

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION POLICY IN MALAYSIA: A DISCUSSION OF NORMALIZATION IN SCHOOLING

Mohd Roslan Rosnon

Department of Social and Development Sciences,

Faculty of Human Ecology

Universiti Putra Malaysia

43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor

Email: roslan_rosnon@upm.edu.my

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that Malaysian education systems which have a mainstream orientation and very little consideration is given to the educational requirements, cultural context and also languages of Indigenous peoples (Orang Asli). This has indirectly impacted the educational outcomes for Orang Asli students with limited acknowledgment of the rights of Indigenous people in the education system. Therefore, it is important for educators to address educational disadvantage and the rights of Orang Asli in schools because it can contribute to social justice and hinder the learning process and education outcomes. This paper adopts Michel Foucault's notion of power, knowledge and normalization in explaining and understanding the issues in aspects of language, culture and pedagogy in schools. In this paper, I focus on normalization issues in education policy for Indigenous peoples which has impacted on the academic performance of Orang Asli students. Lastly, this paper provides analysis of the current practices and policy of Indigenous education that can contribute to improving the current policy and ensuring justice for all students. These issues remain important in improving equity and self-determination among Orang Asli and ensuring social justice for Orang Asli in Malaysia.

Key words: Indigenous Education Policy, Orang Asli, normalization, rights, self-determination.

Introduction

National debates in Malaysia on the value of the introduction and use of this mainstream pedagogy for Indigenous people. The government initiative for introducing mainstream education for Indigenous people in both countries is examined through the lens of 'governmentality'. Governmentality offers a way of understanding power relations (Mills, 2003; Mohd Roslan & Sara, 2015). With this theoretical perspective I aim to explore the circumstances shaping Indigenous education policy-making in Malaysia.

Michel Foucault (1991, p. 87) coined the term "governmentality" to explain the governance of populations in the history of modern Europe. This concept includes the procedures and techniques of political or administrative aspects of Government and also the governance of both individuals and communities at every social level. The concept is applicable to three types of government, these being "government of the self", "government of others" and "government of the state" (Dean, 1999, p. 2). Governmentality is linked to the concept of "the art of government" (Foucault, 1991, p. 90). Foucault places a greater emphasis on the execution and actions or practices of a government such as, who is being governed and who can govern. Foucault (cited in Gordon, 1991, p. 2) describes the function of Government as "the conduct of conduct", as the "problematic nature of government" (Smart, 2002, p. xiv).

Linking the concept of governmentality with power and knowledge, Foucault places an emphasis on the idea of normalization. Foucault argues that "the rationalities underpinning professionalism are really 'political tactics' and constitute a 'specific way of knowing' which legitimates the normalisation of bodies" (Holligan, 1999, p. 138). His argument reflects a concept that generates a sense of disillusionment within the teaching profession. This refers to the "role played by an educator" (Holligan, 1999, p. 147). His analysis portrays schools as an example and governing the teachers and students as "one way of disrupting the universalist assumptions that reify an exclusive notion of a 'good citizen'" (Foucault, 1979, p. 136). Such an interpretation can be deployed in Malaysia in managing Indigenous education policies in order to produce good citizens.

One of the fundamental concepts that Foucault identified on governmentality and his work on power and discourse was biopolitics and governmentality in relation to power-knowledge within neo-liberalism. This is applied to the implementation of Indigenous education policies on the Orang Asli in Malaysia. Foucault (1979, p. 260; 1980, p. 93; 2003, pp. 254-255) pointed out that discourse is "associated with power as it operates by rules of exclusion" and how one may speak and who is privileged to speak. Drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality this paper examines the significance of Indigenous participation in the development of Indigenous education policies, and the complex relationship between "people" and "discourse". Thus, it is possible to assess to what extent this is a useful distinction, as in the case of Orang Asli in Malaysia.

Having established the definition of governmentality, it is important to understand how it fits into power relations. In Malaysia, the government promotes the growth of modern agriculture. These changes had a significant impact on the advances made in developing a suitable education policy for this group. The significance of the UNDRIP declaration that "represent the dynamic development of international legal norms and it reflects the commitment of the UN's member states to move in certain

directions” (United Nation, 2007, p. 1). The UN outlines the acceptable standard for the “treatment of indigenous people that will undoubtedly be a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violation against the planet’s 370 million indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalisation” (United Nation, 2007, p. 2). Thus, the declaration inspires countries to work with their Indigenous communities to solve issues such as protecting their culture and traditions within a multicultural democracy. In accordance with the United Nations’ goal, Malaysia altered its policies according to the UNDRIP.

Initiatives taken by the Malaysian government to integrate Orang Asli into mainstream culture and education can be seen as a measure of social inclusion (Asnarulkhadi, 2005; Mohd Roslan & Sarjit, 2012). These initiatives formed part of the Second Malaya Plan¹ (1961-1965) until the development of the Tenth Malaysia Plan² (2011-2015). The Malaysian government believes “education is the main agenda in the Orang Asli’s development programmes and as a key mechanism in the effort to improve the quality of life amongst the Orang Asli” (Mohd Asri, 2012, p. 93). The government continuously monitored the development of Orang Asli through discourses circulated by various Malaysian plans and responses received from JAKOA. Yet the response from the group and especially the representatives of Orang Asli were not effective enough in voicing their interest of having a better quality of life.

I argue that the exercise of power should be a two-way communication between government and people’s. However, Foucault pointed to the exercise of power “creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power” (Foucault, 1980, p. 52). The power generated through government discourse on the Orang Asli is shaping the behaviour of the population and their quality of their life. As mentioned by Foucault, “power not only operates on people but also in their actions, attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives, rather than thinking of power operating from above” (Foucault, 1980, p. 37). In the case of Malaysia, the power operates from a top – down process, yet it confronts many struggles.

For example, up to 1995, all schools and education programs for Orang Asli were managed by the Department of Orang Asli Affairs (JHEOA), with the aim of preparing Orang Asli children for entry into mainstream education. However, the education system managed by JHEOA failing to meet this aim (see Ikram, 1997) due to untrained teachers, insufficient funding and lack of knowledge amongst the educators in terms of Orang Asli culture and traditions (Department of Orang Asli Affairs, 1995).

In the conclusion of the Sixth Malaysia Plan³ (1991-1995), the government made the first step of integrating Orang Asli’s education into mainstream education. This was done to improve the delivery system of education to them. All administration and management of Orang Asli education was taken over by the Ministry of Education from the Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA)⁴ effective from January 1st 1995. However, based on Document of Responsibilities of Schools and Hostels in 1996, JAKOA and the Chief Director were still responsible to the Commissioner for the Aboriginal Affairs under Section 4, Act 134, of the Aboriginal Peoples Act 1954 (Revised 1974)⁵ (Department of Orang Asli Development, 2011). All school buildings, hostels, teachers and supporting groups as well as students that were managed by JAKOA are now administered by the Ministry of Education Malaysia.

A few initiatives taken to empower the Orang Asli’s education were implemented in the Eighth Malaysia Plan (RMK8)⁶ (2000-2005) and the Ninth Malaysia Plan (RMK9)⁷ (2006-2010). In addition, the government pursuant to the Tenth Malaysia Plan allocated a budget to increase their access to education. Thus, the Special Model School (Special Model School)⁸ will help to overcome the rising dropout rate in secondary schools because students have to live in remote areas far from their school (Economic Planning Unit, 2010; Mohd Roslan, 2013, 2014). With the various incentives introduced by the government, the number of Orang Asli students attending schools has increased from year to year in both primary and secondary schools (Asnarulkhadi, Maria, Zahid, Mariani, & Hanina, 2007). The percentage of dropouts in Orang Asli students in secondary schools

¹ The Second Malaya Plan (1961-1965) was an economic development plan launched by the government of Malaysia, and involved increased expenditure for the development of agriculture and rural areas where the objective was "to provide facilities and opportunities for the rural population to improve its level of economic and social wellbeing" among the rural Malays and Orang Asli.

² Tenth Malaysian Plan, the national budget from the year 2011 to 2015 to all economic sectors in Malaysia. 10MP underlines five strategic objectives to achieve so that the country is a wealthier one by the year 2020. These five basics are: Increase the value of the country’s economy; Improve knowledge abilities and innovation, and inculcate first-world Thinking; Handle continuously socioeconomic inequalities; improve the quality of life; strengthen the country’s institutions and implementation of policies.

³ Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995): The most obvious focus in the government’s macroeconomic strategy is to improve the country’s production capacity and international competitiveness.

⁴ Previously the Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA) was known as the Department of Orang Asli Affairs (JHEOA).

⁵ The Aboriginal Peoples Act 1954 provided for the setting up and establishment of the Orang Asli Reserve Land. However, the Act also included the power of the Director-General of the JAKOA to order Orang Asli out of such reserved land at its discretion, and award compensation to affected people, also at its discretion.

⁶ Eighth Malaysia Plan (2001-2005): Some of the programs and policies in education for Orang Asli included the Textbook Aid Scheme (SBBT), scholarship, allowance, Supplementary Food Plan (RMT), hostel facilities, and Endowment Fund for Low-income Students (KWAPM)

⁷ Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010): This plan is one of the most important plans in the country’s history as the country and the Malaysia is now halfway to what it seeks to archive by 2020.

⁸ This concept merges the primary and secondary education until Form Three under the same school management.

is at a relatively high level especially at the transition phase for students from primary to secondary school. The percentage of dropouts in 2006 was 34.50%, 2007 34.50%, 2009 31.10%, 2009 31.77% and declined in 2010 to 29.02% (Department of Orang Asli Development, 2011, pp. 45-49). The dropout rate amongst the Orang Asli children still remains a great cause for concern. According to Sharifah et al. (2011, p. 44), one of the main "reasons for the problem is the students' poor academic achievement". This issue shows that there are weaknesses in the country's education system as far as the Orang Asli are concerned.

Through various Malaysian economic plans, education for the Orang Asli community remained the focus of attention by the government. Even though various education programs with an annual budget increase have been carried out for the Orang Asli, these programs are not seen as beneficial to them. Thus, the government has to work with the Orang Asli community to ensure the government's goal to eradicate poverty through education is achieved. The government's receptiveness and the community's involvement in decision-making on this policy is identified as crucial to the ongoing effectiveness of the policy. Thus, discourse could be said "to rule people as it has a definite role in Foucault's notion of government" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). It is narrow in way that "government is simply the 'conduct of conduct' and more widely as a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect conduct of some people" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). Yet, in Malaysia's case, education is not fully utilized by the Orang Asli.

The government had played a significant role through a top-down process in acknowledging the rights and equality of Orang Asli people in education and in line with UNDRIP. This led to the process of normalization. Foucault argues that "the rationalities underpinning professionalism are really 'political tactics' and constitute 'specific way of knowing' which legitimate the normalisation of bodies" (Holligan, 1999, p. 138). He pointed that "the normalisation processes which Foucault argues inform the real basis of schooling may create a sense of disillusionment within the teaching profession about what being an educator means, and whether to include such sociological critiques in courses for teachers may remain an issue partly for that reason" (Holligan, 1999, p. 147). Foucault (1979) defines normalization as "a body that is docile and may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1979, p. 136). Such an interpretation can be applied to government discourses on improving indigenous education policies.

Therefore, this paper adopts Michel Foucault's notion of power, knowledge and normalization in explaining and understanding the issues in aspects of language, culture and pedagogy in schools. In this paper, I focus on normalization issues in education policy for Indigenous peoples which has impacted on the academic performance of Indigenous students. Lastly, this paper provides analysis of the current practices and policy of Indigenous education that can contribute to improving the current policy and ensuring justice for all students. The reviews and discourse are essential to evaluate and analyse the kind of initiatives pursued by the Malaysian government to develop and determine a suitable education system for the Orang Asli in the country. This includes analysis of parliamentary and government reports, and policy statements that reflect the shift in government policy between 1995 and 2015.

Connecting Power, Knowledge and Normalization to Indigenous Education Policies

The analysis of Foucault's Power, knowledge and normalization gives a clear understanding on how the education institution and government in regulating and shaping the education system to the specific groups such as the Indigenous people (Mohd Roslan & Sara, 2015). Furthermore, Foucault has laid a comprehensive framework and philosophy and also prepares illustrations and evidence which can be practiced and applied to the education system. His results are also used as guidance and are able to identify the best way to regulate and oppose the few negative aspects of normalization. One of his argument was to modify the negative impact of normalization in the education system so that the student's equality and student achievement can be successfully achieved. Thus, he has pointed that "many acts of power and knowledge can interfere with our ability to freely explore how we may live within truth, rather than inside a prison made from our own culture and society" (McNicol, 2005, p. 11). So, there are connections between social constructions and normalization discourses.

Yet, if take measures by compare the individual and group to norms, then it can lead to inequality which is why efforts are needed to reduce the inequality (Ryan 1991). Moreover, Foucault explains "we cannot help but produce unequal differences, as it is an integral component of the system" (Briscoe, 2008, p. 29). Thus, it gives impact to the unsuccessful in the effort of educators as well as the researcher because "well-meaning efforts to reduce inequalities of schooling continue to fail because schools continue to work in an organizational formats geared to normalize students" (Ryan, 1991, p. 118). McNicol (2005) earlier predicted, "it is possible to dismantle the confinement of normalization to create anew as well as to explore our ability to freely appreciate differences, rather than trying to normalize them" (McNicol, 2005, p. 11).

The question is how we can positively change the organization, normalizing, and power structure on the existing Orang Asli's school and education system? Will it be achieving as same as opportunity taken by the mainstream education? If what Foucault say about power and normalisation is correct, then the best and most effective way to address this inequality is depending on destructing the normalizing on both side i.e. government as well as society.

Yet, the normalization is a complex process. For the Malaysia case, efforts been taken to improve and uplift the quality life of the Indigenous people equally with the mainstream people. The challenges is obvious in Malaysia case where it deals with the demand of the Indigenous people such as identity recognition, land ownership, the importance of linguistic and cultural and also spiritual aspects need to be embedded in their education system. The Malaysia government seems to use assimilation and nation building ideas and other mainstreaming tools in order to develop the Indigenous people's lives as how been the mainstream media is experienced it especially in education sector. The normalization processes confronting challenges' and still not achieved the satisfactory process. Thus, it can be claimed that there is negatives impact as a result of normalization attempt taken by the Malaysia government in education sectors. It obviously proven later part in this research where there is evidence of contentious

negotiation between the Malaysia government and the Indigenous people on their expectation on favourable education policies. Thus, there is raised of self-determination rights from the bottom of the Indigenous people against the states's approach of UNDRIP's symbolism.

Secondly, normalization process will take time to be implemented because it will need to be adjusted by the Indigenous people as a whole and on the other hand, the acceptance of mainstream people towards the Indigenous people. Foucault has mentioned about the social norms in the operation of power, knowledge and discourse yet lack justified the experiences or struggles confronted by the individuals during the process of normalization. Therefore, through government's discourses' the states providing space and opportunity to the Indigenous people in voicing out their opinion as well as determining their aspiration in education system. The realm is Malaysia government is bound to the national constitutional system, but these negotiations of powers through assimilation lens may have to change the existing constitution in fulfilling their rights. For the Indigenous people, the UNDRIP is an international law that is represent, favouring and protects them. One of the evidence that can be presented as a part of normalization struggle is the usage of single language in national curriculum in Malaysia. The aim of using single language is to push the nation building elements regardless ethnics and religions. Yet, it is not possible to include others language, cultural and knowledge especially the Indigenous one in education system equally with the mainstream media. Though it looks odd for others yet it can be modify as claimed by Foucault so that equality can be achieved in education system and reduced the degree of negative impact as a result of normalization processes. It can be debateable that many ethnics comprise the population of Malaysians, yet the Indigenous people's languages and cultural can be prioritised above other ethnics due to the historical facts including their existence in Malaysia.

Thus, Foucault analytical concept gives better understanding on the existing Indigenous education system. By supposed the system should be based on needs and rights towards the language, culture, and Indigenous knowledge of Indigenous people? Question raised how it can change the existing educational practices to be favour to the Indigenous people and not being treated as isolated? This argument leads to the discussion on how the education system or Malaysia government can shape and give the direction of education system for Indigenous people in an effort to identify and critically challenge normalisation through Foucault lenses. Foucault (1979 cited in McNicol, 2005) suggestion "is to not only focus on the negative, prohibitive, repressive effects of our society's practices and expectations, but identify what they prevent or make unthinkable" (McNicol, 2005, p. 23). His analysis provides the framework, method and also better understanding in providing space and rights to self-determination to Indigenous people in the systems of power and knowledge of normalisation in Indigenous education policy.

Indigenous Education Policies Discourse Between 1995-2015

Since achieving independence in 1957, the Malaysian government introduced various comprehensive development programmes to improve and develop the quality life of Orang Asli. The Ministry of Education is committed to improve the delivery system of education to Orang Asli, effective on January 1st 1995, all administration and management of Orang Asli education was taken over by the Ministry of Education from the Department of Orang Asli Developments. However, whilst the number of Orang Asli children enrolled in primary and secondary schools has increased significantly over the last decade, but the dropout rate amongst the Orang Asli children, still remains a great cause for concern. One of the main reasons for the problem is the students' poor academic achievement (see in Hasmah, 2013; Mohd Roslan, 2013, 2014, 2015; Sharifah et al., 2011). In addition it has been attributed to factors such as culture, school location, poverty, pedagogy and many more (Hasmah, 2013; Ikram, 1997; Mohamad Johdi & Abdul Razak, 2009; Mohd Asri, 2012; Tay, 2009).

According to reports from 1995 to the late 2013, various themes were featured on the issue of Orang Asli education. Issues such as assimilation, equity, rights, mainstreaming, and closing the gap continue to be emphasis to ensure Orang Asli gets proper education. It started after the adoption of school from JHEOA in 1995 (Department of Orang Asli Affairs, 1995). The JHEOA seems to fail in managing Orang Asli schools, this was a prelude to integrate Orang Asli into mainstream people through the education system (see in Ikram, 1997; Nicholas, 2006). Though basically it is aimed to provide the right and equity to the Orang Asli, but its implementation was not towards the goals set. Two clear approaches used by the government in this era is assimilation and disadvantage. This integration process is a process to assimilate the Orang Asli into mainstream society so that they can get out of poverty through the education system. Due to the JHEOA's failure in managing Orang Asli education, the government is trying to integrate Orang Asli into mainstream education system to solve the issue of poverty (see in Department of Orang Asli Affairs, 1995). Yet, some government institutions responded that they are committed to provide equal education rights to all Orang Asli but the group still feel marginalized by the existing education system. The existing education system seems to fail to recognize their background, culture, and native language.

One of the major weakness that could be identified through the government discourses is each governmental reports failed to address the real issues confronted by the Orang Asli in their education system. The main focus is more on the education infrastructure. Element rights and recognition in cultural, indigenous knowledge, language and history failed to be touch and highlighted to the government to see that the education system is built to see Orang Asli achieving the goals and objectives. Therefore, based on UNDRIP, the involvement in Orang Asli community is not just participation in the implementation of a policy but it should be able to cross various levels, especially in the development of policy and programs to provide input and views through their standpoint.

On more details discussion on the equity theme, this subject always had been debated with the interests of the individual rights of Orang Asli community in discussing issues concerning education. For example, the recognition of Indigenous rights through KAP involves curriculum reform and an increase in the number of indigenous educators and researchers. In addition, the government provides education funding with major equity initiative, which aims to increase the number of Orang Asli students

through individual financial aid to students and school facilities. Based on the analysis from various report, most of the government's focus is material and percentage figures. In addition, the government failed to focus on content designed, pedagogy, curriculum and teaching and learning process which are more focused to ensure equity among Orang Asli are being realized equity provided to mainstream society. For example, the government must also recognize that the rights, culture, way of life of Orang Asli, indigenous knowledge and their language in the education system.

For the Orang Asli, their rights must be clarified in the education system through the requirements and also educational model, so that they are not isolated from the existing education system. Mainly all the Orang Asli holds the concept of equity in their education and this not been accessed through the education assistances or only by providing the teaching materials. For them their education should move beyond the subject of equality and must consists of respect towards the Indigenous knowledge, cultural and languages. Sharifah et al. (2011) pointed that Orang Asli should be served with specific needs that requires serious consideration in resolving their educational problems. One of the measurements that need to tackle is to reduce the gap between the Orang Asli education and mainstream education by emphasis on their specific demands if the government is very serious in solving the Orang Asli education program. Hassan (2009) and Mohd Roslan (2015) stress that equity that been provided to the Orang Asli childrens in education should sensitives towards their background and cultural. Therefore, the full involvement of Orang Asli is necessary in terms of management, administration, and delivery of mainstream education, so the education system operates more to inclusive curriculum development.

While under the Rights and Recognition – Orang Asli has taken many measurements including demanding their rights towards their land and cultural growth. One of the main reason why there are unhappy with ruling government is because the state neglected their heritage lands (Mohd Roslan, 2014; Nicholas, 2005, 2007; Rohaida, 2010; Rohaida & Witbrodt, 2012; Subramaniam, 2011). Further, there is less communication between the community and the government especially in the matters that concerning their well-being (Rohaida & Witbrodt, 2012). What the Orang Asli required is 'negotiation of development' with them before any changes are taking in place in their side. The state really need an inclusive approach which recognised the Orang Asli's rights, cultural and their native language from the point of social justice.

While, the assimilation and mainstreaming theme is the most prominent theme in the government's discourses. Starting from 1995 up to the present, the integration and assimilation process occurs through mainstream education. Although it got the attention of certain agencies such as SUHAKAM and JAKOA but this integration process continues its execution until now. Orang Asli were not given the opportunity to create a curriculum and educational orientation based on their culture. By integrating them into the mainstream education system, the government felt that it was an approach that they believe can help the Orang Asli to escape from poverty. But after nearly 20 years of ongoing education integration, the Orang Asli are still remaining shrouded in poverty and the education gap is widening. While there are efforts to incorporate elements of equity in education but it is simply to close or solve problems concerning to the disadvantages in the mainstream education for Orang Asli. However, these efforts failed in ensuring Orang Asli has equal rights in education. Recognition and inclusion themes of Orang Asli in the educational arena are also fundamental in any report discussed. But the concept of recognition and the rights of Orang Asli is through the view of the government rather than the view of the Orang Asli themselves. Therefore, plan or policy was not carried out in conformity with the requirements and also not inclusive in resolving and giving the educational rights to Orang Asli.

Initially the assimilation and mainstreaming concept is one of the government agenda since the Orang Asli Schools have been established in 1995 through the Malaysian Education Development Plan 2013-2025. This agenda was obvious through a series of government's education development that been applied to the Orang Asli, yet was not given a fully authority to them. Integration through pedagogy and curriculum is remained as the core of education for the Orang Asli without providing the full autonomy to these people in deciding what kind of education system they are required and important for them. Most importantly, the element of indigenous knowledge is not essential in the curriculum that been offered to them. Orang Asli's language subjects such as Temuan language, and Semai became the selected subjects. These subjects supposed to be the intermediate subjects to the Orang Asli so that their native languages will be recognised as educational language. Though after 20 years, the Orang Asli is remained in the condition of poverty and the gap in the education sector getting increased. This proved that all the government's efforts are failed. It is only the matter of time the state should hand over the autonomy power to the Orang Asli through self-determination in their education system.

Orang Asli is a community that holds to their cultural and customs. The state's idea of integrating their education system with the mainstream one is something that going to be beneficial to the community. Sharifah et al. (2011) explained that the integration and assimilation elements that have been implementing in their education system was not successful due to the state's approaches that are not relevant with the Orang Asli's children. Similar cases confirmed by the existing scholars Nicholas (2006) and Ramle, Wan Hasmah, Amir Zal, and Asmawi (2013) that such efforts have brought dilemma to the Orang Asli community's in terms of the acceptance towards the Orang Asli's education which is contradicted towards their cultural and background. This indirectly has caused disinterest among the children attending the school.

In terms of participation, many government documents place an emphasis on participation. This was highlighted many times in the Malaysia Education Development Plan 2013-2025 and almost all the plans are similar every year. There's no room for improvement under this plan. Though the participation element was emphasis on the KAP, there's no self-determination that been rose from the Orang Asli community. This is partly due to the element of integration that been focused by the government that're not going to benefits the community. The Orang Asli's participation should be consists of their ideas and inspirations that should be implemented in the making of Indigenous education policies. It has to take account of cultural, language, and knowledge that can be recognised as a formal education system for the Orang Asli's children. Sharifah et al. (2011) and Tay

(2009) pointed that collaboration should be present between the Orang Asli and education institutions in order to make sure the Orang Asli's aspiration been fulfilled.

In terms of closing the gap, at the end of 1990s era and the early 2000s, the main focus of the government is to bridge the education gap among Orang Asli with the mainstream people. Various efforts undertaken via the Action Plan for Orang Asli Education Development, the government has outlined a comprehensive range of measures to ensure the education gap between Orang Asli and mainstream people can be bridged. Two clear themes in this era are equity and rights to Orang Asli. However, the approach used by the government is still the same, which is to integrate Orang Asli community and to introduce parental involvement in the education system. However, this involvement is not a comprehensive effort which merely the parents' involvement in schools to attract students to the school. Participation must be comprehensive in various stages and participation in decision making thus the inspiring views of Orang Asli community can be instilled directly into the National education system. Hence, the approach used to fill the education gap is not inclusive. It is clear that the educational system provided for Orang Asli are still not taking into account with the cultural differences which lead Orang Asli children to feel the pressure through the mainstream education system. This issue leads to other issues that exist among Orang Asli children such as discrimination and isolation in the mainstream education.

By recognizing the weaknesses, the government has implemented KAP in improving the existing educational system, so that Orang Asli are not discriminated against and marginalized by the mainstream education system. However, there is a problem in terms of the implementation of KAP, which is not thorough, and also preparation and training for educators who are not comprehensive and cause the implementation of the curriculum to fail. KAP was originally developed well as taking into account cultural differences and incorporate environmental elements. Without forgetting to ensure community involvement in the education system reached the Orang Asli community. This is because the Orang Asli is too attached to their environment and culture. However, the failure of its comprehensive implementation and bad management, leaving KAP to an optimal outcome as expected.

Since 2010, the government has been taking a lot of pressure to ensure Orang Asli education system is at a good level. Through SUHAKAM, they continued to criticize the policies undertaken by the government to ensure Orang Asli education system is flawless. Approach highlighted by SUHAKAM is rights, equity and recognition. This approach is to provide rights and recognition to Orang Asli through cultural and language in the curriculum. A set of preparations was given to the educators. SUHAKAM took the initiative to grasp existing disadvantages through the existing education system so that there is an improvement in the education system which to make it more inclusive and acceptable by the Orang Asli community. Various recommendations by SUHAKAM in ensuring Orang Asli children get a better education system.

Thus, I argue that the closing the gap between Orang Asli and mainstream society is not supposed to be valued through the performance of the Orang Asli's children but also more than that. For instance, the importance and recognition of Orang Asli's native languages, Indigenous knowledge and cultural is not acknowledged. This is an important fact so that the Orang Asli's children could learn all these elements as formal education. Thus, the curriculum and pedagogy prepared to the Orang Asli's children required a model that really giving impact and culturally inclusive towards the Orang Asli's education. This is in line with Abdull Sukor, Nuraini, Mohd Izam, and Mohd Hasani (2011) work that stress on the importance of the Orang Asli's language to the community's children. This will indirectly help the children to empowered their education system and closing the gap between the mainstream and their education. To closing the gap of education is not being evaluated through the education models that been proposed but also knowledge that been generated in designing the models.

It is a complex situation between the government and the Orang Asli in improving the Indigenous education system. Though the discourses are circulated through the power of sovereign but the degree of normalisation is still not achievable yet. The work of Britzman (1998), suggests connections between social constructions of race and the normalizing discourses discussed by Foucault (1979). Britzman (1998, pp. 110-111) highlights "how the "normal" version of multi-races pedagogy (i.e., multicultural education) relies on humanistic constructs or role models and self-esteem building and seems to forget the problem of group identification and disassociation from the question/possibility of difference in line with normalizing". Britzman (1998) suggests that if we accept that efforts at multi-races pedagogy are inconsolable such as bilingual education, Indigenous knowledge and cultural, that they are embedded within complex social constructions of race, difference, and normalcy, then we should engage with what it excludes or refuses: "This is not a move towards a new inclusivity, even though opening the stakes of identification and learning from the conflicts within communities should trouble what is imagined as a normal race or, more pertinently, as a normal representation of race" (Britzman, 1998, p. 111).

Conclusion

The different themes discussed are of paramount importance in the education system in Orang Asli in Malaysia based on different era. It is important to understand that discourse as "practice rather than as a systemized body of knowledge, we can see how it is produced through everyday conditions different themes based on different era discussed are of paramount important in the education system of the Orang Asli in Malaysia. However, it is constantly subject to change to the agency of individuals" (Gardner, 1997, p. 154). The gap between people and discourse may become indifferent and lost its significant due to the individuals who try to make sense of it through various discourses because there are differences in the 'people ruling people' and 'discourse ruling people'. As for conclusion, since UNDRIP takes place in the social-political environment in Malaysia for the Orang Asli, UNDRIP outlines several guidelines such as self-determination, rights and equity which should be given to the Indigenous people. Based on the analysis of several government reports, it is evident that the government of Malaysia failed to 'recognize' equity and rights and also full self-determination of the Orang Asli as 'the first people' in Malaysia. In other words,

Malaysia is yet to achieve the substantive level as implemented by UNDRIP. This argument is in line with (Rohaida (2010, p. 18)), that Malaysian rights especially for Orang Asli, depend on the 'internal factors' and not as 'designated' or as 'implemented' internationally. Ultimately, it arises from the normalisation that Foucault (1988) had earlier predicted, that "we have to rise up against all forms of power but not just power in the narrow sense of the word, referring to the power of a government or of one social group over another: these are only a few particular instances of power" (Foucault, 1988, p. 1). Power is "anything that tends to render immobile and untouchable those things that are offered to us as real, as true, as good" (Foucault, 1988, p. 1). He concluded that normalization occurs when "disciplinary society compares, differentiates, hierarchizes and excludes" (Foucault, 1977, p. 182). I agree with Foucault's argument on normalization: where power is associated or embedded in one place, inequity could occur in society. Such an interpretation could be applied to the outcomes in the case of Malaysia. The international laws concerning the Orang Asli are the only protection for them. Whereas all the initiatives in the Indigenous Education Policy are merely symbolisms as to show the government of Malaysia's 'concern' to the Orang Asli community. This paper concludes that more effort is needed in respect to the establishment of Indigenous people's own education systems in line with Article 14 of the UNDRIP. Therefore, the application of the UNDRIP within Indigenous Education Policy would go a long way in ensuring that the Indigenous people receive due recognition as First Nations.

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