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**The British Colonial Legacy: Sport and Politics in Multi-Ethnic Malaysia
from 1800 to 2000**

by

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

This thesis is submitted to the Warwick Centre for the Study of Sport in Society
the **University of Warwick** in fulfilment of the requirements of candidature
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my independent investigation except where I have indicated my indebtedness to other sources.

I hereby certify that this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any other degree, nor is it being submitted concurrently for any other degree.

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Summary

The objective of the research was to explore the development of modern sport in Malaysia and to identify the socio-political and ethnic issues and other problems associated with it. The time period studied is from the year 1800 to the year 2000, which covers the periods of British colonial rule and Malaysia as an independent nation. The extended period of British administration left a paramount effect on the Malaysian society. Eight sport enthusiasts, forty schools, twelve sport associations, the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Malaysia, the Ministry of Education of Malaysia, and the Olympic Council of Malaysia were approached to gather the primary or raw data for the study. In addition, historical facts and sociological perspective on sport and physical education gathered from library research were combined to form the main ingredients and cross-analysed for discussion in the thesis. A chapter was constructed to understand the reason for British global expansion, their sport idealism and eventually the socio-political impact on Malaysia. A subsequent chapter was constructed discussing the independent government's attempt to redress the ethnic groups imbalance in economy, education and sport, as a result of the colonial legacy, in order to develop a just and harmonic society. Sport was found to be both the 'enhancing' and 'detering' factors for a genuine national unity to materialise. Issues on power politics, economy, education and sport were found to be very much entangled and intertwined with the ethnic phenomenon. The research concluded that Malaysia's short history as an independent nation with very distinguished multi-ethnic and multicultural society provided an unsettled and unstable platform for a suitable environment for sport to develop successfully. Universal sport-sociological theories related to the main issues investigated were compared and tested on the Malaysian sport scene to identify the 'grounded theory'. Finally several 'grounded theories' were presented as closure of the thesis.

Abbreviations

| | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|
| UMNO | - | United Malay National Organisation |
| MCA | - | Malaysian Chinese Association |
| MIC | - | Malaysian Indian Congress |
| BN | - | Barisan Nasional |
| NEP | - | New Economic Policy |
| NDP | - | New Development Policy |
| MYS | - | Ministry of Youth and Sports |
| OCM | - | Olympic Council of Malaysia |
| NSC | - | National Sports Council |
| MOE | - | Ministry of Education |
| MSSC | - | Malaysian Schools Sports Council |
| NSP | - | National Sports Policy |

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study explores the development of modern sport in Malaysia and identifies the political and ethnic issues and other problems associated with it. In this first chapter, an overview of the entire research will be presented. In particular, the chapter describes the location of the research, the background to the study, the objectives of the study and related research questions. The conceptual framework of the study which utilises the “grounded theory” i.e. the inductive derivation of a “theory” from a study of the phenomenon being investigated will also be discussed in this chapter. Specifically, the method used in gathering the data and the formulation of a theory with respect to the development of modern sport in Malaysia based on the data will be discussed. The chapter concludes with a brief description of the organisation of the dissertation.

1.2 The Country

The peninsula of Malaysia is a narrow lozenge of land running five hundred miles southwards from the mass land of eastern Asia into a region of islands, large and small, spread over the equator. Eastwards across the South China Sea lies the largest island, Borneo, whose northern territories, Sabah and Sarawak joined with Malaya in 1963 to form Malaysia. Malaysia is thus at the centre of the Southeast Asia region, sharing with its neighbours ties of race, religion, culture and trade. China and India, the most powerful Asian nations and the most

ancient centres of Asian civilisation, have contributed both to the culture and to the racial composition of the region (Gullick, 1989).

Many of Malaysia's problems are believed to stem from the multi-ethnic nature of its population. Issues such as determining the country's national identity and religion; having to agree with the Malay language as the compulsory language to be taught in various ethnic schools and practised in administration, law and businesses; distributing the country's wealth for the development of different ethnic establishments; arriving at a consensus for a fair number of ethnic representation in the cabinet and parliament; determining quotas for the ethnic groups into public universities and in the business sectors employment; and creating a proportionate number of ethnic recruitment in the armed forces, are, but only some of her many problems. These problems needed constant attention and delicate solution from the government and the people for they have the tendency to reiterate through times. The multi-ethnic nature of its population is largely a legacy of British colonialism from the late eighteenth century to 1957, when the country gained its independence.

Of Malaysia's 20 million people in 1995, the indigenous Bumiputra or 'sons of the soil'¹, accounted for 60 per cent, while the Chinese constituted 30.9 per cent and Indians 8.3 per cent. The remainder was made up of other minor ethnic groups (Gomez and Jomo, 1997; Chin 1996). There seems to be little in common among the major ethnic groups due to their origin; the Malays adhere to Islam and

¹ Comprised of mainly the Malay ethnic, and several primitive tribes.

speak the Malay language; the Chinese adhere to Buddhism and speak various Chinese dialects; while, the Indians adhere to Hinduism and speak Tamil. Christianity is also present in Malaysia and is followed by a minority of Chinese and Indians, but not by Malays.

All these differences make Malaysia a very complex nation. The differences present a challenge to integration and solidarity among her citizens and could be a source of friction that can somehow threaten the peace in the country. However, through strong governmental control; political compromises; astute economic policies; and inter-ethnic tolerance, a peaceful and prosperous nation continues to exist.

Most political parties are ethnically based, encouraging political mobilisation and consciousness, thus exacerbating the ethnic problem. This is only mitigated by the ruling Barisan Nasional (National Front) being a multi-ethnic, multi-party coalition, which has been in power since 1971. Comprising over a dozen parties, the Barisan Nasional is dominated by the three largest parties, namely the United Malays' National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). Views on the style of the Malaysian government are contradictory, for in spite of fairly regular multi-party elections and some other features requiring accountability of the regime, the government has been authoritarian since the colonial period (Gomez and Jomo, 1997). The Malaysian government was also labelled as being semi-authoritarian,

semi-democratic, or quasi-democratic (Crouch, 1992; Chase 1993; and Zakaria, 1989 respectively, in Gomez and Jomo, 1997), or a combination of both democratic and authoritarian at the same time (Makmor, 1998). All these labelling and interpretation are suggested to have resulted from the government's cautious attitude in performing its democratic responsibilities, and therefore being very selective at practising it – a 'selective- democracy'.²

In relation to sport, Douglas (1989, p.166), an American sport sociologist observes that Malaysians are people who like to venture into all kinds of sport. According to him, Malaysians participate in “from land sport to water sport and even parachuting, but their favourite ones are football, badminton, *sepak takraw*³ and basketball”. In reality, however, Douglas' observation is simplistic because even these “favourite” and most popular sports are uneven in their apparent capacity to bring together the country's different cultural communities. For example, people of all ethnic backgrounds enjoy football and badminton, each in their own ways the national sport. Other leading sports are identified in varying degrees with specific groups: Malays dominate *sepak takraw*, Chinese are most active in basketball and table tennis, and hockey is primarily an Indian game (Douglas, 1989; Khoo, 1989). It seems that sport too is ethnic-based, just as in

²The researcher coined this word after reading a paragraph written by Dr.Mahathir Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, in his book *The Challenges of Turmoil* where he stated that: “Democracy is not a revealed religion. Even religions can be misinterpreted and twisted by people with vested interests, let alone democracy. This being the case, not all that is preached by the Western liberal democrats will be practised by us. We will pick the good and discard the bad.” (Mahathir, 1998, p.43).

³A traditional Malay sport played between two teams with three players on each team. The game is played on a court about the size of a badminton court. It is similar to volleyball except that it is played using the feet, while the use of arms and hands is not allowed.

other spheres of Malaysian life such as politics, the economy and culture. In fact, as this thesis will show, the pattern of sport in Malaysia is derived from these elements and hence not surprisingly, sport too shows the same ethnic division as those found in politics, the economy and culture.

1.3 The Study: Its Objectives and Challenges

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the objective of the study is to explore the development of modern sport in Malaysia and to identify the political and ethnic issues and other problems associated with it. It is also the intention of the study to compare relevant universal theories on sport in society with the situation of sport in Malaysia to determine their similarities, relevancies, efficacies and contradictions. By comparing and cross-analysing the universal theories and the situation in Malaysia, the study will contribute, if not a totally new theory, a wider perspective of literature on sport in society. Since Malaysia has not been the subject of such a study, the findings of the present study will definitely be an added knowledge to students of sport in other societies and to Malaysians themselves.

Given the fact that sport is not detached from politics nor socio-economic factors, the study begins by examining the impact of the colonial legacy on Malaysia's political and socio-economic being. This, in turn, forms the base of the research on the development of modern sport in Malaysia. Thus, the study encompasses a time period of approximately 200 years, from the 1800s to the

present. The period can conveniently be divided into two time periods coinciding with the pre-independence era and the post independence era. More importantly, since the circumstances of the nation's politics and socio-economic policies are a product of ethnicity, it becomes the major theme and the core issue for analysis in this study. However, related issues such as government control over sport and the use of sport for social control are also explored. In order to predict the future of Malaysian sport, problems concerning the management and development of sport in such complex situations are identified and discussed in the thesis.

As in other studies of sport in various parts of the world, the study of sport in Malaysia is not without its own problems. There are many variables that can affect the scenario of sport in any particular country. For instance, the unique composition of the Malaysian population is one variable. The Malay majority is almost equal in number to the minorities, when the two dominant minorities, which are the Chinese and Indians, are combined. Another uniqueness of the Malaysian socio-political setting is that the Malay political hegemony is balanced against the Chinese economic hegemony. These factors must surely have their effects and influence on the sport situation in Malaysia.

Sport, according to McIntosh (1968) has touched various aspects of human life that makes it difficult to define the concept or to set limits to sporting activity. It is interwoven with military, political, religious and domestic functions and thus forming various combinations. Sporting activities are also dependent on religious

and moral orientations and are thus connected to the respective social and political order and its function and stability (Dunning, 1971).

The difficulty in defining the concept of studying sport is also raised by Richard Holt when he proposed a question about the relationship between recreation and society. Holt tries to identify the forces that influenced the way in which sport developed, and in what respects these emergent forms of amusement themselves reflect wider social change. According to Holt, to continue investigation beyond the 'bare bones' of chronological narrative, proper questions about the role of sport in society have to be formulated. Unfortunately, this is made difficult without assistance from contemporary social theorists. There is no systematic sociological study of sport that provides a widely agreed framework of interpretation. Historians, Holt adds, are thrown back on a number of competing, often conflicting, assertions and hypotheses, most of these adding conspicuously little to the knowledge of the evolution of leisure activity. Holt points to some primary material factors such as; the changing nature of work (which involves not only the hours of work but the character and intensity of it), urban development, levels of affluence, education and literacy, mass production, better communications, improvement in diet and public health, greater longevity, and the place of the young in the society (Holt, 1985).

In a similar vein, Joseph Arbena states, "the study of sport is not without its problems" (Arbena, 1988, p.1). He points to the basic problem of defining the

word 'sport' itself, which is often in opposition to non-supportive games and play. Examples in context given by Arbena are bullfighting and rodeo, which he considered as true sport; while questioning the position of chess. Similar to the opinions of McIntosh, Dunning and Holt, Arbena regards sport (and the study of it) as a highly complex and pervasive social phenomenon with many interconnected dimensions and expressions. Nevertheless, it can offer insights into various related historical and contemporary process on different levels. Arbena explains that sport has a cultural, psychological, social, institutional, economic, and political content but the nature and meaning of any of these contents is not always clear or predictable. Sport is part of a society, interacting with other parts, often in dialectical fashion and it appears like other institutions that can be consciously or unconsciously manipulated by individuals or interested groups in pursuit of ends which may be limited to the sport realm or which may have larger implication (Arbena, 1988).

As a reminder, however, in general sport development in a developing country like Malaysia, does not necessarily follow the developmental process of sport in developed countries. Klaus Heinemann (1993) noted that besides having the whole manifestations, such as traditional sport, mass sport, and high performance sport, there are different characteristics of particular sport discipline, with their respective organisational features, their historical development, their public ranking and their degree of professionalism. He cautions that sport is also structured differently in particular developing countries and therefore, data

collected on the functions of sport in the development process of nations have to be taken into consideration. Consequently, it is necessary to rely more on suppositions than on substantive knowledge. This is also the case with sport politics and the promotion of sport in these countries (Heinemann, 1993). Malaysia, with her unique political, social and developmental structures seems to fit in such a description.

1.4 The Research Questions

Through the study, answers to the following research questions are sought:

- i) To what extent has the British colonial legacy shaped the pattern of sport in Malaysia?
- ii) To what extent is sport in Malaysia similar or different from other parts of the world in relation to the government's intervention, politics and ethnic issues as a tool for social control?
- iii) Which style of administration does Malaysia have in administering her sport and what are the problems?
- iv) Does sport in Malaysia fit into the conflict theory, or the functionalist theory of sport sociology?
- v) What is the future trend of sport in Malaysia?

1.5 The Research Method and the “Grounded Theory” Conceptual Framework

Although, generally there is a common flow or pattern of sport development and situation in most countries, undoubtedly, there tend to be something that is only peculiar to only a certain country. Since Malaysia was one of Britain’s colonies that was very much influenced by the British economic expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth century, it is almost certainly that she has inherited many patterns of governmental administration and economic development like other British colonies. It is safe to assume that sport is one of these “inheritances”. However, as an independent country with various ethnic groups living in the country with very unique socio-political being, there is little doubt, that sport in such a circumstances will also have taken new dimensions and features of its own.

To answer the above research questions, data from two major sources are gathered. The primary data is gathered from the interviews and the secondary data is gathered from library research. The objective of conducting the interviews is to acquire fresh data concerning the current situation of sport in Malaysia. On the other hand, the secondary data is needed to understand the issues related to sport as a whole and to Malaysian sport in particular. The secondary data comprises of relevant literature on the issues of sport in society; the history of British colonialism and economic expansion (relevant factors in the formation of a multi-ethnic society in Malaysia) and the British sport idealism; and the socio-political changes in independent Malaysia. By cross-analysing the primary and

the secondary data, the current situation of sport in Malaysia and the reasons for it being so are identified. Furthermore, the cross-analysis also determines the similarities and differences of sport in Malaysia from the existing situation and theories of sport in other societies in the world.

The data from the study, in turn, constitutes and contributes to the explanations for the various practices and development of sport in Malaysia. This research framework better known as the “grounded theory” is defined by Strauss and Corbin as the inductive derivation of a theory based on a study of the phenomenon it represents. The various events and occurrences are discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, and then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 14). Such a framework will also allow us to build a theory that is faithful and illuminates the area under study. Researchers working under this approach also hope that their theories will ultimately be related to others within their respective fields in a cumulative fashion, and that the theory’s implications would have useful application. It is important to note that the grounded theory discovered in this particular research may match the existing theories, or on the contrary, it may reject partly or totally the existing theories.

1.6 The Interview

The primary data of the research is gathered through the semi-structured interview. This technique is chosen because it is considered to be the best way of getting new in-depth information and is a widely used technique for collecting data for qualitative research. In addition, since there is a lack of formal studies regarding problems in managing sport, the interview technique is thought to be the most appropriate. The flexible nature of the method, with the presence of the interviewer, enables an on going monitoring of the relevance of the information being collected. This enables the researcher to identify whether the interviewee understands the subject. However, like any other research methodology, interviews do have some disadvantages. It is noted that the process and experience of recording the conversation and the interview session could sometimes be intimidating to both researcher and participants (McLeod 1994). Nevertheless, it is strongly believed that the 'question and answer' sessions are carried out professionally in this research. To ensure professionalism in conducting the interview, firstly the researcher remains unbiased and undeterred by pre-conceived ideas, if any, towards his questions or the interviewee. Secondly, the researcher does not propose leading questions to the interviewee. Thirdly, interviews are conducted in a secluded environment to avoid any interruption. Fourthly, all interviews are tape-recorded to guarantee that no information is lost. Lastly, all information is treated as confidential by the researcher.

The objective of conducting the interviews is to get the latest information and to identify the current situation of sport in Malaysia, its problems and other related issues in question. There are six groups identified and chosen as respondents because of their direct involvement in sport in Malaysia. The groups are:

- i) The Ministry of Youth and Sports of Malaysia
- ii) The Ministry of Education of Malaysia
- iii) The Olympic Council of Malaysia
- iv) The sport associations
- v) The schools
- vi) Prominent individuals in Malaysian sport

[See Appendix A for the Interview Questions for the Respondents]

1.7 Conclusion

Due to the complexity of the study in terms of ‘periodisation of events’ and the multi-variables that influence the development of sport, the study is divided into six chapters. Following this chapter of introduction to the study, Chapter 2 is constructed to understand the reason for the British global expansion. Since it is universally agreed that the British global expansion especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was very much responsible for the spread of modern sport, it is therefore significant to construct a chapter to understand the phenomenon.

The chapter provides the explanation of how the British sport culture and idealism and education assisted in expanding and maintaining her global empire. Data for this chapter are gathered through library search.

In continuation, Chapter 3 is written to understand the reason for the British colonisation in Malaya, in specific, and how the British economic policy was responsible for the formation of a multi-ethnic society in Malaya. A brief review is made concerning the development of sport under the British rule. This chapter introduces the complex variables that emerged during the British rule that later influenced the complicated nature of sport pattern in Malaysia. The variables discussed are: politics, economy, geographical location and culture of the ethnic groups. Data collected for Chapter 3 are obtained from library research.

The situation of sport in Malaysia after independence that was influenced by the political and socio-economic circumstances under the independent government is discussed in Chapter 4. The section portrays the 'restructuring' of the society by the new government to 'remedy' the social inequalities left behind by the British colonial regime. Another analysis of the situation of sport in this new setting is carried out. Data collected at this point of research are acquired through library research and semi-structured interviews with respective individuals and organisations.

Chapter 5 is constructed to investigate and to provide a clearer perspective of how sport is being managed by parties responsible for developing sport in the country. The chapter demonstrates the government's attempts in administering the diversity of sport and the problem surrounding the sport associations and the schools. Emphasis is also given to the teaching of physical education in order to educate the people towards accepting the sport culture and to discover new talents. The investigation is done by gathering primary data through interviews conducted with participants related to sport development. The data collected are categorised under particular themes that are mainly: politics and ethnic issues, and the problems in developing sport as a whole.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents the discussion and conclusion of the thesis derived from the cross-analysis of all the chapters and the data collected. At this point of the research, all the research questions proposed earlier are answered. Among others, the discussion encompasses the situation of sport in Malaysia and its relation to the existing universal sport theories. These theories are compared to the situation of sport in Malaysia to identify their efficacies and contradictions. Eventually the 'grounded theories' that lie underneath the whole investigation are developed and a hypothesis of the future of Malaysian sport is constructed.

CHAPTER 2 GLOBAL EXPANSION OF BRITISH INFLUENCE

– AN EMPIRE

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to explain the reasons for the expansion of the British Empire and how the empire was ruled. The chapter explains how British education, sport idealism, and Christian values assisted in expanding and maintaining the empire through colonial enthusiasts. Among other aspects included in the chapter is how sport as part of the English culture was used as a tool to prepare Britain's future colonists and, later in the colonies, how it was used to 'westernise' and pacify the natives to succumb to the British rule. The historical facts from this chapter assist the understanding of some aspects of sport practices in the British ex-colonies including Malaysia.

This chapter is significant to the thesis in several ways. First, the chapter provides an understanding of the style of the British colonial administration in upholding its economic interest and the tremendous importance of sport in contributing to the expansion and maintenance of its empire. This knowledge is then traced on Malaysia to identify similarities and differences in the effort to understand Malaysian sport. As explained in this chapter, although the British practised different styles of administrations based on the different situations of her particular colonies in terms of sport practices, uniformity was maintained in

pacifying the natives worldwide. In addition, this chapter serves as the basis of comparison of the objectives of sport during colonial rule and after independence.

Second, the chapter also explains why people in the British colonies assimilated or rejected the British lifestyle which included their sport culture. The expanse of the British Empire then and the fervour of ‘greatness inculcated by the colonialist explains why some natives assimilated, as in the case of the British educated aristocrats in Malaya (*passim* Chapter 3). At the same time, since British education and sport were well intertwined with the concept of “Muscular Christianity”, as explained in this chapter, it was rejected by some native Malays in Malaya.

Third, the chapter highlights the discriminating strategy of providing British education - together with its school sport curriculum - to the ‘more fortunate’ natives. This, in turn formed the basis of the formation of sporting aristocrats among the natives in the colonies. Eventually, this fact helps to explain why the British education system not only produced cronies of ‘old boys’ from the British public school prototypes in Malaya, but also started the ‘patronage network’ (*passim* Chapter 4).

Fourth, this chapter explains that, in other parts of the British colonies, the empire was built by groups of convicts, religious exiles, and the poor, among others, who were trying to make a living in the new land. They were the ones

who practised sport that are of lower status. Since, the group of British colonialists that arrived in Malaya were not from these groups but from the upper echelons of the British society, it formed a situation where modern sport in Malaya were only a culture of the local aristocrats because of their position nearer to the British expatriates (*passim* Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

Last but not least, this chapter illustrates how economic development, education and sport were very much related under the British and provides to some extent the impression that sport had been politicised even before the independence of Malaysia.

2.2 The Expansion of a Global Empire

The British Empire was the largest empire in the history of the world, comprising nearly a quarter of the landmass of the earth, and a quarter of its population by the early twentieth century (Morris, 1968, p.21). The phenomenon of the European expansion had been going on for the previous four centuries and was led by the Portuguese and the Spanish. The British started late, when their first colony was successfully established in Virginia in 1607, trailing the Portuguese and the Spanish by about one hundred years. Although they were latecomers, throughout the rest of the expansion race they managed to subdue people in America, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. At the same time the British vanquished their European rivals, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and French (Johnston, 1981).

Through its collection of colonies, the British Empire grew for various reasons. Among the most eminent reasons include the pressure of competition from other imperialist power; the opportunity to gain wealth; the urge to explore new frontiers; the need to find haven from hardship in the motherland; the forced expulsion and hence emigration of convicts; the need to escape execution (religious exodus); the imperative to serve England; the strong belief that it was the duty of the superior Anglo-Saxon race guided by the religious passion of Providence by God; and the competitive spirit of the British. But the ultimate reason was the continuous struggle with European powers for trade and market territory, especially with France, in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Seeley, 1883).

The beginning of the expansion started during the Elizabethan period (1558-1603), but the beginnings of an 'Empire' were largely unstructured. It all started with mass emigration of the English race overseas to North America to seek for new land and to build new lives. People left Britain to seek personal fortune and not for England. The process of building colonies was sought unconsciously (Woodward, 1911, p.18; Seeley, 1883, p.125). Initially, the emigrants travelled abroad to acquire lands that were free for all. But since they were British citizens by rights, these lands later became national assets of England. The need to covet, protect and extend these new possessions felt by the British government as competition by other powers intensified.

Lawrence James stated that the transition of free expedition followed by the need to covet its belongings influenced the changing of the words 'colonies' or 'plantations' into the word 'Empire'. The transition from 'informal' to 'formal' empire was not in general usage until the eighteenth century. James added that psychologically the change of word was important for it carries with it notions of grandeur and of power on a world scale (James, 1997, p.47).

The intense competition on the North American continent in the seventeenth century created a race for new lands in new continents. Continuous wars in Europe became global contests between empires with each side seeking to hinder its opponent's commercial activities and seize their colonies. Due to the absence of air mobility during these centuries, sea routes were the main connection between continents. The British Royal Navy was the national force for defence and expansion. The navy became the instrument of commercial and colonial policy expansion and implementation. The constant threat from the French and the Dutch on the north part of America and further south (New York) respectively, made military involvement necessary. By 1680 British merchant ships had to be escorted by the navy.

After the victory over the French following the Napoleonic Wars (1815-1830), the British were in evidence almost all over the world. James Morris stated that the British had seemed to be arbiters of the world's affair, righting a balance here,

dismissing a potentate there, peopling the empty places with men of British stock, grandly revenging wrong, converting pagans, discovering unknown lakes, setting up dynasties, emancipating slaves, winning wars and putting down mutinies (Morris, 1968, p.22). The British Empire became a development agency, distributing technical knowledge around the world, investing capital and lending money everywhere, developing the infrastructure of industrial progress – roads, railways, ports, posts and telegraphs (Hinden, 1949; Morris, 1968). The advances in technology in engineering, navigation and weaponry made it all possible.

But in the 1860s and 1870s, Britain faced a new series of threats both domestically and internationally. The Industrial Revolution that started in the middle of eighteenth century was at its height at about the year 1860. A period of significant prosperity in 1850s and 1860s was followed by severe depression, with effects throughout the world. The British agriculture, shipping, iron and steel suffered in particular. During the years of the Industrial Revolution, Britain experienced a domestic population explosion: in 1801 there were 10 million people in Britain, by 1871 the number doubled to about 22 million. Overwhelming population growth resulted in a labour surplus followed by mass redundancies and unemployment and a food shortage (James, 1997, p.306).

At the international level, the ending of the American Civil War in 1865, the unification of Germany in 1871 and the recovery of France after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, resulted in rapid industrialisation in all three

countries. Britain's position as the world trade leader was seriously threatened (Havinden & Meredith, 1993). The German success story under the rising power of Bismarck, contributed tremendously to the hardships associated with the British economy during this particular time. Their intention to protect their markets by giving subsidies and undercutting export prices appeared as a direct threat to the British. For instance, in 1870, the British's steel production had been twice that of Germany, but by 1910 the whole situation was reversed with Germany's production twice that of Britain. The rapid increase of foreign trade by France and the United States intensified the severity of Britain's economic troubles. It was these issues that created the desire to protect old markets and seek new ones. The desire was strongly upheld by policy-makers and empire lobbyists even if it was seldom explicitly stated (Hinden, 1949; Havinden & Meredith, 1993; Sturgis, 1987).

Dr. Freda Harcourt argues that all these crises: financial collapse in 1866; reform riots; working-class distress; failure of nerve on the frontiers of the Empire; and revived militarism in Europe were the cause for the emergence of a new style of imperialism (Harcourt in Sturgis, 1987, p.99). Britain's faith as a strong believer in free trade was tested. The British government was pressured by businessmen, through their local chambers of commerce, and colonial lobbyists into supporting for a policy of annexation.

Theories and attitudes to colonial development unfolded only very slowly and uncertainly in this period (1870-85). The British attitudes to the Empire as a whole, and to the tropical colonies in particular, were still confused and incoherent. On one hand, there was what might be called the unofficial orthodoxy of the Manchester School of laissez-faire dogmatism based on the worship of free trade. They believed that provided Britain was powerful enough to enforce free trade (or something approaching it) on tropical regions, formal colonial rule was unnecessary. On the other hand, there were the traders, merchants, missionaries and colonial administrators who had a vested interest in maintaining the tropical colonies, and in some cases in expanding them. Since possession was said to be nine-tenths of the law, it was perhaps not surprising in retrospect that those who represented the vested interests were ultimately successful; and that the advocates of abandoning the colonies (the settlement colonies as well as the tropical ones) were eventually defeated – as much by the course of events – as by any determined new policy of expansion (Havinden & Meredith, 1993).

It was initially trade not territory that Britain wanted in the mid-nineteenth century (Hinden, 1949, p.59; Eldridge, 1978, p.7). Victorian politicians adopted the term ‘informal empire’ to describe the expansion of the British commercial and financial power beyond the boundaries of political jurisdiction (Eldridge, 1978). According to Hinden, empires for the merchant adventurers were nothing more or less than additional sources of profit and power. Thus empires were, in practice, trade empires. The Mercantilist Theory, which dominated the economic

thinking in the eighteenth century, held that a nation's wealth and power depended on foreign trade and the creation of a favourable export balance. Thus, foreign trade was the centre of economic policy, and it was vital to gain as much as possible even to the extent of annexing territory from other nations. Hinden concluded that colonies were possessions of the metropolitan power that could increase trade. A guaranteed trading market within the colonies would reduce the dependency of the mother country on foreign imports. Her volume of exports would increase and as a result provide a positive balance of trade (Hinden, 1949).

The late Victorians, however, were dominated by an attitude of financial parsimony, especially politicians from the Conservative Party. The British were believed to be notoriously fickle where the Empire was concerned and Parliament was against squandering money on 'little wars' and troublesome dependencies. Critics of the New Imperialism argued that if all the money and enterprises had stayed at home, ordinary British people would have benefited more. Easy money for capitalist traders, he reasoned, did not mean better homes, schools or health for the British masses. The critics' general view was to drop the colonies for they were a nuisance, but the new imperialists welcomed the challenge and fostered a response, which was to consolidate the colonies and give them a system of administration (Morris, 1968).

The anti-expansionist school of Gladstone, Harcourt and Morley declined in influence in the 1890s. Although the anti-expansionist lost ground, many of their

basic suppositions remained intact. Even Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, aimed at avoiding further direct territorial responsibility by following a policy of expansion by proxy on the principle of ‘colonial expansion through Imperial aid’. The burden of occupation, pacification and administration was normally passed on to private British enterprise or existing colonial government. In this way Salisbury avoided demands on the British Exchequer and approached the House of Commons for legislative authorisation. Throughout the late Victorian period, expansion was carried out on the cheap and formal annexations and protectorates were avoided wherever possible. The British rule was always extended in the most economical and tentative form. In fact, many extensions of authority took place under the curious fiction that no additions were being made to the Empire at all (Eldridge, 1978).

Commercial rivalry was the underlying theme that lent great support to the view that the British imperialism was largely a defensive reaction to protect the existing outlets and volume of Britain’s trade and investment against assault by foreign competitors. Both the British politicians and Bismarck seem to have been worried by the fear that if they remained passive they would be excluded from the markets of the future. Lord Curzon wrote in his book on Persia in 1892:

“In the furious commercial competition that now rages like a hurricane throughout the world and the loss of a market is a

retrograde step that cannot be recovered; the gain of market is a positive addition to the national strength”.

(Lord Curzon in Eldridge, 1978, p.184).

The economic element remains an important factor and, in certain areas, the most important factor in the British overseas expansion. Political and economic motives were usually interwoven but they were also capable of operating independently at different level. Nevertheless, by the mid-1890s the economic motive had become the major justification for imperial expansion (Eldridge, 1978).

By June 1897, Great Britain had been carried away by the enthusiasm known as the New Imperialism, an expansionist, sensational concept of Empire that exactly fitted the spirit of the 1890s (Morris, 1968, p.22). “The appearance of foreign warships in areas which had been almost wholly under British surveillance was a token of a greater change that was occurring throughout the world. Contemporaries called it the ‘New Imperialism’, a phrase that was subsequently taken up by historians to describe the sudden surge of annexations by the great powers, chiefly in Africa, the Far East and the Pacific” (James, 1997, p.257). The New Imperialists saw the Empire as the chief concern of British policy. The proposition to defend Britain and its possession through a widely dispersed force of the royal navy was paramount (Morris, 1968).

Britain's overseas colonies could not have developed through the strength of its navy alone. The mass emigration of the British people played a very significant role in its empire expansion. They were the fillers of the empty spaces in the new continents and newly annexed territories; they enhanced the expansion of the Empire. The emigrants were prepared to abandon their homes, undertake long and hazardous voyages and then submit themselves to a regime of hard labour in an unfamiliar and often unkind environment to build new lives. James (1997, p.10) suggests that the reason why men and women were willing to leave Britain for something that was uncertain was the basic impulse that laid in their habit. He stated that "there was an old and deeply rooted tradition for craftsmen, labourers and domestic servants to move around the country to look for employment". This time the tradition was carried further to a new continent. Sir John Seeley was more assertive and patriotic when he described the English adventurous ability:

"It seems to us clear that we are the great wandering, working, colonising race, descended from sea rovers and Vikings. The sea, we think, is ours by nature's decree, and on this highway we travel to subdue the earth and to people it".

(Seeley, 1883, p.80).

The vast number of emigrants also included those who were sceptical and unwilling to migrate due to the uncertainty of what to expect in the foreign land.

But recurring periods of hardship, for example, starvation after 1810 following bad harvests, the 1860s depression that followed the end of the Industrial Revolution, and the periods of recession between 1901 to 1910, further encouraged emigration. In all cases it was the working class that was most affected. The government saw enforced migration to new continents as a viable solution to domestic social problems. In 1834 the Poor Law was enforced to assist poor emigrants to travel abroad. Later, in 1891 The Reformatory and Industrial School Act gave governors the power to send delinquent children to the colonies. Subsidising emigrants was also undertaken by charities like the Salvation Army and Dr. Barnado's who paid for the passage of orphans to the colonies; in 60 years after 1870, 100,000 were settled (James, 1997).

It was estimated that 16 million emigrants sailed from Britain between 1815 to 1914, of which about one in four went to the United States. A decade of recession between 1901 to 1910 saw 1.8 million people leave Britain, half settling in the white dominions. Ireland provided a large proportion of these emigrants; about 800,000 between 1815 and the 1845-6 famine were destined for the United States (James, 1997, p.309).

The most notorious group of unwilling emigrants were the convicts who were transported to New South Wales, Australia in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. According to supporters of the transportation programme, it was a humane form of punishment that offered the criminals the chance of

redemption and a return to the society. Sir Joseph Banks, a business minded botanist, thought that it was necessary to have even a small settlement of British people in Australia as a token of British ownership of the colony. His view made the government consider the convicts as early settlers; where in the early 1800s there were approximately 8,000 colonists in New South Wales (James, 1997).

The spread of the British Empire further than other European powers was due not just to the supremacy of the royal navy and mass emigration but also to extraordinarily courageous individuals. Examples include: Captain James Cook, the pathfinder for British commerce; the missionary-explorer, David Livingstone in Central Africa; the flamboyant industrialist Cecil Rhodes in Rhodesia; the ex-East India Company's soldier, James Brooke who later became the white raja of Sarawak; and Thomas Cook, the booking clerk of the Empire. These men with strong will power for personal success (perhaps reinforced by strong religious motives or the superiority of race notion) were pioneers. They contributed to the expansion of the Empire and added apparent credibility to the notion of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race as preferred by the theory of Social Darwinism.

Religious faith played an important role in imperial expansion. The strong faith in Christianity during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century made the emigrants more devoted to their task. They believed that their urge to explore, rule, develop and educate their conquered nation was Providence by God.

Therefore it was a duty that must be undertaken seriously. This notion enhanced the expansion of the empire even faster. It was difficult to identify the true reason for each individual involvement in imperialism, hence, the researcher would suggest that the motives were both for a better life and religious demand - or at least one of them (or neither of them in the case of the reluctant felons and convicts that were transported to Australia).

Missionaries were very much involved in the British imperialism alongside with the explorers, conquerors, emigrants and industrialists. Everywhere in the Empire the Anglican Church was identified with authority, even in the self-governing colonies, where it had no official status at all. As well as preaching the Gospel, missionaries were also responsible for bringing their congregations into contact with the values of the Mother country. They were not only pathfinders of the empire for at times they pacified the supposed savage inhabitants of their new territories. Nonetheless, missionaries were responsible for founding schools that taught religion as well as providing a secular education. Through their connections with British churches back home, the missionaries linked the Empire with ordinary British citizens who collected money to promote missionary activities overseas (Morris, 1968).

Besides religious values and religious duties, which promoted emigrants to venture into new lands, there were earlier groups in the early seventeenth century that emigrated solely because of religious differences. These were the religious

exoduses or the religious emigrants who wished to continue their beliefs and practices that were not tolerated in England. Differences among themselves also resulted in their settling in different areas on the North American continent. Virginia was settled by the Anglicans, New England by the Puritans, Pennsylvania by the Quakers, and Maryland by the Catholics (Seeley, 1883).

James Lawrence interprets Sir John Seeley's view, as reported in the latter's book, *The Expansion of England*, as claiming that the British Empire was an expression of the special genius of the Anglo-Saxon race (James, 1997, p.205). Seeley boastfully wrote that the Empire was acquired by the British "in a fit of absence of mind" (Seeley, 1883, p.8). Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary who coined the phrase 'trade follows the flag', expressed his belief that the British were the greatest governing race the world had ever seen (Morris, 1968, p.124). These claims coincided with the Social Darwinism that was popularised among the late nineteenth century imperialists. The theory was based on Darwin's principles as applied to the world of plants and animals used to explain the origins of man. The theory suggested that certain races were better fitted to survive and flourish than others. Leaving on one side the pertinent question as to who exactly were the Anglo-Saxons, there was a common agreement that their assumed progeny, the British, represented a superior race. This conclusion could be justified in terms of material, scientific and intellectual progress and adaptability. The fact that the Anglo-Saxons had dispersed across the globe and mastered their environment added to the general feeling that they

were suitable to be labelled the superior race and therefore qualified to rule (James, 1997).

On the other hand, Morris notes that British imperialism was “only paint on the façade” for it had been active for hardly more than a decade in a kingdom with a thousand years of historical continuity. It was difficult still to know just where a colonial began and an Englishman ended. All carried the same passport, and while many British people thought of the self-governing colonies as extensions of the motherland, many colonials thought of themselves simply as Briton overseas. Yet some regarded the empire only as an appendage to sea power (Morris, 1968, p.436).

Seeley was nevertheless ambivalent of the expression ‘colonial empire’ and the juxtaposition of the words. The word ‘empire’ seemed too military and despotic to suit the relation of a mother country to her colonies. By ‘colony’, it was understood that it meant a community, which remains politically connected in a relationship of dependence with the parent community (Seeley, 1883, pp.37-38). Bernard Porter wrote that the term ‘empire’ had its origin in the Latin word *imperium* that means, ‘command’ or ‘power’. Therefore, his definition coincided with Seeley’s opinion on the word ‘empire’. Porter added that the usage of the word ‘empire’ was determined more by historic accident than semantic design and it usually could mean one of two things. It could mean simply ‘the country presided over’ or ‘the authority exercised by a ruler who happened to be called an

emperor'. Or, more helpfully, according to Porter, it could mean the territorial possessions of a state (whose head might or might not be styled 'emperor') outside its strict national boundaries. It was in this latter sense that Britain and her overseas territories in the late nineteenth century together comprised an empire (Porter, 1992).

Furthermore, Seeley added, the British colonies did not resemble those colonies of the Greek and Roman Empire, which were acquired and held together by force. He strongly believed that Britain was never a military state. He therefore questioned the existence of an empire at all and considered the whole phenomenon as an expansion of an ordinary state. He reasoned using the abstract that since the main reasons to form colonies were for trade and places to build new life, therefore 'colonies' were neither more nor less than a great augmentation of the national estate. They were lands for the landless, religious exiles and an opportunity to gain prosperity and wealth for those who were poverty stricken (Seeley 1883). Territorially, the British Empire was scattered all over the globe. It was not self-contained like the Roman Empire nor concentrated like the Spanish Empire, or continental, like the Russian Empire (Morris, 1968, p.51). Conceptually, in England, the colonies had never been regarded as a simple extension of the English State and nation. They had been considered as belonging to England but situated outside the country (Seeley, 1883, p.60).

The British Empire comprised of various races from all corners of the earth and with different system of political control or government. For example, there were colonies administered by the aid of Legislative Councils, labelled the Crown Colonies; colonies ruled by the indigenous population which were loosely controlled and minimally interfered with, called Protectorates; Chartered Companies which were privately managed by business corporations; and last but not least colonies which were simply a military or admiralty post. The level of external administrative control was also variable. Egypt, for instance, according to Morris (1968) was the oddest of all the imperial phenomena. Egypt was never acquired and in theory it was not part of the Empire at all. It was under the personal responsibility of the British Agent and Consul-General, Lord Cromer, who had been in command almost since the occupation began in 1882. Khedive Abbas, the Sultan of Turkey, and his ministers regulated the country's administration but nothing of real importance could be done without British sanction (Morris, 1968; Woodward, 1911). The different approaches in governing were likely to have been a consequence of unplanned expansion in the first place, differing local cultures, the unwillingness to interfere with local affairs and problems and in the intensity of resistance received from the native populations.

Porter gives a brilliant scenario of the confusion of the British Empire in his book, *The Lion's Share*:

“On the surface this empire seemed an uneven and inconsistent kind of political entity, as indeed it was. Its different constituents were united in very little apart from their common allegiance to the British crown. Even the degree of this allegiance, the extent to which the Queen’s ministers could presume on a colony’s loyalty for help in a crisis, varied in practice from one part of the empire to another. There was no single language covering the whole empire, no one religion, no one code of laws. In their forms of government the disparities between colonies were immense...- Victoria, who was merely Queen of the British Empire, but Empress of this separate empire within it. There was no kind of overall logic – which is chiefly why the British Empire held together at all. The government was adapted to local conditions, and the British were happy with the discord of it all so long as the music went on playing”.

(Porter, 1992, pp.1-2).

The above arguments and the comments of Porter confirms the view of Morris when he states:

“It was all bits and pieces. There was no System. The Mother Country was an audacious euphemism, applied to such immense and ancient organisms as India or Nigeria, and the whole

terminology of Empire had become so confused that often the New Imperialists could not even use the word 'nation' without an explanatory footnote...the very essence of this Empire was its formless improvisation, its stagger".

(Morris, 1968, p.212).

Despite all these confusions, Porter concludes that fundamentally the Empire was the manifestation of British power and influence. Whatever strange individual shapes the colonies took, all shared this common characteristic, they owed their origins in some way to British economic, political and cultural predominance in the world (Porter, 1992, p.2).

2.3 Imperialism and English Education

Besides military strength the other most important tool in British imperialism was its education. In fact it could be considered the paramount contributor to the British Empire throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Britain had acquired an Empire of more than 13,000,000 square miles containing a population of between 400 and 420 million. By no means could such a vast empire be maintained without huge demands from British manpower (Mackey, 1988). It was then that the British education system and colonial education policies played a very important role. The education system in the motherland played its role by producing vast number

of future colonists, while education in the colonies contributed through ‘westernising’ the indigenous elite for indirect rule and by subduing the mass indigenous to surrender to imperial demand. Colonial schooling was part of a deliberate policy to perpetuate British imperial rule (Whitehead, 1988).

Through the education system a mass number of individuals were produced for imperialist purposes. British education (in Britain) succeeded in producing military officers, administrators, teachers and missionaries for colonial duties. While others like propagandists, industrialists, proselytarians and enthusiasts broadened their influence using schools as their platforms.

2.3.1 The Public Schools and The Preparatory Schools: Base for Propaganda and Cradles for the Empire

The English school systems, the preparatory and the public schools, contributed tremendously to British imperialism by being the bases for indoctrination and production of manpower (Mackey, 1988, p.67). Patrick Dunae describes the relationship of the public schools with the Empire as one of partnership:

“The British public schools and the British Empire represent one of the greatest institutional partnerships in modern history. The reciprocal relationship between the two was especially striking

during the late Victorian and Edwardian years, when the empire was at its height and when the schools enjoyed immense prestige”.

(Dunae, 1988, p.194).

Mangan quotes G. Kendall, onetime headmaster of University College School, who noted “[t]he public schools...claim that it is they who, if they did not make the Empire (for most of them were hardly in existence when the Empire was made), at least maintained and administered it through its members” (Mangan, 1986, p.21). Kendall’s statement is supported by the fact that between 1880 and 1914 almost three million male adults emigrated from the United Kingdom and from that figure 300,000 consisted of wellborn, well-educated, relatively affluent men known as “gentlemen emigrants” with a public school background. According to Patrick Dunae, the public schools were the powerhouse in terms of supplying intellectuals and colonists for British Imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The schools produced young men imbued with a respect for tradition, prowess and loyalty, and trained them on how to exercise power. Their pupils were bombarded by the ideals of civilising mission of the Anglo-Saxon race (Dunae, 1988).

Schoolmasters did the spreading and reiteration of propaganda of the ideals for imperialism without a sign of relentlessness. For example, ideals like: the ‘white man’s burden’ and the ‘African child’ notion that gave the responsibility to educate the unruly indigenous; for Christian philanthropists to civilise the

‘savages’ and to govern the African Negro whom would ‘never be able to govern themselves’ (Mangan, 1986). This propaganda was filled with ethnocentric bias and proselytism sentiments took place in the public schools through classroom subjects, school sermons, textbooks, magazine articles, and physical activities. Work was done so enthusiastically and diligently by the school academics especially the headmasters (Mangan, 1981 & 1986).

In the case of Africa, many Victorians embraced with enthusiasm the ‘Myth of the African as Child’. It provided an attractive excuse for intervention and control in Africa. Therefore, as Charles Lyons observed that it was the moral right and obligation of adults to discipline, guide and protect, so the more ‘mature’ races had a similar right and obligation to ‘child’ races. This phenomenon reciprocated the ‘Schoolmaster Syndrome’ that regarded Britons as the teacher and Africans as the students (Mangan, 1986, pp.111-112).

School publications were among the most effective tools in delivering imperialist-message. Textbook propaganda especially in subjects like history and geography was viewed to be negative with damaging effect for they were inherently racist. Black Africans were stereotyped as lazy, vicious and incapable of any serious improvement, or of work except under compulsion and that Africa was labelled as the ‘Dark Continent’ because of the barbarous conditions under which its inhabitants lived. The native inhabitants of Australia and New Zealand, too, received a racist remark as “thinly-scattered bodies of savages” (Horn, 1988,

p.43). School magazines were hand in hand with the textbooks as powerful instruments of indoctrination at work and the ideological preoccupations of English late Victorian upper-class society (Mangan, 1986). Eton, Haileybury and Cheltenham were three famous schools closely linked to imperial destinies during the autumn of Victoria's reign and it was instructive to follow the process of proselytism for the imperial idea in the pages of the Eton Chronicle, the Haileburian and the Cheltenham between 1875 and 1901. Together they provided a record of firm consciousness of duty, fierce chauvinism, naïve romanticism and, occasionally, severe practicality (Mangan, 1986, p.58).

School chapel sermons spoke not only on the great truths of Christianity but also laced with references to the British Empire. Such religious imprecations were reinforced by stories of adventure, fair play and sportsmanship (Mackey, 1988, p.62).

The indoctrination did not occur in school compounds and through academicians only. For obvious reason the public schools served as platforms for politicians and other enthusiasts to expand their opinion and worries. Such worries were like the decline of the military strength and the lost of the British army in the Boer War or where proselytism that went over board that caused the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Old boys wrote back to their alma maters from all over the empire encouraging the public school boys to migrate. At the same time words of caution were also offered, warning them about "the rugged conditions,

the need for self-reliance, the long hours and the hard work”(Mangan, 1986, p.68).

While the public schools were regarded as producers of final (ready) products for imperial consumption, preparatory schools were nevertheless very significant in contributing to the hype of imperialism. According to Mackey:

“The great value...of the preparatory schools for the public schools was the process of socialisation which prep-school boys experienced before entry to their public schools. As their very name indicated, preparatory schools functioned to give small boys a foretaste of their life after the age of thirteen. The prep schools thus mirrored the public schools...”

(Mackey, 1988, p.61).

Mackey also adds that:

“...preparatory schools (were) serving a national purpose: they became the crèche of empire. In other words, whilst father and mother were abroad, the preparatory schools became the national crèches or surrogate homes for their younger progeny”.

(Mackey, 1988, p.7).

Nevertheless, both school systems started out exclusively on separate identities. The public schools were largely institutions associated with philanthropy (in the case of collegiate and endowed schools) and with public or religious interests (in the case of proprietary schools), whilst the private preparatory schools were invariably private venture schools. The two types of school gradually coalesced during the second half of the nineteenth century to form, by the end of the century, an integrated system of education for English middle and upper-class boys (Mackey, 1988). The coalition was viewed essential for during territorial expansion in the 1880s and 1890s, propagandist of imperialism realized that more manpower was needed. The 12th Earl of Meath suggested that the nation's children should be inculcated with a sense of patriotic mission and a level of physical fitness that would enable them to sustain Britain's position in the world. Recruitment of future colonist should start at a young age, according to him. It was then when propagandists turned their attention to elementary schools (Horn, 1988). This preparatory-public schools enterprise turned out to be very fruitful.

2.3.2 Education in the Colonies

While the British were producing future colonists through its education system seriously in the motherland, different consideration was given in the colonies. The British colonial government had always practised a *laissez-faire* philosophy towards its education in the colonies. Policy statements emanating from the Advisory Committee (set up by the Colonial Office in 1923) were presented as

guiding principles and were never meant to constitute binding directives on the colonial government. The final decision in determining the system of education was left to British officers in the colonies, who developed a system in the light of local circumstances. This strategy highlighted the essential pragmatic nature of British colonial administration that relied heavily on the judgement of local officials in preference to formal policy statements issued from the Colonial Office. Education in the colonies was treated as separate and distinct as in other areas of administrative and economic undertakings (Whitehead, 1988).

While education at the English public schools was to 'build character' for its pupils, the same cannot be said of British schools in the Empire. Education in the homeland was to create leaders, but education in the colonies was merely to pacify the indigenous elite and to control the entire population, politically and economically. Though education given to the indigenous peoples was meant to civilise and upgrade morality, it was not meant to create educated natives equal to their British masters. Schools in the colonies were places for the diffusion of western cultures and values, but not to create western-equals (Dunae, 1988).

In the colonies, the public schools enhanced British colonial policies. The British knew that it was easier to control the indigenous people by the 'separate and rule' concept and sustaining (even strengthening) the status quo of social stratum. Elite schools were founded and served as gathering centres for indigenous aristocrat children where they were fed with British values and

culture. The process was made easier because the indigenous aristocrats were proud to be educated to be like (or at least near) their colonial masters. Gaining access to British education (regarded as the best) was a pride and the natives denied anything less.

The delivery of education was done selectively and discreetly to ensure that only sufficient education was given to those groups (aristocrats) who were less likely to want change, and least education to those who were most oppressed by the political and economic systems. In doing so, the imperial administration would maintain the existing status quo and secure the support from the ruling class that succumbed to imperial ideals and western culture. The irony of this phenomenon was that the oppressed were indoctrinated to accept designation of inferiority, and to satisfy with 'unsatisfactory role'. Carnoy further observes that:

“Schooling as a colonial institution attempts to make children fit certain moulds, to shape them to perform pre-determined roles and tasks based on their social class...The introduction of school itself constitutes a type of change, but once that introduction is carried out, people are brought to a certain level of social consciousness and no further...In its colonialistic characterisation, schools help develop coloniser-colonised relationships between individuals and

between groups in the society. It formalises these relationships, giving them a logic that makes reasonable the unreasonable”.

(Carnoy, 1974, pp.18-19).

By manipulating its educational policies the British imperialist managed to control and maintain its colonies. Different systems of education were imposed onto the colonies based on the peculiarity of the political, economic and cultural (religious) structures of each colony. For example in the case of Africa, educational policies were meant “to convert Africans from barbarians into civilised humans and to prepare them to fill the role of agricultural producers instead of slaves in the European-run world economic system” (Whitehead, 1988, p. 230). Education for the Africans was to prepare them for certain social roles. In the African case, missionaries were allowed by British authorities to participate actively.

However, a different approach was adopted in India. The Indian cultures were strongly intact and the people were more religious (compared to Africans) when the British conquered the sub-continent. Missionary educators found it difficult to convert the Indians. Therefore, education was meant to control not to change. British manufacturers wanted the Indian trade (Indian primary goods exchanged for British manufactures) but not Indian competition. In India, training the natives to be civil servant was much more important than in Africa. In particular, primary school was seen early by Indians as a means to get to secondary

education and university, which in turn was the key to administrative positions in the government bureaucracy. The British first concentrated on winning over the co-operation of already well established, well defined elite. Missionaries were excluded because they offended the religious beliefs of these elite and missionary activities were even suppressed after the Mutiny of 1857 (Carnoy, 1974).

The British found that it was vital to maintain the status quo and the existing hierarchical structures to ensure peace in the land. Therefore some form of discrimination was implemented in its education. The most common form of discrimination was through the founding of elite English government schools. These schools, for example in India: Rajkumar College (1870) in Rajkot; Mayo College (1872) in Ajmere; and Daly College (1876) in Indore, copied the syllabus (even the time-table) directly from Eton public school in England. Obviously, the unsuitable education syllabus to the Indian environment made it inappropriate for the knowledge gained to be used for the benefit of the indigenous people. The syllabus was channelled towards British values. Eventually, only a small number of the aristocrats and members of the royal families made use of their education that was designed to instil British morals and codes of behaviours. This system of public schools was only a tangible symbol of both political expedience and moral conviction by the colonists for the aristocrats with unambiguous ideological purpose behind it: an attempt at indirect rule (Mangan, 1986).

Since the British were determined to maintain the existing social rung, therefore, it was strategic to separate the rich from the pauper, and the noble from the peasant in British schools. Charging expensive school fees where only the upper class indigenous could afford while the less fortunate could only settle for lesser schools fulfilled the intention. Maintaining the social stratum and the different levels of education for pupils during their school years would finally upheld the social differences in British administrative offices and job markets.

Whitehead criticises the colonial education strategy as:

“...deliberately fostered to maintain the subordinate status of the indigenous population, while the few who did receive a western education were taught to accept the superiority of European culture and, by implication, their subordinate role in colonial society. In both instances it is claimed that indigenous intellects were colonised, i.e. they were taught to accept the inherent dominance of British culture and political control”.

(Whitehead, 1988, p.211-212).

The British found its education to be the most assiduous and highly successful brainwashers and its curriculum was not merely the formation of character and the encouragement of manly pursuits, but the fostering among the boys of an active sense of their duty as loyal subjects. Interestingly, however, the elite natives

considered gaining imperial education to be glamorous for they knew that working in British administrative services and firms could guarantee better and stable income besides pride. Therefore, British employment was in demand by the natives. Since English language proficiency was a requirement for employment, the indigenous found English schooling to be a necessity. As a result British education was also in demand.

In summary, Carnoy, regards western formal education as far from being a liberator for the colonised (Carnoy, 1974). On the contrary it was used by Western powers to maintain and impose greater influence onto the colonised countries. According to Martin Carnoy, western education came to most countries as “part of imperialist domination with economic and political control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another country” (Carnoy, 1974, p.3). Colonial policies were implemented through education to sustain the ruling bourgeois class, and “schools serve to channel youth into status and occupational roles that support the existing power structure” (Whitehead, 1988, p.12). In all instances, due to active Christian movement during the Victorian and Edwardian era, education was undertaken by missionaries side by side with government schools in the colonies (Whitehead, 1988, pp. 214-216).

Even though Carnoy’s assessment of the British education system (or, rather strategy) in the colonies seems pessimistic, there were also advantages gained by the indigenous people in the colonies. Both formal and informal education had

provided some form of uniformity in education. For instance the use of the English language to some extent has made better communication and understanding among the various tribes with different dialects, at least among the leaders. Thus, it helped to control inter-tribe battles. In accordance, having taught aspects of ‘gentlemanly-etiquette’ under one roof and under the watchful-eyes of the English masters, it was believed to have so much influence in pacifying some form of aggression among the people, especially after they left schools. Furthermore, although indigenous school graduates were mostly subordinates-employees in British administration and businesses, they nevertheless gained some form of technical and vocational knowledge, which were used to develop their countries after gaining independence from Britain.

2.4 British Sport Idealism, Christian Values and Imperialism

Reverend J.E.C Welldon, headmaster of Harrow School from 1881 to 1895 proclaimed “[i]n the history of the British Empire, it is written that England has owed her sovereignty to sport” (in Mangan 1986, p.36).

In the race for economic gain and world control, the European powers spread their wings throughout the globe. The British managed to put the largest territories under their control. Britons of various professions went abroad to different frontiers and conquered new territories. But the major similarity among them was the passion to play their sports as part of their lifestyle. Wherever they went they brought along their ‘cultural baggage’ and seriously played it among

them and with the indigenous. The British strongly believed in the idealism found in sport and the positive values it gave to everyone who played along (especially to the colonialist). Sugden stated that:

“Wherever the British waged war, administered, preached, worked or settled they played their games and, in some cases, encouraged the local population to do likewise. Hierarchy, order, discipline, self-denial, punctuality, obedience and honest toil were central to a creed which guided behaviour in the playing fields, at the war front and in the work place”.

(Sugden, 1994, p.33).

The British played their games to keep fit and they could start organising their games even when their numbers were small (two or three). According to Harold Perkins, the British were the greatest sport promoters and sport organisers in the colonial era. Perkins stated:

“Although sports and games are as old as humankind, few would deny that most of the sports and games the world plays were first organised in their present forms by the British in the nineteenth century, for example the association football, rugby, tennis, golf, rowing, and track and field athletics”.

(Perkins, 1989, p.45).

Allen Guttmann claims that English was the language of modern sports. According to Guttmann, from the eighteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century, Great Britain's role in the development of modern sports was more important than that of any other nation (Guttmann, 1994). Other imperial powers envied the ability of the British to undertake the responsibility of managing such a huge empire. The ability "was ascribed in part to the energy and common sense derived from games" (Holt, 1990, p.204). Mangan found supports for this view by comparing the British with other Europeans during the race for territorial expansion in the nineteenth century:

"English are not superior to Frenchmen or Germans in brains or industry or the science and apparatus of war; but they are superior in the health and temper which games impart....The pluck, the energy, the perseverance, the good temper, the self-control, the discipline, the co-operation, the esprit de corps, which merit success in cricket or football, are the very qualities which win the day in peace or war".

(Mangan, 1986, p.35).

Globally, British sport influence can be considered as even greater than its education. The logic to this is, while English formal education spread widely in its formal empire, English sport spread beyond. Stephen Constantine (in Perkins,

1986, p.148) suggested that British period of hegemony was divided into three concentric circles. The first circle comprised of those countries that ruled peacefully on its own and therefore made trade easy for British merchants and investors; for example Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. In fact, the British's presence was so thick that it could be considered as Britain's informal empire. The second circle was the formal empire, which included Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa or better known as the Dominion states which practically ran their own affairs, except worldwide defence. These states maintained their trading system almost unaided. Also included in this circle (which came later) were the Indian Empire, Egypt and Sudan. The third innermost circle contained those colonies that were conquered because they could not guarantee peaceful access for British trade. These nations were subject to direct British rule.

Taking into account of Constantine's suggestion, it could be concluded that while English formal education was implemented in the second and third circles, English sport covered all the three circles. This was possible because, while in the formal Empire, sport was presumably spread by colonial army officers, administrators, missionaries and teachers (as well as traders and emigrants), outside the Empire, sport was also spread by British emigrants, merchants, engineers, and bank clerks. In addition, since many of the individuals in the second and third circles had some public school background and Oxbridge graduates, they went out to the Empire and "took not only the games they played

at school and college but also their obsession with the distinction between gentleman amateur and the mercenary professional which they practised at home” (Perkins, 1989, p.150). The sports introduced were mostly cricket and rugby, and the spread of these sports were also limited to the upper class and the aristocrats.

On the other hand, the personnel who went to the first circle “were less commonly public schoolboys and rarely Oxbridge graduates” and therefore there was “less objection to the plebeian and less expensive games” (Perkins, 1986, p.151). Hence the variety of sport was greater and was spread wider to the population. In a nutshell while British formal education took practice on the ‘red mark’ of the imperial map, British sport influence travelled beyond the colonies and deeper into the indigenous population.

Public school graduates were the major contributors to the British Empire (Mangan, 1986; McIntosh, 1993). Recruiters favoured public school graduates for imperial duties. For example, Lord Cromer, a British recruiter in Egypt, once suggested recruiting “active young men, endowed with good health, high character, and fair abilities from Oxford and Cambridge with appendages of the public school system” (Mangan, 1986, p.72). However, being the product of the public schools itself was not a guarantee to be employed in the imperial services. It was the recognition in sporting ability that justified one’s ability to handle imperial duties. Even though the character building and the emergence of ‘empire managers’ started in the public schools, the real ‘character build-up’ activities

occurred more on the playing fields than in the classrooms of those schools; more through games participation than through learning the classics. Even so, according to Morford and McIntosh (1993, p.68) there was nothing novel about the institution of sport itself, but the educational values and ideals gained from practising sport (especially team sport) that was precious. The ideal that was soon realised to be very important for imperial purposes was mainly to prepare the ‘superior race’ to govern the ‘inferior race’.

“The English public saw games in every facet of their lives and facets of their lives in every game” (Morford, 1993, p.69). In terms of imperial matter, they saw a strong direct relationship between ‘good physical specimen’ of the public school products and the triumphs in battles and war. Richard Holt (1990) notes that there was a close relationship between the creation of this public school muscular elite and the extension of formal control over large areas of Asia and Africa by the British government in the later nineteenth century. According to Holt, these were the specimens that have the courage, toughness, and tolerance for pain that enable them to win wars: characteristics that were acquired from the playing fields.

2.4.1 Games, Christian Values and Character Building

Games were important instruments for inculcating moral values, which coincides with Christian values (Mangan, 1986, p.191; Morford & McIntosh, 1993, p.73). The public, reformers and schoolmasters thought that it was necessary to take this matter seriously and to upgrade the practice of games in

schools for they believed that through more organised games these values (and qualities) could be encouraged and developed systematically. This finally led to the legitimising of games as a laboratory for character building for empire expansion (Morford & McIntosh, p.1993).

Perkins (1989) summarises the character building of future colonial administrators in public schools:

“Organised games were at the heart of the public-service ideal. In their combination of individual prowess and group co-operation for a common purpose they fostered the elite virtues of self-confidence, self-reliance, leadership, team spirit, and loyalty to comrades – all inculcated with brutal arbitrary and corporal punishment, mostly administered by senior boys, which fostered toughness of character, indifference to hardship, and insensitivity to pain and emotional distress, especially in others. These were the ideal qualities for governing a class-ridden nation in which social control was exercised by a small and mainly amateur ruling class over a mass of underfed and ill-educated workers, still more for a multiracial empire in which a tiny white minority maintained its ascendancy over a multitude of ‘the lesser breeds without the law’”.

(Perkin, 1989, p.147).

Concerning character building with Christian sentiment and values that helped built the empire, Mangan wrote:

“In the process of cultural diffusion, the nineteenth-century knights errant of Christian chivalry played a large part, taking physical equipment, playing rules and behavioural code to all races of the empire with serious purpose. The seriousness of endeavour should not be overlooked. To most, if not all of them, games were much more than mere entertainment for leisure hours. Games were a significant instrument of moral training”.

(Mangan, 1986, p.191).

Positive values were inculcated not only through participation in sport per se but also through enforcing the rules and regulations by student-authorities for instance the monitors, game captains, and prefects. The student leaders benefited leadership training that was even better than just being players. The sport grounds were the training venues for the hardworking and obedient ‘soldiers’, and places for the game captains and student leaders to give command. The playing fields were the microcosmic representation of a warfare realm, hence the famous phrase, ‘The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing field of Eton’. Morford and McIntosh described team hierarchy and the selection of leaders through team sport by stating that:

“Sporting prowess displayed on the football field and cricket pitch created natural prestige hierarchies among the students that resulted in a unique system of internal control. Those who exhibited skill and courage in hard-fought games of football, or displayed coolness of nerve and accomplishment in cricket, not only gained the respect and adulation of younger and less skilled players but, became their heroes as well. Where better, then, for a headmaster to find his prefects than among the athletically elite? Sport heroes became leaders”.

(Morford and McIntosh, 1993, p. 69).

The most active group of people that propagandised sport idealism and Christian values for imperial duties were the headmasters of the public schools. These headmasters played the role of agents of hegemonic persuasion; they were not merely executive autocrats with an ability to impose their views, but they exerted powerful moral authority. They comprised a pedagogic leadership which managed in a variety of ways – through the pulpit sermon, the playing field exhortation, the speech-day admonition, the classroom digression and the school magazine editorial – suffused every pore of the school society with their version of reality (Mangan, 1986, p.22). It was through their aspiration and actions that a unique educational ideal was disseminated through out the British Empire - the ideal of training character through games (Mangan, 1986, p.42).

The most active characters among the public school headmasters were Thomas Arnold of Rugby from 1828 to 1842, Hely Hutchison Almond of Loretto from 1862 to 1902, J.E.C Welldon of Harrow from 1881 to 1895, Edmond Warre of Eton from 1884 to 1905, and Cyril Norwood of Harrow from 1926 to 1934 (Holt, 1990). These headmasters were also “ministers of the cloth ordained in the Church” (Morford & McIntosh, 1993, p.71). During their appointment as headmasters, the reform movement emphasised the importance of instilling Christian values in education as their objective (Morford & McIntosh 1993, p.71). The training of the headmasters combined with the demand of the reform movement made them realise that something has to be done (beyond the moral inculcation in the classrooms) to achieve the objective. The headmasters soon realised that since the students took games seriously and spent long hours on the playing fields, the solution was to use games as the tool to improve the morality (besides fitness) of the students. Games were the significant tool to monopolise the boys’ time and energies, which were otherwise spent on rebellious pursuits, roaming round the country and sexually immoral conduct. Sport was to keep them occupied and as an alternative of activities (Holt, 1990; Mangan, 1981, in Morford & McIntosh 1993).

Headmasters, for example Hely Hutchison Almond, J.E.C Welldon and Cyril Norwood shared the belief that the public school products could fulfil the imperial dream and they never failed to attach games and Christian values to their beliefs.

Almond indoctrinated his boys by his 'Lorettonianism', which were good habits of health and cleanliness taught by the Christian religion. Students were taught to dress sensibly, eat healthily and take exercise seriously. Much of his teaching was delivered through his physical education class and speeches. Almond considered Loretto School as a place for the training of the governing class, in a political and social system, which set that class apart and above. He was very concerned by the training of British officer and disapproved of the 'bookish nature' as entry requirement into Sandhurst. Instead, Almond recommended football, deer stalking and climbing as more relevant as the means of cultivating the qualities of brain and character most wanted in a soldier. Fitness, according to him was necessary for the imperial civilians as it was for the imperial soldiers. He even proposed physical tests for the Indian Civil Service (Mangan, 1986).

Even the least sporting figure, for instance Arnold of Rugby, whom himself had no time and little use for games chose his masters and student leaders to carry out the task of disciplining and upgrading the morality of his pupils through games (Holt, 1990). For he felt that his ultimate purpose was to educate his pupils to become Christian gentlemen (Morford & McIntosh, 1993).

Welldon forged the links between sport and the Empire. He wrote that sport had been a great feature of English life through all the centuries and it was the honourable pursuit of sportsman that the construction of the Empire was made possible. Therefore according to Welldon, sport should retain its noble place in

the esteem of all Britons (Mangan, 1986, p.42). In accordance, Cyril Norwood with strong nationalist sentiment, considered that the acquisition and maintenance of the Empire relied largely upon games in the public schools. He proclaimed that cricket had supplied a new conception of chivalry to the common stock of national ideas and that rugby promoted the virtues of unselfishness, fearlessness and self-control that was necessary for imperial duties (Mangan, 1986, p.23). Educators and soldiers saw sport not simply necessary for keeping fit but promoting the sense of solidarity and *esprit de corps* among the students (Holt, 1993, p.205).

Sugden concludes the direct involvement of the public schools and their games training with the birth of English patriots:

“The individual character building qualities of sport which were emphasised in the English public school tradition became generalised to the role sport played in the establishment and projection of national character...It was the capacity of the Englishman to stand tall, act bravely and fairly in the face of great adversity which was attributed to a good grounding in sport”.

(Sugden, 1994, p.32).

2.5 Conclusion

Beginning with economic competition against nations in Europe and the need to find better environment to live in, the British managed to rule the biggest 'piece of the pie' of colonised land than did any other imperialists in history. This was made possible through Britain's advance industrial technology and military strength. However, the strongest catalyst and tool to the success of expanding and maintaining the empire for over a century (to most of the occupied land) was British sport idealism. This idealism was formally promoted through education and religious institutions. Through sport practices in those institutions, the elements of character building, the phenomenon of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and its sacred duties, and nationalistic feeling, were inculcated to British citizens as motivators for global expansion. In the colonies, the strategy of using sport as a tool to 'pacify' the indigenous people proved to be very successful.

On the other hand, and not less important, is that the existence of the empire was made possible because of lack of strong resistance against expansion from any particular group, internally and externally. In fact, in the foreign land, English and England being regarded as a superior race and advanced nation, respectively, through the eyes of the colonised natives, somehow made the job easier. Lagging behind in industrial technology and modern formal education, unstable local politics and never-ending domestic turmoil acted as the disadvantages in an effort to resist the British by the colonised natives. On the

contrary, it seems that these disadvantages were the force 'pulling' for British intervention.

Eventually, the whole episode saw how successful the British exported its 'ideals' of doing and producing things to the colonised countries. Among the ideals – still practised even after independence – in modernising and developing their nations were: using British style of education, administration, law and technology. In relation to sport, the ex-colonies played not just the types of sport played by their colonial masters, but also the way of playing it.

CHAPTER 3 BRITISH RULE AND SPORT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IN MALAYA

3.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to explain how historical factors influenced the formation of both a pluralist yet segregated society and how it moulded the nature and structure of sport in Malaysia before Independence. The presentation of the chapter begins with the establishment of British rule in Malaya followed by explanations of how a multiracial country emerged. Then, the chapter elucidates on how a deep-rooted, segregated society appeared as a result of British economic and education policies. The chapter also examines other factors that perpetuate segregation among the Malayan people. This is followed by a discussion of the inculcation of a sport ideology within the Malayan society by the colonial rulers. Finally, the chapter assesses the implications of socio-economic and educational factors plus British sport values on Malaysian sport before and after independence.

This chapter reveals how the biased nature of the economic preferences and educational opportunities offered by the British to the different ethnic groups resulted in the formation of a very distinctly segregated society. The economic and educational policies executed by the British authorities also produced socio-economic imbalance among the ethnic groups. This socio-economic imbalance has an eminent influence on sporting opportunity among the people.

3.2 The Invasion of Malaya by Foreign Powers

In the pre-colonial period before the Portuguese invasion, the Malay Peninsula was politically divided into a number of small sultanates based on the control of river basins. Social formations thus existed under semi-feudal lineage modes of production, which were scattered and fragmented in nature (Brennan, 1985, p.93). Non-Malays were already present in substantial numbers in Malacca and Kedah. The Chinese were much in evidence and their relationship with the Malays was cordial (Mahathir, 1970, p.5).

Before the invasion of foreign powers in the early 16th century, Malacca was already an established sovereign Malay Sultanate. The significance of Malacca was that it was the progenitor to the successor states of later and modern times and responsible for the introduction of Islam in Peninsular Malaya. The creation of the aristocratic system in Malaya originated in Malacca. This was the first great kingdom of the peninsula and it was also the last until Malaya achieved its independence in 1957 (Gullick, 1967, p.37). The coming of foreign powers to Malacca was mainly due to trade. Furthermore, Malacca was a strategic place for foreign traders from East and West to meet and exchange their goods.

The Portuguese, under the leadership of Alfonso de Albuquerque, were the first foreign power to arrive and to gain control of the Straits of Malacca. Malacca was taken by force in 1511. After more than a century of control,

Malacca suffered from being an outpost of an over extended empire as the Portuguese power had waned due to prolonged wars with the Moors at home. In 1642 the Dutch arrived and ended the Portuguese control over Malacca and the Straits, but encountered the same problems as their predecessor. The Dutch were drawn into the Malay-Bugis war as allies of the anti-Bugis coalition and this struggle continued from 1756-1787 with intervals of uneasy peace.

In 1786 the British came and acquired the island of Penang through treaty with the Sultan of Kedah. The Island was used as a base on the east side of the Indian Ocean from which their warships could operate against the French on the coast of India during the northeast monsoon. Realising the exclusive British sphere of influence in the Malay Peninsula, the Dutch decided to give up Malacca in return for concessions elsewhere. The British were now firmly established as the dominant power in the Malacca Straits (Gullick, 1957, p.43).

3.3 The Establishment of British Rule

The original base throughout this period of domination by the British was the Strait Settlements, formed in 1826 by the merger of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca. The original reason for the British interest in Malaya was trade, but they soon realised that it was difficult to do business when wars between the states regularly interrupted peace in the land. Some form of control was essential. It was also the intention of the British to exclude other foreign powers from

interfering in their territory (Gullick, 1967, p.45). Therefore, the involvement into Malay politics and the establishment of British institution was unavoidable.

Hence, in January 1874, through the Pangkor Treaty, the Resident System was introduced to curb these wars. A number of Perak chiefs and the leaders of the rival Chinese factions attended the Pangkor meeting. Under this system, it was agreed that the Sultan must accept a British officer, called the 'Resident'. The Resident would be responsible to advise the Sultan on all administrative matters of the state, except those concerning religion and the Malay culture. This strategy of having administrative advisers (who had the power to put pressure on the Rulers) in administering the state weakened the power of the Sultan and therefore indirectly allowed full control by the British over the Malay State. Other items agreed upon were: the collection of all revenue on the 'advice' of the Resident and for the rival Chinese factions to cease fighting.

The Resident system was later introduced to the states of Selangor (later in 1874), Negri Sembilan, and Pahang (in 1880s). In 1895 all the four states were combined to form a federation, known as the Federated Malay States headed by the Resident-General who was in a superior position to the four existing Residents (Butcher, 1979, p.12; Husin, 1975, p.16). By 1909 the British had succeeded in annexing the northern states of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu from the Siamese government. In 1914 the state of Johore joined the rest in accepting

protection and advice from the British. These latter states were known as the Unfederated Malay States.

By the formation of the Strait Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States, British rule in Malaya was fully established. As one historian, Husin (1975, p.16) concluded, “With political power in their hands, the British were in an effective position to shape the Malayan economy, administration and education policies”.

3.4 The Formation of a Multi-ethnic Society

The country turned ‘full swing’ multiracial during the British colonial era, roughly from 1816 to 1957 (Kamarudin, 1989, p.34). This phenomenon was a direct result of British imperialism and colonialism in Malaya, and is still a complex issue in modern Malaysia (Brennen, 1985, p.93). Malaysian pluralism is a national predicament vociferously blamed on the British even after four decades of independence (Robertson, 1984, p.235). The abrupt transformation into a multiracial state and the lack of initiative by the imperialist to unite the people resulted in a divided society.

As a consequence of the accelerated world demand for rubber and tin in the world in the beginning of the twentieth century, the British had to import large numbers of immigrants from China and India to boost production. Malaya turned into a major producer for these two commodities. According to Brennan (1985,

p.104) the Malay States were “in essence ...one gigantic unit for the extraction of these two commodities which were of vital importance to the expansion of British (and international) capitalism”. Brennan’s view confirms that the British imperialist penetration to introduce several modes of production had triggered the importation of vast numbers of Chinese and Indians, in a short time space. This resulted in the sudden creation of complex, multiracial social formations, rapid economic growth, rootlessness, and a lack of social cohesion of the society. Thus by the time of the Second World War, a society had been created which appeared to be a vast medley of people which on the one hand ‘mixed but did not combine’, while on the other hand was divided into discrete ethnic blocs composed of Malay, Chinese, and Indians (Brennen, 1985, p.93).

Peace and harmony among the people in Malaya were vital to the British administration and for its production industries. The situation became very difficult due to the sudden influx of immigrants from two very different countries, communed together in a new, small country. Interaction in an alien country of distinct ethnic groups from different cultural and religious backgrounds had the potential to precipitate tension and riots. Furthermore, the local Malays themselves had nothing in common with the immigrants to ease any possible tension.

The Malay States were transformed from a state in which the Malays were in the majority into an ‘immigrant majority’ state. In 1800 the Malays represented

90 per cent of the population of Malaya. The Malay percentage declined to 55 percent in 1911, and by the time Malaya reached its independence in 1957, the Malays were outnumbered by the Chinese alone who constituted 44 percent (Gullick, 1969, p.74) of the total population. Table 3.1 below demonstrates the dramatic change in the number of the population in Malaya according to ethnic origin between 1871 and 1931:

The Malayan population according to ethnic groups from 1871 to 1931

| Year | Total | Malays | Malays % | Chinese | Chinese % | Indians | Indians % |
|-------|---------|---------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| 1871* | 308097 | 170092 | 55 | 104615 | 34 | 33390 | 11 |
| 1891* | 910123 | 444624 | 51 | 391418 | 41 | 74081 | 8 |
| 1901 | 1227195 | 528263 | 43 | 583396 | 48 | 115536 | 9 |
| 1911 | 2644489 | 1463187 | 55 | 914143 | 35 | 267159 | 10 |
| 1921 | 3338545 | 1687458 | 49 | 1179551 | 36 | 471536 | 15 |
| 1931 | 4345503 | 2020200 | 47 | 1703529 | 39 | 621774 | 14 |

*For Straits Settlements only.

Source: In J.M. Gullick (1969, p.75), *Malaysia*. London: Ernest Benn Limited.

Table 3.1

Due to this complex situation, some form of control had to be created to ensure peace and for “untroubled and efficient labour management in the tin and rubber industry” (Douglas, 1989, p.166). To achieve this objective, the British resorted to the ‘divide and rule’ strategy that was to differentiate the ethnic groups according to economic activities and geographical locations. This strategy was achieved through the economic and education policies.

3.5 British Economic Policy

Under the British economic policy, the Chinese were encouraged to specialise in tin mining and other commercial activities due to their proven potential in these two areas. Furthermore, it was a strategy to prevent chaos among the newly imported labourers from China and India and the local Malays. The British realised that the best way to eliminate tension was to introduce specialisation according to mode of production; the Chinese were allowed to inhabit the towns and suburbs to manage the tin mines and small petty businesses, while the Indians were sent to the rubber estates to help operate the rubber industry.

As the indigenous group, the Malays already occupied the rural areas, with vast land for agriculture. The Malays generally preferred their traditional style of rural life and were disinclined to subject themselves to the exceedingly harsh living conditions in the mines and on the plantations. It was also the intention of the British for them to stay there and specialise in rice production thus separated them from the modern sector (Larson, 1980, p. 13).

To some extent the Chinese and Indians did have minimal contact when they were encouraged to establish themselves in the intricate network of wholesale and retail activities in the towns. The presence of the two groups in towns was necessary for the reproduction of the labour force and the smooth functioning of an economy geared to the export of mineral and agricultural products to

metropolitan country, England (Brennan, 1985). All these led to different lifestyles as Douglas (1989, p.166) summarised the economic situation by stating that “historical factors have resulted in different lifestyles; agrarian and genteel for the Malays, urban and entrepreneurial for the Chinese, and mixed for the Indians whose occupations concentrated in rubber cultivation and production”.

3.6 British Education Policy

During the time of British rule in Malaya, the principle was that it was the duty of the state to educate its citizens, a principle that was also widely accepted at home. The British Government indicated her acceptance of this responsibility by passing the Elementary Education Bill of 1870 (Chan, 1964, p.226). But in the case of Malaya, establishment of an education system was clearly politically motivated in support of an economic policy.

In Malaya the system of education had to wait a little longer until the more urgent administrative and social services had been provided for. It was only in 1878, when the first official mention of education in Perak was made in Sir Hugh Low's annual report, when he wrote: “This is a new establishment instituted in the hope of inducing a desire for education amongst the children of the Rajas and others of Sayong”.

Hugh Low's report was the keynote for educational administration for the following decade. In 1895 a new Education Code, modelled on the general lines

of the latest English Code was drawn up whose objects were to ensure a more thorough and intelligent knowledge of the elementary subjects and to encourage the teaching of drawing, recitation, physical exercise, and elementary science (Chan, 1964, p.287).

But in reality, the British administration was not willing to spend much time developing education in the Malay Peninsula and therefore adopted a *laissez-faire* attitude towards it, especially in respect of the Chinese and Indian communities (Kamarudin, 1989, p.34; Sufean, 1996, p.5). Priority was given to the children of the Malay elite who mostly dwelled in towns. The rural Malay peasants did receive some attention, but it was on a lesser scale than their urban counterparts.

The British government paid no attention to non-Malay vernacular education. The rationale was that since the Chinese and Indians were regarded as ‘birds of passage’, that is they would return home when they had earned sufficient money, it was not practical to extend Chinese and Tamil vernacular education. As a consequence, the Chinese and Indian communities began to establish their own schools. The result was that six different types of schools (education) were founded: Malay elite school, on the English model; Malay vernacular schools set up by the British administration; Chinese vernacular schools founded by Chinese communities; Tamil vernacular schools by the plantation owners; English-language schools by Christian missionaries; and finally Islamic religious schools by the Malay rural communities (Mahathir, 1971, p.144; Sufean, 1996, p.5).

Unfortunately the principle of the Education Act of 1870 and the objective of the 1895 Education Code did not mention anything about mixing the citizens of the British colonies through education. British administrators in Malaya took advantage of this and considered the situation in Malaya as different compared to other colonies and so segregated schools were necessary. The unity of the Malayan people was not the concern of the British. Mahathir (1981, p.150) suggested that this 'lackadaisical' strategy was deliberate: "permitting the development of education in Malaya to be *extra-national*" and therefore separating the people. Education was not to unite the Malayan people, but merely to equip the people for everyday life and to support British politics and business. Mahathir concluded that this was discriminatory and the 'relaxed' attitude to education led to racial separation in Malaya and was a key factor in causing modern Malaysian disunity.

3.6.1 Education Policy for the Malays

The British education policy was intended to maintain the distinction between the aristocracy and the *rakyat* (peasant). This could be achieved by giving priority in education to the upper class Malays. The British knew that being genteel and faithful towards their leaders were characteristics of the Malay culture. Therefore, once the upper class Malays were educated into the western way of thinking, the peasant Malays would follow. Education was used as a control mechanism in the Malay community.

The children of Malay aristocrats were sent to the Malay elite college, the Malay College of Kuala Kangsar that was founded in 1905. The college drew its students from the aristocracy of four Malay States and provided them with education modelled on the English public schools in England. This college was known as the 'Malay Eton' for it duplicated the curriculum of Eton School in England. The objective was in part to introduce a system of control of the Malay aristocrats, and also to maintain elitism among the Malay upper class and to prepare them to serve in the British civil service (Butcher, 1979, p.9). It was not until 1930 when the British allowed Malay commoners to enter the College (Sufean, 1993, p.18).

In contrast, the same standard of education was denied to the rural Malays. The purpose was to give only elementary education to them to merely "make them better farmers and fishermen" (Butcher, 1979, p.9) and to "enable the villager to keep his simple records and so protect himself against the petty swindlers who, in the mixed population of the peninsula were ever ready to pry upon his ignorance, and also to teach him much needed lessons of discipline, order, and self control" (Chan, 1964, p.273).

The rural Malays were given a few years of rudimentary Malay education and English language was not taught. Frank Swettenham, a British Resident in

Selangor, thought that English language education was improper for the peasant by saying that:

“It was inadvisable...to attempt to give the children of an agricultural population an indifferent knowledge of a language that for all but a very few would only unfit them for the duties of life and make them discontented with anything like manual labour”.

(Butcher, 1979, p.9).

The British provided only primary Malay education to the rural Malays. Secondary education was not available until the 1950s (Kamarudin, 1989, p.35; Husin, 1975, p.21). For the rural Malays, education besides merely making them literate was also meant to keep them where they were and separate them from the urban Malays. The idea was to prevent both the rural and urban Malays from confronting their British masters (Sufean, 1993, p.81). Arthur Kenion, a senior British officer, confirmed this attitude by saying:

“You can teach your Malays so that that they continue to live on the padi fields, and so that that they don’t lose the skill in arts, fishing and jungle works. Teach them so that they appreciate labour work, so that not all of them turn out to be clerks, and I am

confident that you won't face any trouble like what happened in India because of too much education".

(Salleh, 1974, p.12).

O.T. Dussek, the principal at the Sultan Idris Teachers College in 1935, in a report to the Federal Malay States administrative office, clearly projected a philosophy that supported Kenion when he stated:

“Malay schools must be established for the Malays that will and must stay in the villages. They cannot have any contact and point of intersect with the English language: English language and vernacular language do not match. The truth is there are two Malayas, one the town Malaya and the other is the rural Malaya with local language: one is an area that is not known to the other”.

(Salleh, 1974, p.64).

The British were aware of the danger of a united, educated Malay society, that was, if both the town and rural Malays were to be united they could seriously challenge British authority as occurred in India (Mahathir, 1981, p.144).

3.6.2 Education Policy for the Chinese and Indians

While the Malays' education was initiated either by the British (i.e. the Malay elite schools and the Malay vernacular schools) or self-aided by the rural Malays

(i.e the Islamic religious schools), the British gave a free hand to the Chinese and Indian communities to set up their own education systems. The autonomy given to both was what Sufean called the 'containment policy', a policy to make them satisfied for being able to establish their own schools and being separate from any other communities. With autonomy given but without any help from the British administration, the two communities built their own schools with their own education syllabus, employed teachers from China and India, and supplied themselves with textbooks from their respective homelands (Sufean, 1993, p.84). The orientations of the Chinese and Indian vernacular schools were mainly towards China and India respectively. Chinese teachers used Chinese language as their medium of instruction, promoted their own culture and fostered their own philosophy of life among their children. The same happened to the Tamil vernacular schools where the Indians orientated their children's education and culture towards India (Kamarudin, 1989, p.34).

It is important to note that Chinese tycoons and Chinese communities undertook the establishment of the Chinese schools wherever they set foot, in Peninsular Malaya, Sabah or Sarawak. The Chinese communities were known for their close-knit nature and well-organised associations and societies, such as trade associations, boards of schools, hospital governments, and funeral and benefit societies (Gullick, 1979, p.22). This was partly a matter of tradition and culture and partly a matter of safety. The Indian immigrants, on the other hand, managed

to set up their schools with the help of English plantation owners as a means of keeping the Indians on the rubber plantations.

3.6.3 Islamic Religious Schools

The setting up of Islamic religious schools was initiated by the belief that in order for the Islamic communities to prosper (in the Malayan case - the Malays), the Muslim followers must enhance their political and economic status. This could be achieved only through Islamic education. Another reason for their establishment was to compete with the emergence of English schools and the British sponsored Malay vernacular schools that were believed to promote a secularist ideology. Secularism was considered against the fundamental teaching of Islam. Furthermore, the English schools established by Christian missionaries were considered to be a profound cultural shock and an intense threat to the Islamic religion and culture.

3.6.4 Education Policy for English Language Schools

The objective to found English language education was to “supply local personnel to man the bureaucratic machinery of the British civil service in Malaya” (Husin, 1975, p.20). While the Malay royalties and aristocrats were given education to help the British run the government, the Malay commoners (town Malays) were educated to provide a constant supply of semi-skilled workers for clerical and lower administrative posts in British colonial offices in Malaya.

Chan Chai Hon clarifies the British administrators' attitude towards English education of the Malayan people by stating that:

“Education policy therefore was directed by two main factors. First, the political or administrative consideration which held that a literate docile population would be easier to govern...Second, the economic demand for literate clerks to carry on the routine work in government departments and western commercial houses. To achieve both ends the emphasis was on the teaching of English language”.

(Chan, 1964, p.276).

The first English School was founded in Penang in 1816 by the Reverend H.S. Hutching and called the Penang Free School. Other English schools soon followed like St. George's Girls in Penang, Malacca Free School and St. Francis Institution in Malacca, St.Michael and Anderson School in Perak. All these schools and many more that followed were located in the main towns of The Straits Settlement and the Federated Malay States. These English schools taught and organised physical activities and sport far better than other types of schools. Although the first English school was founded in 1816, it was not until the late nineteenth century that sport was included in the curriculum (after the 1895

Education Code). Cricket and soccer became immediately popular, followed after World War I by athletics (Khoo, 1989, p.686).

3.7 Racial Imbalance in English Schools

The strategy to discriminate against the Malays through various economic and education policies resulted in a huge imbalance in respect of the ethnic groups being offered an English language education. The deliberate policies established by British administrators such as restricting access for the rural Malays to a better education, keeping the rural Malays separate from the town Malays, giving better access to the Chinese and Indians to the business and industrial world and opening education opportunities to the immigrants; combined with the negative attitude of the pious Muslim sectors from the Malay societies towards western secular education, contributed towards the small number of Malays attending English schools.

The high status schools were found in the larger towns in which the population was almost exclusively non-Malays. Good teachers and good teaching facilities were found in these schools and not surprisingly were more expensive and beyond the means of the majority of the Malays, even for those living in the town themselves. Table 3.2 below demonstrates the low percentage of Malay children in English schools:

Enrolment in English schools according to ethnic group percentage in the Federated Malay States

| | Total Number of Students | Malay % | Chinese % | Indians % | Eurasian % | Others % | TOTAL % |
|------|--------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------|---------|
| 1919 | 8 446 | 9 | 48 | 30 | 10 | 3 | 100 |
| 1923 | 11 594 | 18 | 46 | 26 | 8 | 2 | 100 |
| 1930 | 17 997 | 16 | 49 | 27 | 6 | 2 | 100 |
| 1937 | 17 161 | 15 | 50 | 28 | 6 | 1 | 100 |

Source: In Sufean Husin (1996, p.23). *Pendidikan di Malaysia: Sejarah, Sistem dan Falsafah*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Table 3.2

Comparing this enrolment in English schools with the composition of the Malayan people during that period of time (refer to Table 3.1, p.69), it has been concluded that the Indians had been more than proportionately represented, the Chinese proportionately represented, while the Malays had been under-represented in the English medium schools (Husin, 1975, p.24).

3.8 Other Factors That Exacerbate Segregation

It is neither fair nor accurate to accuse the British of being the sole initiator of ethnic segregation. As mentioned earlier, the main reason for the segregation of the ethnic groups was to facilitate the survival of British business and industries. To achieve this objective the British resorted to the 'divide and rule' policy through political strategies that implemented appropriate administrative, economic and education policies. There were, however, other factors besides those for which the British were responsible that accelerated segregation among the ethnic groups of Malaya. These other factors included the different cultural

backgrounds of the ethnic groups and the inherent animosity evident among them; the Japanese occupation; and the communist insurgency. Segregation was not merely in terms of geographical location and economic specialisation but involved segregation in terms of alienation and hatred among the ethnic groups, especially the Malay-Chinese relationship.

3.8.1 Different Cultural Background

The British segregated the ethnic groups mainly for economic reasons, but the cultural differences amongst the groups also facilitated segregation. The three main groups, Malay, Chinese and Indian had nothing in common to begin with. The Malays followed Islam and used the Malay language for communication. They used Roman and Arabic calligraphy in their writing. The majority of the Malays were agrarian and rural by nature. Among the elite, the Malays were comprised of hereditary aristocrats, bureaucrats, and politicians. While at a lower level, the Malays were represented by school teachers (mostly primary schools) and village headmen. At some point, the Europeans and other non-Malays negatively labelled the Malays. The Malays were thought as intractable and lazy (Sindhu, 1969, p.55) and lagged behind in economic development as compared to the European, Chinese and Indians. However, Richard Windstedt clarified that the main reason for this was not laziness but a failure to specialise and a failure to acquire and realise the importance of capital, which was alien to them. The situation was made even worst because of the flooding of Malaya with foreign machine-made goods that extinguished native arts and crafts. The Malay, it is

true, may, in the eyes of the materialist waste time over such observances as the ritual of the rice-field as the Christian may waste time over a service of intercession (Windstedt, 1950).

On the other hand, the Chinese were mainly Buddhist and used various Chinese dialects such as Hokkien, Hakka, Mandarin and Cantonese. Most of them were imported to be labourers in the tin mines, dwelt in the towns and used unique Chinese calligraphy for written communication. Came as *sinkeh* (contract labour), the Chinese mostly came from Canton, Swatow, and the island of Hainan, all in the province of Quantung; and from Amoy and other places in the province of Fuhkeen; maritime provinces and said to be the most turbulent in China, and consists of fishermen, pirates, artisans and labourers, the poorest of the poor (Vaughan, 1971, p.5). Vaughan credits the Chinese as hard working and rarely took holidays except on Chinese New Year. However, the most pernicious habit indulged by the Chinese was the immoderate use of opium and an inherent love for gambling (Vaughan, 1971).

With regard to the Chinese occupation in the Straits Settlement, there is a passage in J.D. Vaughan's⁴, *Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*, which had been quoted by L.A Mills (1966, p.206) and Victor

⁴ Jonas Daniel Vaughan was a government servant of the Straits Settlements from 1846 to his death in 1891. Vaughan lived permanently in the Straits Settlements for forty-five years. He spent five or six years in Penang that brought him to close contact with the Chinese community there. His book, *Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements* was first published in 1879.

Purcell (1967, p.92), which is worth quoting to show the adaptability and dynamism of the race:

“The Chinese are everything: they are actors, acrobats, artists, musicians, chemists and druggist, clerks, cashiers, engineers, architects, surveyors, missionaries, priests, doctors, schoolmasters, lodging-house keepers, butchers, pork-sellers, cultivators of pepper and gambier, cake-sellers, cart and hackney carriage owners, cloth hawkers, distillers of spirits, eating house keepers, fishmongers, fruit-sellers, ferrymen, grass-sellers, hawkers, merchants and agents, oil-sellers, opium shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, pig dealers, and poulterers. They are rice dealers, ship chandlers, shopkeepers, general dealers, spirit shop keepers, servants, timber dealers, tobacconists, vegetable sellers, planters, market gardeners, labourers, bakers, millers, barbers, blacksmiths, boatmen, book-binders, boot and shoemakers, brick-makers, carriage builders, cartwrights, cart and hackney carriage drivers, charcoal burners and sellers, coffin-makers, confectioners, contractors and builders, coopers, engine-drivers and firemen, goldsmiths, gunsmiths and locksmiths, limeburners, masons and bricklayers, mat, kajang and basket makers, oil manufacturers, and miners. To which we may add painters, paper lantern makers, porters, pea grinders, printers, sago, sugar and gambier manufacturers, sawyers, seamen, ship and

boat builders, soap boilers, stone cutters, sugar boilers, tailors, tanners, tinsmiths and brasiers, umbrella makers, undertakers and tomb-builders, watch-makers, water carriers, wood cutters and sellers, wood and ivory carvers, fortune tellers, grocers, beggars, idle vagabonds or *samseng* and thieves”.

(Vaughan, 1971, p.15).

As for the Indians, they adhered to Hinduism and used Tamil as their language and Indian calligraphy for written communication. Most of them were imported to work and live on the rubber estates. The vast majority of the commercial immigrants were salesmen, peddlers, petty entrepreneurs, traders and shopkeepers, street-side vendors, medicine-men, stall holders and such like (Sandhu, 1969, p.121). There was insignificant number of Indians in tin-mining operations and government services. A notorious trait of the Indians was they like to spend a lot on drinking (Sandhu, 1969).

Social contacts among the ethnic groups were very limited and most of the administrative routines were carried out with the British administration office. In the economic sphere, according to Husin (1975), the rural Malays as producers and consumers came into contact with the Chinese and the Indian traders only during business transaction. Relationships between the Malays and the Chinese were poor and rather hostile as compared to those with the Indians. The Malays found the Chinese to be a big threat in economic matter and regarded them in

terms of stereotypes such as *kasar* (coarse), *kotor* (dirty), deceitful and infidel. On the other hand, the Chinese labelled the Malays as lazy, naïve, incompetent, and ‘good for nothing’ (Wilson, 1967, pp.vi, 25). In the economic realm the Chinese and Malays came into contact more in comparison to the Indians. Through this interaction they developed negative stereotypes of each other (Wilson, 1967, p.26).

3.8.2 The Japanese Occupation and The Communist Insurgency

During the Depression years of the 1930s, a large proportion of the Chinese population had been obliged to withdraw from the towns, tin mines and rubber plantations and seek land for subsistence cultivation, often by encroaching on Malay reservation and forest areas. When the Japanese occupied the Malay Peninsula from 1942 to 1945, more Chinese turned to the land and later became the main strength of the Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) (Robertson, 1984, p.240). Like other foreign powers before them, the Japanese meted out different treatment to the different people of Malaya. They treated the Malays (especially the rulers) better than any of the other ethnic groups. The Malays worked with the Japanese, on racial lines, reacting against the Chinese living among them (Silcock, 1963, p.4).

In the immediate post-war period, after the Japanese surrender in 1945, the communist movement tried to extend its influence to Malaya. The Malayan Communist Party (MCP), an outgrowth of the Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese

Army, tried to take over the country through guerrilla warfare. These guerrillas were predominantly Chinese and their attitude towards the Malays was in contrast to that of the Japanese partly due to racial tension and partly as revenge towards the Malays for co-operating with the Japanese. Their support came from the isolated Chinese rural farmers who opened the land for cultivation during the Depression and the Japanese Occupation.

In June 1948, the British declared a State of Emergency in Malaya in response to this renewed communist activity. From this date onwards the British government, to contain what amounted to an insurrection, formed security forces comprising of British National Servicemen and Malay recruits in excess of 90,000. General Harold Briggs organised the relocation of some 580,000 Chinese rural dwellers into 536 'New Villages' distributed mainly along the western side of the Malayan peninsula. The relocation was aimed to cut off lines of food supply and 'sympathy' from these Chinese farmers to the communist guerrillas. This operation involved the resettlement of 10% of the total population of the Federation. These New Villages were compulsory concentration camps with army-camp layout and strict curfew regulations for the inhabitants (Ooi, 1963 in Robertson, 1984, p.240; Larson, 1980, p.15). The standard New Village possessed such amenities as a police post, dispensary, school, and a communal kitchen (the last only in villages under severe food restriction). For the most part, these New Villages were similar in appearance. Many of them were little more than closely packed shanty-towns, with small houses made of wood, zinc roof,

with bare laterite roads and unfinished drains, all fenced with barbed wire (Sandhu, 1969, p.231).

In return for the hardship and often loss of income, and to prevent them from generating active support for the terrorists, it was necessary to provide considerable compensation in public services (including schools) and community benefits to the occupants of these New Villages. Since the placement of the Chinese (including those who abandoned the town during the Depression) into these camps, the Chinese suddenly became almost exclusively urban (Larson, 1980, p.15). This measure taken by the British proved to be effective. However, although it was meant to fight against the communists, it widened the gap between the Malays and the Chinese. Furthermore, since the government forces were comprised of mostly British and Malays, while the guerrilla forces and their supporters were mostly Chinese, it became an unambiguous case of racial conflict. The armed clashes plus the racial segregation of Malay villages from the New Villages aggravated the separation and hatred of the two races (Silcock, 1963, p.10).

3.9 Colonialism and its Implications on Socio-economic and Political Situation Before Independence

3.9.1 Socio-economic Implication

Since the formal introduction of British colonial rule in Malaya politics in 1874 by the signing of the Pangkor Treaty up to the country's Independence in 1957, it was found that the trend had been towards a complex type of pluralism, which reflected in the multi-ethnic composition of the population (Husin, 1975). It started with the immigrations of the Chinese and the Indians, encouraged by the British to work as labourers in the mines and on the plantations, respectively. They arrived with pre-constructed economic and social organisations that kept them apart from the agrarian Malays (Gullick, 1969).

Malaya became the paradigm of the plural society and the fact that almost the entire population could be categorised as 'Malay', 'Chinese', or 'Indian'. This is still a major premise in the political and economic affairs of the country and impinges constantly on the daily lives of ordinary people today. As Robertson (1984), notes:

“They mix but do not combine...with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit”.

(Robertson, 1984, p.233).

But divisions among society were not restricted purely on ethnic differences. Separation in terms of socio-economic status protruded was evident within the ethnic groups themselves. There was a very clear gap especially in the Malay social stratum. Before the war, four-fifths of the Malays were in rural areas, mostly agrarian with little education, small income, more religious, and distantly remote from western influence and modern progress. While, the town Malays were economically more stable and acquired an English education. These latter Malays, especially the upper class, were in closer contact with western culture and adopted sport as part of a western way of life (Clignet & Stark 1974 in Heinemann, 1993, p.140).

The Chinese had almost the entire control over economic affairs as they monopolised trade and industry. The Chinese were mostly urban, better educated and were very receptive to modernisation. While the Indians, with the majority dwelling in the English owned rubber plantations were in ‘their own world’, with sufficient estate facilities.

Many Chinese and Indians who remained in Malaya later became shopkeepers or produce dealers trading with and living among the Malays. Even when there was contact of a positive nature, “differences of language, culture and religion kept them apart and there was little intermarriage or co-operation between them” (Gullick, 1969, p.75). It was obvious that since the ethnic groups had little in common and were well segregated they practised their lifestyle and cultural activities independently, without any outside interference.

3.9.2 Political Implication

Historical factor does give some advantages to the Malays in the political arena. By inheriting the monarchy and being trained in the Malay Administrative Service plus a lack of interest among other races, gave the Malays an opportunity to dominate politics. The backbone of the Malay political unit was from the Malay Administrative Service established in 1921 by the British administration in Malaya. This was the unit responsible for paving the way for Malay control of the bureaucracy at Independence (Robertson, 1984, p.239).

Before the Japanese occupation, each ethnic group had its own political ideology and interests to safeguard, but the power of administration was left to the British. In the latter part of the 1930s, political interest was growing among the educated Malays (dominated by aristocrats), but their political struggles were more concerned with protecting Malay interests in relation to the Chinese, rather than aimed at bringing an end to British rule. In respect of the Chinese and

Indians, their politics were more inclined to issues concerning their homelands in China and India respectively, but in general both actively supported the British rule. Large sections of the Chinese population took little interest in politics and concentrated their effort in the relatively open economy. They have become the power-bloc of the Malayan economy since then. Meanwhile, the Indians were more concerned with issues relating to government employment, citizenship and working conditions on the estates (Butcher, 1979; Robertson, 1984). Eventually, this situation drove towards the formation of a communal party politics structure in Malaya.

The Japanese occupation, the Communist insurgency and the emergency left behind remarkable consequences for Malayan politics. First, it weakened the credibility of the British and undermined British invincibility. Second, the Malaysians ethnic-based political parties agreed that the country should strive for Independence, fearing the continued communist insurrection and believing that survival depended on unity. Thirdly, (nevertheless) it created a greater cleavage on the Malays and Chinese relationship.

3.9.3 Educational Implication

The combination of being urban with access to better education facilities and economically superior catapulted the Chinese to the academic forefront. On the whole the Chinese dominated those schools in towns (English schools and

Chinese schools combined) because of their geographical location, strong business community support and positive attitude towards education.

There was no united curriculum for the Malayan people. Education policies to suppress political awareness and social mobility especially among the Malays were well executed by the British administration. The Chinese and Indians were complacent by running their own schools and they did not see any reason to have a single, national education curriculum.

3.10 British Contribution to Malaya

Besides those implications discussed above, British administration contributed hugely to the development of the nation, especially to the native Malays. Not only did the British abolish slavery in Malaya, but also they replaced the exactions of chiefs by a uniform system of taxation, and abrogated such mediaeval penalties as lopping off the hands of thieves. Great Britain kept the pace and introduced the reign of law. The chiefs learnt in State Councils the advantages of a majority rule (Windstedt, 1949).

To the Malays, education had rid them of ghostly terrors, and taking the professions, trade and agriculture to be its province, provided the Malays with fresh equipment for the battle of life. Although the number of Malay graduates was limited, the British education system had produced Malay students who had taken honours at Cambridge and had been called to the bar and qualified as

doctors and engineers. By education and example, the British encouraged the emancipation of Malay women, who now advanced so far that, instead of retreating behind their men folk, they were ready to enter the political arena.

Furthermore, the town Malays and to a lesser extent the Malays of the countryside were benefited by the introduction of preventive and curative medicine, being no longer without remedies for complaints like yaws or without measures against plague, small-pox and malarial infection. Roads and railways consolidated each state. The British also introduced their festive occasion such as a district agricultural show that took root in Malay life, after a period of trial. For example, in 1895, 10,000 people came to the Krian and Selama in Perak agricultural show (Gullick, 1989, p.327).

3.11 Sport During the British Era

3.11.1 The Early Years

Long before the British era in Malaya, the Malays played traditional pastimes activities like *sepak raga*, *main silat* (a stylised form of traditional martial art), cock fighting, bull matches, kite flying, top spinning, hunting and dancing (Gullick, 1989; Douglas, 1989). The beginning of sport in Malaya lies embedded in ancient history. *Sepak raga*, for example, was said to have been played in 1478, during the celebration of the crowning of Sultan Alaudin of Malacca (Malaysia Official Year Book 1964). *Sepak raga* and other traditional Malay

sports were more of co-operative games rather than highly competitive ones. Since, culturally, the Malays were very artistic, superstitious, and ceremonious (Skeat, 1900), much of these elements could be found in those activities.

Many Malay amusements were display of skills for public entertainment. *Sepak raga* and *main silat*, both were essentially athletic. *Sepak raga* was a pure display of dexterity and skill, with the excitement of a contest. In this game, players form a circle and kick a ball, made of woven rattan, in the air. As the ball falls a player kicks it up again so that it does not touch the ground. The team with the highest number of kicks than its opponent is considered as the winner. Contests were among village teams rather than individuals. The game, however, lost its vogue towards the end of the nineteenth century, at about the same time when association football came to Malaya in the 1880s, brought by the Europeans. Nevertheless, a modern and more competitive version of the game called the *sepak takraw* took form since (Gullick, 1989; Butcher, 1979).

Among all, cock fighting was at the centre of a network of related elements of the Malay culture – local competition, ritual and magic, strict rules of procedures, gambling and the excitement of a spectacle of savage skill and courage, which ended all too often with the death maiming of one or both birds (Gullick, 1989; Skeat, 1900). Betting on the result of cockfights was the only traditional Malay form of gambling, for as a general rule, the Malays were not addicted to gambling (Vaughan, 1971).

There were also foreign influences especially in their indoor games and dances (Gullick, 1989). Indoor games played by the Malays were of foreign origins. Games like *main guli* (rolling marbles) and *main chatur* (chess) were from India; draught from Dutch was called *main dam*; and *main congkak* was from Aceh where the game was played with cowrie-shells on a boat-shaped board (R.J. Wilkinson, 1910 in Gullick, 1989, p.344). While dances like *zapin*, *menora*, and *kuda kepang* originated from the Middle East, Thailand and Java, respectively.

3.11.2 Sport During British Rule

3.11.2.1 Sport for Colonial Mission

“Wherever the Englishman goes he carries his sports, and Malaya has been no exception to the rule, but rather the contrary”, wrote Sir Frank Swettenham (Swettenham, 1906, p.266), governor of the colony of the Straits Settlements and the High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States from 1870-1904 (McIntyre, 1964, p.138). The arrival of British rule saw the growth of an European population made up of government officials, military personnel, teachers, missionaries and businessmen (mainly merchants and planters) which set the stage for the development of modern sport in Malaya (Khoo, 1989). The British came to the east to trade and to expand their empire and together with them they brought along their culture. According to Butcher sport was the most significant one. He states:

“Of all aspects of their culture the British introduced to Malaya they were certain that sport...were among the most valuable and important”.

(Butcher, 1979, p.117).

For some colonial officers, the development of sport programmes, facilities, and above all, a sporting attitude was an important part of the colonial mission. Most important, sport was considered as a means for successful administration in the Malayan Civil Service. The colonial office of the British Empire enforced its own standards by recruiting good physical specimens with character and honour to undertake imperial responsibilities. These selected specimens were very essential to perform imperial duties especially in a hot climate under difficult conditions like the Malay Peninsula (Huessler, 1981, p.11). Butcher described how British Residents in the Malay States showed a bias towards public school men who demonstrated some ability in cricket. According to Butcher, the Residents considered cricket above all other sports of the late Victorian public schools, and a man who excelled at cricket was regarded as possessing a finer character than one whose abilities were confined to books and examinations. The Residents suggested that, in the Malay States, interest and ability in bookwork was seen not only as unnecessary but also a possible obstacle to success as an officer. A quotation by an unknown high official was found in G.T. Ticker (1928), “Early days in Selangor (1888-89)”, stating:

“What we require out here are young public schoolmen – Cheltenham, for preference – who have failed conspicuously at all bookwork and examinations in proportion as they have excelled at sports”.

(British Malaya, 2 January 1928, p.28).

From the colonialist point of view, sport also gave some advantages to the Asians (Malay, Chinese, and Indian) in Malaya. Sport was seen as a tool for the Asians to improve both their physical abilities and characters. The Asians considered playing with the colonial masters a privilege. Through sport, the Asians could improve their self-image by acquiring sportsmanship and gentlemanly qualities, which were embodied in the characteristics of middle-class Englishmen (Butcher, 1979, p.117).

It was highlighted in the Malay Mail (3 May 1912) that the British was in Malaya for the education of the Malayan races; not only in matters of education but also for the inculcation of the spirit of fair play, endurance and sport amongst the people. It was also believed that the standard of sportsmanship among the Asians would deteriorate if they were deprived of the benefit of playing with the Europeans (in Butcher, 1979, p.117).

The effort to inculcate sport ideology to the Asians might be genuine since most of the British officers were likely to be active sportsmen themselves with a strong sporting background from their public schools in England. In addition, for these English public school breeds, sporting ability was a requirement for eligibility for imperial duties.

Similar to education, sport was more generally, a doubled-edged sword where colonial interests were concerned. Sport was a vehicle for the introduction of western values and to get co-operation from some members of the local elite. On the contrary to prolonging British rule, however, as William Roff has shown in his study of Malay nationalism, sport, and especially the football clubs, were the principal form of modern organisation and thus in a sense were forerunners of the twentieth-century associations which, eventually, favoured an end to the British rule. Interestingly, however, some radical elements argued that sport clubs were having a depoliticising effect; turning people's minds "to coffee shop chatter about football" especially in the 1950s which was the decade of Malaya's independence (Roff, 1967, p.224).

3.11.2.2 The Sport Club

The introduction of sport and social clubs by British expatriates was another significant historical event that had an important impact on Malaya. The desire to create a 'little England' for expatriates where they could relax and pursue sport was the objective of the founders of the clubs. At first there were very few

officers for any kind of combined games; they were too scattered; the country was a jungle that had to be cleared; and there was little leisure for amusements. Later the British government supplied buildings and contributed an annual subscription, and the members did the rest and undertook the management. Billiard-tables, cricket, football, tennis, and hockey grounds were added as the European population grew and funds were available. In a country where there were no places of public amusement, these clubs have supplied a very useful and ‘civilising element’ (Swettenham, 1906, p.266).

The Europeans regarded their social clubs as a ‘rendezvous point’ where people of similar standing and similar interest met and relaxed. If any Asians were to be members of the club, they were considered as their social equals. Asians who belonged to British clubs formed an extremely selected group, comprised of high position government officers, members of the Malay royal families and prominent businessmen (Butcher, 1964, p.180; Huessler, 1981, p.306). The clubs were considered to be of great importance in a community where “men greatly outnumbered women and family life was unstable by period of separation” (Butcher, 1979, p.59). Another reason for the formation was to encourage harmony between the expatriates and the local people.

The first sport and social club was the Selangor Sport Club founded in 1890, popularly known only as ‘Selangor Club’ by the locals (till the present). The club played an essential role in socialising the expatriates and enforcing certain

standard of behaviour among its members. Among other activities of the club was the organising of cricket and football matches between the Malay States and among the districts. Sporting activities among the Asians were also encouraged in the club. Although memberships were open to the non-European too, the response was minimal due to the fact that the Asians were unfamiliar with western custom and spoke very little English. Therefore, they chose to be among themselves and preferably among their own ethnic groups.

The Asians copied the concept of sport clubs, but segregation among the ethnic groups was practised like in other aspects of their everyday life. Obviously, different ethnic groups had their own social clubs; the Malays belonged to the Sultan Suleiman Club, Chinese to the Selangor Chinese and Recreation Club or the Choon Cheok Kee Loo Club for the wealthier ones, and the Indians to the Tamil Physical Culture Association (Butcher, 1979, pp.171, 181).

The British and other Europeans tried to unite members of the various Asian clubs by organising, among others, the New Year's athletics meet and football matches in the 1890s (sport was the only area where the British tried to unite them). As a sign of good will, J.P. Rodgers, the Resident of Selangor donated a silver cup for football for the Asian teams to compete. But the element of racial segregation remained profound and the British's effort to unite them was proven fruitless (Butcher 1979). Even worse, the game of football was used by the Malays to show hostility towards their colonial masters. For example, Butcher

recorded that in 1912 in a championship organised by the Selangor Football Association, when a Malay team played against a European team, the Malay supporters were shouting *bunuh* (kill) and *tendang* (kick - that is to kick the opposing players instead of the ball) (Butcher, 1979, p.118). This atmosphere of conflict led to negative incidents between the Malays and the Europeans and to other frictions (Gullick, 1989, p.333). However, it is suggested that this vulgarity and animosity was shown based on sheer hatred towards the British (and Europeans) rather than pure nationalistic feeling. The Malays did not understand the true fervour of nationalism until the Japanese Occupation in 1942-1945 (Milner, 1995; Mahathir, 1981; Roff, 1967).

3.11.2.3 Sport, Education and Ethnic Involvement

The British typically believed that success in their colonial mission depended upon the creation of an elite class of English-educated natives, and to this end they imported English public school ethos as much as they could, especially its sport (Tilman 1969). This was true in Malaya as in other colonies in the British Empire. Sport had apparently played a significant, if not fundamental role especially in British schools in Malaya. The establishment of these schools witnessed the active promotion of modern sport among school children in the Strait Settlements and the Federated Malay States. The process began gradually with the introduction of gentle callisthenics and indoor exercises from about the 1890s (Brownfoot, 1990). Two games became immediately popular; they were cricket and football. Athletics was next followed by rugby slightly later.

Although athletics were introduced early in some schools, in the majority of cases there were no annual meets until after World War 1. However, inter-school sports were confined to certain towns, as the country's transport system was not well developed until the 1st decade of the twentieth century (Khoo, 1989). School sports were most active in towns like: Georgetown in Penang; Malacca town in Malacca, Ipoh in Perak and Kuala Lumpur in Selangor.

Since the numbers of Malay students in British schools were small compared to other races, the British education authority made some effort to attract more Malay youngsters. Since Christian missionaries founded most of the earlier schools, it became a taboo for the Malays to attend and this made the task more difficult for the British. In their attempt, the names of certain schools were labelled 'free' like the Penang Free School and the Malacca Free School. 'Free' in this context means free to be attended by students from all religious background. The education authority even used sport combined with religion as 'baits' to 'catch' more Malays. For example, when football was spreading like wildfire through the Malay community in the late nineteenth century, the British made it an official policy to offer two attractions: a football pitch to bring in the boys; and a Koran teacher to take afternoon classes in his subject. The latter was a "never failing remedy for a poorly attended school when parental reluctance was the problem" (Gullick, 1989, p.332). Richard Winstedt, Deputy Director of Education in Malaya in 1916 and the writer of Malay History and Culture (1947), considered football then was already part of the Malay culture.

In the early twentieth century, other more significant strategies to attract the Malays were introduced such as the remission of fees, granting of scholarships, free places, accommodation in hostels, and monthly allowances. The British's effort showed some success, for example in the year 1950 to 1951, there was a remarkable increase of Malay students by 2,489 in all government and government aided English schools (Federation of Malaya, Annual Report 1951, p.145).

The situation at the government aided Malay schools was less fortunate, especially in terms of sport education. However, the British authority did not leave these schools to be totally 'in the dark'. Several Malay schools were supplied with portable 'Essex' agility apparatus, and there was improvement in the conduct of physical education lessons as more qualified teachers in this subject were sent to the schools. There was keen competition in inter-school games and athletics, and the standards in these areas also improved (Federation of Malaya, Annual Report, 1956, pp.239-40).

The influence of sport in British schools could be seen clearly through its infrastructure till the present. Two unique physical features of British schools were its distinguished building structure and the enormous playing fields in front of the school compounds. Some examples of these schools were the Penang Free School and St.George's Girls School in the State of Penang, St.Micheal

Secondary School and Anderson Secondary School in Perak, King George the V School in Negri Sembilan, St. Francis Secondary School in Melaka, and St. Thomas Secondary School in Pahang. These playing fields symbolised the importance of sport and physical fitness in British colonial education. Besides these fields, another feature that was almost certain to be in those schools were the sport halls (or compounds) with gymnastic facilities and equipment. These older schools practised certain sports like rugby and cricket seriously and competed among themselves. Other sports played at British colonial schools were hockey, badminton, football and gymnastics.

In a way, the British became the ‘guru’ in teaching the Asians how to play. The British introduced, organised, promoted, provided facilities and even taught the details of the philosophy of sport to the Malayan people. But the brightest ‘students’ among the Malaysians were the Chinese. They were very receptive, quick to adapt, and even initiated certain aspects of sport organising for the benefit of their race. However, according to Khoo Kay Kim, “the earlier generation of mine owners were not themselves sportsmen and understood little of modern games. The situation changed with the emergence of the second generation of Chinese mining tycoons, many of whom were not only local born but educated in the English schools” (Khoo, 1989, p.686). This group adopted western culture and indulged in western sport.

The best schools were in towns and they were invariably English schools with structured sport programmes. Therefore only those attending these schools benefited from the formal teaching of physical education and sport. The specialisation of the Chinese in urban businesses and being located in the towns gave them the advantage to acquire better education and making them more exposed to modern sport as compared to other ethnic groups. Economically, the urban Chinese were better off and able to pay for expensive education fees and to register with sport clubs, which were also situated in towns. Furthermore, the concentration of the Chinese population encouraged better unity and organisation as a community.

The Chinese community took to organising sport meets nationwide. For example, in 1928 they organised a mammoth sports meet for Chinese schoolgirls in Selangor, and in 1931 the Malayan Chinese launched their own Olympic Games in Singapore. The existence of national meetings promoted sport participation of the Chinese at all levels and propelled the Chinese-educated to take up modern sport seriously as their English-educated counterparts (Brownell, 1989; Khoo, 1989).

Meanwhile as for the Indian immigrants and Indian soldiers in the British army, they too started their sport activities as a 'package' imported together by British colonials. Indian soldiers were first to be seen playing badminton, while

European planters initiated hockey and cricket in the late nineteenth century (Adam, 1980; Khoo, 1989).

These portrayed a pattern of sport development that modern sport in Malaya was initiated from where the British had a strong hold of administration and where most of them congregated, for example Penang and Singapore. Penang was founded by Sir Francis Light in 1786 and Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 (Suffean, 1996). These were also places where economic activities flourished and where majority of the Chinese dwelt. According to Khoo, almost all sports “had been introduced in Penang or Singapore or both” (Khoo, 1989, p.685).

The facts mentioned in the above paragraph confirmed the statement made by Peter Horton that “the relationship between the development of sport and power was clear: to become an acceptable cultural form, sport had to be embraced by the dominant social classes” (Horton, 1997, p.5) - in this case it was the Chinese. The Tables, 3.3 and 3.4, below derived from L.A. Mills (1966) illustrated Chinese dominance in the towns of Singapore and Penang:

Racial Groups in Singapore 1830-1860

| | Europeans | Malays | Chinese | Indians |
|------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|
| 1830 | 92 | 5,173 | 6,555 | 1,913 |
| 1840 | 167 | 9,032 | 17,179 | 3,159 |
| 1850 | 360 | 12,206 | 27,988 | 6,261 |
| 1860 | 2,445 | 10,888 | 50,043 | 12,971 |

Source: Thomas Braddel. "Notices of Penang", Journal of Indian Archipelago: 1861, V (in L.A. Mills, 1966).

Table 3.3

Racial Groups in Penang 1830-1860

| | Europeans | Malays | Chinese | Indians |
|------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|
| 1830 | 1,877 | 11,943 | 8,963 | 8,858 |
| 1840 | 1,810 | 18,442 | 9,715 | 9,681 |
| 1850 | 347 | 16,570 | 15,457 | 7,840 |
| 1860 | 1,995 | 18,887 | 28,018 | 10,618 |

Source: Thomas Braddel. "Notices of Penang", Journal of Indian Archipelago: 1861, V (in L.A. Mills, 1966).

Table 3.4

Besides teaching Malaya 'how to play', the British even paved the way for Malaya to take part in international competitions. Malaya took part in its first international competition in 1890 when a contingent of sportsmen and sportswomen left Singapore for Hong Kong to participate in a number of sports: cricket, rowing, tennis and billiards. Most of the representatives were British accompanied by some Chinese (Khoo, 1989).

3.12 Overall Sport Development Before Independence

Modern sport started in Singapore as early as 1829 with the introduction of the game of billiards. This was followed by cricket or 'king willow' (popularly known at that time) in 1837, then swimming and gymnastic in 1866 and rowing in 1883. More often than not, the new sport would be followed by the establishment of its own sport club for the particular sport. Apart from Singapore, Penang was a place where the British introduced sports like cricket, lawn tennis and golf in the 1880s. Although cricket was the more prestigious game, tennis was more frequently played. Athletics was introduced in 1870 as part of a New Year's Day celebration activity. The popularity of athletics was spread wider to all levels of the Malayan population (Khoo, 1989). This might probably be due to the nature that athletics was more open for public participation rather than going through being a member of a particular sport club, where only the privileged few could participate.

Horseracing made its debut when a band of British army officers, government officials and leaders in the commercial world founded the first horseracing club called the Singapore Sporting Club in 1842. The early years saw army draught-horses and ponies competing in the races, which was obviously not fit to be called 'race horses' (Malaysia Official Year Book 1961, p.383).

The twentieth century began with the first indication of motor sport by the formation of the Perak Motor Union in 1907. This was soon followed by similar

organisations in Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Kedah, Penang and Singapore before World War I broke. The sport resumed later in the thirties (Malaysia Official Year Book 1965).

Khoo Kay Kim (1989) regards the years after World War I, especially the 1920s as the 'take-off stage' of sport in Malaya. The decade witnessed: more introductions of games; more formation of sport associations; and increased number of national level competitions. Three games made their appearance in the early 1920s; they were table tennis, basketball and volleyball. In terms of formation of sport associations, The Malayan Polo Association was formed in 1922, The Malayan Lawn Tennis Association in 1924 and The Malayan Football Association and the Malayan Rugby Union were both founded in 1927. Other sports that made their debut in the 1920s were boxing and hockey. Unfortunately, these two sports neither saw many national level competitions nor the formation of associations. Some examples of national meets during the 1920s were; the Ipoh Olympiad that started in 1921, which was strictly for Europeans (Asians were allowed to participate in the 1922 meet); The Malayan Tennis Championship and the Malaya Cup football competition, both started in 1921. Rugby lagged behind in terms of national competition because the game was never established in the less developed states (Khoo, 1989; Malaysia Official Year Book 1961).

The Economic Depression of 1930s affected Malaya as much as it did the rest of the world but it did not retard the development of sport in the country. The thirties saw further development of sports like cycling, weightlifting, badminton, basketball, swimming and table tennis (Khoo, 1989). In that particular decade, at least two more sport associations were formed: the Amateur Athletic Association of Malaya in 1931 and the Badminton Association of Malaya in 1934 (Malaysia Official Year Book 1961).

The Japanese occupation, from 1942 to 1945, interrupted but did not destroy the progress of sport in colonial Malaya. In fact, the Malayan Cricket Association was formed on 4 August 1947, immediately after the havoc (Malaysia Official Year Book 1961). One game, badminton, flourished in crowded detention centres as well as in the towns and villages of the Malay Peninsula. Shortly after the war, badminton provided Malaysians with a first exhilarating taste of international sport success. The first world championship, the Thomas Cup, named after Sir George Thomas, founder of the International Badminton Federation, was contested and won by a team from Malaya in 1949. The performance was repeated in 1952 and 1955 (Adam, 1980). The teams represented by Chinese and Malay players managed to “galvanised local pride and a sense of nationalism in a way that no political movement had been able to do” (Douglas, 1989, p.168). Although Malaya had attained world-class status in rubber and tin, these achievements had stimulated but a fraction of the patriotic fervour roused by the Thomas Cup victories (Douglas, 1989). Success in badminton had a powerful effect on the

society. Badminton courts were built wherever there were space in towns and villages, but badminton then remained an outdoor game. Badminton soon took over the popularity of other sports like football and hockey in Malayan schools (Khoo, 1989).

In the 1950s, sport became "...a major activity in every school and town. In leading schools, sport competitions took place throughout the school year. In all towns, league matches were organised for numerous sports; football, hockey, cricket, basketball and badminton being the most common. Football was played everywhere, even in remote villages. Many schools had multipurpose halls, which were often used for badminton and table tennis matches" (Khoo, 1989, p.699).

Stephen Douglas concluded that the century, which ended with the attainment of Malaya's independence in 1957, witnessed the introduction of non-indigenous sports along two paths. The first, or along the colonial path involved sports pursued by British planters, businessmen, administrators, and so on. Sports in this category included lawn tennis, billiards, cricket, rugby, and soccer. Badminton, on the other hand, seemed to have been introduced by Indian immigrants rather than Englishmen. This second pathway applied as well to the introduction of field hockey and the 'Chinese' sports of basketball and table tennis (Douglas, 1989, p. 167).

3.13 Conclusion

British settlement in Malaya that comprises more than one hundred and fifty years resulted in a totally new country due to the changes influenced by the British. These long years of occupation left behind a strong impact on the pattern of Malaya's politics, socio-economy, and education. Last, but not least, or even the most unique of all British legacy in Malaya is its multi-ethnic society, which was a direct result of British economic strategy. Another strong influence brought along by the imperialist into Malaya is its sport culture. The combination of British education and economic policies, plus influx of a vast number of immigrants, combined with a very strong deliberate inculcation of British sport culture, all made the country's sport a very peculiar pattern.

Participation in sport among Asians was unequal and dominated by the Chinese because of their economic advantage and socio-cultural influence. Since the Chinese were the majority town dwellers, they were widely exposed to the practices and values of English sport and became the earliest consumers to modern sport in Malaya and, eventually, managed to adopt the values of sport sooner than the others. Meanwhile, the rural Malays were lacking in sport because of their distance from the towns; and a poor showing in sport by the town Malays was due to their small attendance in British schools as a result of economic deprivation and religious reasons. Only a minority of western-educated Malay aristocrats was active in sport. Finally, participation of the Indians was

quite limited due to their small number in Malaya, but nevertheless, they dominated hockey

The situation in Malaya proved the truth in what was stated by McIntosh (1968) that economic development and social status have been the important determining factors in shaping the pattern of sport in a community. The economic and social structure in Malaya was very much segregated and this ran parallel to a distinct participation of sport according to different ethnic groups.

The implementation of sport as an 'administrative tool' to succumb inter-ethnic aggression, as happened elsewhere in the British colonies, then became a channel of segregation by the ethnic groups. The concentration of the ethnic groups in generally different economic sector; located in different geographical setting and with different origin, contributed to the different lifestyles and the types of sports they were involved in. Due to the lack of unity among the people, concentration of sport participation became a reinforcement of their isolation. This is also the starting period of the promotion of ethnic identity through sport.

British sport was inculcated to the Malayan people through British education and sport clubs. Although there was some form of rebellion against the imperialists demonstrated through sport by the Malay ethnic group, it was found to be ineffective and useless. British sport – modern sport – became the practice

of the Malayan people, without any evidence of any native sport influence onto the Westerners.

Finally, the formation of a very 'disintegrated' society, due to the lack of any serious effort from the British to unite the Malayan, was the worst kind of legacy ever left behind by any type of colonial power in the world. This situation and dilemma later became a 'never ending balancing act' for the Malaysian people in order to sustain peace and harmony in the country.

CHAPTER 4 SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SPORT AFTER INDEPENDENCE

4.1 Introduction

The objective of the chapter is to discuss the socio-political changes in Malaya after independence and its effect on the country's sport development and racial relations. The discussion covers events between 1957 to 2000. The period is divided into two sub-periods: 1957 – 1969 and 1970 - 2000. These two sub-periods marked a very distinct political change that influenced the country's economy, ethnic relations and sport.

The chapter explains how the Malay-control government, especially after the racial riot of 1969, used its political power to try to remedy ethnic imbalance in terms of economic wealth and education opportunities. With regards to sport, this chapter explores the government's strategies to unite the people through sport; to increase Malay participation in sport, besides to improve sport as a whole. The implementation of the National Sports Policy and its strategies to develop sport in the country is also discussed. Analyses of the involvement and intervention of Malay politicians are also included.

4.2 Socio-political Development, 1957 - 1969

Malaya gained its Independence on 31 August 1957. The date marked freedom not only from a century and a half of British rule but also freedom from

the successions of foreign powers since the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511. The first twelve years or so after independence demonstrated the intense struggle between the major ethnic groups (Malay and Chinese) in ensuring peace and development in the country, without British intervention. This period witnessed the nation's socio-political uncertainty and interracial tension build-up between the Malays and the Chinese that led to the racial riot of 13 May 1969.

Like other ex-colonies of the British Empire, Malaya was left with tremendous development that benefited her as an independent nation. Apart from inheriting a formally Westminster style of government and an economy largely shaped by British colonial business interest built around the export of tin and rubber, Malaya also had in place an education system, a uniform system of taxation, a legal system, and basic road and railway infrastructures that connected the various states. But the single most significant inheritance was becoming a multiracial country that later remains a constant challenge in the country's development. These sizeable immigrant communities that formed over fifty per cent of the total population at the time of Independence (McGee, 1964) made the ethnic control issue very difficult.

The new Alliance government comprised of three major ethnic-based political parties; United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC)⁵, was very much aware of the threat that the country was facing being multiracial. Effort was made

⁵ The term 'Malayan' in both MCA and MIC was changed into 'Malaysian' in 1963.

even before independence to integrate the races especially through education. In fact as early as 1955, a committee was set up to review the contemporary education policy. Out of the review, a report called the Razak Report of 1956 was formulated as a guideline for Malaya's education policy after independence. The objectives of the education policy suggested under the Razak Report were to establish an integrated national education system through the implementation of a single education curriculum, and the usage of the Malay language as the medium of instruction in schools (without restricting the teaching of other languages; Chinese, Tamil, Arabic, and English). Another report, the Rahman Talib Report of 1960 was produced after reviewing the 1956 report. Based on the two reports, the National Education Policy was formulated under the Education Act 1961, which initiated the construction of a single national education system (Suffean, 1996). The attempt made to unite the people through education alone, however, did not have strong impact on the Malayan society as a whole. The reason was even though the single education system was implemented, the socio-structure of the whole educational setting itself was somewhat dispersed where student population and school types, in general, were characteristics of certain ethnic groups. This was due to the economic activity that had strong influence on the geographical location of the pupils and the schools.

Economically, Malaya continued to be the largest world producer of both tin and rubber, assisting the country to develop rapidly. At the time when the British regime left, Malaya enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in Asia mainly

because of her export earnings from the two commodities (Rao, 1980). Despite the overall country's economic growth and wealth, there was still poverty; particularly among the Malay peasants in the rural areas. To counter this problem, UMNO leaders who spearheaded the Alliance government made some emphasis on rural development since they knew that their bulk of political supporters derived from there (Snodgrass, 1980, p.67). By Independence there were only two major public enterprises established for the promotion of Malay welfare: the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA) and the Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA). The function of RIDA was to enhance Malay participation in business by providing them with access to credit facilities and business training, while FELDA was responsible for developing and distributing land to landless peasants for the cultivation of crops. In later years, more government-owned enterprises were established to enhance Malay capital accumulation. Other privileges granted to the Malays were access to public services employment, scholarships, licences and permits for logging, and other government contracts. But, in spite of all these efforts, majorities of the Malays remained disproportionately poor and were largely to be found outside the modern, urban and corporate sectors, with very few entrepreneurs or corporate managers among them. They continued to be concentrated in the low-productivity agricultural activity and in the public sector (Bowie & Unger, 1997; Gomez & Jomo, 1997).

In terms of education and development of human resources, the Malays were pathetically trailing behind other races. An example of Malay backwardness in this area was demonstrated in the student enrolment statistic of the University of Malaya from 1966 to 1971. The university was the first to be established in the Malayan Federation in 1949 and remained the only university until 1969 before other universities were built. The table below demonstrates how serious racial imbalance in higher education existed even after fourteen years of independence. Note how the Chinese were spearheading other ethnic groups in all fields of studies, except for arts degree. Table 4.1 below also projects the future trend of the ethnic groups' socio-economic features where the Malays would definitely be outnumbered in the middle-class income group and status. This implies that the education system left by the British had resulted in the imbalance opportunity to tertiary education. As the elite Malays realised this, they began to demand for a new government.

Student enrolment percentage according to ethnic groups in University Malaya.

| Year | Ethnic | Arts | Science | Engineering | Agriculture | Education | Medicine | Economy Administration |
|---------|---------|-------|---------|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------|------------------------|
| 1966-67 | Malay | 42.5 | 7.5 | 1.6 | 30.3 | 28.3 | 15.9 | 36.8 |
| | Chinese | 39.7 | 81.5 | 90.0 | 61.6 | 46.6 | 73.6 | 54.2 |
| | Others | 17.8 | 11.0 | 8.4 | 8.1 | 25.1 | 10.5 | 9.0 |
| | Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 1968-69 | Malay | 47.8 | 12.8 | 1.8 | 26.2 | 33.0 | 18.6 | 39.0 |
| | Chinese | 37.2 | 81.2 | 92.6 | 67.1 | 49.7 | 70.6 | 50.7 |
| | Others | 15.0 | 6.0 | 5.6 | 6.7 | 17.3 | 10.8 | 10.3 |
| | Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 1968-71 | Malay | 61.1 | 11.5 | 1.3 | 28.1 | 53.4 | 20.3 | 37.5 |
| | Chinese | 26.6 | 82.0 | 93.1 | 64.2 | 33.3 | 66.1 | 48.8 |
| | Others | 12.3 | 6.5 | 5.6 | 7.7 | 13.3 | 13.6 | 13.7 |
| | Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Malaysia, Report of the Committee appointed by the National Operations Council to Study Campus Life of Students of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Government Printer, pp.35-55 (in Sufean Hussin, 1996, p.108).

Table 4.1

Ironically, instead of fostering social stability, economic growth seemed to exacerbate social inequalities and frustrated growing Malays' aspiration. There was also an overall increase in income inequality among all Malaysians and among all major ethnic groups between 1957 and 1970 (Low, 1985). Extremists in the various ethnic communities argued that the ethnically based ruling political parties professing to represent ethnic interests were too accommodating of others in the Alliance government to represent their interest effectively. Both the Malays and the Chinese were discontented with the government. The Malays detested the government's accommodative policy towards the Chinese and foreign capital and felt that the government failed to correct the imbalance in the wealth and progress of the races (Mahathir, 1981). While, on the other end, there was growing concern among the Chinese over increasing government intervention, the form of regulation and new public enterprises, which they felt would reduce the economic opportunity open to them. The cleavage between the Malays and the Chinese was thus being continually and inexorably deepened (Mahathir, 1981, p.13). This exacerbated popular discontent with the government, resulted in its worst electoral performance ever in the 1969 general elections (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p.21).

Another reason that caused dissatisfaction among the people was corruption in government administration and practices. Mahathir Mohammad (1981), in his book, *The Malay Dilemma*⁶, blamed government's corruption, among other

⁶ *The Malay Dilemma* was deemed controversial for its honest comment on interracial relationship in Malaysia and its criticism on government's failure to promote Malay capitalism. The book was

reasons, for the interracial riot. He claimed that the “near-absolute power that the Alliance obtained corrupted the thinking of the leaders almost absolutely” that made the Central Executive Council, the highest authority within the party, often ignoring the general body of the party members (Mahathir, 1981, p.8). The prestige and authority of these highest officials as members of the government outweighed those of party officials. The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, became so powerful that the party became subservient to his person. The party was held together not because the members had generally identical ideas on politics, but through a system of patronage and disguised coercion based on government rather than party authority. This development widened the gulf between the government and the people that caused the removal of the people’s trust from the government. According to Mahathir, the people viewed the government to be so ignorant to understand and interpret their problems correctly.

Lack of racial integration, inequalities and dissatisfaction towards the government contributed to the outbreak of ethnic clashes on 13 May 1969. The incident began when the opposition party’s supporters (mainly Chinese), who were celebrating their election results, clashed with government supporters (mainly Malays) in the heart of Kuala Lumpur. The riots later spread to other Chinese dominated towns throughout the country. These incidents proved that what was earlier taken for granted as ‘harmony’ was actually an “absence of open

first published in 1970 but was promptly banned. It was released for publication again in the late 1970s, a few years before the writer, Mahathir Mohamad became the fourth, and current Prime Minister of Malaysia.

interracial strife” (Mahathir, 1981, p.5). It also revealed the popular misconception that the Chinese were only interested in business and acquisition of wealth, and that the Malays wished only to become government servants. These assumptions led to policies that undermined whatever superficial understanding there were between Malays and non-Malays (Mahathir, 1981, p.15). The racial riot resulted in the proclamation of a state of emergency, which led to the suspension of parliament and the replacement of the Prime Minister by his deputy, Abdul Razak Hussin. The incident of 13 May exposed the vulnerability of the supposedly multiracial unity that was believed to prevail in Malaysia. Then followed nearly two years of martial-law rule by a civilian-military council, after which the ruling coalition reinvented itself to be a broader national coalition called the Barisan Nasional (National Front). Nevertheless, under the new leadership, UMNO remained its control over the party and ascended its power (Bowie & Unger, 1997, p.68).

4.3 Sport Development and Racial Relation, 1957 - 1969

Throughout this period of ‘tension build-up’ and political uncertainties, sport continued to develop in the country. There were four reasons that were believed to cause this occurrence. The first reason was, the long British rule saw its sport culture still being practiced by the Malayan society, especially by the English-educated urban communities (at least until before the 1970s). The most effective avenue for this sport culture inculcation was through the colonial school system in town areas. Secondly, sport was generally actively practised by the Chinese

community that already had a long history of 'physical culture', which existed partly because of the need to survive during difficult times back in mainland China (Brownell, 1989, 1991; Purcell, 1967). Therefore, sport culture among the Chinese would obviously continue in Malaya regardless of the socio-political situation. The third reason was, since most of the Malays were peripheral from the town areas where the sport activities took place, sport itself became ethnically and geographically segregated to be effected by interracial disturbances. Lastly, sport continued to grow because of some attempt made by the government to unite the students through sport in schools.

Apart from that, the long period of British rule left behind a strong impact on modern sport in Malaya. Malaya was no different than any other British ex-colonies, in terms of adopting British sport due to several reasons. Firstly, as Perkin (1986) observes, no matter where British former colonies were situated and what their socio-political differences were, they nevertheless adopted elitist British sports due to the uniformity of keenness towards sport by the colonists. Another reason was, according to Perkin, that most of the government officials, senior military men, civil servants, educators and missionaries were themselves drawn from the upper echelons of British society, known to be active in sport. Thirdly, regardless of their professions, it was reputable of the British in inculcating interest in the sport they played onto the local population (Sugden, 1995).

But the strongest link between the Empire and its ex-colonies, in terms of continuing British sport tradition among the locals, was generally made up of English-educated aristocrats of the newly independent countries who went through organised sport curriculum of the colonial school system (Mangan, 1986; Morris, 1968). Malaya was no exception in this case; the first three Prime Ministers, before the incumbent Mahathir, were all graduates from England. This would suggest that, to some extent, they had been exposed to the British sport culture. Therefore, strong phenomenon of British sport in Malaya was believed to continue during their administration of the country.

A good example of the British education and 'cultural product' was the first Prime Minister of Malaya himself, Tunku Abdul Rahman. He was a true sport enthusiast who enlivened the British tradition of sport fanaticism in the country after independence. Better known as the Tunku (he was a prince to the Sultan of Kedah), he received his early education at the first English school in Malaya and later furthered his study at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge University. He played football for his College while at Cambridge. He was an active member of the Kedah Football Association on the eve of World War II and in the early 1950s he became, first, the President of the Selangor Football Association and then the Football Association of Malaya (Khoo, 1989, p.698). The Tunku indulged in golf and was a horseracing enthusiast. Despite severe criticism from certain groups of people concerning his involvement with horseracing for its connection with gambling and drinking, the Tunku maintained a close association with the sport.

There were other sports that also benefited from his patronage: hockey, boxing, cricket, athletics, swimming, and motor racing (“Tribute to Tunku”, *New Straits Times*, 26 May, 1979).

As a symbol of Independence in 1957, The Tunku built the country’s first stadium; the Stadium Merdeka. In the same year, he also initiated the annual Merdeka Soccer Festival to commemorate the event. In 1962 he created the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. It is suggested that the creation of the Ministry, then, was merely a symbol of an independent country with its own sport governing body, rather than the beginning of government intervention in sport for there was no clear evidence that could prove government insistence to control sport. Furthermore, the Ministry’s name itself denotes that the importance of sport was behind cultural activity (Khoo, 1989, p.698).

More importantly, besides being the number one sport enthusiast, the Tunku set the beginning of sport leadership and patronage ‘network’ among Malay aristocrats and political cronies; an isolated group without any real mass followers among the Malay majority. His deputy, Tun Abdul Razak, for example, led the Malayan/Malaysian Hockey Federation and chaired the Olympic Council of Malaysia while few other cabinet ministers and high government officials began playing leadership roles in numerous sport associations (Khoo, 1989). This feature became a very significant characteristic in the country’s sport administrative structure till the present.

The reputable and genuine interest of the British to 'teach' sport to the Commonwealth countries (Perkin, 1989) was seen in their continued support for sport development. For example, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the British Government (through the British Council in Malaya) together with the United States Government (through the United States Information Service) had sent qualified coaches to Malaya for athletics, football, cricket, swimming, basketball and tennis. Sport during this period, according to observations made by visitors and resident foreigners, did show some existence of interracial harmony through its activities (Malaysia Official Year Book 1965, p.371).

On the eve of Malaya's independence and in the years following it, more sports succeeded in forming national associations. These were: the Malayan Hockey Federation (1954), the Malayan Table Tennis Association (1958), the Malayan Amateur Basketball Association (1958), the Malayan Amateur Fencing Association (1959) and the Federation of Malaya Amateur Volleyball Association (1959). Entering the sixties, three sport associations were founded; the Malayan Sepak Raga (later changed to Sepak Takraw) Federation (1960), the Malayan Judo Federation (1961) and the Pan-Malayan Women's Hockey Association (1961).

In 1963, Malaya became Malaysia, when Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore joined the Federation (Singapore withdrew in 1965). By becoming a larger

federation, a few more sports had succeeded in forming national associations, even though some of the sports concerned had long had adherents in the country. For example, the Malayan Amateur Boxing Association was founded in 1964 and the Malayan boxing championship tournament had been held since 1921. Yachting, which had been popular among the Europeans long before World War II was only registered as the Malayan Yachting Association in 1967. The Malaysian Body Building Federation emerged in 1969, even though the annual 'Mr. Malaya' contest had been inaugurated in 1955 (Khoo, 1989; Malaysia Official Year Book 1965, 1969, 1970).

At international competition, Malaya took part in various sports and with satisfactory achievements. Overall, in terms of representation, the Chinese formed the major group (Khoo, 1989). Badminton for example continued to be popular when Thomas Cup victories of 1949, 1952 and 1955 were repeated in 1967 (Adam, 1980). The Thomas Cup teams had more Chinese than Malay players, but it did however, produce heroes from all ethnic categories throughout its history (Douglas, 1989, p.176). Unfortunately, since badminton was largely an individual sport, it failed to mobilise significant inter-school, inter-community, or inter-state rivalries for better promotion towards multiracial unity.

Sport in schools had already begun playing its role to unite the multiracial students even before independence, but the effectiveness was partial. The importance of practising sport and physical education in schools for racial

harmony objective was justified in the Cabinet Committee Report to Review the Execution of the National Education Policy 1979. The Report emphasised the need of these activities to inculcate *esprit de corps* among the students that came from different cultural heritage and lifestyle. It stated that the schools should continue to practise rituals like student assembly, respecting the national flag, the singing of the national anthem and others of the same kind that could inculcate discipline, unity and patriotism towards the nation. Popular team sports like football, netball, hockey, rugby, basketball and annual athletics should continue to be played in the schools, according to the Report. However, it also stated that there were still situations where certain ethnic groups tend to be interested in certain sports. The Report revealed that in most schools, not all students took part in sport activities, and that there were difficulties in executing physical education effectively due to shortage of qualified teachers and facilities (The Cabinet Committee Report 1979, The Ministry of Education).

From the Report, it could be concluded that although physical education and sport activities have great potential in uniting the people and, thus 'nation-building', that was badly needed during this period, other shortcomings seemed to be stronger in hindering its (physical education and sport) positive intentions. Therefore, the effectiveness of physical education and sport as a tool for unity could be suggested as minimal.

In terms of overall development of sport in the country at this stage, there was much to be proud of by the Chinese community, and little by the other races. The Chinese community had been active in sport since their arrival in Malaya and had represented the country alongside the British before and after independence. They were responsible for the greater part of founding associations and there were evidence of success at international competitions, especially in badminton. In general, sport was predominantly Chinese, and therefore, sport development in this period could be regarded as the advancement of the Chinese community.

Since sport was generally based on ethnic preference, and not widely spread, horizontally and vertically on the social structure, it was therefore difficult to make it a 'common factor' among the people towards national unity. This being the case, sport represented only a weak link for ethnic interaction. Racial problem could be controlled more effectively if the people had a common interest in sport and if sport could regularly produce victorious performances at international competitions. Unfortunately, this was too idealistic to be a reality because even when this was the case, the euphoria of nationalism for sharing a victorious national team was no doubt temporary because the people were well segregated, and inequalities persisted in other aspects of their lives. These issues were more important and had stronger impact on them. Sport alone could not guarantee genuine harmony among the races when there were more serious issues that needed attention and remedy from the government.

4.4 Socio-Political Development, 1970 - 2000

In 1971, after almost two years under civilian-military council rule, the Yang di Pertuan Agung or the Supreme Leader, the King, proclaimed the *Rukunegara* (National Pillars) as guidance to all citizens. The *Rukunegara*⁷ (see Appendix B) is the national ideology that was developed and adopted by consensus from the National Consultative Council, a body comprising representatives from various groups that were set up after the 1969 riot. The establishment of this council was to develop strategies to enhance racial harmony.

In the post-1969 period, the hegemonic position of the new, more Malay-oriented leadership in the Barisan Nasional was enhanced through amendments to the Constitution. It was, for example, prohibited, even in parliament, to question 'ethnically sensitive' issues, which include any reference to Malay special rights, the status of the national language (the Malay language), Islam, and the constitutional provisions pertaining to the Sultans (Mauzy, 1993). UMNO became very strong, in subsequent years, its leaders would openly assert that the party could rule alone, but preferred to share power in the interest of national unity. Ironically the government insisted that it was precisely this system of power sharing which enabled them to manage and resolve ethnic problems, thus contributing to ethnic co-existence. Malay hegemony within this political arrangement, according to UMNO leaders, was justified on the grounds that it

⁷ The Rukunegara became a ritual ceremony in all schools in the country especially in the 1970s. It was recited by all school pupils during formal school assemblies and written on school walls.

represented the interests of the largest ethnic community (Chee, 1991). Nevertheless, it was obvious that this attempt at power sharing within the Barisan Nasional, was in effect “accommodation on essentially Malay terms” (Mauzy, 1993, p.45). This contributed to the creation of a pronounced Malay perception of policies by the party leadership and the births of ‘Bumiputraisim’⁸ (sons of the soil) and the New Economic Policy (NEP). The Bumiputra group was identified to be the most unfortunate group and should receive special treatments under the NEP that would cover the period from 1971 to 1990 (Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975, 1971).

UMNO’s enhanced dominance of the Barisan Nasional provided Abdul Razak Hussin, the new Prime Minister, with greater leverage to implement the NEP in 1971 that intended to alleviate Malay poverty and redistribute income and wealth to meet the twenty-year numerical targets for Malay participation in the modern commercial sector. As part of this new strategy, they sought to attract private foreign investments as the principle means of expanding the ‘economic pie’, so that the Malay ‘slice’ could increase without reducing absolutely the ‘slice’ of any other ethnic groups’ (Bowie & Unger, 1997, p.68). This entailed partial

⁸ The concept of ‘Bumiputraisim’ was very much politically based. Firstly, by including the Malays under the Bumiputra category, it placed the Malays together with the early settlers (the primitive tribes) in the Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah, and Sarawak. The strategy was to reject arguments from the opposition that the Malays were not ‘masters’ of the land because they were late comers, and therefore should not receive special treatment under the New Economy Policy as the primitive tribes should; the Malays should be treated equal to other later immigrants (Chinese and Indians). But the argument was rejected by UMNO leaders’ definition that the Malays were the ‘masters’ because, even though they settled later than the tribes, they, nevertheless were the first to establish a Government in the land. Under the New Economic Policy, the Bumiputra group would receive preferential treatment because they were the less fortunate ones during the colonial period.

abandonment of the previous *laissez faire* style of economic management in favour of greater state intervention.

The NEP and its objectives were based on the principles of national unity as envisaged in the Federal Constitution and the *Rukunegara*. The objectives of the NEP were to achieve national integration and unity and these were formulated within the context of two-pronged strategies. The strategies were, firstly: to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race; and secondly, accelerate the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalances so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. The process of restructuring the society involves the modernisation of rural life and a rapid balanced growth of urban activities (Second Outline Perspective Plan, 1996-2000, 1991, p.7). The second prong basically involved affirmative action for the Malays to reduce inter-ethnic economic difference, especially with the Chinese community. This could be done through accelerated expansion of the Malay middle-class, capital accumulation on behalf of the Malay community and the creation of Malay capitalists (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p. 23).

More importantly, the policy also ensured minimal political opposition as well as legitimacy and broad support for the NEP. From the outset, however, the keenest interest in implementing the NEP was clearly on restructuring wealth

particularly on creating Malay business community and achieving 30 per cent Bumiputra ownership of the corporate sector by 1990. To meet the NEP objectives, the government increased public sector expenditure and sought to ensure continued growth based on export-oriented industrialisation (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p.24).

Under the NEP's affirmative action the Malay-Bumiputra were given priorities in civil service recruitment, subsidies, university admissions and scholarships, and government contracts and licenses. Under education strategies, the government immediately built a number of higher learning institutions that had intake quotas favouring the Malays. In fact, one institution, the Institut Teknologi MARA was built exclusively for the Malay-Bumiputra. To enhance faster and wider human resource development among the Malays, the government built MARA Junior Science Colleges and Science Schools (full boarding secondary schools) throughout the country and sent large numbers of students overseas to pursue their degrees.

The 1980s and the decade that followed saw the increase of power dominance of UMNO with the inauguration of Mahathir Mohammad, the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia. His leadership that started in 1981 witnessed a bolder pursuit of political and economic status of the Malays that went through the "creation of a state whose development and interventionist policies were essentially beyond challenge" (Bowie & Unger, 1997, p.71). For example, in

October 1987, Mahathir resurrected the draconian Internal Security Act (ISA) – a vestige of British efforts to suppress communist insurgence in the 1950s – and imprisoned more than a hundred opponents without trial. The government justified the clampdown by alluding to the May 1969 ethnic riots and emphasising the importance of political stability to avert capital flight. But it seemed clear that the arrests were part of Mahathir's political offensive acts against opponents to his leadership both inside and outside UMNO. Subsequently, the government amended the ISA in 1989 to eliminate judicial review of ISA detentions. This was followed by measures that precluded judicial review of executive decisions governing the administration and running of political parties (Fatimah, 1990). On the nation's economic aspect, Mahathir's intention was to transform Malaysia into a modern and competitive industrial country that could 'stand as tall as' other economic successful nations (Khoo, 1995, p.109).

The rapid proliferation of companies owned by, controlled by, or in so other way related to the ruling party has freed UMNO from its long-standing dependence on the MCA for electoral campaign financing (Wong, 1990). The non-Malay political elite had been marginalized as the balance of both political and economic power now rests with the Malay elite, and this, had encouraged representation of non-Malay business interests directly to Malay government leaders, thereby bypassing the increasingly irrelevant Chinese and Indian political parties (Nathan, 1989 in Bowie and Unger, 1997, p.90). Many non-Malay businessmen began courting actively the influential Malay politicians and senior

bureaucrats to gain state access through them (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p.40). On the other hand, the lack of genuine 'entrepreneurship' among the Malays (and the difficulties faced to compete with the Chinese for lack of basic business network to begin with) made them susceptible to form Chinese-Malay business partnership. This phenomenon had changed the character of Malaysian business over time. The situation caused the transformation from a shadowy 'paper partner' role to becoming fully fledged Malay businessmen in their own right who were capable of delivering the political and financial resources for large projects. This partnership business often included huge business transactions like supplying foreign technology and large infrastructure projects, such as the new international airport and the main north-south highway (Bowie & Unger, 1997, p.72).

The political-bureaucratic power, coupled with UMNO's growing hegemony over the state, was exploited by some party leaders who found it politically expedient to use the expanded state machinery and the party's access to economic resources to patronise groups and individuals in return for support for the party. The mushrooming of patronage networks in UMNO was facilitated by the encouragement of a 'subsidy mentality' among Malays, who viewed the state as protector of their interest (Chandra, 1979; Mehmet 1988). This 'subsidy mentality' was itself, undeniably, the result of too much government aid and protection for the advancement of the Malays under the NEP programme (Gomes & Jomo, 1997, p.118). The disappointment of the government in relation to this mentality was recorded in Mahathir's speech:

“To say that the NEP has succeeded is to be optimistic. You say it has succeeded in creating the middle-class Malay professionals. It has not. What has happened is simply the government makes it possible for them to survive. The economy is still basically the same. All these people depend on the government – the Malay contractors, the Malay lawyers, the businessmen”.

(in Khoo, 1995, pp.127-128).

In so far the NEP seemed to respond to the problems of poverty, unemployment and inter-ethnic economic imbalance that had emerged before May 1969, it was received favourable and widely seen as a sincere attempt to transcend problems created by colonialism and perpetuated by *laissez faire* policies after Independence. The emphasis on wealth structuring, however, and actual implementation of the NEP soon became grounds for criticism from local and foreign critics (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p. 25). Criticism also came from within the ruling Barisan Nasional coalition, especially when the weak official commitment to addressing the problems of poor Chinese in new villages and the predominantly Indian workers in the plantation sector caused little progress on their economic status even when the NEP ended in 1990 (Gomez & Jomo, 1997, p. 39).

Throughout the whole twenty years of the NEP's implementations, the success was considered partial for failing to achieve some of the numerical targets, reported the Second Outline Perspective Plan. For example, Malay ownership in corporate share and industrial activities of 2.5 per cent in 1971 grew to (only) 20.3 per cent in 1990, which was below the 30 per cent target. On the other hand, incidence of poverty in Peninsular Malaysia declined from 49.3 per cent to 15 per cent by the end of 1990, beating the target of 16.7 per cent. In terms of unemployment, up to the mid-eighties, significant progress was made where unemployment dropped to 4.6 per cent from 7.4 per cent in 1970. However, the majority of people who remained poor were from the Malay and other indigenous groups. Within the Chinese, Indian and other communities, there were also problems of poverty, but to a lesser degree. In terms of upgrading socio-status and locating more Malays in the urban areas, the NEP succeeded in increasing the number of Malay middle-class professionals and population in the urban areas. But the bigger portion of this new urbanites comprised of low skill workers employed in the industrial sectors (Second Outline Perspective Plan 1996-2000,1991).

While the government was giving much attention to the Malays, the Chinese and the Indian communities felt the need to pool their resources to safeguard their welfare. In doing so, they established their own corporations with full support from their political party; for example, the Multi-Purpose Holdings Berhad and the Maika Holdings Berhad backed by the MCA and the MIC, respectively

(Gomez & Jomo, 1997). Although these two corporations were basically business oriented, they spread their wings on other aspects that could benefit themselves. They, for instance, set up their own private colleges in order to compete with the public universities that favoured the Malay students. The Chinese and Indians owned private colleges were opened to all ethnic groups, but due to higher entrance requirements and limited places for the non-Malays in public universities, the flock of these Chinese and Indian students would settle in their ethnic based colleges.

While the original intention of the NEP was to promote racial unity based on economic growth and distribution, the implication of the NEP seemed to be pointing the opposite direction. Favouritism by the UMNO led government obviously created deeper racial cleavage and disappointment. But, due to stable economic growth, indoctrination in schools, constant propaganda through the government-controlled media and under watchful eyes of an authoritative government, ethnic tension was eased and restrained quite successfully since 13 May 1969.

Failing to achieve the targeted objectives of the NEP, forced the government to construct another policy called the New Development Policy (NDP), which was more or less the same as the NEP. However, approaching the year 1990 when the NEP was nearing its end, there were worries among the Malays that the conclusion of the NEP means the end of Malay dependent on the state, and thus

'fair' ethnic competition would begin. On the other hand, the non-Malays were looking forward to it. Khoo Boo Teik described the situation as, "hope for some, dread for others, and uncertainty for all" (Khoo, 1995, p.107). However, the essence of UMNO's political hegemony under Mahathir witnessed the introduction of the NDP without any significant opposition.

The NDP was launched in 1991, signalling the beginning of a new era in the country's effort to make Malaysia a fully developed nation by the year 2020. The NDP, accounting for the period of 1991 to 2000, would continue the efforts to correct economic imbalances to a more just, united, peaceful and prosperous society. To this end, more effective efforts would be made.

Another significant event that occurred in this period was the 'resurgence of Islam' which started in the early seventies (Zainah, 1987; Chandra, 1987) and coincided with the coalition of UMNO and Parti Islam Se Malaysia (PAS), a long time opposition of UMNO. Although there were small minorities of non-Malay Muslims, it was perhaps unavoidable that in a situation where all Malays were Muslims, Islam was perceived as a 'Malay religion' by both Malays and non-Malays (Khoo, 1995, p.186). Therefore the coalition of these two major Malay political parties contributed somehow to the 'resurgence'. However, the perception on the ability of Islam to unite the Malays was quite confusing; for in actuality, it could be both the 'uniting' factor (when the need for the Malays to unite during interracial clashes, for example) and the 'dividing' factor

simultaneously. Basically, Islam seemed to be the 'dividing' factor because there were several interpretations on the religion's ideology on countless aspects, which ranged from the basic practices and perspective towards life, to the complexity of governing a nation. An example of different ideological interpretation effect was demonstrated by the splitting of UMNO and PAS, which turned them back into rivals in 1977. The basis for the split was because; PAS, with their younger leadership then, was committed to the ideal of an 'Islamic State' and very hostile towards the 'secular' government of the Barisan National (Mahathir, 1986).

More importantly, the resurgence created huge demand from various Islamic groups, both political and apolitical, on the government for more development on Islam. Therefore, as an attempt to meet the demand, the government sponsored numerous programmes and projects, which included the founding of more Islamic establishments such as the Islamic Schools, Islamic Research Centre, the Bank Islam Malaysia, the International Islamic University and the Malaysian Muslim Welfare Organisation (Zainah, 1987). This whole episode saw increased favouritism towards the Malays - who already benefited from the NEP - by the government and thus made the Malays to be increasingly dependent on the state.

4.5 Sport Development, 1970 - 2000

Racial harmony and unity, besides the sharing of economic growth and the 'restructuring' of Malaysian society, became the national agenda after the 1969 riot. Sport in this sense became very much included in the picture for the charisma it was believed to have in uniting the Malaysian society, even though its

true capability was sometimes doubtful and limited (Heineman, 1993). In the Malaysian case, the doubt was even greater because the ethnic groups to some extent, practised sport itself separately. As Douglas (1989) notes:

“In reality Malaysia’s most popular sports are uneven in their apparent capacity to bring together the country’s different cultural communities. Soccer and badminton, each in its own way the national sport, are enjoyed by people of all ethnic grounds. Most other leading sports are identified in varying degrees with specific groups: Malays dominate *sepak takraw*...Chinese are the most active in basketball and table tennis; and field hockey is primarily an Indian game”.

(Douglas, 1989, p.166).

The tremendous growth of power of the government influenced the increase of government control over sport, resulting in the establishment of government’s sport controlling bodies and policies, and the increased of Malay participation in sport. The overwhelming Malay political hegemony created a situation that made ‘Malay politicians’ and ‘government’ synonymous. [In the discussion that follows it is difficult to separate entirely among ‘Malay’, ‘politicians’, and even ‘government’ especially when discussing issues relating to top-level sport administration. Unless notified to be otherwise, the discussion would refer to Malay politicians and Malay-control government].

4.5.1 Government Control Over Sport

The government imposed its control over sport in basically two forms: through its sport organising bodies and its sport policies.

4.5.1.1 Sport Organising Bodies

Immediately after the launch of the NEP and the installation of Tun Abdul Razak as the second Prime Minister of Malaysia, the strategies towards racial harmony and unity, youth and nation development were given specific attention. This was clearly stated under Chapter XVI, Article V of the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-1975). The Article mentioned about the founding of specific organisations and infrastructures in order to address racial unity. Some of the organisations highlighted were: the National Youth Consultative Council, the National Sports Council and the National Cultural Council. In terms of infrastructures the government would build; multi-purpose centres, youth camps, facilities for sport (including a number of complexes of international standards), a national cultural complex and a national theatre (Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975).

From the above organisations listed, the National Sports Council (NSC), a branch of the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MYS), became the medium for the government to promote racial unity through sport among Malaysians. This intention was made public through a speech made by Tun Abdul Razak, when he

officiated the founding of the NSC on 21 February 1972. Besides other issues like national identity, pride, honour, development and health, the seven paragraphs text made the strongest emphasis on interracial harmony, which was obviously due to the heat felt from the racial riot of 1969. It stated:

“The founding of this Council proved the serious attention by the government towards sport as one of the tools for the nation’s development and unity [this was the beginning sentence of the first paragraph]...sport is one positive factor that can create a suitable environment to unite the people from all levels, if properly executed...Sport has a special position for it does not create barrier based on racial heritage nor religion...The different background of the people needs a common factor to create a feeling that everybody is in the same country...”

(Text from the speech made by the late Tun Abdul Razak during the officiating of the National Sport Council, 1972, Ministry of Youth and Sports).

The founding of the NSC marked the beginning of government intervention in sport and the end of sport activities that had traditionally been undertaken by voluntary organisations, many which were affiliated to the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM)(Information Malaysia 1997 Yearbook, p.150). The NSC was responsible for developmental programmes such as; providing athletes with

assistant and cash incentives, running sport science centre, building sport infrastructure, distributing budget allocation for the sport associations and financing international competitions. All these programmes obviously required public funding; thus justified further for government intervention.

To ensure that all these programmes were executed, government bureaucracy became formal and clear when the NSC was put under the chairmanship of the Minister of Youth and Sports himself and fell under the portfolio of his ministry. The Minister had the power to appoint council members for a two-year term where they were eligible for reappointment. The actual running of the affairs of the NSC was placed in the hands of an executive Board of Management whose members were also appointed by the Minister but who were different from the members of the council. The Minister also chaired the Board. Meanwhile, a full-time Director General, assisted by full-time officials and staff that were appointed by the Board of Management, headed the administration of the NSC.

The whole development witnessed that, although the initial intention for intervention by the government was because of sport's potential as a tool for unity, it seemed unavoidable, however, that the whole administrative structure became very bureaucratic when the government, known for its authoritative nature (Makmor, 1998), intervened.

Being the main government agent to develop sport excellence in the country, the NSC was also responsible for handling huge government expenses, or rather, public funds. This was published in formal documents such as in the Malaysia Plans, which made the government more accountable for its spending. For example, money allocated for sport seemed to increase tremendously especially in the first half of the 1980s when the nation's economic prosperity heightened, before recession in the second half of the decade. The government allocated RM10 million for sport development programmes under the Fourth Malaysia Plan (1981-1985). This was an increase of RM 3 million from the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980) budget⁹. Money abundance and 'spending spree' were dominant features during that particular period. So being the situation, new programmes were designed which included: the Athlete Assistance Scheme¹⁰, the National Coaching Accreditation Scheme¹¹, the Cash Incentive Scheme¹², and overseas training stints¹³. It seemed that money was not a problem and there was plenty to spend. This fact was made obvious through a statement by the NSC director-general regarding overseas training, who boastfully announced that:

⁹ "RM10m For Sport", Sunday Echo, 22, August, 1980.

¹⁰ "Coming- Better Deal For Our Sportsmen", Sunday Mirror, 24 March, 1982.

¹¹ "Upgrading Our Coaching Standards", The Star, 1985.

¹² "Real Bonanza", New Straits Times, 9 January, 1985. Under this scheme the NSC would pay the victorious athletes certain amount of money according to their level of success. The payment categories were as follows: RM100,000 to the winner of a world or Olympic Games title (gold medal), RM20,000 for Asian champion, and RM1,500 for SEA Games champion (an additional Rm5,000 for a new record). A member of a world championship team would receive RM15,000, for example, a six-member Thomas Cup winning team would get a total of RM90,000.

¹³ "Looking to East Germany for Help", New Straits Times, 14 February 1984. NSC would send athletes and coaches for training to other countries beyond West Germany (West Germany had been Malaysia's overseas training centre for quite some time). The countries in view were: East Germany for athletics and volleyball, Japan for swimming, South Korea (type of sport not reported in the news report), Indonesia for boxing, and other European countries.

“As long as the countries [target countries] have the facilities and are good in the sport we will send our sportsmen whether it is across the Causeway or in Europe”.

(“Looking for East Germany for Help”, New Straits Times, 14 February 1984).

Also included in the programmes were the building of the Sports Science Centre, the National Sports Institute, and the National Sports School. Unfortunately, the last two items on the list had to wait until the next decade due to sudden “lack of fund” (“On Hold”, Malay Mail, 6 July 1985) as the second half of the eighties approached.

The tradition of Malay sport leadership since independence was sustained by the successions of Malay Minister of Sport till the present. It was quite ironic to note that, although the Chinese community actively consumed sport at all levels of participation, there was never a Chinese politician who held ministerial post in the MYS. Nevertheless, there was always a Chinese politician as the deputy minister. This contradicts the Ministry of Public Works for example, where the Ministers were always from the Indian ethnic because large numbers of labours employed by the Ministry were Indians. It could be suggested that this administrative structure in the Ministry of Youth and Sports was a symbol of Malay political dominance and the ‘power sharing’ notion upheld by the government since 1970. Furthermore, this arrangement of having a Chinese

ethnic deputy minister was quite necessary for there might be difficulties and tension in sport administration, thus development, if there was a complete absence of a Chinese political figure in the MYS, for sport is still predominantly on Chinese ground.

There was about a dozen ministers of sport in the forty odd years after Independence. The sport ministry became a debut platform for junior UMNO¹⁴ members to make their presence felt and demonstrate their political prowess. Eventually a peculiar pattern set: immediately after taking office, the particular Ministers would begin their task by showing their enthusiasms to develop the country's sport performance and to solve the problems that plagued the sport associations. During their first appearance at press conferences, the Ministers would project their seriousness to see the development of sport by making known their sternness towards the sport associations and would make sure that the associations would execute their duties responsibly. Few suggestions by the Ministers would usually follow. Some examples of headlines recorded in the local newspapers made by different sport ministers regarding these matters were:

- “New Era For Sport”, New Straits Times, 2 December 1971 (Minister – Hamzah Abu Samah).
- “Ministry To Reign Supreme...But OCM Pick Team”, Malay Mail, 1 January 1976 (Minister – Ali Haji Ahmad).
- “NSC Back in Action”, The Star, 17 March 1981 (Minister – Mokhtar Hashim).

¹⁴ The Ministry of Youth and Sports was traditionally given to a junior member of the UMNO Highest Council, to lead as Minister.

- “Minister Hits Out at Poor Attitude”, New Strait Times, 21 January 1983 (Minister – Abdullah Ahmad Badawi).
- “Watch It, Says Anwar”, New Straits Times, 23 February 1984 (Minister – Anwar Ibrahim).
- “Blame Not the NSC Alone”, The Star, 29 May 1985 (Minister – Sulaiman Daud)
- .

However, the basic underlying issue behind all these headlines was the constant demand from the government for control over the sport associations and at the same time insisting full co-operation from the associations to ensure better standard of performance in sport (“New Era For Sport, New Strait Times, 2 December, 1971). The government made clear that they wanted to decide on the construction of sport policies, control of athletes training, and control of distribution of money to the associations. Furthermore, the government insisted on the acquisition of existing national sport complexes and stadium and direct control supervision of all sport developing programmes even at state level. But to reciprocate these ‘take over’, the government always reminded the associations that “the Sport Minister won’t take over the sport associations” (“Watch It, Says Anwar”, New Strait Times, 23 February 1984). The reason given by the government for the acquisition and control was to upgrade co-ordination in order to develop sport.

Interestingly, however, in most cases the sport associations never retaliated for several suggested reasons. The first reason might be because the associations

found it damaging to respond because they need the funding from the Ministry. Secondly, it was not a 'custom' for a non-Malay sport leader (if it happened to be) to criticise the Ministry for it might turn into a racial issue. Thirdly, the cabinet ministers involved as associations' leaders, who always came from the same political party, might resort to not create any friction in most occasions. There was evidence that some of these leaders did not commit themselves fully to the associations, in the first place, for them to understand the issue under fire.

In a way, in terms of sport development, the government might be regarded as asking too much from the associations, which in general, were not properly structured in several terms. The associations could be described as; firstly, non-professional organisations run by volunteers who have other full-time careers. Secondly, the network of sport affiliations in the country were not widely spread and were sporadic, that is, even when an association has full affiliation from all states, the branches were usually situated at the state capitals and none at district level. Some sports had only small followers, for example, fencing had only three state affiliations under it (see Appendix D2). Thirdly, besides lack of full time staff, the money distributed by the NSC to the associations was ample to hold a state competition and a national competition and usually none for developmental purposes. Fourthly, most associations did not have any ties with the schools to discover new talents. With all these shortcomings, it seemed absurd for the government to insist on the associations for the development of their sports towards higher standards. In a nutshell, it seemed that while the government's

agenda was to promote the nation's sport for better performance at international level, the sport associations were satisfied enough to keep their particular sport alive due to the shortcomings that they faced. To the sport associations, it could be considered as a bonus if their athletes performed well at international competitions.

Other than structural flaws, the associations were plagued with internal administrative problems. Their weaknesses were quite often publicised by the newspaper that made the whole issue as 'public knowledge'. Some of the ceaseless problems incurred in the associations were: internal bickering and politicking among members; lack of long term planning; and procrastination when turning in training programme, annual report, budget plan, and registration of athletes to the NSC.

The fact that there were vast representations of cabinet ministers in sport organisations influenced government control over sport to snowball. Although, the presence of these ministers was considered an 'indirect' control by the government, it nevertheless had some impact on the running of sport in the country. The need to have these politicians as leaders in the first place was obviously because of the power they have for easy access to the state.

To demonstrate this occurrence, two lists of top executive positions in the NSC and the sport associations were constructed. This data were extracted from the

Information Guide to Who's Who of the Olympic Council of Malaysia and Affiliate for July 1996 to June 1998. In all instances, unless notified otherwise, politicians and royalties involved were Malays and from the UMNO party.

Top Executives of the NSC:

The members of the Board of Management of the NSC, a branch of the MYS, are totally comprised of Malay elite. It is made up of:

- The Chairman, the Minister
- 9 members of the board (1 prince, 1 ex-minister, 1 ex-navy admiral, 1 ex-Chief Secretary General, 4 members with his Excellency Dato' title, and 1 without any dignitary title)

Top Executives of the 43 Sport Associations at Federal Level:

- Presidents, consists of 27 Malays, 14 Chinese, 2 Indians
- Honorary Secretaries, consists of 14 Malays, 18 Chinese, 9 Indians, 2 others

In terms of politicians/aristocrats involvement in these associations, the role of Presidents were assumed by:

- two Sultans
- one Princess from the state of Negri Sembilan¹⁵

¹⁵ The Princess is the President of the Malaysian Women Golf Association, whose brother, the Prince of Negri Sembilan, is the President of the Malaysian Cricket Association and the Vice President of the OCM. There is also another Prince from the state of Pahang, who is the Vice-

- one Prince from the state of Negri Sembilan
- eight Cabinet Ministers (of which four were Chinese)
- two Member of Parliaments (of which one was Chinese)
- three Head Ministers of States
- two top government officers
- four ex-ministers (of which, two were ex-Deputy Prime Ministers)
- A wife to the Head Minister of the State of Perak,
- nineteen from various professions (of which, 8 Malays, 9 Chinese, 2 Indians)

(Source: The Information Guide to Who's Who of the Olympic Council of Malaysia and Affiliate for July 1996 to June 1998).

Similar to the Malay-Chinese partnership phenomenon in economic activity, Malay patronage was also needed even in those sports that have the least Malay memberships. The types of sports that fell under these categories were: swimming (no Malay participation at competitive level), badminton, karate and tae-kwon-do where they all have Malay politicians as their presidents.

In terms of sport management, too much concentration of Malay politicians at top-level of sport organisations made it difficult to separate between politics and sport. The best example to demonstrate this phenomenon was the Football Association of Malaysia (FAM). The FAM had the most politician

President of the Football Association of Malaysia (FAM). His father is the President of FAM. There seems to be a 'family affair' of royalties in Malaysian sport administration.

representation, both at national and state level¹⁶. The FAM was headed by the president, who was the Sultan of the State of Pahang and assisted by the deputy-president, his son (both were also president and deputy president, respectively, for their state team). While at the individual state level, except for three states (Johore, Penang and Kelantan), all the state football associations were represented by the Head Ministers (*Menteri Besar*) or Chief Ministers (*Ketua Menteri*)¹⁷ as state football presidents. In the state of Johore's case, the post was rejected by the Head Minister who was the ex-Minister of the MYS (recently stepped down from the MYS before assuming the Johore Head Minister post) and was assumed by one of Johore's top government official. Except in Penang, the Deputy Chief Minister who was a Malay politician assumed the presidential post. It is interesting to note that, coincidentally, the State of Penang was the only state with a Chinese politician as the Chief Minister¹⁸ due to the Chinese being the majority in the state. Lastly, the State of Kelantan, due to the state being controlled by the opposition party (PAS), the state football association was not headed by the Chief Minister but by an UMNO Member of Parliament from that particular state. With the exclusion of the Chinese politician and the opposition party's representation as presidents of state football associations, and, that all other presidents were Malay civil servants, it can be concluded that football was totally a 'Malay

¹⁶ The trend to have Malay politicians as presidents of state football associations was set by the Tunku, the first Prime Minister of Malaya. He became the President of the Selangor Football Association in the early 1950s and later the Football Association of Malaya after independence, during his term in office. He was also an active member of the Kedah Football Association before World War II.

¹⁷ The post of Head Ministers and Chief Ministers are equivalent. Head Minister titles are used by the head of governments of states with the Sultans as Rulers. While, Chief Minister titles are used by the head of governments of states without Sultans and are run by Governors, for example, the states of Penang, Melaka, Sabah and Sarawak.

¹⁸ Penang is an island state with the biggest number of Chinese population.

political affair' of the ruling government. Football in this case also demonstrated the best example of the transition from voluntary sport activity during the British colonial period to a political affair after Independence.

Malay domination also spread over the OCM, the autonomous sport controlling body. The fully bureaucratic NSC must, above all, work together with the OCM. As an affiliate of the Asian Olympic Council, the OCM was autonomous within the context of Malaysian administrative relationships and thus was potentially difficult to integrate into the sport policy apparatus. In reality, however, the individuals involved in these agencies were well known to one another and belong, in many cases, to the same old boys' network. For example the current President of the OCM was an ex-minister of sport, while his deputy was the ex-minister of education. Both men were cabinet ministers in the sixties and seventies. In general, the OCM had a fair mixture of ethnic representation since the members were selected by various sport associations and not by the minister of sport.

This entire scene of government control over sport associations portrayed a situation where a professional bureaucratic body was taking control over amateur volunteer bodies. There seemed to be a conundrum in defining the term 'professionalism' in this matter. The reason was, while the associations felt that they could not perform up to the required standards due to their voluntary (amateur) status, the government insisted on 'professionalism' in terms of job

responsibilities, regardless of whether there were financial reward or not. In spite of this, the government-sport associations relationship persisted because both parties realised that they needed each other to continue functioning. The government's objectives to ensure national unity and pride through sport made the sport associations' existence essential, while on the other hand, government funding was crucial for the survival of the associations.

Another significant government body that handled sport was the Malaysian Schools Sports Council (MSSC) under the Ministry of Education (MOE). Under the new structure of the MOE, a sport division was formed on October 1 1995. The division planned and organised the co-curriculum activities and also promoted the 'Sports for All' and 'Sports for Excellence' concepts. It served as the secretariat for the MSSC, which was the only council that managed sporting activities for all schools in Malaysia. The MSSC mainly oversaw all sport development programmes and sporting activities in schools at district, state, national and international levels. The MSSC fostered a close relationship with the NSC and developed the 'Centre of Excellence' programme in 1989. The programme was to train students below 15 years of age in various sports. At this organisational juncture, less political intervention (by politicians) seemed to exist due to the narrow scope and level of MSSC's jurisdiction, which only focused on the schools.

There were other government agencies that conducted their own sport affairs, on a smaller scale. These agencies were merely organisers for their annually sport competitions. Lack of seriousness, both from the organisers and the participants, affected their competitions to be only at recreational standard and thus did not contribute much to discovering new sport talent for the country. However, they had their own parent organisation, the Malaysian Government Services Welfare and Recreation Council, to look after their activities.

4.5.1.2 Government Policies

Besides its sport organising bodies, the government also used its policies to control sport in the country. In July 1988, the National Sports Policy (NSP) was promulgated. The promulgation symbolised the full recognition of the importance of sport in nation building. The government had eventually recognised sport as an integral part of the overall nation's development efforts and, therefore, directed the policy to the entire population. The policy stated that:

“Sport deserves the same recognition, respect and encouragement as accorded to other basic social programmes such as education, transport, housing and health services so as to enable the government to achieve national development, unity and continued stability”.

(National Sports Policy, 1988, p.5).

The NSP was designed to promote the development of sport and its standards in Malaysia in a systematic and concerted manner. According to the policy, “The National Sports Policy is a sport policy for all” (National Sports Policy, 1988, p.5). It encompasses both high performance sport and mass sport. The policy justified the importance of sport to promote healthy competition, goodwill, tolerance, understanding and the development of physical and moral qualities, providing a conducive platform for integrating the various ethnic groups into a united nation, as well as for enhancing national prestige.

The main objectives of the NSP were: to develop a healthy, disciplined and united society; to provide opportunities and facilities for the fulfilment of basic social, psychological and physiological needs of individual; to develop and improve the practice of sport for the enjoyment of leisure among the public; and to achieve excellence at the highest level, nationally and internationally.

The policy covered the whole spectrum of activities on a continuum ranging from play to competitive sport at national and international levels. The policy briefly established strategies and plan of actions geared for the purpose of improving achievement in competitive sport as well as providing scope for participation in physical activities for the masses. While the NSC concentrates on looking after high performance sport, the MYS as a whole was concerned with promoting and developing ‘Sport for All’. There were twenty-five activities under the ‘Sports for All’ programmes, which included carnivals, leagues,

seminars, and fitness tests. The main ones were: Sports for All Carnival, Sports Leagues for All, Friends of Sports and Friends of Recreation (The Ministry of Youth and Sports).

The policy also gave specific recognition to sport in schools for the potential it had in inculcating positive attitude towards sport effectively to Malaysian at a younger age. The NSP specifically stated the role of the MOE that was to provide: proper teaching of physical education to all pupils, quality physical education teacher training programme to the highest level, and any means of aid necessary to promote high performance sport in school (The National Sports Policy, 1988, p.17).

With specific regards to high performance sport, the policy gave full attention for the purpose of planning, co-ordinating, training of professional and qualified personnel, providing incentives, funding and providing proper facilities. A National Sports Institute was set up to undertake research on sport sciences relevant to the country and to train sport personnel - coaches, referees, administrators, and to serve as a sport resource centre. A National Sports Foundation to finance sport activities was also established (Information Malaysia 1997 Yearbook, pp.151-172).

Under the 'strategy and implementation' section of the NSP, both mass and high performance sports were to be developed simultaneously. Mass sport and

high performance sport complement each other as a continuum. The implementation of the strategy involves the participation of the public voluntary and commercial sectors working in unison for the benefit of sportspersons and members of the community. For this, the MYS, the OCM, the NSC, the MOE and such bodies as the MSSC and the Malaysian Government Services Welfare and Recreation Council would play their roles.

In terms of infrastructure, a 20-year-blueprint in respect of sport facilities based on the strategy to have both high performance sport and mass sport for all strata in the community, including the disabled, were drawn up by the MYS. The MYS was also responsible in coordinating planning and distribution of major sport facilities. At state level, the respective state governments were responsible for planning sport facilities at state and district levels. The rationale on the need for planning of facilities at state level was to achieve a more balanced distribution of such facilities in both urban and rural areas. In relation, the provision of sport facilities should be considered as an integral part of housing schemes. In addition, the voluntary and commercial sectors were expected to complement the efforts of the government in the provision of sport facilities. Privatisation of sport facilities was also encouraged.

Although the NSP seemed certain of its perspective, the birth of the NSP itself was full of drama. The whole episode before the existence of the NSP was rather intriguing and lengthy. Strangely enough that it needed some unfortunate

incidents to happen, followed by intense debate by politicians, and the long period of waiting before the NSP was finally formulated. The whole sequence of events happened without any clear explanation. To begin with, the derivation of the NSP saw criticism and cynicism among UMNO members (also cabinet ministers) that were involved in this matter.

The first mentioned of the NSP was brought up in 1976 by the Amateur Athletics Association president, Ghazalie Shafie – also the Home Affairs Minister, after Malaysia's poor performance at the SEAP Games¹⁹ in December 1975 in Bangkok. He blamed the MYS for the pathetic outcome of the Games and accused the MYS for lack of a 'workable national sport policy'²⁰. His criticism was echoed by the president of the Badminton Association of Malaysia, Khir Johari –ex-Education Minister - who complained that the sport ministry should do more than just give out money and tell the recipient how to use it²¹. The retaliation by the Sport Minister, Ali Haji Ahmad, was drastic by labelling Khir as being a bit behind time²² and regretted that his ministry was being made the scapegoat for the dismal showing at the SEAP Games. He then suggested an amendment to the National Sports Council Act 1971 to give the MYS greater

¹⁹ The SEAP (Southeast Asia Peninsula) Games was the original name for the SEA (Southeast Asia Games). The name changed from SEAP to SEA after Indonesia and the Philippines joined into the pact in 1977. The Games has expanded beyond the Southeast Asia countries and the Peninsula Malaysia since then.

²⁰ "We Need A National Sports Policy – Ghaz", New Sunday Times, 25 January 1976; "Govt Urged to Spell Out a Policy For Sport in the Country, Sunday Mail, 25 January 1976.

²¹ "Ministry Under Fire By Khir Too", New Straits Times, 27 January 1976.

²² "Khir is Out of Date, Says Ali", New Straits Times, 28 January 1976.

control over sport bodies²³. As a result, in August 1979, Act A460 or the National Sports Council (Amendment) Act 1979 was publicised.

However, the amended Act, did not address anything related to the demand to have a 'workable national sport policy', which was the original issue. On the contrary, the amendment saw additional power invested onto the MYS for more control over all sport bodies nation-wide, which in a subtle manner, or rather cynically, brushing off any criticism. Other than that, basically, the amendment clarified the power of the Minister as Chairman to: appoint members of the NSC and make modification to the provisions of the Act if necessary. While, the rest of the Act include petty issues such as proper etiquette in giving and accepting gift and donations, and defining the time of the year to audit the accounts of the Board (National Sports Council of Malaysia (Amendment) Act 1979).

The fact that the introduction of the NSP in 1988, after seventeen years of the founding of the NSC, and after twelve years since it was first mentioned might raise several questions concerning the seriousness of the government to develop sport. It could be suggested that the establishment of the NSC, then, besides the objective towards unity, was only to form certain control over certain ethnic groups through sport activities - or specifically, Malay control over Chinese activities. If this was the case, the whole issue of government control over sport associations for the betterment of sport was a masquerade to the general public. This could be supported by the fact that mass sport for Malaysian citizens was

²³ "Ministry to Seek Greater Control Over Sports Bodies", Malay Mail, 28 January 1976.

announced and backed with concrete strategies only through the 1988 NSP. The lack of commitment from the government, earlier, might be because there were other important issues that needed attention in the country (or, the urgency to have a NSP was blown out of proportion by the politicians involved, in the first place).

Unfortunately, after only six years of its implementation, there was a call to review the NSP for it was “vague, ambiguous and lack clarity” (de Vries, 1994). The NSP was suggested to be more definite and precise with established goals and strategies for an effective implementation (“Call to Make the NSP More Precise”, *New Straits Times*, 21 January 1994). In accordance, Sheikh Kamaruddin, another prominent physical educator, proposed that the new Sports Development Act suggested by the MYS, as supplement to the NSP, must firstly, be consistent with the foundations of the country sport system as reflected in the NSP; secondly, recognise the important role of volunteers; and thirdly, refer to sport as “a cultural mode of expression, similar to art, music, poetry and literature” (Sheikh Kamaruddin, 1997).

Although there were targeted objectives and specific strategies set by the government, the flaw of the NSP was that there were no measures to ensure that personnel involved would carry out their responsibilities. To overcome the weakness of the NSP, the Sports Development Act 1997 was introduced, which included specific penalties on the guilty parties. For instance, under Section 10 of the Act, it stated that the Minister “may appoint a Commissioner of Sports and so

many Regional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners of Sports and other officers and servants as the Minister thinks necessary for the proper administration of this Act”. This section proved that, by having the MYS representatives at every level of the country's sport hierarchical structure, it had full control over sport in Malaysia. There was a clear top to bottom ‘chain of command’ and usage of power. Furthermore, the Act was basically a guideline of responsibilities and the accountabilities enforced upon parties involved in sport development. The Act was clearly detailed even to the specific fine incurred on office bearer found guilty of an offence. For example Section 12 (2) states:

“Failure to comply with the direction of the Commissioner; or discloses any information which was known to be false; or produces a report or document which was known to be false, would be fine not exceeding five thousand ringgit or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both”.

(Sports Development Act 1997).

On the other hand, the Act also clearly underlined the immunity of the upper hand against legal proceedings as stated under section 40. Although the definitions of the rules were specific, Section 43 (1) gave great power to the Minister in the prevention of anomalies, where the Act stated that:

“The Minister may, by order, make such modifications in the provisions of this Act as may appear to him to be necessary or expedient for the purpose of removing any difficulty occasioned by the coming into force of this Act”.

(Sports Development Act 1997).

Section 43 (2) adds:

“In this section, ‘modification’ includes amendments, additions, deletions, substitutions, adaptations, variations, alterations and non-application of any provision of this Act”.

(Sports Development Act 1997).

In short, the Minister had such a great power to improvise or even revamp the Act immediately at his discretion when the need arises.

4.5.2 Ethnic Participation and Government Involvement

Stephen Douglas had made an assessment of sport participation in Malaysian society based on his direct observation over an extended period of time. He found out that Malaysians “were curious and were always ready to try any sport if the facilities were available and that Malaysians pursued most games and sports known to humanity” (Douglas, 1989, p.174). However, he also realised that it was difficult to measure precisely the levels of direct participation by Malaysians due to the lack of reliable survey information in this area.

Nonetheless, better record was kept in terms of the country's participation at international level. Throughout the years since 1957, Malaysia had shown an active involvement in sport at this level both as participants and organisers. For example, since the formation of the biannual SEA Games (Southeast Asia Games) in 1959, Malaysia had always sent a full team to the competition and had hosted the Games four times (Record Book of The 19th SEA GAMES, Jakarta 1997). At an even higher level, the Asian Games and the Olympic Games, the country regularly sent qualified athletes and teams (apart from the boycott of the Moscow Games in 1980) to compete, but the number was lesser. Performance at the SEA Games and Asian Games had been moderate, but very unfortunate at the Olympic Games for Malaysia never won a medal. Malaysia was also a regular participant in various other sport competitions that were held all over the world. In terms of ethnic representation in the national teams to these Games, the Chinese always made up the biggest number of athletes.

The government seemed to treat the ethnic groups more fairly when dealing with sport, especially at the higher level. This made sport an exceptional case from other socio-economic development programmes where the non-Malays were mostly left to their own initiative for advancement. Government aid was distributed equally to all athletes and sport associations involved in the development of sport in the country, provided they sent formal requests. Access to government aids such as training allowances, obtaining foreign coaches for

national team, financing international competitions and even sending coaches overseas for training were granted to all regardless of their ethnicity. The reason for this, one could only assume, was that since the Chinese already had control over most sport associations, the only way the government could have some 'say' was through its financial contribution. On the other hand, the associations did not refuse the contribution because the advantage was on them for they became financially more stable and had nothing to lose.

The Malays' involvement in modern sport had been very little before the NEP implementation, 1970 - 1990. Throughout history, the Malays' involvement had been confined to only traditional sports, *sepak takraw* and *silat* because most of them were rural-based and away from western sport influence. Nevertheless, participation at higher administrative level in sport by Malay aristocrats and politicians was significant due to their exposure to English education and culture. This batch of Malays assumed top-post in sport governing bodies either by appointment or 'invitation' from political cronies or groups that needed their patronage. The number, however, declined at the lower administration and competitive level where they clearly trailed behind the Chinese.

The situation seemed to improve gradually during the NEP era; the impact from the NEP saw the increase of Malay middle-class with significant number made up of overseas graduates. These graduates picked up sports that were alien to them, such as basketball and tennis, before leaving for their studies, and thus

widen the scope of Malay participation in sport (Douglas, 1989). But even so, these western graduates did not contribute much in spreading these sports to other Malays in the rural areas. Since most of them were concentrated for employment in the urban areas after returning home, it was obvious that the 'newer' sports that they picked up were not to be played elsewhere outside their urban surrounding. Furthermore, most of these new breeds were far from being highly competitive athletes themselves or genuine sport enthusiasts. The logical reasons for this occurrence was that; firstly, most of them picked up these sports quite late in their life and secondly, most of them did not have strong background in physical education and sport before they left for overseas studies to begin with. The fact was, sport and education in Malaysia did not 'blend' like it used to during the colonial time. Sport, then, among other reasons, was used by the British to control its pupils. On the contrary, sport especially during the NEP era lost its importance in schools because the various ethnics were busy competing for better socio-economic status through education alone. Enthusiasm in sport, by many, also diminished slowly and paralleled to the fading influence of the 'British culture' in the country after Independence.

The government realised that it was crucial to have more Malays representing the country. It would be embarrassing to have a Malay-majority nation who controls its government to be over represented by 'Malaysian-Chinese' citizens who were smaller in population and with lesser political power. The government also knew that overrepresentation by the Chinese would give a wrong impression

of Malaysia's identity of its ethnic composition (or even 'ethnic dominance') to the international community and might hurt the pride of the Malays. In avoiding so, the government had to put extra effort to balance-up ethnic representation by deliberately increasing Malay representation. This issue might not be of much importance during the time when Malay political hegemony was not yet in existence and when many more Malays were confined to the rural areas, but situation had changed and therefore the pride of the Malays must be raised, including through sport.

Under the influence of government programmes, there appeared to be two forces that helped to increase Malay participation in sport. The two suggested forces were: firstly, the 'indirect force', that was the impact from the NEP programme which saw an improvement in the Malays' educational and economic status that correlates with wider Malay participation at the lower and recreational level. Secondly, the 'direct force', was the deliberate effort made by the government to increase Malay representation at international sport competition through its strategies. To assist the discussion on the government's attempt to increase Malay representation at international level, the table below (Table 4.2), derived from the Record Book of the 19th SEA GAMES Jakarta 1997, was constructed and analysed.

Ethnic Participation in the SEA GAMES, Jakarta 1997

| Ethnic & Gender Sports | | Mm | Mf | Cm | Cf | Im | If | Total M | Total C | Total I | |
|---------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|---------|----|----|----|----|------------|------------|------------|---|
| | | 1 | Archery | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | 5 | 3 |
| 2 | Athletics | 9 | | 4 | 3 | 11 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 18 | |
| 3 | Badminton | 1 | 1 | 7 | 6 | | | 2 | 13 | | |
| 4 | Basketball | | | 14 | 14 | | | | 28 | | |
| 5 | Body Building | 2 | | 2 | | | | 2 | 2 | | |
| 6 | T. Boat Race* | 24 | | | | | | 24 | | | |
| 7 | Bowling | 2 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 1 | | 3 | 12 | 1 | |
| 8 | Boxing | 5 | | | | 1 | | 5 | | 1 | |
| 9 | Cycling | 11 | 2 | 4 | | 1 | | 13 | 4 | 1 | |
| 10 | Fencing | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | 5 | | |
| 11 | Football | 15 | | 1 | | 2 | | 15 | 1 | 2 | |
| 12 | Golf | 3 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | |
| 13 | Gymnastics | 3 | | 3 | 6 | | 1 | 3 | 9 | 1 | |
| 14 | Hockey-Men | 6 | | 1 | | 9 | | 6 | 1 | 9 | |
| 15 | Hockey-Wmn. | | 12 | | 3 | | 3 | 12 | 3 | 3 | |
| 16 | Judo | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | |
| 17 | Karate-Do | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 13 | |
| 18 | Rowing | 9 | 2 | 1 | | | | 9 | 2 | 1 | |
| 19 | Rugby | not contested in Jakarta SEA Games | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Spk Takraw | 14 | | | | | | 14 | | | |
| 21 | Shooting | 9 | 7 | 9 | 1 | | | 16 | 10 | | |
| 22 | Silat | 17 | 7 | | | | | 24 | | | |
| 23 | Snooker | | | 9 | | 1 | | | 9 | 1 | |
| 24 | Softball | 3 | | 12 | | | | 3 | 12 | | |
| 25 | Squash | | | 4 | 3 | | | | 7 | | |
| 26 | Swimming | | | 6 | 5 | | | | 11 | | |
| 27 | Table Tennis | | | 4 | 4 | | | | 8 | | |
| 28 | Taekwondo | | 1 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 2 | |
| 29 | Tennis | | | 1 | 3 | 3 | | | 4 | 3 | |
| 30 | Volleyball | 2 | | 9 | | | | 2 | 9 | | |
| 31 | Water Ski | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | |
| 32 | Weightlifting | 5 | | 1 | | | | 5 | 1 | | |
| 33 | Wushu | | | 9 | 4 | | | | 13 | | |
| 34 | Yachting | 10 | 1 | 3 | 5 | | | 11 | 8 | | |
| Grand Total | | | | | | | | 199 | 202 | 59 | |

KEY: Mm=Malay male, Mf=Malay female, Cm=Chinese male, Cf=Chinese female, Im=Indian male, If= Indian female,

M=Malay, C=Chinese, I=Indian.

*T. Boat Race = Traditional Boat Race

(Source: Record Book of the 19th SEA GAMES Jakarta 1997)

Table 4.2

Under the 'direct force', there were three main strategies that enhanced Malay representation at this particular competition or others of its sort. The first strategy was through the introduction of certain sports and the supply of its equipment to selected schools and universities. Due to the unavailability of certain equipments in the sport market, like fencing and archery, it made these sports exclusive only to the chosen establishments that received them. For example, The Royal Military College, where almost a hundred per cent of its students and staff were Malays, had the best fencing facilities in the country from government supply (see Appendix D2). Another instance was archery; although the sport was introduced to certain schools regardless of the schools' ethnic composition that resulted in wider participation from all socio-economic background, it is evident that preference was still on those schools with Malay students being the majority. The evidence was, even though the Malays never had a history in this sport they however managed to take away Chinese domination from this sport quite abruptly (see Appendix D7). The government also supplied these 'restricted equipments' to its universities that were known catering for Malay students more than others.

The second strategy was, through upgrading the traditional sports like *silat* and *sepak takraw* into modern competitive sport and increasing the number of competition categories. The traditional Malay self-defence, the *silat*, for instance was developed into *silat olahraga* in the seventies where its normal exaggerated flowery moves were changed to a more combative approach to match international requirement and therefore being accepted.

The third strategy was assigning the formation of certain sport teams to government agencies where the Malay majority preoccupied and therefore restricted participation from other ethnic groups. Sports in this category were traditional boat racing and shooting. Representation in the traditional boat race was entirely from the police force and was never opened to the public (there was no association for the sport, in the first place, and was never publicised). In shooting, while businessmen occupied non-Malays' participation, Malay participation was mostly from the armed forces²⁴ (Record Book of the 19th SEA GAMES Jakarta 1997).

Interesting to note that, except for *sepak takraw*, all other sports mentioned above were not part of the physical education syllabus in schools (Education Syllabus Ministry of Education 1990: Physical Education). This being the fact, it is suggested that the government make an attempt to increase Malay representation at higher level through a 'short-cut' and thus avoiding wider student participation that might include other races.

As a result of these efforts, there was about equal number of representations from the Malays and the Chinese at the Jakarta SEA GAMES. In reality, however, the 'overrepresentation' of Malay athletes, especially in the traditional boat race, *silat* and *sepak takraw* contributed much to this camouflaging.

²⁴ Firearm is illegal in Malaysia and conviction will result in the death penalty. Obtaining firearm license is very difficult and only granted to the privilege-few and exclusive shooting clubs.

Nevertheless, this would at least give a better picture to the outside world of Malaysia's ethnic composition during competing teams march-pass ceremony, for example. Needless to say that in proportion to the country's population and as the majority race, the Malays were still trailing behind the Chinese.

Socio-economic and historical consequence on ethnic sport selection could also be traced from the table. In general the Chinese sports were mainly indoor club²⁵ sports of urban origin, while, the Malays were mainly dominant in traditional sports that were obviously originated from rural settings without any influence of a club format. The Indians, meanwhile, had bigger representation in three sports: athletics, men's hockey and karate do. They appeared to be concentrated on sports that were generally cheaper to participate in. These sports were suitable for them who mostly came from the lower income group. Other than that, there was also the element of tradition that later became stereotyped, for example men's hockey, where it was once played by the Indian soldiers employed by the East India Company and became a favourite sport for modern Malaysian-Indians to follow. Furthermore, since their participation were concentrated in these sports but sporadic in others, it could be suggested that the Indians, being the minority group, had the tendency to narrow down their participation to sports where they had already established their mark.

²⁵ 'Club' in this particular context refers to the type that has ethical code for members, the requirement to pay membership fee annually or monthly and has a designated building.

4.6 Conclusion

Besides leaving behind tremendous development that benefited Malaya as an independent nation, the most significant legacy left by the British is the formation of a multiracial country. This 'inheritance' later remains a constant challenge to the nation's survival. After independence, racial-relation issue in Malaya that has almost as many immigrants (the total population of Chinese plus Indians) as the native Malays was very hazardous, complicated, sensitive and critical. There was no more strong power (British administration) to safeguard the peace among the ethnic groups.

The years between 1957 to the end of the twentieth century saw two significant time periods (1957-1969 and 1970-2000). These periods witnessed drastic political changes in the country. The first period started after a smooth transition of power from British administration to the Malaysians. The period went through quite a relaxed form of administration by the independent government that did not give much emphasis on the inequalities among the people. The Alliance government, which consisted of multiracial parties, UMNO-MCA-MIC, at that time, was more concerned to please each other that caused the failure in correcting the racial inequalities. Dissatisfaction towards the government, lack of racial integration and inequalities among the ethnic groups drove to the racial riot of 1969. As a result of the riot and since then, racial harmony and unity, besides the sharing of economic growth and the 'restructuring' of Malaysian society,

became the national agenda. These were the main objectives spelled out in the NEP.

The implementation of the NEP in 1970 gave more power to the Malay-dominated government to determine the country's future. The elevation of Malay political power through UMNO witnessed some improvement of the Malays in areas such as education, employment and other welfare. Simultaneously, the period also saw the increase of Malay educated middle-class and urbanite. With political hegemony acquired, the Malays were using it to its full potential to improve their welfare by manipulating the NEP. Political elements were discovered to be the main features blended in all areas: economy, education, sport and even religion. Nevertheless, in relation to the business sector, the benefit of the NEP was not reaped by the Malays alone. The Malays needed the Chinese for their valuable experience in business, while on the other hand the Chinese needed the Malays for easy access to government subsidies and contracts, making the Malay-Chinese business partnership possible.

The importance of interracial co-operation was already realised by the ethnic groups some few years before independence, but became more important after the 1969 riot. Following the incident, serious propaganda on the need for the people to be united had begun through education, media, and through other possible channels. This was carried out continuously till the present. Sport had become a tool needed for national unity. The importance of uniting the people through

sport was proven with the establishment of the NSC, where, among other main objectives, sport was declared to be the tool for promoting unity among Malaysians.

The combination of the elements of being urbanised, modernised, and being exposed to western education and culture proved to be the main factors for the Malaysian people to be moving towards accepting the culture of sport. The initial period of 1970, with the implementation of the NEP marked the beginning of the Malays towards these elements, which was already acquired by the Chinese since British rule. With regards to practicing the 'physical culture', the Chinese had already carried it with them before even immigrating to the Malay Peninsula. Even so, practicing sport in a new form - modern sport - was still clearly influenced by the elements mentioned above. It seems that a particular group would practice modern sport more actively if the group were exposed to these elements sooner. As a result of the implementation of the NEP, there was an increase in the number of Malay participation in sport at recreational level. Nevertheless, the representation of Malay athletes in bigger numbers and in many more sports at international competition was poor. Only with the help of government strategies did Malay participation increase; but in some selected sports.

The issue of Malay pride in sport was brought into highlight especially during the second period in discussion. The 'indirect force' of sponsoring thousands of

Malay students overseas saw them returning home picking up sports like tennis, bowling and even basketball as their hobbies. The need to use political influence to increase Malay participation in the economic sector was also found essential in increasing Malay participation in sport. Having Malay politicians and government leaders at top management in the sport associations, and persistently a Malay sport minister, proved to be an effective strategy to increase control and participation of the Malays in sport.

The notion of using sport for national unity and to upgrade the pride of the Malays, plus seeking popularity among Malay leaders, drove sport to be highly politicised. Sport became a competition arena for Malay politicians to strengthen their power and at the same time ridicule the opponents. For instance, the urge to have a national sport policy to upgrade the standard of sport internationally started out of frustration towards the Malaysian national team's performance in the 1975 SEAP Games in Bangkok. The suggestion turned out to be a war of words among Malay ministers. Although the issue was to have a 'workable' policy for the advancement of the country's sport, the eventual result was the amendment of an act – The National Sports Council of Malaysia (Amendment) Act 1979 - that gave more power to the sport minister in running sport affairs in the country. The original issue to have a national sport policy vanished into thin air and had to wait for another nine years.

It seemed that power dominance caused policy formulation and amendment ever increasing. This contributed to the existing trend of implementing new (or amending) policy or act when the previous one failed to deliver as what happened in the introduction of the Sports Development Act 1997. The consequence was more bureaucratic power came into effect to ensure enforcement. On a wider scope, the continuous enactment of legislation raised the doubt concerning the effectiveness of the original planning and the seriousness to develop sport in Malaysia by the parties concerned. It gave the impression that the country was uncertain of its perspective in the future of its sport even though it was spelled out to be otherwise in the NSP.

One might wonder why there was an absence of any significant retaliation from the Chinese - being the 'largest minority' - towards government intervention on issues regarding the economic sector or sport. The reason for this could possibly be because it was more often than not, that going against the government by any Chinese organisation or group could be interpreted as a racial issue, especially when the Chinese from the opposing party was trying to voice out their right and dissatisfaction. Through the years, Malay politicians would always remind the Chinese of the 1969 riot as a means to silence them. The Malays were able to suppress the Chinese because besides political power, the judiciary and the armed forces were almost entirely a Malay institution. In addition, there were nine Malay Sultans from different states in the country that gave extra political strength to the Malays. The Chinese were put further into the 'disadvantage'

because the majority of them lived in towns and cities where their business establishments were situated. This made them more vulnerable for any possible ethnic clashes. On the other hand, it was more beneficial for the Chinese to have a good relationship with the Malays because the Malays, after all, represented the biggest portion of their (the Chinese) business customers. Nevertheless, in relation to sport, there was no point retaliating because any Chinese dominated associations would welcome government funds.

CHAPTER 5 CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING SPORT

5.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to identify the effect from the constant changes of the socio-political scenario on sport development at grass-root level. Previous chapters have identified and discussed the relationships of politics, economy and social factors, which were strongly orchestrated by the British colonial administration, and their effects on the current Malaysian sport scene. While chapter 4 discussed the socio-political changes after independence, with emphasis given to the post-1969 period that saw significant government intervention in economy and sport, this chapter investigates the actual running of sport at all levels of the developmental hierarchy as a result of those changes. The problems identified are analysed to see if they have connections or were the effects of the British colonial legacy.

Informations were gathered through interviews. The respondents were from the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MYS), the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM), the sport associations, the schools, and the ‘selected individuals’ (prominent individuals in Malaysian sport). Under the ‘selected individuals’ category, the personnel selected were: a sport historian, two physical education lecturers, a coach/ex-athlete, an ex-Olympian, a foreign sport expert, and two sport journalists. These interviews represented the primary and

current data of the thesis that would assist further understanding of sport in Malaysia.

Perspectives from the establishments and individuals concerning sport in Malaysia were recorded as data for discussion. Although an interviewee might belong to a particular establishment (or play more than one role, for instance, ex-athletes turned coach) his or her view on the affairs of other agencies was also recorded as long as it was related to issues under investigation. In addition, opinions from all the interviewees, especially from the 'selected individuals category', were analysed to provide the overall picture of sport in Malaysia.

5.2 Findings and Discussion

At the top of the organisational and administrative hierarchy, Malaysia's image projection as a country that is serious in developing its sport is impressive. In comparison to other developed countries with established sport programmes like Great Britain and Germany, she has most of the necessary ingredients as a country that has adopted sport as its culture. Her sport administrative and physical infrastructure, the MYS and its branch the National Sports Council (NSC), the National Sports Institute, the National Sports School, universities granting physical education and sport degrees, its schools with well-documented physical education syllabus and sport programmes, its forty-three associations that govern various sports, incentive programmes, sport facilities of international standard,

foreign coaches for almost all of its sport programmes and so forth, are all in place.

However, in developing its sport per se especially at grass-root level, Malaysia, somehow, cannot claim to have a system yet. Responsible parties such as the MYS, the MOE, the sport associations and the schools do not actually work together as a system (see Appendix E4). Despite the problems that each organisation faces, they seemed to be complacent with their existence and saw no serious pressure imposed on them to develop sport seriously. To prove these allegations and to understand its occurrence, it is appropriate to look at these agencies and analyse their problems individually.

5.2.1 Lack of Co-operation and Confusion Between the MYS and the MOE

The lack of co-operation between the MYS and the MOE is one of the most important factors in the failure to implement sport interest at the grass-root level. Ideally sporting interest should be inculcated in the people at a younger age in order to produce a genuine sport-loving nation. This could be done effectively only through the education system. Furthermore for the inculcation to materialise, co-operation between the two ministries is badly needed. Unfortunately, the idealism and the co-operation have never been practiced.

Although the overall function of the MYS is to create a nation with sport and recreation loving people, and the objective of its subsidiary, the NSC is to

produce elite athletes; the attainment of these two goals could not be achieved by the MYS alone. The MYS should work with the MOE to fulfil this objective by educating the people through the schools. However, instead of sharing the task and deliberately educating the people to love sport, the MYS and the MOE has narrowed down their responsibilities too soon by establishing their subsidiary agencies, the NSC and the MSSC²⁶ (Malaysian Schools Sports Council), respectively. This sudden delegation of responsibilities somehow excludes the main body from performing the task of educating the school pupils towards sport. As a result, the intention to inculcate the mass students towards loving sport has been neglected because the objective of these two subsidiary agencies has focussed more towards searching for athletes for national and international competitions and not on the teaching of sport. More importantly, these subsidiaries have become the target for public criticism for any poor performance due to their direct link to sport activity at national and school levels. Thus, the ministries would escape the public outcry.

Another sign of lack of co-operation is the absence of allocation of funds from the MYS to the schools. To make matter worse, MOE funding for sport development purposes in the schools was found to be insufficient.

The MYS's involvement is clearly evident at the top level of the administrative hierarchy with its established policies, acts, incentive programmes, the building of

²⁶ The function of the MSSC is to organise sport competitions at district and state levels to search for potential athletes.

infrastructures and so forth. But its commitment somehow has begun to fade down the line. Its support could still be traced down to the level of its co-operation with the sport associations, where continuous aids such as granting of funds and hiring of foreign coaches has been much practised. But beyond (downwards) that, the MYS's commitment towards the schools is hardly noticeable. There is no programme designed by the MYS for the development of sport in schools.

Since, in general, there is no trace of MYS function and support in the schools, the development of sport in schools solely became the responsibility of the MOE. The MYS would only take over developmental matter beyond school compounds. This demonstrates a vertically upward delegation of responsibilities. While, in an ideal developmental system both ministries should work continuously side by side.

A classic example of lack of co-operation, in fact an evident of confusion between the two ministries and the internal bureaucracy in the MOE could be highlighted in the National Sports School case below:

The National Sports School Case

The National Sports School was established by the MOE in 1996. Its function was to accommodate potential national athletes to assist them in developing both their sporting talent and academic excellence. The establishment of the school

was regarded as a response to a speech made by a very charismatic Minister of the MOE²⁷ who was eager to raise the standard of sport in the country. Since it was the MOE project, it did not receive any form of aid from the MYS. The school, however, was built on the ground of the National Sports Complex (under the NSC control) on the assumption that it could share the facilities. Except for a multipurpose hall²⁸, the school itself did not have any other facilities. Difficulty arose because the school constantly needed to ask for permission, in writing, every time it wanted to use the NSC's facilities. Priority, however, was always given to the NSC's programmes and activities.

MOE's internal bureaucracy itself elevated the problems faced by the school. Since it was a pilot project and, there was no precedent in terms of fund-allocation for hiring coaches in schools (let alone foreign coaches) to train the students. The MOE had also not allocated any fund for this purpose since, there was no clause in the Ministry's constitution permitting payment for employing or hiring private coaches for school purposes. Furthermore, according to the '*dasar*'²⁹ or policy of the MOE, only teachers should handle student matters - including coaching. Therefore to solve the 'coaches' problem, qualified academic-teachers were employed. They must teach certain minimum hours apart from coaching. The

²⁷ The Ministry of Education is regarded as one of the most important ministries in Malaysia by the public. Traditionally, except for the first Prime Minister, all the three subsequent Prime Ministers (including the present one) were once the education ministers. Generally, the public see the education ministry as a 'political training ground' for the future Prime Minister as long as the UMNO party is in power [The UMNO party is in power since independence in 1957].

²⁸ The hall comprises of one volleyball court, 1 basketball court and 2 sepak takraw courts.

²⁹ *Dasar* or policy is a big word in the Malaysian government bureaucracy. The usage of the word will usually undermine or cease further debate on certain issue.

outcome was that the coaching personnel were better trained as teachers than coaches.

The school also faced another dilemma concerning the breed of students attending it; they were neither academically brilliant nor genuine athletes (in most sports). Scouts did the selection for potential candidates during sport competitions throughout the country. Candidates should possess certain standards both in sport and academic to be eligible for selections. The result was, only 'mediocre students' in both disciplines managed to be recruited. There was a mixture of reasons that led to this occurrence. Firstly, most students who were academically brilliant preferred to attend premier boarding schools. Secondly, the true athletes preferred state adopted schools (for certain sports), which were nearer to their home and therefore more economical³⁰. Thirdly, the sport school itself wanted the students to have certain academic abilities as entry requirement to safeguard its reputation. An excellent example of mediocre athletes attending the school were the footballers; since all states have their own football project schools³¹ and that they wanted to retain their players, only those 'unwanted' players were released to the National Sports School.

³⁰ Students have to pay to attend the Sports School.

³¹ Football is the only professional team sport in Malaysia. The Football Association of Malaysia, in comparison to other sport associations, is known to have the best network of establishments. Since the Malaysian football league is based on inter-state competitions, gifted footballers are an asset to every state. Thus, the states will do their best to keep them.

Surprisingly, although badminton had long been a popular sport and that the country gained world reputation through it, the school did not have badminton under its programme for unknown reason.

(Source: The National Sports School interview).

Besides the absence of mutual agreement in developing sport in the sport school between the two ministries, this case also highlights certain other issues pertaining to the attitudes of the government, certain politicians and the society towards sport. Firstly, the National Sports School symbolises the government's willingness to spend and to project a certain image, but there has been a lack of seriousness in the implementation and the management of the scheme. Secondly, the founding of the school demonstrates the peculiar habit of Malaysian politicians of 'beating the gun' that is to make proclamation without checking the logistics in advance. The power invested in the Minister is so great that, quite commonly, the execution of certain plan is fulfilled first, and only later, is followed by any necessary adjustment. To some extent, this case also portrayed the lack of initiative among the officials in the MOE to adapt to unfamiliar demands and was made worse because of the ministry's red tape. For example, suggestions of a policy to enable hiring professional coaches in government schools with MOE funding never materialised because of such attitude among MOE officials.

It would be fair and relevant to suggest that government officials, or more accurately politicians, contributed significantly towards the whole situation that disrupted a proper flow of sport development. For instance, a sudden and uncalculated decision made by politicians coupled with the lack of support from any other parties meant that sport projects often failed. The National Sports School project, for example, seemed to be hanging on its own with no support from anywhere else. The case demonstrated the founding of the school which began on an impulse set by a speech from a flamboyant MOE's minister. The idea to found the school was made without reference to his ministry's logistics or having any mutual understanding with the MYS. The outcome was a school that was not totally a sport school in its true sense. The lack of creativity and commitment among officials in the MOE created further confusions and complications. To some degree, the lack of co-operation between the two ministries could be looked upon as a contest of power between the two ministers or the ministries' officials in trying to project who was more in authority to develop sport – or even other personal agenda. The sport school case showed how a particular politician had used sport to promote his personal image, as well as that of the government more than anything else.

Other projects, such as the Rakan Muda (Young Friends) also proved to be a failure due to the enthusiasm of politician making premature pronouncement. In the Rakan Muda programme, although there were hundreds of thousands of Malaysian youngsters who registered for the programme, lack of personnel and

other logistical problems resulted in the abandonment of the programme in some instances. For instance, in the case of the rock-climbing programme, thousands of teenagers registered for the sport, but later the activity became unmanageable due to the inadequate number of qualified climbing instructors and suitable locations. Rock-climbing was something very new to the country and practiced only by the tiniest minority.

Another problem that existed in the MOE was the high expectation and over reliance on the MSSC to develop sport in the schools. Whereas the MSSC was given only limited funds, it was expected to establish a concrete sport developmental programme. With this restriction, the MSSC only managed to organise sport competitions instead of developing it. The circumstances would only allow the MSSC to merely oversee all sport activities and draft the annual sport competition calendar for schools in the country. However, with the society's preference to support academic endeavour rather than involvement in sport in schools, the founding of the MSSC would suffice in portraying MOE's concern towards sport development in school, although quite superficial. This lack of interest towards sport among parents, and the society as a whole, removed the demand to improve sport on the part of the MOE.

The lack of co-operation between the ministries also occurred at the tertiary level of education. Bureaucracies between the two ministries that hindered sport progress seemed to be left unsolved. For example, although the sport minister did

suggest that athletes should be given leniency to enter universities, the MOE insisted on the same entry requirement for all students. The MOE was adamant that candidates must have good results on the Malaysian Higher School Certificate even though it was generally known (in Malaysia) that most athletes were mediocre in their studies. In addition, and on the receiving end, the universities themselves were sceptical on the ability of these athletes to perform well (academically) if they were given 'preferential' entry. The MYS also did not provide help to the athletes who were intending on pursuing their higher education³². As a result, students with weak sport background but with high examination scores would opt for a degree in sport as a 'safety-net' if entrance to other fields of studies failed. Eventually, students who were not really interested in sport in the first place would end up with a degree in sport.

On a broader scope, this confusion between the two ministries might be caused by several factors. First, although the founding of the NSC in 1972 was to unite the people through sport, a clear perspective of the true ways of developing sport was absent. The perspective during the colonial era was clear; to woo the elite natives to succumb to British rule through their sport culture. Furthermore, separate sport associations then ran sport. Therefore, there were no 'separate' ministries competing for influence and in the process create confusion with respect to the development of sport. Second, the manipulation of power and attention-seeking by particular politicians also created misunderstanding; and

³² On occasions, the NSC did send a very small number of athletes who were both scholarly and athletically superior overseas to further their education.

third, as a young nation that was occupied by continuous interracial struggle, serious involvement in sport including at recreational level was minimal for people who were busy with other more important life activities like education and economy. Lastly, sport in Malaysia was not yet a culture, thus there were no 'checks and balances' on what was actually going on.

The lack of co-operation between the MOE and the MYS might symbolise a 'silent quarrel' between the ministries. This was akin to the confrontation among the ministers and ex-ministers concerning the development of sport in Malaysia, as discussed in Chapter 4. Trying to gain domination and testing of power among those politicians might cause these incidents. Sport, in this context is the subsidiary issue (not the real issue) in the power contest. The reason for such episodes can be traced back to the concentrations of Malay politicians on the top rung of sport administration - the product of British educated ministers who belong to the 'old boys network'. This highest level of administrative altercation, which involved only Malay government ministers, made the situation a totally "Malay affair" for they were the dominant group at that level. The discussion earlier on the management of football in Malaysian also exemplifies this.

It was difficult to determine the true original reason for the government to develop sport. The question was whether the government then was serious in developing sport - by founding the NSC – out of frustration with Malaysia's sport performance at international level or to encourage unity among its citizen. The

fact that even though the MYS was established immediately after independence in 1957 and that the NSC was established only in 1972 raised suspicion with respect to the latter reason. The commitment to improve the country's sport was announced by the government after a poor performance in the 1968 Southeast Asia Peninsula (SEAP) Games in Rangoon and the 1969 Asian Games in Bangkok. The minister of sport pledged to raise the standard of Malaysian sport to a level "at least comparable with the best in Southeast Asia" and that Malaysian sport would be a national effort with a fully scientific approach through the establishment of a national sport council ("Urgent: Total Overhaul in Malaysia's Sports Set-up", *New Straits Times*, 1 January, 1971; "National Sports Council Bill Approved", *New Strait Times*, 20 March 1971). Consequently, the bill sanctioning the establishment of the Council was passed by the *Dewan Rakyat* (House of Commons) on 19th March 1971. Coincidentally, and it was interesting to note that the founding of the NSC in 1972 [but the idea was believed to have been raised much earlier] was also during the (still) heated debates and clear memory of the 1969 riot.

Since it was also a coincident that Malaysia's poor performance in Bangkok occurred in the same year of the inter-ethnic clashes, assumption could be made that the poor performance might have some connections with the sour relationship among the ethnic groups. Therefore assumption could also be made that the founding of the NSC, besides trying to develop sport in the future, was to gain

control over sport (that was dominated by the Chinese) through the NSC's bureaucracy run by the Malay controlled government.

5.2.2 Dilemma and Barriers Faced by the Sport Associations

The main agencies for sport development in the country, in the view of the public were the sport associations. While the NSC was merely the 'provider' for assistance in terms of funds, facilities, coaching staff and other essentials, the sport associations were the ones responsible in identifying and producing national standard athletes.

However, it was found that the associations did not play their roles in developing sport in the country; they were merely sport organisers. Their predictable routine was as follows: organise competitions; select national teams; conduct a month of central training; and finally compete in the Southeast Asia Games, or further if the athletes attained the qualifying standard set by the Olympic Council of Malaysia. The public had always criticised the associations for their lack of enthusiasms and concrete sport development schemes.

In analysing the situation, however, the associations did face some disadvantages in developing their sports. The first disadvantage was the restricted affiliation network of most sport associations in order to spread their sport nationwide. At federal and state level, the organisational structure of the sport

associations was similar to all due to the standard format determined by the Registrar of Society under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Basically, all associations have the following structure: a president, a deputy-president, four vice-presidents, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a treasurer and an assistant treasurer (Constitution of the Malaysian National Cycling Federation, 1966). However, the associations vary in terms of their number of affiliations. Except for the 'older' sports that were played in schools, such as football, badminton, basketball, *sepak takraw*, athletics and hockey, most other sports did not have full affiliations from all the thirteen states in Malaysia. Fencing, for instance had only three states and the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur registered as its affiliates (see Appendix D2). History and socio-economic factors significantly influenced the spreading of the affiliations network. The richer, more industrialised and with significant Chinese population like Selangor, Penang and Kuala Lumpur were members to all types of sports in the country. On the contrary, the most common states that were non-members to several sports were Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang. These were the states with the highest Malay majority and situated on the east coast of the peninsula. Since they are located on the opposite side of the strategic Malacca Straits, they were less involved in international trade and less developed by the British colonial administration, thus quite backward in their sport development too.

Secondly, the funds given by the NSC for the so-called 'developmental' purposes were merely enough for organising state and federal annual competitions

for all sports and not for effective sport development programmes. Except for the Football Association of Malaysia, the only professional sport in the country and also the 'richest' sport association with a substantial following, other associations depended very substantially on the NSC. Extra funds had to be raised through the associations' own initiative. The problems of most of these associations snowballed, for the corporate bodies only favoured the bigger sports with renowned figures as their presidents, for example, The Football Associations of Malaysia and the Malaysian Hockey Federation in which they had a Sultan each as their president (see Appendix E2). It is logical to assume that the corporations who sponsored these two sports would get something in return for their generosity. Furthermore, annual budget proposals demanded by the NSC hindered long-term planning by the associations. The associations often found it impossible to design a long-term programme blueprint based on a yearly funding approval system. In any case, the annual grants were insufficient in most cases.

The whole situation portrayed that although there was a very direct link between the NSC and the sport associations, the level of co-operation between them was very limited as those between the MYS and the MOE discussed earlier. Besides handing down funds to the associations on a yearly basis, the development of sport was left to the associations. Further assistance would be given only when the associations found potential athletes that fulfilled the required norm as national athletes set by the NSC. Aids like training allowance,

sport equipments, sport attire, accommodation and foreign coaches would then be given to the selected athletes.

Thirdly, with the exception of the secretaries who were paid an allowance, volunteer personnel who had their own full-time jobs or businesses generally ran the sport associations. Most of the individuals interviewed in this research admitted that they had restricted time to spend on the development of their sports. Some could not even put aside adequate time for administrative work at the association offices. In addition, it was believed that most (if not all) administrators in the associations did not have any specific qualification in sport administration or even hold a bachelors degree in general. Administration was found to be loose. For instance, all associations interviewed could not give a definite number of their members. While members of the upper echelon in the associations were clearly identified and labelled, the ordinary members did not have formal membership registration. Lack of proper registration caused some problems, for example during Election Day, where nominations were made from the floor on the day itself. On occasion, “phantom members exist to the advantage of certain nominees” (see Appendix D2). Another example of a lackadaisical attitude in administering an association was when the Association of Lawn Tennis of Malaysia did not submit any annual meeting report or other forms of report to the OCM, the MYS and the Registrar of Society offices for five years³³ but was not deregistered or taken to task by the relevant bodies.

³³ The Association of Lawn Tennis Malaysia was then headed as president by the Deputy Prime Minister (later became ex-Deputy Prime Minister).

Fourthly, it was found that there was lack of co-operation among the MYS, the sport associations and the schools in finding new talents. The network among the three parties was also rather awkward. The situation saw one higher bureaucratic body delegating developmental responsibilities to a voluntary body, which in turn was expected to acquire resources from another bureaucratic body. In a clearer sense, the MYS through its NSC, delegated sport development responsibility to the sport associations to discover talents from the schools, which were under MOE jurisdiction. Furthermore, in ethnic terms, it somehow saw a Malay control establishment, delegated responsibilities to Chinese dominated agencies in order to recruit talents from a Malay control establishment! The sport associations being the weakest in terms of administrative power would definitely find themselves difficult to work between the two ministries.

Another problem identified as an obstacle in developing sport was the internal bickering in the sport associations. There were various reasons for these quarrels. Among the reasons were: constant disagreement between affiliates and the central organisation; certain sport associations refusing to work with the NSC (for unknown reason); insufficient and slow-working staff; too many recalcitrant senior staff; cronyism; uncommitted coaches; demanding athletes; athlete preference to compete in less prestigious competition for greater chances of winning; office bearers situated in different states; and grudges between local and foreign coaches. Interestingly, according to the interviews conducted, power

struggles were found to be a minor issue and affected only a few associations. The possibility of power struggles was greater when huge amounts of money were involved; which was rarely the case. Other reasons that drove competition for power were: when candidates claimed they could administer better than others; glamour; travel; and reputation (see Appendix D2; D3; D10). It was difficult to understand why these problems arose. It could only be assumed that among the reasons might be the lack of sporting values and lack of trained personnel who were philosophically sport minded.

Since the associations faced so many obstacles, they found it difficult to expand and develop, or even create fruitful linkage with the schools. Most associations resorted to signing-up potential athletes who came to them or simply looked after the ones they already have. Even when attempts were made there were always some obstacles derived from the schools, if not from the MSSC bureaucracy. For instance, when the Fencing Association of Malaysia wanted to train and organise competitions among the schools, it was not sanctioned by the MSSC. The reason given was, there must be at least six states involved before it could be considered for approval by the MSSC for competition [The Fencing Association only has three states affiliation (see Appendix D2)]. Another case was detected in the Malaysian Cycling Federation where the association could not reach an agreement with the schools as to who should manage and coach the students (see Appendix D8)³⁴. Lack of qualified teachers or the refusal to take

³⁴ The Malaysian Cycling Federation insisted for their personnel to coach, while the schools demanded that their teachers should handle the students.

any risk by school authorities, for example in gymnastics and archery (see Appendix D1; D7), also retarded co-operation and development of certain sports. As a result of these disagreements and pitfalls, new talents were more often discovered through separate and limited competitions organised by the associations or the MSSC. Scouting for talents by the associations from inside the school grounds was rarely evident.

There were suggestions from respondents that there should not be any problem if the associations were left alone to run their own business at their own pace – as occurred during the colonial era. Instead, a dilemma was inflicted on these voluntary bodies. The NSC imposed directives and demands on the voluntary bodies to develop sport became too much for these associations who were themselves not very well established. The associations found it very difficult to expand and develop their sports with various limitations confronting them, such as limited affiliation and personnel, inadequate funding, and insufficient numbers of athletes. At times, they had to deal with red tapes from the MOE when dealing with the schools; such as the policy that insisted on only government school teachers were allowed to handle the student athletes, thus restricted coaching by personnel from the sport associations. All these shortcomings, plus the ‘self-imposed’ internal bickering only retarded sport development. Problems and pressures faced by the sport associations would not have existed if they were given the freedom to set their own targets based on their own capacity, rather than the ones set by the NSC.

Surprisingly, while complications seemed to be everywhere else and inter-ethnic rivalry had become the core issue since the country turned multiracial, the respondents did not regard ethnic segregation as a problem. According to most of the respondents, there was no harm for different ethnic groups to choose sports to their liking based on their surrounding, comfort, and role modelling. The associations concluded that to get a better mixture of ethnic participation in sport was a challenge but not a problem. Since the Chinese were dominant in most sports, the direction for improvement was most likely to be to encourage more non-Chinese to participate in more sports. On the other hand, if the Chinese refused to be involved in certain sports like wrestling and weightlifting, it was explained as a matter of choice, rather than due to segregation or racial discrimination. Nevertheless, inter-ethnic conflict was not entirely absent because there were confessions from certain interviewees that association leaders were often suspiciously elected on the basis of ethnic origin (see Appendix D1; D8). But, this allegation was difficult to prove³⁵. However, the distinct differences and strong rivalry among the ethnic groups in other aspects of life, as discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, could be regarded as relevant evidence that this allegation could be true.

It was generally agreed by the associations interviewed that since multi-ethnic participation was not really a problem, there was no need for specific policy to

³⁵ Confessions concerning inter-ethnic 'disagreement' were easier to get from the Malay respondents because of the interviewer being a Malay. In these particular cases, both respondents were Malays.

integrate the races. The associations agreed that the clause “Memberships are open to all ethnic groups in Malaysia to take part in...” was adequate to encourage interracial participation, and hence ethnic harmony in the long run (Constitution of the Malaysian National Cycling Federation, 1966). Although the associations admitted that they did encourage multi-ethnic participation, somehow, involvement in specific sports would always be from the same ethnic group. For instance, in bodybuilding, when the association organised a competition, the biggest number of contestant would always be the Malays (see Appendix D3). In squash (a highly Chinese-dominant sport), for example, in order to increase Malay participation, the association resorted to sending Malay officers to the Malay states to recruit more Malay players. Malay officers were also assigned to certain development unit of the association (see Appendix D5).

Without hesitation, most sport associations agreed with the notion that sport contributed towards national unity. According to one respondent, even though segregation in sport was considered ‘not healthy’, there was no harm done because the “ethnic groups prefer certain games because of their tradition, art and identity, not because of disunity” (see Appendix D9). It might also be because, in Malaysia, segregation in sport was by choice and to some extent was driven by circumstances in the first place. Furthermore, it is believed that the absence of professional sport³⁶ lessened the intention to segregate other races for material gain. To the people, according to an ethnic Indian Malaysian ex-Olympian it did not matter much about who provides victory for the country because all the

³⁶ Except for football, other sports in Malaysia are still at amateur status.

people would share the pride. Nevertheless, he added, “the ethnic group in which the athlete belongs to would feel extra proud and there would be secondary pride among them” (see Appendix E3).

As mentioned earlier, ethnic segregation was a product of the very distinct cultural background, plus the separation of economic activities among ethnic line introduced and practised during the British colonial rule. In light of this, segregation among the ethnic groups in Malaysia especially in sport is considered harmless. Perhaps, the definition of harmony and peace for Malaysians is different than for other nations in the world. To Malaysians, as long as there is no inter-ethnic confrontation and peace is maintained, segregation is quite acceptable.

It is very surprising that, although ethnicity was the underlying issue in politics, the economy and education that also encroached into sport, the findings gathered through the interviews reveals an absence of the inter-ethnic struggle in terms of sport. Most feedback from the interviewees reflect a positive view on ethnic relation in sport especially those from the Chinese officials and the senior Malay government officials. While it is understood why the Chinese respondents would give a positive remark to a Malay interviewer (the researcher); the senior government officials were expected to do so too because they were mandated and obligated to swear to protect the government’s secret and uphold the government’s policies and strategies (in this case projecting that inter-ethnic

harmony existed) as required by the Official Secrecy Act 1972 during the initial time they take office. The researcher could only suggest that ethnic issues are very much sensitive and 'hazardous' to be revealed especially in a documented research such as this.

Interestingly, while the list of politicians seemed endless at federal level as patrons, their involvement at ground level were hardly noticed. Opinions about their involvement were mixed. On one hand, they were needed for their ability to attract sponsors. On the other hand they were considered a nuisance when they intervened in the administrative affairs of the associations. Politicians were considered the 'necessary evil' by some sport associations and sport critics (see Appendix E2; E8). The politicians autonomous powers in making decisions were often found to be annoying by some. The involvement of the politicians in decision making was welcomed, provided they knew what was going on in the associations and the sports, which was rarely the case. However, in a society with distinct 'power distance' acceptance, it was quite unusual to see any one challenging the upper hand, especially those with dignitary titles preceding their names. According to a study by Hofstede (1983), Malaysia was identified as one of the countries that had the highest power distance. This means that Malaysians in general were willing to accept that inequality in power was considered normal, and that homage should be paid to those who are senior in age and position. The value of respect for elders can be seen in the use of correct honorific and title to acknowledge them (Asma, 1992). Furthermore, according to Hofstede (1991)

“high power distance cultures produce values concerned with respect for people in authority, obedience to authority; and recognition that differences in rewards, privileges, and status are to be expected and respected, and that people in authority know best, and that power should be centralised in the hands of those born and educated to use it.” (in Cooper and Payne, 1992, p.359). Hence, in most organisations in Malaysia, including the sport associations, this hierarchical and authoritarian structure is also practised and implemented, with submission and respect towards authority being stressed as elements of proper behaviour (Asma, 1992).

5.2.3 Failure to Implement Physical Education and Inculcate Sporting

Interest in the Schools

In spite of having better dispersal of its establishment throughout the country and with closer contact with the bulk of young potential athletes, the schools were also facing their own problems. The main one was implementing physical education and sport programmes.

Firstly, limited fund allocated by the MOE for physical education and sport activities made it impossible for serious development. Similar problems arose when the annual funds allocated to schools was hardly enough to organise sport competitions. In fact, some schools had already begun to schedule the supposedly annual athletics meet to be conducted once in every two years and that most schools decided to send selected teams only for away competitions. The girls’

teams were usually the ones to be excluded first. To alleviate this problem, extra expenses for sport activities were collected from the students' annual fees and donations from the Parents Teachers Associations, which were often insufficient.

Another very significant problem in schools was the grossly insufficient number of qualified physical education teachers in almost all government schools. Interestingly however, although all schools interviewed admitted this to be a problem, it was not their major concern because the reputation of the schools were totally based on academic achievement, not sport success. Schools with good winning records in sport but with weak academic showings were not given any proper respect. With this misconception in mind, physical education was allowed to be taught by unqualified teachers from other academic discipline, with the trained ones supervising them.

In most schools in Malaysia, the number of students to be handled by the physical education teachers was always too high for a conducive teaching environment to be possible. It resulted in the delegation of teaching duties of the subject to large numbers of unqualified teachers. The total number of unqualified teachers over the qualified ones was overwhelming in most schools interviewed. For instance, a school in the Selangor state was identified to have a ratio of three qualified physical education teachers to nineteen unqualified teachers (no formal physical education training). Another school in the state of Kelantan has a ratio of 2:22; qualified over the unqualified ones. In the worst case, also in the state

of Kelantan, the ratio was 0:24! This means that nobody was qualified to teach the subject but classes resumed anyway (see Appendix F1, Table F.1). However, in a society that has limited safety awareness, plus ignorance towards physical education, the dependence on unqualified physical education teachers was ignored totally. Furthermore, it was commonly acknowledged among the school community that the physical education lesson was the ‘period for bargaining’; where it would be assigned to those teachers with the least teaching hours in order for everybody’s teaching time to be about equal. The worst case identified was, where a teacher admitted that his school’s physical education periods were only stated on paper, in case it might come under scrutiny by the State Education Department. In reality, physical education classes in that particular school were transformed into math classes!

Some teachers reported that they tried to follow the national physical education syllabus as much as possible, especially concerning the National Physical Fitness Test. The test was conducted on the students because the result had to be submitted to the State Education Department. Strangely, nobody appeared to know what the department did with the results. In an attempt to conduct proper classes, there were various complaints for such shortcomings as lack of interest among the students, lack of facilities, hot and humid weather, and inadequate time³⁷. During the typical physical education lesson, students would ask the teacher to allow them to play football (or netball for the girls) on their own or

³⁷ All schools have two 40 minutes periods of physical education per week. This allocated time is also shared with health education, which is under the same syllabus.

resort to have private study at the school resource centres. During this ‘mishandling’ of physical education classes, some teachers would watch from the side-lines while the students play, or opt for a break in the school canteen or do other school related work. On occasions, other classes for various reasons replaced physical education classes³⁸.

Physical education subject was not taught properly and therefore it was difficult to identify potential athletes. To Malaysians, physical education could never be an important subject like other academic subjects as long as its status is that of a non-examination subject. Some teachers suggested that to promote proper physical education teaching, the subject should be turned into another examination subject at national level. On the other hand, nobody ever considered removing physical education from the school curriculum. The reason for this is because, somehow, it benefited both the principals and teachers in that the physical education periods can be used to make up the required teaching hours; provide some ‘less tensed’ environment for the teachers assigned to teach the subject; and act as a ‘stand-by’ period when needed. In summary, physical education was neither needed nor unwanted.

Similarly, school sport activities that were conducted after formal learning hours also experienced certain problems that hindered proper implementations. In

³⁸ It is very common in schools that physical education period be replaced by other subjects and that the physical education teacher would always oblige. This incident occurs when other academic subject teachers request for it due to his or her own classes being disrupted by: prolonged school assemblies, urgent meetings, or when examinations are near and the syllabuses need to be completed.

relation to activity scheduling, school sport activities were very much restricted to the first half of the yearly calendar. Beyond the month of June (or at latest by August), sporting activities in Malaysian schools were considered to be over, when time for examination preparation start to gather pace³⁹. Even when sport activities were in season, games training was conducted not exceeding a two-week period, generally, which suggests a bias towards getting organised for competition rather than to foster and develop sporting talent. The situation indicates that training and competitions were merely an item on the school calendar that needed to be fulfilled. Except for the annual athletics meet, which was still being practised by most schools and which involved mass participation from the entire school population, other games competitions were only of interest to a minority student groups. It was also quite common that the limited number of active students tend to play more than one sport, thus narrowing down the number of actual students involved in sport, overall. In brief, and in general, sport was far from being the main interest of Malaysian schools.

There were other aspects that might contribute to the occurrence of the above scenario. Some identified were the insufficient number of qualified game teachers to coach; inadequate facilities and equipment; lack of motivation from the students and teachers; and limited co-operation among teaching staff. Besides

³⁹ Malaysian secondary schools face three national examinations that comprise of: the Lower Secondary Evaluation Examination (for form three students –age 15), the Malaysian Certificate of Education Examination (for form five students – age 17), and the Highest School Certificate (for form six students – age 17 +). All these examinations take place starting from September onwards for the form threes, and October and November for the older students. For boarding school pupils, stricter time limit for sport was imposed by school authorities where generally no examination-takers were allowed to play competitive sport after the month of June.

the apparent general indifference to sport among the students, lack of motivation was identified as being the result of students' inclination towards using their afternoon hours for private tuition or doing part-time work. On the part of the teachers, some would resort to taking their afternoon off, after a hectic teaching session, or conducting private tuition to boost their income. Other additional hindrances that decreased students' interest in sport and that were found to be beyond school control were: transportation problems; non-supportive parents (for example when giving permission to their children for away competitions); and presumably cultural attitudes.

The absence of serious sport development attempt in the schools saw sports that put Malaysia on the world map as developed from the outside of the confinement of the schools. Sports such as squash and bowling were not played in schools (obviously for lack of facilities), but were considered sports in which Malaysia was able to compete at world-class level. Even when a more popular sport like badminton was in the physical education and school sport programmes, it did not receive priority from the schools (or ranked as among the popular sports in schools; see Appendix F1, Table F.4). The reasons identified were that the game was considered as expensive; that most schools did not have indoor sport halls; and the game could only accommodate a small number of students in any given time. Nevertheless, badminton together with squash and bowling were played more seriously among the Chinese community outside school compounds. All these sports were initially developed as hobbies by some interested parents and

private clubs⁴⁰. This phenomenon could be related back to the fact that the Chinese considered they could develop their chosen sport independently, a view reinforced by their confidence in their own association. This issue demonstrates that sport development in Malaysia was better developed through personal involvement rather than government intervention. According to an officer in the Olympic Council of Malaysia, “It [sport development] is always done by the private clubs and parents” (see Appendix C3).

The above phenomenon happened because the Chinese’s interest and values in sport were well spread down to the root. The fact that the Chinese have a long history of physical culture even before their arrival to Malaya and with their acceptance of the British education contributed to the circumstances. As compared to the Malays, sporting interest and sporting values were more concentrated on the Malay upper class with English educated background.

It was interesting to discover that some respondents among the male teachers put the blame for the decline of school sport, and sport in the country, on the increasing number of women teachers that now outnumbered the male teachers. In their opinion, female teachers were less supportive of sport development and that it was difficult to get their co-operation. A teacher reported that the number of male teachers in his school was so small that in some instances, lady teachers were assigned to accompany the school *sepak takraw* team and the football team

⁴⁰ Clubs in this context are generally a congregation of people interested in a particular sport. Most of them are not even registered as a formal club.

for distance competitions. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 below demonstrate how female teachers had outnumbered the male teachers in Malaysia in an eight-years time period.

Total number of teachers according to gender and level of school for 1987 and 1995

| Year | School | Men | Women | Total |
|------|-----------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1987 | Primary | 47 997 (46%) | 56 076 (54%) | 104 073 (100%) |
| | Secondary | 32 644 (51%) | 31 128 (49%) | 63 772 (100%) |
| 1995 | Primary | 56 790 (40%) | 83 640 (60%) | 140 430 (100%) |
| | Secondary | 38 279 (43%) | 50 129 (57%) | 88 408 (100%) |

Source: Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1987;1995, The Ministry of Education of Malaysia.

Table 5.1

Total number of men and women teachers in both primary and secondary schools for 1987 and 1995

| Year | Men | Women | Total |
|------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1987 | 80 641 (48%) | 87 204 (52%) | 167 845 (100%) |
| 1995 | 95 069 (42%) | 133 769 (58%) | 228 838 (100%) |

Source: Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1987;1995, The Ministry of Education of Malaysia.

Table 5.2

According to one respondent, it used to be that sportsmen were into teaching. Some examples of Malaysians past national sportsmen in the sixties and seventies who were also teachers were: Ho Kok Chye (field hockey goalkeeper), Zaiton Osman (hepthathlete), V. Angamah (400 meter runner), Marina Chin (sprinter and hurdler), Ghani Minhat (footballer) and many more. However, things have

changed and athletes have adopted other professions that provide better income. Thus, fewer teachers who were active in sport to guide the students were left.

One very significant comment relating to the promotion of sport in schools was identified in those government boarding schools exclusively meant for the Malays, the Maktab Rendah Sains Mara (Mara Junior Science College) learning institutions, where to some degree it fostered the view that academic brilliance could never run parallel with sporting excellence. While they were the schools that have ample sport facilities and personnel, it was noted that these were the same schools which often prevented their students from taking part in inter-school or inter-district competitions, especially when it was nearing examination period, for fear of injury and inadequate time to study. All these schools in the country were more interested in gaining the best examination results. Further evidence to support this negative attitude towards sport in these schools was identified when a full boarding religious school would ban its girls' team from participating if the competition involved the presence of boys (as spectators or competitors).

Failure to implement physical education and sporting programmes in schools and the fading of interest of sporting values can be traced to two factors. Firstly, the two socio-political changes during the period of 1957 to 1969 and 1970 to 1998, especially the latter, gave constant pressure to the ethnic groups to concentrate tremendously on academic achievement, therefore neglecting physical education and sport in school. Secondly, as the years leaving the date of

Independence, the euphoria of sport in schools had also receded as the enthusiasm from those sport enthusiasts in the teaching profession decreased because of old age or they passed away. The sporting values were very much alive when sport activities were seriously practiced under the British teachers and the local British educated teachers. The receding of interest happened quite fast because the attention of the Malaysian people were turned towards the betterment of their life through academic achievement in the seventies. Sport became the 'individual interest' beyond the school compounds, especially among the Chinese who already had a long history of physical culture. Another related fact is that sport was inculcated through the English schools, where, in the first place involved mostly the Malay aristocrats in the town areas and never to the bigger number of vernacular schools and religious schools. Therefore, sporting interest and its values were very much identified and associated then among the more glamorous people of Malaysia.

With regard to the issue of ethnic preference in certain sport, the sign was clearly seen in the schools. It became a certainty that wherever Malay boys were dominant in population, football was rated as the most popular game by the teachers interviewed. On the other hand, basketball was recognised to be the favourite game among the Chinese boys (see Appendix F1, Table F.2; F.3). Except for *sepak takraw*, which was played by Malay students and table tennis that was most likely played by Chinese students, other sports such as volleyball, handball, badminton, netball, tend to have a mixture of players from different

ethnic groups. Hockey, however, was considered to be the least favourite sport of the Chinese students, both girls and boys. It was most popular among the Malays and Indians.

The selection of games was largely depended on what was available in the school vicinity. For instance, since all Chinese schools did not have an adequate size of playing fields (if any), their students were forced to opt for basketball or other sports that required a smaller space, such as table tennis. The historical consequence of the fact that the majority of Chinese immigrants settled in town areas and were given only limited space by the Malayan government to establish their schools was the main reason. If provided with the facilities, the Chinese students would participate more actively in football. For example, a Chinese-majority school in Melaka state was found to play football as their popular sport, taking advantage of the huge municipal field situated just across the street from the school. It was obvious that the teacher from this particular school categorised football to be more popular than basketball for the reasons that it had a facility that is adjacent and could accommodate more players (see Appendix F1, Table F.2).

There were also strong influences from role-modelling and cult elements among the students to belong to certain groups or sports. The best example for this sentiment was the monopoly of Indian students in long distance running events, even when they were the tiniest minority in the school population. They

modelled those Indian (Malaysia-Indians) runners who, most often than not, came from low socio-economic background from the plantation estates.

It was unanimously agreed by all respondents that although ethnic preference in some sports was 'not healthy', no harm was done. Thus, according to the teachers, schools did not need any policy to strengthen ethnic ties. However, all schools with mix races did not take this ethnic segregation for granted and took the initiative in making sure that their separate ethnic groups of students would have the chance to intermingle. The most common method practised was during the assigning of sport houses to the students, where school authorities would try to divide their students equally to have a balanced proportion of ethnic composition in each house. Furthermore, regarding this issue, the schools continue to be the most important agent for the development of racial harmony. A classic scenario of this could be experienced through ceremonial rituals, for instance during the annual 'Sports Day' (athletics meet) - an important yearly event in all schools where parents would be formally invited to attend. The sport day opening ceremony would be officiated by a prominent local figure or the school principal. The opening speech message invariably reinforced the value of sport for benefits, as well as the advantage of sport in uniting the multi-ethnic society. This would be followed, by raising the competition flag, taking the oath by competitors and ending with a cultural show by the different ethnic groups (usually in a form of dances) before competition started. Some schools would go to the extent of enlisting as medal-presenters, individuals of varying ethnic origin.

There seemed to be a trend in Malaysia that when one ethnic group is dominant in a particular sport, others from the same group would emulate. For instance distance runners were almost entirely from the Indian ethnic with their historical background to be settlers in the rubber estates and so used to running and walking long distances to get to work or to get their necessities in towns which were considerably far (see Appendix E2) [Example where an athlete can be the product of role modelling, genetic endowment and environmental factors]. The pooling of a certain ethnic group into a certain sport obviously crept to management level. According to one respondent, this situation drove to where “the Indians were managing athletics, swimming by the Chinese, and cycling by the Malays. The ethnic groups are using certain sport to identify themselves with” (see Appendix E4).

The serious intent of the government to develop sport must be questioned because of its superficial commitment to school sports. In this case, both the MOE and the MYS are culpable. While the government had spent so much in providing infrastructures, aids and programmes for the elite few in sport, the grass-root level was ignored. The schools faced insufficient facilities, personnel, funding, and lack of interest from the general school population. Physical education and sport in schools was only given tacit support by school authorities where only the more prestigious events were encouraged. However, there appeared to be a hidden understanding on the part of the MOE, the schools and

the parents that although sport was found to be declining, nobody was really going to lose. As long as the schools were performing its duties in educating the students, their sluggishness in implementing physical education and sport was somehow forgiven. The Malaysian public could not see clearly any significant connection between sport and education.

Sport is not a culture yet in Malaysia and this contributes to the slow development of sport in Malaysia. In addition, according to a respondent, Malaysians have so many distractions where “people are busy making money and sport is looked upon as something nitty-gritty” (see Appendix E1). School-going Malaysians nowadays have many choices to fulfil their spare time and are different than pupils in the sixties and seventies where they had fewer options. Unfortunately, newer generation of young Malaysians seemed to be more keen into video games or roller blades, for instance, as their pastimes activities rather than those conventional physical and/or team sports. From the interviews, it was also found that Malaysians seemed to be impatient to allow sport to develop naturally. Furthermore Malaysia tends to venture into too many sports and seldom stick to any seriously. According to a sport journalist, most country would concentrate on one or two sports, however “we (Malaysians) are at the habit of going for forty sports! We don’t know what we want. People tend to get excited when somebody makes a success in something, for example, when Nurul Huda was doing well, all jumped into the swimming pool...then gymnastics when Faiznur Miskin was there and so on” (see Appendix E7).

The whole situation proves that the sudden urge to develop sport by a young nation without a sport culture of its own made inculcating the importance of sport through education even more difficult. The short-cut method sought by the government to improve sport without seriously involving the learning institutions saw sport in Malaysia developing at a very slow pace.

5.3 Conclusion

Findings from the three groups of respondents prove that the central problem is administering or trying to develop sport with the core issues of government intervention, politicking in sport and the silent inter-ethnic rivalry.

The findings also show that the development of sport at the grass-root level has been hay wire as a result of several factors such as the lack of genuine goal to develop sport, lack of co-operation and confusion among and within higher agencies responsible, over-practiced of bureaucracy and the demonstration and exertion of administrative power by government officials and politicians to fulfil personal agenda. Besides administrative problems at the top echelon, the problem to improve sport in the country was further elevated by: the inadequate number of qualified personnel in the associations and the schools and the manipulation of physical education combined with lack of sporting facilities in most schools. The problem has been made even more serious when elements of suspicion and taking control over certain sports among the ethnic groups were detected. Last but not

least, the society's overall attitude towards sport, cultural situation ('power distance' concept, for instance), and lack of understanding of the true value of sports by the majority of the public has also contributed to the slow progress of sport in Malaysia.

The research evidence presented in this chapter identified various problems faced by the agencies responsible for sports development in Malaysia was, indirectly, a manifestation of what the country's socio-political setting was like. It proved that Malaysian sport has been influenced very much by the colonial legacy; the country's politics since independence; and the different cultural and sporting values from its multi-ethnic society. The findings also revealed how the government imposed its will on sport by mandating through its policies and agencies. The government professed the impression that the people of Malaysia have a great interest and ambition for success in sport. In reality, sport is not taken seriously by majority of the public. They consider that there are other more important challenges in life. Most of the people are yet to be educated as to the benefit of sport.

Hence, it can be concluded that there were three forms of legacy left by the British: first was the legacy in the form of sporting interest and values inculcated in the English schools, sport clubs and English-founded associations; second the physical structure of the socio-economic being which included the segregation of the multi-ethnic groups; and third the essence of power of the superior over the

weak that duplicated the British mastery over the natives; apart from the rivalry for power among them. The current situation witnesses the first form of legacy has not been maintained and has receded due to the drastic 'restructuring of society' that began in 1970. However, the second and third forms of legacy are very much in existence. These two forms of legacy seem to be intertwined with each other. Present circumstances see that Malaysia is trying to develop her sport with the ingredients left by the British. The result is, the country is trying to develop sport within the scope of an artificial kind of economic development with no basis of a broad base of sporting interest in the society but trying to replicate those of the developed nations. Malaysia is trying to make do with what she has that have been left by the long British colonial administration. The result is that sport in Malaysia is in the state of turmoil and uncertainty.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion to the thesis with respect to the development of modern sport in Malaysia and the political and ethnic issues related to it. In reaching this objective, the chapter proceeds with making cross-analysis of all previous chapters and the data collected. Relevant universal theories on sport that involve issues, especially on politics, government intervention, physical education and ethnicity are compared and tested to determine the similarities, relevancies, and contradictions of these theories in the context of Malaysian sport development. Finally from the discussion and analysis done, the chapter presents the 'grounded theories' that lie underneath the whole investigation.

6.2 Discussion

Malaysia experienced almost four hundred and fifty years of successions of foreign powers from the fall of Melaka in 1511 to the Portuguese and ended with the British in 1957. The history of the Malay Peninsula with an established government had begun in the early fifteenth century, but the emergence of a multiracial society only occurred in the twentieth century. Therefore, as an independent country with a completely new identity, Malaysia could be considered a very young nation. Throughout the twentieth century, the country went through several significant socio-political changes and unrest under

subsequent foreign powers. These include: British rule before the Second World War; Japanese Occupation from February 1942 to September 1945; an interregnum of the Malayan Communist Party⁴¹ under the sponsorship of The Chinese Communist Party (Ramanathan 1994) after the Japanese surrender and before the return of British forces; and the re-establishment of British rule until the Independence of Malaya in 1957. Then, as an independent nation, Malaysia went through another mass socio-political change of the post-1969 period. The implications from this long period of foreign domination and socio-political turmoil left behind some implications on the country's sport development especially that which involved the native Malays.

The implications from this long period of foreign domination saw, firstly, the native Malays being pushed outside modernisation into the peripheral rural areas together with their traditional leisure activities and sport. This excluded them from modern sport, which, according to Pilato (1973) is directly related to the evolution of industrial society. Since the pattern of sport for an industrial and urban population was pioneered by Britain during the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century, the rural Malays became excluded from the scenario of modern sport development during British rule in Malaya at about the same period of time. Secondly, during the same period, a vacuum developed between the Malay aristocrats and the Malay peasants because of the absence of a middle-class

⁴¹ The success of the Chinese Communist Party and World Federation of Youth Conference held in Calcutta in 1948, which decided on a militant line, encouraged Malayan Communist Party to launch violent struggles against imperialism. In accordance, Communist Insurgency, mostly in a guerilla warfare occurred in the 1948-1960 period.

Malay group. Since in general, sport academics believed that the middle-class groups were the major groups that largely occupied the sport scene universally and that they represented the dominant sector that rose to control political power, social influences and sport development (McIntosh, 1968), the absence of a Malay middle-class group in this context, created a situation where the country lacked the bulk of sport enthusiasts and catalysts.

The most dramatic implication from the long period of dependency and subordination towards foreign powers was the creation of a breed of Malays that lacked self-esteem and self-confidence. Eventually, once the country gained independence in 1957 through the struggles by a few British educated Malay aristocrats, the dependency shifted to these new native government administrators to determine their fate. Thus, a group of people with a 'subsidy mentality' emerged (Mahathir 1981). These implications created a very bad start for the Malays in improving their education, economic and sporting interest.

The rise of the Malay political power under UMNO after the 1969 ethnic-clash saw the beginning of a political stability that influenced the country's economic stability and the betterment of the Malay economy, education and sport practices. To maintain control over power, the public was constantly reminded by the government of the possibility that such social disorder might reoccur and only a strong administration could prevent it. The public was vigorously encouraged to believe that only the Barisan Nasional coalition led by the UMNO party could

guarantee continuous peace and prosperity in the land. To gain firmer control, UMNO leaders had always fostered the opinion that any opposition by non-Malay political parties might include negative racial sentiments. Accordingly, some form of autocracy was justified, as UMNO argued that too much freedom of speech would be counter-productive in a multiracial society such as Malaysia. With the above argument presented by the government and with the people not willing to risk the existing peace (by electing an alternative government), a very autocratic government was eventually created. In addition, the fact that the Malaysian society itself accepted the 'power distance' culture had assisted the creation of powerful politicians running the government. The government was thus able to belittle its opponents quite easily and had maintained power ever since independence.

The national agenda in the early seventies was towards creating a peaceful multi-ethnic society concurrent with the sharing of the country's economic development and wealth. The task was difficult enough because the country was well carved-up where its politics, economy, education, demography and culture were strongly ethnic-based. These were the ingredients that had influenced the pattern of sport in the country, which was obviously ethnic-based too. With this multiple ingredients in hand, it was a great challenge for the Malaysian government to develop sport.

The fact that economic development, modern social and political lives have been the important determining factors in shaping the pattern of sport in a community was well documented by McIntosh (1968) and Mandell (1984). They state that many instances of social structure are reflected in sport and are reinforced by them. The situation in Malaysia where everyday activities were well segregated also predisposes the segregation of sport practices among its people. This confirms McIntosh and Mandell's views to be right. The Malaysian government firstly, had to restructure these activities to be more integrated and balanced for its sport to be so too.

The powerful Barisan Nasional government spearheaded by UMNO, managed to intervene into sport affair with ease and with minimal opposition if any. The fact that sporting issues were not seen by the opposition parties to have much political relevance made intervention even easier. Government policies that carried the intention to generate progress in sport were implemented at all levels without much interruption. Although the original intention was to develop sport, the intervention by the government and politicians somehow disrupted the natural flow of sport development and the consequence was more often negative than positive. Sport development had turned into a 'process by directive' not voluntary and genuine. For instance, the difficulties and problems faced by the sport associations were mainly caused by the government's insistence to develop sport through the associations.

It is therefore true that sport becomes political once the government gets involved (Hargreaves, 1986). The Malaysian government found itself being accountable for sport development due to the money it had invested in the associations and other aspects relating to sport advancement in the country. In this context the government did not show any significant difference from any other government in the world, socialist or non-socialist, where these governments play quite an important part in certain areas of sport development. Those areas include the fostering of elite talent; the promotion of sport and physical education in the school curriculum; and the diplomatic use of sport (Houlihan, 1997). Even the mode of the Malaysian government's intervention was found to be similar to others. Among the similar practices are the state uses of some form of repression of sport, such as legal controls on certain activities; political ritual in sport, such as the presence of leaders as patronage; and 'the programmed welfare provisions of sport', which covers state-funded sport facilities (Hargreaves, 1986).

More importantly, all the governments in the world seem inclined to be involved in sport due to the assumption that they can achieve a variety of purposes. Some most popular use of sport is its ability to integrate the society, maintain military fitness and discipline, and promote international prestige and relations (Houlihan, 1997). More often than not, government intervention often results in certain control on the pastimes of the community. The control takes the form of legislative measures or law with specific purposes, for instance to

safeguard the interest of certain groups in a society. In England, back in the nineteenth century, for example, the Game Law and the Cruelty to Animal Act were implemented to preserve privilege of the upper class society. Both of these laws prohibited sports like bull and bear baiting, which were both town 'sports', but leaving fox hunting or stag hunting for landowners unrestricted. The underlying reason for such policy to be implemented was the "sporadic concern with the health and recreation of the sport" (Houlihan, 1997, p.61) as seen suitable by the government then.

John Coghlan (1990) is adamant that sport is linked with politics and with government and accused one to be naïve to wish it to be otherwise. He argues that since sport reflects the society in which people live, and politics is concerned above all with the society, its standard, ethos, cultures and economic, therefore there should not be any doubt concerning the existence of the relationship between sport and politics. He added that sport is part of the social superstructure and therefore is strongly influenced by the prevailing socio-economic system, which in turn cannot be divorced from politics. Taking Britain as his example, the linkage between politics and sport can be seen with the appointment by successive governments of Ministers of Sport, and the establishment of the Sport Council by The Royal Charter in 1972. However, according to Coghlan, this does not mean that the government actually controlled sport nor did it wish to do so.

Government's control over sport is also discussed by Barrie Houlihan (1997). He categorised five forms of formal government control of sport through its agencies. First, there are those countries where a central government fulfils a major role in the execution of sport policies. For example, France and Greece. Both nations have strong ministries responsible for sport. The second category includes those countries where the administration of public policy is more fragmented, with the impetus for policy development lying partly outside the centre at sub-national government level, for example, Canada, Australia and Belgium. The third category contains those countries where significant authority for sport is delegated to a quasi-autonomous national government organisation (quango) or similar semi-independent agency, for example in Spain which is called the Higher Sports Council. The fourth category contains those countries where responsibility for sport is shared between a non-government organisation (NGO) and the government as found in Germany and the Netherlands. The fifth category contains those countries where the government's involvement is minimal, for example the United States of America. Although Houlihan manages to identify these patterns of administration, he realises that it is difficult to explain their variations. Nevertheless, Houlihan claims that the patterns relied very much on factors such as wealth tradition of voluntary organisation; political, geographical and demographic characteristics; and salience of sport to the government and major political parties.

While Houlihan discusses five forms of government control over sport through its agencies, Nafziger (1989) identifies three levels of government control in the sport arena. Firstly, simple government financial assistance by direct appropriations, for example states and local jurisdictions subsidising athletes in making appropriations to educational institutions. The second level is the indirect or direct government authorisation, supervision, or control over the administration of sport. This is a widespread practice in most countries, often by the Ministry of Sports or National Olympic Committee (USA). The third level, according to Nafziger, is diplomatic exploitations of sport in the external affairs of the government, for example boycotts, sport propagandising, refusal of visas, hosting the Olympics, and sport exchanges. This can also be viewed as some ways of government's abilities to use or abuse sport to fulfil foreign policy purposes.

Generally, sport affair is administered under two different systems of government, which is either the socialist type or the non-socialist type. According to Riordon (1991), there are two distinguishing features of the communist sport: its central organisation and its employment for specific socio-political objectives. This contrasts with western sport administration which runs the gamut from almost anarchic diffusion of agencies involved in sport (Britain) to structures strongly influenced by commercial concerns (Italy, USA). In comparison to the non-socialist nations, it is simpler to be confronted by the old distinctions that communist sport was largely state-directed for utilitarian purposes, while, capitalist sport was largely not state-directed and was principally guided by the

profit motive. Even so, neither was ever that clear-cut. Drastic changes occurred, however, since the momentous events of the late 1989 revolution in Eastern Europe. It is no longer evident what communism or socialism, communist or socialist sport signifies, or how exactly they may be contrasted with capitalism or capitalist sport. The revolution of 1989 saw one country after another, where the ruling regime succumbed in the face of massive popular protest. Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania all saw their communist party leaders ousted, a new government installed, and contested elections held.

In the case of Malaysia, two forces influenced the development of sport . First, the autocratic control of sport by the government, and second, the private economic wealth of a certain group. It thus seem that the country falls under both the socialist and the non-socialist model described above.

It is relevant to argue that Malaysian sport was somehow socialist for its characteristics almost match perfectly with that of China and Russia. Similar to the two communist countries, Malaysia somehow fits the descriptions made by Riordon (1991); that in these countries sport has traditionally been centrally controlled and fully integrated into the polity, i.e. sports and politics are inseparable. Riordon also pointed out that in the socialist countries, the policy of the sport governing bodies has invariably been determined by the ruling party and that the party has appointed the sport committee, ministry and secretariat.

Likewise in Malaysia, sporting activity was managed largely by the MYS and school sport was entirely under the MOE. These were the central bodies with the state sport councils and the state school sport councils, respectively, as their feelers. However, the differences between Malaysia and those communist countries, were, firstly, that the commitment and attention given by the Malaysian government – the ruling party - to these state councils were irregular and sporadic⁴² as compared to China and Russia where their sport and physical culture received continued attention from the ruling party (Clumpner and Pendleton, 1981). Secondly, besides ‘sport for interracial unity’ that has been the government’s propaganda since 1969, other objectives that could be gained through the use of sport were somewhat not clearly spelled, unlike those in the socialist countries.

The situation becomes even more confusing because the evidence gathered in this study shows that the Malaysian government’s assimilation of the socialist and non-socialist style of control over sport had much to do with ethnicity. The distinctions between communist sport which was largely state-directed for utilitarian purposes and capitalist sport which was largely not state-directed and was principally guided by the profit motive are, in a sense, blurred in Malaysia. Both these features are found in the country. For instance, the handing of

⁴² The sporadic style of attention is, however, more characteristics of capitalist politicians, for instance, when American Presidents on behalf of the government (and people of America) congratulated, through the telephone, to champions of American football teams winning the Superbowls or national athletes achieving victories at international competition overseas. Sporadic attention, or rather intervention, was also given when political need arises like the 1980 United States boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games.

equipment and facilities to the people was a characteristic of the socialist style of government. Interestingly however, there were strong elements of ethnic bias in distributing sporting benefits to sport practitioners or athletes before they reach national level. This was clear in the provision of equipment and facilities to the Malay-controlled and Malay-dominated public sectors for instance the schools (especially those with Malay majority students), public higher institutions of learning and the armed forces. While on the other hand, the Chinese and other non-Malays were left on their initiative to develop their sport. The private businesses and private colleges which were mostly Chinese-controlled were left to their own accord to finance their sport programmes due to the government's belief that these money making institutions were self-sufficient to generate their own income and finance their sport. This falls squarely with the capitalist style of sport development. Another sign of capitalist influence was the evidence that the Chinese were more interested in those sports that could bring monetary benefit to them for example badminton, squash, and bowling.

The above argument portrays that sport development in Malaysia has adopted the non-socialist or capitalist style with regards to the Chinese and other non-Malays, and socialist when dealing with the Malays. However, equal treatment was given when the athletes reach national level and compete at international level. Benefits, for instance the handing down of allowances, scholarships, sport equipment and attire, foreign coaches and even a place for accommodation were given to these elite athletes regardless of their ethnic background. At this level

the government knew that the athletes were assets for the country at international competition to promote national glory and reputation.

The existence of these elements of non-socialist and socialist styles was made possible in Malaysia since, the government ruling the country itself was a combination of both authoritarian and democratic at the same time. (Makmor, 1998). In addition, other scholars of politics, local and international, have labelled the Malaysian government as semi-authoritarian, semi-democratic, or quasi-democratic as indicated by Crouch (1992), Chase (1993) and Zakaria (1989) respectively (in Gomez and Jomo, 1997).

Problems arose in developing sport in Malaysia when the government, through its ambitious politicians but with little knowledge of sport (most of them), expected too much from the short-staffed associations that only operated on a volunteer basis. The problem with politicians' intervention in sport was nothing new. According to Monnington (1993), it has been a characteristic of politicians to use sport to further their own political ambitions throughout history especially since the activity began to formally structure in the nineteenth century. Monnington added that politicians treat sport as a cheap and simple way to develop the sentiment of national loyalty and to gain international status for themselves and their country (Monnington, 1993, p.28).

Interestingly however, according to Trevor Taylor, many sport people themselves are “not interested in politics and are often antipathetic to it” (Taylor, 1986, p.27). Findings from the research portrayed that Malaysian politicians were ‘half-heartedly’ welcomed by the sport associations: they were appreciated provided they could raise money for the associations but their opinions were not quite needed in making certain decisions. Even so, the politicians eagerly needed the associations as their political platform. In this situation both parties had their own individual interest.

Taylor added that sport people in any case are a section of the wider public which at most times show a comparatively minor interest in politics and often have a very low opinion of politicians in general. Two other points can be mentioned as perhaps underpinning typical attitudes towards politics. First, many sport people probably share a largely unarticulated belief that, despite the formal sovereign powers of the government, there are sectors of life in which the government should restrict their involvement. Second, the values which sport claims to advance. For example, in the case of the Olympic Charter where it is spelled out that the Games are meant in part to promote peaceful and friendly relation between people. The popular belief is that there should be some areas of neutrality where politics should not intervene and that the government should restrict their involvement: in this matter it is sport. Since politics is often tangled with various kinds of conflicts, it is therefore contradictory to the promotion of

peaceful and friendly relation between people as spelled out in the Olympic Charter (Taylor, 1986).

Nonetheless, it is sport's unique characteristic that impels it to be more readily than other human activities towards an association with politics, according to McIntosh. The major reason for sport to be so is because of its ability to connect one sense of belonging, especially in competitive sport. It tends to identify the individual with some groups and thus confirms the identity and security of the individual with that particular group. The merging of the individual in the group is not confined to the players themselves but to some extent is experienced by those who watch and those who share a common club membership, a geographical location, or a racial affinity with the performers (McIntosh, 1968).

Lincoln Allison (1986) gave two underlying reasons why sport and politics impinge on one another. His first reason is that sport creates politically usable resources, as a 'character-building' agent of socialisation. In some cases, according to Allison, games are specifically seen as suitable preparation for military and imperial responsibilities. In addition, sport brings people together to create comradeship that transcends division of religion, class, race and nationality. The second reason given by Allison is the 'bread and circus' theory approach to sport as a political resource, the idea that sport can be used to divert the masses' energies away from the problems of the political and social system, to subvert rebelliousness and ensure acquiescence from the people. On the contrary, Allison

pointed out that although sport by its very nature generates political resources, it is also an agent of social disorder for it contributes and involves some conflicts, such as class conflict and division of resources. Furthermore, in retrospect, according to Allison, sport has always received moral objections from various groups in a society for sport has the element of varieties, cruelties and passions which surround it and its capacity to divert people from such allegedly worthy activities as religion, thrift and family life (Allison, 1986). Findings from this research demonstrate that the underlying reasons why sport and politics could not be separated and could raise conflicts as described by Allison applies in Malaysia's sport development.

In internal circumstance, mass recreational sport programme is proven to be effective in the effort to remove barriers between different ethnic groups (Goodhart and Chataway, 1968). Sport according to Dunning is "a fundamentally egalitarian institution which helps to promote social harmony and integration by increasing friendly contacts across class and racial and racial lines" (Dunning, 1971, p.233). In addition, Gruneau (1983) claimed that sport could become an arena for various groups to actively re-work relationship and respond to changing conditions as a whole and that sport has the potential for bridge-building. The theories insinuate that sport is badly needed in a well diverse society like Malaysia. The Malaysian government found sport to be very useful for this purpose and enacted it in the national school curriculum and the NSP and practiced in schools as well as in a national project like the Rakan Muda

programme. Unfortunately, this study has found that sport for the purpose of national integration was limited through sport competitions that were highly ritualised with 'standard ceremonies' of singing the national anthem while raising the national flag; performing cultural dances or self-defence demonstrations by various ethnic groups; reading the oath; and presenting medals to the winners by community leaders. One might conclude that it is the ceremony that becomes the main feature rather than the competition itself. Therefore, it is true as suggested by Sugden (1994), that as long as the flying of national flags and the singing of the national anthems remain as prerequisites in these sport competitions, it became a platform to stage the feeling of unity among the people and loyalty to the nation, thus encouraging the relationship between sport and nationalism.

Although most sport sociologists and sport scientists credits sport as an agent for socialisation among ethnic groups, thus national integration, they nevertheless admitted that the unique nature of sport somehow showed some negative and contrary implications. Among those negative elements projected through sport competitions is the evidence of splitting of local segmental cultures in sport competitions (Heinemann, 1993) and that sporting relation themselves are vivid expression of privilege, oppression, domination and subordination (Gruneau, 1983). These theories are clearly evident in Malaysia where there were high concentration of certain ethnic in certain sports (splitting of local segmental cultures); expensive club-sports like bowling and squash for the Chinese (the privileged); the practice of cheaper sports for instance football for the Malays

(economically oppressed) and athletics for the Indians (oppressed and subordination); and that sport was very much controlled by dignitaries as leaders (privileged and dominated). In addition, the whole episode demonstrates the theory emphasised by Coakley (1994) that sport, besides having those positive attributes discussed earlier, also promotes consolidation and even exacerbation of social division.

This study found that Malaysia is no exception with regard to searching for national glory at international competition through sport as a method of re-channelling any feeling of aggression among the ethnic groups and hence easing racial tension. This method was rationalised to be quite useful in a multi-ethnic society because, as noted by Klauss Heinemann (1993), the function of sport could be twofold: first to unite the society with sport playing its role as a common goal and ‘opium’ or ‘sedatives’ to the society – a controlling agent; and second, to generate unity through patriotism of winning sport competition at international level. Sport has the advantage of uniting the society and therefore has an important function in the process of nation building. It can contribute to the consolidation of a nation, especially when the nation has originated out of various tribes, tradition, and cultures, and to foster the development of national identity. Nevertheless, Heinemann is also doubtful whether sport has the desired integrating powers because there is evidence of the splitting of local segmental cultures in the national organisations of sport as well as in sport competitions.

Existing antagonisms and conflicts among these cultures are also projected in these competitions (Heinemann, 1993).

In Malaysia's case, there were contradicting opinions concerning investing huge amount of money to search for national glory at international competition. Interestingly, while the government was willing to spend, some associations thought that it was a waste to invest for a very uncertain victory. This fact only proved that the government and the associations sometimes view things differently. On one hand, the government is more interested in providing a common interest among the citizens and at the same time creating an 'escapism' from racial tension at a very high cost. On the other hand the associations are more concern with financial matter and are more practical where every cents count.

Eric Wagner explains why there is such obvious emphasis on sport in some countries. Using Cuba and Nicaragua as examples, he suggested four reasons that can influence nations to pay serious attention to its sport. Firstly, there is a widespread support in many countries, socialist and non-socialist alike, for the political uses of sport. Domestically, sport can contribute to the cohesion and integration of the society. Internationally, added Wagner, sport can be used to 'prove' a given social system and to gain international prestige. Secondly, sport helps promote better health, fitness and preparation for life. Fitter people are more productive people and a great asset for defence from outside aggression.

Thirdly, sport can be used to teach socialist values. Fourthly, in both Cuba and Nicaragua, there has been strong leadership for the interest in sport (Wagner, 1988).

Malaysia has been a regular participant in various sport competitions all over the world. Unfortunately, Malaysia has only achieved respectable rankings in badminton, squash and bowling – the so called ‘Chinese sports’. From the earlier paragraphs and discussions from previous chapters, a picture is drawn that much of Malaysia’s international success is achieved through the Malaysian-Chinese. The discussions also rationalised that their success is due to their long history of physical culture; economic superiority; diligence and also by virtue of their adjacent position to the British and their sport idealism. However, these do not seem to be true with Malaysia’s neighbour - Singapore. Although the Singapore-Chinese have these attributes too since Malaysia and Singapore shared the same historical beginning under one federation (Malaysia), interestingly, the Singapore-Chinese so far had not shown much distinguished success in sport at international competition, nor at the Southeast Asia level. Surprisingly too, although Singapore fits perfectly with Mandell’s description of modern life (the growing landless, literate population, money wages, large cities, and a meritocratic and democratic ideology) that purportedly supports modern sport (Mandell, 1984) and thus more prone towards sporting success; Singapore has not had much successes. The major differences between Singapore and Malaysia in terms of the composition of their population is that 77% of Singapore’s 3.2 million citizens are of Chinese

origin who also control both her politics and economy. It is interesting to note that her small population of Malays (14%) dominate the popular game of football!

The occurrence of a 'minority group dominating most sports' as happened in Malaysia; and a 'minority group dominating the most popular sport in the world' as happened in Singapore, raises confusions and some questions at the same time. Could these mean that the 'wealthy' Chinese in Malaysia discarded football because they could afford more exclusive sports? While, could these also mean that the 'under privileged' Malays in Singapore consumed football because it is cheaper to play? The similarity of overrepresentation of Singapore-Malays in Singapore's national football team and the overrepresentation of black sportsmen in the United States of America in boxing, American football and athletics, might be because the game is relatively cheap (Polley, 1998). Other reasons for this might be because football in Singapore could be conceived as providing the minority group with equal opportunity and also the vehicle for the expression of ethnic antagonism and tension (Coakley, 1994) and establishing cultural identity or asserting independence (Hargreaves, 1986). This overrepresentation of Malays in Singapore's football may also be a result of the demographic restructuring of the population, where, the Chinese were a-minority population when Singapore was still in the Malaysian federation, but became the majority when the island state seceded from the Federation of Malaysia in 1965. Football was actually a splinter activity from the mainstream Malay-dominated game in the older

Malaysian federation. This phenomenon exemplifies the theory that political history has a hand in determining the pattern of sport in any given nation.

Regardless of whether sports development in Malaysia fits the description of the socialist or non-socialist model better, it is still relevant to examine Malaysia's complex social organisation and the circumstances regarding her sport in relation to the universally dominant social theories, namely: the functionalist and the critical social theories.

From a functionalist perspective, (also called the order perspective which is politically and ideologically conservative) the unequal distribution of power, wealth, and status is acceptable and normal. It emphasises tradition and status quo in social relations, except where change may increase power and domination. Functionalism in sport provides an environment for teaching important social roles and social values, especially one that emphasises subordination of the self to the social system (i.e. the team); obedience to authority and unquestioning loyalty to the organisation. This appears to be the case in Malaysia where sport is seen as functioning to promote social stability and order. In this context, the concept of 'power distance' introduced by Hofstede (1991) where a particular culture is highly concerned with "respect for people in authority, obedience to authority, and recognition that differences in rewards, privileges, and status are to be expected and respected" is true of Malaysia (in Cooper and Payne, 1992, p.359) and sits well with the functionalist theory.

On the other hand, the critical theory (also known as the conflict theory) which tends to concentrate on individual human needs rather than those of the social system, is also relevant to Malaysia. For critical theorists, the social systems tend to become repressive, especially for the weak and powerless – for instance the Malay controlled government denying subsidies and handout to the Chinese when it comes to economy, education and sport. Meanwhile, the strong and powerful received a disproportionate share of the rewards. Moreover, according to the conflict theory, social system tends to perpetuate this social inequality in such a way that the powerful and wealthy maintain their status, even transmitting their status on to the next generation. Sport (as play) to the critical theory, is inherently liberating, but it tends to become debased to reinforce the dominant social values. In relation to Malaysia's situation, if the dominant social values are peace and respect among the ethnic groups, (which in turn leads to national unity) then segregation in sport (as a result of freedom of choice) has created a segmental sport culture, which totally contradicts the notion of unity. Therefore the situation of sport in Malaysia can be said to support the conflict theory too.

The discussions from the above two paragraphs demonstrate that these two social perspectives are actually complementary to each other (although there is a tendency by many to treat them as mutually exclusive) (cf. George H. Sage 1987). The Malaysian context has shown that both theories are equally applicable to

some degree. Each theory offers insights into different situations and specific instances and each provides a different image of social organisation.

Another surprising finding in this study is the misconception many Malaysians have with respect to the role of sports associations. The data supports the view that the government is the main actor on the centre stage of Malaysia's sport development drama. However many from the public have the notion that the sport associations as the formal establishment are responsible for developing sport. This misconception occurred because of the associations' direct link to the athletes. Thus, the burden placed onto the associations to develop sport is neither logical nor inevitable.

Lack of support from the people and inadequate professional staff at all levels of sports-related establishments also demonstrates that the country lacks the essential base of the 'sports pyramid'. In fact, the research evidence suggests that the reality was more like an "inverted pyramid", (see Appendix E1). The inverted pyramid symbolises the focus of the government, politicians and the media on the small group of elite athletes. Much of the funding was poured into this tiny group, while neglecting the majority that still needs to be educated towards practising sport. The shortage of qualified personal at various levels of the pyramid also made it difficult for links to be formed among all the organisations responsible for sport development in the country.

As a whole, the difficulty in getting the general public interested in sport is caused by the constant changes of the surrounding and the people's lifestyles. It used to be that schools, clubs and parents played sports because they enjoyed it. However, other attractions such as television, computer games, indoor and less tiring sports like bowling and golf, and theme parks has managed to pull people away from the physical sport. School children are now enjoying the leisure of modernisation that made life easier rather than sport (see Appendix C3).

In addition to the problems faced by associations as stated above, another fact that could slow progress in sport was the lack of quality and the minimal quantity of potential athletes produced by schools. Various individuals concerned with Malaysia's school sport development have assumed that it was the schools that were responsible for the matter. The schools were accused of failing to inculcate sport interest in the students through proper teaching of physical education. However, the accusation is unfair in that physical education (hence sport) had not been given serious attention because the society was concentrating on other aspects of development (namely, academic and socio-economic). The failure of the schools and also the general public to see the significant relationship between physical education (sport) and the country's progress meant that one was sacrificed for the other. Furthermore, excellence in physical education also does not guarantee success in sport.

Studies in developed countries with long tradition of physical education and sport, for instance the United States of America and Britain indicate that the lackadaisical treatment of the subject does and still exists in these countries. Jo Harris (1993), for example voiced his worries on the decline of time allocated for physical education period in British secondary schools over the past few decades. He wondered if the introduction of the physical education in the national curriculum would result in physical education being seriously lessened down or even brought to a halt. Studies by Matthew Smith (1989) in Britain and the United States of America, and Stevens and Carpenter (1998) in the United States of America, discovered that both British and American physical education teachers have not done a good job of designing their own curricula in the past. They made a survey to establish whether the teachers could match the content and methodology with the objectives. They noticed that there was a lack of congruency which verify that little or no connections were made by physical education teachers between the objectives stated in their curricula guides, the physical activities scheduled and the teaching styles and strategies employed in practical situation. They concluded that systematic planning of physical education was not occurring at all. Nevertheless, these two nations are known to be successful in various sports, especially the United States of America. The alarming findings in Malaysia where physical education was handled freely by unqualified teachers has also occurred in the United States of America, but to a lesser extent. Statistics gathered by Stevens and Carpenters (1998) showed that at

least thirty-six districts in the United States of America allowed basic physical education lessons to be taught by unqualified teachers.

The notion that sport in Malaysia would improve if physical education, under the scrutiny of the MOE, be taught properly and physical activities in schools be increased for it could inculcate students' interest to pursue certain sports beyond school compound, is a misguided one. A study in Britain by Anne Williams (1988), "Physical Activity Patterns Among Adolescents – Some Curriculum Implications" found out that pupils' involvement in physical activities outside and beyond the school was governed by some factors outside the schools' control. The low level of participation might also be attributed partially to the school and curriculum offered. Williams identified that gender and social environment contributed to the low level of participation. She explained, for instance, gender appears to combine with social environment to place girls from more deprived areas at a severe disadvantage when it comes to sport. While for the boys, social environment appears to relate more to the choice of activity and venue than to the decision about whether or not to participate. Williams noticed that those pupils who had played for school teams were more likely to participate outside school. Finally, Williams concluded that factors such as class, race and gender were fundamental influence on leisure choice. Similar situation can be said to exist in Malaysia. For instance, since the society allows boy a higher degree of freedom to leave home to attend outside activities as compared to girls, more boys are involved in sport than girls.

Other respondents in this study are of the opinion that physical education in Malaysia would be taught more seriously once the public realises the importance of health and fitness. They optimistically thought that the country is heading in that direction. However, a study by Curtner (1995) found that even in a developed country (in this case, Britain), secondary schools' physical education remains largely unaffected by the health related fitness movement. His study involving twenty 'hardworking and dedicated professional' teachers revealed that limited opportunities was provided to pupils in which to participate in the type of physical activities associated with health benefits. The teachers did not allocate time for pupils to engage in fitness activities or acquire health-related fitness knowledge, and did not promote or demonstrate fitness. This study indicates that health awareness among the public does not necessarily lead to proper teaching of physical education in schools. Hence, the opinions of Malaysian educators and public that health awareness might improve the standard of teaching of physical education in the country could be flawed as well.

The findings concerning physical education as presented in the above paragraphs were quite unfortunate especially if physical education was regarded as the main tool to enhance sport development in any given nation. Nevertheless, the findings presented also portrayed some evidence that there was no significant relationship between the neglect in physical education to sport performance be it poor or superior. For instance, although there were some carelessness and neglect

in the teaching of physical education in schools in the United States of America [believe to be more serious if more research was done in more schools], the country has still manage to emerge as the superpower in world sport. There seemed to be another channel that brought the United States of America to this level. This was believed to be the affinity of the American society as one of the most highly 'sport-cultured' nation in the world. Therefore, one might suggest that even if physical education were given serious attention by school authorities, sport still would not progress properly if the society did not regard sport activity as a top priority in life.

The neglect of physical education by parents and society in Malaysia was found to be similar with that of Asian parents in Britain where the subject was regarded as 'just playing around' (Carrington and Williams, 1988, p.88, in Scott Fleming, 1991), and therefore at best, less valuable than academic subjects (Coventry LEA, 1980 in Fleming). The reason for this might be both inter-ethnic rivalry in education in Malaysia and the Asians' struggle in Britain. The strive for academic excellence has put physical education in the back seat. The case of Asians in Britain 'neglecting the unimportant for the more important', one might suggest, could also be a channel of escapism against the discriminative view that Asian pupils were below par in physical education (Klein, 1986 in Fleming 1991), and were therefore not expected to succeed at sport (Lashley, 1985 in Fleming in 1991).

In the Malaysian sport scenario, sport development was not actually demanded or given top priority by the society in the first place. With the people generally comfortable and satisfied with their everyday life, sport issues were insignificant and distant. Until sport becomes a key element of Malaysian culture, sport will never be truly important in Malaysian society. It seemed that the government has been more aware of the importance of sport as a tool for national unity. This was declared during the founding of the NSC in 1972, and earlier in the Razak Report 1956 and the Rahman Talib Report 1960 (on education) on the importance of sport to unite the young citizens. Nevertheless, although it was enacted, sport did not significantly integrate students to play together. The evidence was portrayed through ethnic preference for certain sports that continued in the schools (see Appendix F).

Segregation or lack of participation in any particular sport by certain ethnic groups may be due to rejection to participate, or being denied from participation for ethnic reasons. A study by Scott Fleming (1991), "Sport, Schooling and Asian Male Youth Culture [in Britain]", was conducted to analyse the impact of personal racism on the role that sport plays in their leisure lifestyles. The findings confirm the centrality of racism as a crucial component in understanding the leisure relations of Asians throughout Britain. Fleming identified that in attempting to avoid conflict of sport and hostility, the Asians youth submissively retreat, and consequently they are denied opportunities to participate in sport. There were also elements of peer group pressure that indirectly restricted

involvement in a number of sporting activities. Thus, the absence of Asians in certain sports, especially the high-status activity of football is the result of this phenomenon. With regard to Malaysia's circumstances, according to the respondents in this study, segregation was more a matter of choice by the ethnic groups rather than rejection or being denied from participation.

The finding from this research proves that sport in Malaysian schools failed to integrate the multi-ethnic students but on the other hand perpetuated stereotypes among the ethnic groups. This could be seen clearly because of the compact environment of the schools. Among the most common racial stereotypes in Malaysian school sports and in Malaysia, as a whole were: 'the Malays were better with their feet', therefore suitable for football and *sepak takraw*; 'the Chinese were better with their hands' and 'they don't like the sun' thus suitable for indoor games like table tennis basketball, and badminton; and the 'dark skin' and 'skinny leg' (calf, actually) of Indians made them suitable to run the long-distance under the hot sun. To label the Malays as 'better with their feet' actually gave a negative connotation for it related closely to the Malay proverb '*goyang kaki*' or 'shake leg', which means 'doing nothing' or 'lazy' (see Chapter 3 page 82 and page 86).

In relation to other parts of the world, these prejudiced statements in sport did exist too. For instance: 'White men can't jump' (Polley 1998) thus blacks were better in basketball than whites; 'Asians cannot play football because they don't

like the physical element and their eating habits are a problem' (Polley, 1998); and whites were better at central positions in the professional sports, to be the quarter back in American football, the pitcher in baseball, and the centre in basketball because they have 'the brains'. These physiological and anatomical prejudices are universal and remain unchallenged (Coakley, 1994).

It is unavoidable to sport academics to touch on the aspect of ethnic segregation when discussing the issue of ethnicity in sport. Coakley has argued that the reasons for this continued segregation in some sports are linked not just to class, space, and cost but also to the dynamics of the sports themselves. The sports in which blacks have achieved overrepresentation in the United States of America such as basketball, American football, baseball and track and field, are those that do not contain the same kind of off-pitch social obligations as lawn tennis, golf and other middle-class sport. According to Coakley, white sport establishments tolerate a black's presence only in so far as it does not involve too much mixing. Coakley added that besides social obligations, the success of black sportsmen and sportswomen has frequently been explained in terms of genetic superiority and a range of assumed physical attributes, including agility, speed, strength and reflexes, but excluding stamina, courage and intellectual abilities.

In Malaysia, another reason for the segregation (and neglect) in sport is the race for economic betterment through education. It was the top priority among the ethnic groups; not unity through sport. Immediately after the 1969 riot, the

government's emphasis has always been on the improvement of education and economic opportunities for the Malays. With this in view, the Malays had focused their aspirations on what the government had expected. The Chinese, on the other hand, while not letting go of their keenness in sport, somehow had to compete with the Malays in these areas (economy and education). With these issues in mind, sport in schools was never considered a priority. The situation had created a school environment that was entirely academic-minded rather than sport-minded. Schools in Malaysia became very much exam-oriented where parents insisted that their children pass the national examinations. As a result much time was spent on academic and extra tuition classes (see Appendix C3). Problems in executing proper teaching of physical education and the lackadaisical attitude towards sport programme by the school community were actually signs of the society's inclination towards material gain rather than sporting interest. The fact is proven by the absence of parents' inquiries and complaints towards the neglect of physical education and sport in schools. It was obvious that complete ignorance towards physical education and sport was acceptable in Malaysia, but relaxed attitude towards academic by school authority was quick to be scrutinised. Schools became the battlefield for ethnic survival, far from being a playing field for building character.

It seemed almost certain that whenever there is inter-ethnic strive for the betterment of living condition, the element of ethnic segregation will persist. Even though the ethnic groups have learned to live side by side, they continue to

practice their different beliefs and culture without offending others. Sports like basketball for the Chinese and *sepak takraw* for the Malays could be regarded as an excellent example for this phenomenon. The associations and the MYS in trying to develop 'cross-interest' among the ethnic groups in these two sports made only minimal effort. Merging of the ethnic groups only prevailed during specially organised competitions under considerably unique circumstances. In a real everyday setting, however, they would prefer to stay within the boundaries they are comfortable with. The situation also persisted in schools; while the students mixed during physical education under the watchful eyes of the teachers, outside school time and compounds, they would prefer to be left alone. Skin complexion might not be the main reason in this case, for language barrier could be more the cause for segregation because ethnic languages are very much in everyday practise⁴³.

The decline of interest in school sport had begun following the withdrawal of the British regime after independence (Khoo, 1989). Although the British succeeded in imposing a modern way of life to the local urbanites, somehow, they failed to inculcate a permanent interest in sport among the people, especially among the majority of the Malays. The reason was all colonial schools were located in towns and away from the majority of the Malays; therefore a sport culture did not really penetrate the wider and more secluded areas of the country. The receding interest in sport coincided with the gradual departure of British

⁴³ While all ethnic groups could speak Malay because it was taught in all types of schools, the Chinese language and Tamil could only be understood by the Chinese and Indians, respectively.

expatriates that took along with them the true spirit of sport in Malayan society. The vacuum left in British schools by British teachers was taken over mostly by the Chinese teachers⁴⁴, who were quite active in sport. But as the country's economic wealth prospered, teaching became a less popular profession for it did not provide high incomes compared to the business sectors. The domination of the teaching profession then changed hands to the Malays and finally to the female Malay teachers⁴⁵. This gradual taking over by the Malays in the education field was very much based on the preference to have more Malay public servants as indicated in the New Economic Policy.

Another reason for this recession of interest in sport might be, indirectly, because of the opportunities that opened up in government service and in commercial and industrial sectors after the British left. These were professions that were somewhat restricted to the locals during colonial administration. The people of independent Malaya realised that education is the most important criteria in filling up those posts and social mobility, thus greater attention was paid towards education. This was corresponded with tremendous growth of student population that in turn resulted in inadequate space for learning and schools were forced to hold separate morning and afternoon sessions (Khoo, 1989).

⁴⁴ English medium schools, both primary and secondary, in the country were dominated by Chinese teachers in the sixties and the seventies. There were no Malay medium secondary schools then (in the sixties until mid seventies). In general, the only Malay teachers employed in these English medium schools were those teaching the Malay language and the Islamic studies.

⁴⁵ Female Malay teachers are now the dominant group in Malaysian primary and secondary schools.

The decline of sport in school was actually mainly the decline of sport in the English schools. There seemed to be a 'see-saw' effect between education and sport in these schools. While the general public was now interested in academic achievement and sport became unimportant, the MYS was trying to promote sport especially at the higher level of competition. The paradigm of practising sport was very much different during the British colonial days. The functions of sport had very clear objectives and were executed systematically towards British global domination, thereby enriching the British economic control. Sport was used by the British to control, discipline and inculcate nationalism into the mind of the youngsters in the public schools in England; promote the concept of 'Muscular Christianity'; unite and provide havens for the expatriate to relax in a 'home away from home' through the sport clubs; control the native boys in the foreign countries to succumb under British ideology and culture, and pacify the locals through British organised sport competitions thus accepting British rule. The success in achieving these objectives contributed to the British's ability to rule a quarter of the land on the globe in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Nevertheless, it might be too much to suggest that the British strategically manipulated sport for their economic and national purposes. Sport was already part of the British culture and long history. Sport was part of their 'cultural baggage' which they brought along when they 'travelled' to the foreign lands. In addition, the British really did not successfully control the entire population in

Malaya because it was only those adjacent to the British industrial and commercial circle that were involved in the British education and sport directly. As for the majority of the Malay people in the rural areas, distance itself was a deterrent from any possibility of violent clashes with the immigrants in the urban areas. Furthermore to impose something new – modern sporting events – onto a newly created multi-ethnic society was not something as difficult as one might think. It was like cultivating a new interest or culture into a society that was still in search of a “hobby” or past time physical activities in a new environment (for the immigrants). Having said so, the decline of interest in sport in most schools once the influence of British power receded was actually a sign of failure on the part of the British to really inculcate sporting interest into the people of Malaya (later Malaysia). The enthusiasm in sport was actually something that was borrowed from the colonial masters. Among others, sport was no longer treated as the main tool to discipline the pupils as the British did. It used to be that those schools that were active in sport were academically excellent too (see Appendix C2).

While the whole effort of propaganda for world expansion and domination was very much owed to the definite use of sport in the case of the British colonial administration, the use of sport in Malaysia after independence was unclear. Apart from the role of sport as a tool for unity, other roles were suppressed. Furthermore, while sport manipulated by the British colonial government seemed to bring together various elements into building the British strength to expand and

maintain its influence, the use of sport beyond the watchful British eyes and post-British rule seemed to be the diverging factors. Instead, sport exemplified the diversity of culture of the various ethnic groups' socio-economy, education and cultural background. The diversity was evident in the choice of game participated by the different ethnic groups where the concentration of the Malays is in *sepak takraw*, Chinese in basketball, table tennis, swimming and squash, and Indians in athletics, hockey and long distance running events. This somehow was used and reinforced by the ethnic groups to project their different cultural identity and ability where possible. In fact, sport is about prowess for "it is one of the most potent of human activities in its capacity to give meaning to life, to create and interconnect senses of achievement and identity" (Allison, 1993, p.7). This statement seemed to be very relevant especially to the various ethnic groups in Malaysia who were constantly competing yet hiding their suspicions among themselves. Furthermore, ethnicity is "not just a minority issue: it is something possessed by everyone" (Polley, 1998, p.136).

As complex as sport's entanglement with politics and other social activities, is the issue of ethnicity. Ethnicity is complex if one accepts it as a social category or social labelling. Ethnicity then becomes a tool for differentiating people which leads to possible discrimination and segregation. On the other hand, a society needs some form of labelling for identification, for security, and for a sense of belonging. Therefore 'ethnicity' is one form of social identification and categorisation just like age, origin, racial background, social-economic status and

sex (Loy & McElgrove, 1981; Hall, 1991). Identity itself is a “ground of action” according to Stewart Hall (1991, p.42). Apart from other determining factors like age, sex, occupation, education, upbringing and attitude; belonging to a certain ethnicity did have some influence on what will be played (Mason, 1988). Furthermore, similar to sport, ethnic phenomenon were staged and stabilised by the industrialisation, capitalism, urbanisation and by the formation of the world market (Hall, 1991). Thus, having to have the different ethnic groups play together was not only wanting them to play together but also bringing together their differences or possibly their antagonism towards one another. Hence, it is difficult to mix various ethnic groups through sport activities to achieve the true sense of national unity.

To have the various groups in Malaysia compete among themselves or play together as a team in greater quantity of sporting events was quite difficult because of the ethnic groups’ preference to pool themselves in certain types of sports. Having this in mind, it contradicts Burton (1991) who argues that sport (in his case the game of cricket in the West Indies) has the effect of neutralising and defusing popular discontent and frustration by channelling people into an essentially harmless activity; an activity which, despite the violence it intermittently provokes, remains a play activity. It would seem that in Malaysia the various ethnic groups do not even initiate to play among themselves. Thus, the effect described by Burton cannot materialise.

The bigger question was, did Malaysians really understand the meaning of sport development and did they desperately need it? To begin with, opinions on the word 'development' itself were divided. Some regard losing at international level, especially in sport that Malaysia was once good at like football and hockey was a sign of the lack of development, while others would measure development as winning more international competitions. Maybe the accurate definition for sport development in Malaysia was to make sport the culture of the people where it is seriously practised, while, at the same time produce respectable result at international competitions to boost the reputation of the country. At the moment, however, everybody seemed to care about sport development when Malaysia was involved in certain tournaments (usually the big ones) performed poorly.

In terms of sport achievement, Malaysia ended the 20th century on a respectable note, even though many agreed that in terms of international competition Malaysia has not made much progress. Apart from the 1998 Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur, the century ended for Malaysia with her successful inclusion as one of the leg in the International Formula One circuits in 1999. Adding to the glamour, Malaysia entered the new millennium by making her debut as host for the international Formula One boat race (2001). With the Tour de Langkawi international bicycle racing already in the annual calendar since the mid nineties, the government now has at least three 'sedatives' a year for the multi-ethnic people of Malaysia. It could be suggested that 'dosing' the people with international glamour through hosting big events was much more successful

than trying to win international competitions. It was proven that hosting these events, so far, had guaranteed satisfying monetary returns to the country.

6.3 Conclusion

The problems identified in this study exist at all levels of the sport developmental structure. The fact that these problems exist implies that Malaysia is actually a nation that is still too young and too diverse to form her own true identity. Since sport participation resembled the type of society, as agreed by sport academics, the segregated choice of sport in Malaysia along ethnic line was the most unique determinant of what the Malaysian society was made of. The combination of the effect of the isolation in almost every aspect of life of the various groups; the attempts by the various ethnic groups to project their own identity; the stereotyping and role-modelling and; to some extent, the demonstration of rebellion against rivals contributed to the segregation in sport. Although social issues that surround sport are universal in most instances, Malaysia is unique in that the factors mentioned above account for the patterns and development of Malaysian sport. The pattern and development of Malaysian sport is a reflection of the distinctively different ethnic groups in the country. The British colonial policies, which highlighted and segregated the groups, only elevated the differences.

Socialist or non-socialist, communist or capitalist, succumbing to the functionalism or conflict theory was no more than only coincidental. It could be

suggested that the Malaysian government never specifically took the effort to study sport nor the intention to copy other countries' attempts and decisions on how to manipulate her sport for national importance or to send its political message to the world.

The fact remains that the original base of the country's present mainstream of sport activity actually started from the expansion of foreign powers in Malaysia and was not produced by the independent government. This was the true basis that determined what the country's socio-political environment and sport were going to be. The Malaysian government's bold and massive drive of restructuring the society via the New Economic Policy (still in the process but refined in the New Development Policy) to achieve a balanced society has caused the Malaysian society to be ephemeral in nature. A society which can be said to be only a 'temporary' society that does not provide a solid and uniform base in which the nation's sport development could initiate its 'kick-start' towards success in sport.

Sport competition in Malaysia like in any other part of the world was a stage for performers, a place to gather spectators and also a place for those in need or in power to put on one spectacular sideshow, to make known their struggle or propaganda. Having these humans already gathered, although they might be unwilling yet unable to detest, the message was delivered through the sideshow. Either sport for mere entertainment or sport for nationalistic purposes, the ground

rule is sport in Malaysia, although they do hype-up the people's emotion, pride and satisfaction, is only temporary and very much insignificant in the long run to carve a permanent monument of the desired feeling as expected by the authority. Again, since sport competition is a 'performing stage', regardless of the 'act' and the sideshow, it is the ability to congregate people (of all races) that really mattered.

The whole situation reflects the true nature of the development of the Malaysian society itself. Sport development tends to be the result of the 'ad-hoc' and then the 'quick-fix' projects of the British colonial government followed by the independent government, respectively. Since then sport has followed the trend of Malaysia's socio-political and economic development and not the development of sport in its true sense. The development of sport is the 'results' of these swift and complicated developments.

The discussions have demonstrated a unique feature of sport in Malaysia. The whole situation has shown that through divided and sporadic attention from the government and constant ethnic rivalry, the government has tried to place sport on a pedestal but without the interest of the people in mind. Sport in this manner would continue to be merely a charade played by the government, which suited the government's image more than sport itself. Until, or unless, sport becomes part of the people's culture, it would continue to be freely manipulated by the government (especially an autocratic one). Finally, even though the government

has created a farce out of sport development, the truth about the value of sport in Malaysian society itself, however, remains uncovered and needs further investigation.

Based on the findings, analysis and discussion, this dissertation arrives at the following theories with respect to sport development in Malaysia, namely that:

- unless a society has determined its being, its sport can never form a direction of where it is heading.
- ‘sport development’ is a relative term for it only exists if a hypothetical destination is created, comparison is made, and an increase of quantity and quality are expected.
- in a multi-ethnic society where the balance of political hegemony and economic hegemony exists but remains as a separate and distinguished entity of competitive and suspicious societies, sport will become the symbol of prowess of the competing groups even when the types of sports are different and not given any attention by the opponent group.

In short, the distinct social, economic, geographical and cultural background, are the causes of the segregation among the ethnic groups in Malaysia. This situation makes sport almost helpless as a tool for unity. Though the various

ethnic groups have sport as the neutral ground to unite them; sport is also camouflaging hideously to demonstrate prowess by those that lack political power. Sport in Malaysia has never had a clear perspective as that during the British colonial rule. Malaysia's way of governing sport duplicates almost all styles of sport governance around the world – communist, socialist and democratic. This allows Malaysia to cope with the unique and complicated socio-economic setting that exists in the country. Malaysia thus fits both the universal functionalist theory and conflict theory of sport.

This thesis has shown that Malaysia is no exception when dealing with issues of sport in society that concerns the world around – issues of: minority groups dominating sport; stereotyping and segregation in sport; sport and social status; and the neglect in teaching physical education in schools (where Malaysia could be the champion for this kind of neglect) and many more. Malaysia is also similar with other countries in the world in terms of using sport to promote unity. Whilst, in doing so, sport is used by certain groups to express their prowess out of frustration for being denied of equal opportunities in many things. With more important issues at hand, sport becomes quite peripheral to most Malaysians and hence they are not seriously involved in sport. Sport has become less demanded but more of a phenomenon that exists as a result of the British colonial legacy. Until the effect of the legacy is totally diminished [which is rather impossible], and as long as ethnic issues remain the dominant factor in Malaysian society, sport in Malaysia will remain segregated.

In conclusion, as suggested by Janet Lever (1988), sport belongs in the world of play and leisure, yet business elite, mass media, government and political leaders recognise its potential for making profits, disseminating propaganda, and eliciting pride. Organised sport prevails virtually, everywhere and has developed over the past half century from a relatively minor element of a culture into a full-blown social institution. She concluded that the starting point of a conflict is not disagreement at all, but rather the agreement of opponents to strive for an incompatible goal within the constraints of understood rules and standards of acceptable play. In other words, conflict is not the means to resolve disagreement, but rather the end in itself. Sport, then, is “the play form of conflict” (Lever, 1988, p.86). In summary, sport has been taken as a tool to create distraction, a way of providing a safety valve and keeping the masses quiet, an arm of the state and a way of building nationalism (Whannel, 1983). The development of sport in Malaysia exemplifies this.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE RESPONDENTS

Questions to The Ministry of Youth and Sports of Malaysia (MYS)

The interview is conducted with a top official in the Ministry to identify the problems in developing sport in the country. The interview focused on the following questions:

- i) What is the role of the Ministry in developing sport in the country?
- ii) What are the main problems in Malaysian sport today?
- iii) How much money is allocated for sport development?
- iv) What do you think of the current situation where certain ethnic is dominating certain sports? Is this phenomenon acceptable? Is it an advantage or a disadvantage?
- v) What are some of the problems in managing a multi-ethnic society in terms of sport development?
- vi) What are some of the policies underlined by the government to promote racial harmony and multi-ethnic participation in sport? Does sport play its role as a control agent in this country?
- vii) How does the government promote national unity and patriotism through sport?
- viii) What do you think of political and politicians' intervention in sport?
- ix) To what extent is the relationship between the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Education in terms of promoting sport to the highest degree and achievement?
- x) What is the rationale for state intervention?

Questions to The Ministry of Education of Malaysia (MOE)

The interview is conducted with a top official in the Ministry of Education to identify the problems in promoting sport in the country through education. The interview focused on the following questions:

- i) What is the role of the Ministry in developing sport in the country through its education system?
- ii) What is the Ministry's policy in terms of promoting sport in schools and higher learning institutions?
- iii) Is there any specific policy set by the Ministry to promote racial harmony through sport activities?
- iv) To what extent is the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth and Sports in terms of promoting sport to the highest degree and achievement?
- v) What level of control do you have on physical education in school?
- vi) Is physical education helping in promoting sport in Malaysia?

Questions to the The Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM)

The interview is conducted with a top official in the Olympic Council of Malaysia. The Council is chosen for its role in linking Malaysian sport with international sport bodies and competitions. The Council is also selected for its autonomous status from government control. The objective of the interview is to identify the problems in working with the local sport associations and to evaluate

Malaysia's overall performance at international level. The interview focused on the following questions:

- i) What is the role of the OCM?
- ii) What are the problems faced in working with the sport associations?
- iii) What are the main problems of developing sport in the country?
- iv) What do you think of political intervention in sport?
- v) How far has commercialism penetrate into sport?
- vi) Is multi-ethnic issue a problem in developing sport?

Questions to the sport associations

The interview is conducted on eleven different sport associations. Besides their varieties, the associations are chosen for their willingness to participate. The objective of the interview is to investigate the problems of management in the associations. The interview focused on the following questions:

- i) What is the organisational structure like?
- ii) How many members do you have and what is the ethnic and gender composition of your members? Do you have any problems with multiracial membership?
- iii) Do you have any policy that specifically promote racial integration or encourage multiracial participation?
- iv) Why do you think that certain ethnic group is more dominant in certain sports than other groups?
- v) How much money does the organisation receive from the Ministry of

Youth and Sports? Is this amount sufficient?

- vi) What other aids does the Ministry provide?
- vii) What do you think of political intervention in sport?
- viii) In your opinion, what can be done to improve sport in Malaysia at both organisational and national level?
- ix) What about the power struggle in achieving top posts in the organisation (taking external influence into consideration too)?
- x) What is the significance of the media in relation to your association?
- xi) Do you have any relationship with the schools in terms of developing your sport?
- xii) What is the biggest issue in Malaysian sport?

Questions to the schools

There are forty schools chosen from four states (ten schools from each state). The selected schools are those of various characteristics: co-educational, single gender, rural, urban, everyday schools, boarding schools, schools in more developed states, schools in an under-developed state (one state), schools from states that are under the government's control and schools from a state that is under the opposition party (only one state). The reasons for the selection of these different types of schools are: to detect whether these different characteristics have any influence on sport in the schools and, to understand the whole picture of physical education and sport situation in Malaysian schools. The interview questions posed to the schools are:

- i) What are the population of this school and the composition of its ethnic groups and gender?
- ii) What is the organisational structure of sport in this school?
- iii) What are the favourite sports in this school?
- iv) How much is the budget for sport?
- v) What are the facilities available?
- vi) Who teaches physical education and who coach sport?
- vii) How much money do/does the Ministry of Education and/or the Ministry of Youth and Sports contribute/s to the school?
- viii) Different ethnic groups seem to concentrate on certain sports; does this phenomenon exist in this school? If it does exist, can you suggest why?
- ix) Do you think this is healthy? If not, why and do you have a remedy?
- x) Do you have problems in administrating a multi-ethnic (and co-ed) school?
- xi) Does physical education play its role in inculcating sporting interest into students? Are there any problems in this area?
- xii) Are you satisfied with students' participation in sport? If not, why?
- xiii) What is the school's contribution in producing athlete for the district, state, or the country?
- xiv) Is there any external influence affecting the school curriculum, structure etc?

Questions to prominent individuals

There are eight respondents interviewed from this group. The selection is based on their contributions to sport in Malaysia. This group consists of two physical education lecturers, a sport historian, two sport journalists, one ex-national athlete and sport coach, an ex-Olympian and a foreign sport expert. The objective of the interview is to acquire a wider perspective and understanding of sport in Malaysia. The interview focused on the following questions:

- i) What do you think of the current sport development in Malaysia?
- ii) Are you satisfied with Malaysia's performance at international competitions?
- iii) How far do social factors influence the pattern of current sport scene?
- iv) Certain ethnic groups tend to concentrate on certain sports, what do you think of this?
- v) How far does sport play its role in a multiracial society as a national integration and social control agent?
- vi) What do you think of political intervention in sport?
- vii) What would you suggest could be done to improve sport in Malaysia at national and international levels?
- viii) What are some critical factors in determining future sport in Malaysia?

APPENDIX B

RUKUNEGARA

DECLARATION

OUR NATION, MALAYSIA, being dedicated

to achieving a greater unity of all her peoples;

to maintaining a democratic way of life;

to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably shared;

to ensuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions;

to building a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology;

WE, her peoples, pledge our united efforts to attain these ends guided by these principles:

Believe in God

Loyalty to King and Country

Upholding the Constitution

Rule of Law

Good Behaviour and Morality

APPENDIX C1: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE DIRECTOR OF THE SPORTS DIVISION, THE MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORTS OF MALAYSIA.

The function of this division is to create a nation with sport and recreation loving people, which coincides with the *Malaysia Cergas* (Healthy Malaysia) theme introduced in 1982. The emphasis is on sport for the masses that covers sport to the very root and at all levels of classes. Participation is given priority over competition. In 1997, The Ministry of Youth and Sports organised three sports: *sepak takraw*, netball and volleyball, where 82,000 participants from all over the country took part and 14,200 competitions were held. No state players were allowed to play.

Sport involves a lot of money, however, the Federal Government will give financial support if the state government provided a site to develop a sport ground.

It is not difficult to inculcate interest in sport to the people. But, some of the difficulties for people in the cities are; traffic jam, lack of time, and lack of playing areas.

The wife of the Prime Minister gave the idea of the 1001 courts in 1992 after Malaysia won the Thomas Cup in Kuala Lumpur. But as till now, the interviewee is not sure of how many courts are in existence. Two that have existed are at Kubang Pasu (the Prime Minister's constituent) and Permatang Pauh (the Deputy Prime Minister's constituent). The rest are under planning for the *kampung* (village) people to participate.

Other programmes like the *Rakan Muda* (Young Friends) and *Rakan Sukan* (Friends of Sport) are at full speed and are now three years going (1994 to 1997- to the date of this interview).

Although the ethnic groups tend to segregate among them into certain sports, on other matters they manage to tolerate each other very well. This is due to political stability. The interviewee ascertains his view on political stability by asking: "Where in the world can you find a country run by the same party for forty-two years?" The interviewee finds nothing wrong with ethnic identification to a particular sport. However, sport can unite the people and obviously can avoid people from "wasting time at the coffee shops". People will go home immediately when they are tired. The Ministry does not have problem administering competition in all sports but it is difficult to get various ethnic groups to mix in a particular sport competition.

The problem is when the Ministry is too generous, people will always ask for more.

Financial issue is a government's secret. The interviewee stated that "I cannot tell you the exact amount allocated by the government, but I can tell that RM10,000,000 have been spent this year". [Today's date is 2 September 1997].

There is a lot of politicking in sport associations. It is all right for politicians to lead as long as they know what they are doing. They always have the advantage of bringing in money.

[The interviewee declined to have on tape his opinion on the country's performance at international level].

APPENDIX C2: INTERVIEW NOTES.

PARTICIPANT: THE DIRECTOR OF THE MALAYSIAN SCHOOLS
SPORTS COUNCIL, THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
OF MALAYSIA.

Its duty is to fulfil the goals of the National Sports Policy: ‘Sports for All’ and ‘Sports for Excellence’.

The Council has the fund to organise competitions but no allocation for training potential athletes. Since fund is limited, affiliates are encouraged to use their funds to run state competitions.

There are potential athletes that can be sent to the National Sports School but parents prefer their children to attend boarding schools. Boarding schools put strict priority towards academic achievement and athletes can only go as far as to represent the district teams. The best breed “died there”!

There is no written policy in the Council to encourage racial harmony, but there is one in the 1969 Education Cabinet Report.

Sport should be spread to all the people at all level of society. All concerning bodies must work together. Co-operation among the bodies at the lower level is less and disorganised as compared to the federal and states associations. The

sport associations do not go down to the roots and there is no sport association at district level in most sports. They are weak and non-professional and therefore the National Sports Council must always monitor them closely. These associations are more concerned in getting the supply of athletes from the schools rather than helping to develop sport in the schools. Except for football, many talented school athletes disappeared after their school years.

The national games, badminton, should get co-operation from the schools, but it is not happening that way.

It used to be that those schools that were active in sport were excellent in academic too, but now there are schools that do not conduct annual inter-house athletic meets. Academic has taken over sport and students prefer to attend tuition classes rather than to go to the field.

Sport in the universities is at recreational level only.

APPENDIX C3: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OLYMPIC

COUNCIL OF MALAYSIA

Time has changed very much but nothing much has happened in sport in Malaysia. The interviewee blames both the sport associations and the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM). Too much attention is given on the technical aspect like coaching while others like ethic, research, assessment of the past, and statistic of sport are neglected. The country is not learning from the past and continues to make mistake like what it did in the past forty years. There is no clear objective for sport in Malaysia. The National Sport Policy is only a policy but it does not have any target – no time horizon. The interviewee claims that “No policy is effective when there is no time horizon. The National Sport Policy has no goal post at the end”. It is important to have a holistic development and be clear of the strategies and objectives to be achieved. The country is not clear whether to develop sport or to find champion.

The interviewee gives an example of water polo in the 1950s when he was a player. There were more teams playing then than now. The standard might be better then because of the keenest of the players.

The sport associations are not playing its role to develop sport; they are merely ‘organisers’. Everything is the same according to set routines; the associations

will organise a competition to select national players (team), followed by a one month central training, and eventually competing in the South East Asia (SEA) Games. Development has never been the responsibility of the sport associations, “it is always done by the private clubs and parents”. Since development is never in the associations’ list, they just take whatever that has existed and develop their own members.

Before independence, development seemed natural because there were not many attractions (distraction rather); schools, clubs and parents played sports because they enjoyed it. Currently, many new attractions such as; television, indoor and less tiring sport like bowling, commercial sport like golf, theme parks, and computer games have managed to pull people away from the physical sports. The concept of schools and clubs being the cradle of sport development has slowly eroded due to changes in the environment. The interviewee gave an example where in the past, children used to walk or cycle to the nearby school fields. However, it has changed because the development of housing estates are in such a way that children are far from the school compounds or public playgrounds. Furthermore, rapid economic development in the country saw commercial sites taking over the playing grounds.

The national and states’ sport bodies are caught unaware. It is only recently that the problem is realised by the city councils.

Even when there are new stadiums being built, they are very expensive and not open to the public anymore. The stadiums are very commercialised and charge expensive fees. They become “white elephants” for people chosen not to use them. These things are happening because there are no research and assessment being conducted.

Schools are the grounds where new sport talents are discovered. Unfortunately, the exam-oriented Malaysian schools contradict with elite sports development. Parents insist that their children pass the national examinations and therefore, so much time is spent on academic classes and extra tuition after school hours. Malaysian parents realise that sport does not guarantee a bright future for their children. Furthermore, sport activities have narrowed; it used to be that schools would have inter-house competitions, the qualifying rounds and the schools sports day where everybody participate. Then it was followed by the selection of school teams and competitions among schools within their surroundings. But lately, the Malaysian Schools Sports Council introduces the state competition too soon. What happens is, too much emphasis on higher level competitions and too little competitions for those pupils who are not so good in sport. Sport has been narrowed for the best few too soon. The same thing happens for the selection of national teams.

As a national sport, badminton is doing well, but the younger players are retiring early because the senior players seem to overstay.

Politicians have good intention when they want to lead sport associations. But the problems are most associations are weak financially and lack human resources. Associations are keen to organise international events for glamour and to get sponsor while the developmental aspect is neglected.

There is too much government involvement. In terms of fund, when the government is providing money, it is actually giving the wrong cue to the associations and the athletes that they do not have to find for it anymore. The government is upsetting the culture by taking away what the people can do better. The National Sports Council (government) has huge budget, but, it is also full of bureaucracy and not co-operating fully with the associations.

Problems also arise in associations because there are two types of employees. The paid employees are always assuming that they are superior to the volunteer staff. There is more confusion when the superior officers are volunteers and the subordinate staffs are paid labours (for they regard themselves as permanent staffs and truly belong to the associations).

Sport is not very important in the country and that is why only junior ministers get the post as sport minister.

Some people have misled the government to think that the 1998 Commonwealth Games will open the door to all other things.

Basketball is not a Chinese sport, it is American. The game was brought in by Chinese schoolteachers from mainland China when they came to Malaya.

Somehow in Malaysia when one ethnic group plays a particular sport other groups tend to stay away. No harm done. Now there is a deliberate move by the government to make other ethnic groups play basketball.

The media is not helping in sport. They are following the tabloid's style that looks only for sensational news. The media seems to always take the opposite stand of the decisions that have been made. For example, when the Malaysian Amateur Athletics Union decided to terminate the contracts of foreign coaches, the media went against it with their own version of logic.

APPENDIX D1: INTERVIEW NOTES.

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN GYMNASTICS FEDERATION

Not all states are members of the federation. The big ones are Selangor and the Federal Territory, and the non-members are states of Perlis, Kelantan, and Pahang.

70% of the gymnasts are Chinese and the rest is a mixture of Malays and Indians. Things are changing because states like Pahang and Trengganu are showing interest and this will increase the number of Malay participants.

The problem in Malaysian sport is there are four bodies looking after sport: the Sport Associations, the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MYS), the Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM), and the Malaysian School Sports Council (MSSC). But these four bodies lack co-operation. Every sect has its own opinion and wants things to work according to its own perspective. For example the Malaysian Gymnastics Federation (MGF) has its classification of gymnast while the MSSC has a different classification, thus, separate competitions are organised. Things are not in accord.

In order to make all the establishments concerned work together, under the Sport Development Act, a sport commissioner is elected. The commissioner will be

responsible to direct all parties to co-operate. Unfortunately, the swimming association already showed resistance.

Some sport associations refuse to work with the National Sport Council (NSC). The NSC has its own problem and politics according to them.

The government once decided not to have politician involved in sport but withdrew its decision due to application from politicians.

There is no specific policy to encourage racial harmony because the associations do not see it as a problem.

Money is a problem to all associations. It is more difficult to get money if there are no politicians attached to the associations. The MGF does not have a politician as its president, thus it has problem in getting fund. This association survives on grant (training grant) from the NSC. Luckily, from 1993 until the 1998 Commonwealth Games, the MGF received RM14 million to prepare a gymnastic team.

This is a voluntary association where no money is paid as salaries. The NSC is assisting in getting permanent staffs. Only the Honorary Secretary is paid as a permanent staff.

The main issue in Malaysian sport is that the government is not clear of its goal. The 1988 National Sport Policy emphasised two objectives: sport for the elite and sport for all. The two objectives contradict each other. The government's full commitment is in question because the government has other responsibilities.

A lot of money is poured for the Commonwealth Games without a clear goal: "We don't know what is going to happen later and what are the objectives of the government...Are we going to be the power of gymnastic in the world? If so, then we know how much the budget is and so on. What is clear is that we want to host and organise the best ever Commonwealth Games, but, we don't know what 'best ever organised' means! Malaysia doesn't know where she is heading... to be a sport power or just to have it going".

Sportsmen in Malaysia are not looked-up to unless they are educated.

There are many factors that influence a certain ethnic group to be in a certain sport. However, in gymnastics, members are from various ethnic groups (majority being Chinese) and from the middle class and higher income family. Before the gymnasts get aids from the government, the families have to support them. This means the well to do family always have the access.

There is power struggle in the association "based on race, but it is difficult to say".

Sport is a high investment business and the return is not guaranteed.

The media is co-operating in developing the sport.

It is difficult to get gymnastics into schools because there is lack of qualified teachers and the refusal to take responsibility of the risk by school authorities.

The Ministry of Education is not co-operating in handling this matter.

There is no problem of participation from the girls even though the Malay girls face problem from the Malay society.

APPENDIX D2: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN FENCING FEDERATION

A very small association consists of three states; Selangor, Melaka, and Sabah, and the Federal Territory, Kuala Lumpur.

The Chinese used to be dominant in this sport, because, historically, the sport was imported by the British Army in Malacca and towns nearest to the Chinese. Another factor is because most fencers were martial art enthusiasts too (Chinese).

The fencing association is going to the East Coast and this will increase Malay participation. Money is the driving force that gives the advantage to the Chinese but the Malays can now afford to get involved.

The Royal Military College has the best facilities in the country.

Except for the part-time executive secretary who is paid an allowance, all other staffs are volunteers.

Fund from the government varies according to yearly proposal. The association prefers a long-term budget for better long terms planning. As for now the budget received is only for the Jakarta SEA Games 1997. The National Sports Council (NSC) has its own problem to give long-term financing. The government,

through the NSC, gives tremendous contribution to the association... “If not, we close shop”.

Fencing athletes are supported by their families at the initial stage and will receive aid from the government if they have potentials. Fencers take care of their equipment and travelling expenses.

Development of sport in Malaysia is affected by the development of sport in other parts of the world. Sport is as important as the country's social and economic development.

Malaysia is involved in so many games (which makes it difficult to concentrate on developing any specific sport).

The National Sport Policy did ask both the public and private sectors to contribute to the nations' sport development programmes. However, the corporate bodies prefer to sponsor only the big events. Anyway, they approached the fencing association just before the Commonwealth Games with the intention to have their logo on the fencers' jackets.

The problems with development in this association are; lack of money, inadequate coaches, and the inability to spread the sport nation wide.

Sport can work towards national integrity, unity and honour. There is no specific policy in this organisation to promote racial harmony. But in the fencing constitution, it is mentioned that the sport is open to Malaysians irrespective of race and religion. States affiliates follow the central constitution. Fencing has a good representation of ethnic groups but most sports do not.

Fencing is not in schools because it is not sanctioned by the Malaysia School Sports Council (MSSC). There must be a least six states involved before it can be considered to be under the MSSC competition.

Internal politics can kill the sport. In some sport associations and even Olympic Council of Malaysia (OCM), nominations are made from the floor on the day of the election. Phantom members exist to the advantage of certain nominees.

Power struggle occurs because: people think they can contribute better; for power; glamour; travel; name; and reputation. There is no power struggle in fencing because there is no money and glamour. Nobody wants the post.

Honour is not in football and badminton only. In fact more medals are in fencing competitions.

APPENDIX D3: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN BODYBUILDING FEDERATION

Not all states have affiliation. Many clubs closed down because it is expensive to manage. Nowadays the Malays dominate the sport and the majority comes from lower socio-economic status. There are more Malays because of bio-physiological advantage: 80% Malays and 15% the rest. Participants enter because of personal interest, not because of money. Money comes in later if the athlete is good.

The Chinese hold top post because of historical factors but now the Malays are coming in.

This sport does not get its supply from schools.

The association tries to promote harmony by encouraging all ethnic groups to enter competitions but the big turn-up will always be from the same ethnic group (Malays).

Ethnic concentration in certain sports is determined by history, but the situation is changing fast and sport is getting a better mixture. Segregation of ethnic groups through sport participation is not healthy but no harm is done.

The association receives money from the government for certain competitions and for subsidiary reasons. Extra fund is initiated by the association.

The president is a minister and the vice-president is a state exco-member.

The big issue in Malaysian sport is that the country must keep up with other countries in the region. Malaysia is losing even in sports that once it is good at, such as hockey and badminton. The government is spending a lot of money on sport. Mismanagement and internal politics are the problems, not the politicians. Politicians help to bring in money but the setback is they have autonomous power in making decision.

“There is no problem in this association, but we just follow the leader! No power struggle in this association”.

Athletes nowadays are not as dedicated as they used to be. New generation of athletes lack sacrifice and behave like professionals when asking for money.

“Give and take” when it comes to racial and religious issues must exist in this country.

APPENDIX D4: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN WOMEN'S HOCKEY ASSOCIATION

Affiliation is not widespread and two were recently dissolved.

90% of players are Malays; the rest are Indians followed by Chinese. The Chinese will go for something more beneficial like bowling and golf. This sport is played by pupils who are weak in academic from various professions and the unemployed.

The problem with this association is that the higher officials will not accept any advice from the lower officials. The sport is losing its strength due to bad developmental programme.

There is no policy to promote racial harmony and to encourage multiracial participation. The Malays seem to be more interested while others regard this game as dangerous and opt for other sports. Furthermore, the Chinese seem to prefer court games.

Money is always scarce. The government gives money to organise competition and the organising state will get more. Budget proposal must first be submitted before money is handed out. The association used to receive sponsorship from a

company but it stopped due to business take-over of that particular company by some unknown company.

Nowadays players go for money and they are not committed to their sport.

In Malaysian sport, the president can be a Malay but the officials are mostly non-Malays. The interviewee does not know why the Malays do not want to be top officials.

The association has good rapport with the media, but somehow only the president and the executive secretary can make press statement. (Interviewee might be fired immediately if honest comment is given to the press).

Politicians attract money to the association. But since they are very busy, they give all their trust to the Secretary and no question is asked. No one dares to question the leadership.

The country should send local personnel overseas for training to be coaches. This will benefit more than hiring foreign coaches because when they leave, nothing is left behind.

Preference in selecting team players is always a problem for favouritism is very much practised.

APPENDIX D5: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE SQUASH RACKETS ASSOCIATION OF
MALAYSIA

This is a very structured organisation but not a nation wide association.

90% of the members are Chinese and the rest are a mixture of Malays and Indians. The number of participation by ethnic depends very much on which state they come from. A state with higher Malay percentage will have more Malay players, but nevertheless, they are still less than the Chinese. There are programmes to attract more Malays into this sport. To achieve this goal Malay officers are assigned to be in charge in the Malay states and certain development unit.

There are more Chinese players because the elite Chinese started this game in the private clubs. As far as Malays are concerned, only the senior government officers, businessmen and royalties are involved. The English educated Chinese picked up some form of sports and passed down their interest to their children. This same pattern is seen in badminton. The number of Malay increases because more children of the police personnel enter the sport in big groups.

The problem is to have continuous funding from the government and private sponsors. As for now, the association relies 100% on contributions from the

National Sport Council and sponsors. The association finance-committee and the president have the influence to bring in fund. For the 1998 Commonwealth Games, the association has received RM1.2 million since 1993.

To improve sport in Malaysia: i) associations need full time dedicated staff. The staff must have certain authorities in making decisions; ii) parents must understand the values of sport and encourage their children to pick up sport; iii) the education system must justify the importance of physical education.

Parents are not interested in sport.

Certain ethnic group is more dominant in certain sports because of exposure... “Try turning around and put a basketball coach and a basketball court in the *kampung* (village)...people (Malays) will play and so will the Chinese if *takraw* is put in a Chinese community”. The segregation started during the British colonial period where the Chinese were located in the New Village, the Indians in the estates, and the Malays remained in the *kampung*. “There is no clear cut of any ethnic sport, if given the chance to people of other community”.

There is no power struggle in the association. The president, a minister, is very active with the association.

The media is very supportive.

Malaysian sport lacks guidelines and professionalism. The Government should concentrate more on developing sport for healthy citizen rather than spending too much in drug rehabilitation programmes.

APPENDIX D6: INTERVIEW NOTES.

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN AMATEUR ATHLETICS UNION

There is a proportionate number of ethnic participation in athletics. It is so because the athletes are in town areas and most of them work in the banks. The banks help to promote sport by employing most potential and national track athletes.

Problems in administrating this organisation are: i) the affiliates are not united and often disagree with the central organisation; ii) staff works very slowly/not committed; iii) office holders who have been in the association for many years are recalcitrant; iv) cronyism of office holders; v) not enough staff.

Other problems are: i) not enough coaches; ii) non-committed coaches; iii) demanding athletes; iv) athletes compete in a less prestigious competition (closed competition to avoid foreign athletes) for greater chance to win; v) grudges between local and foreign coaches.

There is no policy to promote harmony and there has been no inter-ethnic problem.

There is no yearly grant and no fixed government fund for the association.

Ethnic domination in certain sports started during the colonial period. Students attending English schools acquired better exposure to sport. Domination also resulted from different ethnic group's "way of life".

The media is not helping much and very much incline to report on negative issues and results.

To improve performance the association must have: professional staff; no grudges with foreign coaches; and dedicated athletes.

The country needs more sport academies (not only for badminton) and setting up of sport clubs for youngsters after leaving school. The current situation is there is no clubs for school leavers.

APPENDIX D7: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE NATIONAL ARCHERY ASSOCIATION OF
MALAYSIA

The organisation format of this association is the same as other sport associations.

There is no power struggle in the association. There should not be any politics and preference of particular athletes in sport.

The Chinese used to dominate this sport. Recently archery became a multi-ethnic sport due to its introduction to the schools. The government supplies equipment to schools and this resulted in wider participation from all ethnic groups and from different socio-economic background.

The association always has problem with inadequate finance. The association normally receives fund from the government (National Sport Council) when asked for. The amount is limited and therefore the association must come up on its own. It is difficult to get sponsor because this sport is not a “glamorous sport”.

There is no policy set up by the association to promote racial harmony, but the association encourages participation by all. Normally the Malay states and the arm forces produce Malay participants and the “Chinese State” (State of Penang) produces 100% Chinese participants.

Other problems in Malaysian sport are: i) “we tend to talk big and never do our job till the end”; ii) the country is inclined to give more attention and participate in the more glamorous sport; iii) there are individuals with political influence who like to “test their power” through sport and gain reputation; iv) too much admiration towards foreign coaches as compared to the locals.

The country should concentrate in this sport because it is not physically demanding and thus suitable for the “small size Malaysians”. It also offers more medals in competitions.

In order to improve in sport, all sport associations and the public should not rely totally on government handouts. The Malaysian communities together with the corporate sectors must co-operate with the government to promote sport. Foreign coaches should help to develop sport to the roots besides training the national teams.

The interviewee does not understand why the National Sport School does not have its own playing field and therefore has to use the National Sport Council’s field. Furthermore, the interviewee is puzzled with the fact that the same teachers (teaching academic subjects) in the sport school are also required to do the coaching.

APPENDIX D8: INTERVIEW NOTES.

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN NATIONAL CYCLING FEDERATION

The association has full affiliation from all the states in the country, including the police and arm forces. There is no private cycling club in the country.

The interviewee cannot give the number of members in the country nation wide because affiliations send in the list of office bearers only, which is required by the federation's legislation. The estimated ethnic composition as members are: 75% Malays; 20% Chinese; 5% Indians and others. 10% of the cyclists are women and most of them are Malays. Cycling is a bit expensive but the "involvement is easy" for it does not require much skill.

The problem in running this organisation is the lack of full time staff and that the office bearers are all over the country. For example, the president is in Malacca while his secretary is in Penang. The association used to have a politician as its president, who did not have any knowledge of the association's activities. Even though he managed to attract fund into the association, there were many weaknesses and the association had a poor performance record.

The association does not have any policy to promote racial harmony. Participation is open to all regardless of ethnic background.

It is difficult to get sponsor because cycling is not a popular sport. Money received from the government is not fixed and is given when requested by the association. Luckily, due to the 1998 Commonwealth Games, the association receives RM6 million (in five years time span) from the National Sport Council and our *Rakan Sukan* (Sport Friend) - the Malaysian Telecom. This grant is only given to the national team, thus, the state team still faces financial problem.

The cycling federation made an effort to approach the schools through the Malaysian School Sports Council but the response was slow and the Council wanted school teachers to be the officials [It was under disagreement for the cycling association insisted on their qualified personnel to handle the students].

Power struggle to achieve top post is common, but so far, the president of this association is never challenged. Previous president was not favoured because “people (cycling members) are not satisfied because he is not a Malay” [The current president is a Malay] and his administration was weak.

Sport can promote racial harmony. It does not matter which ethnic group represents the country as long as the athletes carry the Malaysian flag in the competition. The interviewee was once asked by certain people on why he helped an Indian cyclist so much; his response was, “if the athlete won he would carry the Malaysian flag not the Indian flag”. In terms of commitment and discipline, nothing has to do with ethnicity.

APPENDIX D9: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE MALAYSIAN RUGBY UNION

All states have affiliation, but the more advanced states are the most active. The number of players decreases after school age and those states without any university loses its players to other states.

There are not many “clients” in this sport because the base is small and it is not widely spread to the public. Another reason is because of the complexity of the game. 99% of the players are Malays and most of them are from boarding schools. Students seem to group-up into sports where their friends are (normally of the same ethnic group).

This sport is open to everybody and there is no policy to encourage or hinder participation of any ethnic group. But there are certain restrictions like job profession and whether or not the players drink after a game. Drinking will obviously hinder the Malays. Difference of socio-economic status can determine the reason for choosing a club.

Money is always a problem in running this association, but usually the association will be paid by the National Sport Council if asked for. A well-known president is influential in getting fund.

The changing of committee members is quite common in most sport association including this one.

The ethnic groups preferred certain games because of their tradition, art and identity, not because of disunity.

The association has a good relationship with the media but ignorance of the sport by reporters is a problem.

Top governing bodies do not have vision in sport. They are complacent with just having to organise competitions. Government officers often interfere in making decision, i.e. to the extent of deciding how many days to train before a competition! In some cases, politicians chair the meeting but do not know anything about the sport.

SUKMA (an annual athletics meet among the states) is a state affair.

APPENDIX D10: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE TEN-PIN BOWLING CONGRESS OF MALAYSIA

The association is affiliated to the World International Bowling Association, the Asian Bowling Federation and the Olympic Council of Malaysia. It has eleven state affiliates except for Perlis and Trengganu. There are no bowling centres in these two states.

There are 2500 registered tournament bowlers but many more are not registered. The composition of registered bowlers are, 60% Chinese, 35% Malays, and 5% Indians. No reason is known to why the Indians are so few; out of a hundred there may be only 2 Indians (from average families). The Malays are increasing in numbers since Shalin Zulkifli is in the limelight. There are more Chinese because, bowling was once considered as an expensive game and that the centres were and still are in the town areas. The Malay members are mainly students under the development programme sponsored by the National Sports Council. The association has no problem with multiracial memberships and always encourages multi-ethnic participation. But, the trend of ethnic participation still exists.

It used to be that the national players were from the Klang Valley, where the urban areas are, and almost all players were from the Chinese ethnic group.

A corporate body sponsors the association since 1995 and it is a medal sport in the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Games. Performance has been impressive for the last two years although the association has shortages of coaches. The government, through the National Sports Council, gives training grant to national bowlers in the form of money. Unfortunately, it is not enough and the association must find fund for bowling alley rentals, air tickets, lodging and other else.

Bowlers are not demanding and are more disciplined as compared to athletes in other sports.

There is no relationship between the association and the Malaysian School Sports Council.

Bowling is successful because the National Association works very hard and is very consistent. The high officials are former bowlers themselves, not like in many other sports where most leaders are not sportsmen, and therefore they do not understand their sports.

Very few sport associations in Malaysia are organised. There is very much politicking in other associations for reasons such as seeking reputation or simply to get overseas travelling opportunities. In this association, on the contrary, it is difficult to get a team manager to accompany a team because everyone is busy

with his business. The association does not have “big shots” but things are running smoothly because members are willing to contribute.

It is difficult for politicians to get fully involved because they are busy with governmental duties, but somehow politicians have the ability to bring in money.

The problem with sport in Malaysian is that it does not have full time professional administrators and proper offices. During the colonial time, even state level associations were very strong.

There is no professional bowler yet in the country. Badminton is different, although there are professionals they, somehow are permitted to play in amateur competitions.

Ethnic participation in Malaysian sport has a lot to do with their culture and the way they were brought up. There is no Malay school with basketball court and bowling centres are still in town areas where the Chinese are.

There is no power struggle in this association and the interviewee has held the post since 1978. No body has challenged him since!

The sport is enjoying good media coverage and the association will make sure that the press will get the latest news, even when the news is not asked for by the media.

APPENDIX D11: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: THE AMATEUR WEIGHTLIFTING FEDERATION OF MALAYSIA

The association has affiliations from most states in the country. Non-members are: Perlis, Kelantan, Pahang and Negri Sembilan. There is an average of forty to fifty members from each state. Weightlifters are encouraged by their associations, state government and National Sports Council to continue active.

Originally, weightlifting was monopolised by the Chinese. It was part of the Chinese cultural group activities besides others such as the lion dance group, acrobat group, musical band and so forth. The most active Chinese cultural group is the Chin Woo Association, with affiliations from all over Malaysia. Between 1950 to 1960, medal won from the Empire game were all from Chinese lifters. But nowadays 85% of the lifters are Malays, a few Chinese and even less Indians.

Commitment from the committee members and athletes are good. Most states have their own centres with the National Sports Council backing up the *Pusat Khas* (Special Centre). Normally the athletes come from the surrounding areas of the centre. Since the federation has limited resources, all developmental programmes are based on state initiatives.

There is no relationship between the federation and the schools but the federation does send its officers to the schools to conduct clinics, and to train local teachers to become coaches. The response received is good.

It used to be difficult to get people into weightlifting competitions, but recently, since the SUKMA (*Sukan Malaysia* or Malaysian Sports) offers twenty-seven medals, which is the biggest number of medals under contest, there is no problem in searching for contestants.

The federation encourages members from all ethnic groups to participate. The Malays are dominant in the sport nowadays because of the exposure being given by the states. Other reasons that attract the Malays are: role modelling by individuals from the same *kampung* (village); popularity; and to obtain some income (which is thought to be secondary by the interviewee).

The government gives a lot of help by providing subsidies to organise competitions and grants to purchase equipment. There is no fixed handout from the government. Funding will be given only when it is asked for and usually the federation receives less than it expected. Only the national lifters get 100% help.

The federation runs its programmes with the help of the National Sports Council in terms of getting local and imported coaches.

Malaysian sport should have professionals to handle its affairs. The government should give more help to state associations and not only concentrate at the national level.

Certain ethnic group tends to concentrate on certain sport because of the environment; for example, the Malays do not play basketball because there are no basketball courts in Malay schools.

The government through the Ministry of Youth and Sport has focused on sport as its main activity in schools. The setting up of the Sport School is a good sign.

The federation used to have a sponsor from a corporate body, but ever since the particular officer in the Sport and Youth Ministry left, sponsorship is withdrawn. There is nobody who is willing to take over from the previous officer as the contact person to the corporate body. The corporate body on the other hand seems quite reluctant to commit itself further anyway.

Relationship with the media is good.

The federation is confident that in the 1998 Commonwealth Games, Malaysia will do well in weightlifting.

APPENDIX D12: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: SPORTEXCEL

‘SportExcel’ is an abbreviation for Sport Excellence. It was founded in 1992 and is chaired by the King’s son and panelled by advisors from various professions: medical doctor, journalist, education officer and ex-Olympiads. The functions of this private body are; to sponsor selected national sport associations to organise competition circuit in view for potential athletes, to assist athletes during training and to sponsor their education. Training and education are provided both local and abroad. This establishment concentrates on junior athletes, which are generally in the individual sports.

Some of the circuits provided are golf, squash, bowling, cycling, diving, air gun and archery.

This organisation looks for fund in a form of three years sponsorship from business corporations. As for now it has twenty chartered members. Athletes will be sponsored until they can find their own sponsors.

Certain sports are doing well because the administrators are hard working, while others are struggling because of “internal bickering” for matters such as, to compete for popularity or practising cronyism. Some politicians who lead the sport associations are putting sport at heart while others are not serious about

sport. The advantage of having a politician in an association is that he or she can bring in money.

This organisation is fully involved in golf. The problem in golf is that there is the diversity between children of club members and the “caddy group”. Club members’ children play golf mostly for fun while the caddies play golf for money. The caddy-player group is less educated, lack social skills and feel inferior to the elite group. They are happy to make some money and (in their opinion) there is no need to become champions.

On matters to improve sport in Malaysia, the interviewee suggested that: there should be a continuation of physical education syllabus from the primary school to the secondary school; more men teachers who are capable of handling sport activities; and physical education be made compulsory to all teaching candidates. Most teachers nowadays go to schools without any skill and knowledge in games. They prefer to earn extra income by giving private tuition rather than involving themselves in school sport activities. This also includes those with sport skills.

The Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, and the Ministry of Education should work together to promote sport in Malaysia.

APPENDIX E1: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: SPORT HISTORIAN

The problem of sport in Malaysia is that the people responsible to administer sport lost perspective but they keep on *angan-angan* (dreaming), for example, Malaysia keeps on sending teams to world competitions and eager to be the host of the Commonwealth Games. Malaysian societies have many distractions, among others are that the people are busy making money and sport is looked upon as something of “nitty-gritty”. Sport is seen as of no significance towards education and therefore the importance of sport in school is declining. The true meaning of professionalism is not understood where professionalism is considered only as something that should be delivered as paid.

In the past schools had three terms for sport. The first term was for football, the second term (mid of the year) for cricket and athletics and the third term for rugby and hockey. But currently, all sports activities seem to stop after May because students start preparing for national examinations.

The media seriously publicised sport although at society level not many people are actually involved in sport. This happened because even though at the root level the country lacks the supply of athletes, it still wants to compete at international level. Actually the publicity is on those few athletes representing the country. Another problem arises here is that officers and coaches have their

“favourites” and eventually those representing the country are not always the best. Previously the pyramid base was wide but now “we are like an inverted pyramid”.

The situation of Malaysia being a small country is not a problem. The country lacks genuine perspective and attitude from the athletes and officials towards sport even though it has resources and enormous aid from the government. “There is no government in the world that does that (aiding the athletes extensively)”.

There are political interventions in sport. Based on the socio-political structure of the country, progress cannot be made if there are no politicians in the scene. [The interviewee gives the example that if he (academicians) was the president of the state football association, nothing much could be achieved. According to the interviewee, it takes a *Menteri Besar* who has access to the Work Department, for example, to ensure construction projects (for sport venues) operating, or the police to sustain order among the public during football matches].

Malaysian politicians are not helping sport if they are not sportsmen themselves. At the same time they practice cronyism. As a result, top officials in sport associations will most likely be their political supporters and ignorant in sport (too). But this is happening, “...that is the fact ...this is our socio-political scene in this country”. Another problem with politicians is that they practice favouritism and can over rule coaches in making team selections.

Sport can promote national integration in this country even though it is temporary, but performance must be at high level before it can attract supporters. (The interviewee gives an example of the 1975 World Cup hockey in Kuala Lumpur. In the quarterfinal Malaysia defeated the defending champion, Holland and went on to meet India in the semi-final. During the match against India, the Merdeka Stadium was packed with 40,000 spectators. This was a record number of spectators for field hockey). People want to identify themselves with winners or “heroes” not losers and they want to share the pride among them. Therefore sport can be used to promote nationalism.

Historical factors do influence the concentration of certain ethnic groups in certain sports. It is difficult to explain this phenomenon. For example in hockey, the Malays in Kuala Lumpur were the first to play hockey because of the encouragement from the British and by their leader Tengku Iskandar (a prince). Then came the Chinese and Indians due to influence from the schools. Currently, Chinese participation in hockey is less because they are more materialistic as compared to others and they think hockey cannot *cari makan* (“find food”, which means guarantee income).

The Chinese are more active in badminton although the number is declining. They used to play football and rugby but since the Chinese schools lack playing fields they opt for indoor games and court games for example ping pong and

basketball. Chinese schools lack playing fields both in urban and rural area. The type of school influences participation in sport, for example, if the Chinese students attended English schools they would participate in cricket, rugby, football and so forth.

The Chinese came to this country to work as labourers on mines, ports and plantation estates. They have needs for entertainment such as gambling and opium, which was available in the urban areas and they wanted to be nearer to the urban areas. Eventually the urban areas expanded. Therefore economic and human factors influenced their geographical locations.

Badminton has its own problem. The concentration of the society in badminton is declining. Malaysia (Malaya then) started to play actively since 1930s but performance was at its height in the 1960s. Serious involvement by the Malays was actually by accident when there was a Malay parent in Banting, Selangor who was a badminton fanatic and forced his children to play. Badminton, like other sports, has connection with a society's attitude.

Badminton did not start with the Chinese. In Kuala Lumpur it was the Ceylon-Tamil group who started it. There might be a financial factor that brought and sustained the Chinese in this game for badminton was regarded as an expensive sport. Many Malays could not afford this and furthermore there was no close relationship between the Malays and the Chinese. In Malaysia when a certain

ethnic group is active in a certain sport, other ethnic groups “would not come in”. The Malays in the urban areas participate in badminton but many prefer football as their number one sport.

Malaysia can improve in sport as a whole if the right people with knowledge and administrative skill in sport were given the opportunity to handle the task. Unfortunately, Malaysia’s sport tends to rely heavily on people with honorary title and power. More often than not, these people will make the decision and nobody challenges (or brave enough to) them. The socio-political structure in the country is too strong and difficult to remedy.

The country needs to reshuffle its structure in sport from the top to the bottom. Under the Sport Act, the Minister is the top man but the skill of a minister to handle matters concerning sport is highly questionable. In accordance he will choose a group of bureaucrats whose skill is similarly doubtful. An example of bureaucracy in action is the construction of a new stadium for the 1998 Commonwealth Games: while the country already has a huge and sophisticated stadium in Shah Alam, another one is being built in Kuala Lumpur. The reason is, since the first stadium is in the state of Selangor, the Federal Government does not have control over it, therefore, to “play safe” another grand stadium is constructed at Bukit Jalil in the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur.

The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, and the universities never worked together to promote sport. For example, there are a lot of bureaucracies in terms of student entry requirements to pursue a degree in sport studies. The Ministry of Education insisted on candidates to have good results on the Malaysian Higher School Certificate while it is known that on the average athletes are mostly mediocre in their studies. The universities themselves are sceptical with the intellectual ability of the athletes, and furthermore, only a small minority of academicians would agree to be lenient on the intake of athletes. The Ministry of Youth and Sports, on the other hand, is not giving any help. As a result, students with weak sport background but high examination scores will pursue a degree in sport as a “safety-net” if entrance to other fields of studies failed. Finally, people who are not really interested in sport in the first place will pursue their career in the field of sport.

APPENDIX E2: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: EX-SECRETARY GENERAL, THE NATIONAL SPORTS

COUNCIL OF MALAYSIA/PHYSICAL EDUCATION

LECTURER

Sport development programme is not very systematic and mostly in a form of “ad-hoc” with no concrete approach. For example, most sport associations do not have long term planning.

The interviewee is not satisfied with the country’s sport performance at international competition. A lot of positive things are said but mostly disappointment is the result. The progress in the country is slow as compared to other countries. Coaches and athletes are blaming each other over failure. Research in sport has not been done to look for answer that may solve the problems of sport in the country.

Politicians are the “necessary evil” in sport. Sport needs them for financial purposes but on the other hand they use sport to gain political mileage. Politicians want recognition and opportunity to travel on government expenses.

Certain sports are associated with socio-economic status for example; sports that come from the middle class are gymnastics, badminton and bowling. Only the glamorous sports will get support. Corporate sectors have commercial factors

behind their support. Question like “Who is the president?” is often asked by corporate bodies before sponsorships or donations can be given to sport bodies. As a result, badminton, football, and hockey received generous funding for they have good backing. [Badminton Association of Malaysia is patronised by the wife of the Prime Minister with politicians as top officials; the Football Association of Malaysia is headed by the Sultan of Pahang who is a former King of Malaysia; and the Malaysian Hockey Federation is headed by the Sultan of Perak who is (also) a former King of Malaysia].

Sport is unique for it has the welding force to bring people of various ethnic and socio-economic status together. People can identify themselves with a particular sport and not according to their ethnic and this can promote national unity.

In Malaysia, there is a trend that when one ethnic group is dominant in a particular sport, others from the same group will emulate. Most distance runners are from the Indian ethnic –with their historical background to be settling in the rubber estates and so used to running and walking long distances to get to work or to get their necessities. This is an example where an athlete can be the product of role modelling, genetic endowment and environmental factors.

It is critical for the country to have a long term planning to develop its sport. Local people need to take over from foreign coaches once they leave the country. Sport should be handled by the right kind of people.

APPENDIX E3: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: EX-OLYMPIAN

Sport has developed very much because of serious government commitment. Malaysia is one of the few countries outside the socialist group where the government has spent so much to develop sport. In some sports like badminton, squash and bowling, the country is at world class standard. Unfortunately, others are not performing well.

Athletes are being spoiled and become dependent because helps are being given “up-stream” and “down-stream” (meaning helping before and after competition respectively). Help should be given either up-stream or down-stream but not both. Helping up-stream means supporting the athletes for training and so on and leaving them there. While helping down-stream means, the athletes support themselves but the government provides the reward.

The sport associations are looking at the government as their paymaster and are not doing much to raise fund and are not credible. The government most likely gives fund to the associations when it is due for, therefore, there are people in the organisations that wanted to be there to collect the benefit.

Money can easily attract different groups of people. There will be power struggle in an organisation once money starts to flow in.

There is nothing wrong with politicians being the head of an organisation provided that he really wants to contribute. Politicians should not be excluded for there are those who can perform.

There is a mixture of reasons for why a certain ethnic group tends to concentrate on certain sports. This can be due to genetic and racial reasons for example depending on the muscle fibres and body types. The West Africans, for instance Nigeria and Ghana, who later migrated to the United States during the slave trade are better sprinters because they have bigger muscles. On the other hand, The East Africans, for example Kenya and Tanzania, do better in long distance running because their physical is suitable for the event. Sport participation can also be subjected to socio-economic reason. Sports like swimming and tennis started from the clubs and only those who can afford club membership will participate. Another reason for different ethnic group's participation is role modelling and this is inter-connected to historical factors.

Badminton is doing well but certainly there are ups and downs. The Badminton Association can improve more in terms of its management and planning. At the moment the association is not having strong junior backup players because too much attention is given to the elite players. In other countries the management is able to produce a constant flow of "champions" for they have good developmental programmes.

The interviewee suggested that the government should “stop throwing handout and make people work for their money and be accountable for it”.

Malaysia should view its sport through the entire spectrum; elite sport, mass sport and recreation sport. The country needs a good sport programme to allow champions to come out of it.

There are many people who “give certificates to themselves” and claim themselves as professionals.

Sport has been a good unifying factor from the public’s point of view. When the country wins a competition, the people share the pride regardless of which ethnic group is the victor. But there is a “secondary pride” if somebody from the same ethnic group were to deliver the victory, people of that particular ethnic group will feel “extra proud”.

APPENDIX E4: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: FOREIGN EXPERT IN SPORT

There is a lot of improvement in Malaysian sport in terms of the increasing volume of activities and programmes. Unfortunately, the activities and programmes lack quality. The quality is not interconnected in the system and therefore there are a lot of shortcomings.

Physical education is not properly taught in schools and therefore it is difficult to get potential athletes. It is a big waste for millions of children to go through the subject.

There are some structures (to develop sport) but it is not a system yet because not all efforts are heading into one direction. "A system means all efforts have one direction". The schools and the sport associations must work together to search for talent.

People in the South East Asia are impatient to see progress in their sport.

In Germany, for example, two hundred years ago, there was a clear participation of sport according to social classes. For the first hundred years, people from the lowest class had no chance to take part in sport for it was reserved for the royal and the high-class society. Currently all classes are represented in sport.

Malaysia started participating at international level during the colonial era. In terms of time, the country is at its “infant stage” and cannot call sport as part of its tradition. High performance sport was implemented only after independence in 1957. Sport in Malaysia “is being built by a lot of money and programmes from the government and not brought up naturally piece by piece”. Sport is developed in the offices of associations where most of them are under unprofessional management. For example, “many associations do not even have a calendar!” The development of sport in the country is still at its transitional stage where different ethnic groups are sticking to a certain sport and mixing (among the people) is seldom. The situation can clearly be seen, for example, the Indians are managing athletics, swimming by the Chinese, and cycling by the Malays. The ethnic groups are using certain sport to identify themselves with.

“Badminton has a lot of money” but badminton is never a mass sport for all. The game is organised straight to competition and it is clearly a sport for the quality but not for the mass. It is working so far but in the long run BAM will have problems in finding new talents because the youngsters will soften down by their good life. The association must look for a system that is more to the grass root but recently no attempt is made because Malaysia is doing well in badminton.

Most of the officials and presidents are there because they can raise money, not because of their professional knowledge. It is difficult to criticise a minister or

director because they are giving their name into sport and contributing financial aid. Those sports with big names are considered the lucky ones. Situation will be chaotic when the president, for example, does not know what is going on and the officials are the ones making the decisions.

There is no continuity in coaching sport in the country. For instance when a foreign coach leaves, the locals cannot take over the responsibility.

People in Malaysia are very understanding, friendly and hospitable but when it comes to sport they are behaving like children. When there is success everybody wants to have a part, but when there is failure everybody starts to blame each other. The interviewee commented on the greedy nature of some officials by saying: “Why is that when I win, you don’t like me? Why do you wait when the fruits are coming on to my tree and you want to pluck away my fruits? Taking my athletes or what ever”. Foreign coaches will take along their negative experience regarding this matter and in the long run the country will have a bad reputation. Singapore, for example, is known for this.

Malaysians want changes but they are not patient enough.

In Malaysia, sport is not a culture yet, but it will become one when people are more health conscious and begin to take up sport seriously.

APPENDIX E5: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: PHYSICAL EDUCATION LECTURER

Malaysia has improved very much in terms of facilities. Unfortunately, overall, Malaysia “lacks proper guidance” for its personnel in administration and coaching. There are more people as celebrities.

Malaysia has no solid or follow-up programme. Programmes were designed in an ad-hoc manner. This resulted in putting non-professionals as administrators and having foreign expertise “come and go” but no impact can be seen. “Our programme is *Rojak*” (very much mixed – the term derived from a popular Malaysian food comprised of various local fruits and vegetables eaten with sweet and sour mildly hot sauce). There were programmes such as *Malaysia Cergas* (Healthy Malaysia, *Larian Muhibbah* (Friendly Run), *Rakan Muda* (Young Friends) and so forth, but they were not solid programmes and there were no follow-ups for these activities.

There are some sports that bring pride to the country, such as bowling, squash, badminton, while the rest are far behind. Employing imported coaches and building new facilities do not seem to help because there are no proper development programme (especially training) at the lower level. Malaysia needs to develop its grass-root level to provide a wider base because at the moment she

lacks athletes in all sports. “Commercial sport” is taking over instead, for example, there are 560 golf courses in the country [but we don’t have 500 stadiums]!

Temporarily, sport can unite the people especially through badminton. Spectator came to cheer for Malaysia not for their ethnic group (especially Chinese). Even if there are no more Malay players in badminton, the people will still cheer for the country. However, once they are out of the stadium, people will go their own ways. To most people, “diversity is unity!”

There is distinct ethnic concentration in sports such as squash (Chinese), basketball (Chinese) and *sepak takraw* (Malay), while a mixture in many others. Lawn bowl is another newly ‘Malay sport’ because it was started by a Malay. Many other sports are Chinese dominated, such as bowling and tennis because they need to pay membership fees. “Not many Malay pay to play”.

Politicians tend to hold many posts in several organisations to get their name notified as often as possible for popularity sake. The people need politicians because there are no other professionals in order to bring in money. They, especially the ministers, can “generate work”.

Different ministers will introduce different set-up for they want to have their legacy be left behind once they leave.

Physical education subject in school is there to fill in the timetable slot.

The boarding schools have huge playing fields and good facilities but “there the brain is trained, not the body”.

APPENDIX E6: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: EX-ATHLETE / COACH

Malaysia is progressing in developing its sport, but at a very slow phase as compared to China, Japan and Korea. The Malaysian Amateur Athletics Union was formed only in 1957 right after independence. Our athletics school at Sultan Ahmad Shah Secondary School is only a pilot project, still.

Most politicians are willing to hold the top post to be noticed. It is acceptable for politicians to be there but they must have their perspective on sport and should balance their interest in sport and in politics. For example, the leader of the Football Association of Malaysia is a Sultan and therefor his subordinates would not dare to question his judgement. Furthermore, honorary titles among their top official cause problem too, for it insists on formality and strict on chain of command.

Malaysia is performing satisfactorily at the Southeast Asia level, but lagging at Asia level. The country is still superior in sports such as badminton and squash. Unfortunately, she is losing in hockey, and lost football altogether.

The public is gaining awareness in sport only recently through media's effort because of the coming Commonwealth Games 1988.

Athletes' attitudes have changed (as compare to the interviewee's competitive years). Yesteryear athletes compete for the glory, while current athletes compete for money. Once they succeed in getting money they will always ask for more. But, it is not the athletes who are to be blamed because most Southeast Asia countries have started giving money to their athletes.

In football, Malaysia was the number one or two in Asia in the seventies and eighties. During the 'Great' Mokhtar Dahari and Soh Chin Aun, Malaysia went to the Olympic twice and it was always fun to watch. In recent years, players are paid handsomely for their mediocre skill. Ever abundance of money makes them feel unnecessary to work harder for they will always get paid anyway. Professionalism is beyond their understanding.

More Chinese play badminton because they have wealthier parent and "because they don't like the hot sun. Seldom can we see Chinese play in the hot sun, they don't want to be dark".

Most sport associations' secretaries do not have sport management background and thus lack expertise.

Malaysia has enough foreign coaches, but their presence is not helping much. The government needs to do a study of their effectiveness and really investigate their background, rather than simply referring to their Curriculum Vitae (CV).

APPENDIX E7: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: SPORT JOURNALIST

There seem to be some improvement, lately, before the coming of the Commonwealth Game 1998 in Kuala Lumpur, especially in sports such as gymnastics, shooting, swimming and boxing. In the Jakarta 1977 SEA Games, Malaysia won five gold medals in gymnastics and eight boxers were in the finals. The National Sport Council has prepared a concrete plan for the Commonwealth Games. However, "I (the interviewee) think that we have spent too much to look like what is not exactly like". The Commonwealth Games itself is not a very big event like it is claimed because "there are only four big countries; New Zealand, Canada, Australia and England...there is no US, Europe, China, Japan or Korea. In terms of participation only ten countries might take part in the games seriously, not all countries might take part in the games seriously, not all countries will send a full team...it's a colonial legacy, it's a friendly game for former colonies". On the other hand, "its good to boost the moral of the country and it's the right time".

Other sports are lacking because, developing sport is a long process and involves a lot of money. Malaysians lack patience and always want instance result. So do Malaysian athletes, they lack desire and discipline.

Malaysia never had any systematic development before and development was never taken seriously. Athletes like Mokhtar Dahari (footballer), Soh Chin Aun

(footballer), Ghani Minhat (footballer) and Rabuan Pit (sprinter) were not the products of any development plan. There were athletes that were discovered by accident; Rabuan Pit was discovered when he was playing football!

Young Malaysians nowadays have many choices to fill their spare time. Unfortunately they seem to be keener into video games or roller blades as their pastimes. Children in the sixties and seventies had fewer options.

Politicians in Malaysian sport is not something new; it started since the Tunku (The first Prime Minister). But the involvement of politician then was because of their interest, while, newer politicians use sport as a vehicle to enhance their career.

“Sport can be related to easily”. Since the Tunku, sport was the unifying factor for only in sport people come together to cheer for the country, for example during the Thomas Cup competition (whenever Malaysia is the host).

Ethnic separation in sport has very much to do with history and culture. But there are efforts made to include other races to be involved in certain games, for example, there are the non-Malays sepak takraw tournament organised by the Sepak Takraw Association. Another example is the Piala Raja-Raja Melayu (Malay Rulers Cup) in football, where every state must have at least three non-

Malay players in their team (it used to be for Malay players only). It has been implemented since 1992.

Badminton came up very well under Elias Omar when the Chinese (from China) coaches were brought in. Unfortunately, there was internal bickering of personal thing such as “you don’t like me, I don’t like you”.

The problem with the country is, she tends to venture in too many sports. Most country would concentrate on one or two sport, but “we are in the habit of going for forty sports! We don’t know what we want”. People tend to get excited when somebody makes a success in something, for example, “When Nurul Huda was doing well, all jumped into the swimming pool...then gymnastics when Faiznur Miskin was there and so on”.

Too many lady teachers, about 70% of them, also create a problem in developing sport because they are less active then men. It used to be that sportsmen were into teaching, however, things have changed and athletes have adopted other professions, thus there are fewer qualified sport teachers to guide the students.

APPENDIX E8: INTERVIEW NOTES

PARTICIPANT: SPORT JOURNALIST/FOOTBALL COLUMNIST

Most states are more interested in the premier league rather than developing their football to the grass-root. Too much money has been channelled towards the state team and nothing left for developmental programme.

The schools are very inclined towards academic excellence. Present teaching staffs are not keen in sport like those in the sixties and seventies. Teachers would prefer to conduct extra classes for additional income than to be in the field with the students.

At the moment, there are only two sports that excel to the world level: bowling and squash. Badminton and hockey are declining.

Politicians are the 'necessary evil' in Malaysian sport; they are the main sources that can attract fund and at the same time they are the ones who destroy sport. For example, a politician in a particular state became the manager of the state's football team simply because he brings in money. Lack of expertise and too much interference on his part also cause problems to the team.

The sport minister managed to excite the people towards certain sport programme. For example, the *Rakan Muda* (Young Friends) of sport programmes where there

were millions of Malaysian youngsters registered. But lack of trained personnel and other logistic problems resulted in the programme becoming unmanageable. For instance, there were not many Malaysians that could supervise rock climbing. Ministers have the tendencies to 'beat the gun' when it comes to making proclamation or announcement of new projects.

The situation of football in Malaysia is "so bad that even if Backenbauer was to lead...we cannot do anything". The Sultan and his Regent are perceptive towards new ideas and opinion, but it is the immediate officials that create management problems.

The media is also at fault for not giving enough coverage on school sports. But on the other hand, there is nothing much "to cover" and not many readers are interested in school sports anyway.

APPENDIX F1 SCHOOL FINDINGS

[Note: This note covers data under the Appendix F categories. Basically this thesis is an empirical research using the qualitative data gathering method. Although data collected from the schools was quantitative in form to some extent, it was by no mean trying to impose a highly quantitative nature of research. It was only to support and clarify certain statements made in the main text]

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

To identify the situations and problems of physical education and sports in schools, interviews were conducted as the tool for gathering data. Besides the guided questions (See Appendix A) forms were also distributed to interviewees to record certain data, especially those dealing with numbers (See Appendix F2). Four states and forty secondary schools were chosen with ten schools from each state. The four states chosen were those that represent different magnitude of ethnic composition. Penang is notified to be a state with the highest Chinese percentage, while Kelantan is notified to have the highest Malay population and with the least number of Chinese in the country. Kelantan is also known to be the least industrialised state. Meanwhile Selangor and Melaka are identified as the states with proportionate number of ethnic percentage to the whole country's population. Various types of secondary schools were chosen to see if there were any pattern or influence on the practice of physical education and sport. Based on the assumption that certain states with certain ethnic population domination could have certain effect on schools, a relationship of societies' influence on the school physical education and sport programmes was established.

Since the qualitative data regarding teachers' opinion on the practice and problems of physical education and sports had been incorporated and assimilated

in the main body of the thesis, this part of the appendix is only concerned with some numerical aspects of the research.

Specific objectives were set to be achieved under this section:

- i) to determine the number of teachers teaching physical education
- ii) to identify the popularity of games and their ranking in the selected schools.
- iii) to construct a relationship of the data collected, in Number 1 and 2 above, with the issues regarding the practice of physical education and sport in the schools. Data from Number 2 would also assist in making general observation concerning ethnic group's preference towards certain sports.

FINDINGS

Statistical Data of Schools:

Total number of schools approached = 40; 3 premier boarding schools, 1 international school, and 36 ordinary government sponsored schools.

Data on the Ordinary Schools:

Average number of students per school = 1600

Average number of teachers per school = 80

Average teacher to student ratio, 1: 20

Data on Premier Schools:

Average number of students per school = 550

Average number of teachers per school = 55

Average teacher to student ratio, 1:10

Number of Teachers Teaching Physical Education

A table that represents the number of qualified physical education teachers over the unqualified ones was constructed as follows:

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ratio of Qualified : Unqualified Physical Education Teachers | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|-----|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMBG | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 2:0 | 2:9 | 2:16 | 3:10 | 1:4 | 3:8 | 3:19 | 3:16 | 0:10 | 2:10 |
| Melaka | SMBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBC | XB | IntBG |
| | 2:0 | 3:7 | 0:12 | 2:12 | 2:5 | 1:5 | 1:18 | 4:8 | 3:3 | 3:0 |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | 0:8 | 0:3 | 0:13 | 0:24 | 1:20 | 0:0 | 2:22 | 0:10 | 2:18 | 3:6 |
| Penang | SMBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | 2:0 | 2:6 | 1:8 | 2:6 | 5:10 | 4:4 | 0:5 | 3:1 | 2:18 | 4:8 |

Key: SMBG = Exclusively for Malay-Bumiputra

MBG = Malay boys and girls (Malay majority but not exclusively for Malays, the number for other races were too small to be of any significant, i.e below 1%)

XBG = Mix Boys and Girls with Malay majority

XBGc = Mix Boys and Girls with Chinese majority

XBc = Mix Boys with Chinese majority

XB = Mix Boys with Malay majority

IntBG = International school mix boys and girls

MB = Malay boys

XG = Mix girl

CB = Chinese Boys

CG = Chinese Girls

Table F.1

For an ideal situation of teaching physical education, only qualified personnel should be allowed to teach the subject, therefore the ideal ratio should be $n:0$, or, *n qualified teacher : 0 unqualified teacher.*

Note that schools number 1 in Selangor, Melaka and 1 in Penang were all government premier boarding schools. School number 10 in Melaka was an exclusive international private school. These were the schools that practised the

ideal ratio. While, the other thirty six-schools showed an overwhelming imbalance of *qualified : unqualified* personnel teaching the subject.

The average ratios of *qualified : unqualified* physical education teachers according to state were as follows:

- Selangor 2 :10
- Melaka 2 : 7
- Kelantan 1 : 12
- Penang 3 : 7

[the result was derived using this simple formula; total of *qualified teacher* i.e $n_1 + n_2 + \dots + n_{10}$ divided by ten: total of *unqualified teacher* divided by ten]

In general, schools in the Malay dominated state of Kelantan have the largest ratio of qualified physical education teacher to unqualified ones. The schools in this state also demonstrate the biggest number of schools without any qualified physical teachers at all, that is 6 out of 10. School number 6 (a technical school which cater only fourth and fifth formers) in this state, with 0:0 ratio, admitted that their physical education subject was only stated on paper, for in reality their physical education classes were ‘transformed’ into math classes!

From the above table it could be concluded that:

- i) Physical education was not taken seriously by all ordinary government schools, although it was part of the formal education curriculum. The

outnumbering of the unqualified over the qualified physical education teachers also portrayed how school management is involved in the manipulation of the subject.

ii) The manipulation existed because schools authorities were not under scrutiny from neither the State Education Department nor the public. This could point to the lack of safety-conscious attribute of the society.

iii) With the fact and assumption that most trained teachers would prefer to teach in their own home state, Penang with the most Chinese teachers and population represented the 'best' ratio among others, while Kelantan represented the other extreme. Thus, somehow, to some extent, demonstrated that the Chinese community had better control of physical education situation in schools.

Popularity and Rankings of Games in School:

All schoolteachers were asked to name ten most played sports - including athletics - in their schools and to determine the popularity of those sports by ranking them in order. Only those sports identified with certain ethnic preference (or influence as in athletics) were drafted. This ranking was made based merely on the teachers' observation and opinion. No formal count was ever made by the school authorities regarding this issue. However, the recorded results are shown in the following tables:

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ranking of Games : Football | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMB G | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Melaka | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBc | XB | IntBG |
| | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2* | - | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Penang | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | 3 | - |

*Athletics was rank number 1 for this school.

Table F.2

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ranking of Games : Basketball | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|------|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMB G | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 2 | - | 6 | 4 | - | - | - | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| Melaka | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBc* | XB | IntBG |
| | - | - | - | 5 | 1 | - | 1 | 10 | - | - |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Penang | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | - | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |

*This mix boy schools rank basketball to the lowest ten due to lack of basketball court. The same school rank football to be number one; it is believed for the convenience of a huge municipal playing field just across the street.

Table F.3

Key: SMBG = Exclusively for Malay-Bumiputra

MBG = Malay boys and girls (Malay majority but not exclusively for Malays, the number for other races were too small to be of any significant, i.e below 1%)

XBG = Mix Boys and Girls with Malay majority

XBGc = Mix Boys and Girls with Chinese majority

XBc = Mix Boys with Chinese majority

XB = Mix Boys with Malay majority

IntBG = International school mix boys and girls

MB = Malay boys

XG = Mix girl

CB = Chinese Boys

CG = Chinese Girls

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ranking of Games : Badminton | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMB G | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 11 | 7 | 3 | - | - | 6 | 5 | 8 | 3 | - |
| Melaka | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBC | XB | IntBG |
| | 9 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 8 | 3 | - | - |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | 6 | - | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | 8 | - |
| Penang | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | 6 | 4 | - | - | 3 | 6 | 3 | - | 6 | 9 |

Table F.4

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ranking of Games : Sepak Takraw | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMB G | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 7 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | - | 9 | - | - |
| Melaka | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBC | XB | IntBG |
| | 9 | 5 | 2 | - | - | 5 | 6 | 8 | - | - |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Penang | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | 7 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |

Table F.5

Key: SMBG = Exclusively for Malay-Bumiputra

MBG = Malay boys and girls (Malay majority but not exclusively for Malays, the number for other races were too small to be of any significant, i.e below 1%)

XBG = Mix Boys and Girls with Malay majority

XBGc = Mix Boys and Girls with Chinese majority

XBc = Mix Boys with Chinese majority

XB = Mix Boys with Malay majority

IntBG = International school mix boys and girls

MB = Malay boys

XG = Mix girl

CB = Chinese Boys

CG = Chinese Girls

| State | Number, Types of Schools and Ranking of Games : Athletics | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Selangor | SMB G | MBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBGc |
| | 8 | - | 7 | 3 | - | 5 | 7 | 4 | - | - |
| Melaka | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBGc | XBG | XBGc | XBC | XB | IntBG |
| | 3 | 4 | - | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | - | - | - |
| Kelantan | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MBG | MB | MB | XBG | XBG |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | 3 | - |
| Penang | SMB G | XBG | XBG | XBG | XBG | XB | XG | XG | CB | CG |
| | - | 6 | - | - | - | 4 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 1 |

Table F.6

It was discovered that most schools with the Malay majority rank football to be very high, except for the girl schools. Kelantan registered football as its number one game in all schools. Most schools that did not rank football as the top sport or did not include football at all (-) as one of the school sports would rank basketball as its number one. Only one school in Penang identified basketball as its number one (it might be because it was the only Chinese boy school included for this research).

Badminton as a popular game in the country was not ranked as number one at all in most schools, with about half of the schools not mentioning the game at all (-), and with Kelantan registering the least. It was considered an expensive game because of the need to purchase constant supply of shuttlecock. Further more the schools found it unable to entertain a larger number of students. Thus badminton did not receive any special attention from all schools.

A sign of the schools and particular ethnic group playing a certain sport according to availability and convenience was also detected. For example, although *sepak takraw* was popular among the Malay boys it was never ranked number one in any school. The reason was football had occupied the number one sport, and that the sport could only accommodate six players in any given time. While most Malay majority school ranked *sepak takraw* higher than 5, surprisingly, the three SMBG schools ranked the sport as 7 or lower because they had wider choice of sports. Another instance was found when a Chinese majority mix boys (Melaka, school number 8) school ranked basketball ten and resorted to football as their number one due to the availability of the huge municipal playing field located just across the street from the school. While an SMBG school (Selangor, school number 1) would venture into basketball, *sepak takraw* was never played at any Chinese school or Chinese majority schools.

While more than half of the schools in all states gave some form of ranking to athletics, most schools in Kelantan did not include athletics in their ranking at all. In fact, in general, this state missed out on many more sports in their ranking.

From the above tables; F.2 to F.6 general conclusions were made, that:

- i) An ethnic group's preference on certain sport was obvious, but somehow given the chance and exposure the ethnic groups would venture beyond the one usually attached to them.
- ii) It was obvious that while *sepak takraw* was considered as a 'Malay sport', basketball was a 'Chinese sport.'

iii) Badminton, although a national sport, was not given special attention by any of the schools.

iv) A state with the biggest Malay majority was found quite passive, in general, to explore into more sports.

(APPENDIX F2)

SPORT INFORMATION FORM FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

School name: _____

School address: _____

Teacher's name (interviewee): _____

Teacher's post (in relation to physical education and sport): _____

Total number of teachers in the school: _____

Number of teacher/s qualified to teach physical education: _____

Total number of teachers teaching physical education: _____

Total number of students: _____

Student by ethnic composition:

| Ethnic Grp. Gender | Malay | Chinese | Indians | Total |
|-----------------------|-------|---------|---------|--------------------|
| Boy | | | | |
| Girl | | | | |
| Total | | | | Grand Total |

Type of games according to popularity/ranking:

- i) _____
- ii) _____
- iii) _____
- iv) _____
- v) _____
- vi) _____
- vii) _____
- viii) _____
- ix) _____
- x) _____

Facilities and equipment available:

Problems in teaching physical education:

Problems in handling/developing sport:

