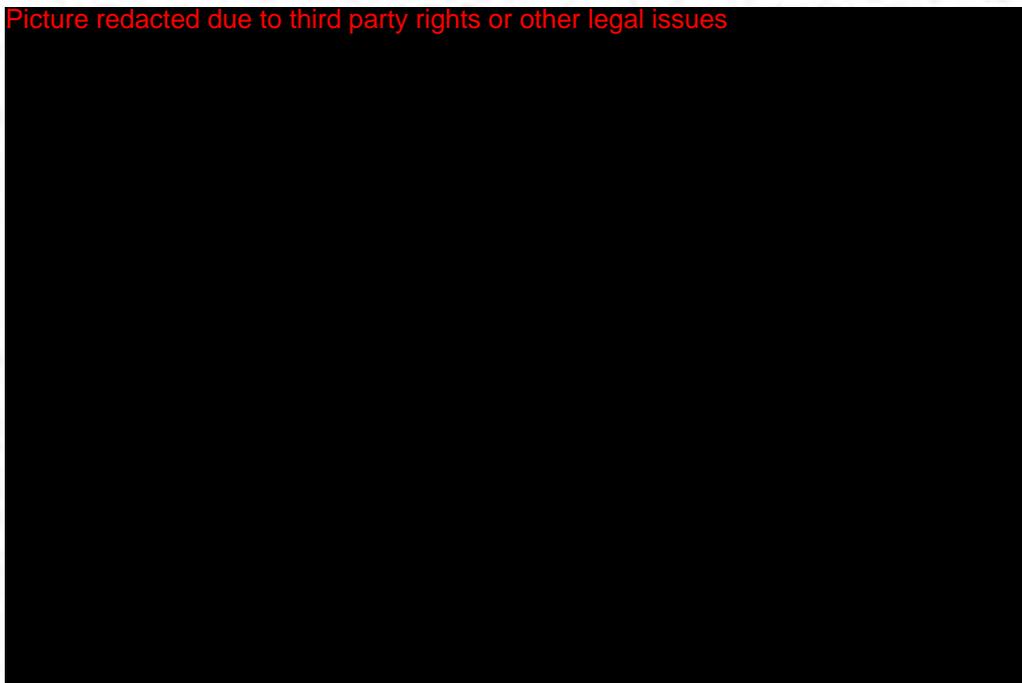
Modern-purpose buildings are now a common feature of many Bidayuh communities. At Kiding and Sapit there is a community hall and a church. Sapit has a large flattened area, used for football matches and for the Flying Doctor service's helicopter. In 1976 there were six shops; three in Kiding, one in Kakas and two in Tabak. Kambug is too small to support a shop, and Sapit did have one, but it closed in 1974. The stocks carried are very limited, consisting mostly of essentials like salt, sugar and kerosene. Kerosene is an essential for those owning oil

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



HEAD HOUSE

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



WATER POINT

pressure-lamps. Some tinned foods are also stocked, together with salted fish and condensed milk, but cigarettes are not stocked. Retailing is an unprofitable sideline because insufficient cash in the community is a constraint on demand, and most people prefer to shop outside the area because the choice is much greater. It is also necessary to go outside the area to trade cash-crop produce: no shopkeepers in Tebia have sufficient capital to buy and sell. Itinerant traders don't venture into these parts nowadays, the last one to do so came many years ago. According to local people, he ventured into Indonesia, where he lost his head! In the Tebia area, the most modern building in purpose and construction is the primary school. This is now located in the valley at the confluence of two small rivers (Barung and Piin), known as Kenyang. The kampongs are between two and three-and-a-half miles from the school.

Geddes, in his study, takes the village as a community.⁸ This is because the village is a focus of the common interests and sentiments of its members, providing the overall context of life and having its political integrity typified in inter-village disputes. These disputes may continue for decades, and at the present time there are two disputes involving the people of Kakas with those of Kiding and Anna Rais (Padawan). The former centres on accusations and counter-accusations about missing pigs and fowls, and the latter is over land boundaries. In both cases there have been periodic misappropriations of property, or its destruction, but no physical violence. The worst incident occurred during the period of fieldwork, and involved a group of Indonesian Bidayuh on a friendly visit to Kiding. It is alleged that, at the request of their hosts, they raided Kakas. Fortunately no-one suffered injury, but members of the Government's para-military fieldforce were flown in to apprehend, warn and escort the raiders to the border. The important point about this incident is that the raid was done by 'outsiders' and was not a direct confrontation between the locals, which underscores the fact that members of a community or closely neighbouring communities will very rarely resort to this type of behaviour. The Bidayah are by reputation a reticent and un-demonstrative people who will only resort to force under extreme provocation.

Another indication of why community should be conceptualized as a village is that the village is the most important source of collective social identification. People refer to themselves and are referred to by others as being Kakas, Sapit, etc. Nevertheless, it is the case that those living in Tebia share a common mode of production, an almost identical adat, and the same Biatah sub-dialect. (Adat is defined by Geddes as customary law,⁹ but it is more usefully defined by Morris as principles of order.¹⁰)

Membership of a village community is by residence and is theoretically open to anyone, but in practice those moving in usually will have established a kinship tie by marriage or adoption. The reasons for this are twofold. First, a person taking up residence without kinship ties would find it difficult to establish land rights, and hence be faced with a survival problem. Second, it is not until a person is located in the kinship system that people know how to interact with him socially. It is in the nature of Bidayuh society and culture that any outsider, having established kinship ties by marriage or adoption, can move quickly from a position of accommodation to one of integration and finally to assimilation, and would be expected to do so.

Although the village provides the overall context of life for the majority of Bidayuh today, it is the household which is the basic unit of their society. As Geddes states: 'within the community the only constant social group to which a Bidayuh belongs is the household comprised either of a simple family or a larger membership with the simple family as a circle of greater attachment and solicitude'.¹¹ Geddes claims that the family is subordinate to the household in a social and psychological sense, and that this is indicated by the fact that while there are terms for household, no term exists for the simple family. However, Pidiah people using Biatah dialect do make a distinction, at least ideationally, in that the term 'ramin' is used to refer to household or house, and the term 'rawang' is used for simple family. Geddes admits to a socio-psychological distinction by stating that the simple family is a 'circle of greater attachment and solicitude', but for the phenomenal order regarding the social emphasis put on the household as a residential, economic and ritual group, the family is

subordinate unless it is coincident with the household.¹¹

The main features of families/households for Sapit, Kakas, Tabak, Kambug and Kiding, derived from my socio-economic survey, were as follows:

SAPIT

Number of persons in the household	5	6	7	8	8	10	12	16	17
Frequency	1	1	6	3	4	1	1	1	1
Average number of persons	8.6								
Total households	19								
Number of generations in the household	1	2	3	4					
Frequency	0	8	11	0					
% of total	0	42	58	0					

<u>Type of genealogical composition</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Conjugal family	8	42
Stem family	9	48
Extended family	2	10

KAKAS

Number of persons in the household	2	3	4	6	7	8	10	12
Frequency	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2
Average number of persons	7.0							
Total households	12							
Number of generations in the household	1	2	3	4				
Frequency	1	8	2	1				
% of total	8	67	17	8				

<u>Type of genealogical composition</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Conjugal family	8	67
Stem family	3	25
Extended family	1	8

TABAK

Number of persons in the household	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	14	18
Frequency	1	2	4	3	3	5	3	1	2	1	1
Average number of persons	8.7										
Total households	26										
Number of generations in the household	1	2	3	4							
Frequency	0	13	12	1							
% of total	0	50	46	4							

<u>Type of genealogical composition</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Conjugal family	10	38
Stem family	10	38
Extended family	6	24

KAMBUG

Number of persons in the household	5	7	8	13
Frequency	3	1	1	1
Average number	7.2			
Total households	6			
Number of generations in the household	1	2	3	4
Frequency	0	1	5	0
% of total	0	17	83	0

<u>Type of genealogical composition</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Conjugal family	1	17
Stem family	3	50
Extended family	2	33

KIDING

Number of persons in the household	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Frequency	1	5	5	9	9	8	12	6	3	1	4	1
Average number of persons	7.8											
Total households	65											
Number of generations in the household			1		2		3		4			
Frequency			1		36		28		0			
% of total			2		55		43					
<u>Type of genealogical composition</u>								<u>No.</u>		<u>%</u>		
Conjugal family								21		32		
Stem family								41		63		
Extended family								3		5		

In the five kampongs surveyed there were 128 households, with an average number of 7.9 persons per household. This size is reflected both in the predominance of either two- or three-generation families/households and in either conjugal or stem family structures. Conjugal and stem families accounted for 37.5 and 51.6 per cent, respectively, and two- or three-generational structures were 50.7 and 45.3 per cent, respectively. The structural composition of families situated as households therefore is very variable, and this is due to the constant processes of recruitment and departure of members. Rules of residence associated with marriage are optative in the sense that they can be virilocal, uxrilocal or neolocal, though they are rarely the latter. Marriage rules vary according to area, but in Tebia there are no prohibitions on choice of spouse beyond the range of second-cousin.

The values underlying Bidayuh society and culture are stated by Geddes to be individualism and egalitarianism.¹² Co-operation centres on the family/household, and beyond this level it is only structurally significant in the formation of social groups on a temporary basis and for the accomplishment of specific tasks. A socio-political consequence of individualism and egalitarianism has been to inhibit the development of distinct social hierarchies or of any system of social stratification;

hence political leadership is structurally weak. In the village community there are no rules preventing any man from becoming the headman or tuai kampong, and election is by the senior men from all the families/households. The election of a new tuai kampong is done at a specially convened meeting, and discussion will proceed until a consensus is arrived at, although today it is common practice to take a vote. A candidate's personal qualities (e.g. knowledge of the adat, moral rectitude, fairness) are usually the prime factors determining the outcome. However, religion, literacy, schooling and influential kinship connections are becoming important. This was illustrated in 1976 when the Kiding tuai kampong, aged 54, who had held the post for over 20 years, was ousted by a much younger man who was literate and a Christian. The number of Christians at Kiding made religion an important factor, but it was also the case that the successful candidate's brother was the local primary-school Headmaster, who had been instrumental in getting the Flying Doctor service for the Tibia area. The present tuai kampong at Sapit succeeded his grandfather, but also had the advantage of full primary schooling and, some years previously, a distinguished career as a border scout/interpreter during the Confrontation period. Although it is clear that various criteria determine who is elected, the successful candidate is invariably one who is seen to be fair and just. The authority of a tuai kampong is based on tradition, but its effectiveness depends on whether the holder's personal qualities are sufficient to retain and mobilize community support. Any decisions made regarding the imposition of fines, for example, would be ineffective without this support.

Traditionally, effective community action and co-operation depended upon an external threat, such as headhunters or inter-community land disputes, which could easily override the individualism of the people. Community co-operation was also promoted by egalitarianism and the social compactness of the longhouse. However, while the traditional society was socially unstratified and the number of achieved social positions was small (e.g. tuai kampong, tuai gawai), it is the case that in recent years, even in this remote area, socio-economic status differences for individuals and families/households have begun to emerge. This is due to the combined effects of literacy, schooling and cash-crops, and is speeded up as soon as some people get modern-sector jobs. As Geddes indicates, in the past there were always differences between families/households in terms of

land-holding, but it is contended here that these could not be transformed into structurally significant socio-economic differences before the advent of schooling, cash-crops and the inflow of money and/or 'know-how' arising from modern-sector jobs. Because the amount of crops raised for cash in Tebia is small, any differences arising at the present time are more likely to have done so because schooling has led to paid employment. This process affects the values of traditional Bidayuh society and culture by promoting individualism at the expense of egalitarianism, but in Tebia the process is circumscribed by the unsuitability of land for raising cash crops, by remoteness and by population pressure, which combine to ensure the continuing predominance of a subsistence economy. Whatever the extent of the process, it is likely to weaken further the social position of the tuai kampong and make effective community action and co-operation more difficult.

In an authoritative publication on societies and cultures in Borneo, it is made clear that Bidayuh traditional society and culture is an example of a socially unstratified cognatic social structure.¹³ Furthermore, Geddes demonstrates the existence of cognatic kinship structure and the absence of social stratification among the Bidayuh. Cognatic social structures are recognized to be basically optative and uncircumscribed. More specifically, in Bidayuh traditional society and culture, egalitarianism and individualism are central values. However, it will be argued later that individualism for the Bidayuh is not competitive individualism associated with Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity, which as Bernstein points out concerns the individual in the context of an increasingly complex economic division of labour. Rather, Bidayuh individualism could be explained by reference to Bernstein's concept of personalized organic solidarity, which arises from the complex cultural or symbolic division of labour, and which is integral to invisible pedagogy. In short, the argument will be that the mode of production (integrated code) creates the dominant socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations, and that its socio-cultural transmission (integrated code) is based on invisible pedagogy. The socio-cultural transmission code creates overtly personalized organic solidarity and covertly mechanical solidarity. These theoretical points will be referred to in various parts of the main text. For a more detailed

discussion of these points, which are seen to contribute towards a theory of socially unstratified cognatic social structures, the reader is referred to Appendix D of this thesis.

Economy

It has already been indicated that the traditional economy of the Bidayuh is based on shifting padi (rice) cultivation, and in most communities this remains the prime socio-economic concern. In this economy the household is the focus of production and consumption, and where there is a shift into raising crops for cash the household retains its production function.

Inter-crops are an important aspect of the domestic subsistence economy because they provide a vital supplement to the staple padi at times when stocks of rice from the previous harvest are running low, or are exhausted. This situation now occurs often in Tèbia, and has increased the importance of some inter-crops for many households.

In Tèbia all households have some or all of the following inter-crops: maize, tapioca, sugar-cane, cocoyam, yam and tobacco. Additionally, most households grow various types of green vegetables, e.g. the long bean or chanko manis. The collection of edible items from the jungle is common practice, although with the disappearance of primary jungle, supply is now less plentiful.

Bidayuh attitudes to inter-crops and to padi are quite different. A remark heard in Sapit, indicating this difference, was (apropos maize in this case): 'we plant it, but after that it is up to the maize'. This is in marked contrast to the attitude to padi, the growth of which is watched anxiously at all stages, and which is protected where necessary by ritual, if not by recourse to chemical pesticide.

Socio-economic activities with respect to padi production and inter-crops are carried out according to an agricultural calendar cycle. This cycle begins about mid-June and ends in late March. The various stages of the cycle coincide with the seasonal climatic changes, which divide roughly into a dry/hot and a rainy period. These are set out below, together with the associated agricultural activities:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Agricultural Activity</u> (Padi)	<u>Climatic Condition</u> (Normal)
June	Felling trees (<u>raba</u>) Clearing (<u>nauu</u>)	Dry/hot/occasional showers/drought
August	Burning Clearing (<u>mambas</u>)	Dry/hot/occasional showers/drought
September	Sowing (<u>nuruk</u>)	Very warm/frequent showers
October)	Weeding (<u>nyabu</u>)	Warm/onset of monsoon rains
November)		
December)		
January)	None	Warm/monsoon rains/ flooding
February)		
March	Harvesting (<u>ngabu</u>)	Warm/onset of dry season

Padi production is labour-intensive, all stages involving some form of group work or teamwork. It is rare to find people working alone in their padi farms. With few exceptions, households require additional labour to cope with the major stages of the agricultural cycle, e.g. raba/nauu, nuruk, ngabu, and this is done - according to Geddes - by the formation of kindred-based action groups (kaban pinggir) as part of a labour exchange system. The household whose farm(s) is being worked on specific day(s) is obliged to feed the participants. In Tebia, all households reported that they used the 'labour exchange system' for padi production and other tasks, for example housebuilding and portage to Padawan. However, in Tebia the labour exchange system is certainly not restricted to kindred-based action groups, and while they are temporary and task-oriented, their composition is very variable. It is discussed in Appendix D how Geddes changed the meaning he attached to the concept of kindred, and he remained uncertain of its relevance to indigenous categories of thought. From my own observations and from several comments given by Tebia people, I would argue that although notions of equivalence

are integral to the labour exchange system, the nature of obligation beyond the household is extremely variable. Who, how and what enters into the labour exchange system depends a great deal upon personality and situational factors. This was well illustrated when several informants reported that they would be extremely reluctant to engage in labour exchange with persons who were known to be lazy or very argumentative. Consequently, kinship obligations alone would not explain observed activity and events associated with labour exchange. An important theoretical point for this thesis arises from the concern with equivalence of service, because this is an expression of egalitarianism and egalitarian relations. Moreover, the importance of optative factors could reinforce both egalitarianism and egalitarian relations. A brief description of the Bidayuh land tenure system provides some further evidence of optation and egalitarianism, but also indicates how optation could undermine egalitarianism in circumstances of population pressure and land shortage.

The Bidayuh land tenure system operates according to two general principles which cover the establishment and transfer of titles to land. Rights to land are first gained by the person who clears it of primary jungle. In the case of Tebia, these titles were established many decades ago. From its first owner, land passes to all his descendants, male and female, and the name given to this social category of persons is Turun. There are as many Turun as there are persons who have cleared primary jungle, so today every person in Tebia is a member of several Turun. However, membership of several or very many Turun does not mean that some are not short of land, because the land area may be small and the membership large.

Geddes illustrates this by stating that 'if the Turun include twenty persons and has only enough land for four padi fields, only four may use that land in any year. Supposing that the land is on a ten-year rotation, another four persons may use it ten years hence; four persons must wait twenty years; four must wait thirty years; while the final unfortunate four must wait forty years before they can get their padi seed into the soil'.¹⁴ An average family requires two or three padi fields each year, so it is clear that membership of many

Turun does not ensure that they have enough land. This is certainly the case in the Tebia kampongs for most family/households, particularly in Sapit, where it is becoming common for many to have sufficient rice for only three or four months of the year. Land shortage for particular families/households can be offset by renting, but because of a very rapidly increasing population, poor soil, shortening of the fallow period and generally declining yields, this possibility does little more than prevent starvation in some families/households. Although there is no starvation at present in Tebia, there is acute land-shortage, and hence food-shortage, for an increasing number of families/households.

Geddes states that the growth of Turun membership is subject to some restrictions. Because rights to land never lapse, he suggests that membership, in theory, is unlimited, but in practice those who move away from the family/household may not be in a position to exercise their rights because of distance and would be 'cared for' in the ramin of the parents-in-law in return for their labour. Similarly, those who move away for reasons other than marriage and who are part of the rural-urban drift would not be in a position to exercise their rights. For the Sadong Dayaks, Geddes remarks that a person moving away cannot exercise his share of land rights until a child is born to him or her, when these rights can then be used for the welfare of the child. This rule is not part of the adat in the Tebia area. A point on which Geddes lays insufficient stress is that although land passes to both males and females, it is usual for the child remaining in the family/household to get the biggest share, and it is certainly not automatic for those departing to get equal shares. Personal and situational factors determine who gets what, and when they get it.

Growing crops for cash is also labour-intensive, but apart from the preparation required for pepper gardens (e.g. terracing), there are very few tasks needing labour additional to that available in the average household. Of the cash-crops, pepper and rubber are the most important. Pepper requires much more attention and care than rubber and is much more vulnerable to disease. Mulching, weeding, pruning and spraying are specifically pepper-vine related tasks, whereas the rubber tree requires nothing but the periodic clearing of undergrowth.

Expertise in the care of pepper has been acquired by the Bidayuh as much from observation of the Chinese as from the agricultural extension services.

In Tebia, where the soils are poor, the pepper vine requires a degree of care that it often does not receive. Although this is certainly the result of poor knowledge and lack of cash to buy fertilizer and insecticide, the Bidayuh attitudes towards inter-crops noted above may also apply to cash-crops, so that both are seen largely as being capable of looking after themselves. By contrast, padi is not only the staple diet, it is also enmeshed in the socio-economic and religious life of the people, so that social life is largely geared to its production. What organizational capabilities Bidayuh communities have are concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with some aspect of padi production.

The domestic subsistence economy of padi production and inter-crops operates with a very simple technology and a very low level of specialization in the division of labour. Geddes comments that 'practically no occupations are confined to one sex or to any single age group'.¹⁵ Various types of jungle knives (parangs) designed for specific purposes, and hoes (chankols) are the principal tools of farm work. There are no taboos restricting the use of these tools between the sexes, although it is unusual to see women using the heavy parang for chopping down trees. This high degree of interchangeability of economic roles is typical of economic activity in general, and it reflects the egalitarian and optative nature of the Bidayuh society and culture. One possible reason for interchangeability is that, in shifting agriculture, labour is in short supply at certain stages in the agricultural cycle (e.g. clearing, sowing, harvesting) and this would favour substitutability between the sexes. It is also the case that in the past this system could set men free for relatively long periods of time for hunting and gathering, warfare and trade. Today the system enables men to seek temporary paid employment at a time when underemployment in the rural areas has become more visible because of the rapidly increasing population. However, where a significant move into cash-crops occurs, there is a concomitant change from

fluctuations in demand for labour associated with shifting agriculture to the more stable supply required by most cash-crops. This change constrains those having cash-crops to be away from their kampongs for relatively shorter periods of time than would otherwise be the case.

My socio-economic survey revealed that 46.1 per cent of households were involved in growing cash-crops and that this was primarily concerned with rubber. Of these households, only 22.0 per cent had pepper gardens. Apart from the greater importance attached to rubber, which affirms the comments made previously, the two most significant findings were differences between kampongs and between households. In Kiding, only 29.2 per cent of households had cash-crops, compared with 75.0 and 76.9 per cent for Kakas and Tabak, respectively. The average number of rubber trees per cash crop household was 210 at Sapit, 350 at Tabak, 300 at Kambug and 378 at Kakas. (No return was made for Kiding.) The range in the number of trees owned was from 120 to 600 per household. Eleven households had only immature trees.

Although no data were collected on income, it can be inferred from the returns of those households with or without cash-crops, and from differences in the amount of cash-crops, that significant income differentials do exist. Another factor creating these differentials is that some households have members in paid employment, and even when these people have established their own families/households, often money is sent to assist siblings, parents, or other family members. The incomes generated by cash-crops and paid employment have resulted in the use of modern materials for home improvement (e.g. planks, squared rafters) and the acquisition of modern prestige items such as radios, pressure lamps and sewing machines. For example, the survey showed that 76 per cent of households having these sources of income had made home improvements, compared with 28 per cent of the rest. However, the difference for modern prestige items was greater, at 85 and 16 per cent, respectively. It was also found that all children from the area who were attending secondary school came from households with these sources of income, and that all those at senior secondary school were receiving some help from a wage-earning relative. From these findings it is clear that there already exists a close relationship

between opportunity, in terms of secondary schooling, and household cash incomes.

Comparing padi production with that of cash-crops, it can be argued that the former is concerned with social and economic equality, whereas the latter enables the creation of social and economic inequality. However, the development of inequality is severely circumscribed by rapid population increase and by the small amount of land suitable for cash-crops. When land is short, many households are reluctant to transfer into cash-crops, and the lack of suitable land for these crops has meant that very few qualify for agricultural grants. Of those households in my survey which had cash-crops, only 7 per cent had qualified for grants. The remoteness of the area makes transportation of produce difficult, and inevitably their sale is to Chinese middlemen.

Given these constraints, it is clear that further developments into cash-crops or modernization of agriculture are unlikely to be sufficient to reduce youthful under-employment. A point which needs to be stressed is that only a small amount of new cash-cropping has been undertaken in Tebia since the closure of the Padawan Area Development Scheme in 1963. Details of this Scheme have been relegated to an appendix (E) because, although important in the recent socio-economic development of Tebia, the Scheme's projects are not directly relevant to the theoretical arguments presented in this thesis.

Schooling

The remoteness of the Tebia area made the development of primary schooling difficult and slow, so that before 1967 only a small number of (mostly over-age) pupils were involved. Schooling in the area for any significant number of children is a relatively recent phenomenon.

In 1938, the Anglican church/SPG mission established pastoral and instructional contact as far as Padawan, but this was not systematized until after the Japanese occupation. (During the occupation all mission activity had ceased.) In 1946, kampong Anna Rais near Padawan set up a lower primary school, and in 1948 requested the Anglican church/SPG mission to take over the school. This request was agreed to and the school was subsequently resited at Padawan. During the previous year the mission had established a lower primary school at kampong Pangkalan Ampat, in response to a request from a small number of Chinese living there. A few children from Tebia subsequently attended this school, but at this time no children from Tebia were attending the school at Padawan.

Schooling in the Tebia area began in 1953, with the establishment of a lower primary school at kampong Kiding. Most of the pupils came from Kiding and a few from Kakas/Tabak, but none from Sapit. The Kiding school was a one-teacher school, and the pupils were divided into four groups in one classroom, receiving instruction in the vernacular medium. Enrolments up to 1959 were kept above the regulation number of 30, although with fees of \$2.00 per month, most households could only afford to send one child. In 1959, enrolments dropped well below 30 and the school was closed. On the closure, Howes, the officer-in-charge of the Padawan Development Scheme, stated: 'I went up to the kampong and found everyone ready to blame everyone else, but to do nothing about it himself so I closed the school...the kampongs protested, but we stuck to the closure'.¹⁶

During my fieldwork, several local people were questioned about the reasons behind the drop in enrolments. The payment of fees was mentioned, and in view of the absence of cash-crops at this time the fees undoubtedly were a major constraint. Most of the older people held the view that those going to school had little chance of paid jobs, and because upper primary and

secondary schooling necessitated boarding, the cost to families could not be justified. However, these factors seemed to explain the generally low level of enrolments, rather than the sudden drop in 1959. This drop was more adequately explained by a conflict between some of the succession of teachers and some kampong people. Initially this conflict arose over the fencing of the school compound to keep pigs out, and was then severely aggravated when one teacher shot some pigs which had broken into the compound. Apart from this, it was alleged that the last teacher, who was the only qualified one to be posted to the school, had been very harsh with pupils. The allegations concerned caning absentees, forcing pupils to eat chilli, and hitting children about the head if they could not do their work. Whatever the truth or otherwise of the allegations, it can be said that caning was officially sanctioned and that bizarre forms of punishment, though perhaps not common, were certainly not unknown in Sarawak or elsewhere. Former students at the school in Padawan reported that, in addition to caning, they had had to stand on a chair with hands on head, or on the floor with one leg raised, as common forms of punishment.

In 1957, seven pupils transferred from Kiding into the primary 5 class at Padawan. This was the first cohort to enter primary 5 from the Tebia area, and of the seven, four were to gain 'white collar' jobs, three of which were in professional occupations. The following year, five transferred and one of these eventually entered a professional occupation. In 1959, the year in which the school at Kiding closed, 15 pupils went to Padawan from Kiding and Kakas/Tabak, but these ranged from primary 1 to 5. After this the numbers declined because parents were reluctant to send children of the correct age, or even two years above, as boarders for primary 1. The reason was that the back-log of grossly over-age pupils (a few being five years over-age) was gradually cleared during Phase 1 of the Padawan Community Development programme and it was these who formed the bulk of the 'trainees' at Padawan (see Appendix E). With the onset of Confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1964, sending children to school at Padawan became more difficult, and this reinforced parents' reluctance to send them on other grounds, so that schooling effectively ceased during the period 1964-1966 in the Tebia area.

A new school in the Tebia area was opened in 1967, under the jurisdiction

of the Kuching Rural District Council (KRDC). Negotiations with the council began in 1965, and a notable aspect of the negotiations is that some of those who had gone to Padawan to school in the late 1950s acted as community representatives, or at least assisted the illiterate tuai kampongs. A major problem was the location of the school, each of the large kampongs insisting that its own site was the best. This was finally resolved by locating the school at the smallest kampong of Kambug, which gave Kakas, Tabak and Kiding about the same distance advantage. Sapit was not seriously considered because it would have meant a 45-minute walk for the majority of children. The school remained at Kambug for two years and was then resited on about eight acres of partially levelled land at Kenyang, at the confluence of two small rivers and about two miles from the nearest kampong. Enrolments and staffing for the two years at Kambug are given below:

Enrolments and Staffing at Kambug School
1967 and 1968¹⁷

	1967			1968	
Primary 1	1A	49	(16)	31	(10)
	1B	49	(16)		
Primary 2				2A	46 (7)
				2B	44 (26)
Total		98		121	
Teachers, sex and status		2 males unqualified		3 males unqualified	

Note: Number of girls in brackets

The very large primary 1 entry in 1967 was due, of course, to the build-up of demand rather than to any great increase in the numbers becoming eligible for school since 1959. The pattern of many over-age pupils in 1957 repeated itself in 1967, and because the catchment area was small, the practice of alternate intake was adopted from 1959. However, with the more stringent application of alternate-intake age rules, those pupils whose ages were more than two years above the correct entry age had become

insignificant by 1976. This decline in over-age pupils in recent years has affected the capacity of school work-parties in extra-curricular activity.

Although the majority of parents initially were satisfied with the Kambug site, the KRDC looked upon it as only a temporary measure. The building was of local materials, inadequately furnished, and by the second year severe overcrowding had become a major problem. After protracted negotiations, initiated by the KRDC, it was agreed by the majority of the people that a new site had to be found to resolve these problems and to make a permanent building possible. Location by a river, to afford an adequate water supply and bathing facilities, was also necessary. The Kenyang location was finally chosen, although many people at Kiding felt that their kampong, being the largest and the site of the Anglican mission school in the 1950s, was equally suitable. Because Kenyang was more than three miles from Sapit, boarding facilities were necessary, and the first boarders were housed in 1970 on the appointment of a 'school mother'. The boarding house and the re-erected building from Kambug were temporary and sub-standard, and it was not until the end of 1970 that work commenced on a permanent block of four classrooms, together with improved - though sub-standard - teachers' quarters and a pupils' dormitory. Levelling of the site, portering building materials and furniture from Padawan, and labouring for the Chinese carpenters employed by the KRDC and Public Works Department was done by kampong people. Participation in this work was unequal both within and between the kampongs, and this became more evident in work concerned with the maintenance and repair of buildings. In 1970, only 21 out of 52 households in Kiding assisted in the transportation of furniture, etc., and at this time the tuai kampong of Sapit, in a letter to the Head-teacher, complained that his own people were doing more than their fair share of the work.¹⁸ Although the various work-parties were under the general supervision of the KRDC School Affairs Officer, the overall effectiveness of these parties was severely marred by very poor work discipline.

An analysis of the enrolment figures for the eight-year period from 1969 provides some of the social features of schooling. These figures give a general indication of the 'drop-out' problem and the under-representation

among the pupils of those children who were eligible. Enrolment and staffing figures are given overleaf.¹⁹

The most interesting feature of the drop-out pattern is that it was highest at the beginning and end of the period. At the beginning, this is most clear for those starting primary 1 in 1967 (see page 130) and 1970. Although the figures do not give the exact number of drop-outs for any one cohort because of some repeating and inward movement, the number returning at the beginning of primary 6 in 1972 and 1975 represented only 63.3 and 67.7 per cent of those in the original primary 1. For those starting in 1968, the percentage entering primary 6 in 1973 was much higher, at 87.1, but this is partly accounted for by some repeating of classes by those starting in 1967. The repeating of classes was reflected significantly in the 36 entering the primary 6 selection examination in September 1973, as these included nine who had not turned up for the 1972 examination. Although the primary 1 cohorts beginning in 1972 and 1973 had only reached primary 5 and 4, respectively, in 1976, the figures show a significant fall in drop-outs, particularly for the 1972 cohort. However, of those starting in 1975, 15 per cent had dropped out by January 1976 and most of these were girls. It is too early to know whether this is the start of an upward trend, but there are some grounds for believing that it could be and that girls will be affected more than boys.

The belief is connected with the abolition of the primary 6 selection examination for secondary-school entrance in 1974 and with a consideration of the subsequent school careers of those already at secondary school. Not unexpectedly, parents and others perceived the purpose of schooling as being a form of access to paid employment and its relation to geographical and social mobility. Given the acute population pressure referred to earlier, geographical mobility was becoming a serious concern. However, it was found that parents in general were becoming aware, like pupils from Tebia already at secondary school, of the relationship between examination success at higher levels of schooling and paid 'white collar' employment. Consequently, parents were monitoring the secondary school progress of other pupils from the area in order to assess the 'opportunity cost' of the financial burden of

Enrolments and Staffing at Kambug School 1969 - 1976

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Primary 1	-	31 (7)	-	27 (9)	35 (15)	-	33 (11)	38 (18)
Primary 2	30 (10)	-	27 (6)	-	29 (10)	35 (15)	-	28 (7)
Primary 3	46 (7)	28 (10)	-	27 (6)	-	28 (9)	30 (10)	-
Primary 3A	43 (25)	-	-	-	-	-	28 (9)	30 (10)
Primary 3B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary 4	-	40 (7)	27 (9)	-	26 (6)	-	28 (9)	30 (10)
Primary 4A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary 4B	-	32 (16)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary 5	-	-	35 (6)	-	-	24 (5)	-	27 (8)
Primary 5A	-	-	30 (16)	28 (11)	-	-	-	-
Primary 5B	-	-	-	34 (5)	-	-	21 (2)	-
Primary 6	-	-	-	28 (14)	36 (12)	-	-	-
Primary 6A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary 6B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	119 (42)	131 (40)	119 (37)	144 (45)	126 (43)	87 (29)	112 (32)	123 (43)
Teachers	3	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
School Mother		1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Note: Number of girls in brackets

buying school uniforms and providing pocket money and travelling expenses for their own children. In most cases fees were remitted.

Another important interview finding was that, although parents saw no difference between boys or girls in terms of intelligence, it was widely held that girls were more easily distracted from their studies. When asked to reply to a question giving an either/or choice on financing either a boy or a girl to secondary school, the majority favoured the boy. Some parents expressed concern over adequate care and attention for girls at secondary boarding schools, which suggested some fears of moral danger.

Data on transfers from Kambug school to secondary school, on the children's subsequent careers in terms of drop-out, and on the results in the Sarawak Junior examination (taken at the end of Form 3) indicate the importance of the above-mentioned points. These data are given below:²⁰

	<u>Secondary School</u>				
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Form 1	19 (3)	21 (3)		12 (0)	
Form 2		17 (2)	20 (3)		9 (0)
Form 3			16 (2)	17 (2)	
Form 4				12 (1)	11 (0)
Form 5					12 (1)
Form 6					

Note: Numbers of girls in brackets. Figures include one cohort that went to Penrissen Secondary School

The three cohorts entering Form 1 must be seen in the context of a phased abolition of the primary 6 selection examination and the establishment of universal secondary-school provision by 1975. This meant that those entering secondary school in 1973 had been selected on the basis of a permitted 50 per cent transfer for the whole State and those entering in 1974 on a permitted 70 per cent transfer. Those entering from 1975 onward were not subject to any selection in primary 6,

but for the secondary school researched, and for most other schools, pupils were streamed in Form 1 on the basis of attainment tests in English and mathematics given soon after entry. Where available, primary-school records were also used for the initial allocations to streams. Another point that needs to be stressed is that there was (and continues to be) an official policy which permits only about 50 per cent of Form 3 to proceed to Form 4. Until 1976, selection was done on the basis of the Sarawak Junior examination.

In summary, those entering Form 1 in 1973 and 1974 were examination-selected cohorts, but those in the 1974 cohort had a wide range of attainments because of the phasing out of the primary 6 selection examination. It can be argued that this partly explains the slight rise in drop-out and the more significant rise in the percentage failing to get through to Form 4. Comparing the 1973 with the 1974 entrants, the percentage dropping out during the junior secondary-school period were 15.8 and 19.1, respectively. However, those failing to pass from Form 3 to 4 rose from 25 to 35.3 per cent, and this rise would probably have been much higher if the standards in the Sarawak Junior examination had not been relaxed to ensure a satisfactory number entering Form 4.²¹ For the two cohorts studied, the percentage receiving Division 1 passes declined from 42.2 in 1975 to 29.4 in 1976, and whereas no candidates received Statements of Attainment in 1975, 17.6 per cent did so in 1976. Nevertheless, both cohorts showed a higher percentage passing into Form 4 (75 and 65, respectively) than that set for the State as a whole, as this was governed by the 50 per cent selection policy.

It has already been stated and argued that differences in the degree of selection helped to explain subsequent successful entry into Form 4. However, for both these cohorts three other factors were also present. First, the majority were three or more years over-age, which could have helped to motivate them to succeed. Second, it was found through interview and informal conversation that these students were very aware of the low socio-economic development potential in Tebia, and of the growing recognition of the relationship between more schooling and job opportunities: hence schooling was clearly seen as the determinant of

future life chances. Finally, they were all research subjects and this, through a social psychological 'halo effect', could be expected to motivate them, albeit differentially.

The 1976 entrants to Form 1 were not selected by examination, but they represented only 57.1 per cent of those entitled to go to secondary school (the whole of primary 6). All these students were no less aware of the problems in their home area and the importance of schooling than the earlier entrants had been, but they were less over age and were only interviewed once. The two significant features of this 1976 cohort were the absence of girls and the very high drop-out rate - 25 per cent by Form 2. The absence of girls is partly explained by their under-representation in primary enrolments. In terms of passing examinations, the six girls in the 1973 and 1974 groups of entrants showed a four out of six success rate, although only one gained a Division 2 grade in the Sarawak Junior examination (usually the minimum requirement for entering Form 4). Of the five who either dropped out or failed to get Form 4 entry, three gained paid jobs as domestic servants in families in or near Kuching, and the other two married, but only one of these two returned to the T#bia area. This movement into domestic service by ex-pupils had begun with the 1972 primary 6 cohort, when three girls who were unselected for secondary school went to Kuching to seek employment. Regarding the very high drop-out rate for the 1976 cohort, it was found that the three boys left because they could not keep up with the school-work expected of them, but for different reasons. In one case this was clearly due to inadequate English (the medium of instruction), but in the other two cases the explanations appeared to lie in the amount of subject knowledge they were expected to absorb and in the poor quality of teaching in some subjects. All three boys received low grades during the first two terms and they left before the end-of-year examinations, but not at the same time. Their families and friends could give no domestic reasons for their dropping out.

In 1974, the Sarawak Education Department adopted the Primary Five Assessment Test (PFAT), which had been used in West Malaysia for several years. This was another step toward integrating the disparate school systems bequeathed to the Federation in 1963. The main purpose of the

test is to provide an attainment profile for each child so that an attempt can be made to correct any weaknesses in the primary 6 year. Unlike the primary 6 selection examination, which was locally set and marked, the PFAT is set and marked in Kuala Lumpur. The results are computerized and a copy is returned to each school via the educational bureaucracy, which usually means that it is not received until February of the following year. Until 1977, the PFAT contained four papers in each of the following: Bahasa Malaysia, English, mathematics and general knowledge. Each subject paper was graded from A to E, in which A = very good, B = credit, C = pass and D and E = two failure grades. From 1977 this grading system continued, but the number of subjects was increased to include science, history and geography. General knowledge has been excluded from this new format. This change has important implications for the structure of socio-cultural transmissions at primary-school level, and this will be discussed in Chapter Six; but at the present stage of the argument, the results for Kambug School in 1974 and 1976 are very significant.²² These are tabulated below:

Subject and Grades for PFAT 1974/76

Grade	1974				1976			
	BM	E	M	GK	BM	E	M	GK
A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	0	0	2	4	0	2	0	0
C	3	9	5	9	0	5	1	8
D	13	6	7	1	9	7	3	11
E	6	7	8	8	17	12	22	7

Number of Pupils Passing and Failing Each Subject

	BM		E		M		GK		ALL	
	1974	1976	1974	1976	1974	1976	1974	1976	1974	1976
Pass	3	0	8	7	7	1	13	8	3	0
Fail	19	26	14	19	15	25	9	18	19	26

BM = Bahasa Malaysia; E = English; M = mathematics; GK = general knowledge.

It is clear from the above that a significant decline in passing all subjects occurred and that this was most severe in respect of Bahasa Malaysia and mathematics.

Although it is one of the contentions of this thesis that the change in transmission code from community to school is a major factor in any explanation of success or failure in schooling, consideration of the changes at Kambug primary school and the school's relationship with the local community since 1967 must be given attention.

Since 1967, there is sufficient evidence to support the view that in some important respects a movement from instability to stability had occurred by 1972. However, more recent information on school enrolments for 1978, which was gained through private correspondence and a short visit to Sarawak in that year, shows that severe overcrowding had again become a major problem. This more recent information is discussed in Chapter Six, which deals specifically with the primary school. The early years of this school were characterized by severe overcrowding in buildings which were temporary and sub-standard, though typical of most remote-area schools at that time. In those early years the majority of pupils were grossly over-age and the staff were unqualified, with limited teaching experience - matters which were also typical of remote-area schools at the time. It must be accepted that the resiting of the school and the subsequent building operations for a new permanent teaching block, which took almost a year, both physically and socially disrupted the running of the school. Apart from this, it became evident that relations between the school staff and the community were antagonistic, and that some of the antagonisms were personalized.

By 1973 the school had moved into a relatively more stable situation, in the sense that severe overcrowding ended in 1972 and all classes were being taught in the new teaching block. From 1972 to 1974 staffing was more stable; three of the four teachers remained, including the Headmaster. The appointment of a new Headmaster in 1975, who was qualified and a local man, resulted in some improvement in relations between the school and the community. Soon after his appointment, and at his request, the school was 'officially' opened in mid-1976. It was largely the result of the

Headmaster's work that the Flying Doctor service was brought to the area in the same year. However, staff turnover of assistant teachers was again a problem in 1976, though less severe than between 1967 and 1970.

It must be allowed that staff changes and the largely unqualified, though experienced, staff probably were contributory factors to the poor PFAT attainment levels. A more important factor was probably a decline in literary attainments due to the stress being put on spoken rather than written language in the Primary English Medium Syllabus (PEMS), which had been introduced in the late 1960s. Support for this view was given in private conversation with two secondary head-teachers. They expressed the opinion that the PEMS had contributed to an overall decline in standards at the Sarawak Junior examinations in and after 1975. Given the move towards more literary curricula and evaluation procedures at all levels of schooling, which will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, this opinion was not surprising.

It was mentioned earlier that parents had been monitoring the progress of pupils at secondary school since 1973. By 1977, of the 52 going to secondary school, 20 (38.5 per cent) had left, and of these seven had received Division 2 Sarawak Junior certificates. While parents of the 23 students who had passed through to senior secondary school could be expected to look with some anxiety at the results of the 1977 Senior Cambridge examination for those entering Form 4 in 1976, it was the 20 who had left earlier upon which attention focussed in and before 1976. Of the 20, 11 had returned to their kampongs and the rest were in various types of paid employment, but only one had secured a 'white collar' job as a temporary teacher. Regarding reintegration into the kampong community, it was found that only one, a girl who had married a local man, appeared to be content. The rest expressed a strong desire to leave; they thought that life in Tebia was very hard, and said they had little or nothing to do. Those who had gained a Division 3 certificate left the kampong after a few weeks to seek paid jobs.

From the above points and the wider macro-structural context discussed in the previous chapter, it can be argued that parents in Tebia are now

faced with several dilemmas. First, while more schooling at increasing cost is required to be considered for 'white collar' employment, the school's social power in obtaining such employment has been eroded by more competition. Second, the rapid population growth in the Tebia area and the trend toward an excess of females were inducements for parents to send their children to school, as the legitimate and only means of improving their 'life chances'. These factors would probably explain the very large primary 1 entry in January 1978, but more importantly, they explain the fact that 50 per cent were girls. Finally, while schooling becomes increasingly important, its 'failed' products are seen as a threat to the community. It was observed that the secondary students returning to the kampongs for school holidays or as school-leavers faced negative social commentary from the kampong 'full-timers', both adults and peers. Bidayuh nature is typically undemonstrative and reticent, and given sensitivities to 'loss of face', these comments were of a mild nature. However, it was clear that labels such as 'examination failure', or 'passed examination but failed to get a job or enter the next level of schooling', caused shame. On this point, the very frequent reference to 'luck' in accounting for success or failure seems to indicate a strategy for avoiding or reducing 'loss of face'. Success by others was praised, but also resented, which is understandable in a society and culture in which the stress is on egalitarianism and in which there is great concern to preserve harmonious personal relationships. Hence any secondary students returning to the kampong, even for school vacations, are likely to experience some social resistance because they are seen to be different and see themselves as different. As will be argued later, schooling creates differences between individuals, that is it keeps things apart, whereas in Bidayuh society great sensitivity of feeling is shown in most social relationships between persons, which is related to their distinct tendency to gregariousness. Bidayuh culture could be aptly described as a 'touch culture'; or, in other words, one in which the tendency is toward keeping things together.

In the following chapters it will be shown by description and analysis that the socio-cultural transmissions in the community and school involve a change in code, and that the move from primary to secondary-

level schooling involved an increase in strength of code/codings. It will be suggested that for the Bidayuh child, this change in code, which is common to them all, inflicts symbolic wounds upon them - and for some it is tantamount to a symbolic crucifixion. Even if the wounds themselves are considered to be psychic, it will be suggested that the means of infliction are symbolic.

That the children have money problems, that family/household places demands upon them, that they suffer from malnutrition to varying degree and that they are taught by mediocre teachers - in many instances all these things are readily accepted; but a contention of this thesis is that a continuity or discontinuity in transmission code is of critical importance to any explanation of success or failure at school, and in understanding the problems of social order in Sarawak's changing social structure.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMUNITY - INTEGRATED CODES OF TRANSMISSION AND
PRODUCTION

Introduction

In this opening section, before analyzing the empirical data, I will make some general comments with supporting fieldwork observations on points raised by Goody and Watt regarding non-literate societies. Some of these points were discussed in Chapter One, but the aim now is to contextualize them and also to raise some relevant general points on Bernstein's approach to speech codes and social structure.

Goody and Watt use the term 'cultural repertoire' to refer to Weltanschauung, the standardized ways of acting and the material culture, including natural resources, of a society and culture. Weltanschauung includes the range of meanings and attitudes which members of any society attach to their verbal symbols. For non-literate societies the transmissions necessarily are oral and by face-to-face conversations: thus all beliefs and values, all forms of knowledge, are communicated between persons in face-to-face contact, and as distinct from the material content of the cultural repertoire, they are stored in the human memory.

An important consequence of oral communication is that it makes for a directness between symbol and referent, or a process of direct semantic ratification. This process operates cumulatively, and as a result the totality of symbol-referent relationships is more immediately experienced in an exclusively oral culture, and is thus more deeply socialized. The range of vocabulary in a non-literate society reflects this process by elaborating the words used for items of particular interest. Among the Bidayuh, bamboo and rattan have a variety of qualities and uses and the terminology reflects these differences. These two products can be considered as the two most important natural resource products available to the Bidayuh. Bamboo is used for all building purposes, for water containers, handles, blowpipes, firewood, etc., and in the local sub-dialect there are several words for it, for example patung, brunai, taringapuk, buru manah, puti, pisa and auu. Rattan is used for making mats and baskets, for tying and for personal decoration, and has a six-word elaboration: suguh, rapang, mau, bayu, pradus and rukab.

Memory plays an important part in oral socio-cultural transmissions and invariably there is an inbuilt process of elimination through forgetting. What continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory, while the rest usually is forgotten, and language - primarily vocabulary - is the effective medium of the crucial process of social digestion and elimination. This does not deny, as Goody and Watt point out, the occurrence of social change or survivals left in its wake, nor does it overlook the existence in oral cultures of mnemonic devices which offer some resistance to the interpretative process. However, Goody and Watt would claim that in non-literate societies, language is developed in intimate association with the experience of the community.

The observation that language is embedded in the experience of the community suggests the significance of seeing the Biatah sub-dialect spoken in Tebia as being tied to a local social structure. This significance refers to the direct semantic ratification between symbols and their referents in oral cultures, or in other words, where oral discourses show a direct relation to a material base. Now the root of Bernstein's sociolinguistic thesis is that the form social relations take acts selectively on the meanings to be realized, and that the closer the identifications of speakers and the greater the range of their shared interests, the more probable it is that their speech will take a specific form. In other words, speech forms, as distinct from language, are a quality of the social structure. For the Tebia communities, everyday life is set against a back-drop of common assumptions, common history and common interests; as a result, the intention of a person can be taken for granted in most social relationships. In terms of speech, this is likely to result in there being less need to raise meanings to the level of explicitness; when this is done it would be through the use of metaphor, which is very characteristic of the Bidayuh. Frequent use of metaphor could be seen as introducing a complexity into the direct semantic ratifications between symbols and their referents. In other words, metaphor is a means of creating a complex division of labour of cultural and symbolic control in oral cultures. Positive and negative role models can be presented through metaphor. For example, the Bidayuh say that persons who can never make up their minds resemble the chicken's anus

(continually moving in and out). Commenting on the use of metaphor, Dell Hymes states: 'Apt use of figurative language, such as metaphor, in fact requires a level of abstraction and creativity much higher than the accumulation of bloodless adjectives'.¹

On the basis of the above comments, it would appear that the Bidayuh have a restricted speech code, and if this is the case, it is generated by a personalized form of control within the family and village community. According to Bernstein's theory, personalized forms of control give rise to elaborated speech codes, but it is also possible for them to result in restricted speech codes, though Bernstein admits that he has not yet found an empirical example of the latter. An inference in this thesis is that the Bidayuh do provide an example, and that they do so because they appear to have an elaborated speech code which is qualitatively different from that which arises from a complex economic division of labour, and upon which schooling is based. In other words, the inference regarding speech codes is based upon the argument of this thesis that the socio-cultural transmission code (integrated) creates overtly personalized organic solidarity and covertly mechanical solidarity.

Dell Hymes punches home some of the correct meanings Bernstein attaches to restricted speech codes and the elaborated speech codes (schooling), particularly the latter, when he states:

'Bernstein is not talking about social acceptability, about negative concord, pronunciation, or other traits of language varieties, and he is not saying that some children lack language or cognitive skills. In demanding that all children have access to the universalistic meanings of the 'elaborated code' he is arguing for a revolution in power relationships. For in his conception it is the 'elaborated code' that contains an elaboration of means for 'talking about talk', a meta-language, in other words, for objectifying and analyzing the forms, school, and society at large.'²

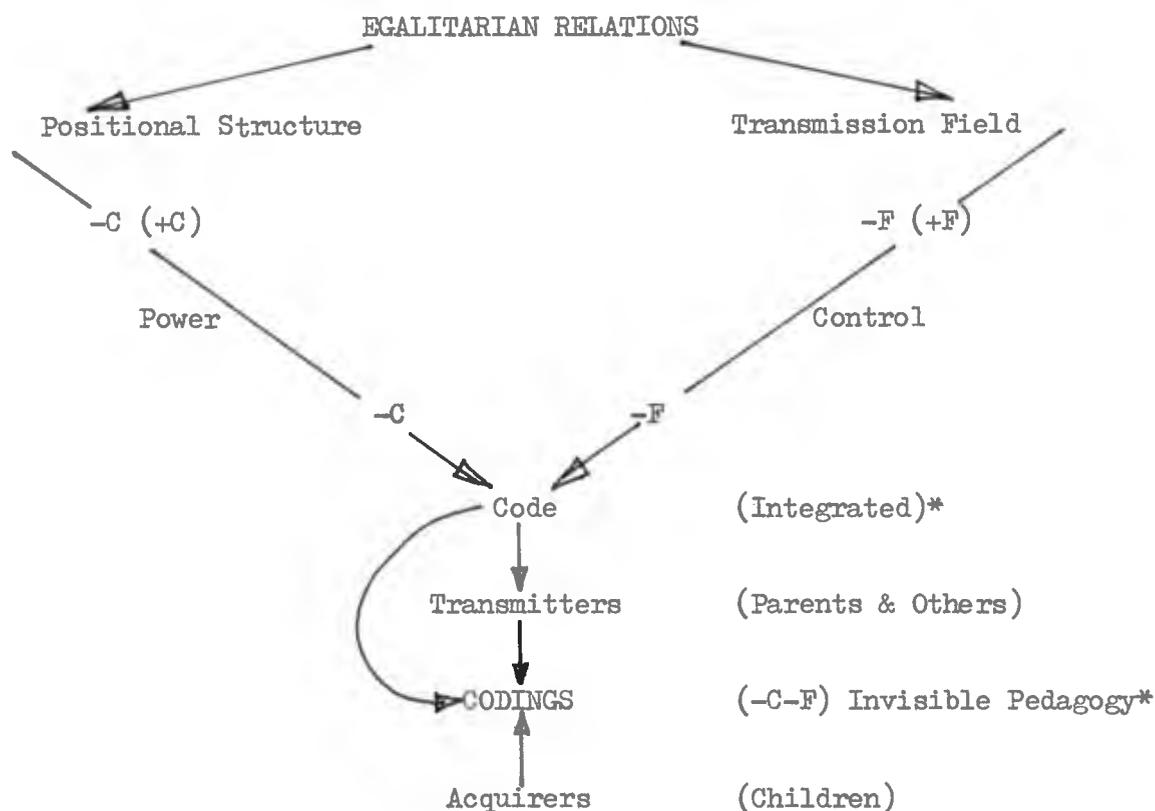
The egalitarian, optative and uncircumscribed nature of Bidayuh society and the absence of social stratification have been discussed previously. They affect the social distribution of knowledge, insofar as there are very few specialized social roles vested with specialized knowledge, and most of the few that do exist are concerned with some aspect of the religious system. Apart from these and differences associated with age, sex and generation, knowledge is equally distributed, and this is

encouraged by the fact that each household necessarily is involved in the same range of socio-economic activity with regard to padi production. Obviously, there are differences in terms of skill, but these are distinct from knowledge.

From the points made above, it is suggested that those living in the Tebia communities acquire their knowledge and skills at the level of context-tied operations. Therefore, it is primarily with the advent of schooling that the person has the opportunity to acquiring knowledge which is not tied to the local social structure, and which has relatively context-independent meanings. These context-independent meanings and the progressive initiation into the more abstract Aristotelian categories of knowledge upon which Western-type schooling is largely based, point to alternative realities and alternative arrangements in the affairs of men. This process into new systems of meaning would be (as mentioned above) Bernstein's elaborated speech code arising from individualized organic solidarity, or, for Freire, conscientization. For Goody and Watt it is in essence an example of the social consequences of literacy.

Code and Codings of Transmissions

The code and codings of socio-cultural transmissions in the Bidayuh communities of Tibia can be set out in terms of the following diagram (model):



* Weak classification and weak framing are dominating.

(+C) (+F) various taboos, but mostly of a temporary nature.

Some reasons have been given previously for the contention that the dominant or dominating socio-cultural category is egalitarian relations, and the argument will be developed in this chapter. In this argument, individualism, which is mentioned by Geddes as an important value, is seen as complementary rather than antagonistic to egalitarian relations and values. Although Bidayuh individualism carries a competitive potential, it is primarily concerned with protecting the integrity of the person, the family/household and the kampung community. This integrity is strongly underwritten by the value 'kaso' (do not disturb) as a basic feature of all social relationships. For this type of

individualism to undermine egalitarian relations and values requires the operation of exogenous factors, e.g. church mission, Islam, schooling, cash-crops.

From the earlier discussion, it should be clear that the concept of classification refers to the principle of the relationships between categories of things, e.g. schools, families, communities, persons, objects, activities, practices. These are power relationships, and in order to maintain and reproduce them there must be a principle which regulates the process of socio-cultural transmission and acquisition. It is this principle to which the concept of framing refers. Specifically, framing refers to the controls on what is made available, how it is made available, when it is made available and the social relationships (e.g. teacher/pupil; parent/child) through which it is made available. Therefore, as the acquirer tacitly receives these principles (classification and framing), so the underlying code is acquired. Power and control are made substantive in the classification and framing procedures, which in turn establish particular socio-cultural contexts which maintain and reproduce what count as legitimate meanings. Bernstein sees any social phenomenon as fundamentally a structure of contextualized meanings.

As explained in Chapter One, at the level of local socio-cultural transmission relations (codings), the acquirers will experience directly the principles of classification and framing, but not the macro-representation of the code. For this reason, Bernstein, using concepts created by Vlasceanu, refers to this macro-level in terms of power (classification) as positional structure, and control (framing) as transmission field. Framing regulates the form of the transmission into category system, that is, into the positional structure, and into the form of the power relationships which constitute, maintain and reproduce the structure. However, it will be argued that in the village communities, children probably experience at a fairly early age the macro-representation of the code, without the mediation of transmitters (semi-circular arrow in model diagram on page 147). This way of experiencing is strongly suggested by Dorothy Lee in her comments on child-learning among the Sioux, when she wrote: 'The child was not

taught what to look for; he was only alerted to look and from then on he had to look'.³

In the Bidayuh communities, the macro-representation of the code can be illustrated by the community's political structure, kinship terminology and the standardized use of space in the villages.

The social position of the headman, his relationships with the senior person of each household, and the administration of the adat indicate that there is an absence of explicit hierarchy and an absence of physical force to maintain social order. Infractions of the adat or principles of order are dealt with by the imposition of fines, which shows that the system of social control is concerned with compensation or restitution rather than retribution. Social control is concerned with rectifying social disturbance, and this is explicable in terms of the value of kasu ('do not disturb'). Kasu also applies to all social relationships and to man's relationship with the world of the spirits.

Absence of social stratification in the community, together with the absence of explicit political hierarchy, indicate that power is more or less equally distributed; hence the classification is weak for this part of the category system (positional structure). Framing is also weak, because control (transmission field) is not according to social imperatives but is on the basis of social agreement and common interest. The decisions taken in respect of adat are upheld not by physical force but because the majority, if not everyone, sees this as being in the interests of themselves and the community. Arguments on the nature of a fine precede the decision and once the decision is made the fined person usually will not dispute it.

The concept of weak classification is well illustrated in the idiom of kinship terminology. This idiom is an important expression of the egalitarian, optative and uncircumscribed nature of the society, and it puts the stress on contemporary relationships rather than on ancestral connections. A child calls the grandfather and grandmother babai and symbuk, respectively, and applies the same terms to the grandparents' brothers and sisters and their spouses. This is weak classification,

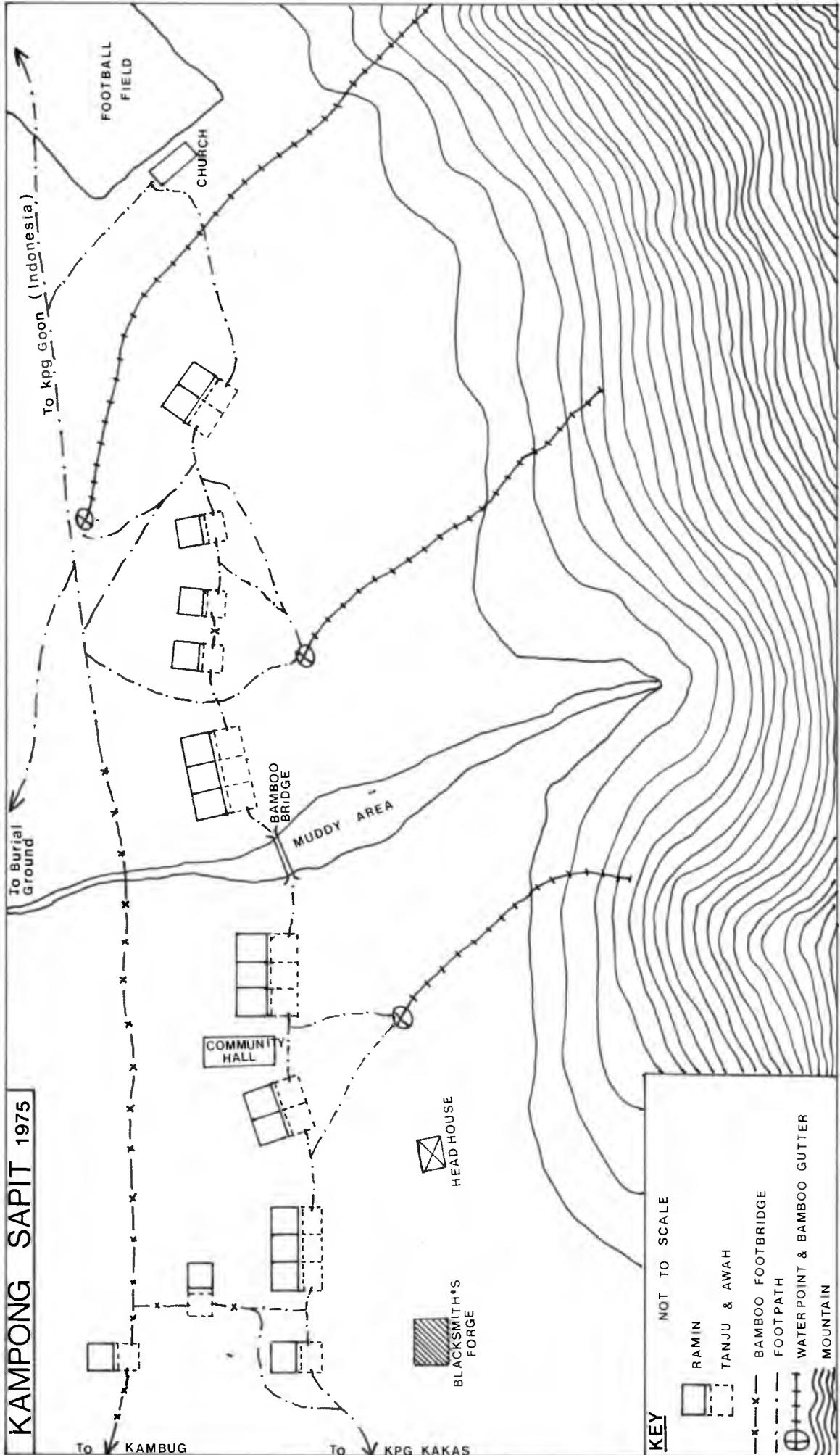
because the child has several social grandfathers and grandmothers, who are kept together in the sense of being referred to by the same kinship terms. The father and mother are called sama and sindu, respectively, and the term for father is used for the siblings of both parents and their spouses if they are older than the parents. For those who are younger the term tua is used. Differences in age rather than sex are stressed. In all other respects the classification is weak. As with the grandparents' generation, the child is given a wide range of options with whom to relate. The child is free to take into account personality and situational factors in establishing special attachments. Clearly, feelings are reified and the child can express his or her feelings toward and identify with a wide range of persons in each senior generation. The kinship idiom encourages keeping things together rather than apart.

A child calls elder brothers and sisters kaka dari and kaka dayung, respectively, and younger brothers and sisters sude dari and sude dayung, respectively. Apart from the distinctions made for age and sex, the classification is weak. However, the age distinctions are on the basis of elder and younger and not oldest, youngest, etc., so that even here the classification is weak.

Strong classification is shown most clearly in the inter-generational terminology and weak classification in intra-generational terminology. Moreover, with reference to the child, the grandparents' generation is more weakly classified than the parents' generation. It is necessary to know the location of the person within the kinship system in order to know how to interact with them socially. Consequently, it could be argued that weak classification in kinship terminology assists in the production/reproduction of egalitarian relations. In this kinship idiom, given the very variable composition of households indicated by my survey and the principal layout of the kampongs, a child is presented with many possible caretakers. However, a special type of naming system, known as teknonymy (which is discussed in the next section), might explain how egalitarianism and optation are counterbalanced by the greater emotional attachments to be expected between child, parents and grandparents on the basis of blood or adoption.

It can be argued that the above terminology facilitates easy social interaction between the child and a range of persons of senior generation and older peers, who may, depending on situational factors, take on caretaker functions over the child. Caretaker functions may create social ties which in later years are potentially significant in socio-economic terms, for example the labour exchange system.

Although there are differences in the physical layout of each kampong in Tèbia, the standardized use of space is the same. This can be illustrated with reference to kampong Sapit. Sapit is located on a plateau, and unlike the other Tèbia kampongs, the various ramins have been built more or less on the same level. In 1975 Sapit consisted of 19 ramins, built adjacently or separately. This arrangement is shown on the map overleaf. A ramin, its awah and its tanju are standardized spaces and they are the same for each ramin. These spaces are weakly classified because, although boundaries exist, the maintainers do not operate to exclude the movement of persons and objects. Control on communication between spaces is weak. Ramins have exterior doors but very rarely are they lockable. Most movement about the kampong involves traversing several tanju, so anonymity of movement is difficult. It is true that certain sacred objects, traditionally located in the headhouse or at some distance from the kampong, should not be touched, but usually spaces are not 'out of bounds' for persons or objects. However, taboos may change a weak into a strong classification relationship between spaces. For example, if some serious illness affects the kampong people, a pantang may be declared by the tuai gawais. Pantang is a temporary taboo which creates a strong symbolic boundary between the kampong space and the space outside, so that persons and objects are forbidden to move in or out (strong framing). Violations subject the offender to a fine. Although spaces are obviously specialized in some sense - for example the footpath is for walking, the awah for pounding padi, the graveyard for burials - it is argued that the spatial division of labour is simple and the boundary maintainers are usually weak. A spatial division of labour predominantly based upon weak classification and weak framing constitutes part of the positional structure and transmission field of invisible pedagogy.



Bidayuh systems of belief centre primarily on the world of spirits (animism), although their cosmology also includes a concept of god (tapa). The animistic beliefs are very diffuse and are perceived as affecting for good and ill most aspects of social, economic and physical life, so that disturbances in either the human or spirit worlds are reactive upon each other. This close association perceived between the human and spirit worlds (categories), which is well illustrated above by pantang, and the ease of communication perceived between these worlds, would indicate a further example of weak classification and weak framing. Apart from the specialized practices performed by ritual specialists/spirit mediums (tuai gawais), most practices can be performed by any adult member of the community.

In all human societies and cultures there must be some categories which are subject to strong classification. As mentioned above, these strong Cs are shown, at the beginning of this section, on the model diagram as (+C). However, in the case of the Bidayuh, it is suggested that these are not the dominant or dominating structural principles. The strong Cs primarily are located in aspects of the belief system and relate specifically to various taboos. Many taboos are of a temporary nature. At the levels of code and codings, the modality of the structural principles is represented by weak classification and weak framing, or in other words, an integrated code of socio-cultural transmission. Furthermore, it is suggested that there is a single explicit ideology of egalitarian relations and values.

Aspects of Infancy and Early Childhood

In this section I will be concerned primarily with the description of some aspects of infancy and early childhood. How these aspects and other empirical data can be analyzed and explained in terms of invisible pedagogy will be dealt with in the next section.

Although, as Geddes claims, the simple family structures within the household afford the greatest attachments, most infants are subject to other caretakers from within and outside the household. These emotional attachments between the child and the parents and grandparents are reinforced by the Bidayuh naming system of teknonyms (the naming of parent from the child). A child is named soon after birth and the parents take their teknonyms thereby. Thus, a man's name becomes X father of Y, and the woman's name becomes Z mother of Y. The child is formally called a child (anak) of X, the father's name, but in most situations the child is called baby/infant (suwe) until it can walk. The parents address each other as mother or father of the baby. Additionally babies bearing some peculiarity or whose early life is associated with a special or strange event are given nicknames. When the parents become grandparents, they take new names, after their grandchildren. This system of teknonyms, which is not unique to the Bidayuh, makes children the focal point of family unity and tends to encourage a high degree of socio-physical intimacy. The 'open plan' dwelling also encourages this type of intimacy and makes privatized activity difficult and undesirable. Infant, child and adult are all subject to a very high degree of social exposure, hence much of the person is available for social regulation.

During the first year of an infant's life it is the relationship with the mother which predominates, although the father and other members of the household, particularly older siblings, frequently handle the baby. A baby or toddler is never left unattended. Nursing begins almost immediately after birth, and in Tebia mothers are released from heavy work for several weeks after the birth. According to local custom, mothers should not carry loads in excess of 30 katis^{*} until six weeks after giving birth. When the mother is unable to produce milk or has insufficient quantity, and in the unlikely event of the unavailability

* 1 kati = 1½ lbs

of another lactating woman, the baby is today fed on infant canned milk or 'lactogen'. Most village shops hold small stocks of these items. Breast feeding may continue up to two years of age, but it is not uncommon to find full weaning taking place only during the third year. Solids initially consist of food premasticated by the mother, then of rice porridge. The former is usually given within a few weeks and the latter a few months after birth.

There is no set schedule or routine for feeding; the baby is fed whenever he cries or appears to be hungry. Mothers expressed the view that they would not refuse a baby's demand and there was no desire to stop nursing until the demand was satisfied. However, it was observed that for babies a few months old the response is less immediate, particularly when the mother is occupied with some domestic work or when the baby had been crying too frequently. The breast is also used as a pacifier to soothe a frightened or irritable baby. Mothers expressed no urgency about weaning a child, except when the birth of a new baby was approaching, and it was not unusual to find the mother of a new baby continuing to give the breast to her older infant from time to time. Although there is no culturally specified time for weaning, it usually begins soon after the baby is able to grasp objects and manipulate them with the fingers. Weaning is a slow, gradual and intermittent process, in which the infant will drink from a bottle, take solid food and nurse from the breast until fully weaned. If the mother wants to hasten the pace of weaning, she may moisten her nipple with root ginger juice or another unpleasant-tasting liquid.

Toilet training, like weaning, is a gradual process. Infants usually wear a shirt, but most of those observed were naked most of the time. If an infant urinates or defecates, the mess is quickly flushed with water from one of the several bamboo containers and then wiped with an old rag. An infant who is caught in time will usually be placed over a crack in the bamboo floor, but when able to walk with confidence, the child is encouraged to accompany an adult to the edge of the tanju, and it is at this stage of motor development that the importance of cleanliness within the dwelling is learnt. Particular importance is attached to keeping mats clean, as these are used for sitting or lying

on. Most parents would expect a three-year-old to relieve themselves outside, or at least indicate that they wish to go outside. Should unclean habits continue, parents may resort to mild reprimands, using age status: e.g. 'You are old enough', or comparing them with younger children who know how to go outside. A child of five would be expected to accompany an adult or older sibling to the jungle, where the excreta are quickly consumed by the village pigs.

From the above, it is clear that weaning and toilet training are slow and easy, the complexity and extent of responsibility increasing only gradually over time.

Geddes comments that young children are subject only to mild chastisement, and then it is usually by the mother. Observations in the Tebia communities confirm that this is generally the case, but several informants stated that verbal reprimands and physical punishment are practised by both parents, although the use of a rattan stick is rare. Usually the physical punishment is little more than a gentle slap on the ears or the bottom part of the back. A tearful child, irrespective of the cause, is invariably consoled by a caretaker when some punishment has been administered by another.

Although the punishments are mild, it is argued that in a touch culture, in which the stress is on bodily contact and talk, this form of punishment is severe. A Bidayuh infant is in almost continuous bodily contact with a caretaker, apart from when sleeping alone in a sling made from a sarong and suspended by means of a spring and rattan to a beam. At about two years of age the child begins to sleep with the parents on the floor.

The Bidayuh have a concept of development (kau adap) and apply this to child development. There is a division into stages, insofar as they distinguish between a baby (suwe), a small or young child (anak andok), and older child (anak daka) and a teenager (bujang), which means ready for marriage. Associated with each stage are ideas of normal development and the concepts of a good and a bad child. For example, at the baby stage it is considered normal to grasp things at about four months, to sit

up at six months and to begin walking at about 12 months. However, parents do not express any concern if the realization of these abilities is delayed, and this also applies to the ability to talk. The stress is on natural development, with minimal help or instruction from others, although a very long delay would be seen by parents to indicate backwardness, and concern would be expressed. A good child (anak manih) is one who is obedient, faithful and respectful (anak biradat), whereas the opposite qualities indicate a bad child (anak arap).

Differences in intelligence, as this is inferred from the child's behaviour, are recognized by parents, but it is unusual for them or for others to scold or praise children for these qualities. Children are rarely praised, and when praise is given it is mild and immediate. Material rewards are rarely given, but in the long term the good son or daughter may receive more favourable treatment over inheritances. Generally, individual differences are not emphasized and the egalitarian values of the society are upheld.

Girls rather than boys act as caretakers of young children and take a much more active part in the daily life of the household. A six-year-old girl would assist the mother in fetching water (mit piin) and collecting firewood (mit wang), and would possess a small basket (tamuk) for this and other purposes. On the other hand, boys of this age usually are much less involved, and although they are expected to run errands, their participation in the domestic economy is delayed until they can assist with farming and gardening. However, if a small boy has no older sister he would be expected to carry out such domestic tasks: attending to chickens, gathering vegetables and fruit, and looking after younger brothers and sisters. The age at which boys and girls assist with farming and gardening is not culturally specified, but on several occasions 10-year-olds were observed cutting grass. For those who are pupils at the Kambug primary school, experience in activities such as gardening is the rule for those in primary 4 and above. Comparing boys and girls, it is noticeable that the latter participate much more in the domestic economy and at an earlier age. This reflects the fact, which the Bidayuh acknowledge, that women make a greater contribution in socio-economic terms; therefore any reference

to 'underemployment' is much more applicable to men.

Play and peer-group activity in general are universal features of childhood and beyond, but they assume special significance among the Bidayuh because of the amount of 'free time' available and because of the dominance of egalitarian relations and values in their society and culture. A child rarely plays alone, and the youthfulness of the population, the size of the households, the physical compactness of the kampung and the social intimacy of both family and community militate against solitary activities. Peer groups, or loose associations of peers, tend to form in early childhood and then differentiate on the basis of sex, usually as part of the transition between younger childhood (anak andok) and older childhood (anak daka).

In terms of the traditional society and culture, the aims of child-rearing clearly are associated with kasu, or not to disturb people, their feelings or property; to be helpful; to be respectful to older people; to be humble; to be honest; to be steady, not rash; and to be hard-working. However, while some families are noted for their honesty, hard-work and good care of children, others are seen as untrustworthy, lazy, and neglectful of their familial obligations. These differences are thought to be reflected in child-rearing practice, and it is quite common to hear a child's good or bad behaviour explained by reference to the family background.

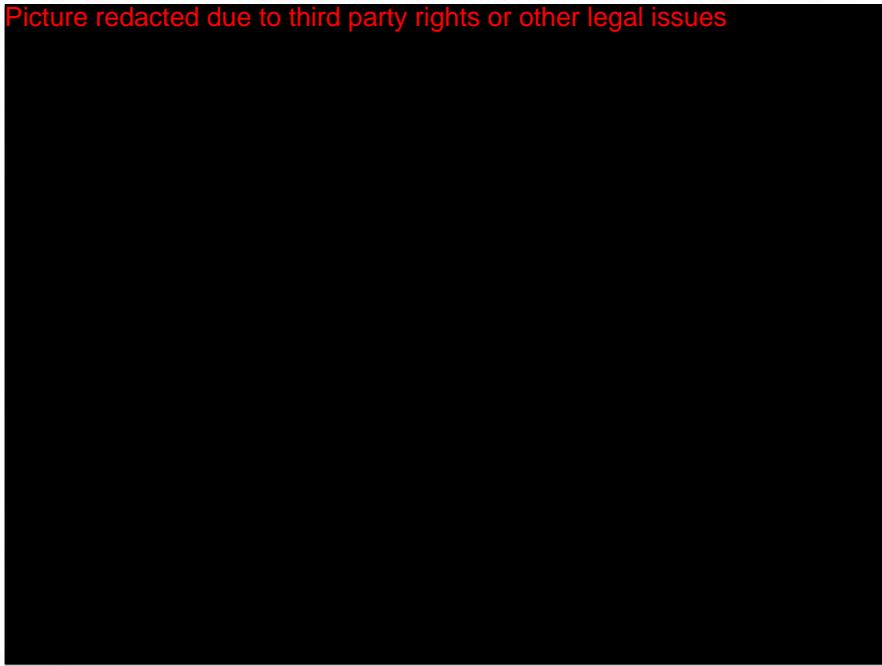
Between adults and children, the social sphere is differentiated only in terms of relative capacity. All participate in the same culture, the same round of life, but to varying degrees, corresponding to the stage of physical and mental development. Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden or could be hidden from children. Increasing skill and maturity bring increasing responsibilities, but also concomitant rewards in the sense of ever-closer integration into the system of co-operation and reciprocity, which is the basis of the domestic economy. A child is never forced beyond his or her capacity and every advance in knowledge or skill is pragmatic, directed to achieving a result there and then, as well as adding to a previous level of adequacy.

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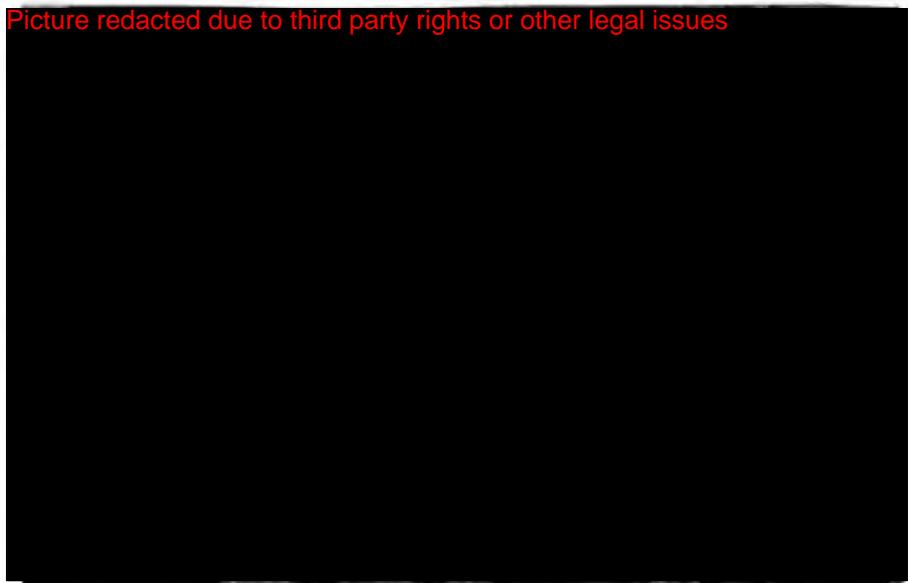
A INFANT CARE TOUCH CULTURE

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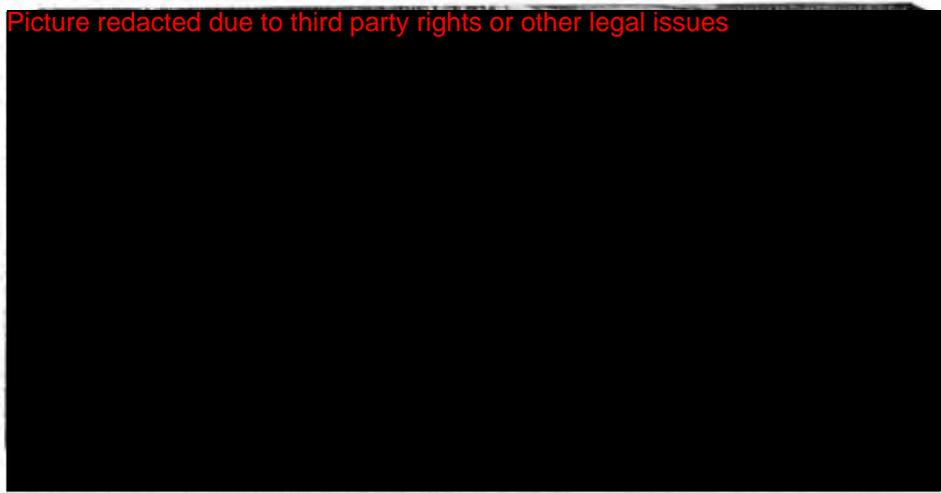


A RAMIN FIREPLACE

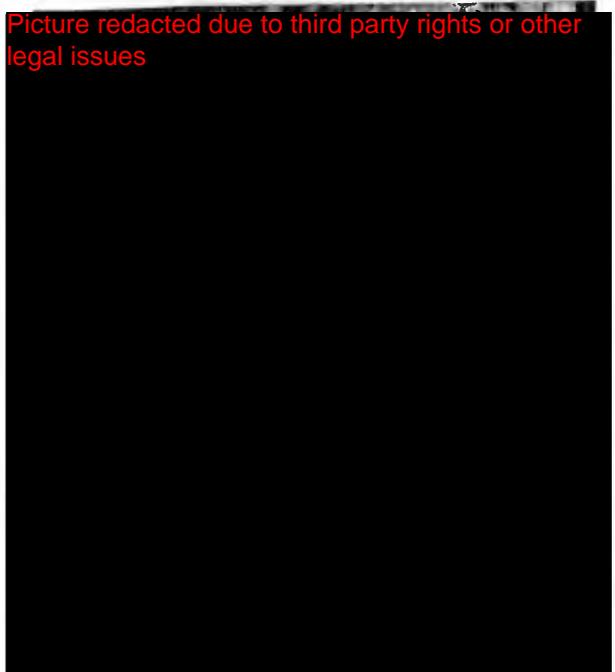
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MUSICAL SOUNDS



LEARNING SKILLS



AN ACCOMPLISHED SKILL



LEARNING SKILLS

reactively in the human world. In other words, short imperative commands like 'don't shout' (duh bagan), without some reasoning explanation, are less common.

Story-telling, chants and songs are an important means by which children in the Tebia communities learn about aspects of their cultural repertoire. These verbal transmissions can be divided as follows: animal adventure stories; human stories; stories about people and ghosts, humans and animals; old customary laws; stories about human animal transformations; lullabies and proverbs. In the evening, when adults and children sit in the dim light of an open bamboo fire or (for the few) under the glare of an oil pressure-lamp, stories are told either between adults, with children as attentive listeners, or directly to children. The stories are mostly environmentally based and contain numerous moral themes. Animal characters are used to portray human feelings. The humble wins in the end and triumphs over the proud; the weak, small and friendly mouse-deer overcomes the bigger and stronger animal.

The frequent use of figurative speech by the Bidayuh has been stressed previously. In this type of discourse, meanings are implicit rather than explicit. It is now suggested that these discourses are a kind of independent learning, in the sense that metaphor and proverb evoke in the child's mind the need to interpret and assign; metaphor and proverb do not tell or offer blueprints for action. This use of figurative speech preserves kasu because it informs the child indirectly and encourages imaginative thought, rather than confronting the child with explicit instructions or short commands. Observation of the high standard of art and craft work by Bidayuh pupils (at several schools) was testimony to their creative abilities and observational skills.⁴

Invisible Pedagogy - Space, Time and Control

It will be argued in this section that the structural principles of the socio-cultural transmissions are to be explained in terms of an invisible pedagogy; namely, weak classification and weak framing. Specifically, the analysis will focus on the symbolic ordering of space, time and control.

The following discussion refers to the model for socio-cultural transmissions in the village communities. The model has been set out on page 43. Before proceeding to an analysis of space, time and control, it is necessary to provide more specific details of invisible pedagogy than was given in Chapter One. In order to clarify the nature of invisible pedagogy, some comparative points are made on visible pedagogy.

Bernstein, in his theoretical exploration of invisible pedagogy, suggests that it has, at least, the following characteristics:⁵

1. Where the control of the teacher over the child is implicit rather than explicit.
2. Where, ideally, the teacher arranges the context which the child is expected to re-arrange and explore.
3. Where, within this arranged context, the child apparently has wide powers over what he selects, how he structures, and the time scale of his activities.
4. Where the child apparently regulates his own movements and social relationships.
5. Where there is reduced emphasis upon the transmission and acquisition of specific skills.
6. Where the criteria for evaluation of the pedagogy are multiple and diffuse, and so not easily measured.

These characteristics were derived from an examination of infant-school pedagogy, and in order to place them within the context of family/community it may help if we refer to teachers as 'transmitters' and children as 'acquirers'. The relationship between transmitters and acquirers is the crucial relationship of cultural reproduction (socio-cultural reproduction/transmission). There are three basic features which regulate

this relationship: hierarchy, sequencing rules and criteria. What follows in the next four paragraphs are summary extracts from Bernstein's text. The first three paragraphs deal with the three basic features of space, time and control, and the fourth paragraph concerns further points on invisible pedagogy.⁶

'Hierarchy refers to the rules which establish the social relationship, determine the hierarchical form of the transmission and its rules of conduct. For invisible pedagogy these rules are implicit and there is no clearly marked super-subordination, so that the power relationships, though present, are masked. The acquirer appears to have greater control over the regulation of his/her movements, activities and communication and is likely to be subject to the regulation of his/her peers.'

'The sequencing rules regulate the transmission and for invisible pedagogy are implicit. This means that there are no clearly defined stages in the transmissions or systematic methods of assessment. The sex and chronological age of the acquirer are not strong marking features of the rules. These implicit rules should give rise to the importance of signs in gauging the acquirer's (the child) developmental stage; but the meaning of the sign is known only to the transmitter. Where the sequencing rules are implicit, then the pacing of the transmission is controlled by the acquirer rather than by the transmitter.'

'Criteria transferred in the transmission may be explicit and specific, or implicit, multiple and diffuse. For the former (visible pedagogy), the transmitter is continuously making the acquirer aware, either in oral or written form, what is not in his/her production. What is missing is made explicit and specific, and subject to finely graded assessment. The acquirer learns a reproductive code. For the latter (invisible pedagogy) the acquirer learns a productive code, is involved in doing his/her own thing in the context of general, diffuse support. In this situation the acquirer learns to be imaginative.'

'When the pedagogy is invisible, then there are two aspects of the child which are used by the transmitter to draw inferences about the child's developmental stages. One refers to the child's inner aspects and the other to his/her external behaviour - the concepts of readiness and busyness, respectively. These two concepts can be transformed into one concept of 'ready to do'. Play is the basic concept of the invisible pedagogy because it is the means by which the child exteriorizes himself to the transmitter. The child's inner dispositions are related to the external acts of play and this allows a total but invisible surveillance by the transmitters. Play encourages every child to make his mark.'

It was mentioned in Chapter One that Bernstein, in his re-examination of the concept of organic solidarity, draws an important distinction between individualized and personalized forms, which Durkheim did not recognize. Durkheim saw only the individualized form which developed out of the increasing complexity of the economic division of labour. Bernstein

suggests that the personalized form develops out of the increases in the complexity of the division of labour in cultural or symbolic control. This distinction was based on observations and ideas arising from trends in Western industrial societies, but it is argued here that the same distinction would arise from a study of societies with an oral culture and simple technologies. In these societies, religion or the magico-religious system pervades most aspects of the society and culture, and may be taken as indicative of the complexity of symbolic control. The Bidayuh have a very simple economic division of labour, but a complex division of labour of cultural or symbolic control, as can be evidenced by their diffuse systems of belief and wide use of figurative speech. Bernstein's comment that it is increases in the division of labour of symbolic control which creates personalized organic solidarity does not apply to this type of society because in this sense they are complex.

Crucial to the ideology of the invisible pedagogy is the concept of the person, not the individual. It is true that individualism is an important socio-cultural value among the Bidayuh, but this is held in check by an equal, if not greater, stress on the value of egalitarianism. In the ideology of invisible pedagogy, the concept of person refers to the feelings and inner dispositions of people, and it is these which receive great stress in the touch culture of the Bidayuh. I would argue that this stress is also connected to the type of individualism that is emphasized in the traditional society and culture, namely integrity of the person.

According to Bernstein, invisible pedagogy leads to ambiguous personal identity and flexible role performance. He makes these points with reference to the theory and practice of this type of pedagogy in a school and a section of the middle-class in Britain. Now, although flexible role performance could be taken as a feature of the optative and uncircumscribed nature of the Bidayuh social structure, ambiguous personal identity in the traditional society and culture can not. In other words, anomie, or social deregulation of the person, would not be found as a result of the invisible pedagogy. The explanation for this lies in the deep and penetrating nature of the invisible pedagogy which reproduces personalized organic solidarity overtly, but covertly

reproduces mechanical solidarity and the common beliefs, values and sentiments upon which rests the regulation of social conduct, and hence the person.

Bernstein comments that with the establishment of personalized organic solidarity within fractions of the contemporary British middle-class, the mother is transformed into a crucial preparing agent of cultural reproduction. The mother is firmly anchored to her child by weak classification and weak framing, hence interaction and surveillance are totally demanding.⁷ In the case of Bidayuh mothers, this would occur during the first year or so of the child's life, but other females are also involved as caretakers. Another important point is that in the Bidayuh community there is not the contradiction in the mother's structural relationships which Bernstein observes in sections of the middle-class in Britain, i.e. between domestic and occupational roles. The reason for this is that Bidayuh women are involved in a household economy, or domestic mode of production.

Having discussed the general aspects of invisible pedagogy, we can now consider the empirical data in terms of the concepts of time, space and control. These three concepts are used to distinguish visible and invisible pedagogies by incorporating the characteristics of hierarchy, sequencing and criteria discussed earlier.

The concept of time in invisible pedagogy is based on implicit sequencing rules, and these rules define the time dimension. Classification and framing apply to this time dimension, in that times may be subject to strong boundaries (strong C) or weak boundaries (weak C), and the sequencing/pacing of the transmission may be subject to strong or weak framing. Invisible pedagogy is based on weak classification and weak framing.

In the last section it was shown that infant feeding, weaning and toilet training among the Bidayuh were not subject to strict scheduling. The boundaries between time stages are weak, so feeding infants may well drink from a bottle, take solid food and nurse from the breast. Pacing of the transmission is weak, in that the baby/infant initiates most acts

and communications, and changes and ends them. In a sense, the baby/infant is a socializer. Children undertake various tasks when they show a readiness to do so. In learning, the child does not experience strongly paced or sequenced transmissions, because most learning situations are self-determined and without deliberate instruction. Also, as suggested earlier, the frequent use of figurative language encourages the child to learn independently. The wide choice of caretakers - adult and peers - available to the young child is indicative of no clearly marked super-subordination in the form of the relationship between transmitter and acquirer, or in the relationship's rules of conduct. Power relationships, though present, are masked, and they assume a particular egalitarian nature in peer activities in which children are both transmitters and acquirers.

The concept of space refers to its symbolic ordering, and this ordering gives an indication of the relative strength of boundary-maintaining procedures. When the symbolic ordering of space is strongly classified there are very strong boundaries between spaces, and the control (framing) between spaces is equally strong. Space is strongly classified in a house with separate specialized rooms, and in which objects and persons in the rooms are subject to strongly marked boundaries. The symbolic messages carried are that things must be kept apart. By contrast, in invisible pedagogy, spaces and their contents are relatively weakly classified: the controls over the flow of persons and objects between spaces are much weaker. This means that the potential space available to the child is very much greater. The child learns to understand the possibilities of such weakly classified spaces and the rules upon which such learning is based.

Bernstein comments that an invisible pedagogy in the home cannot be effected in an overcrowded, materially inadequate home.⁸ This material inadequacy does not apply to the Bidayuh, because each dwelling (ramin) has all the cultural artifacts associated with the household economy: therefore the child has the possibility of exploring a total and natural learning context. Any differences are concerned with cultural items associated with the cash-crop economy, i.e. sprayers, mangles and other Western goods, for example sewing machines, radios and lamps. These

additional items enrich the child's experience, but are not essential for ensuring the adequate transmission of the traditional culture. While these differences do exist in the Tèbia communities, they must be seen in the context of sharing between households, either in the movements of persons to the objects or the movement of objects, so the differences are not absolute.

There is an average of 7.9 persons per household in the Tèbia communities. The Bidayuh are by nature a gregarious people, and this is certainly a characteristic of a touch culture. Therefore a tendency toward overcrowding must be considered normal; usually this is a temporary state of affairs because of the continual movement of persons permitted by the optative rules of residence. It is also the case that where the household consists of two or three simple family groups, one of these may decide to move away and establish a new home. If there is overcrowding, that does not invalidate the existence or practice of an invisible pedagogy because the child has - by the 'open plan' design of the house - the possibility of exploring every feature of it. Moreover, as the culture stresses touch and is also oral, these encourage a great deal of talk, and a large household would sustain a pattern of intense communication. As is argued below, control in invisible pedagogy is vested in the process of interpersonal communication in a context in which maximum surveillance is possible.

In the 'open plan' regime of the house (ramin), space is in most instances weakly classified. The open fireplace (apule), and the rack above it for drying bamboo firewood, are fixed spaces. This also applies to the loft (rangah) in which the padi (rice) bin (buruh padi) is located. Apart from these, very few objects have an assigned place, so there is weak control over their flow or movement. On the walls one finds a variety of objects hanging, for example tamuks, parangs, and clothes, and their arrangement tends to be random. Their positioning is dictated by convenience rather than by there being a proper place for them, and they are frequently rearranged. Consequently, objects are not usually considered to be 'out of place' and there is little stress on keeping things apart, in the manner of symbolic use of space in visible pedagogy. On the floor of the ramin, objects are usually found in the corners and along the edges, but the central area is kept clear for the

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ARRAYS OF OBJECTS IN A RAMIN

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mats used for sitting and sleeping on. A large mat for sitting, particularly if there are visitors, is placed in this area and it is sometimes used during the evening when the adults sit and talk, smoke the traditional bamboo pipe and chew betel-nut. However, the arrangement of objects on the floor is random, and again things would not be considered to be out of place. Outside the ramin, on the awah (covered part of the tanju or open verandah), space is weakly classified and the movement of objects is also subject to weak framing. The awah is the area where the padi is pounded, so the padi mortar and poulder are positioned there. Additionally, other objects, for example the padi drying mat (kasah), winnowing baskets (tapan), stick for stirring padi (gagi) and baskets for keeping chickens during the night, are usually found in this space.

The controls over the flow of persons, acts and objects between spaces are typical of weak framing. There is little privacy, which gives continuous visibility of persons and their behaviour. The child is free to explore the physical and social environment, and the exploration is limited only by mild disciplinary control by the child's caretakers.

From the above discussion of the empirical data, it can be argued that there is a relative absence of strongly marked regulation of the child's acts, communication, objects, spaces, times and progression. The control inheres in the nature of interpersonal communication, which in an oral culture will involve a lot of talk, but also the silent medium of body language. There is a stress on the interpersonal feelings and the orally realized and elaborated intentions, qualifications and motives of others, with the result that Bidayuh families produce a reflexiveness which is sensitive to the particular attributes of persons. The empirical data and the analysis of that data point clearly to the existence of what Bernstein calls 'person-centred' families. Bernstein maintains that in this type of family, as distinct from the positional-centred family, the child attains a strong sense of autonomy, but social identity may be weak. This is not the case in Bidayuh non-literate society, because the invisible pedagogy ensures very deep and penetrating socializing experiences. Hence it is suggested that the Bidayuh child

develops a strong sense of social identity, and at the same time maintains a relatively high degree of autonomy. The invisible pedagogy achieves this because, by creating overtly personalized organic solidarity, it creates covertly, through its less or non-specialized outputs*, mechanical solidarity.

Although it is not within the terms of reference of this thesis to explore the relevance of Bernstein's elaborated and restricted speech codes, a few suggestions, in addition to those given in the introduction to this chapter, are now in order. These suggestions should be seen in the light of Halliday's point that differences between the speech codes 'arise in the prominence accorded to one or another socio-semantic 'set' or meaning potential within a given context'.⁹ First, speech is certainly tied to a local social structure, and the frequent use of figurative language ensures that meanings are context-dependent. The close connection between symbol and referent in oral cultures supports the point of context dependence. Second, if the person-centred family gives rise to an elaborated speech code, as Bernstein maintains, then for the Bidayuh it must be context-dependent, and would therefore lack the potential for opening up alternative social realities. Third, it may be suggested that if an elaborated speech code could be substantiated (in addition to a restricted speech code), then this would be qualitatively different from that typifying the school. Finally, if the Bidayuh child has access to both speech codes and is therefore able to exercise code-switching, their context-dependence suggests that the school's visible pedagogy would devalue both. In other words, Bernstein's socio-linguistic thesis, which accords some advantage for schooling to middle-class children because of their accessibility to an elaborated speech code (context-independent), in addition to a restricted speech code (context-dependent), would not apply to the Bidayuh child.

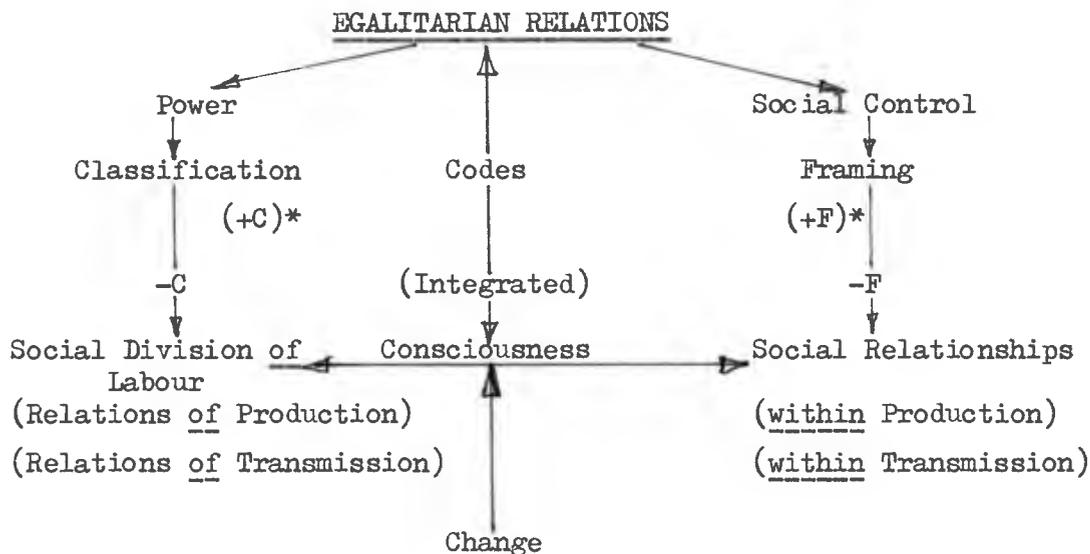
Footnote

* Non-specialized outputs refer specifically to the -C of gender in respect of the subsistence mode of production (rice). This applies wherever non-specialized outputs are mentioned in this thesis. Nominally, age, gender and generation are classifying principles of social categorizations between persons/individuals, but their significance in the social division of labour depends on the values of the classification, i.e. weak or strong, in this thesis.

Codes of Production and Socio-cultural Transmissions

In the analysis of production and transmissions, the model diagram (C) on page 44 is used. This diagram is reproduced below:

c) Production and Transmission - Village Community



* (+C) (+F) various taboos, but mostly of a temporary nature.

It has been argued that socio-cultural transmissions are based on an integrated code of weak classification and weak framing. The social division of labour (transmission) refers to the relationships between the categories of transmitters and acquirers. For Bidayuh children these relationships stress egalitarianism and optation rather than social hierarchy, in the sense that relationships are person-centred and feelings are reified. The acquirer has many options of transmitter, so situational and personality factors are important. Peers are very important transmitters through their caretaking practices with younger siblings and others. Furthermore, the positional structure (category system) constitutes part of the child's natural environment and can be internalized directly into the child's consciousness through play. The controls on the selection, sequencing and pacing of socio-cultural transmissions are mostly exercised by the acquirer. Consequently, the social relationships within transmission are typified by weak framing. As already mentioned, there is a correspondence between Lee's concept of independent learning and weak framing, and both correspond to the

characteristics of transmission in oral cultures identified by Goody and Watt.

In the subsistence economy of padi production, there are no significant differences in terms of skill between agents, but obviously there are differences in terms of capacity, i.e. the aged and older children. Categorization by skill is not possible, and it is justifiable to claim that all agents fall within the same category. However, the agents can be differentiated by sex, and this may be seen as an intra-category category. Because there are no rigid adat restrictions on what men and women do at any stage of the production cycle, there is little insulation between functions and the agents are interchangeable. This means that the relations between these intra-categories is weak classification. In other words, the relations of production are weakly classified. As stated previously, a high degree of interchangeability of economic roles is typical of economic activity in general, and reflects the egalitarian and optative nature of Bidayuh society and culture.

The production of padi is based on a household economy, with the assistance of other labour as the stage of the agricultural cycle demands. It is co-operative and group-based. The conditions of work are variable, in the sense that time spent at the farm, in the garden or at home is not fixed. People may farm every day for a short period, then relax at home for several days. On the farm, a normal working day would be about eight hours, with a short break at mid-day. Usually the people work in small groups and they like to talk as they work. The sequencing and pacing of the work is set by the agent or the group of agents, depending on the situational context and the tasks involved; but in most instances it is the individual who controls the pacing rather than the sequencing of work. This takes into account working capacity according to age. The agricultural cycle imposes an overall working sequence in terms of stages. Agricultural cycles are closed time-systems because they establish a series of repetitions, but different social acts of production make the stages distinct from one another. For example, weeding is separate from harvesting. Agricultural cycles allow a division of labour stressing the apartness of things, and

in this way some strong classifications are created and maintained by the social acts of production/reproduction. However, at each stage of the cycle there is interchangeability of economic activities between the sexes (weak classification) and also a high degree of control over sequencing and pacing in specific social acts of production by the agent or the group of agents. For household members, as distinct from those taken on as additional labour for felling, clearing, sowing and harvesting, there is involvement at each stage of production; therefore their social acts of production are integrated in the realization of the final product (padi harvest). Of course all are involved in this way with regard to their own household economies.

In Tebia, cash-cropping is on a small scale, is part of the household economy and is accommodated in the integrated code of production concerned with rice. Therefore, in practice the agents of production may be seen as falling within one category. Sex provides intra-category distinctions but, as with padi production, the agents are interchangeable. The social acts of production for cash-cropping are integrated acts, carried out by integrated agents acting across this intra-category category, and they are involved in the whole (crops) productive process. As with padi production, the primary unit of production is usually a co-operative group, although both pepper vines and rubber trees are owned by individual members of the household. Similar to padi production, there is opportunity to vary the conditions, particularly the pacing of the social acts of production. Consequently, it can be said that cash-cropping in the Tebia area has become a part of the integrated code. Although pepper gardens and rubber trees are owned by individuals as members of households and cash-crop incomes accrue to them, in practice these incomes are subject to dispersal within the family and household. This dispersal is determined by the nature of household involvement in cash-cropping and the obligations on those in receipt of money incomes to assist other relatives, either within or beyond the household. Therefore, egalitarian pressures tend to limit a person's socio-economic advancement. In Tebia, a few persons and families/households have shown a significant improvement in their socio-economic status, but in most cases this is connected with a member's paid employment, which is itself increasingly related to higher levels of schooling.

Egalitarian relations are suggested as the dominant or dominating socio-cultural category. This has been illustrated by reference to the positional structure (deep structure) and at the level of social interaction (surface structure). It has been stated that all societies and cultures must have some strong Cs and that for the Bidayuh they are primarily located in various taboos. However, many taboos are of a temporary nature. In Bidayuh society and culture, age, sex, and generation are instances of social differentiation rather than social hierarchy or the apartness of things (strong classification).

Egalitarianism is supported by the important value of kasu (do not disturb) and the semantic reference of kasu is to feelings and property. Kasu is central to the Bidayuh concept of individualism, which puts the onus on respect for the person and is non-competitive in spirit. Kasu permits the maintenance of a person's private space and thus acts as a counterbalance to egalitarian relations. The importance attached to the integrity of the person can be seen as a counterbalance to the earlier suggestion of a 'touch culture', one in which physical closeness or contact is normal and preferred to distancing.

A number of reasons have been given (see page 125) to support the contention that the dominant socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations is created and maintained by the mode of production. It is suggested that this dominance might also be explained as a specific socio-ecological response to the problem of human survival. Egalitarianism became the basis for the Bidayuh moral economy simply because it works successfully in solving the critical problem of the peasant household's subsistence. The peasant household is a unit of consumption, as well as a unit of production. Whatever the explanation, Geddes is quite clear on the central importance of egalitarianism, and my contention is that this value is dominating.

In examining education and production, Bernstein draws a distinction between (1) the classification of the categories education and production, and (2) the systemic relationships between education and production. The systemic relationships between education (socio-cultural transmissions) and the mode of production are given by Bernstein as:¹⁰

- (a) the relationship between the distribution of categories it creates and the distribution of the required categories of the mode of production;
- (b) the relationships between the categories it creates and the relationships between the categories required by the mode of production;
- (c) the realization of its categories (skills and dispositions) and the expected realizations of the categories of the mode of production.

This refers to the role of education (socio-cultural transmission) in its approximate reproduction of the work force.

He then distinguishes between:¹¹

- (a) strong classification and simple systemic relationships (19th century entrepreneurial capitalism);
- (b) strong classification and extended systemic relationships (20th century capitalism);
- (c) weak classification and extended systemic relationships (China, Romania, Cuba).

Where classification is strong, then the principles, contexts and possibilities of education are not integrated with the contexts, processes and possibilities of production. Where the classification is weak, these relationships are integrated.

In order to extend the analysis to Bidayuh society and culture, it is necessary to make a fourth distinction, namely:

- (d) weak classification and simple systemic relationships.

The household economy, the relatively small village populations, the absence of social stratification and the oral culture context all maintain a direct correspondence between the general skills, dispositions and egalitarian relations produced/reproduced by the transmission code and required by the mode of production. There is a direct, specific and total dependency of the socio-cultural transmissions upon the mode of

production - the material base. It is argued that this dependency is produced/reproduced by the deep and penetrating socializing experiences provided by invisible pedagogy, which also ensures the universalization of the Bidayuh socio-cultural ideal, egalitarianism and egalitarian relations. In other words, weak classification and simple systemic relationships between transmission and production act as a guarantor for the reproduction of the work-force, and it is a total reproduction rather than an approximation. Therefore, the overt structure of personalized organic solidarity of integrated codes creates - through its non-specialized and less specialized outputs* - mechanical solidarity and the covert deep closure of mechanical solidarity.

* Footnote page 171.

CHAPTER SIX

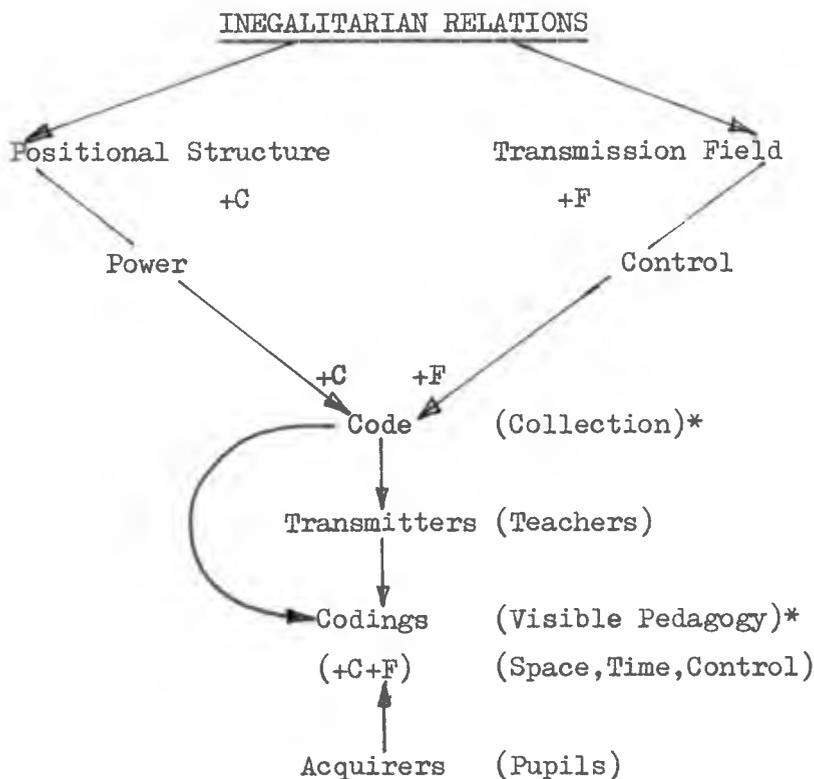
PRIMARY SCHOOL: COLLECTION CODE TRANSMISSION

Code, Codings and Visible Pedagogy

In the last chapter it was argued that socio-cultural transmissions in the family and the community can be described as, and explained by, an integrated code and that the pedagogy is invisible. In this chapter it will be argued that the socio-cultural transmissions in the primary school can be described as, and explained by, a collection code with strong classification, frames and framing, and that the pedagogy is visible. As in the previous chapter, the analysis will be in terms of space, time and control; but it must be remembered that in the context of the school the three message systems are curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. Here these message systems are examined and analysed by the concepts space, time and control, to facilitate comparison with the previous analysis of community socio-cultural transmission.

It has already been argued that the school, apart from the Chinese school, is an intrusive Western institution; therefore the code and codings are also intrusive. In Sarawak, a hundred years of Brooke rule ensured that the majority of schools were transmitters of British society and culture. This continued during the period of direct British colonial rule (1946-1963), and although since independence the content of the transmissions has been to a large extent localized, the code and codings remain the same.

The code and codings of socio-cultural transmission in the primary school can be set out in terms of the following model diagram:



* Strong classification and strong framing

The positional structure and transmission field, which have been discussed previously, refer to the macro-institutional representation of the code, which is not directly experienced by the acquirers. At the primary level, the macro-institutional representations are less complex than at the secondary-school level, or in other words, the division of labour is less complex in terms of its fundamental categories (positional structure). However, as will be shown, the number of categories amenable to exploration is considerable. A major conclusion of the argument in this chapter is that the symbolic messages of the school's visible pedagogy are both different from and in conflict with and contradictory to the symbolic messages of the community's visible pedagogy.

Aspects of the Social Context

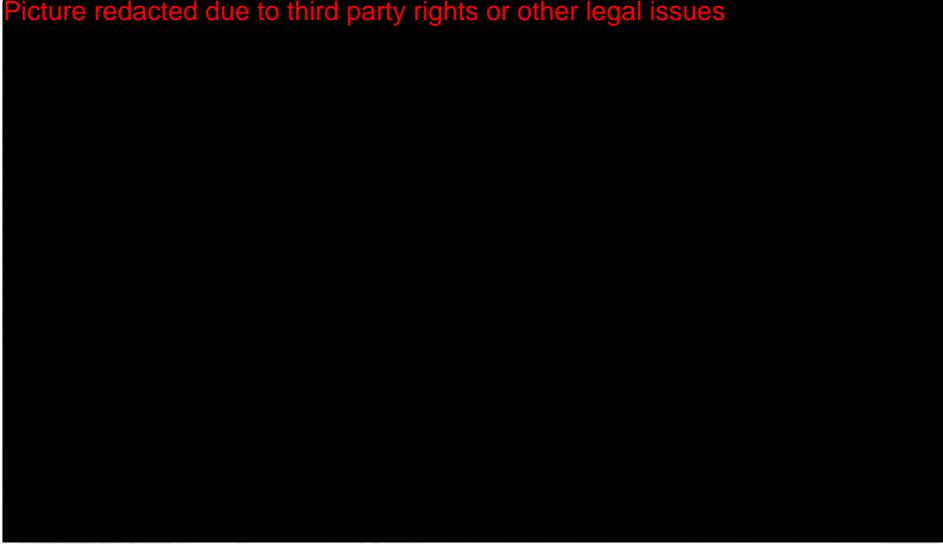
In this section the concern is with description rather than analysis, but in more detail than has been given in the section 'Schooling' in Chapter Four. The succeeding sections in space, time and control are analytical and descriptive. It should be noted that through private correspondence and a visit to Sarawak in 1978 enabled the statistical data on the primary school to be updated to 1978.¹

Kambug primary school is mixed, alternate intake, unstreamed, and has both boarders and day pupils. The usual pattern of intake has been two consecutive primary 1 classes and no entry in the following year. As the teaching block consists of only four classrooms, this pattern will continue; and given the rapid rise in population and the social pressure on parents to send their children to school, a return to the large classes of the 1960s is inevitable. In January 1978, the primary 1 entry was 50, of whom 26 were girls. This was the largest intake since 1967, and the largest-ever number of girls to start school.

The school year begins in January and ends in November, so the long holiday coincides with the rainy season. There are three terms, with two two-week term holidays taken in March/April and July/August. Most schools work a five-day week, the exceptions being those secondary schools operating a double session system, which necessitates Saturday morning teaching. No half-term holidays are given, but this is compensated for by several public holidays and the option of taking up to four additional days as occasional holidays. In 1975 there were 13 public holidays and the total number of school days for that year was 192.²

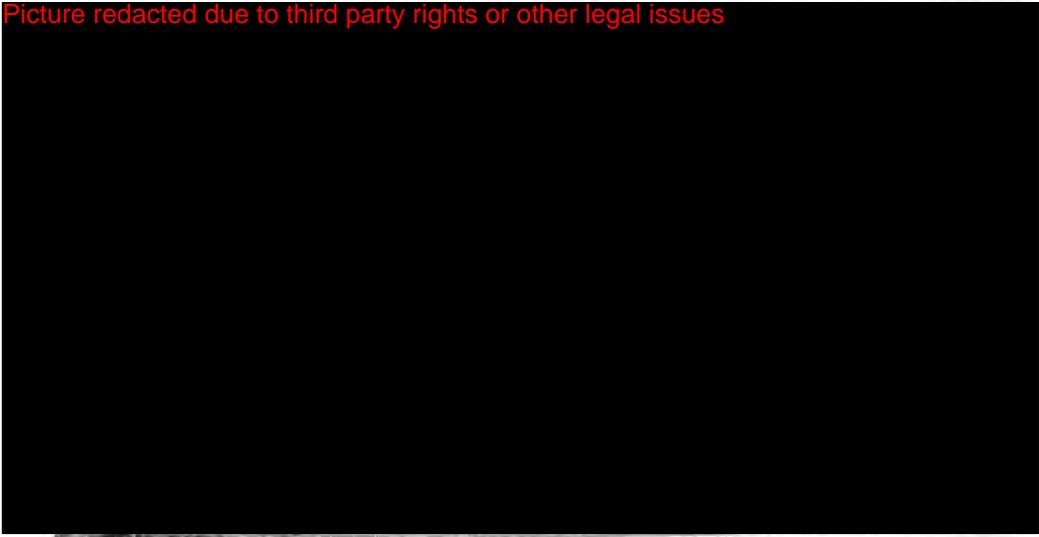
The number of boarders at Kambug has steadily increased, but there was a sharp rise in 1978 and for the first time they accounted for the majority of pupils. This increase is explained by the very high entry in 1978, the elimination of over-age pupils and because more parents were prepared to supply the four gantangs of rice per month required of each boarder. Understandably, parents have always been reluctant to allow very young children to attend the school unless they could board,

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TEACHING BLOCK

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DORMITORY, DINING AREA & KITCHEN

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WORK PARTY

because of the distance and difficult terrain between the school and the villages. This reluctance is confirmed by the fact that more boarders are now in the lower classes. In 1978, of the 50 entrants to primary 1, 42 were boarders. The following table illustrates the trend towards there being more girls and more boarders in the school since its resiting.³

Pupil Population by Sex (Boarders in brackets)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Boys	83 (26)	58 (19)	82 (30)	80 (32)	80 (32)	80 (47)
Girls	43 (15)	30 (9)	32 (10)	43 (15)	43 (19)	59 (45)
Total	126 (41)	88 (28)	114 (40)	123 (47)	123 (51)	139 (92)

Note: All figures for January of each year.

The small variation in numbers in relation to those on page 133 is due to drop-outs and late starters.

Comparing the 1973 and 1978 figures, there has been some increase in total numbers, which is more significant in terms of recruiting at the correct age, because the 1973 figure included several over-age pupils. The increase in girls is very significant, as is the fact that most of them are now boarders. If this improvement in school opportunity for girls is maintained, one may assume that parental attitudes towards schooling for girls is undergoing a change. The earlier discussion of demographic data showed that a significant imbalance between the sexes has arisen in the villages because of males moving out of the area as a result of their schooling and/or seeking paid work. By 1976, the headmen (tuai kampongs) were already expressing some concern about this imbalance. Discussion with some parents revealed that they were being constrained to allow girls to leave the area to attend secondary schools. However, the parents are faced with a dilemma, which they appreciate to some extent, between diverting scarce resources to support girls at secondary school and the high probability of school failure and/or the very poor employment prospects for those failing to reach the higher levels of secondary schooling.

Boarders remain at the school from Sunday evening to the following Friday afternoon. On some weekends a few remain to give assistance to the teachers and school-mother. Day pupils, if they are primary 1 or 2, are in school between 8 a.m. and 12.45 p.m.; all other classes have additional lessons after lunchtime. Day pupils usually begin to arrive at school from 7 a.m.

The Head teacher is ultimately responsible for the direction and supervision of all activities relating to boarding organization. However, it is the school-mother who has most contact with boarders outside the classroom. Her official duties are: (a) to plan menus and establish the amounts of food required; (b) to be responsible for the cleanliness and maintenance of the utensils for preparation and serving of meals; and (c) to ensure the hygiene and orderliness of the places where the food is prepared, stored and served.⁴ During the period of this research there was one school-mother, and this was still so in 1978, though the number of boarders had risen to 90. This unrealistic ratio was a contravention of official regulations, which stipulate that for between 61 and 90 boarders an additional part-time school-mother is required. The Head teacher did ask the Education Department for additional help but by August this had not been sanctioned, although a supernumerary relief teacher was sent. The post of school-mother would have been ideal for a local female.

At Kambug, the school-mother showed herself to be extremely hard-working and very conscientious. Her duties began at 5.30 a.m. and finished at 7.45 p.m. These are discussed briefly in the section on time on page 211.

School rations are supplied by local contractors, who are usually shopkeepers from the local community, as was the case at Kambug. The total cost per pupil was \$5 per month, and towards this the government provides a \$4 grant. Therefore, parents pay \$1 boarding fee per month, but, as stated previously, they must also provide four gantangs of rice per child per month. This rice demand is a major problem for some families in Tebia because there is frequently a food shortage, some families having sufficient rice for only three months of the year.

A typical week's menu for boarders is given below:⁵

	<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Lunch</u>
Monday	Bubur kacang	Greens, rice, sardines
Tuesday	Bubur keladi	Rice, mee, greens
Wednesday	Coffee, biscuits	Rice, greens, saltfish
Thursday	Bubur kacang	Rice, mee, greens
Friday	Yams	Rice, mee, sardines
Saturday	- - -	- - -
Sunday	- - -	- - -

Supper

Monday	Rice, pumpkin, saltfish
Tuesday	Rice, greens, saltfish
Wednesday	Rice, greens, sardines
Thursday	Rice, greens, sardines
Friday	Saltfish, greens
Saturday	- - -
Sunday	Rice, greens

(Bubur = type of porridge; mee = noodles)

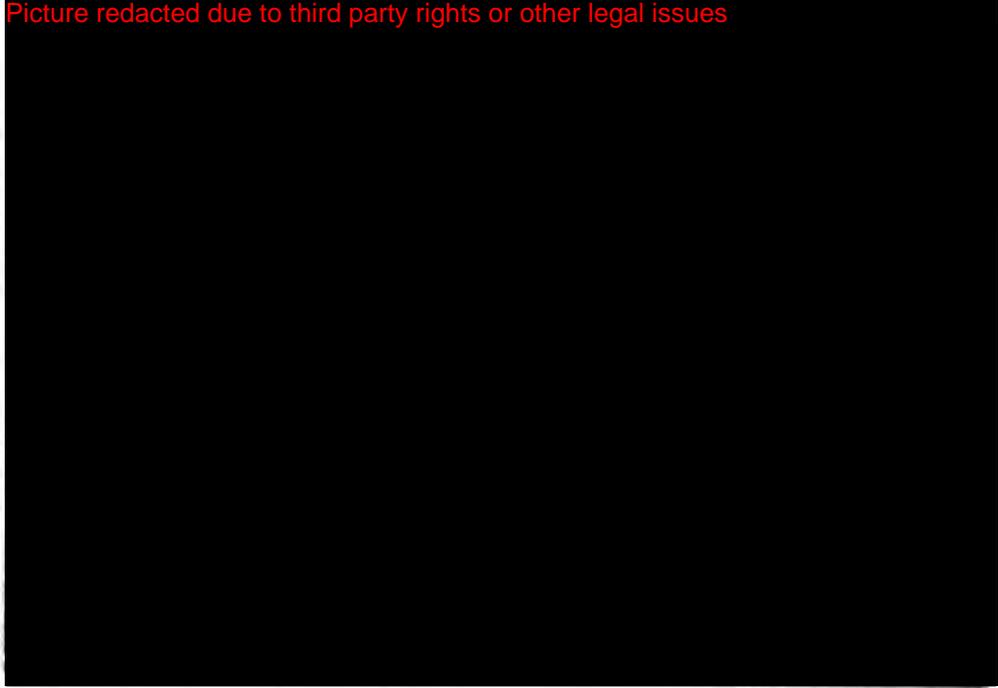
Compared with the food children get at home, the school boarders are much better fed in terms of quantity and quality. School meals are regular and provide a more balanced diet. All boarders thought the food was better at school, and most also considered dormitory sleeping to be better. However, many complained about the presence of bugs in the dormitory. In the villages, most of the dwellings also have bugs which live in the bamboo floors, and boarders bring these to school in infested clothing and other personal belongings. Although the dormitory floor is scrubbed once a week and the underside sprayed with insecticide about once a year, this only slightly alleviates the problem.

Extra-curricular activities form an important part of school life for boarders at Kambug. The most important of these activities are early morning and late afternoon work-parties, whose main tasks are tidying the school compound, cleaning the latrines, cutting grass, collecting firewood and fetching water for the school kitchen and for teachers, and

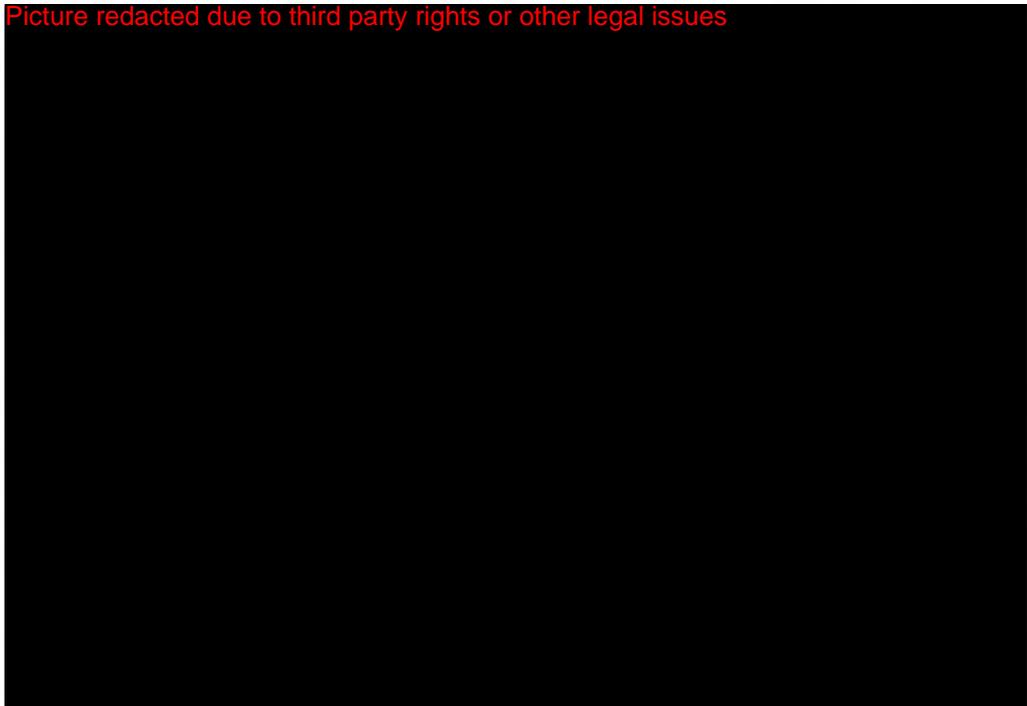
tending the school garden. As darkness falls at about 6 p.m., the daylight hours are quite tightly scheduled for boarders.

From the above description of the boarders' lives, it can be argued that they are much more exposed than day pupils to the principles of classification and framing (codings) of the socio-cultural transmissions, both inside and outside the classroom. They are also likely to experience more deeply the positional structure (power) through more of the transmission field (control), both directly and through the interactions of the immediate pedagogical relationships. For example, the activities and communications associated with the times for lessons, work-parties, meals, dormitory and play are subject to strong classification. There is no mixing of categories; things are kept apart. The temporal progression of boarders during the day is more strongly classified than for day pupils. The boarder is a member of a captive audience, albeit a 'volunteer'. Boarders are under the free-ranging surveillance of staff while on campus, whereas for day pupils this is restricted to the classroom. Framing - the controls on interaction and communication - is stronger for boarders in terms of organization, sequencing and pacing. Meal times are set, with two sittings (in 1978), and when finished each child must wash his or her utensils and place them on the rack. Play and work are strongly classified, with strong framing: lessons and work parties are work; spending time in the nearby river at lunchtime or after lessons is play. After dark, boarders remain in the dormitory, except for going to the toilet, and are expected to be relatively quiet and, if lighting permits, to study.

By contrast, day pupils who live at home seldom take breakfast and this means that most have their first food during the mid-morning break. This usually consists of rice, sago, tapioca or yams, wrapped in a banana leaf and carried to school in a small Bidayuh basket (tamuk). Occasionally, sticks of sugar cane are brought. Those day pupils who have afternoon classes also consume some of this food at lunchtime, but not with the boarders. For those who return home soon after mid-day, the next meal is usually in the evening. These observations make it clear that significant differences exist between



MORNING BREAK - DAYPUPILS BREAKFAST



DORMITORY - EVENING STUDY (1973)

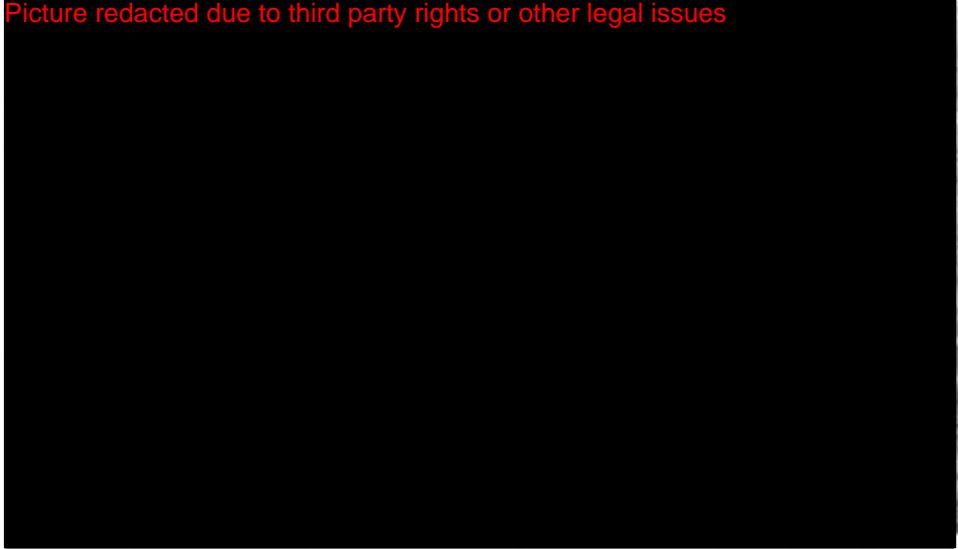
boarders and day pupils in terms of food intake. In addition to this, day pupils have a long and arduous walk.

Staffing at the school between 1972 and 1978 varied from three to five teachers, in addition to the school-mother. The fifth teacher, sent in 1978, was there in order to relieve another member of staff periodically and to assist with the very large number of boarders. During this period there was one change of (trained) Head teacher; both were married men with their families in residence, and for most years at least one of the assistant teachers was married. In 1977, for the first time the school had two trained teachers and in 1978 this rose to three, which is unusual for a remote school and could possibly be connected with this research project.

In remote schools, teachers, whether married or single, experience feelings of isolation which can cause varying degrees of anxiety, particularly when they have small children and come from another area, as most of them do. At Kambug, the teachers imposed strong classification between teaching and non-teaching time and there was little evidence of their preparing lessons or teaching materials. Only the Head teachers spent time on documentation concerned with school administration, and they frequently complained about these demands. All the teachers usually had to visit the Divisional Office in Kuching once a month in order to collect their salaries. However, most of the teachers looked forward to spending a day or so in Kuching, and among other things it afforded an opportunity to buy various essential items not available in the village shops. Foodstuffs for the school kitchen were also obtained during some of these trips, apart from those purchased from local shops.

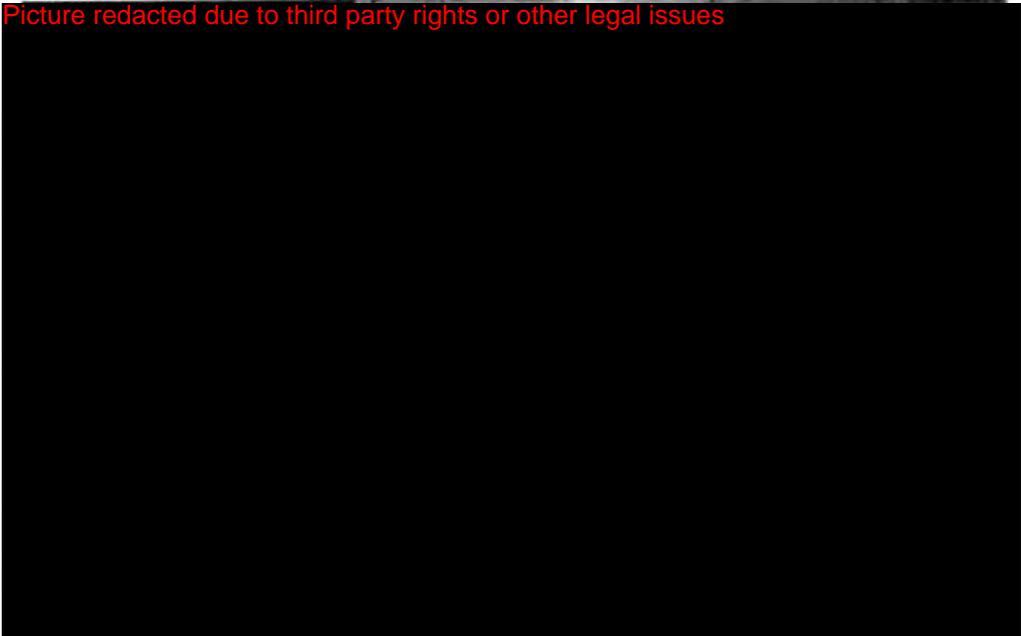
During the period of fieldwork, two married untrained teachers showed much concern with job security and were anxious to get places at training college. After being refused for several years running, they were eventually rewarded in 1977. The Head teacher, who came to Kambug in 1975, was studying by correspondence for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in order to improve his status grade; but by 1977 he had not been successful in obtaining it. These efforts at self-improvement are commendable, but the main motivations were better pay and job security, rather than raising the quality of teaching. Differences in

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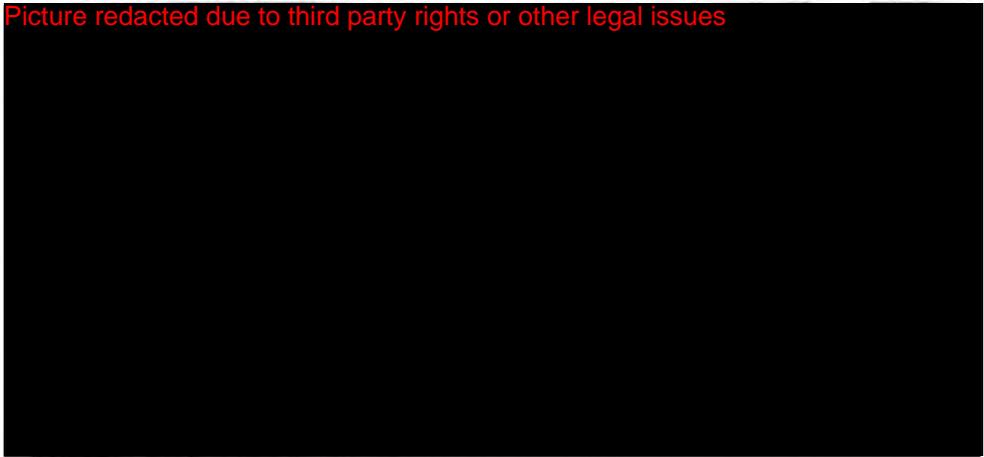
CLEARING FISH POND

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



SCHOOLGIRL

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



PHYSICAL EDUCATION

status, grade and salary at Kambug were significant by 1977, the trained assistant teacher being in a higher grade than the Head teacher. The change in the medium of instruction from English to Bahasa Malaysia has raised doubts about teacher competence. Although all recently-trained teachers may be taken as competent, the majority of older primary teachers have been undergoing in-service training courses, mostly during the holidays, but their competence in 1977, the first year of general conversion, was open to serious doubt. At Kambug, this was confirmed by the attitude of the Head teacher, who expressed relief at not having a primary 1 entry in 1977. In 1978, he himself was teaching primary 3 (which was still using the English medium) and he allocated a newly-trained teacher to primary 1, which had to use Bahasa Malaysia.

All primary schools have a management committee which serves to help the school, but has no control over how it is run.⁶ At Kambug between 1973 and 1976, the committee's membership varied from seven to ten persons, including a chairman and a secretary. The Head teacher and the assistant staff attended all meetings, which were held once a term. At a meeting held on the 25th June, 1975 the following agenda was issued:

1. School footpath
2. Boarders' rations
3. Committee complaint
4. School money
5. School property
6. Parents'/teachers' responsibility toward school children
7. Any other business

This meeting was held in the open dining-area and lasted for nearly three hours. Most participants contributed to the discussion, but the chairman, one of the headmen in Tébua, contributed most and was quite forthright in his views on agenda items 1 and 6. He argued that the people were making things more difficult for day pupils by not maintaining the footpaths to the villages, quite apart from causing inconvenience to everyone else using them. He stated that the footpath leading from Kambug to Padawan, the main route out of the area, must also be maintained for the benefit of the teachers, as they were obliged to use the path quite often.

He said that teachers with children were also very concerned about the problems of access. These points expressed by the chairman showed both awareness and sensitivity to some of the problems faced by teachers and their families. On the question of parents' responsibility for their children, there was a consensus that the children must be registered at the correct age and made to attend regularly. Parents should also resist any demands from their children to leave school. On the other hand, teachers were expected to set high moral standards and to adopt a conscientious approach in their teaching.

Before 1975, all local authority primary schools were supervised by the authority's School Affairs Officer (SAO) and by primary supervisors from the Divisional Education Office. From 1975 this supervision became the sole responsibility of the primary supervisors, but it is planned that the inspectorate, which is currently responsible for secondary schools only, will take over the supervision of all schools in the near future. This is one example of how the school system is becoming more centralized and bureaucratic, and it may result in less attention being given to local knowledge and experience on the part of those responsible for rural primary schools. During the period of this research the SAO visited the school twice and the primary supervisor visited three times. It was observed that relations between these officials and the teachers were friendly, but the staff exercised deference and circumspection because they knew that confidential reports would be made on each of them. These officials spent very little time in the classrooms, and their comments in the teachers' record book (which serves as a lesson-preparation record) centered mainly on the inadequate use of visual aids and the need for more detailed preparation. Various comments were made to the Head teacher on the condition of school buildings, dormitory and staff quarters. On one visit, the school committee was convened at the request of the SAO so that he could deal with the important matter of community/school co-operation.

In the late 1960s, school and community relations reached a low ebb because of a teacher's indiscretion with local girls and the indiscriminate use of corporal punishment. The Head teacher who served between 1971 and 1974 inherited this situation, and his authoritarian

personality and negative attitudes toward local people and their problems kept community antipathy smouldering. His replacement was a local man, who was much more easy-going in his relationships with staff and pupils. Within a year he had arranged for the official opening of the school and had made arrangements for the Flying Doctor service. By the end of the research period there had been a significant improvement in school and community relations; but not in professional commitments to teaching, which remained low throughout. Most teachers made yearly requests for transfer, which is typical for those teaching away from home. One of the main reasons for this is economic, because teachers with a rural background wish to use part of their regular incomes to develop their farms. This is a powerful constraint in communities which are increasingly exposed to competitive and acquisitive values and where self-help remains the key to socio-economic improvement for most people.

From the above descriptions and brief analytical comments, it is clear that the primary school's fundamental categories which refer to the positional structure (power) of the school are few, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, lack the complexity of the secondary school. For the staff there is clear categorization between the school-mother and teachers; but categories are unreal among the teaching staff because they are all generalists. The Head teacher is required to be a full-time class teacher, and therefore does not stand apart from the rest. For pupils, there is clear categorization between boarders and day pupils, but the most significant categorizations are the hierarchical relationships between pupils and teachers and between pupils in the age-graded class system, with automatic promotion. However, as will be argued in the following sections on space, time and control, other categorizations are also significant.

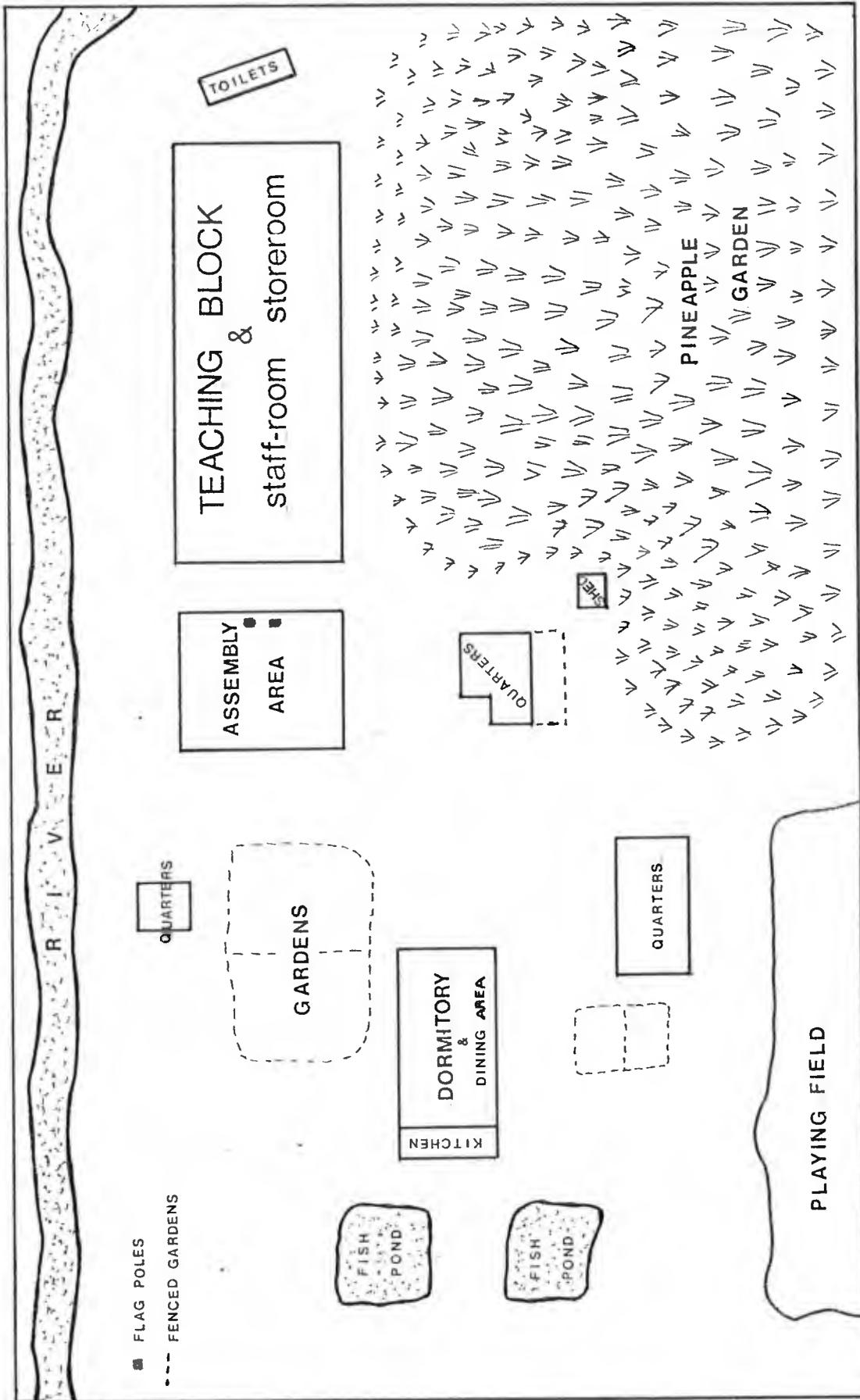
Space

'Visible pedagogies are realized through strongly classified space; that is, there are very strong boundaries between one space and another and the control of spaces is equally strongly classified'.⁷ The concept of space will be discussed with reference to the campus as a whole, and then with specific reference to the classroom. In respect of both, we will be concerned with the relationships (classification), between persons and objects in standardized spaces and their communication (framing).

The map overleaf shows the layout of the school campus. A teaching block, located on the east side, was purpose-built for alternate intakes, which explains why there are only four classrooms. An office/staff-room and a storeroom are included in this block. This is the most modern building on the campus, having a concrete floor, mostly wire mesh windows, boarded walls and asbestos roof. Two movable partitions separate three adjacent classrooms and these combined classrooms provide a useful facility for school and for school/community social activities. However, such activities are rare; between 1973 and 1977 they occurred on only three occasions, and the most impressive combined school/community activity was the official opening of the school in 1976.

A short distance from the teaching block are the toilets, which consist of six wooden cabinet latrines. Four of these are for pupils (two for each sex) and the other two are for teachers and visitors. All bathing, washing and laundry work is done in the river, which is also the major scene of pupil recreation during the lunchtime break. At the opposite end of the teaching block lies an assembly area, on raised ground, reached from the building by a flight of concrete steps. Two flagpoles, one for the State flag and the other for the Federation flag, are positioned at the end of the assembly area, nearest the teaching block.

The dormitory is the second largest building and has room for approximately 60 boarders. There is no locker provision. The sleeping area is a large hall (50' x 18'), with two small rooms at each end for the use of the school-mother and/or an assistant female teacher. The



KAMBUG SCHOOL BUILDINGS, GARDENS, ETC. NOT TO SCALE

dormitory is raised about six feet off the ground, and there is only one entrance by means of a flight of wooden steps. The entire building is of wood, and ventilation is by means of several wooden-shuttered windows. The earthen ground-floor is used as a dining area for boarders, and houses two large trestle tables. An annexe at the end is used as the school kitchen and food store.

Permanent quarters for teachers consist of a bungalow for the Head teacher and a second bungalow, which is divided into two, for two assistant teachers. These quarters are sub-standard, having plank floors, zinc sheets as roofing material and all walls of hardboard. Wooden steps lead up to the narrow but pleasantly situated verandah which provides the main entrance to the Head teacher's bungalow. Inside there is an office, a visitors' room, a family bedroom, an eating area and an earthen-floor kitchen, with a back entrance or entry by means of wooden steps from the central hall. This kitchen is a lean-to shed, and appeared to the observer to be a structural afterthought. The assistant teachers' accommodation is less spacious, each half of the bungalow consisting of two rooms and a small kitchen. Wooden steps lead up to a common verandah and this is the only entrance. In 1976, a traditional type house of atap and bamboo was built to accommodate a temporary female teacher.

A large recreational area, used for physical education and sports, is located at the southern end of the campus. Below this area are two fish-ponds which were constructed in 1972, but during the period of research neither of these was stocked because they leaked as a result of poor construction. In 1972 the land between the teaching block and the recreational ground was made into a pineapple garden, and the sloping land beyond the recreational ground's perimeter was given over to the cultivation of tapioca. In several fenced gardens, vegetables were being cultivated by the teachers, pupils and school-mother.

From the above descriptions, it is possible to make an analysis in terms of standardized spaces, using the concept of classification. Strong classification is indicated by strong rules of exclusion between spaces, and where the boundary between spaces is sharp. Some

strong boundary-maintainers must also be present. A specific example of strong rules of exclusion would be the toilets, where there is separation according to sex for pupils and separation between pupils and staff. The allocation of pupils to each of the four classrooms in the teaching block is strictly according to age, hence strong rules of exclusion obtain. In the dormitory/dining/kitchen block there are strong rules of exclusion between the space allocated to the three functions. Staff quarters are divided into rooms, each having a specific function, thus providing a further example of strong rules of exclusion. Taking the campus as a whole, it can be argued that the physical area has a spatial distribution for buildings, playing field, pathways, vegetable and fruit gardens. These are standardized spaces, and the rules of exclusion between them are strong and the boundaries well marked. A general point for comparison with standardized spaces in the villages is that there the rules of exclusion are weak, the boundaries not well marked, and the boundary-maintainers (authority) weak.

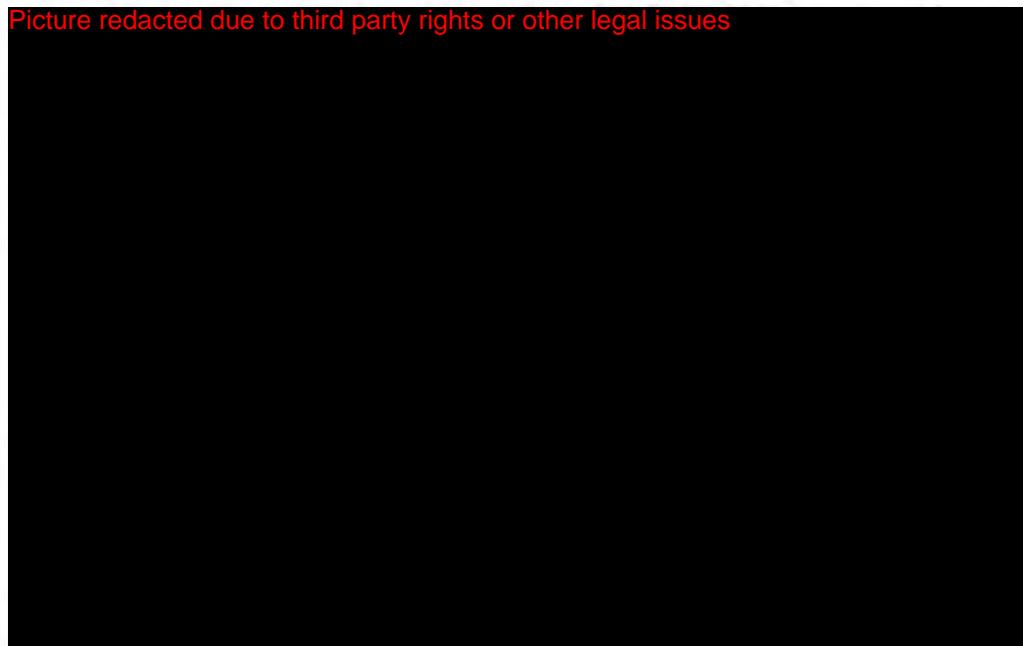
Framing refers to interaction and to the relationships of interaction; that is, framing refers to communication. As discussed previously, these relationships apply to objects, acts, persons and communication. In terms of acts, the classroom, the dormitory, the dining area and the playing field are places in which the various acts are kept apart. For example, pupils are not expected to eat in the classrooms, dormitory or on the playing field. In terms of persons, the dormitory is for pupils, the teachers' quarters are for teachers, and the school-mother's room and kitchen are for the school-mother. Objects similarly are kept apart and have meaning in the context of a particular space. These objects are not transferable or mixed between spaces, e.g. classroom, dormitory, kitchen. A blackboard is found in a classroom and not in a kitchen. The movement of persons between these standardized spaces is regulated by the timetable, and in the case of pupils also usually by teacher supervision. Most of the communications between standardized spaces, e.g. buildings, are strongly framed by a door, usually equipped with a lock. From these comments on framing it is clear that strong framing exists.

In describing the classrooms, it can be shown that these fall into two distinct types with regard to the use of floor space. Primary 1, which is the reception classroom, has four trestle-type tables, around which the children sit on individual, multi-coloured boxes. This has parallels with the infant classroom found today in Western countries, but is very different from the Chinese kindergartens in Kuching, in which the children sit at double desks. The other three classrooms at Kambug are of the traditional type, with double desks set in four rows. There is open space in the front of each classroom, but this is much larger in the primary 1 room. Entrance to each room is by means of two lockable doors, on opposite sides at the front in three classrooms and at the back in the other classroom. The teacher's desk and chair are positioned at the front, so teacher and pupils face each other, and in each classroom an oblong double blackboard is fixed to the wall facing the class. The number and type of inanimate objects to be found in the classrooms vary significantly, most being in primary 1 and least in primary 5 and 6. In the classroom used for primary 1, for example, between 1973 and 1976 there were two tables converted from two old desks, on which there were displays of clay models made by the pupils. On the rear wall, charts explaining two to twelve-times tables were set out in a row. More charts and teaching aids were displayed at the front, both below and on either side of the blackboard.

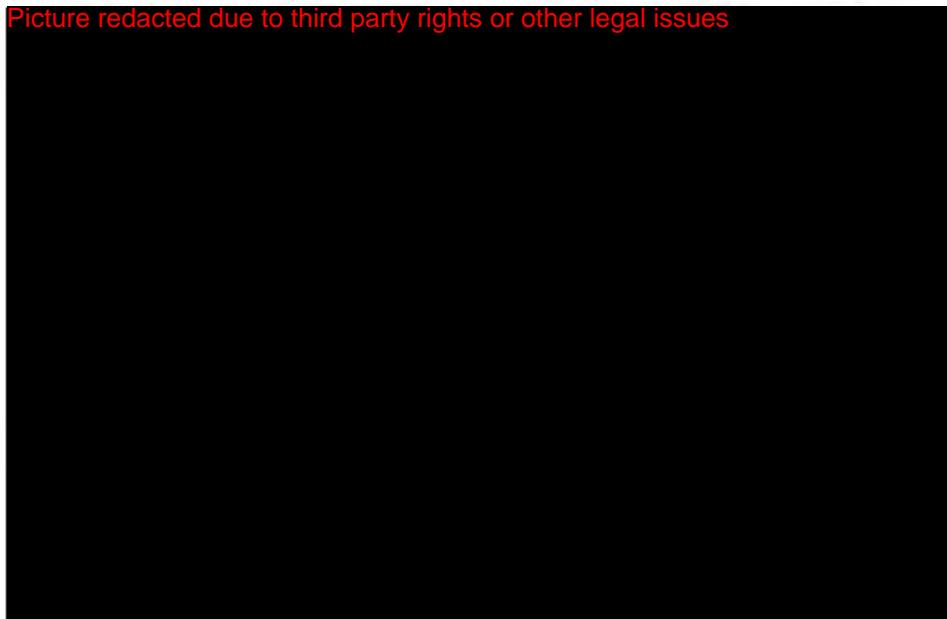
Some of these charts and aids illustrated various objects (a box, a hat, a cat), with an appropriate sentence of explanation, e.g. 'This is a cat'. More frequently used as teaching aids were two sets of paper sheets, pinned to a wooden bar: one set illustrated the days of the week and the other various weather conditions. Each leaf of each set had a series of short sentences, e.g. 'Today is Monday'; 'What is today?' 'It is Monday'; 'Today is cloudy'; 'What is the weather today?' 'It is cloudy'. Both teaching aids were used immediately after morning registration as English reading drills and were based on the Primary English Medium Scheme (PEMS). With the help of many Peace Corps advisors, PEMS had been introduced in all English medium schools by 1972. Another important teaching aid was a clock face and hands made out of cardboard. An ordinary clock was positioned above the blackboard.

Considering the floor space, it can be argued that there is a standardized distribution and that the relationship between spaces and between objects is strongly classified. Space allocated to the positioning of desks in relation to the open space at the front, and also that occupied by the teacher's desk, is subject to strong classification. There is no mixing of categories. Similarly, the positioning of desks is relatively fixed, hence the relationship between desks as objects and between these and the teacher's desk is strong classification. The teacher's desk is a symbol of the social hierarchy between pupils and the teacher. In primary 1, where the seating arrangements are different, strong classification obtains between the tables and between these and the teacher's desk. However, for this classroom the relationship between persons (pupils) is weak classification because they are divided into groups and each group sits around a table. The groups are mixed in terms of sex, and the seating arrangements at the table are not imposed by the teacher, so there is inter-changeability. This contrasts with the other three classrooms, in which all pupils must either sit alone or in twos at the double desks, and voluntarily the sexes do not sit together. Occasionally, in those classrooms with desks, the whole class are made to sit on the floor space immediately before the blackboard, as shown in the bottom picture overleaf.

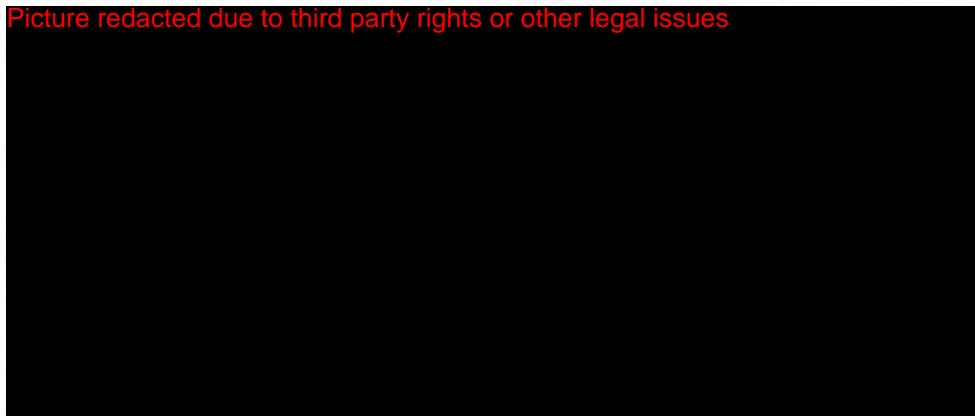
Framing, which refers to communication, is strong in respect of the objects and persons referred to, with the exception that in primary 1 there is weak framing between pupils at each table. There is a relatively high degree of social interaction between pupils sitting around a table at those times during a lesson when the teacher is not the communicator, and is usually sitting at his or her own desk. In Chapter Five, it was shown that learning situations in the village are informal, with the stress on co-operation rather than competition, and usually initiated by the child. The seating arrangements in the reception class permit the social construction of this informal learning situation between pupils, but this is never allowed to become paramount in the classroom situation because of the teacher's presence. By the end of the first year, the pupils have been exposed progressively to the strong framing of the pupil-teacher relationship (communication and



PRIMARY ONE



PRIMARY ONE



interaction), which individualizes learning through the acquisition of literacy and the use of grades. This can be seen as a pedagogical strategy aiming at sensitizing the pupil to the privatized use of space in the other classrooms, where the pupils are required to sit at desks.

The arrays of objects found on the classroom walls, which mostly are concentrated around the blackboard and mainly are seen in the primary 1 classroom, are subject to strong framing, with the notable exception of communication between blackboard, chalk and teacher's stick as a pointer. Weak framing of blackboard, chalk and teacher's stick holds for all classrooms, and this weak framing is indicative of the communication between these objects and the teacher. These objects can be seen as symbols of the teacher's super-ordinate status, and because the stress is on their going together rather than their apartness, the relationship between them is weak classification. For pupils, there is weak framing in the communication between writing tools, exercise-books and textbooks, and between these objects and the pupil. As these objects, and also the pupil, go together, the classification is weak. The weak framing and weak classification carry the code message of private property, which contrasts and conflicts with the child's pre-school learning experiences, in which the stress is on co-operation and sharing. However, there is strong classification for the relationship between pupil and teacher or their respective objects, and communication is restricted to the teacher's command. These restrictions are explicit and specific, and refer to the teacher requiring the pupil's attention or the pupil requesting the attention of the teacher. Similarly, an exercise-book is passed from pupil to teacher always at the latter's command, for the specific purpose of inspection and/or making. Thus the superordinate status of the teacher and his or her authority are symbolized in space and objects. This forms an important part of the socio-cultural transmission's strong classification and strong framing as a collection code.

Time

'Visible pedagogies are regulated by explicit sequencing rules: that is, the progression of the transmission is ordered in time by explicit rules'.⁸ In this section the ordering in time will be examined with regard to the syllabus, the curriculum, the timetable and the school day.

During the period of fieldwork, the primary curriculum was as specified in a departmental circular dated October 1971.⁹ This circular replaced the one for primary schools issued in 1968, and in both cases subjects and time allocations are specified. The 1971 directions reflected the movement toward a more localized curriculum-content and included the introduction of three new subjects - health education, science and social studies. Between 1972 and 1976, several new series of textbooks came into use, and to facilitate the change to the Bahasa Malaysia medium in all English-medium schools which began in 1977, most of these were produced in both languages.

The following table gives details of the prescribed curriculum for primary 1 to 6.¹⁰ In both mediums the subjects are the same; the only difference is the time distribution between English and Bahasa Malaysia. The figures refer to time allocations in minutes per week for each subject.

Subject	Medium and Classes							
	Bahasa Malaysia				English			
	1-2	3	4	5-6	1-2	3	4	5-6
Bahasa Malaysia	300	300	300	300	180	180	200	200
English	300	300	300	300	420	420	400	400
Mathematics	210	210	160	160	210	210	160	160
Science	90	90	120	120	90	90	120	120
Art and Crafts	120	90	80	80	120	90	80	80
Physical Education	90	90	80	80	90	90	80	80
Health Education	30	60	40	40	30	60	40	40
Social studies or Civics	30	30	-	-	30	30	-	-
History	-	-	40	40	-	-	40	40
Geography	-	-	80	80	-	-	80	80
Optional	90	210	160	360	90	210	160	360
Total minutes per week	1260	1380	1440	1640	1260	1380	1440	1640

During the first three years, pupils are confronted with a curriculum consisting of eight subjects, and subsequently with one of 10 subjects. There is, then, a division of labour of socio-cultural transmissions in terms of subjects, and this division of labour becomes more complex after primary 3. The subjects (specialized discourses) are differentiated by their content and insulated from each other by strong boundaries. These boundaries are not institutionalized by specialist subject teachers, since primary teachers are generalists, but by the textbook and the organization of time. In other words, with the exception of physical education and arts and crafts, specialized discourses are classified and framed in the form of a textbook and a specific time-slot on the timetable. The relationship between subjects is strong classification, and this is maintained by the strong boundaries and strong frames. It must be stressed that frame like classification is a socially static concept. Framing is the socially dynamic concept in this analysis.

The organization of time provides an indication of the relative status of subject content and the strength of their classification. From the time allocations, it is clear that language and mathematics are high status-content and that science becomes the same from the fourth year. On the other hand, health education and social studies/civics are low status-content. The high status-content is enhanced by an Education Department's recommendation that most 'optional time' should be allocated to language and mathematics.¹¹

It is clear from the table that the curriculum is heavily weighted toward literary academic study, and hence a pupil's success depends primarily on the early acquisition of literacy skills. For the Bidayuh child, and for most children in Sarawak, this means literacy in a non-vernacular language, i.e. a language which is not the child's mother tongue. The stress on literary academic study and concomitantly on privatized learning is increased as the pupil progresses, by automatic promotion, through the six-year course, with a reduction in the time allocation for practical subjects and the addition of history and geography after the third year. The school day is progressively lengthened after the second year, with primary classes 4, 5 and 6 having afternoon sessions.

Sequencing rules are explicit in visible pedagogies, a fact that is well illustrated by the timetables. In 1976 there were four classes (1,2,4 and 5) at Kambug school, and their timetables are given overleaf.¹² Timetables structure the passage of time in the classroom; but they also structure the school day - particularly for boarders - the school week, term, year, and the school career. The explicitness of the sequencing rules in the timetables of visible pedagogies impose structural constraints on pupils and teachers; but for pupils they also define the expected future states of the child's consciousness and behaviour. School timetables contain cyclical and longitudinal time dimensions, but the latter are always paramount.

Classroom timetable construction is the responsibility of the Head teacher, and at Kambug it was done in consultation with the class teachers. Timetables are social constructions of the official

PRIMARY ONE

TIME	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI
8.00 - 8.10	DIARY	DIARY	DIARY	DIARY	DIARY
8.10 - 8.25	Gp.1 Reading	Gp.3 Reading	Gp.1 Reading	Gp.3 Reading	Gp.1 Reading
8.10 - 8.25	Gp.2,3,4, Diary	Gp.1,2,4, Diary	Gp.2,3,4, Diary	Gp.1,2,4, Diary	Gp.2,3,4, Diary
8.25 - 8.30	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting
8.30 - 8.45	Gp.2 Read	Gp.4 Read	Gp.2 Read	Gp.4 Read	Gp.2 Read
	1 Diary	3 Diary	1 Diary	3 Diary	1 Diary
	3,4 Writing	1,2 Writing	3,4 Writing	1,2 Writing	3,4 Writing
8.45 - 9.00	Oral English				
9.00 - 9.15	B. Malaysia				
9.15 - 9.30	"	"	"	"	"
9.30 - 10.00	Maths	Maths	P.E.	P.E.	P.E.
10.00 - 10.30	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
10.30 - 10.45	Oral English				
10.45 - 11.15	Reading/ writing	Reading/ writing	Reading/ writing	Reading/ writing	Reading/ writing
11.15 - 11.30	Science	Health	Science	Health	Phonics
11.30 - 11.45	"	Social Studies	"	Social Studies	Science
11.45 - 12.15	B. Malaysia				
12.15 - 12.45	Art	Art	Art	Art	Art

PRIMARY TWO

TIME	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI
8.00 - 8.15	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting	Handwriting
8.15 - 8.30	Gps.1,2, Reading 3,4, "	Gps.3,4, Reading 1,2, "	Gps.1,2, Reading 3,4, "	Gps.3,4, Reading 1,2, "	Gps.1,2, Reading 3,4, "
8.30 - 8.45	English	English	English	English	English
8.45 - 9.00	Radio singing	Class diary	Class diary	Class diary	Class diary
9.00 - 9.15	Maths	Radio English	B. Malaysia	Maths	Maths
9.15 - 9.30	"	Phonics	" (radio)	"	"
9.30 - 10.00	P.E.	Maths	Maths	P.E.	P.E.
10.00 - 10.30	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
10.30 - 10.45	Oral English	English	English	English	English
10.45 - 11.00	Health edn.	Gps.1,2, Reading 3,4, "	Social studies	Gps.1,2, Reading	Maths
11.00 - 11.15	"	Maths	"	Maths	"
11.15 - 11.30	B. Malaysia				
11.30 - 11.45	"	"	"	"	"
11.45 - 12.00	Science	Story-telling	Science	Story-telling	Science
12.00 - 12.15	Art	Art	Art	Art	Art
12.15 - 12.45	"	"	"	"	"

PRIMARY FOUR

TIME	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI
8.00 - 8.40	English	English	English	English	English
8.40 - 9.20	Maths	Maths	Maths	Maths	Maths
9.20 - 10.00	P.E.	Science	P.E.	Science	Science
10.00 - 10.30	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
10.30 - 11.10	Radio singing	English	History	History	B. Malaysia
11.10 - 11.30	Gp.1 Reading 2,3,4, "	Gp.3 Reading 2,1,4, "	Optional	Gp.1 Reading 2,3,4, "	Story
11.30 - 11.50	Gp.2 Reading 1,3,4, Writing	Gp.1 Reading 2,1,4, Writing	"	Gp.2 Reading 1,3,4, "	Gp.1 Reading 2,3,4, "
11.50 - 12.30	Geography	Art	Geography	Civics	Health
12.30 - 2.00	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
2.00 - 2.30	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	Optional
2.30 - 3.00	Art	"	"	"	Art

PRIMARY FIVE

TIME	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI
8.00 - 8.40	P.E.	Science	P.E.	Science	Science
8.40 - 9.20	Maths	Maths	Maths	Maths	Maths
9.20 - 10.00	Radio singing	English (radio)	English (radio)	English	English
10.00 - 10.30	Break	Break	Break	Break	Break
10.30 - 10.50	English	Gp.1 Reading	Gp.3 Reading	Gp.1 Reading	English
10.50 - 11.10	English	Gp.2 Reading	Gp.4 Reading	Gp.2 Reading	English
11.10 - 11.50	History	Optional	History	Optional	Optional
11.50 - 12.30	Geography	Health edn.	Geography	"	Civics
12.30 - 2.00	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
2.00 - 2.40	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia	B. Malaysia
2.40 - 3.20	Optional	Art	Optional	Art	Phonics

prescriptions regarding the number of subjects, minimum time allocations, and 30- or 40-minute time-slots for primary 1 to 3 and primary 4 to 6, respectively. For primary 1, the timetable in 1976 shows some divergence from official prescriptions in terms of time-slots, which are much shorter, so that frequency of change in activity is increased. Therefore, for this reception class the progression of transmissions in terms of sequencing and pacing is more explicit than officially prescribed. In all four class timetables there were significant divergencies from the minimum time allocations as officially prescribed, which deserve comment.

In primary 1, timetabled time for English was 522 minutes, and for mathematics was 145 minutes. Therefore, mathematics was 65 minutes below and English was 122 minutes above minimum requirements. In other subjects there was no significant difference. For primary 2 the time allocated to English was 75 minutes below and for art and craft was 135 minutes above the minimum requirements. In other subjects there was no significant difference. Classes 4 and 5 show differences in English only, year 4 being allotted 129 minutes above and year 5 80 minutes below minimum requirements.

The Head teacher justified these divergencies on the grounds of overall attainment levels; but in the light of the very poor attainments for language and mathematics shown by the two external Primary Five Assessment Tests in 1974 and 1976 (see page 137), these claims appear to be spurious. Time allocations below or insufficiently above the minimum requirements for these core subjects were clearly serious impediments to a pupil's success at Kambug. From observation at Kambug, I would suggest that the construction of timetables - and particularly the allocations of 'optional time' - were a reflection of teacher preferences and organizational convenience rather than an evaluation of pupil ability and attainment.

Classroom timetables reinforce the strong classification and frames of the primary curriculum. Timetables reinforce the curriculum's strong classification because subject knowledge is kept apart by the strongly classified time-slots, and the time boundaries are maintained by the

teacher's authority. In examining the syllabuses we will be concerned with the new series of textbooks, because these have been specially written for the syllabuses and show clearly the explicit sequencing and pacing characterized by visible pedagogies. The following list gives some of the new textbook series introduced during the period of fieldwork.

A Selection of Textbooks according to Age and Class

Age: Class:	Six/ P1	Seven/ P2	Eight/ P3	Nine/ P4	Ten/ P5	Eleven/ P6
<u>Title</u>						
Social Studies	1	2	3			
Primary School Social Studies	1	2	3			
Health Ed'n.	1A/B	2A/B	3A/B	4A/B	5A/B	6A/B
New Primary Civics				4	5	6
New Civics				4	5	6
New Science	1	2	3	4	5	6
New Primary English	1A/B	2A/B	3A/B	4	5	6
Bahasa Malaysia Darjah	1	2	3	4	5	6
Primary Maths	1	2	3			

Note: Approved textbooks on loan (1976) in English medium schools

The explicit sequencing and pacing of knowledge in the textbooks can be illustrated from the social studies course. Both series are well-illustrated, but with few exceptions the pictures portray town life and the social circumstances of relatively high-income families. Materialist values are stressed, and most pictures show clearly the strong classification of space, objects and persons typified by modern living. However, it is the explanatory texts and exercises associated with the pictures which pertain to explicit sequencing and strong pacing of knowledge, or socio-cultural transmissions. Book One, lesson one in both series are called 'Our School' and 'Going to School', respectively; but whereas the latter expects literacy on the part of the pupil, the former book delays this expectation until lesson 19, entitled 'I love

Malaysia'. The New Science course Book One, lesson one also expects the pupils to be able to read. In all cases explicit sequencing and pacing is in terms of a topic; some books (e.g. science) expect the pupil to cover more than one topic per week if the book is to be completed by the end of the school year.

A textbook tacitly transmits the ideology of the collection code, for it epitomizes strong classification and strong framing. The textbook orders knowledge according to a progression, it provides explicit criteria, it removes uncertainty, and it announces hierarchy for both pupils and teacher. The pupil is given an immediate index of where he stands in relation to others in the progression. It is therefore a silent medium for creating competitive relationships, and socialization into it by literacy is a critical step toward socialization into the collection code and its concomitant of solitary privatized relationships for that code's socio-cultural transmissions. The stronger the collection code, that is, the stronger the classification, frames and framing, the greater the emphasis on early reading and writing.

The classroom timetable structures the passage of time for pupils and teachers during most hours of daylight, but for boarders the day as a whole is also subject to ordering in time - though the sequencing is less explicit and the pacing less strong than in the classroom. All teachers are residents, but it was observed that once out of the classroom they were primarily concerned with their own domestic affairs and social relaxation. For boarders, time outside the classroom is ordered according to set times for work-parties concerned with various maintenance tasks on the campus, fetching and carrying water for the school-mother and teachers, meals, washing up, and from dusk being more or less confined to the dormitory, with lamps extinguished at 9.30 p.m. The school-mother's day is also explicitly sequenced, with strong pacing, as the following daily routine schedule shows:¹³

School-mother's Daily Routine

5.30 a.m.	-	6.45	cooking breakfast
6.45	-	7.15	serving breakfast
7.15	-	7.45	breakfast
7.45	-	8.00	wiping tables, benches
8.00	-	8.15	taking own breakfast
8.20	-	9.00	preparing vegetables; boiling water for mid-morning break
10.00	-	10.15	serving drink for break
10.15	-	11.45	cooking lunch
11.45	-	12.45	serving lunch
12.45 p.m.	-	1.00	wiping benches, tables
2.30	-	3.00	preparing vegetables for supper
3.00	-	5.00	cooking supper
5.25	-	6.00	serving supper
6.00	-	6.30	supper
6.30	-	6.45	wiping benches, tables
7.00	-	7.45	preparing tapioca or yam porridge for breakfast
7.45			taking own supper

The school day can be conceptualized in terms of strong classification, framing and boundaries. Inside and outside the classroom, persons, objects, acts and communications are kept apart (strong classification) by strong boundaries, and interaction (or communication) is not permitted (strong framing). The same applies to work-party times, meal times, dormitory time, washing time, etc. The mixing of categories is avoided. In essence the visible pedagogy is extended beyond the classroom.

Control

'Where the pedagogy is visible, the hierarchy is explicit, space and time are regulated by explicit principles, there are strong boundaries between spaces, times, acts, communications'.¹⁴ The power realized by the hierarchy maintains the strong boundaries, the apartness of things. As the pupil (acquirer) learns these rules he acquires the classification. An infringement of the classification is immediately visible, for any infringement signals that something (communication, act, person or object) is out of place.

An analysis of control is fundamentally concerned with framing, which is the regulation of communication or interaction. Framing refers to the selection, organization (sequencing) and pacing (rate of expected acquisition) of the socio-cultural transmission to be acquired by pupils. Where framing is strong, the acquirer has little control over the selection, organization and pacing of the transmission. In this case it is the transmitter (teacher) who regulates the form of socialization into the category system (classification), that is, into the positional structure, and into the form of the power relationships which constitute, maintain and reproduce the structure - or in other words, the boundary-maintaining procedures. Now, as previously discussed, the pupil does not experience directly a positional structure (power) or a transmission field (control), because these refer to the macro-structure of the school; what the pupil experiences directly is the classification and framing (codings) of pedagogical relations. However, in acquiring these codings, the pupil is also acquiring the macro-representation of the code; but it is only those who succeed in having long school careers who are likely to achieve an understanding, and a critical understanding, of the grounds of their own socialization. Collection codes reflect and promote the ideology of elitism, and they are necessary for creating and maintaining the individualized organic solidarity or the complex division of labour of modern society and culture. More specifically, at the level of codings, in visible pedagogy the pupils acquire covertly the ideology of radical individualism, which is the basis of individualized organic solidarity; but its successful transmission presupposes explicit and unambiguous values.

It has already been described how in the primary 1 reception class the children are grouped around four tables, and initially these are voluntary groupings of friends, some of them sharing family ties. The sexes mix freely, which is usual for six-year-olds, and differences in respect of ability and attainment are unrealized. Close physical proximity at the tables affords frequent bodily contact, and after the first few days at school the pupils have learnt the social meaning of silence. The Bidayuh being by nature undemonstrative, particularly in new situations, the pupils are readily submissive and remain so. Kaso the important socio-cultural value of 'do not disturb' makes them very amenable to the role of submissive acquirer in the strong framing relationship of visible pedagogy.

The visible pedagogy creates homogeneous learning contexts in the classroom. Overtly, the pedagogy creates mechanical solidarity or sameness, but covertly it creates individualized organic solidarity or difference, and it is the latter which is the rationale underlying the collection code. How this is done can be illustrated by reference to the primary 1 class at Kambug.

During their first days at school the children are made to feel that they are equal, although the teacher, being a local man, already has some knowledge of them in their family and village community situations. When questioned, the teacher admitted that he knew some children had a reputation for being naughty, and others for being well-behaved, but these personal feelings are not admissable as criteria for differentiating pupils within the ideology of the collection code, in which the criteria are explicitly vested in the child's attainments - initially in respect of reading. The Primary English-Medium Syllabus puts the stress on reading and talk rather than on writing. A typical learning situation for English was the oral drill given before mid-morning break. Here the teacher initiates the dialogues and controls pupil responses by encouraging them to repeat a sentence, or answer a question, with a fixed response. For example:

Teacher: 'This is a pencil. What is it?'
 Class: 'It is a pencil'.

Teacher: 'Is it a book'.
 Class: 'No, it isn't. It's a pencil'.

For this learning situation, the class was required to sit on the floor in a double-line semicircle in the open space between the tables and the blackboard. Invariably the teacher would sit on a chair, with the appropriate object in one hand and his pointer stick in the other. The dialogue was varied by substituting other objects (e.g. pen, book) and when introducing a new pattern, the teacher would ask the class to repeat the name after him in the first instance, or as soon as the brighter children had been identified he would concentrate on them to act as models for the others. At this stage the teacher frequently would switch between English and the vernacular (Biatah) and this style persisted throughout the first year. Usually mistakes were corrected by a reprimand in the vernacular, followed by the correction in English. These oral exercises were followed by reading and writing, and within a few weeks differences in attainment were institutionalized by the formation of four reading groups, and the pupils were rearranged at the four tables accordingly. After this regrouping, the class followed the timetable given on page 204 quite rigidly. These groupings remained in operation until the end of the second year, with very little movement of pupils up or down the hierarchy. Timetables did not allow for additional time to be given to non-readers or weak readers in the second year, which resulted in these pupils moving into primary 3 and becoming non-participant in the privatized solitary learning situation of the textbook. Using a Holborn Reading Scale test for those in the third term of the second year in 1974 and 1976, I found that 53 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively, were non-readers.

Under the Primary English-Medium Syllabus, which from January 1977 is being phased out, I would argue that the stress put on talk rather than writing, and the shortage and/or inappropriateness of textbooks for primary 1 or 2 delayed the realization of covert individualized organic solidarity until the third year. In other words, differences between pupils on the basis of their competencies in literacy and numeracy. However, it has already been shown that a major feature of current educational policy has been the provision of many new textbook series,

beginning with primary 1. This was already happening at Kambug by 1976. Therefore the trend has been towards stronger framing, because the transmissions are being increasingly made by the textbook - the epitome of rigid selection, progressive sequencing and strong pacing - rather than the teacher.

The textbook is a more reliable transmitting agent than the teacher and does permit the use of mediocre teachers, at least at the primary level. Textbooks, as reliable sources and agents of socio-cultural transmission, assume great importance in the context of Malaysia's communalism (which is much more complex in the state of Sarawak), and in the officially decreed aim to create national unity. In this situation it cannot be assumed that teachers are reliable political socializers. Apart from this, it can be argued that the common textbook is an instrument of equality of educational opportunity, because all tests and examinations are now set according to the same textbook transmissions.

An approved and compulsory textbook constrains both teachers and pupils, and it does encourage teachers to avoid proper lesson preparation and allows them the possibility of shifting responsibility for pupil failure from themselves to the textbook. This was happening at Kambug, and the observation was confirmed by questioning several teachers in other primary schools. For the pupil, it is vital for success at school that reading competencies, and also basic competencies in writing and number, are developed very early in the school career. Reading releases the pupil from the teacher and socializes him into the privatized solitary learning of the textbook, and it is the reader who is defined by the visible pedagogy as the 'busy' pupil. In this pedagogy the non-reader is the 'non-doing' pupil. However, the privatized learning required by the textbook enables the child to conceal much of his/her self from the teacher's surveillance, so it is easy for the pupil to pretend that he is 'busy' in the 'culture of silence' created by visible pedagogy. The irony of visible pedagogy is that, while it requires for the legitimation of its explicit hierarchies explicit and unambiguous values, it can only be a deep socializing experience for the select few who reach the

highest levels of the educational system and who are then enabled to question the grounds of their socialization. Collection codes delay the achievement of conscientization.

It cannot be stressed too much that Bidayuh children are confronted with textbooks covering the six literary academic subjects within the first few days at school. Consequently, they are placed very quickly on the escalator of the textbook series, graded according to year and age, or in other words, in an explicitly hierarchical organization - and sequencing and strong pacing - of socio-cultural transmissions. Most textbooks for primary 1 presuppose basic reading competencies and the progression is quite rapid.

The strong classification and strong framing of the collection code's visible pedagogy is expressed most forcefully in the message system of evaluation. The high frequency of testing is an integral characteristic of this pedagogy, a fact that was confirmed by observation at Kambug and at other schools. After the first term, it was common practice to set weekly tests for literacy and number; and more importantly, the full range of literary academic subjects was tested at the end of the first year and thereafter at the end of each term. Although results never became public knowledge, as from 1976 teachers are officially obliged to record end-of-year results on cumulative record cards, and these follow the child throughout his or her school career. The child's progression into the strong classifications of the socio-cultural transmissions through strong framing controls is now carefully indexed, and this indexing does include comments on the child's social behaviour and some family background information (see Appendix B).

All primary pupils must take the primary 5 Assessment Test, which is set and marked externally by the Ministry of Education in Kuala Lumpur. This usually takes place in September of the fifth year and the results are fed back to each school the following February. All test papers are multiple-choice, and the results are published on computerized sheets. For the Ministry, the test obviously yields valuable data on inter- and intra-state comparisons, but for school its rationale as a guide to remedial measures for candidates in their sixth and final primary

year is wasted because of lack of time. From 1974, the year of introduction, to 1976 the test consisted of four one-hour papers, English, Bahasa Malaysia, mathematics, and a general paper, each with 40 to 50 multiple-choice questions. However, in 1977 the general paper was dropped and papers in science, history and geography were added. This is a manifestation of the move in recent curriculum developments toward stronger classification and stronger framing, and toward ensuring that schools follow these developments rigidly.

The evaluation procedures of internal tests ensure that competitive radical individualism (or the visible pedagogy's covert social structure) of individualized organic solidarity is part of the socio-cultural transmissions. In the classroom there is strongly marked regulation of the child's acts, communications, objects, spaces, times and progression. Although pupils may not be aware of each others' marks, the social expression of class positions is known. Pupils can and do use the situation of privatized solidary learning (symbolized by the textbook, exercise-book, pen, pencil, desk, etc.) to avoid parading their individual differences, but periodically they are all exposed by the compulsory test, even if they have been successful in evading the teacher's question-and-answer techniques.

Comparing the socio-cultural transmissions of the family or community with those of the school, it is clear that what could be seen as the commonsense knowledge of the former is in strong classification with (and differs profoundly from) the uncommonsense knowledge of the latter. The visible pedagogy disvalues if not rejects, the child's pre-school experiences, both in terms of its structural principles and the contents of the transmissions. The pupil is rarely permitted to use his or her pre-school experiences in the frame of the school's visible pedagogy; therefore strong framing as well as strong classification exist between the community and the school. Thus the shift from the invisible pedagogy of the family or community to the visible pedagogy of the primary school is a change in code, a change in the principles of relation and evaluation, whether these are principles of knowledge, of social relationships, of practices, of property or of identity.

From the Bidayuh child's first day in school the visible pedagogy is symbolically wounding and for those who remain weak or non-readers the wounds will never heal, at least while he remains at school. Obviously the wound itself is psychic, but the means of infliction are symbolic messages; that is, the change in symbolic messages between the integrated code of the community and the collection code of the school. In the community, the invisible pedagogy encourages the child to become a person and to treat others as persons. Kaso (do not disturb) and egalitarian relations/values are integral to the symbolic messages experienced by the child in the community. To become a person requires the creation and maintenance of personal space, which is attained by giving respect to other people's feelings and obtaining respect for one's own feelings. Feelings are reified in the family, the household and the community. In the school, the visible pedagogy simply demands the child to become an individual and to treat others as individuals. Whereas the person can be seen as an entity (a moral entity), that is, greater than the sum of its parts, the individual is characterized by the reification of a part or parts, i.e. aptitudes. Schooling, in attempting to create through its specialized outputs individualized organic solidarity, searches out types of aptitudes and competencies and individualizes them through a process of grading and allocating grades to pupils. The chorus of pupil laughter which commonly greets an incorrect answer, given by a classmate to a teacher's question, can be particularly wounding for the Bidayuh child. The serious decline in attainments, as measured by the Primary 5 Assessment Test results for 1974 and 1976 (see page 137), suggests that for many at Kambug it has become a symbolic crucifixion. Those whose families are prepared to support them at the secondary boarding school must face a collection code and visible pedagogy which are much stronger in their classifications, boundaries and framings than at the primary level. This is examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SECONDARY SCHOOL: COLLECTION CODE TRANSMISSION

Code and Codings

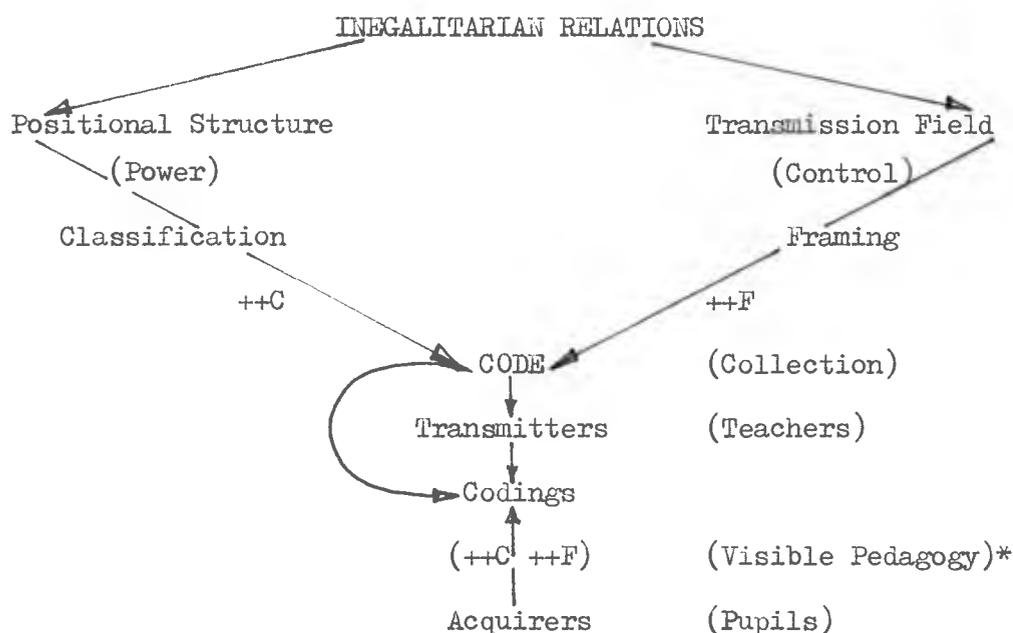
In this chapter the descriptions and analysis are concerned with socio-cultural transmissions at the secondary level, with particular reference to the first three years or junior secondary schooling.

The concepts of space, time and control are retained to explicate the structural principles of classification and framing, but the much more complex social division of labour at the secondary level, compared with the primary level, can be managed more conveniently in terms of the three message systems of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

It will be argued that the dominant category of inegalitarian relations, which characterizes the macro-institutional structure of Sarawak in the past and is increasingly significant today, is transmitted by very strong classification and very strong framing. At the secondary school level, the positional structure (power/classification) is necessarily more complex in its division of labour than it is in the primary schools, particularly rural primary schools, because institutionally the secondary school articulates more directly with aspects of Sarawak's macro-institutional structure, and with changes in that structure. For example, the development of a national school-system and the use of grants-in-aid as an interim measure have greatly reduced the strength of the classification between mission schools and Chinese schools on the one hand, and the government schools on the other. To achieve this, the strength of the boundary (classification) between school and State has been increased, in the sense that bureaucratization creates through its hierarchical categories very strong classification relationships, and the boundaries are maintained by legal-rational authority. At the same time, the State has through its bureaucracies greatly increased the strength of framing (control) over and within the transmission field level of schooling. At this transmission field level the stress is increasingly on 'keeping things together rather than apart'. Most notably, this is exemplified by a common and centrally controlled curriculum, altering status of teacher to that of government 'civil servant', and removing

the power of the mission-school Boards of Governors. As one expatriate headmaster in Kuching put it: 'Our Boards of Governors have been reduced to the name on the signboard'.

In explaining the socio-cultural transmissions in the secondary school, the model is the same as that used in the last chapter, which dealt with the primary school. As mentioned above, the difference lies in the strength of classification and framing and the more complex division of labour to be described and analysed. For convenience, the model is set out again below:



* Very strong classification and very strong framing

It has been shown in Chapter Three (page 98), in the section 'Education', that secondary enrolments were increasing very rapidly after 1972, and that most of this expansion has been in the government secondary schools. In 1972, government secondary-school enrolments were 13,291 and by 1976 they had risen to 40,330, which is just over a threefold increase.¹ The main part of this increase was borne by existing secondary schools, and this is well illustrated in the next section of this chapter with reference to one of these schools, which has served Bidayuh communities and others since its establishment in 1960. The more complex division of labour in secondary schools has resulted partly from this increase in enrolments and partly from the

concomitant increase in staff, classrooms and other facilities.

In 1974, the comprehensive ideology was officially extended to Sarawak to bring the State into line with Federal policy. It was this policy which provided the rationale for the abolition of selected intakes and the universal provision of three years junior secondary schooling. Important consequences have been the replacing of the Sarawak Junior Examination by the Lower Malaysia Examination in 1977, and the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate Examination by the Malaysia Certificate Examination in 1978. This will be discussed later, in the section 'Evaluation'. It can be noted here, however, that these changes reinforced literary, academic-style examinations.

At their eleventh annual conference in 1975, the Sarawak Secondary Principals' Association expressed concern over the all-ability intakes and the pressure from the Education Department to eliminate streaming because of ethnic bunching in those schools in which Chinese pupils formed a significant proportion. In these schools the Chinese were always over-represented in the higher streams. The conference put forward three resolutions, the first two of which, quoted below, give a very clear indication of problems arising from all-ability intakes.²

- (1) That a definite education policy be formulated to provide courses in junior secondary schools especially to cater for those whose academic level is below standard.
- (2) That steps be taken to provide remedial teachers for students in junior secondary school who cannot read or write.

Streaming according to attainments in mathematics and language medium has continued in most secondary schools, and apart from some practical subject options open to lower streams, the common curriculum is relatively inflexible. This is due to the conditions of entry and award of the new examinations, and most schools' inability to offer more than a selection of examinable subjects.

Aspects of the social context are described in the next section and

then analyzed under the heading 'Positional Structure and Transmission Field'. The parts of the positional structure and transmission field, consisting of the three message systems of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, are described and analyzed separately. It must be stressed that a detailed analytical description of a particular institution serves to illustrate the theorizations which are themselves not bound in space or time.

Aspects of the Social Context

The secondary school to which pupils at Kambug primary school transfer is the Dragon School. Dragon School was opened in 1960 under the Colombo Plan Aid scheme and for the First Division it was the first government rural secondary school to offer courses up to Overseas Cambridge School Certificate. In 1974, sixth-form studies were started, so currently the school provides the full secondary course.

Dragon School stands in several acres of undulating ground at the 26th mile from Kuching on the original Kuching-Serian road, which today is one of two loop roads off the Kuching-Serian 'highway'. It is about 30 miles from Kambug to the Dragon School, so all ex-Kambug pupils going there are boarders. Part of the school grounds, being very flat, is often subject to flooding during the rainy season. The buildings - administration, teaching blocks, dormitories, residential staff quarters, etc. - stand on high ground, with the administration offices overlooking the playing field.

The McLellan report on Secondary Education in 1959, which has been referred to briefly in Chapter Three, was a clear expression of elitist educational ideology, with its insistence on a maximum transfer of 30 per cent between primary and secondary levels. At Dragon, as in all government secondary schools, the intakes have always been mixed in terms of sex, although boys were in the great majority until quite recently. As mentioned previously, unselected ability intakes started in 1975, and it was from 1973, when a start was made to phase out transfer selection that intakes began to climb steeply.

In the four years 1973 to 1976, Dragon School's facilities in terms of classrooms, dormitories, etc., were increased, but this did not match the steep rise in enrolments. Because of this, the school was forced to introduce double sessions for Form 1 and 2 classes in January 1975, and this system was extended to the whole school in January 1976. The following tables provide numerical data on this period of the school's history:³

Number of Staff and Classes

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Staff	32	36	54	69
Classes	21	27	39	48

Form Structure and Number of Classes

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Transition*	2	3	4	5
Form 1	5	6	9	11
Form 2	2	5	7	9
Form 3	2	2	5	7
Form 4	5	4**	4**	4**
Form 5	5	5	4**	4**
Form L.6	-	2	4**	4**
Form U.6	-	-	2	4**
Total Classes	21	27	39	48

* Pupils from Chinese medium primary schools

** Stream tracking into arts or science

Student Population

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Day (Boys)	} 319	} 442	297	398
Day (Girls)			249	245
Sub-total	319	442	546	643
Boarders (Boys)	} 535	} 663	555	731
Boarders (Girls)			268	382
Sub-total	535	663	823	1113
Grand Total	854	1105	1369	1756
Boarders as % of Total	63%	60%	60%	63%

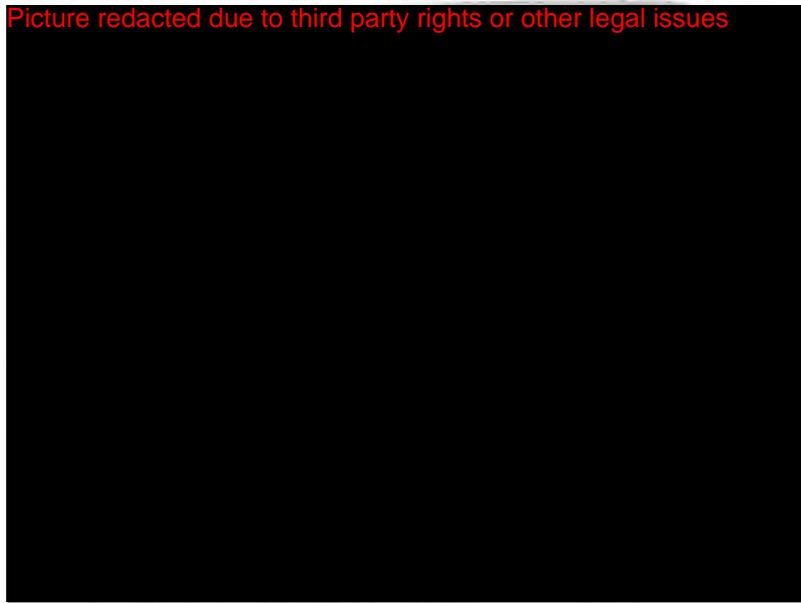
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MAIN ENTRANCE
STAFF- ROOM

ADMINISTRATION OFFICES
LIBRARY

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



DORMITORIES

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



From the above table on student population, it is clear that boarders constitute a majority. However, the Chinese transition classes, which consist almost entirely of day students, were to be rehoused on a different site in January 1977; as a result of this it can be assumed that the boarding proportion has now been significantly increased. The presence of boarders obviously affects the organizational arrangements of the school by necessitating the provision of specific physical and social facilities, social rules regulating their usage and the relationships of the persons involved. Boarding creates several social roles; for example, boarder, teacher supervisor of a dormitory, dormitory prefect, matron. Boarding is also the part of the school's institutional structure in which sex roles are rigidly segregated or subject to very strong classification.

In 1975, overcrowding in the dormitories had become a major cause for concern, and this was still the case in 1976. I saw two male dormitories in which Chinese boarders voiced complaints about the overcrowding, but most of the Bidayuh and Iban students found conditions better than in their own homes. Double bunk-beds of bare boards were the standard pattern, and each boarder had an ununlockable 'locker'. Laundry was strung up wherever it was convenient. The toilets and washrooms had been misused and vandalized, which was frequently commented upon by residential staff. The Bidayuh and Iban students were seen as the main culprits on the grounds that they, unlike the Chinese, were unaccustomed to modern facilities. This is certainly the case, but the comments must be seen in the light of the fact that at present secondary school staffs throughout the State are dominated by Chinese teachers. At Dragon School in 1976, 53 out of 69 staff were Chinese, and they also constituted the majority of residential staff.⁴

The student population is composed mostly of Bidayuh and Chinese, but with the abolition of the primary 6 selection examination, by 1976 the Bidayuh had become the numerically larger group. Catchment areas for the school have changed since 1960 and at present vary according to the point of entry, e.g. Form 1, Form 4 and Lower Sixth. In 1960, Dragon School was one of the first government secondary schools, hence it drew

students from most Divisions. However, by the early 1970s the catchment area for Form 1 entrants was primarily the Kuching Rural and Serian districts in the First Division. The entrants to Form 4 are selected on the results of the Sarawak Junior Examination (as from 1977 the Malaysian Lower Certificate Examination) and, because of the limited availability of post-Form 3 courses, Dragon School draws students from outside the First Division at this point of entry. This also applies to Lower Sixth entrants, who are selected on the results of the Overseas Cambridge Examination (as from 1978 the Malaysian Certificate of Education). This results in a greater ethnic community mix, the higher the point of entry. However, as previously pointed out, Chinese students are usually over-represented in the higher streams and (where 'tracking' exists) in the science streams. This was so at Dragon School in 1976, as the following table indicates:⁵

Chinese/Non-Chinese Students and Sex in Two Examination Years

	Chinese	Non-Chinese	Boys	Girls
Form 3A	34	7	25	16
Form 3B	23	17	23	17
Form 3C	21	21	30	12
Form 3D	4	37	19	22
Form 3E	2	39	21	20
Form 3F*	0	38	19	19
U.6.A (Sc)	16	15	23	1
U.6.B (Sc)*	9	11	21	4
U.6.A (Arts)*	6	25	17	14
U.6.B (Arts)	16	15	18	13
<hr/>				
Total Form 3	84	159	137	106
Total U.6	47	66	79	32

* Lower ability. Letter classification 'scrambled'.

All-ability intakes at the junior secondary school level undoubtedly have increased the concentration of Chinese students in the higher ability streams. The above figures show a very heavy concentration of Chinese in the top three streams at Form 3, and the same pattern was

found in the first two years. Above Form 3, the 'selected' intakes and tracking into arts or science reduce the significance of general-ability streaming and shift the pattern to one of Chinese concentration in science, which confirms the often-heard statement that the Chinese tend to excel in the natural sciences. Girls show some tendency to be concentrated in the lower streams and very few take science at sixth-form level. In 1976, Lower Sixth Sc. A and B had eight and five girls, respectively, out of 38 and 36 students in those streams. Lower Sixth arts A and B contained 13 and 15 girls out of 34 and 30, respectively.

The prefectorial and captain system is an important part of the school's institutional arrangements and provides students with achieved roles, the status of which is written into the General Rules for Students.⁶ Section 9 of those rules states: 'Prefects and captains are elected. They help the school staff in the management of students' activities in the school. They receive their orders from the Principal, and, at times, from the teachers. You will remember that at all times, OBEY THEM'. A 'house system' did not form part of the school's institutional arrangements, other than as a means of dormitory identification and for sporting events. Up to 1974, a weekly assembly was held for the whole school, but with the introduction of 'double sessions' a separate weekly assembly became necessary for those attending classes in the morning (Form 3 to Upper Sixth) and for those attending classes in the afternoon (Transition to Form 2). These weekly assemblies were addressed by the Headmaster, and were used to make announcements, for example of sporting results and forthcoming events, to highlight serious deviations from 'expected behaviour' on the part of the students, and to draw attention to students and staff who had brought social honour to the school.

Entrants to Form 1 at the time of the research were not finally allocated to the streamed classes until the end of the first year; but with the introduction of record cards for all primary and secondary pupils/students in 1976, it is reasonable to assume that such allocations now take place early in the first term. Allocations for entrance to Form 4 and the Lower Sixth were made on the basis of public examination results.

The initiation of new entrants into the institutional arrangements of the school was left primarily to the form/class teacher, helped by information disseminated at the school assemblies, but it was also made informally through friends already at the school. However, for Lower Sixth entrants a 'freshies orientation week' was organized. These entrants join the school in April, that is at the beginning of the second term, because the results of the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate Examination are not known before February. Hence the Sixth Form course is of five terms only. The General Rules for Students mentioned above are issued to all entrants and cover the following: fees, amenity fund, compulsory items, leave, homework, behaviour, prefects and captains, detention classes, school rules, manual work, games, clubs and sports, and school library. These rules are set out in full in Appendix A.

Games, clubs and sports facilities at the school covered a wide range of interest, and in some sports (e.g. rugby, football and cross-country running) the school had achieved distinction in inter-school competitions. The Principal was a sports enthusiast and this, together with the dedication of a VSO teacher, largely accounted for the school's earning social honour in sport. In 1976 the various facilities and membership numbers were as follows:⁷

<u>Clubs</u>	<u>Members</u>
Art	34
Biology	50
Economics	122
Girl-guides	13
Home science	17
Choir	28
Cookery	13
Mathematics	8
Bahasa Malaysia	35
Badminton	9
ULU (Native)	18
Animal husbandry	na

na = Not available

The club members were drawn mostly from classes above Form 3 and accounted for about 20 per cent of the total student population. The numbers of club members are inflated by the high membership figure for the Economics club, which was set up in 1975 to serve the social interests of sixth formers. Assuming that all club members were boarders, this still leaves the majority of residents not being a member of any club. In 1975 the school set up its own band, and since then dances/discos have been held about once a term. However, a frequent complaint from boarders was that at weekends there was 'nothing to do'; very few were able to make the bus trip to Kuching because of lack of money.

The increase in staff from 32 in 1973 to 69 in 1976 involved not only additions but also many replacements in each of the four years. Two notable features of staff recruitment were the decline in graduates with training as a proportion of total staff and the increase in the number of temporary unqualified teachers, who usually depart during the course of the school year for full-time study or other employment. Graduates numbered 15 out of 54 staff in 1975, and 16 out of 69 in 1976. They usually taught Form 4 and above. Temporary staff numbered 11 in 1975 and 13 in 1976. These usually taught Form 3 and below, and were concentrated mostly in lower-ability classes. Most teachers taught two or more subjects and this militated against a strong social identity and loyalty towards a specific subject department. It was observed that the strongest social identity and loyalty towards a subject department was felt by teachers who were based in a specialized room (i.e. biology, chemistry, physics, home science, woodwork) irrespective of the teacher's qualification status. Compared to the primary school the secondary school has the distinctive feature in its positional structure and transmission field of a departmental structure for the positioning of both subjects and teaching staff.

Timetables were drawn up by the Senior Assistant, in consultation with the Principal, and the teaching week consisted of 40 x 40-minute periods. The morning session started at 7.40 a.m. and the afternoon session at 12.40 p.m. Lack of time necessitated a morning session on Saturdays. Assistant teachers had an average teaching

load of 34 periods per week in the lower school and of 28 per week in the sixth forms. Staff meetings were held once or twice a term for the different sessions, so with the introduction of 'double sessions' the staff ceased to meet as a whole, other than infrequently at important social events to which all were invited. Day staff teaching in the morning left quite promptly at the end of the session, and were constrained to do so because of the grossly overcrowded staffroom. No additional staffroom space had been made available between 1974 and 1976, despite the increase in staff.

The 'double session' system which divided the staff also created a division between the day students. More important, however, were the divisions connected with the multi-ethnic composition of the student body, which created impediments to communication between students because of their different languages. The language of the classroom was English, but once outside the classroom communication was conducted in the students' own languages or dialects, primarily within friendship groups of common ethnicity and locality. The follow-up observation of students from Kambug primary school revealed that friendships made at the primary level, which were usually extensions from the community, carried on throughout the junior secondary school, and if they included others these were usually Bidayuh from other areas.

Positional Structure and Transmission Field

In discussing the positional structure and transmission field, the concern is with the school as a category system and the form of socialization into that system. As mentioned before, this is the macro-representation of the code and not directly experienced by the pupil. The pupil experiences directly the classifications and framing of local pedagogical relations, and through these, it is argued, acquires the macro-representation of the code and the dominant socio-cultural category, which is inegalitarian relations.

Compared with the small primary schools, and particularly those located in remote areas (irrespective of boarding facilities), the secondary school has a much more complex division of labour. In terms of population, the secondary school is invariably much bigger; for those pupils coming from Kambug primary school to Dragon this meant an increase from 112 to 845 pupils in 1973, and from 128 to 1,756 in 1976. An increase in population alone cannot explain the complexity of the division of labour, but it can be argued that the quantitative and qualitative change of Form 1 entrants after 1973 rendered groupings based on ability more complex, and raised the acute problem of a common versus separate curricula. The presence of remedial and illiterate pupils, referred to earlier, was an inevitable consequence of insisting upon all-ability intakes.

Unlike the primary teachers, the secondary teachers at Dragon are grouped according to subject or subjects, but there is no departmental structure with levels of responsibility, as is the case in most secondary schools in Sarawak. For the categorization of teachers (transmitters), the change is from weak classification at the primary level to strong classification at the secondary level. In all schools there is a temporal progression of pupils in terms of age (strong classification), but with the introduction of ability grouping (streaming) within age levels the classification becomes very strong compared with the single-class intakes of the remote primary school. (As mentioned in the last chapter, Kambug primary school ability grouping operated within a class.) The temporal progression at the secondary level leads into arts and science tracking, with ability grouping (streaming), so

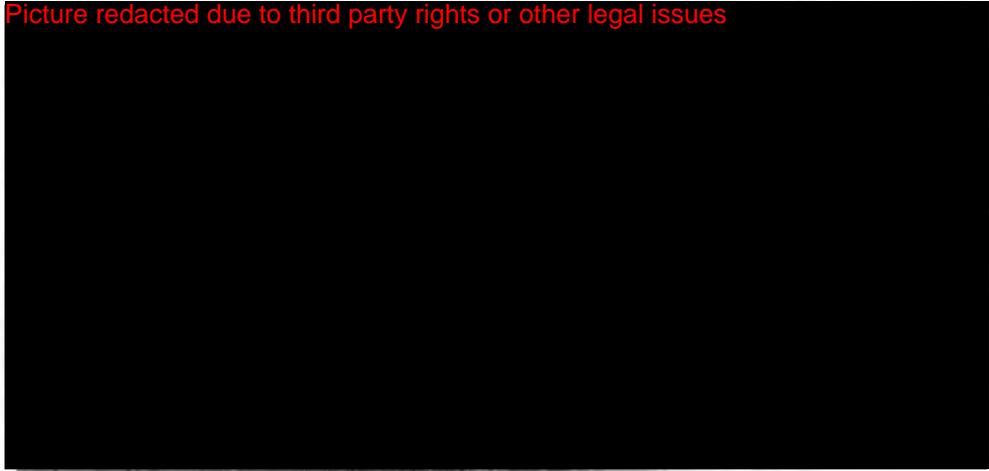
the social division of labour becomes more complex and the relationships between the categories of acquirer more attenuated. At the secondary level the stress is more strongly on keeping 'things' apart and, understandably, principles of exclusion or separation on the basis of sex (unlike the dormitory arrangements at Kambug) operate at Dragon because the children are older. However, a common curriculum - apart from a few options and a separation between advanced and ordinary courses for Bahasa Malaysia and mathematics in the junior secondary school (Forms 1 to 3) - meant that strong principles of exclusion (strong classification) operated selectively in this respect. Above Form 3, curricula became subject to strong classification between arts and science.

The standardized use of space on the Dragon campus, as a whole, is subject to very strong classification. All the buildings are modern, permanent structures and the layout is architecturally planned and designed for specialized functions. For example, there are specialized spaces for science, art, woodwork, animal husbandry, the library, general classrooms, home science and the secretary's office, Principal's office, Senior Assistant's office, staffroom, assembly hall, dormitories and dining hall. Concrete pathways connect most of these spaces, and the movement of persons is expected to be along them. Some of these specialized spaces are 'out of bounds' to unauthorized personnel. The boundaries between the rooms, buildings or spaces are sharp; in many cases lockable doors provide strong 'frames' between inside and outside.

Strong frames, where they exist, impose constraints on the communication between spaces; but the very strong framing or communication between spaces are underwritten by very strong boundary-maintainers (authority). These boundary maintainers are the rules and regulations of the school and the various 'timetables' which structure relationships or interactions in time. Persons, acts, activities and communications are subject to these boundary maintainers, and for those who are boarders, exposure to the code is continuous for at least a term.

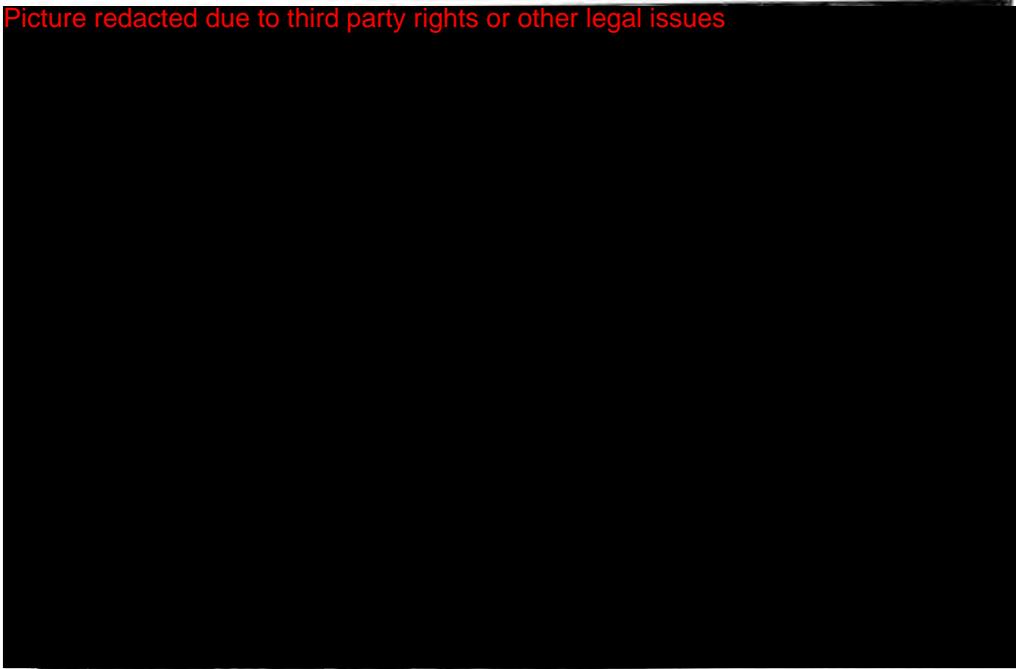
One important set of categories in the positional structure, which is not part of the school's fundamental categories as institutionalized by

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BASKETBALL COURT

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WOODWORK ROOM

Picture redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues



policy and administration, is the voluntary grouping of students - and to a lesser extent of staff - in terms of ethnicity. Friendships between Chinese and non-Chinese students are not typical, and in a friendship survey of former Kambug pupils, in which I asked them to name their three closest friends at school, I found that none had Chinese friends. Outside the teacher-pupil pedagogical relationship, language acts as a strong 'frame' or strong boundary-maintainer for the separation of ethnic groups. Moreover, historical stereotypes maintain the beliefs which support social attitudes held by individuals of different ethnic groups toward one another. An illustration of this appeared in an article written by a Chinese student for the Dragon School annual magazine, 'Dragon Doings'. Under the heading 'The Problem of National Unity in Multi-Racial Society', the writer states that 'the children of the races that live in the villages are seldom encouraged to work hard in their academic and other fields of work but just allowed to play'.⁸ The writer goes on to say that other races are successful because they are hard-working. The continuing dominant position of the Chinese communities in the economy (private sector) and education, together with the intense political struggles between themselves and other communities, are given some expression at school through voluntary rules of separation. That the majority of the teachers are Chinese, that Chinese students dominate the higher streams in Forms 1 to 3, that the Chinese are over-represented in high-status subjects (i.e. science), and that Chinese on the whole do better in all examinations is, it is argued, an important part of the dominant socio-cultural category - inegalitarian relations - albeit unintended by the comprehensive ideology. Indeed, as Westergaard and Resler pointedly note with respect to comprehensive-school reorganization in England: 'the effects of class barriers become obscured from view'.⁹ In Sarawak at the moment, it is ethnic community rather than class which structures inequality and an optative preference for separation in multi-ethnic schools.

The argument, so far, has been that the positional structure with respect to the school's fundamental categories is subject to very strong classification, and that the form of socialization into the

category system is regulated by very strong framing. In the remaining sections of the chapter the analysis will attempt to make this clearer by concentrating on the three message systems of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

Curriculum (++)C)

The basic structure of the (message system) curriculum is given by the variations in the strength of classification. To repeat, classification refers to the relationships between contents (subjects) and takes boundary strength as the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge, which is defined in this thesis as framed socio-cultural transmissions in terms of subjects.

In the primary school, it was shown that the curriculum is of the collection code type (strong classification) and not based on specialized subjects. This code is continued in the junior secondary school, but with a more complex division of labour and stronger frames separating contents. Beyond Form 3, after selection, the curriculum - by tracking into arts and science - becomes more specialized; although, as will be argued later under 'Evaluation', new examination regulations introduced in 1977 are somewhat inconsistent with this tracking. However, at the time of the research (1973-1977) the Cambridge School Certificate Examination was still in force and the relative flexibility of its entry conditions was consistent with tracking. At sixth-form level, again after selection, arts and science tracking permits some degree of pure specialization and is allowed for by the Higher Cambridge Certificate Examination, despite the compulsory entry condition of a general studies paper.

Full teaching syllabuses for junior secondary schools were issued by the Department of Education, Sarawak, in 1964.¹⁰ Their preparation had been started before independence in 1963 and had been precipitated by the McLellan Report. Mostly the work of experienced expatriates, these syllabuses are noteworthy for a serious attempt to cater for a range of ability, even within the 30 per cent selected for secondary schooling, and for placing some value on 'commonsense knowledge' and cultural traditions. Differences in ability and attainment were reflected in the provision of advanced and elementary courses, initially in mathematics and later for Chinese, Malay and Science. Moreover, taking an elementary course did not bar the pupil from entering Form 4 and probably enhanced the chance of doing so, on the grounds that

success in itself boosts self-confidence. The less abstract mathematics Course A was concerned with numeracy for everyday life, but still insisted on the grasp of computational skills and was potentially a useful supplement to 'commonsense community knowledge'. The art syllabus reflected the cultural traditions of various ethnic communities and one of those responsible for the syllabus produced several publications of outstanding excellence for use in schools.¹¹ The home economics syllabus covering cookery, needlework, childcare, etc., was to varying degrees attuned to the realities of family and household life in rural communities.

Although the subjects detailed in the full teaching syllabus (inclusive of guides to the teaching of content) were strongly classified in relation to one another, it is clear that in some subjects the classification between content and community culture was relatively weak. Hence some recognition and value was given to the pupil's community culture in the school's socio-cultural transmissions or, in other words, the framing.

In 1973, the first year of the research, the junior secondary curriculum consisted of the following subjects:¹²

English 1	Advanced Malay	Woodwork
English 2	Advanced Chinese	Cookery
History	Iban	Needlework
Geography	Mathematics (A)	Commerce
Elementary Malay	Mathematics (B)	Husbandry
Elementary Chinese	Science 1	Art 1
Religious knowledge	Science 2 (A&C)	Art 2
Physical education	Music	

During the period from 1973 to 1977, integrated science, based on the Scottish scheme, replaced science in many schools; home science replaced home economics; agricultural science replaced husbandry; Bahasa Malaysia replaced advanced Malay; and commercial studies replaced commerce. Additionally, the following were included in the curriculum: industrial arts, technical drawing, Arabic, Pengethuan

Ugama Islam, French, Tamil, Punjabi and Telugu; but their availability depended on the school and, for some subjects, on the ethnicity of the pupils.¹³ For example, as a result of the extension of the 1961 Education Act (Ordinance) of Malaya to Sarawak, Islamic religious studies must be provided in those schools in which there are 15 or more Moslems in attendance if the parents request it.¹⁴ However, the most important change by 1977 for the all-ability intakes was the discontinuance of advanced and elementary courses, except for elementary Malay, connected with the introduction of new examinations in that year.¹⁵ This will be discussed in the section 'Evaluation'.

Most of the subjects examinable in the Sarawak Junior Schools Examination were available at Dragon School, but time allocations or availability was not the same for all classes. Understandably, English was a high-status subject in terms of time allocation, but in the first three years the high-ability streams received seven periods per week, whereas the low-ability streams received only five. Woodwork was restricted to low-ability streams and this also applied, in most instances, to home economics/science. Mathematics (A or B) held parity with English in Forms 1 to 3, and the distribution for high and low streams was the same as for English. Integrated science was a high-status subject, with four and five periods per week for low and high streams, respectively. In terms of time allocation, low status was given to physical education, civics, husbandry, art, woodwork and home economics/science, and low-ability streams received more timetabled time in these subjects. By 1976, time allocations for the Bahasa Malaysia/elementary Malay were being increased in the lower forms because of the impending changes in examination regulations.¹⁶

From the above, it can be argued that the curriculum for Forms 1 to 3 is a collection type, non-specialized and subject-based. Since 1964 the move has been toward stronger classification between subjects, as witnessed by the gradual withdrawal of distinctions between advanced and elementary papers and the overall increase in the number of subjects - in other words, a more complex division of labour. Moreover, the classification of subject content and community culture have become very strong because of the demise of mathematics for everyday life and

the introduction of home science. The syllabus for the latter appears to have been written with the assumption that all the taught are living in modern dwellings with modern appliances, or that everyone will be so living in due course.¹⁷

In the next section, 'Pedagogy', it will be shown that the syllabuses devised since 1973 by the Centre for Curriculum Development in Kuala Lumpur, together with the textbooks, which are specially written, account for the move toward the very strong framing of current pedagogical practices.

Pedagogy (++)F)

Pedagogic practice directly constitutes the experience of the pupil, and it is this practice which makes substantive the power relations (positional structure) constituting, maintaining and reproducing the relationships between categories at the level of everyday interactions between teachers and pupils. In this section it will be argued that in the secondary school, framing, which is the concept defining the transmission field created by the pedagogical practices, is much stronger than in the primary school. As mentioned previously, framing refers to the control on the selection, organization (sequencing) and pacing (rate of expected acquisition) of the socio-cultural transmissions, which are primarily subject-based knowledge. The secondary pupil (acquirer) has less control over the selection, organization and pacing of the socio-cultural transmissions than has the primary pupil.

It should be clear from what has been described and analysed in the preceding sections that the more complex division of labour in terms of departmental structures, subject knowledge and teachers (transmitters) constitutes a change for the pupil transferring from primary to secondary school. Most secondary-school teaching takes place in classrooms in which pupils sit at single desks, not the double desks found in most primary schools, and these are arranged in single rows. Therefore classroom space is subject to stronger boundaries, and the privatized learning based on the textbook into which the literate pupil has been progressively socialized during six years of primary schooling, becomes still more a solitary enterprise. At the beginning of the school year, pupils receive textbook(s) from the school's stock for each of the subjects taken, and these are usually retained for the rest of the year. This is the exception rather than the rule in the primary schools, even at primary 6 level. The retention of textbooks encourages personal responsibility toward school property in a situation in which theft is not uncommon. Although pupils are allocated to forms and have their own desks with shelves (usually), textbooks and other possessions are rarely left there and when not in use are kept either in the boarder's dormitory locker or, for day pupils, at home. For those subjects not having specialized teaching space, pupils usually have their lessons in their form rooms.

In primary-school classes, teachers often adopt the practice of grouping pupils for reading and number according to levels of attainment. However, the progression of the primary pupil is dictated by membership of an age-group hierarchy and automatic promotion. A common curriculum and a common method of evaluation ensure that the homogeneous learning context of visible pedagogies, which create social structures characterized by overt mechanical solidarity and covert individualized organic solidarity (differences based on gradings), remains ascendant. When the primary pupil enters Form 1, all classes, even before streaming takes place, are treated 'as if' they are homogeneous learning contexts.

Framing is very strong in the secondary school's visible pedagogy because many more of the socio-cultural transmissions are framed by the textbook and the number of transmissions is greater. As mentioned previously, the textbook orders knowledge according to an explicit progression; it provides explicit criteria, it removes uncertainties and announces hierarchy. It gives the pupil an immediate index of where he stands in relation to others in the progression, and is therefore a silent medium for creating competitive relationships.

All textbooks for use in Malaysian schools must be officially approved. However, since the establishment of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) in Kuala Lumpur in 1972, textbooks are specially written for subject syllabuses under the Centre's guidance. All manuscripts must be assessed and approved by the Textbook Bureau in Kuala Lumpur.¹⁸ On the one hand, the implications are that the 'free-lance' textbook author is disappearing and that textbook options are reduced; on the other hand, these Federal government-sponsored moves underwrite and enhance the traditional place of the textbook, etc. in school-based socio-cultural transmissions. This new importance accorded to the textbook and other prepared teaching materials was pointed out by a UNESCO consultant, C.E. Beeby, in a report assessing the programmes of the CDC. Referring to the new history syllabus for national unity and the new civic course, both of which gave emphasis to local history and current matters, Beeby implies that if teachers have to teach these syllabuses without the textbooks at hand, they will find the task next to impossible. Beeby warns against 'expecting too much from short initial (in-service)

training courses when the changes to be made are massive'. He implies that no CDC effort which is not examinable can hope to find favour with both pupils and parents.¹⁹

Textbooks can be transmitters of factual or unproblematic knowledge (e.g. mathematical sciences) but they also convey values, beliefs, norms and generalizations to be encouraged in and internalized by pupils (acquirers), which are problematic in some subjects and are often ideological, (e.g. history). As Goody and Watt point out, there is a 'tendency for each social group to be particularly influenced by a system of ideas belonging to different periods in the nation's development; both to the individual and to the groups constituting society, the past may mean very different things'.²⁰

From the above, and from observations made at Dragon School, it is argued that in Malaysia today the textbook, which tacitly transmits the ideology of the collection code and is central to visible pedagogy, is now defined as a more reliable agent of socio-cultural transmission and socio-political socialization that is the teacher.

The Chinese are the most vocal critics of government policies, and they account for the majority of secondary teachers in Sarawak. Lessons in Dragon School were based primarily on the textbook or worksheets (in the case of integrated science), so the teacher's control on the framing of socio-cultural transmissions is increasingly as oral transmitter of a silent medium. The important exceptions are art and craft and, to a lesser extent, woodwork. Obviously, teachers can and do select from the text and change the sequencing and pacing of the transmissions; but with the advent of a close fit between textbook, syllabus and what is considered valid knowledge by evaluation (tests/examinations), the textbook is the critical agent, exercising constraints upon both pupil and teacher. Bernstein indicates the importance of textbooks as transmitters when he claims that the collection code is still capable of working when staff are mediocre teachers, and in a different context Beeby has made the same point.

Visible pedagogies, with their explicit hierarchies for space, time and

control, require legitimation based upon explicit and unambiguous values for their transmission and reproduction. Given the ethnic complexity of Sarawak, and Malaysia as a whole, and the lack of social integration and consensus, the government-sponsored textbook understandably is seen as a more reliable agent of symbolic control in pedagogical practice than is the teacher. As Bernstein observes: 'once the child can read and write...he is well on the way to managing the role of the solitary privatized educational relationship'.²¹ The book is the preparation for receiving the past as realized in the textbook, or as Oswald Spengler put it: 'Writing is the Grand Symbol of the Far'.²² But, as discussed earlier, it is the solitary privatized nature of visible pedagogy which prevents it from being a deeply socializing experience, thus carrying the potential for social de-regulation of the person. Undoubtedly, Nietzsche, in describing 'we moderns' as 'wandering encyclopaedias', unable to live and act in the present and obsessed by a 'historical sense that injures and finally destroys the living thing, be it a man or a people or system of culture', was hinting at this potential.²³

It is argued that the very strong framing of visible pedagogy in the secondary school, at least up to Form 5, inheres in the textbook(s) and, to a lesser extent, in the teacher. In the primary classroom it was observed that the 'culture of silence' on the part of pupils had been accepted by the third year, and as more pupils attain basic competencies in reading and writing, this culture is reinforced. At Dragon School the 'culture of silence' during lessons was the prescribed norm, though not always achieved by inexperienced staff, and the only oral interchange observed between teacher and pupil was that of question and answer. Pupils rarely asked questions, and many preferred to ask a friend afterwards if they had been unable to understand a point. Many pupils complained that they were unable to understand the way the teacher spoke English, and this further encouraged a 'life-line' attitude toward textbooks.

It is suggested that very strong framing for the literate Bidayuh entering Form 1 can inflict symbolic messages that are psychically wounding and for those lacking basic competencies it is tantamount to a symbolic crucifixion because they are defined automatically by visible

pedagogy as 'non-doing' pupils. Very strong sequencing and very strong pacing of textbook transmissions over at least seven literary subjects in a compulsory curriculum ensures that many Bidayuh and other pupils at junior secondary level are on a treadmill. However, both 'doing' and 'non-doing' pupils experience the symbolic messages of visible pedagogy - the competitive relationships of radical individualism - and, as will be argued in the next section, evaluation procedures ensure that this aspect of socio-cultural transmissions is a deeply socializing experience.

Evaluation (++C ++F)

Evaluation is the third message system and it defines what counts as a valid realization of socio-cultural transmissions on the part of the taught. Evaluation procedures obviously are integral to the school as a selective and socializing agency. In this section these procedures will be described and explained by use of the concepts classification and framing.

Bernstein states that 'Where the pedagogy is visible an objective grid exists for the evaluation of the pupils in the form (a) clear criteria and (b) a delicate measurement procedure'. He goes on to say that 'there is a profile which consists of the grading of specific competencies', but also 'a profile which consists of grading the child's motivation and work abilities'.²⁴ As transmitters, teachers under visible pedagogy value attentiveness, co-operation, persistence and carefulness on the part of the pupil (acquirer), and these evaluations are usually entered on report record cards as rather short, somewhat stereotyped unexplicated judgements. Where guidance and counselling services exist, they logically belong to the second profile, although it is not unknown for gradings to be used in this type of evaluation. What is important is that the profile of the pupil may be obtained by looking across his grades. The pupil knows where he is, the teacher knows where he is, and so do the parents.

The pattern of schooling, including the examination system, by the mid-1970s was as set out on page 97. All these examinations, irrespective of language medium or their internal or external status to the state of Sarawak, are evaluations of attainment. Those examinations taken at the end of Forms 3 and 5 are also selection examinations determining entry to the next level of schooling, Form 4 and the Lower Sixth, respectively. Of the preceding year's cohort, approximately 50 per cent enter Form 4 and 25 per cent the Lower Sixth. For example, in the State as a whole, of 3,049 pupils in Form 5 in 1974, 777 entered the Lower Sixth in 1975.²⁵

In 1977, the Sarawak Junior School Certificate Examination (SJSCE) was replaced by the Sarawak Junior Secondary School Certificate Examination

(SJSCE), which has the same syllabuses and entry conditions as the Malaysian Lower Certificate of Education, but different conditions of award.²⁶ This change requires comment.

Under the conditions for the SJSCE, candidates were required to enter for at least 10 but not more than 12 papers, of which the following were obligatory: English 1 and 2; history; geography; one Asian language; one of the mathematics alternatives; and one of the science alternatives. These alternatives took account of a fairly wide ability range in subject areas in which non-Chinese pupils, in particular, experience difficulty. Similarly, Chinese papers were offered at advanced and elementary levels, but the national language (Bahasa Malaysia) was at a higher level than elementary Malay, the latter permitting the use of local idiomatic language. Optional subjects (papers), one of which was obligatory, were: woodwork, or industrial arts; cookery; needlework; commerce; bible knowledge; Islamic religious knowledge; husbandry and art (two papers).

Standards of attainment in each paper were graded 1 (highest) to 10 (lowest), with no pass grade. To qualify for a Division 3 award, an aggregate of grades not exceeding 45 units in the nine best papers was required; for a Division 2 award an aggregate in the nine best papers not exceeding 36 was needed; and for a Division 1 award an aggregate in the same number of best papers not exceeding 27. Those who failed to qualify for a certificate could be awarded a Statement of Attainment if they had obtained seven units or less in one or more papers.

As a measure of competencies, the SJSCE allowed for and rewarded a fairly wide spectrum of pupil interest and ability in a non-specialized subject curriculum. Obviously the degree of choice over options depended on their availability and, as at Dragon School, some restriction existed according to ability stream. However, it was possible for a candidate to attain a Division 1 or 2, the gateway to Form 4, with a poor performance in mathematics - the stumbling block for most. Conversely, the two art papers allowed Bidayuh candidates, in particular, to demonstrate a high degree of 'natural' ability in this

area. This ability was confirmed by an analysis of marks in art for ex-Kambug primary pupils, and also from discussion with several art-teachers. Although Dragon never fared well in art competitions, sport being its forte, a neighbouring secondary school (Penrissen) produced art and craft of an exceptionally high standard, mostly executed by Bidayuh pupils, and won many competitions sponsored by The British Council. However, perhaps the most important feature which favoured the Sarawakian pupil in general was that the syllabuses had been localized to some extent in 1964 by experienced teachers, albeit that many of them were expatriates. This in itself was a major departure from the syllabuses dominated by British culture during colonial rule, when a hapless child of the tropics might be asked to describe a wintry scene.

Major changes were signalled with the introduction of the SJSSCE - based on syllabuses prescribed for the Lower Certificate of Education Examination of West Malaysia. This was an important step taken by the State Government in order to bring the school-based socio-cultural transmissions of Sarawak into line with those of the national system.

With the exception of elementary Malay, which is provided mainly for candidates who have learned little or no Malay in the primary school, all examination subjects are now at only one level; that is, there are no elementary or advanced papers in the same subject. As mentioned previously, husbandry is replaced by agricultural science, commerce by commercial studies; cooking and needlework by home science. Music, technical drawing and agricultural science (alternative) are new examinable subjects.

Apart from the change in syllabuses, the greatest differences are in the conditions of entry and award. Entry conditions make it obligatory for candidates to sit for English, Bahasa Malaysia or elementary Malay, and mathematics or modern mathematics. Additionally, at least one subject must be taken from each of the following groups:

Group A.	History or geography
Group B.	Science or integrated science
	Industrial arts or woodwork
	Agricultural science or agricultural science (alternative)
	Commercial studies
	Home science

A candidate must enter for and sit not less than six and not more than eight subjects, but to obtain a SJSS Grade A certificate (which gives prime consideration for promotion to Form 4) passes in English, one of the mathematics subjects, either history or geography, one subject from Group B, and one other subject offered (e.g. music, art, Arabic, Iban, Chinese, technical drawing, Christian religious knowledge) are necessary, as well as obtaining an aggregate of grades not exceeding 34 units. For a Grade B certificate, passes in at least five subjects, based on the above subject choice, are necessary but not the aggregate of 34 units. A Grade C certificate is awarded for those obtaining at least five subject passes, including English, one mathematics subject, and either history or geography. All other candidates can be awarded Statements of Attainment if they pass in at least one subject. Regarding the Lower Certificate of Education award, a pass in Bahasa Malaysia is essential, otherwise a SJSS certificate is awarded.

Marking grades is on the basis of nine-point and not a ten-point scale as before. What is more significant is that the new marking scheme delimits levels of performance, including a fail category. On the nine-point scale, these categories are: 1-2 very good; 3-6 credit; 7-8 pass; 9 fail. The changes in the conditions of entry and award show a definite move toward stronger classification, and also stronger framing. By making a compulsory core - Bahasa Malaysia, English and mathematics - and only permitting options from preselected groups of subjects, a new stratification of subject knowledge has been created, which is additional to the strong classification between subjects of the collection code. By making evaluations of attainment on the basis of subjects rather than papers, and by eliminating advanced and elementary alternatives (except for Malay) and restricting choice by subject grouping, pupil options are

drastically reduced: in other words, the change is toward much stronger framing. Also, the academic literary and abstract nature of the 'compulsory core' must work against the pupil of average ability.

Promotion to Form 4 after sitting the SJSE was usually automatic for those awarded a Division 1 or 2 certificate, but under the new examinations candidates awarded a Grade A certificate are eligible only for consideration for promotion to Form 4, and for exemption from a qualifying test. This suggests that other criteria may be deemed necessary to enter Form 4. A reasonable competence in Bahasa Malaysia, which will in due course supersede English as the medium of instruction at all levels, is a realistic assumption, but what is equally feasible is that these criteria may refer to the pupil's non-academic profile. In 1976, a record card system was introduced for all pupils from primary 1 onward, and these are designed to follow the pupil through his/her school career. Moreover, a guidance and counselling service was begun in 1975 at secondary-school level, understandable in the light of very large boarding schools and intense competition generated by visible pedagogies. Between 1973 and 1976 there were four suicides at Dragon School, including one member of staff.²⁷ It is reasonable to assume that these acts of self-destruction were not unrelated to the social consequences of very rapid school expansion.

Information required by the new record card* goes well beyond the pupil's academic progress in, for example, Primary Five Assessment results or sessional examinations. The non-academic aspects of the card include data on family background, personal interests and behavioural traits, and thus provide ample opportunity for forming the stereotyped, unexplicated judgements mentioned earlier. In Sarawak, and Malaysia as a whole, how the various communities socially perceive one another is fraught with stereotyped beliefs and attitudes - partly a bequest of the Brooke and British colonial administration. Given the current political and economic struggles between Chinese, Malays and others in the State, and the situations in which Chinese teach Malays, Malays teach Chinese, Chinese teach Bidayuh, etc., the risk of

* see Appendix B

stereotyped judgements is high. Regarding guidance and counselling, ostensibly designed to 'cool out' those with unrealistic aspirations, but more importantly, a means of categorization of what are defined as social maladjustments, heralds even greater risks of injustice.

Taking record cards, guidance and counselling together, the implication is that there is now a serious attempt to overcome the very limited degree of pupil surveillance permitted by the solitary privatized learning of visible pedagogies. This is a covert form of evaluation and control, which carries the probability of discrepancy, or even conflict, between academic and non-academic pupil profiles. Apart from that, it is surely the case that schools now have the problem of ensuring confidentiality. How much is to go into the record card; where is it to be kept; how much of it and in what way are its contents to be made available, and to whom? Non-academic profiles stress differences between pupils (or strong classification) and insofar as they reduce options, they involve strong framing.

An outstanding feature of the SJSSE and LCE examination is the number of papers containing objective questions. In this joint examination there are objective papers in 14 subjects, and 12 of these are exclusively of this type, apart from oral tests where applicable.²⁸ The multi-choice questions in objective papers usually are designed to test a wider coverage of a syllabus than the traditional type of paper, and to attain full marks all questions must be answered correctly. They are easier and quicker to mark and once provided with the answer sheet, any reliable person can be entrusted with the task; an important consideration in view of the growing reluctance on the part of qualified people to serve on examining boards.²⁹ Also, in view of the massive increase in the number of examinees, it might be a legitimate claim that this method of evaluation is necessary in order to cope. However, it is more pertinent to ask what type of understanding (or lack of it) is being assessed and to raise the question as to whether this is a subtle form of political socialization. First, in subjects like history, geography, home science - all of which have exclusively objective papers - the candidate is denied the opportunity of verbal elaboration of interpretive understanding arising from non-school based learning. Second,

subject knowledge is reduced to a collection of 'objective facts', which reinforces rote learning by stipulating that there is only one correct answer to any question. The recent proliferation of model answers to objective papers in Kuching bookshops shows clearly how the rise of so-called 'objectivity' translates itself into a commercially exploitative enterprise. Finally, the 'objectivizing' of history is a manifest falsification of the art and craft of historiography, albeit justified, perhaps, in the name of national unity. Apart from these points, by insisting on complete coverage of a syllabus, objective papers ensure that in the pedagogical relationship between teacher and pupil, the very strong framing over selection, sequencing and pacing of the transmissions is rigidly adhered to.

Public examinations of attainment and selection at Form 5 level have recently undergone changes similar to those discussed above. In 1978 the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate and GCE 'O' level examinations were replaced by a joint examination for the Malaysian Certificate of Education (MCE) and GCE 'O' level. At present the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate continues to underwrite the status of the MCE, but on a temporary basis only.

For the Malaysian Certificate of Education (MCE), the subjects are grouped as follows:³⁰

- i. Bahasa Malaysia (compulsory for entry and award)*
- ii. General Subjects
 - ia. Literature in English
 - Malay literature
 - Chinese literature
 - Tamil literature
 - Bible knowledge
 - Islamic religious knowledge
 - iib. History
 - Geography
 - Malaysian studies

* It is understood that in 1979 the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Abdul Rahman Ya'kub, announced that until 1983 this award requirement for entrants in Sarawak would be waived and a pass in English language substituted as an alternative.

- iii. Languages
 English language
 Chinese
 Tamil
 Arabic
 Other approved languages
- iv. Mathematical Subjects
 Mathematics (B)
 Mathematics (C)
 Additional mathematics
- v. Science Subjects
 General science
 Additional general science
 Agricultural science
 Physics
 Chemistry
 Biology
 Human and social biology
 Physical science
- vi. Arts and Crafts
 Art; Music; Woodwork; Metalwork;
 Metalwork (Engineering); Needlework
 and Dressmaking; Cookery; General
 housecraft.
- vii. Technical and Commercial Subjects
 Engineering science; Engineering
 Workshop practice; Surveying;
 Geometrical and mechanical drawing;
 Building construction; Commercial
 Studies; Commerce; Principles of
 accounts.

All candidates for the MCE must enter for and sit at least six subjects, but may not offer more than nine. These include Bahasa Malaysia, at least one subject from group iib, English language, and subjects chosen from at least three of the groups ii to vii. To qualify for the certificate, candidates must:³¹

1. 'reach a satisfactory general standard as judged by their performance in their best six subjects, and
2. pass in at least five subjects (including Bahasa Malaysia), with credit in at least one of them, and
3. pass in at least four subjects (including Bahasa Malaysia), with credits in at least two of them'.

Successful candidates are classified in three Divisions, as follows:³²

1. 'First Division to those who pass in at least six subjects, which must include subjects from at least three of the groups, iia, iib, iii-vii inclusive, reaching credit in at least five subjects (including either Bahasa Malaysia or English language), and who reach a high general standard as judged by their performance in their ~~six~~ best subjects
2. Second Division to those who pass in above, except that credits are required in four unspecified subjects
3. Third Division to other successful candidates'.

A GCE can be awarded to those who do not qualify for a MCE if they obtain an Ordinary Level pass (equivalent to a credit in the MCE) in at least one subject. The comparative grades in both examinations are: MCE: 1-6, credit; 7-8, pass; 9, fail; and GCE: 1-6, pass; 7-9, fail.

Compared with the ICE, the MCE grouping of subjects is a more highly specialized division of labour, hence the classification is very much stronger. The option restrictions ensure that only if a candidate offers nine subjects is specialization in a particular group, i.e. science, arts and crafts, possible. The constraint upon candidates is to offer a non-specialized collection of subjects, and this is reinforced by the Awarding Committee having discretionary powers to be slightly more lenient in awarding First and Second Division certificates for those who do.³²

The tracking into arts and science in Forms 4 and 5 at Dragon School, referred to earlier, was in step with the flexible subject choice afforded by the Cambridge School Certificate but is less well adapted to the conditions of entry and award of the MCE. This has implications for the effectiveness of visible pedagogy, which requires fairly early specialization in order to socialize those 'selected' into strong subject identities as an ordered discipline. It is the success of early specialization under visible pedagogy in most British schools which permits those passing into the sixth form to experience less strong framing, and this is continued at higher sector levels. However, in Sarawak (and Malaysia) the new examinations favour non-specialization, thus making socialization into strong subject identities

difficult, and perhaps, depending on the type of examination which will inevitably replace the Higher Cambridge Certificate in due course, postponing it altogether to higher sector levels. The absence of fairly early specialization in collection codes when curricula are of strong or very strong classification means that order must be maintained by framing - and very strong framing. This is the European rather than the British model, and, as argued in the section 'Pedagogy', this is what is happening in Sarawak's schools. In the 1970s the move has been from strong to very strong framing of the socio-cultural transmissions; or in other words, a change in coding underlying the transmission field (pedagogical practices). This is the logical outcome according to the theoretical models developed in this thesis to explain the empirical reality, because social regulation of the pupil qua individual is both internal and external. In visible pedagogy, self-regulation (internal) comes as a result of successful socialization into strong subject identities, which are facilitated by specialization and depend upon the teachers (transmitters) themselves having internalized strong subject identities. Where this is not the case, then social regulation must be by external pressure (very strong framing), but this cannot lead to a deeply socializing experience under visible pedagogy because it is based primarily on solitary privatized learning, which in itself affords most pupils a measure of protection of the self against the symbolic messages that visible pedagogy transmits. For many, these symbolic messages may cause psychic wounds which never heal, because the competitive relationships of radical individualism - the covert symbolic message of visible pedagogy - ensure that the majority bear the cross of 'failure'.

CONCLUSION

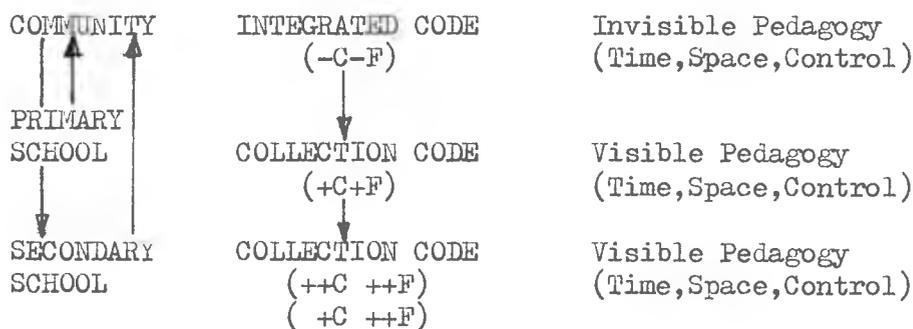
CHANGE, CONFLICT AND CONTRADICTION

In conclusion, it will be argued that this exercise in theoretical exploration, by addressing itself to the question of the structure, and to changes in the structure, of socio-cultural transmissions between the community and different levels of schooling within the wider context of macro-structural change, on the one hand has raised some important issues regarding the explanation of success and failure in schools, and on the other hand has provided some theoretical exposure to the problem and problematics of social order. The latter is, as Durkheim argued, a key problem for social theory. For Sarawak and Malaysia it is a problem of vital significance which, as yet, remains unresolved.

The change in the type of transmission code and also the changes in strength of code/coding(s) was indicated in model diagram (f) on page 45. For convenience, this diagram is set out again below, since the concluding discussion centres upon conflicts and contradictions arising from changes in transmission, and upon changes in the relationship between transmission and production (rice). Additionally, the relations between the schools' transmissions and modes of production in the modern sector are briefly discussed. In order to show the relevance of the theorizations to other ethnic communities, a very brief discussion of the Chinese and Malays is included.

Model (f)

Change of Code of Transmission: Community and School
Change in Code strength (CsFs) from Primary to
Secondary Schools



In the above model the arrows running from primary school to the community and from the secondary school to the community refer to

those pupils who are obliged to return to the community for various reasons after attending school for varying periods of time. The arrows running from the community to the primary school, then from the primary school to the secondary school, indicate the movement and change of persons into individuals associated with the change in type and strength of code. In both directions, the arrows indicate the movement of persons or individuals in space and time, and the movement between the community and the school is across a very strong boundary.

For the community, it is maintained that, overall, the categories of the social division of labour are affected by egalitarianism, optation and uncircumscription, and that this results in the relationships between most categories being of weak classification. Although it has been pointed out that in every society there are some strong classifications for the social division of labour, which in Bidayuh traditional society and culture are most clearly located in various taboos, the argument is that these are not dominant or dominating. For Bidayuh traditional society and culture the dominant socio-cultural category is seen to be egalitarian relations. It is argued that the empirical evidence is clearly indicative of the importance of egalitarianism and egalitarian relations, but more importantly, that this is not simply a contention based on the study of a cluster of village communities. Geddes is quite explicit about the central importance of egalitarianism for the Bidayuh; and more recently King, in a theoretical discussion of cognatic social structures, refers to them, again quite explicitly, as optative and uncircumscribed, and in most instances linked to a basic egalitarianism.¹ This contention is strongly supported by the fact that the traditional society does not have a system of social stratification which, if it existed, would have been a contradiction of egalitarian relations and values. The rule of community membership is residence; there are no prescribed or preferential rules of marriage* and at marriage residence is optional; there is equality of consideration over the rules of inheritance; no significant differences are drawn between legitimacy and illegitimacy; and authority is personal rather than positional. This flexibility permits the easy intrusion of personal and situational factors in decision-making.

* Marriage taboos exist up to second or third cousin, depending on the area, but even these are sometimes circumvented.

An important point in the argument is that the integrated code of transmission is crucial in explaining social order and its maintenance. The reason for this is that framing at the level of local pedagogical relations (codings) regulates the form of socialization into the category system; that is, into the positional structure, and into the form of the power relationships which constitute, maintain and reproduce the structure. The weak framing of the integrated code's invisible pedagogy places the controls on the selection, organization, (sequencing) and pacing (rate of expected acquisition) of the socio-cultural transmissions to be acquired with the child rather than with the transmitters. Play is integral to invisible pedagogy, and it is the child's association with his/her peers in play that forms a vital learning and socialization context. Play is a specific form of peer culture and is the clearest social expression of egalitarian relations and values. In play, peers are both transmitters to and acquirers from one another, and it is primarily in these contexts that a directness between codings and code (semicircular arrow in models on pages 44 and 45) arises; that is, contexts in which the categories of transmitter and acquirer are not distinguishable. In other words, there are no transmitter intermediaries between the interactional (codings) and macro-institutional (code) levels, so the child experiences directly the code's macro-representations. Obviously the child also may have these experiences alone, as is attested by Dorothy Lee's ideas on independent learning and her observations on childhood among the Sioux.² In those relationships and situations within and outside the household in which transmitter and acquirer are categorizable, weak classification and weak framing obtains and the transmitters themselves are weakly classified. Consequently the child has many options. These options increase as soon as the child can walk and engage most of the transmission field, spatially the village, albeit in the company of others. In the home, with its 'open plan' living arrangements, space is weakly classified and communication between spaces for objects, persons and acts is regulated by weak framing.

The reason why invisible pedagogy can bring into deep consciousness what Goody and Watt refer to as the 'cultural repertoire' is that transmission is by oral means and hence by face-to-face contact. This involves a

process of direct semantic ratification, and much talk; but of crucial importance is the attentiveness to 'feelings'. Feelings are reified. It was argued previously that the Bidayuh have a 'touch culture'; that is, physical closeness or contact is normal and preferred to distancing. This is much more than just gregariousness. The weak framing of invisible pedagogy respects the child's feelings and encourages respect by the child for the feelings of others. 'Do not disturb' (kasu) is a very common expression, and its semantic reference is to feelings as much as to property. Egalitarianism, which is taken as the dominant value, is counterbalanced by individualism; but it is an individualism which puts the onus on respect for the person, and is non-competitive in spirit. Bernstein, in drawing a distinction between personalized organic solidarity and individualized organic solidarity, provides the clue to the Bidayuh interpretation of individualism. It is personalized. Now personalized organic solidarity develops out of a complex division of labour of cultural or symbolic control, which is the case in Bidayuh society and culture. But it is crucial to the effectiveness of invisible pedagogy, as a deep and penetrating socializing experience, that the economic division of labour is simple, which it is for the Bidayuh. It is also crucial that the integrated code's invisible pedagogy has an ideology which is explicit, elaborated and closed, which it is for the Bidayuh. This ideology is egalitarian relations and values, and this is effectively and implicitly transmitted through the invisible pedagogy's low insulations or weak classifications. Therefore, it is argued, the Bidayuh provide a unique example of Bernstein's theoretical contention that the overt structure of personalized organic solidarity of integrated codes creates covertly through its less-specialized outputs, mechanical solidarity. In respect of the Bidayuh, it is suggested that the outputs are non-specialized for the mode of production (rice).

The explanation for the dominant socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations, which is reproduced by the integrated code of socio-cultural transmissions. lies in the mode of production. This dominant category is created and maintained by the mode of production, but obviously not transmitted or reproduced by it. There are several practical reasons why the mode of production is based upon egalitarian relations; for example, in the past it released men for warfare and trade, or to

overcome labour shortages when households were unable to provide a sufficient labour input to produce a subsistence output. In other words, egalitarian relations forms the basis of the moral economy, because it was the only possible socio-ecological response to a specific physical environment which could assure the peasants' claim of a 'right to subsistence' being satisfied. This peasant ethic of a social right to subsistence has appeared historically in many contexts, and is for E.P. Thompson 'the moral economy of the poor'.³ This social right could be maintained in some contexts on the basis of inegalitarian relations (strong classification), but this is not the case for the Bidayuh. It has been shown that the household economy centres on the production of hill padi (rice) on the basis of shifting cultivation. The technology employed is simple, as is the economic division of labour. The argument is that the mode of production is based on an integrated code and that the structural principles of the code are weak classification and weak framing. This argument is now summarized.

The social relationships constituted by the mode of production, in terms of classification, refer to the relationships between categories of production; that is, between various agents. Bernstein, because his research is based in Western capitalist society, distinguishes the agents in terms of skill; e.g. unskilled, skilled, technologists. However, for Bidayuh society and culture these distinctions are not appropriate because the skills are general and simple with respect to padi production. In other words, there is a single category, but the agents can be distinguished on the basis of sex, so one has an intra-category category. This intra-category category is weakly classified. Bernstein states that 'With weak classification the relationships between agents are less sharply distinguished, there is reduced insulation between functions and agents are more interchangeable between categories'.⁴ All activities relating to padi production can be undertaken by either sex, although there are activities which are usually undertaken by men or women. Apart from aspects of the belief system (i.e. bad omens) which put a temporary stop to all activity, there are permanent no taboos on who does what. The activities of burning, clearing, planting, weeding and harvesting are controlled, within broad limits, by the agricultural cycle.

Framing of the mode of production refers to the regulation on the realization of the categories; that is, to the form of communication constituted by the category system of the mode of production. Bernstein states that 'If the primary unit of production is relatively co-operative, group-based, where there is opportunity to vary conditions and, perhaps, sequencing and pacing, where the outcome is a fraction of the total object of production but bears a more direct relation to it, we can say that this represents weak framing'.⁴ From the descriptions given previously in Chapter 5 (see pages 173, 174) this is certainly the case: in fact, within the broad limits of the agricultural cycle, the organization, sequencing and pacing is very much under the control of the agents.

In view of the above, it is argued that the code of production is integrated agents of an intra-category (general skill) category (sex) performing integrated acts. Hence weak classification and weak framing.

On the basis of the empirical evidence regarding the introduction of cash-cropping (rubber, pepper), which in the Tebia area has been necessarily small-scale because of terrain and cost, it is clear that this is accommodated within the integrated code of production. Hence the correspondence between the codes (transmission and production) is maintained and the increase in cash flow, which is translated into new cultural items (radios, watches, etc.) is not a significant agent of change. To change consciousness requires systematic exposure to a different type of socio-cultural transmission code and codings, and it is this exposure which the school provides.

In Sarawak, the school is an intrusive institution brought there by the missionaries and the Chinese during Brooke times. As argued previously, the school transmits a collection code, which at the primary level is based on the structural principles of strong classification (+C) and strong framing (+F), and at the secondary level these become very strong. Therefore, the Bidayuh child attending school is involved in a complete change in the type of transmission code, and subsequently, at the point of primary/secondary transfer, an increase in the strength of the code/codings (++C++F).

The visible pedagogy of the school is based on and transmits explicit and unambiguous values, which are revealed most clearly in its evaluation procedures, because these encapsulate the two message systems of curriculum and pedagogy. The dominant socio-cultural category is inegalitarian relations, and this is located in and characterized by the macro-institutional structure (Sarawak's changing social structure), and the school is a transmitter and reproducer of inegalitarian relations in its code and codings. The symbolic messages to which the child is exposed, as pupil, are the Cs and Fs of inegalitarian relations, and the dominating values of radical competitive individualism, forcefully expressed by the gradings of pupils. An important point that cannot be overstressed in the inter-cultural classrooms of Sarawak's schools, in which the medium of instruction in most instances is the mother tongue of neither the teacher nor the pupil, is that the textbook has a very special significance. The textbook is a silent medium for creating competitive relationships. Pupils are forced to rely more on the textbook because they have difficulty in understanding the way the teacher speaks (an often-voiced complaint). Teachers, on the other hand, as transmitters in visible pedagogy are constrained, and perhaps desire, to see the textbook as a release; but it can only be a release when the pupil has achieved basic competencies in literacy and numeracy, because only then can the pupil use the textbook as the textbook demands - for solitary privatized learning. But it is argued that the teacher in the inter-cultural classroom is further constrained to rely on the textbook because of oral communication problems; and even if teachers do not recognize this or care about it, they are still constrained by the fact that the textbooks currently produced are written specifically for the syllabus and the examinations, which are very much based on objective papers, at least up to ICE. It is also the case that by making teachers 'civil servants', their activities are being monitored (or they suspect that they are) so they are encouraged to put responsibility upon the textbook as the transmitter. The textbook provides what has been approved, and it is a more reliable political socializer than the teacher. For the pupil, the textbook is the strongest form of framing because textbooks always give the same answer, particularly if they are written with objective test-papers in mind, no matter what questions the pupil puts to them. The pupil cannot have a dialogue with the textbook, and

he is invariably constrained by the rigid selection, explicit sequencing and strong pacing in the framing of the textbook's transmissions, which are strongly framed by the textbook itself.

A change in transmission code is a confrontation for the Bidayuh child, because the code disvalues pre-school experience, and once the child is on the escalator of automatic promotion the symbolic messages of the code are unrelenting. The collection codes' symbolic messages are wounding but, as stated previously, the wounds themselves would be psychic. These wounds are inflicted particularly by the evaluation procedures, and these are unlikely to heal in the majority of children, who either drop out or are selected out, because they never reach the higher levels of schooling at which the self-regulation arising from internalizing strong subject identities and loyalties takes place or ought to take place. 'Ought to take place' is a cautionary comment on current trends in the secondary schools, in which specialization is now subject to indefinite delay, the majority of teachers lack strong subject identities and loyalties.

The high rate of attrition among pupils points to the first aspect of contradiction, namely that the Federal Government and State Governments are committed - as explicitly stated in the Third Malaysia Plan - to socio-economic reconstruction, and that schooling is seen as an important agency for the redistribution of 'life chances', or at least for enabling non-Chinese to take advantage of the opportunities currently arising from the New Economic Policy. The assumption here is that there is a correspondence between the dispositions valued in the school and the dispositions required by agents of the work-force, whether that work-force refers to the 'modern sector' or 'traditional sector'. It will now be argued that the above assumption is false, and that the falsity lies in the relative autonomy of the socio-cultural transmissions which are strongly classified and framed by the institution and building called 'school'. But what is equally important is that this relative autonomy is a function of the relationship between the school and the macro-institutional structure, particularly the mode of production, and at different historical periods.

It has been argued previously that weak classification and simple systemic relationships exist between the socio-cultural transmissions and the mode of production in the rural kampongs. Therefore the transmissions have a direct and specific relationship to the material base of rice production. The important point is that it is not only in Bidayuh society and culture that the socio-cultural transmissions and production are integrated, but that this is also reproduced through invisible pedagogy which ensures the universalization of the Bidayuh socio-cultural ideal. Invisible pedagogy produces/reproduces the simple non-specialized skills and egalitarian dispositions required of agents/workers by the mode of production. In other words, the transmission code is a guarantor for the reproduction of the work-force, and it is total rather than an approximation. This, it is argued, would explain why cash-cropping, because it is on a relatively small scale, is managed by the integrated production code, and why the Bidayuh desire that it should be so. However, an important point on cash-cropping is that the Bidayuh are well known to be more successful with rubber than with pepper. It is suggested that a possible explanation lies in the integrated transmission code's inability to create the skills and dispositions (systematic care) which are known to be required for successful pepper gardening.

Let us now consider the relationship between the strongly classified and framed socio-cultural transmissions of schooling, which are based on a collection code of increasing strength in classification and framing, and the integrated production code (community) and the production code(s) of the largely urban-centred modern sector. Regarding the integrated production code (community), there is conflict and contradiction because the production code is -C -F and the transmission code is +C+F/++C++F. In this case the relationship between the categories of transmission (schooling) and production (rice) is that of very strong classification, and no systemic relationship obtains between them. The categories (skills and inegalitarian dispositions) produced/reproduced in the specialized outputs of schooling are in conflict and in contradiction with those categories (simple manual skills and egalitarian dispositions) required of the non-specialized inputs (agents/workers) by the mode of production. Therefore no relationship exists

between the categories realized by the school's collection code transmissions and the expected realizations of the categories of the mode of production (rice). Depending on the type of cash-cropping, a very extended or extended systemic relationship would exist. This shows the relative autonomy and independence of the school transmissions from production in the area of regulation, with the real prospect of deregulation. The rapid increase in the number of Bidayuh going on to secondary school has meant exposure to ++C++F and has brought into their consciousness the radical competitive individualism of the code/codings and acquisitiveness. But after nine years schooling, about 50 per cent of the children are automatically excluded from school, and many of these are forced back into their own community because the modern sector cannot absorb them. The result is conflict, and there is growing empirical evidence to support this contention. For example, it was noted and reported that parents in Tebia often comment that children at secondary school who return for the whole or part of the vacations prefer to sit about at home, and lack motivation to help if there is work to be done. This is uncharacteristic of Bidayuh children.

The relative autonomy or independence of the transmission code and the production codes of the modern sector also obtains, because it is only the chosen few who are initiated into the strong subject identities and loyalties upon which self-regulation under visible pedagogy depends. In other words, only a small fraction of the output of schooling bears a direct relationship to the mode of production (modern sector) in terms of skill and disposition. 'The School', Bernstein states, 'may well legitimize values and attitudes relevant to the mode of production, but this does not mean that these are so internalized as to constitute specific personalities'.⁵ In this case the relationship between the categories of transmission (schooling) and production (modern sector) is that of strong classification, and an extended systemic relationship obtains between them. What this means in real terms is well illustrated by the Miri-Bintulu development scheme, which is an estate-based mode of production (palm-oil, etc.). It has been reported that the rate of desertion by Ibans is quite high.⁶ The few young men from Tebia who lived and worked on the estates went there with the intention of staying only for a limited period: all returned with very unenthusiastic

Comments on their experiences of very hard work, long regular hours, and poor pay. Most of these young men had had primary schooling and a few had some secondary schooling.

The realization of the school's collection code categories (skills and dispositions) and the expected realizations of the categories of the modern sector's modes of production (including the State bureaucracies as the largest employer) must be qualified in view of the place of patronage. Employment in the modern sector, whether public or private, is affected by patronage. For the public sector, which is the most sought-after, the socio-political and economic concept of the bumiputra (Malays and other selected non-Chinese groups) permits those claiming bumiputra-hood to be given special consideration, and in practice there is a quota system which favours them. On the other hand, the private sector is dominated by the Chinese, who although traditionally favouring their own people, are now constrained to continue this practice - willingly or unwillingly as a result of the bumiputra concept.

The State bureaucracies, which in recent years have undergone massive expansion deviate markedly from the 'ideal type' bureaucracy of Max Weber. In that ideal type, entry by open competition and promotion by merit are integral, and it can be noted that Weber's great interest in traditional Chinese society and culture led him to discuss the imperial bureaucracy, which most probably affected the ideal type construct. It is the very lack of open competition and promotion by merit which has affronted the Chinese in Sarawak, and in Malaysia as a whole. It has been argued elsewhere that the idea of 'open contest' and achievement orientation has been taken into Chinese consciousness through Confucianism.⁷

It was stated earlier that, as Max Weber observed, there is usually an attempt by the dominating power-group to make its cultural ideal universal. In West Malaysia, the Malays are clearly the dominating power-group; but in Sarawak their domination is insecure on demographic and economic grounds. Weber's observation would make sense of the recent changes in some of the contents of the school's socio-cultural transmissions. For example, history has become local history, at least up to the ICE level (Form 3) and, as in the majority of subjects, its

evaluation (examination) is by means of objective-type papers. As argued in the previous chapter, this can be seen as a subtle form of political socialization because it reduces the interpretation of events to one correct answer. The textbook provides the right answer, the textbook is specially written for the syllabus by an 'approved' writer and the manuscript is 'screened' by the Textbook Bureau in Kuala Lumpur. The mass media (radio and television) are subject to government control, and as Bahasa Malaysia increasingly replaces English, it is inevitable that what is ostensibly a Malay-based Malaysian culture will receive progressively more coverage. Bahasa Malaysia refers not only to the Malay language, but to manners as well, and the notion of Kamelayuan or 'Malayness'. All this is clearly reflected in the new Bahasa Malaysia textbooks.

If the argument about the attempt to universalize a Malay cultural ideal is correct, it is unlikely that this will succeed through the agency of schooling. The reason for this is that visible pedagogy cannot be a deep and penetrating socializing experience for the majority, and for those pupils it would precipitate social de-regulation. The solitary privatized and overly textbook-centred learning upon which this pedagogy essentially is based permit the pupil to withdraw into self and to be evasive. Evasive techniques and other countervailing strategies would include fixing pupil-based production norms, resistance to discipline, avoidance techniques, implicit and possibly explicit sabotage of the means of schooling, and operating just on the margin of acceptable conduct. It was the case that by 1977 the 'Sarawak Tribune' quite often carried statements by various government ministers on poor school discipline, particularly in town schools, and appeals for more parental co-operation. More recently, there has been a move toward the greater use of corporal punishment, which is officially sanctioned for both boys and girls.⁸

When the conflict and contradiction arising from the change in the codes of transmissions between the community and the school and between schooling and the mode of production (rice) are placed within the macro-institutional context of the political struggle between the Malays, the Chinese and the Ibans and demographic trends, then the problem of social

order is rendered much more complicated.⁹ However, as mentioned in Chapter three (page 69) political conflict has been contained and restrained by the Barrisan National Alliance under the charismatic leadership of Abdul Rahman Ya'kub.

Although it is not within the terms of reference of this thesis to extend the theory of codes to other communities, a few comparative comments are in order. There is very strong evidence that Chinese society and culture can be characterized by strong or very strong classification and framing.¹⁰ Although in the Nan Yang* context there has been some modification of the pre-Communist mainland culture, the structural principles of classification and framing, which are carried in the consciousness of immigrants, are unlikely to have undergone any significant change. More recently, Clammer provides some evidence of a renaissance of Mandarin in West Malaysia and the organizational capabilities of the various Chinese communities are well known, as are their leadership patterns based on socio-economic hierarchies.¹¹ Although it cannot be argued here, it is suggested that the explanation for the Chinese challenge in Nan Yang context, their socio-economic success, and their relatively open challenge to the Malays in Malaysia lies in the +C+F/++C++F of their society and culture. It is suggested that the dominant Chinese socio-culture category is inegalitarian relations, and that this arises from the material base of their own communities (rural and urban) and reinforced by Confucianism. This is reproduced by their transmission code/codings and its continuity in the family, community and Chinese community school. If we accept this, we can state that the relationship between the categories of socio-cultural transmission and production for this community was weak classification and simple systemic relationships.

For the Chinese, there would be continuity between the code of transmission (+C+F) in the community and the visible pedagogy (+C+F/

* The common Chinese term for all territories of S.E. Asia to which Chinese have emigrated.

++C++F) of the Chinese school, the mission school and government school. It has been shown elsewhere that historically a reciprocal relationship grew between the Chinese communities and the mission schools, and that the Chinese were not only the main beneficiaries of mission schooling but also major contributors to its development.¹²

Directing the theory of codes toward the Malay community, rather different conclusions might be drawn, although they require further research. An initial point to be made is that the Islamic religion which the Malays embraced centuries ago overlaid an existing indigenous culture and society, which still persists, albeit in modified form. For example, pre- or non-Islamic practices such as saint-worship (keramat) traditional systems of medical belief (bomoh), animism (kurafat), life-cycle rituals, and customary law (adat) are commonly found, particularly in rural Malay communities. Clammer has argued that this overlaying of an existing society and culture by Islam renders the legitimacy of an Islamic culture - as distinct from an Islamic religion - problematic. There is, he argues, tension between indigenous cultural practices and the possibility of the full realization of both the letter and the spirit of the Shariah, and therefore of the ultimate establishment of Muslim unity.¹³

Clammer goes on to argue: 'Although there has been some expression of tension in the Malay world between Islamic orthodoxy and modernization, this appears to be the result of confusion over what are three distinct sections in the Shariah which refer explicitly to the purely religious, the worldly-cum-religious and to the purely worldly, and that an Islamic state does not imply theocracy'.¹⁴ Of greater importance are the internal conflicts within traditional Malay culture between the values of simplicity, hospitality and the futility of excessive striving on the one hand, and those of industry, frugality, self-reliance and adaptability on the other. In an examination of the traditional culture's oral and written literature, Tham Seong Chie shows both sets of attitudes to be constantly present.¹⁵ A very recent expression of this ambivalence can be found in the poetry of Muhammad Haji Salleh, a leading Malay poet.¹⁶ As Clammer has argued: 'Since Islam entirely lacks the Protestant emphasis on the edifying role of labour itself, there are socio-historical and religious reasons for the reinforcing of the ambiguity of attitudes

in Malay culture'.¹⁷

It is suggested that traditional (pre-Islamic) Malay society and culture may be characterized by weak classification and weak framing (-C-F) and that the conversion to Islam introduced strong/very strong classification and strong/very strong framing (+C+F/++C++F). The code/codings thesis would make sense of some of Clammer's useful but largely descriptive observations. Moreover, if we accept Harrison's argument (the evidence appears incontrovertible) that most Malays of Sarawak (other than the hereditary aristocracy, orang atasan or bangsawan, whose ancestral roots are Arab) have their (pre-Islamic) ancestral roots in Bidayuh and other similar societies and cultures, then modern Malay society and culture in Sarawak inevitably would contain conflicting and contradicting symbolic message systems.¹⁸

Regarding socio-cultural transmissions, the evidence from anthropological research indicates weak framing during childhood in contemporary Malay society and culture.¹⁹ It is possible that the strong classifications of Islamic culture and society have been accommodated so that the code of the pre-Islamic society and culture continues to have a significant effect on everyday life in family and community. A possible explanation for this continuation may lie in a very selective change in the 'values' of the Cs and Fs of the mode of production imposed by Islam's strong/very strong Cs and Fs. The rural Malay economies, apart from various cash-crops, are mainly based upon fishing and/or wet rice-cultivation. The relative poor performance of Malay children compared to Chinese children in school is widely acknowledged, so if the transmission code in family and community is as suggested, this raises issues over visible pedagogy similar to those which confront the Bidayuh child.²⁰ However, if we accept that rural Malay society and culture is based upon two code modalities which are conflicting and contradicting, then the rural Malay child may experience specific problems vis-a-vis the school's visible pedagogy.

It was stated previously that the dominant power-group usually will attempt to universalize its cultural ideal. But whereas the dominant cultural ideal of Bidayuh traditional society and culture is egalitarianism

and that of the Chinese is inegalitarianism, it is not at all clear whether the Malays have a cultural ideal for which there is general consensus, because of the structural tensions within their society and culture which have already been referred to.

Effective discipline or self-regulation, or the opposite of anomie, under visible pedagogy depends on bringing into consciousness strong subject identities and loyalties - only attainable by a minority. By opening the 'flood gates' in the early 1970s, demographic, economic, ideological, political and other considerations dictated that the result could not be otherwise; and inevitably condemned the majority of Bidayuh children to probable social de-regulation. This social de-regulation could be explained as the inevitable consequence of an intrinsic conflict and contradiction between producing/reproducing persons out of personalized organic solidarity (community) and producing/reproducing individuals out of individualized organic solidarity (schooling). The ideology of traditional Bidayuh society and culture is concerned with the social regulation of persons, not the social regulation of competitive individuals produced by schooling. Social regulation of the person can only arise through the person's inner regulation, which only invisible pedagogy (integrated code) can ensure, and both are accomplished because the pedagogy's code/codings have a direct relation to a material base. It is the direct relation to the material base which provides the integrated code with its explicit, elaborated and closed ideology (egalitarian relations and values), and which ensures the covert deep closure of mechanical solidarity. By contrast, social regulation of the individual through inner regulation is only attainable by a minority of the schools' collection code's specialized outputs. But this inner regulation is created by strong subject identities and loyalties, not by the so-called 'Malaysian culture', over which there is very little consensus. The dominating socio-cultural category of inegalitarian relations produced/reproduced by the schools' collection code and in the codings of visible pedagogy creates both social de-regulation of the person and, potentially for the majority, social de-regulation of the individual (the code's own output). This is because the codings have either a less direct relation to a material base (modern sector) or, as in the case of rice production,

no relation at all. The inevitable consequence of these arguments is that a major problem of order is being created for Sarawak's social structure, which is very complex and has few common values.

National unity and the creation of the Malaysian culture are officially declared to be top-priority objectives, and the Malaysian leadership are firm in their belief that a combination of Islam and capitalism are sufficient to defeat the 'communist threat' - all the more real since the recent Soviet-backed Vietnamese advance to the border of Thailand. Quite apart from the widely acknowledged contradictions inherent in capitalism and the problematic ideological and doctrinal affinities of Islam, the inference to be drawn from the exploratory theorizations of this thesis is that schooling based on visible pedagogy is a juggernaut in its own right. It is suggested that the traditional type of Chinese and Malay community schools' socio-cultural transmission code produced/reproduced an explicit, elaborated and closed ideology. Dismantling these traditional-type schools, albeit in the name of national unity, has automatically precipitated the possibility of social de-regulation of the person and individual for large numbers of Chinese and Malay pupils in government schools. Undoubtedly Islam is potentially a major socio-political force for the integration of Sarawak's complex social structure, and for Malaysia as a whole. However, the Malaysian leadership, by championing the cause of capitalism and having to rely upon visible pedagogy as the main agency for creating a Malaysian culture, may be unwittingly playing directly into the hands of that very communism it has dedicated itself to defeating.

This thesis has attempted to show that Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing and the theory of codes (a form of semiotic regulation) are explanatory tools of great power. It is argued that the models not only make sense of the empirical data and enable interactional and macro-institutional levels of analysis to be linked; but they also have some predictive power. Also, it must be stressed that Bernstein's theorizations are not bound in time or space, and therefore indicate a theory of human societies and cultures which has every prospect of enabling better understanding of their development and modernization.

The ultimate irony, and indeed tragedy, for the Bidayuh is that their traditional society and culture were truly democratic. The probable fate of the Bidayuh and others similar to them is socio-cultural genocide, as a result of Malaysia's policies for development and modernization, that is, policies decreed by the ideologues of Malaysia.

APPENDICES

5. WEEKDAYS LEAVE

Students who want to leave the school for shopping at Tapah Bazaar after school hours on weekdays must obtain permission and permit from the Duty Teacher. Failing to obtain the essential requirements on leaving the school may lead to the suspension for your weekdays leave at the discretion of the Duty Teacher.

6. Students who are sick must report to the Matron at the proper time, except in case of emergency. The school will look after the health of the students, but the cost of medical attention is normally the responsibility of the students. The school may be able to help but is not bound to do so.

7. HOMEWORK

Certain study habits are essential. The teachers will give, in addition class assignment, regular homework to the students. These are to be done as directed by the teachers concerned. Do as you are told.

8. BEHAVIOUR

a) All students in this school are selected and many are receiving financial assistance. A student whose work and whose behaviour are unsatisfactory may be told to leave.

b) You must show respect for your teachers. Address the male teachers as 'Mister' or as 'Sir'. The lady teachers are to be addressed as 'Madam' 'Mrs.' or 'Miss'.

c) Be obedient otherwise you will be called to explain yourself.

d) When the teachers walk into the class, it is your obligation to stand up and say, 'Good Morning' or 'Good Afternoon'. This includes important visitors who may visit the class during lessons.

e) Instructions given by the members of the staff, House Captains and Prefects are to be obeyed by the students. If you think you are unfairly treated, you are to make your complaint in the proper manner to the Principal or the Duty Teachers.

f) Be in time for your lessons. Get to the class by 7.40 a.m. in the morning and 12.40 p.m. in the afternoon. Attendance will be taken by the Form teacher at these times. They will note absentees.

g) No student shall leave the class during lessons unless permission is given by the period teacher.

h) Students who are absent for too many days without reason are not eligible for taking the final examinations.

i) If you arrive at the school late, you have to make your explanation to the school Principal. Be very careful. If you show that you are not interested in the school, your place can be used by keener and more deserving students.

j) Watch your manners towards the teachers. Be NOT rude. Get the permission of the teacher before speaking out in class. Stand up to answer questions unless your teacher tells you it is not necessary to do so in his/her class.

9. PREFECTS AND CAPTAINS

Prefects and captains are elected. They help the school staff in the management of students' activities in the school. They receive orders from the Principal, and, at times, from the teachers. You will remember that at all times, OBEY THEM.

10. DETENTION CLASSES

Detention class may be held for students who have:

- i) disobeyed school rules
- ii) behaved badly
- iii) untidy habits
- iv) late for class or meals without good reasons, etc.

11. WEEKEND LEAVE

Weekend leave may be granted at the discretion of the Principal (normally 2 times a term).

DO NOT LEAVE THE SCHOOL IF YOU HAVE NO PERMISSION TO DO SO.

12. SCHOOL RULES

- a) do not break school rules. Read them. Obey them
- b) obey orders first. Make complaint later if you think you have been treated unfairly
- c) unless you have permission from the proper authority, you are not to interfere with the work of the Matron, or the Domestic staff
- d) turn up for meals on time
- e) look after your text books. If you damage them you have to pay for them. If you lose them you will pay as you are told by the Store Manager
- f) Science room, Libraries, Woodwork room, Home Science, General Office and Store rooms are out of bounds to the students except when under instruction
- g) students may not visit staff quarters unless invited, except in case of genuine necessity
- h) students may not smoke or be in possession of tobacco or cigarettes
- i) **day** students may not visit the dormitories except under instruction
- j) no candles or oil lamps are allowed in the dormitories
- k) food may not be taken to the dormitories
- l) do not enter the Food Preparation area in the kitchen
- m) kitchen bowls, teapots, etc., may not be taken away from the kitchen
- n) boys may not enter the girls' area. Girls may not enter the boys' area. Be very careful
- o) noise can disturb. Do not turn on your radio too loudly. Use the earphones. Classrooms are for study. Keep quiet while you are in them

13. MANUAL WORK

All students have to do manual work. Keeping the school clean and tidy is the responsibility of all the students. During work periods you will work as instructed. The Day students will note this carefully.

14. GAMES, CLUBS AND SPORTS

- a) it is compulsory for every student to join in one game and one sport event at least
- b) you are to turn up every time for the above activities. Be punctual
- c) no game (e.g. Hockey) should be played in the rain
- d) all sports equipment should be returned to their proper places after each game.

15. SCHOOL LIBRARY

- a) use school property with great care
- b) any damage or loss of school property must be reported immediately. Students caught committing this offence are liable to be asked to repair or pay for the property concerned
- c) students are not allowed to move furniture from one place to another without the permission of the Principal
- d) look after furniture given.

(signed)

Guru Besar,
Sekolah Menengah Dragon, Kuching.

RENDAH/MENENGAH Muka 2

KEPUTUSAN UJIAN			
MATA-PELAJARAN Subjects		Tarikh Date	
For grading and proper recording, please refer to No. 4 Keputusan Ujian (Results of Tests) of the Instructions for the use of Cumulative Record Cards.			
1 Bahasa Malaysia. Bahasa Melayu.	9. Kesustereraan China Chinese Lit.	17 Sains Pertanian Agr. Science.	25. Perdagangan. Commercial Studies.
2 Kesustereraan Melayu Malay Literature.	10. Bahasa China (Terjemahan) Chinese-W-translation.	18 Sains Fizikal. Physical Science.	34 Tata Rakyat. Civics.
3 Bahasa Malaysia (Terjemahan). Malay-W-translation/Bahasa Malaysia.	11 Ilmu Hisab. Maths.	19 Sains Rumah tangga. Home Science.	35 Muzik Music
4 Pengerahuan Ugama Islam. Islamic Religious Knowledge.	12. Ilmu Hisab Tambahan. Add. Maths.	20. Kimia Chemistry	36 Lukisan Teknikal Technical Drawing.
5 Bahasa Inggeris English.	13 Ilmu Hisab Tulin Pure Maths.	21. Fizik Physics.	37
6 Kesustereraan Inggeris English Lit.	14. Ilmu Hisab Gunaan. Applied Maths.	22. Keihayat Biology.	38
7 Bahasa Iban	15. Sains Am. General Science.	23. Sejarah History.	39
8 Bahasa China Chinese	16 Sains Puluhan Integrated Science.	24. Ilmu Alam. Geog.	40
KEPUTUSAN PEPERIKSAAN AWAM			
5 Tahun Year	BIASISWA DAN LAIN-LAIN HADIAH KEWANGAN Tarikh diberi Amaran Warning Date	6 Tahun Year	Bahasa Pengantar Language Medium
Jenis dan No. Surat Kebenaran Type and Authority No	Tarikh ditarik balik Withdrawal Date	Nama Peperiksaan Name of Examination	Pangkat Sijil Grade of Certificate

KAD REKOD SULIT

RENDAH/MENENGAH

002

Nama Sekolah:
Name of School:

Nama Murid:
Name of Student:

REKOD KESIHATAN MURID												
1					2							
Tarikh Date	Umur Age	Tinggi Height	Berat Weight	Keracunan Anggota Physical Deformities	Pendengaran Hearing	Penglihatan Eyegight	Kebersihan Mulut Oral Hygiene	Rambut/Kulit Kepala Hair/Scalp	Kulit Skin	Pertuturan Speech	Jenis Pelatikan Type of Immunization	Tarikh Date

KOD: ✓ -Saperti Biasa, X-Perlu Perhatian, Tanda Bulat pada X bila Putih
CODE: ✓ -Normal, X-Needs Attention, Circle X when condition is corrected

REKOD PENYAKIT										
3					5					
Tarikh Date	Umur Age	Penyakit Illness	Tarikh Date	Umur Age	Penyakit Illness	Tarikh Date	Umur Age	Penyakit Illness	Tarikh Date	Umur Age

MINAT KECEENDERUNGAN MURID DIUJI OLEH GURU																	
4					5												
Tahun Year	Darjah/ Tingkatan Std/Form	Kepercayaan Confidence	Kesama Co- operation	Kerajinan Industry	Tanggung jawab Responsi- bilty	Daya usaha Initiative	Per- gaulan Social- bility	Per- awakan Appearance	Gera- Kera- Luar Outdoor	Aliran Kerja- sawat Me- chanical	Hiung- Munggu- tung Compu- tational	Aliran Sains Scientific	Daya Me- yakinkan Persuasive	Aliran Semi Artisik	Aliran Sastera Literary	Aliran Muzik Musical	Khidmat Kemasya- rakatan Social Service

Tulis 1 untuk Terbaik; 2 untuk Baik; 3 untuk Sederhana; 4 untuk Lemah; 5 untuk Buruk
Write 1 for V. Good; 2 for Good; 3 for Average; 4 for Weak; 5 for Poor

Tulis 1 untuk Minat Kecenderungan Pertama; 2 untuk yang Kedua; 3 untuk yang Ketiga
Write 1 for First Interest; 2 for Second; and 3 for Third

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECTHOUSEHOLD SURVEYKAMPONGDOOR NO:

Are rubber and/or pepper gardens owned? Rubber/Pepper

Are these part of the Agric.Dept. Scheme? Rubber Yes/No
Pepper Yes/No

Number of Trees

Mature Immature

Rubber
PepperOther Cash crops? SpecifyAre any other things sold on a regular or casual basis? SpecifyHave any men worked in army, border scouts or police? Yes/No

If Yes, how many?

Paid employment by family members

<u>Name</u>	<u>Job</u>	<u>Place of work</u>
-------------	------------	----------------------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Someone from this ramin has visited (tick)

BAU, SERIAN	Man/Woman
KUCHING	Man/Woman
MIRI, SIBU, LUNDU	Man/Woman
OUTSIDE SARAWAK (Specify)	

Household Items: (tick, if have)

Pressure lamp	Gatang measure	Camera
Radio	Rice mill	Typewriter, writing material
Clock, watch	Winnowing machine	Gongs
Table	Rubber mangle	Musical instruments (specify)
Chair, stool, bench	Sprayer	Bed
Weighing scale, balance	Sewing machine	Gun

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECTHOUSEHOLD SURVEYKAMPONGDOOR NO:House construction: (tick, if have)

- A roof window
- Roof made from belian tiles, zinc, asbestos
- A plank floor
- Rafters made from squared wood
- A separate kitchen
- A separate bedroom

Health (tick, if true)

- Mosquito nets used
- Drinking water boiled 10 minutes+
- Food kept in screened cabinet
- Use covered latrine (Jamban)
- Babies inoculated
- Medicine, bandages available

Reading material (tick, if have) Specify language

- Books, magazines, newspapers, Farmer's bulletin
- Agric. Dept. leaflets
- If applicable, programmes listened to on radio

Additional observations and comments

APPENDIX D

Integrated Codes and Social Order: Some Comments on Socially Unstratified Cognatic Social Structure, with Special Reference to the Bidayuh

In the main text of this thesis it has been shown that Bidayuh traditional society, which is based upon a household subsistence economy of swidden agriculture, is socially unstratified, and that the dominant socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations persists, at least in remote rural areas. It is also suggested that the Bidayuh have a cognatic social structure rather than just a cognatic kinship system. The term 'cognatic' may be used to refer specifically to bilateral societies with no descent-based groupings.¹ In 1971, after reanalyzing the data collected by Geddes on the Bidayuh land tenure system in the light of more recent research on Borneo, Appell concluded that the Bidayuh have only ambilineal categories and not descent groups.² Societies like the Bidayuh contrast with those based on unilineal or ambilineal principles, which were the traditional concern of social anthropologists. This concern led social anthropologists to conclude that cognatic social structures lacked an unambiguous method for assigning individuals to a particular social status, and therefore lacked social order.³ Therefore the anomaly of these social structures centred on the problems of order, continuity and integration.

Freeman's research on the Iban in the early 1950s demonstrated how a cognatic society could be organized on principles that were not unilineal, so that there existed permanent structural units - the bilek family - to which members of the society were unambiguously assigned. The bilek family, that is the Iban domestic unit, essentially is based on the elementary family, but in each generation one of the children with his or her spouse and their children remains in his or her natal domestic family, while other siblings either marry out or split off when they have married and produced offspring, causing bilek partition. Freeman found no prescription or preference for the sex of the sibling remaining in the domestic unit.⁴

Though Freeman's findings were a major advance for anthropological theory, they did not challenge the position most tenaciously held by Radcliffe-Brown on the importance of perpetual corporate groupings for the maintenance of social structure. However, more recent research in Borneo has demolished that position (and the syndrome of 'lineal thinking' that went with it) by showing that (a) the elementary or conjugal family, as a corporate group of limited duration and not based on principles of descent, can form the basic building blocks of a bilateral society without producing any instability in the social structure or any disability to social integration; and (b) corporate social groupings, even with a limited life-span, are not required to maintain structural continuity because this can be achieved by the constant processes of group recruitment.⁵

The central concept for the understanding of Borneo's cognatic social structures was initially that of kindred. This concern led to a debate on conceptual and analytical problems of the kindred concept, which involved social anthropologists working in Borneo and elsewhere.⁶ In discussing **the** concept of kindred, I will concentrate on the Bornean material because its relevance is more direct.

For Freeman, 'kindred denotes a cognatic category which embraces all an individual's father's kin and all his (or her) mother's kin.... ...spreading upward and extending indefinitely outward from an individual standing at its centre or base....'.⁷ As such, the kindred is an ego-centred consanguineal category which has a shared moral or obligational basis, and the exclusion of affines is supported by Iban ideational distinctions between these and consanguines. Freeman draws an important distinction between kindred as a consanguineal category, and kindred-based action groups, which are formed from time to time, and which sometimes contain consanguines and affines. On the importance of kindred for an understanding of Iban cognatic social structure, Freeman states: 'the whole of Iban society is traversed by a network of interlocking kindreds, and it is this network which provides the organizational basis for the performance of tasks which, for various reasons, are beyond the capacity of the bilek family'.⁸

In the definition of the kindred used by Geddes, affines are included, and the concept is further refined into what is called the 'personal kindred group'. However, Geddes is not consistent in his definition of this personal kindred group because initially he includes: 'for each person the group of relatives ranging from his grandparents to his first cousin, together with the husbands and wives of any persons within this range', but later the category expands when Geddes states that 'People differ widely in regard to the members of their kindred with whom they associate. One may be observed to have relationships only with his relatives on his mother's side, another only with those on his father's side, and a third may be most closely associated with his father and brothers'.⁹ Finally, Geddes decides on another extension to the kindred when he includes great-grandparents and great-grandchildren. On the importance of the kindred in Bidayuh social life, Geddes indicates clearly that it does not have an all-important role. He considers that the importance of kinship should not be overestimated, since other important factors, such as residence and friendship, are also in operation and 'these may alone determine the association or do so jointly with kinship'.¹⁰

King, in his discussion of the kindred concept, argues that confusion over it lies in the inadequate realization by anthropologists of the nature of relations between the ideal and the actual.¹¹ More specifically, the problems centre on the relevance of the concept to indigenous categories of thought; and these, in turn, to observed activity and events. Referring to Freeman's work, King makes clear that Freeman's kindred concept is at variance with actual Iban social process on the evidence of the published data, and on Freeman's own acknowledgment of optative factors (e.g. residence, especially residence after marriage) that affect a person's ability to fulfil obligations within the kindred. Personality is seen as a very important factor, underplayed by Freeman; but a major factor that weakens the viability of the constrictive way he uses his kindred concept is that on the basis of his own data there are, or appear to be, no severe sanctions against individuals who do not honour their obligations. In the light of the above considerations and after sifting research data on other cognatic social structures, King concludes: 'It is difficult to define or isolate kindreds in terms of a special morality of obligation, and even

more difficult to isolate kindreds comprising of consanguines'. He goes on to say: 'If the term kindred is to be retained and used...it has to be conceptualized and applied in a less constrictive way so that uncircumscribed optative nature of bilateral social organization is given due recognition..and..this entails the appreciation of a variable kindred focus, the role and position of affines, and the complex nature of obligation'.¹²

It was pointed out in the main text of this thesis that social anthropologists have given insufficient attention to socialization, or in other words, to the structure of socio-cultural transmissions. How a society and culture is reproduced is inevitably the concern of transmission; therefore any explanation of social order, its maintenance and continuity, must include the structure of transmissions. Furthermore, any explanation of social and cultural change must include changes in the structure of transmissions.

In the case of the socially unstratified cognatic social structure of the Bidayuh, in which egalitarian relations and values dominate, it is argued that the integrated codes of socio-cultural transmissions and production, and the simple systemic relationship between transmission and production, assumes central importance in explaining social order. The optative, uncircumscribed and egalitarian nature of the society, and the rare occurrence of severe social sanctions against those not honouring their obligations, suggest that social control is largely a matter of self-regulation arising from the internalization into consciousness of that which the society and culture values. The importance of self-regulation is indicated very clearly by the central value of kasu (do not disturb), which applies both to feelings and to property.

Geddes recognizes the dominant values of traditional Bidayuh society and culture as egalitarianism and individualism, but he does not examine the nature of this individualism or how it arises. The argument in the main text of this thesis has been that Bidayuh individualism is not the radical competitive individualism which can be associated with Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity, and which,

as Bernstein points out, concerns the individual in the context of an increasingly complex economic division of labour. Rather, Bidayuh individualism can be explained by reference to Bernstein's concept of personalized organic solidarity, which arises from the complexity of the division of labour of cultural or symbolic control, and which is integral to invisible pedagogy. Personalized organic solidarity creates a form of individualism based on the integrity of the person, and it fosters this integrity through attentiveness to feelings and the reification of feelings. Invisible pedagogy through its codings of weak Cs and weak Fs places the controls on the organization, selection, sequencing and pacing of the transmissions with the child (acquirer), rather than on the transmitters, and this is reinforced by the importance of peers and the young child's wide choice of transmitter. Kaso affords respect for the child's feelings and obliges the child to respect the feelings of others. In doing this, kaso permits the development of a private or personal space in the context of a touch culture, and within this personal space, the person as a moral entity develops and is protected.

The reification of feelings among the Bidayuh has been mentioned above with regard to kaso. On the subject of feelings, Geertz comments that 'In order to make up our minds we must know how to feel about things'.¹³ And in her book 'Form and Feeling', Susanne Langer argues that 'by virtue of our thought and imagination we have not only feelings, but a life of feeling'.¹⁴ Now, it is suggested, the messages of the transmission's integrated code/codings produces/reproduces in consciousness this life of feeling and the regulation on how a Bidayuh feels about things, and by creating covertly mechanical solidarity, the code/codings ensure that the feelings and their regulation become the common experience. Therefore, it is argued, social control in the profoundly egalitarian, optative and uncircumscribed social structure of the Bidayuh is internal rather than external to the Bidayuh person. One consequence of this is that co-operation beyond that required to satisfy the right to subsistence is very difficult to organize. Geddes makes this point when he states: 'when communal tasks are undertaken it is with short bursts of enthusiasm'. He also comments that most kampongs are 'untidy and littered with debris and refuse in which pigs

root and fowls scratch'.¹⁵ This picture remains true of the more rural kampongs.

In the main text of this thesis it was suggested (see pages 145, 171) that the Bidayuh have an elaborated speech code and that it is personalized, not individualized; therefore it is qualitatively different from the elaborated code created by individualized organic solidarity or a complex economic division of labour. The personalized form of the elaborated code is context-dependent, with direct semantic ratification between symbols and their referents. This context-dependence ensures that a Bidayuh's consciousness, as affected by the symbolic messages of the code, has a direct and specific relation to a material base of everyday living. A consequence of this type of relation is that alternative social realities are not opened up, and this would suggest that the innovatory potential of the culture is relatively circumscribed.

The dominant socio-cultural category for Bidayuh traditional society and culture has been given as egalitarian relations, and it is suggested this, together with the dominant value of egalitarianism, forms the ideology of the Bidayuh. The ideology is explicit, elaborated and closed, and it is because of this that the integrated code/codings of transmission are effective in creating self-regulation of the person, and also in creating (through non-specialized outputs) mechanical solidarity. Now the transmission code is a device for socially creating, maintaining and reproducing the non-specialized skills and dispositions which, for the Bidayuh, have a total relevance to the integrated code of the mode of production (rice). Therefore there are no contradictions or discrepancies with reference to:

- a) the relationships between the distribution of the categories the transmission's integrated code creates and the distribution of the required categories of the mode of production;
- b) the relationships between the categories (weak classification) the transmission's integrated code creates and the relationships between the categories (weak classification) required by the mode of production;
- c) the realization of the transmission's integrated code's

categories (non-specialized skills and dispositions) and the expected realizations of the categories (non-specialized skills and dispositions) of the mode of production.

It is argued, on the basis of the above, that the relationship between the categories of transmission and production is weak classification and that simple systemic relationships obtain between these two categories. Therefore the transmissions have a direct and specific relationship to the economic or material base of the mode of production (rice). In this way, the transmission's integrated code maintains the dominating principle of the social structure, namely the dominating socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations which is created by the mode of production and also maintained by it.

In short, the argument is that the mode of production (integrated code) creates the dominant socio-cultural category of egalitarian relations, and that their socio-cultural transmission (integrated code) is based on invisible pedagogy. The socio-cultural transmission code creates overtly personalized organic solidarity and covertly mechanical solidarity. This provides, it is suggested, a possible explanation for resolving the problem of order, its maintenance and continuity, in socially unstratified cognatic social structures.

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APPENDIX E

The Padawan Development Scheme (1957-1963)¹

The Padawan Development Scheme was one of five major rural development projects for ethnic minority groups sponsored by the British colonial government. From the available evidence, it seems that the choice of Padawan was due primarily to the earlier activity of the Anglican Church/SPG Mission and to the personal influence of Canon Howes. Howes had served in Sarawak during the time of Vyner Brooke and was generally acknowledged to be one of the few European experts on the Bidayuh. In 1955 the governor visited the Padawan area, and his experience and observations of the very poor socio-economic conditions there clinched a decision in its favour. As a result of this, a government committee was appointed: its terms of reference were to 'prepare at an early date detailed proposals for a joint development scheme for Land Dayaks wherein the SPG mission and Government might co-operate'.² Howes prepared a scheme which was approved in March 1956, after minor modifications by the Chief Secretary. The aims and objectives of this scheme were detailed as follows:³

- a) To improve the general health of the area through the establishment of a central clinic at Padawan and the regular visiting of kampongs by health teams under the supervision of the nurse and doctor whom it is hoped to provide for the Scheme.
- b) To improve the economy of the area by:-
 - i) Instruction and assistance (through team work) in the planting and care of rubber, citrus, coffee and vegetables; the construction and stocking of fishponds; pig and poultry keeping.
 - ii) Giving instruction to men and boys in carpentry in order to improve living conditions and to induce people to make in their spare time small articles in fine woods which would find a sale in Kuching.
- c) To instruct women and girls in sewing, cooking and hygiene.
- d) To conduct an adult literacy campaign throughout the area.
- e) To raise the standard of the present school at Padawan to full primary and later, perhaps, to lower secondary standards, and to draw suitable children from the surrounding schools and also other Land Dayak areas. Those suitable would be given special training to fit them for work in Community Development Schemes in other Land Dayak areas.

- f) Generally to work for the improvement of the lot of the Land Dayak community.

The Scheme operated over a period of seven years, divided into the two phases 1957-60 and 1961-63. In the second stage, it was intended to set up a type of 'Outward Bound' school at Padawan, the school activities of the pupils being geared to development projects already underway in the area. However, the man chosen to head this school was taken seriously ill and no replacement could be found. The decision was then taken to phase out the Scheme over a three-year period, under the supervision of a Bidayuh agricultural assistant seconded from the Department of Agriculture.

Funding for the whole period was provided by the Colonial government and total expenditure amounted to M\$236,767, compared with the original estimates of M\$247,211. This short-fall is explained by the unsuccessful attempt to establish the 'Outward Bound' school and the unavailability of a doctor.

Staffing consisted of the officer-in-charge (Howes), a qualified nursing sister and master carpenter recruited from England, a Bidayuh as junior community development assistant, and two Bidayuh girls trained to act as a home demonstrator and a clinic assistant. The nursing sister and master carpenter were involved only during phase 1.

A site of about 18 acres at Padawan was chosen as the Scheme's base, on the grounds that it was central, reasonably level and not subject to flooding. A small lower-primary school had been located there since 1949 under SPG mission supervision.

By January 1957, quarters for the officer-in-charge and carpenter had been built, together with a two-storey building destined to house adults on special courses. During the following eight months the site was fully cleared and several buildings were completed - including an office and store, a dining room, dormitories, a kitchen, workshop, nurse's quarters and a clinic - with the aid of voluntary kampong labour. The problem of labour for maintenance was resolved by using some 30 to 40 selected school children, categorized as 'trainees', rather than

employing four or five labourers. The Scheme's organizers felt that wages paid to employees could be put to better use by providing a food subsidy for these children and to cover school-fee remissions. Apart from this consideration, the children mostly were well over primary-school age, so they had the physical capacity for manual work. However, their traineeship was not merely labouring, but learning through doing so that they could help others. They worked with adults at evening literacy classes, assisted men with their carpentry and rubber planting, and helped the home demonstrator in her sewing and cookery classes. As Howes comments in his final report: 'had the maintenance been tackled by employee labour, an opportunity to instruct some 300 young people in community service would have been lost'.⁴ Howes also stressed the point that 'those who had the ability to proceed to secondary education were encouraged to do so'.⁵

The Padawan road is seen by Howes as the Scheme's permanent legacy to the area, and it would be difficult to overestimate the contribution of the road to its development. A fact which needs to be mentioned is that all the projects were in some sense experimental, and in his final evaluation report Howes points out that, with the benefit of hindsight, some of the projects would have been organized differently. Perhaps the most telling of Howes' comments was: 'the one essential to mutual development is the readiness to laugh'.⁶

Adult literacy classes, the pig project, and to some extent the health projects, were unsuccessful. In relation to literacy, it was realized that it was wrong to assume that women who wanted to sew or men who wanted to learn carpentry could all be made literate, or even wanted to be. The brightest were reported as asking: 'Literate to what purpose?'. However, the main problems found in conducting literacy classes were an inability to cope with mixed ability and inappropriate learning materials. These classes did incorporate a 'functional literacy' approach, insofar as they were integrated into the sewing and carpentry classes and dealt with such questions as how much was owed after so much had been paid, and how to spot deceptions.

The pig project, which aimed at introducing a new strain and having the

animals penned, was unsuccessful for a number of reasons. First, penned animals require regular feeding and watering, which is contrary to the irregular work habits of the Bidayuh people. Second, the efforts expended could easily be wiped out by disease, and between 1958 and 1962 outbreaks of pasteurellosis killed hundreds of pigs. However, it was a matter of taste which finally scuttled the pig policy: what the authorities deemed really good pork proved to the Bidayuh palate to be inferior to the familiar so-called 'poor' pork.

The health project was partially successful. That most parents were persuaded to have their babies inoculated and to drink boiled water was shown by my own survey, which reported 76 and 75 per cent of households doing these two things, respectively. Of course the importance of boiled water in Tibia, where the source is natural springs, is less than for those drawing water from rivers. Contact with a qualified nurse who was also concerned with midwifery and post-natal care may have led to some changes in traditional practices, but as yet it is rare to find a woman in Tibia going into hospital for the birth. However, the lack of success largely was attributed to the impracticability of controlling the endemic parasitic worm infections, the traditional scourge in the area. People opted for cure rather than prevention. Equally, various common infectious disease were seen as impossible to control through better hygiene because of the environmental conditions, and this also applied to the notorious bugs which inhabit nearly every bamboo floor.

Projects for growing cash-crops, for sewing and carpentry classes, and for school development at Padawan were all successful in varying degrees. Cash-crop projects centred mainly on the introduction of clonal rubber, but this was held up until the end of 1957, because the local adat decreed that 'padi feared rubber' ('padi taru putuk'). This view was also rational, in the sense that any large-scale rubber planting might not leave enough land for padi. At this time the Agricultural Department insisted on a minimum of three acres being planted, and this prevented any significant planting in the Tibia area, which was in most need of a cash-crop. Between 1957 and 1963, only 13 acres were planted in Tibia, out of 567 acres for the whole scheme area. An additional 81 acres of

natural rubber seeds or stumps were planted in Tibia out of 513 acres for the whole area; but of those 81 only 21 acres were budded and only a small proportion were finally approved by the Rubber Planting Scheme. In order to get 'know-how' of rubber cultivation, several groups of men were sent on courses to Samarahan. In his final report, Howes claimed that had sufficient rubber been planted, in due course it would have produced more cash in one year than was spent on the whole development scheme over seven years.⁷

During the period of the Scheme about 264 women received individual instruction in sewing, compared with only 46 men who completed the carpentry course. The organizational differences of the courses accounted for this disparity in results. Carpentry was based at Padawan because of the equipment, and was originally organized as a 100-day course, divided into ten-day periods over ten months. Few men could afford such regular periods of absence from their farms. In 1968, it was decided to separate carpentry from the literacy course and the former thereafter ran as a three-week course until the end of Phase 1, when it was discontinued. Although the number completing the course was small, their overall effect on building and other construction has been considerable. The course also resulted in a flow of new tools into the culture.

The sewing classes were very successful: the measure of success was seen in 1975 in terms of the 14 households with sewing machines and the clothes being made at that time. After a short period of integrating sewing with literacy classes, the former were run separately as three-week courses at selected kampongs. The home demonstrator as sewing instructor, with her trainee assistant, stayed in a purpose-built house at various kampongs on a rotational basis. Machines and materials were transported by the local people and could be used at any hour of the day. This allowed the unmarried and the married women, with their children, to drop in for an hour or so and then break off, leaving their work about, to come back to later.

In their final report, the Scheme organizers noted the enthusiasm of the women (and some men) for sewing instruction. This provides the best

example among all the projects of the importance of learning through doing, and the importance of end-products that have practical value. Making clothes was obviously a clearly seen money-saver, but it would also have provided a sense of aesthetic achievement. However, it was the fact that the sewing classes could be taken to the people and organized with their needs in mind that determined the overall success of this project. Carpentry also offered an activity of practical value with aesthetic achievement, but it required the people to go to it, and because of the nature of the activity, could not easily be organized according to their needs.

Up to 1957, the school at Padawan was a single-teacher lower-primary school serving kampong Anna Rais only. In 1957/58 the standard was raised to primary 5 and 6. Of the candidates taking the 1958 Common Entrance examination, three passed and went on to junior secondary school in January 1959. A further 24 had passed by the end of the Scheme in 1963. Though a mere fraction of those taking the examination, this was about average for similar schools. The extension of schooling in the Tibia area had important consequences, because most of the few who had acquired modern sector jobs and who had gone on for various types of higher education were in those cohorts catered for during the period of the Scheme. However, it was an important feature of the Padawan Development Scheme that this type of success was never stressed. The emphasis on agriculture, carpentry and other forms of practical activity made the school context unique, and all children took part in these activities. One result of this was the almost total absence of 'failed primary 6s' who did not know what to do with themselves: the 'failures' wasted no time in hunting for jobs in Kuching, but went home and got down to agriculture. The final report comments that these pupils planted some of the best rubber, and had developed an adventurous outlook that showed a willingness to participate in government development schemes, even if it meant moving elsewhere.

Apart from the various courses of instruction and practical activities, the Padawan scheme precipitated a flow of new knowledge, 'know-how' and awareness of government facilities into the kampongs. This knowledge included the use of various insecticides, pesticides, baits, and poisons against army worm, rats and other pests. Most people became aware of

(and some used) the government veterinary services, particularly in connection with the protection of pigs against pasteurellosis and of fowls against raniket disease. Once a year, ten-day educational tours were organized for all trainees to visit workshops and factories in Kuching, government departments, agricultural stations and other places in order to awaken and stimulate their interest. An attempt was made to run a co-operative savings and loan society, and though it collapsed because some collectors misappropriated the funds (who after apprehension preferred goal to reimbursing their victims), it had the value of teaching people how to save.

Notes

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3. Ibid, p.2.
4. Ibid, p.5.
5. Ibid
6. Ibid, p.32.
7. Ibid, p.34.
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