

**Mother tongue use in informal indigenous education: The perspectives of Orang
Asli volunteer teachers in Peninsular Malaysia.**

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THESIS DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the perspectives of volunteer teachers in the indigenous Orang Asli communities of Peninsula Malaysia regarding the use of their Mother Tongue in their community classrooms. The interpretivist paradigm underpinned the design of this study and analytic techniques drawn from the grounded theory approach generated findings that indicate participants prioritised both the mother tongue and the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, through bilingual strategies to maintain cultural identity and develop skills in preparation for formal public schooling in their students. The findings have implications for policy and practice in indigenous education in Malaysia.

To provide clear and complete context for this study the background to Malaysia's education system, language policy practices and the effects of those policies on indigenous education in Malaysia are presented. Then, an overview of the various theoretical positions and empirical research on language use in education are presented in relation to indigenous education and the Malaysian context. Though the process of analysis using grounded theory the findings of this study revealed that the participants' perspectives could be classified in to three categories. They are: The participants' perspectives on languages used in their classrooms; The participants' perspectives on the way they use languages to teach and; The participants' perspectives on what can be gained from their practices in the classroom. Four themes that were drawn from these three categories are discussed in detail. These themes explored: The importance of using more than one language in their classrooms; The practice of bilingual strategies in the classrooms; The desire for participants to develop skills in their students that will be useful in the formal classroom and; The benefits the children and their community are expected to gain as a result of using two languages in their classrooms. These themes form the basis for the core conceptual narrative. Through the process of selective coding, the themes are inter-related to form this core concept, which is that the future challenges participants believe their students will face in formal school settings compels the use of mother tongue through

translanguaging strategies in their informal classrooms as methods of supporting their students in preparation for formal education in a different language.

This core conceptual narrative focuses the study on the potential implications of recognising the perspectives provided by indigenous Orang Asli teachers. Their views on their own practices related to language use in their classrooms should not be ignored in planning and enacting policies related to indigenous education in Malaysia. Recognising Orang Asli perspectives should also reorientate how their students are viewed within the public school system and influence the way teachers in that system are trained. Finally, the limitations and the potential for further research are discussed in this study, suggesting that other qualitative methods that may yield richer data regarding Orang Asli teachers and their students that could contribute to the larger discussions regarding language use in indigenous education in Malaysia.

Keywords: Translanguaging, Indigenous Languages, Bi/Multilingual Education, Mother Tongue, Indigenous Education

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

This study focused on the perspectives of volunteer teachers from the indigenous group known as the Orang Asli (the original people) of Peninsular Malaysia. The aim of this study was to discover the perspectives of these Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms. **Therefore, the research question asked: What are the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms?** In the context of education in the informal setting of a village a gap in knowledge is present, particularly in knowing what volunteer teachers practise in informal early childhood classrooms. The lack of research in this area often results in assumptions regarding what Orang Asli teachers and children need for them to gain more support and gain better access to quality education. Thus, the research question stated above is intended to focus inquiry regarding the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers from the contexts of their situation in informal classrooms, which can be different from the experiences of mainstream teachers teaching Orang Asli children in formal school settings. In addition, this research question forms the basis of the researcher's approach which was to find ways to interact with Orang Asli teachers and collect data that reflected their perspectives. Through prior engagements with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the researcher found that their strategy of direct engagement and consultation with Orang Asli communities often helped NGOs to provide specific support to Orang Asli communities. This approach further solidified the researcher's belief that this study should endeavour to seek the Orang Asli perspectives regarding their use of the mother tongue in their education efforts.

Research into indigenous Orang Asli practices that focuses on the languages they use in educating their children in informal settings are not prominently featured in Orang Asli education. Indeed, it is more likely to find research on Orang Asli students in public schools or research on their educational challenges, but not specifically the languages they use in a particular setting. For example, a study by Abdullah et al. (2013) on the perspectives of Orang Asli students attending formal schools compares students' experiences against an education development model developed to evaluate elements of education practice related to organisation, education goals and pedagogy. Studies like this are examples of the focus on the Orang Asli experience in public school settings rather than informal ones. Although there are instances of research regarding informal education (Mohd Shah et al., 2020), research regarding the practice of using mother tongue in informal settings remains a challenge to find. Another study on the experiences of Orang Asli children at primary schools level is the ethnographic study conducted by Renganathan (2016a). Again, much like the Abdullah study, this study's focus was primarily on the experiences of Orang Asli students in formal school settings (Renganathan, 2016a).

Additionally, studies regarding the progress of assisting Orang Asli in gaining better access to education seem predominantly focused on a "deficit perspective" (Renganathan, 2016a, p. 276) of the Orang Asli, referring to issues in their communities that are seen to prevent the progress of educating Orang Asli children. For example, an evaluative study by Mohd Isa and Aini (2018) on the typologies of education development programmes implemented by the Malaysian Ministry of Education reported on the difficulties in achieving success in these programmes. The study reported that officials have attributed high dropout rates in these education programmes to high levels of illiteracy in Orang Asli communities and low levels of motivation towards going to school or seeking higher education (Mohd Isa & Aini, 2018). Another

qualitative study regarding education awareness among Orang Asli communities listed factors based on the characteristics of Orang Asli children's personality that hampered their progress in education. Among these factors were issues attributed to Orang Asli children's supposed hyper-activeness, their tendency to be bored or demotivated, their low self-worth, shyness and being too sensitive (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009).

As Renganathan (2016a) discussed in her study, much attention in Orang Asli education research is paid towards the challenges Orang Asli children face based on the cultural and linguistic differences in their community compared to Malaysian mainstream society, rather than looking at Orang Asli education through the lens of the community itself. This is a salient point regarding the Orang Asli's efforts to educate their community as it seeks to reclaim the differences in Orang Asli culture and language away from being seen as problems that needs to be solved before better quality education can be provided to them (Wiley, 2015), and instead encourages more inquiry into understanding the perspectives of the Orang Asli and utilising Orang Asli perspectives as a lens to view and address the difficulties they face. Therefore, it is important to include the Orang Asli voice in this area of research. Orang Asli perspectives should lead researchers to identify what an Orang Asli teacher considers to be a challenge for their students within the new environment of the public school classroom and encourage more support for these students once they reach that stage. Furthermore, an analysis of what Orang Asli teachers themselves do to help prepare their young students for public school should also provide researchers with a clearer picture of how support for Orang Asli children in public school can be given.

In line with these intentions, this study sought to contribute to and expand the educational research that is based in the experiences and perspectives of the Orang Asli. By engaging Orang Asli volunteer teachers who teach in their own villages, this study explored the perspectives of Orang Asli who use their mother tongue at home and in

their village. The study paid attention to how the language was used in the community classroom as well as how teachers interacted with other languages, particularly Malaysia's national language, Bahasa Malaysia. In doing so, it is hoped that the inclusion of perspectives of Orang Asli teachers may contribute towards giving the Orang Asli a significant voice in the development of their own education. Additionally, drawing research attention towards Orang Asli perspectives was an important intention of this study, as it was done to encourage more research into this area and to inform the decision making of policy planners, teachers, educators and other significant stakeholders who are particularly focused on the education of the Orang Asli. The following section of this chapter provides an overview of the Orang Asli in Malaysia as well as background the Malaysian context as it relates to Orang Asli Education.

Background

The Federation of Malaysia is comprised of two land masses, the Malay Peninsula and the states of Sabah and Sarawak, which make up the Northern half of the island of Borneo in the South China Sea.

CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University [Map of Malaysia] Retrieved September 6, 2021



Initial independence from the British colonial powers was achieved in 1957, but the Island of Singapore and states of Sabah and Sarawak joined the federation in 1963. Shortly after, Singapore left the federation and formed an independent state. Malaysia's 32.66 million population (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2019) is a diverse mix of cultures and ethnic groups. Among the largest ethnic groups are the Bumiputera (67.4%), Chinese (24.6%) and the Indian (7.3%). Smaller minority ethnic groups representing 0.7% of the population are listed as other in the Malaysian department of statistics report (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2015). The largest group consisting of the ethnic Malay and other indigenous groups are referred to as the Bumiputera or "sons of the soil" (Milner, 2011). This represents the majority population in Malaysia. Officially the sole national language of Malaysia is Bahasa Malaysia (BM), but many other languages are spoken in Malaysia and enjoy influential status within the larger society in Malaysia or within smaller ethnic communities.

Like many post-colonial countries, Malaysia has gone through many changes since independence. Over a period in the 1980s until the late 1990s it experienced rapid economic growth. Now a middle-income nation, the country is striving towards achieving high income status as a developed nation (Ahmad, 2016). One of Malaysia's many challenges is the reduction of poverty and to this end Malaysia has committed much effort towards reducing the rural-urban divide. Since its independence Malaysia has always made rural development a priority in its overall development plans. Across the decades these plans have been part of the process of reducing the poverty rates considerably. In 2020 Malaysia's absolute poverty rate is 5.6% under the poverty line (Chee & Chua, 2021). However, the divide between rural and urban development has unfortunately widen despite these efforts. This is mainly due to rapid urbanization and increased rural-urban migration (Chee & Chua, 2021). Indeed, latest 2018 reports indicate that 77% of Malaysia population currently resides in urban areas and this

number is predicted to increase further to 80% by the close of this decade (Chee & Chua, 2021). Rural development is tied closely to the Orang Asli as their villages are in rural and remote areas. While there are still Orang Asli living in these remote locations younger generations are migrating to towns and cities to find work (Masron et al., 2013). This has coincided with increasing government efforts to support the Orang Asli by providing services such as health, maternity and dental care as well as education (Masron et al., 2013).

Overview of Malaysian education

Central to Malaysian development efforts is the education system which has undergone many changes (Kärchner-Ober, 2013). Used as a nation building tool, the education system of Malaysia was initially focused on providing access to all its citizens and developing a uniform national identity (Haji Azmi, 2000; Lee, 1999). The emphasis during the early part of the post-colonial years was concentrated on efforts to build infrastructure and extend the reach of education further, especially into rural areas (Lee, 1999). Like many post-colonial nations, the system of education was modelled after English grammar school system of the colonial era (Haji Azmi, 2000). The education system includes 11 years of schooling: six years in primary, three years in lower secondary and two years in upper secondary. Today, Malaysia boasts a nearly universal youth-literacy rate that hovers over 94% (UNESCO, 2020). Non-schooling percentages have dropped from 60% to 10% between the years of 1950 and 2010 (Malaysia, 2013). As of 2017, net enrolment for primary school in Malaysia sits at 99.6% (UNESCO, 2020). For secondary school enrolment, Malaysia recorded 75.2% as of 2019 (UNESCO, 2020). The number of children out-of-school has also been substantially reduced since 2010 which recorded 122,105 children out-of-school, reduced to 10,381 children in 2017 (UNESCO, 2020). In the years following independence, the aims and goals of Malaysian education shifted towards nation building and education reform,

focusing on elevating Bahasa Malaysia, the national language, to a prominent status and promoting its use as the medium of instruction (MoI) for education and for official use in the public sector (Lee, 1999). In the 1960s and 1970s, reforms to curriculum took root after racial riots broke out in 1969, further emphasising national identity and equal opportunity education to bridge the gaps between urban, rural as well as racial divides (Gill, 2013a).

The race riots of 1969 were a pivotal moment in Malaysia's history. Policies towards economic development and indeed education changed because of the fatal unrest (Gill, 2013a). The riots revealed deep divisions that were not only presented along racial lines but also along political and socioeconomic lines (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012). The Malaysian government, recognising that much of the social and economic imbalances were connected to race and the urban rural divide, reacted by introducing new socioeconomic plans aimed at rebalancing wealth distribution and providing equal opportunity (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012). These measures influenced education policy as well, with policy enactments that addressed socioeconomic imbalances through the education system. Some policies afforded the Malay majority, who typically lived in rural areas with special privileges, designed to offset unequal wealth distribution and education opportunities (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012). Among these efforts was the setting up of technical and specialised schools in rural areas to bring rural children more opportunities and quota systems for university scholarships and entrance to increase access to higher education. The government also re-doubled efforts to elevate the national language to reflect Malaysia's desire to form a more cohesive and integrated national identity (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012).

In the 1980s, Malaysia's increasingly productive involvement in global trade brought about renewed optimism in the country. In the early post-colonial period, the

economy was focused mostly on agricultural cash crops, but by the 1980s, Malaysia had become an emerging manufacturing nation (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012). According to Malakolunthu and Rengasamy (2012), these economic changes ushered in a period of prosperity and rapid growth, which saw the need for education to begin producing a more qualified population. Further reforms during this period focused on administrative structures in the education system, like introducing district officers in states and appointing department heads in schools to facilitate decentralisation and teacher empowerment (Lee, 1999). Finally, the last phase of change in the late 90s and 2000s saw liberalisation of education in Malaysia, leading to the growth of education in the private sector (Lee, 1999). In the past, control over the education system remained extremely centralised, but the 1990s signalled a beginning of liberalisation in the Malaysian education system, which saw the emergence of private schools and colleges. (Malakolunthu & Rengasamy, 2012). This provided Malaysians with an alternative to state run schools and universities as demand for education increased.

In the following paragraphs, the historic context of languages in the Malaysian education system is brought into sharper focus for this study. Malaysia's challenges and successes in education are directly connected to language in that significant policies were enacted to ensure certain languages remained in the forefront of education, particularly in the choice of MoI in schools (Gill, 2005).

Historic context of languages in the Malaysian Education System

In colonial Malaya, schools were established within separate communities. Religious schools were prevalent in the Malay population, which were predominantly located in rural areas (Gill, 2005; Puteh, 2010) . The British also established secular schools through religious missions that concentrated primarily in urban centres. These were school that taught using English as the MoI (Puteh, 2010). Mandarin and Tamil

vernacular schools were also started when large numbers of Chinese and South Indian labour was brought to the Malay Peninsular as each of these communities were allowed to start schools within their communities independently (Chan & Ain Nadzimah, 2015). In 1957, the British left the Malay peninsula and Malaya was born. Six years later the merging of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak with Malaya, formed the federation of Malaysia uniting many different communities, which were disparate ethnically and linguistically (Mukherjee & David, 2011). When the British relinquished control of Malaya, no uniform system of education was established, leaving education in each of the larger communities like the Malays, Chinese and Indians in segregated communities, leaving the Malayan (and eventually Malaysian) government with a mammoth task of creating a uniform system of education (Mukherjee & David, 2011). The goal during post-independence was very much geared towards creating a new national identity out of these very different communities (Gill, 2005). Social and economic disparities were prevalent in the newly born Malaysia and the government was keen to address these issues to ensure stability and promote economic and social development (Gill, 2013a). The new uniform system of education in post-independence Malaysia was geared towards compromise. While mainstream national schools used Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction for the first 6 years of primary school, the government allowed the use of Mandarin and Tamil as mediums of instruction for primary schools as well (Mukherjee & David, 2011). The English language was introduced as a subject in primary school as well. When Malaysian children turned 13 and enter secondary school for the subsequent 5 years, all mainstream national schools use only Bahasa Malaysia as the sole medium of instruction (Mukherjee & David, 2011).

The impetus behind the creation of a uniform system of education was greatly influenced by modernist theory. In education development, modernist theory can be

used to describe how education is carried out in society, typically referring to the systems that are put in place to impose centralised structure and ensure the sustainable development of society (Kahraman, 2015). Thus, modernist views towards education emphasise assimilationist ideals like nation building, national identity and unity (Gill, 2005). This favours a common set of social norms and values within a nation state, very much in line with the ideas of a national identity and nation building (Gordon, 2005). Thus, assimilationist ideals have influenced the development of language policy particularly with regards to the education of a nation, by providing a formal education system to build a national identity (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). The path towards Malaysia's current linguistic environment followed the same path very much prescribed by modernist theory. Language planning scholars like Johnson and Ricento (2013, p. 8) describe it as a process that included:

1. The selection of a language suitable to the context. This language would be used as a tool for the “unification” the masses.
2. Careful planning of the use of the language as it is “considered a resource”.
3. Language planning that was considered “ideologically neutral”.
4. Languages that were “abstracted from their sociohistorical and ecological contexts”.

These steps towards establishing a national language that is intended to assume the role of the unifying language taught in schools is usually a building block for developing a national education system; and is considered a hallmark of modernist ideals that championed uniformity as an efficient use of resources to develop a nation state (Johnson & Ricento, 2013). Thus, in the context of Malaysia, Bahasa Malaysia seemed the most logical choice for nation building as it was the language spoken by the Malay majority. As the national language, Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian Language) also became the medium of instruction (MoI) for national schools, which effectively

relegated English to a secondary status, although it was still considered important, especially within the urban centres of the country (Gill, 2005).

The dominance of both English in the urban centres and the continued elevation of the Bahasa Malaysia throughout the post-colonial years now brought the two languages into the foreground of Malaysian education. Both languages are still taught in school and both have had considerable political and economic capital. Such dominance, however, tends to push other languages that exist in Malaysia into lesser roles in national life, although there have been compromises made with other non-dominant languages including indigenous languages (Mukherjee & David, 2011). The next part of this chapter further elaborates on the status of the other languages existing under the shadow of Bahasa Malaysia and English.

Languages in Malaysian Education

In countries like Malaysia, indigenous communities are struggling to maintain identity and face challenges in maintaining their significance in society due to the pressures of encroaching urbanisation and modernisation (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). This struggle is compounded further because of the emphasis on more dominant languages used in education. Ethnologue (2017) reports that Malaysia's population of 31 million speaks up to 134 surviving languages. These 134 languages are divided into two categories: indigenous, of which there are 112, and 22 non-indigenous languages (Ethnologue, 2017). Of the total number of languages that exist in Malaysia, only 11 are considered institutional (Ethnologue, 2017). The status of an institutional language in a country refers mainly to the use of the language in its society. This could mean an international language or a language that has official use at a national, provincial, or educational level. Some institutional languages may not have an official status, but are spoken widely as a lingua franca and may still be considered a language of influence

(Ethnologue, 2017). Only three institutional languages in Malaysia are categorised as principal languages. These languages are English, Standard Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) and Mandarin Chinese, with the inclusion of Tamil, these languages are all used in formal Malaysian education as a MoI.

To further explore how these dominant institutional languages hinder the use and maintenance of non-dominant indigenous languages (Mukherjee & David, 2011), an understanding of how these dominant languages are used in the Malaysian education system is needed. From a language perspective, national schools in Malaysia are essentially schools that use the medium of Bahasa Malaysia (Gaudart, 1987; Gill, 2004), the national language of Malaysia. Although there has been a resurgent movement for the use of English as a MoI over the past several decades, what is certainly entrenched in the education system is the use of Bahasa Malaysia as the MoI for public primary and secondary education (Gill, 2013a). To emphasise the high status of Bahasa Malaysia, Article 152 of the Malaysian federal constitution maintains that although there are guarantees that minorities have the freedom to speak other languages, every Malaysian must recognise the status of Bahasa Malaysia as the official language and should not use other languages in an official capacity. As such, all public services, court proceedings and parliamentary sittings must be conducted in the national language (Nagarathinam, 2009). This affords Bahasa Malaysia considerable political power and status in Malaysian society.

English is taught as a second language from primary to secondary school and still enjoys the status of a working language or language of commerce, especially in the urban centres of the country (Paul et al., 2014). As the colonial language left by the British, English may not be considered as important as the national language in Malaysia, but the language holds immense economic clout as a global language (Gaudart, 1987; Gill, 2004). The English language is routinely highlighted as a useful

and pragmatic language, often emphasised for its importance to Malaysia's competitiveness in global markets. For example, in 2003 a new language policy implemented the use of the English language as the MoI for the Mathematics and Science subjects across all levels in national schools. This move was seen as a pragmatic policy by which to enhance Malaysia's competitiveness globally, by preparing Malaysians for globalisation and the knowledge economy (Gill, 2013a). However, this policy was reversed in 2008 because it was believed that the use of English disadvantaged certain groups of students due to the varying degrees of English competency in teachers and a lack of training (Gill, 2013b). Other languages are also used as MoIs in primary schools and these include the use of Mandarin, Tamil and indeed other minority languages which were guaranteed under Article 152 of the Malaysian Constitution and the National Language act of 1967 (Kaur & Shapii, 2018). Schools that teach using both Mandarin and Tamil languages were termed as 'national type' schools as the content of the curriculum is the same as national schools but are conducted in Mandarin or Tamil (Nagarathinam, 2009). The Education Act of 1996, however, allows indigenous languages to be taught "if it is practical to do so, and if parents of at least 15 pupils in school so request" (p. 77). This 1996 provision states that for indigenous language to be taught, it must be deemed practical and although the term "practical" may be vague, the statement continues that there must be at least 15 pupils whose parents consent to and request that the language be taught. While this seems like a practical condition, considering the need for a critical mass of students to justify opening a class for indigenous language, there are crucial details that deserve deliberation.

It is pertinent to note that, although these laws allowing indigenous language to be taught are regarded as mother tongue education policies in Malaysia, the laws do not refer to education in the non-dominant indigenous language, but instead refer to the

teaching of the language as a subject. An example can be taken from the context of the Semai Orang Asli subgroup. According to Alias (2015a), in an effort to preserve the Semai language, the Malaysian Ministry of Education began efforts to develop a Semai language curriculum for use in public schools. The choice of the Semai was attributed to criterion stated by Nagarathinam (2009) above, referring to the number of pupils needed to begin a mother tongue programme. Thus, the Semai being one of the larger Orang Asli groups was chosen to benefit from this programme (Alias, 2015a). The result of this programme was the development of a curriculum used to teach Semai in class for 120 minutes per week, in the form of 30 minute classes four times per week (Alias, 2015a). This is similar to other indigenous counterparts in East Malaysia, like the Iban and Kadazan-Dusun languages (Ting & Ling, 2013; Ting & Campell, 2017). The indigenous languages in all these examples are taught effectively as a third language (Bahasa Malaysia and English being prioritised as first and second languages respectively) within the national school system from Year Three to Year Six of primary school (Alias & Salasiah, 2015; Alias, 2015b; Nagarathinam, 2009). Therefore, these classes cannot be considered mother tongue education.

Mother tongue-based education as defined by language planning and policy scholars refers to use of mother tongue as the MoI in education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Generally, the use of the learner's first language (L1) or mother tongue as the MoI in school is usually within the context of a fully immersed or bilingual classroom, regardless of whether it is dominant or not (Benson, 2004). Benson (2005) further describes mother tongue-based education specifically as the teaching of "beginning reading and writing skills alongside academic content" (p. 2), followed by the introduction of the second language (L2), which is often the national or official language. This is taught systematically so the learner may transfer the skills from their familiar L1 to the unfamiliar L2 as they progress through school (Benson, 2005).

In light of this defined understanding of mother tongue-based education in comparison to the nature of indigenous mother tongue language programs developed in Malaysia, it is apparent that the Malaysian government has an entirely different plan when it comes to language policy. For instance, non-dominant Orang Asli languages like Semai, Iban and Kadazan Dusun, have been used only in their capacity as an additional language and not as a MoI (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). Essentially, this situation means that indigenous children in their formal schooling are still expected to learn literacy, numeracy and writing in Bahasa Malaysia and up to 240 minutes of English a week as a separate subject (Nagarathinam, 2009). The learning of the national school curriculum in Bahasa Malaysia is a condition whereby indigenous children are still expected to be taught exclusively in a dominant language that is foreign to them, rather than actually learning in a language that they understand. While the implementation of Semai and other indigenous language classes mentioned above is an example of an attempt to preserve language and culture of indigenous populations in Malaysia, there are other important factors to consider in terms of education for the Orang Asli. One factor that continually remains an issue is high dropout rates of Orang Asli children in the national school system (Rabahi et al., 2020). The next section begins with a brief introduction to the Orang Asli and then connect the effects of Malaysian language policy with the challenges faced in educating Orang Asli children in Peninsula Malaysia.

The indigenous Orang Asli and education

The indigenous Orang Asli communities of Peninsular Malaysia face challenges of poverty and isolation from mainstream society (Md Saleh, 2018; Mustapha, 2010). Many of the Orang Asli live in communities scattered around the rural interiors where 62.4% live in the fringe rural outskirts, 36.9% live in the deeper hinterland areas while less than one percent of Orang Asli communities live in urban areas (Rabahi et al.,

2020). The Orang Asli are not a homogenous group; there are 18 subgroups of Orang Asli classified into three main groups (Alias, 2015b). They are the Senoi, the Aboriginal Malay or Proto-Malay and the Negrito (Alias, 2015b). Linguistically each Orang Asli subgroup speaks a separate language originating from either the Austro-Asiatic language stock or the Austronesian language group (Nambiar & Govindasamy, 2010). This study will focus on The Semai and Temiar subgroups belonging to the Senoi category of Orang Asli that reside in the region of the State of Perak in the Malaysian Peninsula.

Orang Asli groups are considered marginalised minority communities and represent one of the most vulnerable communities in Malaysia (Md Saleh, 2018). As such, Orang Asli communities remain some of the poorest and least educated groups in the country (Rabahi et al., 2020; Renganathan, 2016b). Under a British mandate the Department of Home affairs in Malaya formed the Department of Orang Asli Affairs (JHEOA) in 1954. Now called the Department for Orang Asli Progress (JAKOA), this agency is responsible for the development of all aspects of Orang Asli socio-economic development. This includes the health, housing, education and other policies related to rural and agricultural activities. JAKOA's task is a challenging one encompassing many facets of Orang Asli life and society, thus in 1996, Orang Asli education was transferred to the purview of Ministry of Education following the signing of a memorandum of understanding.

Through the Ministry of Education, the Malaysian government is committed to providing opportunities for education to the Orang Asli and the effectiveness of government programmes developed to improve Orang Asli access to education as well as improve Orang Asli attendance in schools have seen some success (Edo, 2012). However, it is argued that more can be done to improve the degree of success in education for Orang Asli children (Abdul Rahman et al., 2021; Rabahi et al., 2020).

Orang Asli academic achievements are still considered low and are often connected to poverty, but recently have also been attributed to unsuitable strategies and pedagogies which reduce the effectiveness of efforts made to help these communities (Abdullah et al., 2013). In the next section, the interactions between the Orang Asli and Malaysia's education system are presented to provide the context specifically in the issue of language use and the medium of instruction for education.

Effects of Malaysian language policy on the education of indigenous children

According to the Department for Orang Asli Progress (JAKOA), the total number of Orang Asli people in the Malaysian Peninsular was at about 150,000, a considerably small minority in Malaysia's total population of 31.95 million (Masron et al., 2013). More recent figures provided by other organisations place the current population at about 198,000 or 0.7% of the population of Peninsular Malaysia (Nicholas, 2020). There are many challenges faced by Orang Asli children in Malaysia. Although there is a lack of current data, dropout rates recorded in the past decade indicate a percentage hovering around 30% of Orang Asli students do not reach secondary school (Md Saleh, 2018; Mohd Shah et al., 2020)

One particularly significant factor affecting access to education is the language used in education for the Orang Asli. An example of this can be seen in the Semai subgroup of Orang Asli. The Semai are made up of tribal groups scattered throughout the high and low land forest reserves of the Malaysian Peninsular. The Semai, which are population of 42,383, speak the Semai language, a relatively small minority language compared to dominant languages like Bahasa Malaysia and English (Alias, 2015b). Semai culture and indeed its language are at risk for several reasons. As mentioned previously, Semai is a language that has been introduced as a subject taught in indigenous language programmes for students between Year Three and Year Six of

primary school. The growth of these classes has been steady with reports of the number of participating schools reaching 28 as of 2014 (Alias, 2015b). However, as in the case of many other indigenous languages, there have been challenges. Even though efforts by the Curriculum Development Division of the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Semai community have resulted in the development of a Semai language curriculum, Semai children still struggle to perform well in the national school system (Alias, 2015b).

There are two challenges to education for Orang Asli that are connected to language. The first challenge faced by the Semai language was to develop an official spelling system (Smith, 2003). Because of its differences in lexicon due to the various Semai dialects spoken, there is no official Semai written language and there is a need to find commonality in order to facilitate smoother communication among the different Semai groups (Phillips, 2013; Smith, 2003). The Semai language itself is an important cultural marker to the Semai community; however, there are still many versions of the language. Language surveys reveal that Semai language is used consistently in everyday life and Semai parents teach the language to their children (Phillips, 2013). The language, however, has been used primarily within the community and currently does not have official status despite being taught as an elective subject in school (Nagarathinam, 2009). Thus, one of the most important tasks is developing a standard language that can be used officially. Under the Semai language curriculum, development of a Romanised spelling system using the phonetic system of Bahasa Malaysia was introduced, but the language itself is only ever taught as a subject separate from the main curriculum (Alias, 2015b).

Although there are Semai classes taught three to four times a week for Semai students, mainstream classrooms pose difficulties for them. A study on the perspectives of school teachers conducted by Abdul Wahab and Mustapha (2015) found that primary

level, Orang Asli students simply could not understand the teacher because of their poor command of Bahasa Malaysia. Teachers also found it hard to communicate with their students and reported difficulties in helping their students understand concepts (Abdul Wahab & Mustapha, 2015). The study also showed attempts were made to contextualise the concepts taught to reflect the social and cultural background of their students, yet language was still the largest barrier that remained a hindrance for teacher and student interaction (Abdul Wahab & Mustapha, 2015).

The second challenge is from an external source. As with many other indigenous communities living in close proximity to more dominant populations, the erosion of cultural and societal norms becomes an issue (Kroes, 2002). For the Semai community, this challenge comes in the form of gradual encroachment of other cultures as more and more of the dominant population impinge into their habitat (Kroes, 2002). The Malay population, being the dominant, mainstream community in Malaysia, and the community that Semai people are closest in proximity to, is often viewed with distrust by the Semai because of years of discrimination, exploitation and pressure to conform to Malay values (Kroes, 2002). However, Malay culture is also seen with some admiration and the Semai view “masuk melayu” or to “enter Malay-dom” as a new way to view their status in society (Kroes, 2002, p. 241). In other words, to adapt to their changing world, adopting Malay-ness and indeed Bahasa Malaysia as one of their languages seems appropriate to survive in a rapidly changing society. Thus, it seems to be a dilemma that Orang Asli experience in the face of pressures to assimilate into a different and more dominant culture. Despite living semi-nomadic lifestyles based on subsistence farming, Orang Asli also leave the rural interiors to find employment in the nearby towns or cities, exposing them to the different cultures outside their communities (Masron et al., 2013). However, the challenges from outside influences are not only centred around language choice alone. The whole concept of education for the Orang

Asli is also completely different from that of mainstream attitudes towards education (Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008). This will be expanded upon in the following paragraphs.

In his study on education policy for the Orang Asli, Kamaruddin and Jusoh (2008) noted that interviews and observations conducted in Semai and Temuan (another Orang Asli sub-group) villages revealed the clear differences between how Orang Asli view education in the jungle, as compared to how urban dwellers view mainstream education (Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008). Citing Azizah Awang's article from Malaysian daily *The Star*, Kamaruddin and Jusoh (2008) explained the difficulty faced by Orang Asli in integrating with the national school system, citing language and pedagogical challenges in formalised education. For the majority of Orang Asli, education is primarily the responsibility of parents and the members of the village who help to support this endeavour by teaching the children the importance of co-responsibility and maintaining communal interest as opposed to individual achievement (Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008).

In studies conducted by Abdullah et al. (2013), language is once again highlighted as a challenging factor in the educating Orang Asli. This time, studies on the perspectives of Temiar sub-group were conducted and language was again reported to be a barrier to education. Students from the Temiar groups complained that they could not understand their ethnic Malay teachers and found it difficult to grasp concepts in Bahasa Malaysia (Abdullah et al., 2013). Teachers reported giving up on Temiar students, explaining that the students were just not interested, and that language was the first obstacle that teachers needed to overcome to successfully teach the children. The significance of language use in the classroom is clearly highlighted in these studies and shows that Orang Asli find the public school system ill-suited to their way of life and makes it difficult for them to access the quality education they need.

The outcome of current policies for indigenous education in Malaysia see Orang Asli youth performing poorly in national schools in terms of assessment and standardised testing. Reports from studies carried out by local Malaysian institutions like University Utara Malaysia (UUM or Northern University of Malaysia) show Orang Asli sub-groups are weak across many grade levels. In the UUM study, lead researcher Dali et al. (2013), reported that Semai illiteracy rates were at nearly 50% as compared to the national average of 6.4% (Dali et al., 2013). Dali et al. (2013) also mentions reports by researchers such as Colin Nicholas who indicate that out of 100 Semai children entering Year One of primary school, only six may reach Year Five (note that primary school children graduate to secondary school after Year Six) (Dali et al., 2013). In fact, it was reported in one case that an Orang Asli school reported a 0% passing rate for the Standardised Primary School Exams (UPSR), furthermore, it is suggested that Orang Asli students find it difficult to perform well in standardised examinations because state exams like the UPSR are conducted in only one language, which is Bahasa Malaysia (Dali et al., 2013). This represents a troubling scenario whereby Orang Asli students who do not speak Bahasa Malaysia at home are expected to take UPSR examination in a language that is effectively foreign to them, making passing these exams a difficult task, given their background.

Although other factors affecting the quality of education for the Semai and other tribes can be attributed to factors like poverty, there are certainly challenges that are connected to Orang Asli children and the formal schooling environment as well. At some schools, teachers have admitted to not giving the students homework because they knew students would not bring the books back to class (Renganathan et al., 2011). Renganathan et al. (2011) attributed these challenges to gaps between the learning experience in school and learning experiences at home. Thus, another fundamental challenge is related to the experience in formal education versus education in informal

settings faced by Orang Asli children. In consideration of language use in these circumstances, particularly when it is connected to the challenges that Orang Asli face in educating their own children, these issues become compounded when there is a lack of materials in Orang Asli mother tongue or when teachers are required to constantly translate materials only available in the national language or English (Smith, 2003). There are clearly systemic problems inherent in the language policies Malaysia has for its indigenous people. In a 12-month intervention-based literacy study, Renganathan et al. (2011) noted that Semai children required helpers who could translate Bahasa Malaysia or English materials into the Semai language during the course of their after school intervention program. Literacy intervention programmes like this one are conducted for literacy in Bahasa Malaysia and English, with the indigenous language used to fill in gaps in understanding. This highlights examples of the challenges children in Orang Asli villages face in education. An Orang Asli point of view on education is needed so that discussions focused on Orang Asli perspectives in education and language choice can contribute towards effective practice and policy making.

Orang Asli communities face hard choices as minority populations, and often find their futures tied to the decisions of others. In deciding how they should be educated, much of the decision-making remains embedded in the domains of those in power, giving the Orang Asli little or no choice but to conform to existing policies. This is the reason why the perspectives of the Orang Asli should become an important part of developing and enacting policy for education in Malaysia. Given that much of the research about education for Orang Asli surrounds how the Orang Asli interact with the existing education policies of the Malaysian government, it is pertinent to explore how education is seen from the teachers' perspectives, particularly with regards to the languages they use in the classroom. Thus, conducting research on how Orang Asli mother tongue language is used, as well as how it is perceived in their classrooms,

represents a significant step in giving Orang Asli a chance to contribute to the development and enactment of education policies for their communities.

Structure of the thesis

So far, this Introduction and Background chapter has provided contextual background of the Orang Asli community, background about language use in education for Malaysia as well as commentary on the effects of language policy on the Orang Asli community in the context of public school education. Chapter Two of this thesis builds from the context provided in this Introduction and Background chapter and raises issues that cover a review of the literature regarding language use in education, the revitalisation of endangered languages, the use of mother tongue in education for indigenous communities and the various theories and movements that have influenced policy of language choice in education. Furthermore, Chapter Two also sets the issues that Orang Asli communities face regarding the use of their mother tongue in the context of mother tongue education practices in other communities globally. This provides examples from other communities that have gone through challenges that are similar to the challenges Orang Asli communities of Peninsular Malaysia face, allowing for a comparative overview of how these other communities have dealt with the use of their mother tongue in education. Thus, the literature review aligns the focus of this study towards how Orang Asli teachers in their respective communities used languages in their classrooms to teach, setting the stage for discussion on how their perspectives have influenced their practices in informal community classrooms.

The methodology section of this study in Chapter Three, elaborates further on the research aim introduced at the beginning of this chapter and introduces the central research question before presenting the research approach used in this study. Here, the paradigm of interpretivism and the theoretical perspective of Symbolic Interactionism

are discussed as suitable approaches for conducting research regarding the use of mother tongue in informal Orang Asli classrooms. In this chapter, the key issue of “perspective” and its meaning are discussed and defined for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, the methods of data gathering through the conducting of semi-structured interviews and the methods of data analysis using principles from Grounded Theory are presented.

The findings from the analysis of interview data collected from the 10 participants of this study are presented in Chapter Four. This chapter presents descriptions of the participants and their schools before presenting the findings from the data analysis process. From the analysis of the data provided, three categories were identified. Through this process, four major themes emerged and are discussed in the subsequent chapter. In Chapter Five, which is the Discussion chapter, the focus turns to the four major themes and the subthemes that follow. The themes are discussed in light of the Orang Asli participants’ challenges and the way in which they have chosen to address these challenges with the use of their mother tongue to achieve their intended aims for their students. This chapter’s main purpose is to highlight the perspectives of the participants with regards to languages they use in their classrooms as part of their practise and then relating them to the practices and policies outside of the participants’ context referenced in the literature reviewed for this study. This discussion reveals how the participants’ practices were similar to other classroom practises in different indigenous communities or communities speaking non-dominant, minority languages within larger mainstream society.

Finally, the Conclusion chapter of this study discusses the limitations of this study and provides a brief summary of this research project. Furthermore, it presents the implications from the themes that emerged in this study. Here, several implications for

policy, practice and future research are discussed, recommending more focus on the views and perspectives of the Orang Asli community.

In the next chapter, a critical review of the literature concerning language in indigenous education is presented. Chapter Two first provides key definitions on the usage of the term mother tongue and other alternative ways to describe home languages used in the literature. It also provides reasons for the use of the term ‘mother tongue’ in this study, despite the many other terms available. Next, a review on how languages are used in education as part of efforts by the state to develop and build national identity in the post-colonial contexts as well as how these steps can affect smaller minorities that speak non-dominant languages will be presented. Finally, in response to the developments in language choice and policy making set in post-colonial countries, theories and research on the use of bilingual education and its role in education are reviewed. Furthermore, examples of how other indigenous communities with similar situations to the Orang Asli have grappled with preserving their language and using it in their communities for the purpose of education are presented.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study focuses on the use of indigenous languages in the context of the indigenous communities found in the West Malaysian Peninsular. In this chapter, key concepts and the definitions used in this study will be reviewed, followed by key theoretical approaches that have influenced understanding of language policy and bilingual education research. This chapter also features a critical review of these theories through empirical literature, including examples of how some indigenous communities use their languages in education. The chapter critically reviews existing research regarding mother tongue use in indigenous education.

Defining Mother Tongue

The term “mother tongue” is a complex concept and it is defined in different ways. In the Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008) definition, mother tongue can be defined through many facets. For example, mother tongue can be defined as the language an individual learns first. It can also be a language that an individual identifies with or a language that can be identified by themselves or others as a native speaker of the language. In some cases, it is the language that an individual is the most proficient in and/or uses the most frequently (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). However, the term mother tongue and the definitions attached are not always accurate based on different contexts. In many cases, factors like economic, cultural and social factors influence the position and the status of a language, which in turn affects the way the term is defined. In some contexts a shift in definition of mother tongue can occur between generations, where the languages spoken in households change and proficiency in a heritage language decreases while other more dominant languages within the community take root (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). In this case, Skutnabb-

Kangas and McCarty (2008) uses the term “heritage language” (p. 10) where the younger generation may identify with the language, but may not speak it well. An example of this can be seen in the minority communities in Malaysia, where a shift away from the heritage language occurs in favour of using the national language or English (David et al., 2009). David et al. (2009) cite examples of many minority groups in Malaysia, such as communities that speak Sindhi, Malayalee, Punjabi, Bugis, Javanese and Portuguese to name a few. In these minority communities the value of using the mother tongue may have diminished and be relegated to a heritage language used occasionally while English or another more dominant language is preferred.

L1 and L2

Another way to conceptualise mother tongue is with the terms L1 and L2, which can be used to differentiate between mother tongue (Language 1) and a second language (Language 2) respectively (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). L1 represents a person’s first language or the language spoken at home, while L2 represents the second language typically learned in school (Benson, 2013). While these terms can be used to replace the term mother tongue, it is also pertinent to note that one can grow up in a bilingual household and speak two languages in the home (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). Thus, one should be careful how terms like L1 and L2 are used; for example, Benson (2013) point out that the status of a language as a fixed L1 or L2 can shift, depending on the speaker and the context of its use. A language that is foreign to an individual may be taught in school and be different from the language spoken at home. In this circumstance, the language is considered an L2 because it is learned after the L1 (Hammarberg, 2010). According to (Hammarberg, 2010), this chronological way of describing L1 and L2 can be problematic when considering the language backgrounds of an individual. One could learn or be exposed to more than one language in the home or be using the L1 and L2 at the same time because their parents are

bilingual. There are also situations where one may have a parent who primarily speaks one language and another who speaks a different language. Therefore, the L1 and L2 as a strict delineation of the order in which an individual learns a language may not always fit their experience (Hammarberg, 2010). This is especially true in countries that have a colonial past. Post-colonial countries have very strong linguistic ties to their former colonial masters (Canagarajah, 2005a). In these cases, the mother tongue which would typically be described as their L1 may not be the dominant language and could be subordinate to the colonial language (Canagarajah, 2005a). Additionally, in a bid to distance themselves from their colonial past, many countries adopt a national language, to lift the status of a local language above its colonial counterpart (Canagarajah, 2005a). At times, the national languages that are considered the official language of a state are institutionalised for use in schools and other official capacities. An example of this is the use of Bahasa Malaysia as the national language in Malaysia which replaced the use of English as the medium of instruction (MoI) in public schools after independence in 1957. As a result of this process, other languages spoken by minorities can be relegated to lesser importance (Gill, 2013a). Situations like these shift the meaning of terminology like L1 and L2 because each community in each country comes from a variety of backgrounds, making it a challenge to keep track of languages using these terms.

Dominant and non-dominant languages

As discussed, the terms mother tongue and L1 and L2 have been used to describe the languages spoken in a community but do ultimately have some limitations in describing the use and status of a particular language. This is because there are instances where these terminologies becomes inaccurate within the context of a group where multiple languages are spoken at home (Benson, 2014) . This muddies the water of the L1-L2 dichotomy because it is very difficult to describe which language in the

home is the actual L1, particularly if it is possible to have more than one L1. It is therefore prudent to also note that because there are so many different experiences and uses of language in different contexts, that there are simply no perfect universal terms to reflect the situations where a particular language is used in every nation. Thus, a solution to this issue could be to simply describe a language as either dominant or non-dominant within the context of each country or community (Benson, 2014). Using terms like dominant and non-dominant allows the appropriate identification of the status of the language instead of designating a specific label to a language in a specific context. Designating a language as dominant or non-dominant ensures that the status of the language is determined for a specific context to avoid any generalise assumptions about the languages in question. This also highlights the contextual complexities surrounding languages; as the status of a language can be dominant in one context and non-dominant in another. Whether it is in terms of that language being a home language or a medium of instruction in school, the status of a language as a dominant or non-dominant language within a discussion can help to provide context to this review section. In the context of language use in education, this is particularly useful in discussing medium of instruction, or the use of other languages in the multilingual or bilingual education context. For example, the Kosonen (2013) review of mother tongue education in Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam, shows the effective use of the term non-dominant languages or NDLs. In this study, Kosonen refers to the languages spoken in the minority communities that do not use the national language as NDLs and discusses the use of these languages as the mediums of instruction (Kosonen, 2013). The Taylor-Leech (2103) evaluative study on the use of NDLs in the education system of Timor-Leste also delineates languages along the dominant non-dominant line. Utilising the terms in the describing languages used in the homes as well as in schools, Taylor-Leech (2103) refers to languages designated for official use in work and education purposes as

“dominant” as they are used by the socially, economically and politically dominant groups or communities. Conversely, languages that are usually stigmatised and are not used for official purposes in governments and school settings are referred to as “non-dominant”. This clearly delineates the status of these languages within the context of Timor-Leste. Therefore, for the purposes of this review, languages are either classified as dominant languages (DL) or non-dominant Languages (NDL). However, in terms of how indigenous Orang Asli refer to their language, their communities refer to their own language as their mother tongue. This is consistent with the Skutnabb-Kangas (2008) description of mother tongue as a language that a community specifically identifies with and the language that is used in their homes and communities. Therefore, since the indigenous Orang Asli refer to their home language as their mother tongue and identify with it as part of their cultural identity, this term was used in the interviews and is used for the purposes of this study. The next section of this chapter critically reviews the literature on the use of mother tongue in education and how it applies to the education of Orang Asli in the Malaysian context.

Mother Tongue in education

Language plays many roles in education, one of which is as a tool to develop cultural and social identity, particularly in the maintenance of a common identity that represents a society (Lee, 2003). A language not only allows for communication but also reflects the values, ideology and worldviews of the speakers (Tan & Santhiram, 2015). As language is learned it carries with it a community’s ideas and perceptions of the world around it and shapes the values and ideals of an individual; as such, language can be seen as a repository of a community’s collective knowledge and experience passed down to a new generation (Lee, 2003). However, in plural societies which consist of many different cultures and languages, the need for a common language that its members may use for communication across a society of varied backgrounds and

ethnic groups is seen as a necessity in building a nation-state (Tollefson, 2013). More importantly, it is hoped that a common language might build a sense of unity and citizenry within society and act as a common identity that subordinates ethnic or cultural identities of its members in favour of more integrated identity (Grant, 1971). This use of a common language to shape the identity of a nation-state raises many issues regarding the choice of languages used in education, especially in view of multi-cultural societies where other non-dominant languages are spoken. In these situations, governments enact policies that often place the needs of the national agenda over the needs of smaller minorities, pushing aside and sometimes even suppressing non-dominant, minority languages (Tollefson, 2013). These issues are central to discussions about education for minorities as there may be pressures to assimilate into the mainstream society as opposed to maintaining the cultural heritage and their ethnic identity. This results in the “minoritisation” of languages that are not considered part of a national agenda, thus those languages are marginalised in society (May, 2006, pp. 259-262).

In recognising the marginalisation of non-dominant languages, proponents of non-dominant, mother tongue education believe that there is a strong case for it in minority communities. Benson (2004) suggests that there are benefits to using non-dominant, mother tongues in education, particularly in pedagogical, social and psychological aspects of a child’s education. From psychological and sociological perspectives, education development through the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is helpful because it gives minority learners a chance to learn using a language that they are familiar with (Benson, 2002; Benson, 2004). This minimises the steep cultural learning curve that minorities must navigate in their development when trying to learn in a second language. This means that new concepts taught in the mother tongue help minorities to develop skills and learn literacy and numeracy without the

delay of having to learn a new language first; this also allows the learners to think in their own language and facilitates their grasping of new concepts as they learn (Benson, 2002). It also gives minority children a measure of pride and lifts the status of their cultural heritage to a level of acceptance as a valid part of society (Benson, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). From a pedagogical perspective, scholars posit that a minorities' mother tongue not only helps minority students grasp complex concepts quickly but builds scaffolding for learning a second language later in their education (Cohen, 1975; Hammond & Gibbons, 2001). This is achieved when students and teachers are able to navigate the complexities of learning a new language when engaged with each other using their own language (Benson, 2002). Furthermore, Benson (2002) highlights the benefits of transferring literacy skills learned in the mother tongue into learning reading and writing in the second language. Skutnabb-Kangas (2010), one of the staunchest advocates of mother tongue education, echoes this belief, suggesting that the wrong choice of medium of instruction for minority learners could severely hamper efforts to attain literacy quickly.

On the other side of the argument for education that utilises the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is a pragmatic view of language in education. Critics of non-dominant mother tongue education fear that while sociological and psychological aspects are important for the development of the child, children who are educated in their mother tongue may lose out politically and economically because of the need for minority communities to achieve economic and social mobility (Canagarajah, 2005a). These notions take a very practical approach in response to mother tongue education, much of which can be drawn from works by Grin and Bourdieu. Grin (1994) in his work *The Economics of Language: Match or Mismatch*, surveyed the many ways language is commodified by a society. He describes the inter-connectedness of language with the attitudes of its speakers, highlighting that the perspectives of speakers

regarding how the languages are influenced by factors such as economic clout or political power (Grin, 1994). He notes how language is perceived by state actors, minority communities and dominant language groups, observing that there are inherent categories for languages based on the ways they are used in a society, hence the value placed on a particular language (Grin, 1994).

These ideas are reminiscent of the concept of “linguistic capital” posited by Bourdieu (1977). This is a view of language that utilises economic terms, where language is seen in the light of its value to the community; thus, an individual may see a specific language as a resource that is valuable personally or for the benefit of their community (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu (1977) refers to languages as “symbolic assets” (p.651) that are valued based on the demands of the market, explaining that languages can also be valued by the need for them in a community. He uses the example of French as a language that is valued less now relative to the demand for English as France’s political, cultural and economic standing has diminished (Bourdieu, 1977). In viewing languages this way, the criticisms of mother tongue education look at how the demands of being competent in a dominant language are deemed to imbue more linguistic capital and becomes essential to the survival of a minority community in the larger society of the nation-state. This stems from the belief that learning the dominant language will ensure economic or social mobility (May, 2006). As a result of these observations, criticisms of mother tongue education focus on the effect of globalisation on the value of minority languages having less value in society than others and thus prioritising languages that are more strategic in ensuring further development of a society.

While Stroud (2003) maintains that the use of mother tongue or minority languages in education is laudable, he points to the effects of globalisation on the endeavour. Using examples from the African continent, these effects mainly surround:

- 1) Producing content in minority languages;
- 2) Insufficient training in bilingual

methodology for teachers, and; 3) The conflicts between nation building agendas and the aims of mother tongue education (Stroud, 2003). These three factors are seen as hindrances to successful implementation of mother tongue education. The first factor Stroud (2003) mentions is the concern that the production of content for use in mother tongue classrooms that use the minority language can have curricula skewed towards dominant languages. This revealed a bias toward languages that have more linguistic capital (Stroud, 2003). These biases towards more dominant languages can occur in post-colonial communities as reported by Graham (2010). In studies of Kenyan mother tongue education programmes at the pre-schools level, Graham (2010) noted the biases that slant towards favouring more dominant language like English stem from perspectives that claim the superiority of English or the “profitability” (p.311) of using the English language (Graham, 2010). This, in turn, leads to the second of Stroud’s concerns, which is insufficient training in bilingual education for teachers. This failing undermines the effectiveness of mother tongue education even though it is practised within the classrooms. Finally, the conflicting agendas between the emphasis on global languages like English and the use of minority languages reduces the effectiveness of mother tongue education as well (Stroud, 2003). With this concern, Stroud (2003) refers to the clash of agendas present within an education system where the efforts to use the mother tongue by teachers in the classroom may be hampered by policy decisions that encourage emphasis on English. These issues highlight how post-colonial communities are pulled in two directions. In one direction there is pressure to use dominant languages in education as a way to improve economic and social mobility in their communities. In another direction, these communities are pulled towards the maintenance of the cultural heritage and identity through the preservation and use of mother tongue.

The arguments for and against non-dominant mother tongue education show how debates surrounding language in education have been framed. As an example, it

can be expressed in the dilemma of balancing between the use of a dominant language to maintain competitiveness and maintaining non-dominant languages to preserve a minority community's cultural identity. In the following sections, the theories influencing policy on language use in education are explored, beginning with modernism and its influence on language in education and the development of the nation state and then in contrast to modernist era ideals. The influence of critical theory which will also be discussed in light of later developments in language in education.

Theories influencing language policy in education.

The use of non-dominant languages in education has roots in critical theory, which has had a significant influence on education development in the post-modern era (Tollefson, 2013). Historically, language policy studies have been influenced by different sociological theories at different times. Modernist theories of education were popular in the 1960s and 1970s (Tollefson, 2013). Later, in the 1990s, influences from critical theory began to gain ground in education policy and towards the current period emphasis on returning power to communities within the critical theory space have come to the forefront of language policy in education (Tollefson, 2013). In the following section, these two major movements that have influenced language policy in education are discussed. The central ideas in modernism and how it has influenced education and language policy will be reviewed before addressing the response to modernism in the form of critical theory and its influence on the education and language policy.

The influence of modernism

Modernist theory in education posits the idea of education as a tool to advance progress in society (Inkeles, 1998). To be considered modern as an individual and as a society means that an individual or society needs to achieve stages of development that improve the efficiency of the nation state, and education is considered a key factor in

developing the human capital needed to move through the stages of development to achieve modernity (Inkeles, 1998). Tollefson (2013) suggests these ideas of modernity were the predominant paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s and viewed the development of education systems as an apolitical effort that required the application of technical expertise to develop society. As such, modernist movements approached the field of language planning in multilingual, developing societies as problems that needed to be solved. In many of these countries, modernism was applied to the establishment of new education systems based on centralised government organisations intended to increase efficiency in developing valuable human capital (Feinberg, 2004; Inkeles, 1975; Meyer & Hannan, 1979). Therefore, in forming a nation-state and educating its population, government organisations often required language use in education to follow a uniform and standardised structure, promoting the use of one language for all its citizens (Gogolin, 1997). This language disposition is referred to as “monolingual habitus” a term coined by Gogolin (1997, 2013) to describe the belief that citizens of a state should speak a common language. As a result, schooling for many multi-ethnic and multicultural nations gaining independence began a major push towards education in a standard and common language, in line with modernist approaches. However, there has been pushback against modernist perspectives to language and education. Ideas based in critical theory have emerged to challenge modernist views.

The influence of critical theory

In response to modernist paradigms, scholars within the field of language research began to challenge views like the political neutrality of research in language planning and education. Approaching research on language planning and policy from the perspective of critical theory helped shape the ideas of sociolinguists like James W. Tollefson, who saw research in the field shift from the dominance of modernist theory which focused on the development of individuals and nation states, to interest in social

and historical analysis. In critical theory, research on language and education shifts its focus away from issues like the standardisation and uniformity (Tollefson, 2006). Instead, social equality becomes the focus and scholars like Tollefson and Tsui (2014) suggest that decisions made regarding language in education cannot always avoid political agendas, making it difficult to balance the needs of all communities in society. Indeed, it becomes difficult to consider the absence of political considerations in decision making which Tollefson refers to as the “historical-structural approach” (Tollefson, 2013, p. 26).

Although not an outright rejection of modernist theory, Tollefson (2006) believed that the historical-structural approach to language planning and policy highlighted the influence of social and historical factors on decision making, thus beginning to challenge the claim that modernist models of language planning and policy were inherently meant to be neutral or apolitical. In this approach, views on policies made regarding language in education consider power structures, institutions and government mechanisms that could perpetuate social inequality (Tollefson, 2013). By acknowledging that language planning and policy cannot escape the influence of ideology and accepting that the act of language planning and policy is political in nature, critical language planning seeks to focus research on how to bring about social equity. Tollefson (2006) posits that there are two main assumptions that underpin critical theory in the act of language planning and policy.

The first assumption is the existence of structural categories, like race, gender and class inherent within society. In countries where communities divided along these categories, specific groups maintain an uneven power base which continues to generate inequality. In the contexts of language planning and policy, these ideas shape the observations of scholars, recognising that some languages have more power than others (Tollefson, 2006). Researchers with a critical theory perspective utilise ideas like

imperialism and colonialism to express how dominant colonial languages continue to remain influential in political and social debates on language use, particularly in schools. Post-colonial scholars like Canagarajah (2005b) maintain a strong position against the influence of modernist theory, believing it to be a system that “denigrates local knowledge” and “suppresses diversity” (p.5). For Canagarajah (2005b) and other post-colonial scholars, the residue of the colonial past has either helped to maintain pre-existing categories of social structure or created new ones which continue to perpetuate inequality. To post-colonial scholars, a modernist approach towards language planning and policy only serves to exacerbate deep divisions when one language is given priority over another (Canagarajah, 2005b). An example of how modernist approaches to language planning in education may perpetuate inequality can be seen in the effects of establishing and standardising an official language in post-colonial countries. Blommaert’s work in post-colonial Africa presents some of these effects.

Blommaert (2006), who studied connections between language and national identity, concluded that national identity and language planning and policy cannot be separated from the ideological views of the state. Within African states like Tanzania, Blommaert (2017) found the newly independent country cementing its own ideological ideals through the use of language policy in education. By selecting Swahili as the national language, Tanzania was not only rejecting imperialism in its past, but also building a new ideal of what it meant to be African (Blommaert, 2005). In this effort the Swahili language was standardised, despite the existence of many varieties and attached to the idea of “Ujamaa” (p.398) or “The African Socialist” (Blommaert, 2006). Blommaert (2006) argues that defining a nation-state by a singular language that represents a national identity does not always work. Instead, considerations about national identity involve many differences, for example in Tanzania, many local non dominant, languages are pushed aside in pursuit of “Ujamaa”, the ideal for a

homogenous identity (Blommaert, 2006). In doing so, the people who speak non-dominant languages are marginalised. This occurs because the official language becomes a central gatekeeper which non-dominant language speakers need to learn in order to gain access to education and other services provided by the state (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). The example of Tanzania demonstrates how political and ideological influence can be present in deciding the use of a language in education and serves to reflect that the effects of policies made in the modernist era are not insulated from inequality. This leads to the second of Tollefson's assumptions.

Tollefson's (2006) second assumption is that research in language planning and policy cannot be separated from its social responsibility to justice and equality. Scholars like Tollefson believe that it is impossible to see research that involves social change as apolitical or technical without affecting society because policy enactment invariably affects people and communities. As such, language planning and policy, if done without including minority communities, can ultimately hurt or damage them and perpetuate social imbalance (Spolsky, 2003). It is from these two assumptions that scholars develop notions of power imbalance within social structures. By observing that languages in planning and policy are often chosen as national or official languages for their cultural, political and economic value, critical theorists believe that this privilege of choice is made predominantly by those who hold power (Tollefson, 2006). This situation creates limited room for individual agency in education as the objective is to maintain a pre-determined social structure deemed acceptable by those in power. As a result, speakers of non-dominant languages are marginalised and often left behind in the wake of other more dominant communities. Language scholars like Stephen May and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas expand on these ideas and connect them specifically to human rights and the rights of minorities. May (2006) concludes that the dangerous precedent of language policy and planning by dominant majorities sidelines minorities and

systematically disenfranchises them by forcing minorities to speak the dominant language. This policy is predominantly implemented through an education system, causing subsequent generations of minorities to experience language shift in their communities. Language shift is the process in which a community's use of a particular language slowly dies out in favour of another language which the community deems more useful. This is a phenomenon Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008) routinely refers to as “linguistic genocide” (p. 10) and considers it to be a violation of human rights. Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty’s (2008) stance against assimilationist ideology opposes the enactment of language policy that promotes the use of only one language in the nation-state as it is often seen as oppressive towards linguistic minorities.

In the context of indigenous languages, many examples of language shift from the non-dominant to the dominant languages can be observed. In the Malaysian Peninsular, for example, researchers have found that smaller indigenous groups are particularly vulnerable to cultural and linguistic extinction. In a linguistic survey conducted by Alias and Salasiah (2015), the Semang-Kensiu indigenous sub-group have been found to borrow substantial amounts of its lexicon from the national language Bahasa Malaysia. According to Alias and Salasiah (2015), the percentage of this borrowing from Bahasa Malaysia averaged 67% of the lexicon (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). In this study, researchers point to the extensive borrowing as an indication of how smaller communities tend to buckle under the pressure of a more dominant language, causing the younger generations to choose the dominant language. This is especially true when the children of these small communities begin to attend school and in the case of the Semang-Kensiu, children are sent to attend public school outside the village in a nearby town (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). State run schools in Malaysia use Bahasa Malaysia as its medium of instruction (MoI) and the study found the younger generation of the Semang-Kensiu community shifting linguistically and culturally

towards the dominant language and culture (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). The Semang-Kensiu people and the experience of their eroding language is an example of the close connection between language and nation building. As the Alias and Salisiah study shows, rapid growth and urbanisation forces smaller communities to expose themselves to dominant linguistic and cultural influence, while the significance of their own cultural and linguistic heritage diminishes. For scholars like May and Skutnabb-Kangas, a direct result of making this connection is a focus towards research in empowering minority communities, particularly indigenous communities in post-colonial circumstances. This has further shifted critical language study beyond the historical structural approach. Instead of focusing heavily on the institutional power of governments and dominant communities, critical language studies focus more minority communities and efforts to address political and social imbalances from their perspectives (Tollefson, 2013).

Critical theorists and scholars now explore how indigenous communities are involved in the process of raising the status of their language so it may be maintained or revitalised in society. From this lens, McCarty (2013) explores how pressure is applied on minority communities by mainstream society as they struggle to avoid marginalisation in society. Using the example of Native American communities, McCarty (2008) points out the challenges that indigenous parents face in deciding which language their children should learn in the face of poverty and marginalisation; often, the temptation to abandon their home languages in favour of more dominant languages is strong. In the hopes that the benefits of learning dominant languages will ensure more social mobility and provide more opportunities for the family, many parents make the difficult choice to sacrifice their home languages (McCarty, 2008). Viewing these issues through the lenses of critical theory leads to the view that once again the power imbalance in society allows dominant communities to hold all the

cards, forcing minority indigenous populations to make the difficult choice to accept the sacrifice of their own languages for the opportunity improve their lives.

Other examples of shift in focus towards the perspectives of minority communities can be observed in the approach to exploring and discovering the new ways that minority languages are used. Coronel-Molina (2013) looks at the domains of public use of languages like Quechua and Aymara and the recent developments of their use outside traditional channels of communication. The two languages, mostly spoken in the Andean regions in countries like Peru are endangered, despite a high number of speakers. This is because of its close contact with the dominant language of the region, Spanish (Coronel-Molina, 2013). Like the Semang-Kensiu people in Malaysia, close proximity to dominant languages threatens the survival of non-dominant languages and yet according to Coronel-Molina (2013) the expansion of mass media into the social media space is argued to have made the use of these languages more prominent in education and have enhanced the viability of their use in educating indigenous communities. However, in this example, the Coronel-Molina (2013) study is focused on the ways that indigenous communities respond to the diminishing significance of their languages. Although there has been expansion of minority language use for non-dominant indigenous languages like Quechua and Aymara in the mass media and social media space, there are other ways in which minority indigenous communities respond to the dangers of linguistic genocide. In order to ensure they are able to use their languages, particularly to access education efforts to revitalise and maintain the use of their language in their education systems and communities have become part of language planning and policy development not just at the community level but have expanded to the level of the state as well. Examples of these are reviewed in the next section of this chapter.

The response of minority indigenous communities.

There are examples of how critical theory has influenced language planning and policy, through the education system. Specifically, those that are characterised as successful enactments of language planning and policy that take into consideration the needs of minority indigenous communities through the education systems of the state. These successful policy enactments have resulted in the revitalisation of non-dominant languages like Welsh and Maori. Both Welsh and Maori are languages that had suffered decline in use over time. The decline of these languages was due to the dominance of a language with more political and economic capital, namely English. For the Welsh and Maori languages, the influence of critical theory in language planning and policy through the education system is often seen in the form of the approaches taken towards promoting the use of non-dominant minority languages as a medium of instruction (MoI) in the classroom (Baker, 1995; Baker, 2003; May, 2004, 2006).

Examples of nations that have enacted policy to include non-dominant minority languages in education commonly focus on making indigenous languages a priority. There are also cases in which less dominant languages like Welsh have experienced successful revitalisation through community based efforts after experiencing generations of decline (Baker, 1995) . The community-based approaches which involved Welsh speaking parent groups and local education authorities promoting the use of indigenous languages is of particular interest in this study as the insights of the Orang Asli themselves can become an important part of shaping planning and policies for their education. This makes a study on the perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers relevant to how policies may be developed and enacted to lift the status of indigenous languages and promote their use in the classroom.

Examples of revitalisation, maintenance and access

In this section, the examples of the Welsh and Maori speaking communities and their path towards success in revitalising and maintaining their mother tongues as significant components in education and society are presented. Both these examples represent models of how communities can play an active role in promoting the use of mother tongue in schooling and in their communities. While there were differences in the contexts of both these examples to the experiences of the Orang Asli in Malaysia, these examples are pertinent to discussions on the role that the Orang Asli community may be able to play in their context as they seek to use their language in their classrooms. To highlight situations closer to the Orang Asli experience, another community within the same region as Malaysia was also presented in this section. The example of education projects using indigenous mother tongue for education in the indigenous communities of Cambodia are also outlined to show how community involvement in the promotion of the use of mother tongue in education can provide indigenous communities with greater access to education.

Welsh Revitalisation. The revitalisation of the Welsh language is very much a story of self-determination in the face of immense pressure to assimilate into a more homogenous social structure within Greater Britain through the adoption of a dominant language in the school system (Baker, 2003; Stubbs, 1995). Stubbs (1995) studied the policy of six established committees on education that changed the direction of Welsh education throughout the mid-1970s until the Harris Report in 1990, which charts the gradual changes that Welsh education went through before achieving significant success in revitalising the Welsh language in education. Throughout the mid-1970s and into the late 1980s, the Welsh education system went through a series of reforms based on reports conducted by the British government (Stubbs, 1995). The results of these reports were the enactment of policies that brought the English language to the foreground of

education, despite the Welsh language being declared equal in status to English in the Welsh Act of 1967 (Stubbs, 1995). However, in what Baker (1995) refers to as a “Gentle Revolution” (pp. 153), the subsequent years following these reforms have recorded a gradual uptake in the Welsh language, slowly gaining ground from the English medium of instruction in schools. By the end of the 1980s, a combination of changes in policy at the central level and community involvement from the Welsh speaking community had turned the Welsh language into a viable and preferred language of instruction in school (Baker, 1995). Concerted effort by schools, teachers and parent groups helped the language begin its revitalisation. Furthermore, school inspectors and institutional organisations like curriculum councils provided much needed support, providing reports on the progress of the language as well as developing teaching materials particularly geared towards non-Welsh speaking teachers in the transitional years before widespread use of Welsh as an MoI began to grow (Baker, 1995). Universities also began to provide training to produce teachers who could teach in Welsh, as demand for schools to teach in Welsh increased, solidifying the position of Welsh language in education.

The outcome of these efforts to use Welsh in schools has resulted in the rise of three types of schools: Welsh medium schools that teach most subjects in Welsh; the dual stream schools, that allow for the English medium and the Welsh medium to be used separately in classrooms, and; schools that provide only limited instruction using the Welsh language (Jones, 2017). The goal of these schools was to build an environment where the use of both the Welsh and English languages thrived in creating students that were proficient in both languages (Rys & Thomas, 2013). In their study, Rys and Thomas (2013) tested the vocabulary and reading capabilities of 207 primary school students in Northern Wales. Three categories of students were tested while they attended bilingual schools, namely; speakers of Welsh as an L1, speakers of English as

an L1, and speakers of both languages in their respective homes. Noting the use of bilingual education in schools, the study showed that students progressed well in both languages regardless of their backgrounds (Rys & Thomas, 2013). From a perspective of attitudes towards use of the Welsh language in education, favourable attitudes towards use of Welsh in bilingual schools not only come from Welsh speaking families but from English speaking families as well (Morris, 2014). In data collected through questionnaires, Morris (2014) compared two groups of students in upper secondary schools from two areas. One was from an area where both Welsh and English are used in all subjects and another used Welsh in the classroom. The results showed that 96.3% of participants preferred their children to be educated in Welsh, stating their pride in the language as a factor for those in areas where Welsh language was used more. In areas where English was used more, the preference for Welsh medium education still held for different reasons, like the advantages of being bilingual and the duty to pass on the cultural heritage of their language to future generations. The turnaround of status for Welsh from endangered minority language to prominent use in education within Welsh society is an example of how communities and their perspectives on their language and how it should be used can help to increase its significance in society and encourage its use as part of education. Another example of how minority language can rise to prominence in education is the Maori language which is discussed further in the following section.

Maori Revitalisation. Another language that has enjoyed success in revitalisation is the Maori language. Maori also shares a similar trajectory of success with Welsh and sees its success as part of a response against the use of a more dominant language like English for education. The Maori language, like many other indigenous languages that have gone through a revival, follows a familiar trajectory from alarming decline to localised, community led response to successful intervention and policy

change (Benton, 2015; May, 2004; Smith, 2000). Smith (2000), attributes this gradual but significant trajectory to the successful efforts of the Maori communities working to initiate change in tandem with the evolving policies of language use in education that were influenced by critical theory. From a historic perspective, the New Zealand state education in the 1800s was observed to be an assimilationist endeavour, in line with the colonialist ideals of the time (May, 2004). That idea was based on the belief that in order for the native population to progress, the language and culture of the population had to be re-engineered was a perceived benefit for all involved. Education with English as a medium of instruction was an earmarked tool to assimilate Maori into British colonial society, through the Native School System (Gallegos et al., 2010). This system was conceived with the view to provide indigenous populations with access to education. However, it would prove to be a major contributor to Maori language decline. By the turn of the century, English was the only language that could be used in these schools (May, 2004). Maori was seen as a hindrance to progress in the knowledge of western traditions and values and continually undermined as a problem (Gallegos et al., 2010). As a result of these practices, a gradual shift in language preference within Maori communities occurred and succeeding generations of Maori slowly turned to English as the language of survival socially and economically (Gallegos et al., 2010). By the 20th century, the percentage of children who spoke Maori in Native Schools dropped from 96.6% to 26% (May, 2004). Stemming from these serious concerns, efforts to incorporate Maori culture and language begun in the early 1960s.

However, change for the Maori language came in the 1980s, which mirrored the shift in the ideologies influencing language planning and policies. The first steps began through community groups. In the 1980s, Maori communities formed “kahunga reos” or “language nests” (Spolsky, 1989, p. 91) in an effort to begin the use of Maori in early education. Support for these endeavours came from the Department of Maori Affairs

and encouraged local communities to join in its efforts. Eventually, the number of these pre-school “language nest” set up and staffed by adult Maori speakers from the community grew and helped push the use of Maori in education at a grassroots level (Spolsky, 1989). Support for the use of the Maori language in school also grew and eventually led to establishment of schools that used Maori as the medium of instruction in pre-school, primary school and secondary school (May & Hill, 2008). Furthermore, schools which taught with the use of English as their medium of instruction also included units taught in Maori; these schools were considered bilingual schools (May & Hill, 2008). The two most significant factors leading to revitalised Maori in this period were the establishing of bilingual schools, which focused on giving equal status to the Maori language in the classroom and the founding of Maori-medium, independent schools which garnered increasing support from parents of Maori communities. As in the case of the Welsh revitalisation movement, these two factors were supported by an increasingly involved Maori speaking community. This robust support resulted in significant efforts to improve the status of the Maori language in education. May (2004) identified three areas that were key to the improvement of Maori languages’ status. The first key area came in the form of preference for culturally sensitive pedagogy that emphasised peer tutoring and collaborative teaching and learning. This included the teaching of Maori customs, traditions and spiritual values (May, 2004). The second key area is the involvement of parents and community members in providing resources in the form of content and staffing for teaching (May, 2004). The third key area was the returning of control of Maori education back to the Maori community through the appointment of Maori staff which allowed local communities to exert control over how children are educated in their communities (May, 2004). These three areas of change shaped the way decisions were made on language and culture and returned decision making back to Maori communities. Smith (2000) refers to this shift based on “relative

autonomy” (p. 66) to be a crucial aspect of changes that led to the success of revitalising the Maori language. With greater autonomy, Maori communities are able to make decisions that they deem appropriate to their cultural and linguistic needs (Smith, 2000).

As it was in the examples of the Welsh language and its rise to prominence within education in Wales, the response to Maori has seen the language become an important part of preserving cultural heritage and worth in indigenous communities (Ritchie, 2009). According to Ritchie (2009), data regarding the use of bicultural and bilingual strategies in early childhood education among Maori medium early childhood centres show a deep commitment towards ensuring Maori learners find safe spaces to learn. Compiling data from early childhood educators in Maori medium early childhood centres, Ritchie’s (2009) showed the use of Maori cultural practices in the classroom encouraged more involvement by adults in the community. Through their support the Maori community helped teachers by becoming resources for knowledge in Maori language and culture (Ritchie, 2009). This is certainly consistent with the view that involvement from the community has done a lot to push for more emphasis on the language’s use in education.

Even in more remote areas where a different Maori varieties are spoken like the Cook Islands, Glasgow (2010) reports the implementation of early childhood programmes that seek to include the Maori language. The Cook Islands Maori is distinct from Maori in New Zealand but share similarities. However, the issues surrounding its use in education are similar (Glasgow, 2010). The Cook Islands is committed to the preservation of Cook Islands Maori and this is evident in the use of the language in early childhood education. Inspired by the success of “Kohanga Reo”, the various Maori language nests in New Zealand, “Punanga Reo” (p. 128) or Cook Islands language nests were established, to encourage the use of the language in early childhood education. The historic examples of Welsh and Maori seem to demonstrate that

successful revitalisation of endangered languages requires two important components. Through studies from Smith (2000) for Maori revitalisation and Baker (1995) for Welsh revitalisation, these components point to the direct involvement of local communities that use their heritage languages. The first is an immense show of collective willpower by the community in question, particularly in situations where the community is a minority one (Baker, 1995; Smith, 2000). The second is the significant support from planners and policy makers who are willing to make what these communities want in terms of education a priority. In the situations for both the Welsh and Maori languages, support from state authorities working in tandem with the communities provided the support in the form of funding and policy changes that gave local communities the authority to make decisions regarding educating their children (Baker, 1995; Smith, 2000).

Cambodian pilot projects. For the Orang Asli of Peninsula Malaysia, the challenges mentioned in the Welsh and Maori examples remain relevant to their situation and the efforts modelled in the examples of Welsh and Maori may well serve as a way forward in terms of determining the future of their own education. However, it is important to be cautious when comparing different community experiences as the experiences of both the Welsh and Maori communities are still very different from the Orang Asli. Both the Maori and Welsh languages experienced decline but were revitalised from the ground up through community and state intervention over a period of time. In the case of Malaysia's indigenous communities, Orang Asli languages are still used in their communities and remain the vernacular or home language. For some of these languages, efforts have been made to maintain the languages spoken. The Semai language is one example of attempts by the Malaysian government to preserve the language. These efforts are, however, confined to a limited scope that involves the

teaching of the language as a subject and not the use of the language as a medium of instruction in the classroom (Alias, 2015b).

However, closer examples of how governments within the South East Asian region endeavour to maintain the use of non-dominant indigenous languages in the classroom can be observed. One successful example of this is in the various pilot programmes run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that use indigenous languages as mediums of instruction in the remote village schools of Cambodia (Kosonen, 2005). Much like Orang Asli communities in Malaysia, the remoteness of indigenous villages in the highland provinces of Cambodia isolate these communities from urban society, making access to education difficult (Middleborg, 2005). Like their Cambodian counterparts, the Orang Asli face challenges in formal education because of the difference in languages used within their communities and the languages used in instruction at public schools. In an effort to help these communities to gain more access to education, the Cambodian government partnered with various NGOs to help provide access through the establishment of village schools (Kosonen, 2005). These NGOs developed and implemented pilot projects utilising bilingual, non-formal education for basic and primary level education where the main language used for instruction was the language used in these respective communities, essentially using a home language or the mother tongue of the community. Studies of these various projects have revealed interesting commonalities with Welsh and Maori bilingual education practices. Compiling findings from the various projects, Kosonen (2005) found that successful pilot programs shared four characteristics.

- The production of learning materials and content relevant to minority communities.
- Using local community members as teachers, volunteers and curriculum developers

- Receiving financial support from the Cambodian government.
- Intentional efforts to formalise and develop writing systems for the minority languages.

While similar to the characteristics of communities that successfully revitalised languages like Maori and Welsh, the efforts in Cambodia have resulted in positive outcomes for indigenous communities in the shape of access to education allowing the children to learn in a language that they can understand and use at a young age where fundamental foundations for learning are built.

Thomas (2003) conducted two case studies with Cambodian youth to show how efforts in educating students with the mother tongue have yielded these positive outcomes. In these studies, the NGOs involved developed pilot programmes designed to utilise mother tongue languages in teaching as well as training volunteer teachers. In the first case study, the programme resulted in an increase in the number of literate people in villages, particularly among women (Thomas, 2003). The other case study conducted action research to determine the needs of indigenous communities and found that the need for access to basic education could be fulfilled using bilingual non-formal education. In both cases, the involvement of local community members contributed to the success of these projects (Thomas, 2003). Further studies have also been conducted more recently. In a longitudinal study involving two indigenous groups, the Kreung and the Tampuen in Cambodia, Lee et al. (2015) found the use of mother tongue languages to instruct mathematics lessons over a period of three years were successful in producing better scores on tests when compared to the performance of students learning in Khmer, the national language of Cambodia (Lee et al., 2015). These studies provide examples of how significant effort in using the mother tongue to educate indigenous communities result in greater access to quality education supported by the combined efforts of the local community and governmental institutions.

Bilingual education and translanguaging

In the examples of Wales, New Zealand and Cambodia, efforts to increase the significance of mother tongue language use in education share a common practice in using bilingual strategies in education. In each instance the practice was characterised as the use of two or more languages as the medium of instruction within the classroom (Cummins, 2008). This commonly includes the use of the non-dominant mother tongue or home language and the dominant language chosen by the state. To better grasp what bilingual practices entail in the contexts of education for indigenous communities like the Orang Asli, an understanding of how bilingual education has developed may be useful.

Bilingual education can be defined as education involving “diverse linguistic practices”, in order to develop bilingual and biliterate students (Garcia & Lin, 2017a, p. 2). In this definition, two languages are used as mediums of instruction in the classroom (Garcia & Lin, 2017a). Two models of instruction can be used to inform bilingual education. The first is a transitional model where learners transition from monolingual to linear bilingual education. The second is coined as dynamic model of bilingual education where learner transitions from the linear bilingual outlook to a more dynamic bilingual outlook (Garcia et al., 2011). The first way to look at bilingual education and how it is practised in the classroom is the transitional model which arose in response to the changing landscape of education in the second half of the 20th century. In monolingual societies where immigrant populations were growing, the awareness that minority children were struggling in their new communities resulted in the introduction of bilingual education (Garcia et al., 2011). There were also scholars who approached the idea of bilingual education as enrichment or an added value to a child’s cognitive development (Lambert, 1974). Researchers like Wallace Lambert found that bilingual education provided advantages in a child’s cognitive development and so developed

immersion bilingual programmes (Garcia 2011), which are programmes designed to use the new language (L2) as the language of instruction. Furthermore, as African and Asian countries gained autonomy from colonial powers, the need for bilingual education became essential in the development of education systems in these newly independent states.

In terms of learning another language in the education process, Lambert (1974) began to suggest the notion of additive and subtractive bilingualism. This means that a child enters the school system as a monolingual with one language (L1) but learns a new language (L2) that is added to their linguistic repertoire, making them bilingual. However, Lambert (1974) also points out that there is a possibility of subtractive bilingualism. This describes how it is possible for children who are minority language speakers entering school with a non-dominant L1, to lose their L1 to the new L2 which is more dominant in the community, resulting in a subtractive model. This may be the result of the dominant L2 language being taught exclusively within the classroom. For example, Cummins (2007) described languages existing as “two solitudes” in a classroom (p. 229) where the L1 and L2 are kept in rigid separation from each other in the classroom. In this situation, one language, often the L1, is not used in the learning of the other which is often the L2. Cummins (2005) observed that an underpinning in bilingual teaching methods was that for an individual to learn a new language (L2), the presence of another language (L1) was not allowed to interfere. Hence, a prohibition of the use of any language other than the target language was a primary directive in the classroom (Cummins, 2005).

However, Cummins (1981) hypothesised there were “common underlying proficiencies” shared among languages which would enable language learners to successfully transfer linguistic knowledge and skills from one language to another. This was in response to three assertions regarding second language teaching in bilingual

education, that are tied to monolingual instructional approaches (Cummins, 2007).

These three assertions are:

1. Instruction must remain only in the target language without use of the learner's L1.
2. In the teaching of language or literacy translation from the L1 to the L2 is not allowed.
3. Bilingual education should keep the two languages separated from each other.

Cummins (2007) adds that these assertions are typically based on the understanding that the L1 would interfere with the learning a new language (L2). In contrast the idea of “common underlying proficiencies” noted there were significant connections between the cognitive development of students and the L1 and L2 languages that they used in order to advance their learning of a new language. Citing Genesee et al. (2006), Cummins (2007) argues for “common underlying proficiencies” by asserting that language learners can develop literacy related skills and knowledge that are transferred across languages as opposed to keeping the languages separate from each other. He indicates five areas of transfer; where two or more languages may intersect and assists language learners in developing literacy skills and knowledge. These five areas are:

1. Transfer of conceptual ideas. (e.g. understanding scientific concepts like photosynthesis)
2. Transfer of the strategies used for understanding and meaning making.
3. Transfer of pragmatic elements of languages use.
4. Transfer of specific linguistic elements. (e.g. understanding the meaning of *photo* in *photosynthesis*)

5. Transfer of phonological awareness. (Knowing that words are made up of specific sounds)

Indeed, the idea of “common underlying proficiencies” arose from Cummins’ (1979) conceptualisation of “linguistic interdependence”. The idea that languages should not exist in silos but rather interact with each other, and if allowed to do so would help students learn the new language. Within this hypothesis of “linguistic interdependence”, Cummins proposed that language learners with well developed L1 succeed at a high level when learning the L2 due in part to the knowledge and skills developed in their L1 which they use to help them learn the L2 (Cummins, 1979). Thus, Cummins (1979) suggested that there is merit in allowing interaction between the L1 and the L2 in the bilingual classroom.

An example of this interaction between languages can be observed by exploring literacy outcomes. Fielding and Harbon (2020) examined student performance in four Australian primary schools which implemented bilingual programmes to teach subject content in an additional language. Using results from the standardised National Assessment Programme- Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) tests, the literacy and numeracy data of students in the bilingual programmes were compared with those who were not in bilingual programmes. The findings of this study showed that the reading, writing and language conventions of students from bilingual programmes progressed at a higher level than their counterparts in non-bilingual programmes. These findings led to the conclusion that additional languages in bilingual programmes further improved literacy development in the students (Fielding & Harbon, 2020). Indeed, in conjunction with the analysis of the NAPLAN test data highlighted in this study, Fielding and Harbon (2020) conducted interviews with the teachers in these bilingual programs. Findings from these interviews indicate that teachers were willing to attribute their students’

performance to their involvement in these bilingual programmes. The teachers highlighted the “sub-conscious nature of language switching” (Fielding & Harbon, 2020, p. 18) which students employed in bilingual classrooms as a feature that helped students navigate learning in a new language and demonstrated the “linguistic interdependence” that Cummins posits in his work. This idea of “linguistic interdependence” is widely advocated in bilingual education and expanded upon by Fishman (1976), Garcia and Lin (2017a), Baker and Lewis (2015) and Wright et al. (2015), which leads this discussion into the second way to view bilingual education.

A more recent view of bilingual education considers the transition from a linear view of bilingual education to a dynamic view of bilingual education. In linear bilingual education, students who attain bilingual proficiency are assumed to reach “ultimate attainment” (Garcia et al., 2011, p. 387), a term Lambert asserted to underline the completion of a process of learning a language (Garcia 2011). In this conceptualisation, students eventually attain mastery of the language as an indication that the process has a beginning and an end, hence the notion of a linear transition. Thus, a learner with an L1 begins learning a new language (the L2) which is added to the learner’s repertoire. When ultimate attainment of the L2 is achieved, it is described as a new stage of competency that was achieved progressively in a linear fashion (Garcia et al., 2011).

An example of how this linear view of language learning in education has influenced the development of language policy can be seen in the education systems of India and Pakistan. In these two South Asian countries, recognition that students in many regions of the respective countries speak different home languages and mother tongues have led to the development of a “Tripartite Language Formula (TLF)” (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). Both countries recognise that students in

different regions need to develop mastery of three languages; this ideally includes the home language or the mother tongue, the national language (Urdu for Pakistan and Hindi for India) and English. Each of the three languages fulfills a specific purpose intended to maintain the students' cultural identity with the home language, develop a common national language through Urdu or Hindi and meet the demands of a globalised economy through being able to speak English (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). However, Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013) have noted that while the intentions behind the development of the TLF system were commendable, both countries found that languages that possess more linguistic capital like English upset the balance of their efforts to make their students multilingual. Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013) attribute this imbalance to the view that languages in India and Pakistan are mainly taught in isolation, intending for students to master (gain “ultimate attainment”) (Garcia et al., 2011, p. 387) the languages separately. As a result of this view, students and teachers tended to prioritise the languages that possess more linguistic capital, making efforts to maintain home languages and mother tongues a challenge (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). In response to these unintended challenges, the researchers recommended a shift away from the linear view of language learning in favour of more plurilingual models of language learning. These plurilingual models include strategies that allow the meshing and mixing of languages and the hybridising of grammatical rules in different languages, developing what was discussed earlier as “linguistic interdependence”. These plurilingual models are very similar to the views in dynamic bilingualism and in the case of both India and Pakistan, Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013) advocate a transition from a linear view of bi/multilingual education to a view of dynamic bi/multilingual education.

Dynamic bilingualism is reflective of the changes in global social and cultural trends and an acknowledgement that these changes have a profoundly complex effect on bilingual education (Garcia et al., 2011). This is the view that bilingual and multilingual learners actively use the resources of their linguistic repertoire to learn and understand new material. Recognition of these situations have resulted in a more open and flexible understanding of bilingual education. Using Cummins' ideas (1979) to underpin theories on dynamic bilingualism, Garcia viewed bilingualism in education as a concept that must take into consideration the many complex and often localised situations that multiple language using communities face (Garcia et al., 2011). Through this lens, bilingual education is perceived as the use of two languages in tandem within the environment of the classroom instead of languages that remain autonomous and separate from each other.

Garcia et al. (2011) view the pedagogy of bilingual or multilingual education as contextualised and specific to the communities in which it exists. Thus, the term dynamic bilingualism takes into consideration the many different variables that fit different circumstances where bilingual or multilingual education is practised. To further explain how this dynamic bilingualism functions in a classroom, Garcia and Lin (2017b) uses the term “translanguaging”, initially coined by Williams (2000), in reference to the use of Welsh and English in a bilingual classroom. Williams' ideas of translanguaging were initially used to define practices like code switching where two or more languages are used interchangeably in the process of communication between students and teachers in the classroom (Garcia & Lin, 2017b). In Williams' (2000) study of the Welsh language at the college level, students and teachers used Welsh and English together in the same space, in combinations that displayed how the two languages could be used together interchangeably. The term translanguaging in this case was used in a similar way to codeswitching which was used to describe

the interchangeable nature of switching between two languages (Park, 2015).

Although both terms seem closely related, they are defined separately to provide distinct functions within bilingualism in education. Codeswitching is used to describe a bilingual speaker's practice of using both the mother tongue or L1 with a second language (L2). This is a typical occurrence within a sentence or between sentences in communication (Park, 2015). Translanguaging on the other hand is made distinct from codeswitching based on the origins of its conceptualisation as a pedagogical practise (Park, 2015). This is in reference to the original use of the term by Williams' (2000) in the study of Welsh college students where the deliberate switching between Welsh and English was practices in a bilingual classroom. Thus these two terms can be seen to describe how two or more languages are used by a multilingual or bilingual speaker for many different communicative functions (Park, 2015).

Thus, the term translanguaging is used to describe more deliberate switching between languages to achieve specific aims in the classroom (Park, 2015) rather than to describe a mode of communication which is usually referred to as codeswitching. For example, the Welsh language could be used to explain something presented in the English language; in this situation the students were able to read the content in English, but Welsh was utilised in writing or to explain the meaning of something, which helped the students develop both languages (Williams, 2000). Thus, translanguaging is now used to describe the use of two or more languages that are toggled back and forth by the users as a way to negotiate the language barriers speakers may have when they are trying to learn new content in a new language. This perspective recognises the linguistic backgrounds of learners as a diverse and multilingual space that learners and teachers can negotiate and utilise as a resource in helping non-dominant language speakers learn in the classroom

(Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This is an idea that often challenges more established practices when it comes to the use of languages in the classroom, where the use of one language at a time is still a pervasive convention (Canagarajah, 2011). This “monolingual mindset” where the use of one dominant language like English is the paramount concern, is slowly shifting as more research in translanguaging emerges (French & Armitage, 2020).

Translanguaging in early childhood education and care (ECEC)

The nature of translanguaging is flexible and dynamic, applying to different contexts in different ways to navigate language and learning in the classroom or childcare centres. Some examples of this can be seen in studies in early childhood education; for example, Prax-Dubois and Hélot (2020) observed the practices of two teachers in pre-primary classrooms on the island of La Réunion, a small French department in the Indian Ocean. La Réunion’s populations consist of many migrant groups and the children on the island speak a variety of languages. In the study the two teachers were observed specifically for their practices in translating and engaging the students with the use of their own languages over the use of French in the classrooms (Prax-Dubois & Hélot, 2020). One teacher translated French terms in multiple languages for the benefit of the students and another, despite not being able to speak other languages, utilised a multilingual picture book to help the students in the class understand the content being taught. In these situations, translanguaging was seen to be practised by the teachers and the students as they included other languages into the space or in the case of the non-bilingual teacher, encouraged the students to learn using the resources of their own languages (Prax-Dubois & Hélot, 2020). This study highlights the flexible and dynamic nature of translanguaging as the two teachers found different ways to include the languages of their students into the learning space. Although the two teachers were teaching on the same island,

both used different strategies to ensure the students and the knowledge of their languages were welcomed into the classroom and used to aid learning.

In other ECEC contexts, similar translanguaging practices have demonstrated this flexibility and dynamism by allowing teachers to teach using two or more languages in different bilingual or multilingual classroom scenarios. Pontier et al. (2020) conducted reviews of recent empirical studies done in the United States (US), Luxembourg, Sweden and Malta that demonstrated wide usage of translanguaging practices in bilingual settings, noting that these practices were applied to various learning contexts like “show and tell”, read-alouds, unstructured playtime and other activities like sociodramatic play (e.g., “play that involves acting out scripts, scenes and roles). The study, which compiled studies done across various US states and other parts of the world found bilingual teachers actively using dynamic translanguaging practices (Pontier et al., 2020). Prompted by their own agency in their classrooms, teachers in these ECEC settings found the flexibility of translanguaging practices aided both the teachers and the students. The teachers’ practices like translating content and modelling translanguaging techniques to their students helped to engender conducive environments for their students, supporting the use of their own languages, which encouraged students to become more involved and engaged in classroom activity (Pontier et al., 2020). As a result, translanguaging practices are also seen as capable of developing an accommodating and inclusive space for new language learners.

As translanguaging promotes the use of multiple languages in the classroom, language teachers have begun to see its benefits for emerging bilingual or multilingual students. In a mixed method study of seven early childhood educators attending a professional development programme to enhance multilingual skills in Luxembourg, Kirsch et al. (2020) observed a positive change in teacher attitudes

towards the use of translanguaging practices in the participants' classrooms. In Luxembourg, early childhood centres use the official language Luxembourgish as the medium of instruction in the classroom. However, the participants were encouraged to use other languages their students spoke at home such as French and German instead of exclusively using Luxembourgish. Although at first hesitant, the participants began planning and developing activities that included the other languages their students spoke. Kirsch et al. (2020), found that teachers responded positively to the use of these methods despite their own apprehensions. The positive attitudes of the participants towards using translanguaging practices were attributed to the participants' awareness that the use of their students' home languages in their classrooms promoted their students' wellbeing and built identity in their students (Kirsch et al., 2020). The participants also felt these factors enhanced their students' learning experience, while at the same time made the activities in their classrooms accessible to their students (Kirsch et al., 2020). Furthermore, participants expressed their satisfaction in seeing their students participate in class when they began using the students' home language in the classroom (Kirsch et al., 2020). In this Kirsch et al. (2020) study, the translanguaging practices that the participants were asked to employ showed these practices opened the learning space to students who spoke other languages, recognised their identity and allowed them to participate in the lesson with their own language, providing the students in their classrooms with the opportunity to learn in an environment that does not alienate them and allows them to access knowledge in a language that they can understand.

While Kirsch's study highlights how effective translanguaging can be in providing safe learning spaces for bilingual students within an environment where the teachers have planned deliberately to conduct their classes with the practice, there are contexts where the use of bilingual or multilingual practices like

translanguaging have already occurred naturally within indigenous circles. These practices exist in a situation where the teachers and care providers in the ECEC context use their heritage languages or home languages to help their students learn new languages in their classroom. In data collected from Aboriginal schools within Australia's Northern Territories and Western Australia, the use of translanguaging practices by Aboriginal teachers and carers parallels practices in other contexts (Oliver et al., 2020). Oliver et al. (2020), however, have highlighted that translanguaging practices are already in use within the context of indigenous classrooms, as they use not only traditional indigenous languages (TIL) and Standard Australian English (SAE), but multiple languages or language varieties including Aboriginal English (AE) and various creoles (Kriol) within their classroom contexts. These languages are used in a manner that reflects the need to support their students' learning of SAE with the intent of conveying cultural meaning in the students' own language or to support better communication between the teachers and the students in the class (Oliver et al., 2020). Thus, the argument is made that since indigenous communities are already very comfortable with bilingual and multilingual practices, more support for the practices within the indigenous classroom is needed and should be encouraged (Oliver et al., 2020). Translanguaging was also seen as a way to enhance student interaction among their peers in early childhood education.

In Hong Kong, a case study of an early years school programme in an international school showed the important role that teachers played in allowing children to use all the languages they knew in trilingual classrooms (Sanders-Smith & Davila, 2019). This enabled the students to engage deeper in the content using their own language and to engage fluidly among their peers as they learned in the classroom (Sanders-Smith & Davila, 2019). Ultimately, this study acknowledged

the role of teachers in setting the stage for the students to reap the benefits of deeper engagement with the content while they learn in their own language by allowing their students to use the full complement of their linguistic repertoire.

In New York, a state education department funded bilingual programme spearheaded by the City University of New York and the New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals (CUNY-NYSIEB) assisted kindergartens and pre-schools in developing programme for bilingual students. Covering a wide range of issues in urban schools where there are increasing numbers of non-dominant language speakers, the project provided assistance in school policy making and strategic planning to enhance learning through the principles of translanguaging. A review of this project conducted by Seltzer et al. (2020), revealed the three findings. Firstly, children were found to be translanguaging during play, as students used both English and Spanish to “discuss, understand, re-enact and co-construct meaning” (p. 31) in the tasks given to them. Secondly, the bilingual speaking students used both languages to generate their own content in creative ways (Seltzer et al., 2020). Finally, the third finding revealed teacher recognition of the use of translanguaging as a way to support students in their classrooms (Seltzer et al., 2020). These studies demonstrate the ways in which translanguaging is used to enhance learning and provide non-dominant language speakers with opportunities to engage in learning in their classrooms.

Translanguaging in other contexts

In the contexts of higher levels of education, studies on how the benefits of translanguaging affects teaching and learning strategies in the classroom have been conducted in many global contexts; for example, Charamba and Zano (2019) conducted a mixed method study that found the use of home languages were

effective in helping students understand concepts in science classes through the use of materials presented to the students in the home language or mother tongue. The 30 upper secondary participants in this study were assigned to a control and an experimental group where they were given materials for their chemistry lesson in their mother tongue and were tested later to determine their understanding of the materials. The participants were also interviewed regarding their experience. Charamba and Zano (2019) found the use of the home language was seen as an added resource in aiding the students' ability to learn new concepts in their classroom, positing that the use of the mother tongue in the classroom was a helpful aid for students' learning. Duarte (2019) looked at the significance of translanguaging when used among secondary students in German classrooms. This study analysed peer-peer interactions in the classroom from video taken of classroom interactions between the participants to see its effects on students' experiences of learning in the classroom. The study showed how translanguaging aided in keeping students on task when doing their work (Duarte, 2019). Additionally, Duarte (2019) found students used their own languages to help each other learn by sharing their knowledge freely in a collaborative environment. Both the Charamba and Zano (2019) as well as the Duarte (2019) studies present cases for the use of translanguaging as part of efforts to help students who speak non-dominant languages to succeed.

In Asian contexts, similar studies also indicate the use of translanguaging as a strategy to open access to language learning spaces for minority, non-dominant language speakers. In Singapore, Vaish and Subhan (2015) offer some evidence of this in their qualitative study of lower primary students in a Learning Support Programme (LSP). This intervention reading programme focused on the use of translanguaging by teachers and students in a class where a majority of students use

the Malay Language in their homes. The study observed that as the teacher deliberately increased the usage of the students' mother tongue (Malay) over the course of the study's duration, students gained confidence in the classroom as they grew more comfortable with the teacher's usage of translanguaging strategies in which both English and the Malay Language are used in interactions and instruction. This was attributed to an increase in comprehension of the English reading content as more use of the mother tongue supported the students' learning (Vaish & Subhan, 2015). Through this growing confidence in the classroom the students in the study were found to interact more frequently with their teacher, even beginning to initiate interactions in the classroom. Through this study, Vaish and Subhan (2015) demonstrated how deliberate implementation of translanguaging strategies like the use of the students' mother tongue as scaffolds for their learning of new languages not only draws these students into more conducive learning environments but are effective in making the mother tongue or the home language valuable resource in their learning process.

Further research in Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classrooms in Hong Kong also demonstrate the value of translanguaging strategies, particularly as it relates to the view of mother tongue or home languages as part of a learner's language repertoire. In an ethnographic observation and interview based study of minority students in a CLIL classroom, Lin and He (2017) explored the flows of interaction between minority South Asian (SA) students and their science teacher from Hong Kong. Their findings showed that both the students and their teacher "naturally" (p. 230) employed translanguaging strategies to create meaning from the lessons they were learning. In this case the word "naturally" is used to describe what the students and the teacher in this study do to understand and make sense of the lessons they are learning including the use of translanguaging practices in

interactions between students and their peers as well as with their teacher (Lin & He, 2017). Despite the policy of using only English in these CLIL classrooms, the researchers observed that in a classroom of Indian, Nepali and Pakistani students, both teacher and students found the monolingual English only policy to be unsuitable for their learning. The students instead responded better when they were allowed to use their home languages in their group work during lessons, which helped them develop understanding of the content that was being taught by their teacher (Lin & He, 2017). Referencing Garcia and Wei's (2015) position on the importance of translanguaging as a way for students to navigate through the activities of the classroom in a multilingual setting, Lin and He (2017) note though their observations that the students in this study relied on the knowledge they had in their own languages and used it in collaboration with their peers and their teacher to create meaning and understand the content of their lessons better. This is an important example of how translanguaging strategies supports the view that the students' own home languages or mother tongues are an essential part of their language repertoire.

There are other examples of translanguaging in Australia, where nearly one quarter of students speak a language other than English in the home environments (French & Armitage, 2020). French and Armitage (2020) describe how increasingly diverse populations in Australian cities give rise to more multilingual students in schools. Their study of two separate projects conducted in two secondary schools located in South Australia, reviewed the findings of an action research study in one school and a two year ethnographic study in the other to find ways in which educators and their students used their linguistic resources and translanguaging to aid in learning. The study found that in both schools, translanguaging was being used to bridge linguistic gaps or scaffold the acquisition of knowledge to aid

minority language speakers in the classroom (French & Armitage, 2020). With regards to providing safe spaces for bi/multilingual students to learn, Dryden et al. (2021) explore the use of translanguaging strategies to mitigate the effects of Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) suffered by migrant English as a foreign language (EFL) learners in Australia. Even as this ethnographic study focuses on adult learners, significant focus is shown towards translanguaging strategies as a way to create less intimidating spaces for learners who suffer negative emotional reactions associated with learning in a different language which include “feelings of isolation”, and tendencies to forget information (Dryden et al., 2021, p. 1). In this study, translanguaging has been found to be a valuable therapeutic tool for foreign language learners, helping them to cope with stressors related to learning a new language and highlighting the effectiveness of translanguaging practices in creating safe spaces for new language learning (Dryden et al., 2021).

In this section, literature on bilingual education and translanguaging are important concepts that have been reviewed within various context globally, covering settings across different levels and cultural backgrounds. As these studies present a case for the use of translanguaging practices in these contexts, the question of what perspectives the indigenous Orang Asli communities in Malaysia have regarding their own language and its use in educating their children becomes relevant. An understanding of how the indigenous Orang Asli approach the use of their language in their informal classrooms provides avenues for research into the strategies and practices of the Orang Asli, which will be discussed in further chapters of this study.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented important concepts and theories that have framed research and discussions on bilingual education and the use of non-dominant, mother tongue or home languages in the classroom. In particular, Cummins' (1981, 2005, 2017) hypothesis on "common underlying proficiencies" and conceptualisation of "linguistic interdependence" underpin this study's focus on the usage of mother tongue in Malaysian indigenous education in the form of tranlanguaging practices. Cummins' theories and concepts are especially significant since they lay the groundwork for the key concept of Translanguaging, which will be referred to and used to describe the practices of the Orang Asli participants in this study. Furthermore, this chapter has also provided an overview of the various definitions and terms used to describe languages used in minority and indigenous communities and presented studies on how language education that involves the use of the mother tongue may provide benefits to learners in different context. The use of indigenous languages in education has been discussed in the contexts of policy and planning within post-colonial countries to provide an understanding similar and comparable to the Malaysian context. Finally, studies relating to bilingual education and translanguaging specifically focused on ECEC education as well as other levels of education in various global context have also been presented, providing a reference point for discussions regarding the use of translanguaging in the practice of participants for this study.

While multiple studies regarding the use of the mother tongue across many communities globally have been conducted, studies regarding the use of the mother tongue in Orang Asli communities within Malaysia, particularly from the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers themselves, merit exploration to support mother tongue education literature and practice in post-colonial settings. Thus, the

perspectives of indigenous minorities are an important component in the study of mother tongue use in education. In studies conducted to learn from indigenous communities, the use of methods that seek the points of view of the indigenous participants come in forms that give participants voice. Examples of studies conducted by Thomas (2003) and (Alias, 2015a) reflect a direct engagement with participants, providing the participants in their studies with the opportunity to express themselves and share their experiences. As seen in the study conducted by Oliver et al. (2020), indigenous educators are actively finding suitable ways to mitigate the challenges of learning in a new language with their students, demonstrating that the perspectives of the indigenous community are important part of developing policy regarding education and language. A similar focus in this study is adopted, where the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue was sought. More studies of this nature are needed, particularly studies that focus on the perspective of the mother tongue speakers themselves. In this study, investigating the perspectives of Orang Asli who use their mother tongue to educate the children in their village are aimed at contributing to the larger discussions regarding mother tongue education in indigenous communities and explore how these perspectives in the Malaysian context may provide fresh insights into improving education for Orang Asli children.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The aim of the study was to discover and understand perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding their use of mother tongue in their informal classrooms. The study was focused on a sample of indigenous Orang Asli teachers of Peninsular Malaysia who were educating the children in their village outside the national public-school system. This study followed an interpretivist paradigm, and the theoretical perspective of Symbolic Interactionism was used as the basis for designing this study. The central research question was: **What are the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms?**

Semi-structured interviews were used as the data collection technique. Analysis of the data utilised analytical techniques drawn from grounded theory, as the aim of this study was to develop an understanding of the use of mother tongue in informal Orang Asli classrooms from the participants' perspectives. In this chapter, the methodological approach to the study is presented and the importance of defining the term perspectives, which is used to describe the points of views of the participants in this study, is highlighted. This is followed by a discussion on the adaptation of four related components of "perspectives" presented by O'Donoghue (2007), which were used as a framework for the development of the main research question and its guiding sub-questions. Finally, an overview of the methods used to gather and analyse data are discussed.

Research Approach

Paradigm: Interpretivism

The interpretivist paradigm underpinned the design of this study. At the heart of interpretivism is the idea that the researcher, as O'Donoghue (2007) puts it, is “trying to understand how others understand their world” (p.9). This statement emphasises the notion that to gain knowledge about a social phenomenon, one must grasp the significance of this phenomenon through the understandings of its actors. Associated with this notion is a view that understanding a phenomenon can only be developed through social construction, which is to say that researchers find meaning and significance in the phenomenon through interaction with the actors to understand how the actors interact with others in that phenomenon. The interactions between researcher and actors and the interactions between the actors and others specific to the phenomenon, are developed into meaningful concepts that help researchers understand the phenomenon particularly from the point of view of the actors (Creswell, 2013; O'Donoghue, 2007) .

For researchers to develop meaningful concepts that help to explain a phenomenon, there are several assumptions that support interpretivist design. These assumptions are clearly mapped out by Blackledge and Hunt (2017) in the form of four suppositions. The first is that all social phenomena consists of actions that people do in everyday life. Thus, the actions of people should be scrutinised, in seeking to understand a social phenomenon. The second supposition is that an action is not always set by structural norms or situational contexts. In other words, one cannot assume that only external factors are the inherent reasons for an action. People are capable of making decisions about the way they act through the way they make sense of a situation (Blackledge & Hunt, 2017). It is therefore important to determine how people make

sense of a situation to more deeply understand the ways that they act and why they do so. The third supposition is that actions involve interaction with others in a specific situation. The interaction between the various actors in a situation also influences the phenomenon in question and if an individual is constantly making sense of situations which influence their own actions, then they are also doing the same for the actions of others. Therefore, everyone is constantly evaluating and making sense of what they are doing and what others are doing in relation to a situation (Blackledge & Hunt, 2017). Finally, the fourth supposition is that actions are developed through the process of negotiating what people make of daily situations. By referring to the term ‘negotiation’ (p.235), Blackledge and Hunt (2017) posit that the process of making sense of a situation is constantly changing. In a sense, there is an internal fluidity to the meaning of a situation contingent on many factors that people go through in daily routines. In summary, Blackledge and Hunt have emphasised the notion that the actor’s point of view is vital in the understanding of a social phenomenon (Blackledge & Hunt, 2017).

In this study, the perspectives of volunteer Orang Asli teachers, teaching in informal indigenous classrooms, regarding the languages they use, were considered in developing an understanding of how their mother tongue was used in the classroom. However, to apply the interpretivist approach is to view the act of using mother tongue in a classroom as an action that is not only occurring as a reaction to social convention or situational circumstance, but also as an action under the control of the actor. In this case, it is important in an interpretivist approach, to take into consideration why the actor acts rather than reacts to a situation. This is a concept espoused by Woods (1992), suggesting that care must be taken in drawing distinctions between internal psychological factors that motivate action and the creation of meaning for objects, people, institutions, and concepts, that influence the actors. Woods (1992) maintains that actors are constantly developing the meanings of many factors that influence the

way they act in a given situation. Thus, an interpretivist approach was a suitable approach to explore the perspectives of the teachers and how they made sense of situations and processes which led them to the use of mother tongue when they taught and interacted with students in the classroom. These ways of observing a social phenomenon are very much in line with the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism, which is explained further below.

Theoretical Perspective: Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical perspective that is very much underpinned by the understanding of “self”. In this case, “self” is not only referring to the psychological “self” as defined as a person’s personality, but rather the “self” that includes a sociological perspective which emphasises the experiences of an individual through interactions with their individual’s surroundings or the situation they are in (Woods, 1992). A key contribution to understanding symbolic interaction is the work of Woods (1992), who outlines the principles of symbolic interaction. Beginning with “self”, symbolic interactionism seeks to shed light on the personal experience of an individual (Woods, 1992). It is a focus that is concerned with how personal experience develops within the context of everyday occurrences, as mentioned earlier in the suppositions of Blackledge and Hunt (2017). Understanding the personal experiences of the “self” allows one to see the actions of an individual as a process of constructing and interpreting the meaning of their situation rather than as a response to their situation (Woods, 1992). Doing so involves putting oneself in the position of the actor, seeing a social phenomenon from their perspective and interpreting their experiences to create an in-depth picture of how the phenomenon unfolds in the mind of the actor. Stemming from this notion, Woods (1992) asserts that a social phenomenon occurs not just through a sequence of responses to events in a social phenomenon, but also by the influence of how oneself interprets the situation personally. Because of this, the process

of collecting data in this study was very focused. The objective was to understand the role of the actor in a social phenomenon, particularly from the actors' point of view, as well as obtain data on how the actors saw the world which would inform the actions they took in the situation they were in (Woods, 1992).

These theoretical principles underpinned the process of gathering data on the perspectives of those who were directly involved in a social phenomenon, namely, using the mother tongue in their classrooms. Researchers using symbolic interactionism are encouraged to leave behind their own assumptions and approach research as it unfolds for both the researcher and the actors (Woods, 1992). As researchers seek the point of view of the actors in a social phenomenon; the term "perspectives" becomes a prominent term in describing the interpretations of the actors as they interact with others and the situations they find themselves in. In the context of using the principles of symbolic interactionism in research, the term "perspectives" should be defined carefully. The term itself can often be used interchangeably with words like "perception" and "attitude" which this section has been careful not to use so far. In the next few paragraphs, the definition of the term "perspectives" is refined further to help focus and emphasise the direction of this study.

Perspectives. Perspectives are referred to as frameworks or a set of concepts which individuals use to interpret the world around them (O'Donoghue, 2007). They are an invaluable resource for the researcher who is trying to generate theory or make sense of the world of the actors as well as the actors themselves. The structures that these frameworks provide should also allow researchers to see the phenomenon they are studying in the same way the actors are in the situation. However, it is easy to assume that the study of the typical Orang Asli volunteer teacher's perspectives on teaching using their mother tongue is an exercise in determining how they perceive their situation. This, according to the principles of symbolic interactionism, does not equate

to truly understanding the “self” as discussed in the previous part of this section. “Self” in symbolic interactionism includes the context an individual’s experience, thus the term “perception” does not encapsulate in entirety the notion of perspectives as O'Donoghue (2007) points out.

O'Donoghue (2007) makes clear distinctions between the term “perspectives” and other commonly used terms which may have similar definitions. Terms like “perceptions” and “attitudes” often seem to be used interchangeably with “perspective”; however the term “perception” has connotations more tied towards the field of psychology rather than in the fields of sociological study (Charon, 1989). According to Charon (1989), “perception” in the field of psychology is used to describe how an individual organises experiences from the world around them. This notion puts the emphasis on how individuals respond to the experience and frames the understanding of “perception” as a process that involves factors like selecting, organising and interpreting information (Qiong, 2017). By focusing on how individuals are influenced by factors that are shaped by the selecting, organising and interpreting process, psychologist seek an internal understanding of “perspective”. However, in the field of sociology there is an external element. Interest in social interaction occurring between individuals and the environment and other individuals is emphasised more. The negotiation between individuals in a social situation shape social patterns and sociologists are concerned not only with the individual but the interactions within a group of individuals (Meltzer, 2015). This focus in symbolic interactionism is important for the purposes of this study because the interactions of the participants with their environment and their students would give their perspectives context and reveal how their “perceptions” were formed.

Another term used frequently in tandem with “perspectives” is “attitudes”. Although both have similar in meaning in reference to an internal belief about a

situation or phenomenon, symbolic interactionist tends to favour the term “perspective” rather than “attitudes” for several reasons. Once again, the comparison between the field of psychology and sociology is used to distinguish the meanings of these terms. This time the symbolic interactionist is interested in the fluid nature of “perspectives” as opposed to the more solidified structure of “attitudes” (O'Donoghue, 2007). In differentiating between the two terms, O'Donoghue (2007) suggests that the use of the term “attitudes” has a more intrinsic nature, valuing a set of structured beliefs that influences the behaviour of the individual in response to a situation. Thus, it is understood that an “attitude” influences the response to a situation. “Perspectives” on the other hand reflect a more fluid and dynamic nature because it emphasises the notion of an individual responding to a situation as based on a constant evaluation and re-evaluation of that situation and its circumstances (O'Donoghue, 2007). Because of the careful nuance in defining “perspectives” as frameworks through which people interpret their world, O'Donoghue (2007) outlines four components which can be drawn from the “perspectives” of individuals involved in a study. The four components include Intent, Strategies, Significance and Outcomes. The following section explores these four components as foundations for answering the “Why is this phenomenon important?” question to guide the development of the guiding interview questions for this study. However, it is also important to note that these four components have also been modified to fit the purposes of this study and are addressed in the following section.

Adapting the Four Components of Intent, Strategies, Significance and Outcomes. The four components of Intent, Strategies, Significance and Outcomes referred to by O'Donoghue (2007) serve as a way to describe different aspects of a participant’s perspectives on a social phenomenon. Thus, the four components were used as a framework to discover different facets of participants’ perspectives, through four guiding questions: 1) ‘Intent’ was used to investigate the aims of the participants

when engaging in the phenomenon, namely the use of the mother tongue in the classroom; 2) ‘Strategies’ was what the participants described as the actions they took to achieve the aims they described; 3) ‘Significance’ was used to describe why the participants’ actions were important to them and, finally; 4) ‘Outcomes’ was used to describe the desired results of the actions they performed in a specific phenomenon. Each of these four components flowed directly into the next, beginning with the participants’ intentions. However, these four components were modified for this study and the rationale behind these modifications are addressed below.

Intent and Strategies. The components of Intent and Strategies helped the researcher frame the questions for the participants, to uncover the intentions behind their use of the mother tongue and the strategies they employed to make these intentions a reality. Determining the participants’ intentions was the first step in discovering their rationales for using their mother tongue with the students in their classroom and was therefore an important component in gathering details regarding the Orang Asli teachers’ perspectives. Based on intent, the following guiding question was utilised:
What are the Orang Asli teachers’ intentions in using the various languages, including the mother tongue, in the classrooms?

By understanding the teachers’ rationales for the use of a particular language in their classroom, the participants revealed information regarding the choices they were making. These perspectives on how they made decisions gave their actions context by providing the researcher with reasons why participants wanted to take the course of actions they took during their classes. This led to the questions of the actions themselves, which are the strategies that participants employed to fulfil their intentions. The second component served to provide a description of the teachers’ actions in the classroom. It was focused on what the participants deemed to be useful practices to

achieve their intentions. Thus, the guiding question for strategies was: **What are the strategies that Orang Asli teachers enact to make their intentions a reality in the classroom?** Through this guiding question, the researcher developed interview questions that aimed to capture perspectives on actual practices. This was done by asking the participants to describe the process of using the languages for the purposes of teaching and engaging their students. These first two components reflect the significance of the use of mother tongue in the classroom for the participants. They are connected because the strategies that participants employed are based on their intentions. Figure 2 below is a visual representation of these first two key components.

Figure 2

The connection between Intent and Strategy

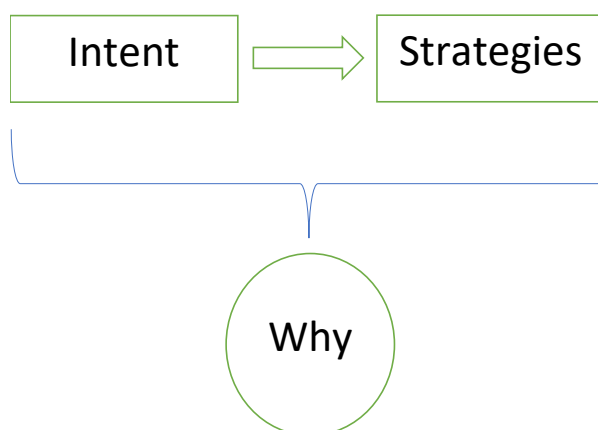


Figure. 2 displays the connection between intent and strategies as perspectives that helped this study explore why the participants chose to employ certain practices in the classroom. These two components form the foundation for the “Why is this important?” question, because questions asked based on intent focus on what the participants want to do while the questions asked based on strategies focus on how the intent is fulfilled. Furthermore, both these components are also connected to the third and fourth components of the participants’ perspectives. However, this was the point at

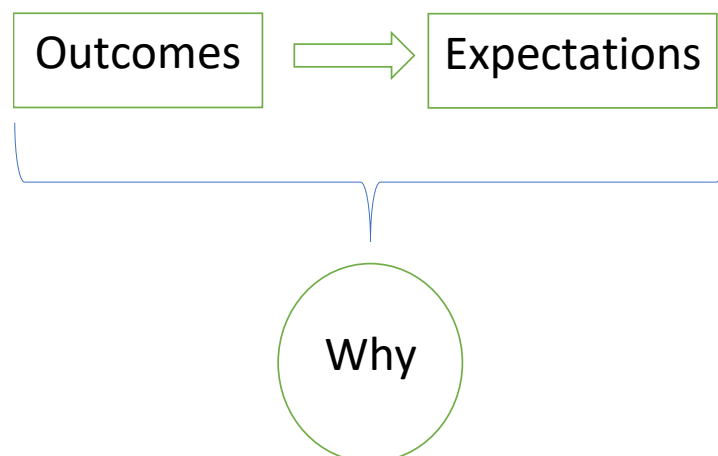
which this study's framework differed from the original four suggestions put forth by O'Donoghue (2007). Adaptions were made to the use of the terms significance and outcomes and are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Outcomes and Expectations. For this study, the third component that made up the "perspectives" of a participant was modified from the existing O'Donoghue framework. In the original framework, O'Donoghue suggests that the significance of the intentions (Intent) and the practices (Strategies) are important in helping the researcher understand why participants feel that the strategies and the intentions behind them are important. This study viewed this original component, which O'Donoghue named "Significance", as an element that can encapsulate both intent and strategy and answers the "Why is this is important?" question. While this rationale was maintained, this study has chosen to view the "Significance" component suggested by O'Donoghue (2007) as an integrated part of both the intent and strategies components. This was because understanding participants' intentions and the strategies employed to achieve those intentions already help to provide insight into the rationale behind the participants' actions in their informal classrooms. Therefore, in place of the significance component, the researcher has brought forward the fourth component, Outcomes, as the third component to address the guiding question: **What do the Orang Asli teachers see as the desired outcomes of these strategies?** As the third component, Outcomes served to reflect the expected results of participants implementing the strategies they expressed in the interviews. Using the third component to represent the intended outcomes the participants wished to achieve was also a way to view the reasons why participants practised a particular strategy and served to help the researcher understand what motivated those choices.

The fourth and final component for this study was Expectations, flowing from the Outcomes component. This component served to address the guiding question: **In what ways are these outcomes expected to bring about benefits to the Orang Asli students and the community?** In other words, what were the participants anticipating would be the benefits of the outcomes they seek? If so, the question that needed to be asked was what those expected benefits were perceived to be. This was an important aspect to explore because understanding what the participants expected to benefit from the outcomes they achieved also contributed to understanding why they did the things they did, in their particular context. Figure 3, below, shows a representation of how these two components addressed the objective of providing answers to the ‘why’ question.

Figure 3

The connection between outcomes and expectations



Similar to Figure 2, the two components of outcomes and expectations in Figure 3 investigated why participants valued their use of the mother tongue, reflecting the significance of the participants’ points of view regarding the practice of using the mother tongue in their classrooms. As such, all four components played a role in

answering the question of “Why is using the mother tongue important in the classroom?”.

With these four components as a framework for this study, the perspectives of the participants’ intentions were used to understand their perspectives on the strategies used. Knowing why those strategies were employed from both the components of intention and strategies in turn revealed what influenced the perspectives of the outcomes and expectations. Here, the researcher was able to ask participants what their actions were expected to yield based on their intentions and the why they were expecting these outcomes, and how they thought these outcomes benefited the children and the community. A visual representation of these four components for the “perspectives” of the participants can be seen below in Figure 4.

Figure 4

The four interconnected components of perspectives that formed the basis for the guiding questions.

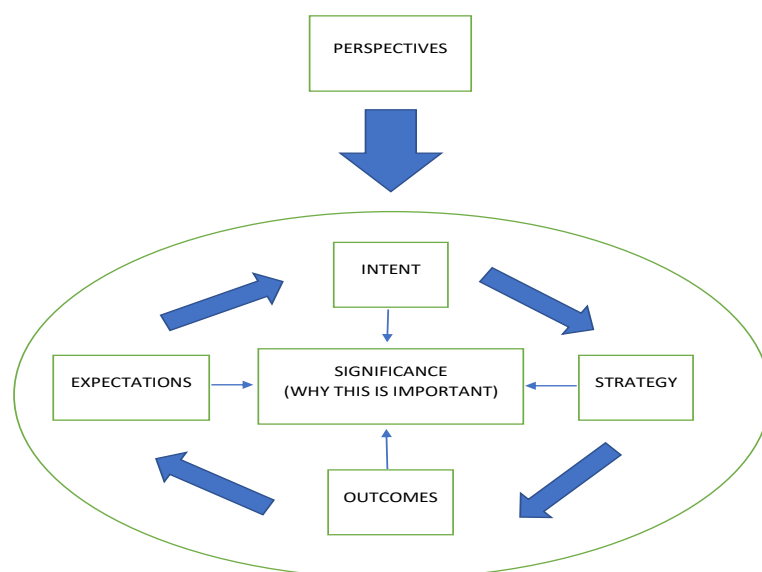


Figure 4 expresses the notion that the significance of mother tongue was central to its usage in the classroom, thus answering why the mother tongue was important is embedded in the four components of perspectives that participants expressed. All four components contributed to understanding the significance of the participants' mother tongue through the exploration of the participants' perspectives.

Thus, the design of this study utilised a modified framework influenced by the four component structure advocated by O'Donoghue (2007) The components were used to develop the guiding interview questions by forming the basis of the four guiding questions designed to elicit data from the participants. Using these four guiding questions, the interview questions were developed for this study. The next section describes and justifies the chosen methods utilised in this study.

Method

So far, this chapter has explained how this study approached inquiry regarding the use of mother tongue in informal Orang Asli classrooms, referencing the paradigm of Interpretivism and theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism utilised to develop a working framework for the study. Under the interpretivist paradigm and using analytic techniques drawn from grounded theory, the central research question of **'What are the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms?'** was answered. As defined by Creswell (2013), grounded theory research focuses on the generation of an explanation of "a process, an action, or an interaction" (p. 85) that has been influenced by the perspectives of a group of individuals that experience the same social phenomenon. In this study, the analytical techniques of grounded theory were adopted to explore how actors in a specific situation found the rationales to act in a specific way within their context based on the perspectives of their experiences (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Thus, selected techniques

of open coding, axial coding and selective coding from the grounded theory approach were chosen to guide analysis of the data specifically because its focus was on the task of explaining why the actors, in this case the participants of this study, were doing the things they have been doing in the classroom. In discussing the practices of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue, some aspects of grounded theory fit well as a way of framing understanding from a participants' perspective, especially in describing why they take the actions that they do to achieve their goals in their classrooms. This is because it highlights the processes involved to deciding what to do with their students and the way in which they go about enacting the strategies they have themselves determined to be beneficial to their students and their community. As such, using grounded theory techniques for the analysis of the perspectives provided by the participants, formed the basis for propositions regarding the use of their mother tongue in the context of their informal classrooms. This process is discussed in detail in the Data Analysis section of this chapter.

In ensuring that the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers remained the focus of the inquiry, no existing theory on the use of mother tongue in the classroom was used to guide the questions. Instead, this study was designed to give voice to the perspectives of these Orang Asli participants regarding the use of mother tongue in their informal village classrooms. Therefore, this method of inquiry focused on the experiences of the Orang Asli teachers and investigated their intentions, the strategies they employed based on those intentions, the outcomes of those strategies and the expected benefits of their actions in their classrooms. These four components of intent, strategy, outcomes and expectations formed a more specific guide for the researcher to develop questions for the interview and to analyse the findings.

Guiding Questions

The guiding questions for this study were developed based on the four components that made up the framework guiding the study. As suggested by O'Donoghue (2007), each guiding question addressed the intentions of the Orang Asli teachers, the strategies that they enacted, the outcomes of those strategies and the expected benefits of the outcomes from the participants' perspectives. Furthermore, the guiding questions developed for this study were followed by supplemental questions related to the guiding question, developed to focus the line of inquiry toward a clearer understanding of the participants' perspectives. The guiding questions and their respective supplementary questions are shown in full below:

1. From the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers, what are their intentions in using the various languages, including the mother tongue, in the classrooms?

Supplemental questions:

Why do they have these intentions?

Where do these ideas come from?

2. What are the strategies that Orang Asli teachers enact to make their intentions a reality in the classroom?

Supplemental questions:

Why do participants choose these strategies?

3. What do the Orang Asli teachers see as the desired outcomes of these strategies?

Supplemental questions:

Why do the Orang Asli see these outcomes as necessary?

4. In what ways are these outcomes expected to bring about benefits to the Orang Asli students and the community?

Supplemental questions:

What do the participants hope their students can achieve with the outcomes they have gained?

These questions formed the basis for the interview questions used in this study (see Appendix A). Specific attention was paid to the use of the mother tongue and the teachers' intentions for its use in the classroom, how participants felt about its use, why they chose to use it and what they intended to achieve through its use. This framework suggested by O'Donoghue (2007) mirrors the work of Corbin and Strauss that proposed the application of "an analytical device" (Mills et al., 2006, p. 30) or an organising scheme that reflected the "conditions, actions/interactions and consequences" surrounding a phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 1996, p. 146). The use of this framework in the development of guiding questions follows a similar grounded theory study conducted by O'Donoghue and Chalmers (2000), which explored how teachers manage their work in inclusive classrooms. Following a similar template, the guiding questions were developed to explore how teachers in rural and remote Western Australia managed their class work when children with disabilities are placed in their classrooms. Like this study, the approach emphasised the participants' understanding of their situation, how they enact strategies to deal with their situation, and the effects of the strategies implemented. Comparable studies have also been conducted using this approach in various education contexts such as in higher education (Sweeney et al., 2004) and language teaching (Evangelinou-Yiannakis & O'Donoghue, 2011).

Thus, this framework was deemed suitable for the requirements of this study because it could be employed as a guide for developing the guiding questions and provided a direct way of engaging the participants in conversation that was specifically targeted at their use of the mother tongue. However, it is recognised that there is significant specificity in this framework's focus, because it targets aspects of the participants' perspectives related to their view the conditions, actions/interactions and

consequences of using their mother tongue in the circumstances of their informal classroom. It is important to note that the researcher chose to employ this framework as a first step in understanding the participants' perspectives but recognised there was a wider scope for analysis from the data collected that could further deepen understanding of the experiences of Orang Asli teachers. With time and further resources, this study could provide a springboard for more in-depth analysis as more research into the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers is explored.

Data collection

This study employed semi-structured interviews to gather data from participants regarding their perspectives on the use of mother tongue in their informal classrooms. Semi-structured interviews were used to combine closed and open-ended questions in interviews; this allowed the researcher to ask further follow-up questions during an interview to probe for further details regarding a participants' responses (Adams, 2015). Follow-up questions can take the form of "how" or "why" questions, as a researcher probes for more detailed responses (Adams, 2015). This form of interviewing was well suited to the purposes of this study especially as a method of engaging the participants in conversation regarding their attitudes, values, motives and perspectives regarding a specific topic (Barriball & While, 1994). Conducting semi-structured interviews also allowed participants to be free to speak their mind during the interview and perhaps bring up unexpected information, that further expanded the depth of detail in the data (Adams, 2015).

The researcher used the guiding questions to begin conversations about the four components in these interviews. The questions acted as prompts during the interviews and helped direct the conversation. As the interview continued, follow-up questions were asked when the participants brought up information that would help to answer the

central research question. If there was any specific information that the participants elaborated on, the researcher would probe further. This sequence of questioning, which began with the main question, the follow up and the probing question is what Rubin and Rubin (2012) suggest should be the process when collecting data through interviews. The researcher used information that the participant had mentioned when answering the main question to make follow-up questions or probe further, asking the participant to describe a situation or the actions they described. Probing questions were also used to find out why actions are taken. This also helped the researcher better understand the context and situations that the participants described (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). To develop questions that would prompt discussion with the participants, this study also used a guided question matrix adapted from O'Donoghue (2007). This guided question matrix (see Table 1) delineated the characteristics of the answers from the participants that could correspond to the four guiding questions, which as explained were based on the four components discussed by O'Donoghue. The list of five characteristics for the answers, seen below, helped with the formulation of the questions.

- a) The range of objectives sought by the participants.
- b) The underlying values and beliefs of the participants.
- c) The content prescribed by the participants.
- d) The methods prescribed by the participants.
- e) The approaches to assessment that the participants used.

Each of the five characteristics were matched against the four guided questions, ensuring that questions asked covered the five types of answers. Thus, these five characteristics worked as parameters that focused questioning during the interviews. This also helped the researcher develop a list of questions that would be useful for encouraging the participants to further elaborate on information they have given. Table 1 displays how the four guiding questions and the respective supplementary questions

correspond with the five characteristics of answers listed in the form of a Guiding Question Matrix (see Table 1).

Table 1

Guiding Question Matrix

	The range of objectives sought.	The underlying values and beliefs.	The content prescribed.	The methods prescribed.	The approaches to assessment.
Guiding Question: From the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers, what are their intentions in using the various languages, including the mother tongue, in the classrooms? Supplemental Questions: Why do they have these intentions and where do these ideas come from?	✓				
Guiding Question: What are the strategies that Orang Asli teachers enact to make their intentions a reality in the classroom? Supplemental Question: Why do participants choose these strategies?	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Guiding Question: What do the Orang Asli teachers see as the desired outcomes of these strategies? Supplemental Question: Why do the Orang Asli see these outcomes as necessary?		✓ ✓			
Guiding Question: In what ways are these outcomes expected to bring about benefits to the Orang Asli students and the community? Supplementary Question: What do the participants hope their students can achieve with the outcomes they have gained?					✓ ✓

The interviews with the participants were conducted in their villages, where their community classrooms were located. In each of the villages that were visited, the participants had a classroom where the researcher and the participants met after school hours. Typically, each interview would last about 30 – 40 minutes one on one with the researcher. These interviews were conducted in Bahasa Malaysia as it is the common language spoken between the researcher and the participants. Although Bahasa Malaysia is a second language for both the participants and the researcher this is the language that participants were most comfortable with using when interacting with people coming from outside the village. Where possible, some of the participants used translanguaging strategies like switching to English if they thought it would help the researcher understand something in their conversations. These occurrences were only confined to the participants who had experience working outside their community. The data collection yielded transcripts of interviews from 10 participants who taught in community classrooms in seven villages. These interviews were conducted between the 29th of January 2019 and 13th of April 2019. Each interview was recorded with permission from the participants and their village heads (See Appendix F and G) to ensure transcription would be accurate. After each interview session, the researcher initially transcribed the interviews in Bahasa Malaysia, which were then translated into English. As the process of translation was performed the researcher began the process of open coding, applying the initial codes to the transcripts of the Bahasa Malaysia version with the English translations side by side. This was done to allow comparisons to be made between the two versions of the transcripts. Bahasa Malaysia is the second language of the researcher and as such for the purposes of this study and for the ease of reference during analysis, the researcher proceeded to designate the open codes in English while translating the transcripts from Bahasa Malaysia to English. After each interview was transcribed in Bahasa Malaysia, the researcher returned to visit the

participants again. Each participant was given an opportunity to review the transcripts and make comments as well as correct or clarify anything from the transcripts during member checking sessions.

To deepen the study and its dimensions, memos were made after each interview was conducted. The memos were used to record the researcher's thoughts and ideas that may have emerged during the interviews with the participants. The memos were particularly useful when coding was performed on the raw data when it was constantly compared, revised and reformulated in the process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using suggestions by Creswell (2013) as a guide the memos were divided into two categories: descriptive memos, which included information about the village that the researcher may have noticed or thoughts about the responses that participants provided during the during the interview with the participants, and; reflective memos, which related to the thoughts that the researcher recalled about how the interviews were conducted. As such, these memos were not a direct reflection of the perspectives of the participants but reflections of the researcher's own views of the interview process.

These notes aided in revealing how the researcher perceived the interaction with the participants during the interviews. A reflective journal was also prepared for this study to enhance the transparency of the study and provide insight into the data collection process (Ortlipp, 2008). Once again, this journal followed the same format of division between descriptive and reflective information. The reflection journal included thoughts and ideas about how to better approach questioning in the interviews or what modifications needed to be made to make questions clearer for the participants to understand in subsequent interviews. The journal also revealed what the researcher felt might be patterns that were emerging during the data coding phase. Excerpts of the memos as well as reflection journal can also be seen in Appendix D and Appendix E.

Participants

In choosing suitable participants for this study, potential candidates who were approached needed to fulfil four criteria.

1. The participants must be volunteer teachers in Orang Asli villages.
2. At the time of the study, the participants must be engaged in teaching the children of their own village.
3. The participants must have conducted their community classes independently and/or received support from NGOs and private donors.
4. Participants in the community classes must have opted to use their own lesson plans based the national syllabi.

These criteria narrowed the recruitment of participants to a very specific group of individuals to reflect the focus of this study which was based on the gathering of perspectives from participants who taught independent, non-formal classrooms in their communities.

The specificity of criterion for this study fits the principles of purposeful sampling, whereby potential candidates are chosen based on their specific criteria (stated above) so that their perspectives provide data that is specific to the central research question (Creswell, 2013). This emphasises the idea that to gain insight into the perspectives of the participants and elicit information that is detailed enough, the researcher must be strategic and select samples that meet criterion that will ensure sufficient depth and quality (Coyne, 1997). As such, the reasons behind such specificity in participants of this study are twofold. The first was attached to volunteer teachers and the languages they used in their teaching. To elicit perspectives on the use of mother tongue in their classrooms, these teachers had to be teachers who taught students who spoke their mother tongue language. The second reason was attached to the

independence of these teachers. This aspect of the criterion for participant selection was important because the independence of the informal classroom allowed the participants to be free of any obligations to use a designated language in the classroom they taught in, as opposed to a formal, public-school structure in Malaysia that has specific language policies for the medium of instruction (MoI) in the classroom.

While the sampling strategy was mainly purposeful sampling to ensure that participants fulfilled the criteria stated above, there were some differences. Firstly, volunteer teachers were teaching children at different levels of age and ability and secondly these teachers were teaching in different roles. One example of this is that in some cases these teachers were involved in early childhood development focusing on literacy and numeracy in their classrooms. Typically, the children were estimated to be between the ages of four to six years of age. However, seven of the participating teachers also mentioned that in addition to teaching children from the four to six age group, they were also teaching primary school age children who may or may not have been enrolled in the public-school system. Nevertheless, each participant of this study had experience teaching children at the early childhood stage.

A sample with participants who had differences in their background proved to be useful in the case of this study as there were different characteristics that seemed to have affected the perspectives of the teachers. This meant that the sample may be heterogenous by way of the capacities and roles of the teachers, yet fulfils the homogenous criterion of the samples based on the aims of this study. Tuckett (2004) also highlights the benefits of differences in the participants, positing that although purposeful sampling focuses on specific criterion, there are merits to recruitment outside of the criterion if emerging concepts begin to appear in the data. This can be in the form of several scenarios, for instance it might be appropriate if emerging ideas from the data seem atypical to the patterns encoded so far, or if comparisons may be made between

variations that could result in a richer and deeper description of the phenomenon (Tuckett, 2004). In the case of this study, these differences can be in the form of their experience in teaching, years of service and how they organise their classes. Although the participants in this study fulfilled the requirements for participation in this study there were still differences in the ways they conducted their classes which in turn affected the ways they presented their perspectives during their interviews.

Sample sizes. Since purposeful sampling narrowed the pool of participants, it was reasonable to expect smaller sample sizes because of the focus on a non-mainstream phenomenon in Malaysian education. This presented a challenge for the researcher, specifically in determining the number of participants that could be involved in the study based on limitations to timeframe and logistical challenges. Guidelines on the number of participants that should be interviewed for a qualitative study vary greatly. Mason (2010) described the various guidelines for the number of participants that scholars suggest based on the types of methods utilised for qualitative study. It is noted that these suggested numbers, while not arbitrary, do not seem to have significant empirical basis based on Mason's references (Mason, 2010). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Mason's study of qualitative PhD studies using interviews for data collection show that up to 80% of the total proportion of PhD candidates conducting qualitative studies fulfil the minimum criteria of 15 participants for qualitative studies suggested by Bertaux (1981). For this study, the number of participants was decided to be eight participants due to considerations like the time constraints for conducting fieldwork and the difficulty in obtaining approval to conduct fieldwork from every state agency.

In preparing for the recruitment of the participants it was necessary to inform State and Federal agencies in Malaysia of the data gathering fieldwork that was to be conducted. The federal agency known as the Economic Planning Unit (EPA) informed the researcher that State Development Agencies for Orang Asli affairs would have to be

informed individually for each state where data collection was to be conducted.

Permission to operate in each state was to be given by these agencies. This step would see the input of the various agencies into the feasibility of obtaining the suggested number of participants become a prominent part of the process of recruiting. Although the minimum requirement set by the researcher was to obtain 15 agreements to participate in the study across the whole of the Peninsular of Malaysia, this number had to be revised when the process of obtaining clearance from the relevant state and federal agencies began.

Uncertainty surrounding the sample size of this study led the researcher to look into Mason's (2010) opinions on qualitative sample sizes, referring to other ways to achieve data saturation through clearly defined aims for the study which help researchers reach data saturation particularly when participants belong to a very niche or specific group (Charmaz, 2006). Mason (2010) also suggests that smaller scale studies find alternative ways to enrich data through multiple interviews or varying the sources of data (Lee et al., 2002). Unfortunately, conducting multiple interviews was not possible due to the time constraints of this study and the remoteness of some of the locations. This prevented the researcher from obtaining deeper and more detailed descriptions of data from the participants as there was no opportunity to follow up on the responses that the participants gave in the first interview. Thus, the analysis of the data for this study was done with this limitation in mind.

Due to the circumstances dictated by the various State and Federal agencies involved in providing clearance to conduct data collection, the number of participants was reduced from 15 to 8 participants. This reduction was due to the reduced area that the researcher was allowed to conduct data collection in. The EPA, which was responsible for giving overall approval for data collection, requested that this study be confined to a single state of the researcher's choosing. This considerably limited the

number of participants that the researcher could find. After consultation with an NGO contacts supporting Orang Asli teachers operating in several areas of the country, it was decided that the State of Perak in the Peninsular of Malaysia would be the site of the research area. This state was chosen because of its larger population of Orang Asli volunteer teachers operating within the state. This allowed the researcher to request access to these teachers via the relevant state agency in an expedient fashion.

Furthermore, the researcher intended to find more suitable participants to approach through the participants that had already agreed to be part of the study. Thus, despite an intended target of only eight participants, a total of 10 participants were identified. The snowball strategy proved to be helpful, because some initial participants informed the researcher of other teachers operating independently in similar areas (Creswell, 2013). This led to opportunities in recruiting two additional participants. As a result of this strategy, the study was able to obtain a total of 10 teachers who agreed to be participants in the study. In some cases, these participants would share a classroom and fulfil different roles. For example, some villages had two teachers who taught younger children while the other taught school-going children in their classrooms separately. Other classrooms had a senior teacher and a junior teacher in the same village. This helped the researcher to obtain a larger sample than the expected eight.

Researcher's positionality in relation to participants. The researcher's experience with the Orang Asli community is largely confined to volunteer work through non-governmental organisations (NGOs) during his youth. This was in the form of running activities for Orang Asli children such as after school programmes or holiday programmes. However, in 2016 and 2017 the researcher had the opportunity to become further involved in the work of NGOs as a consultant assisting a local NGO in the development of monitoring and evaluation tools for each of its programmes. This NGO exposed the researcher to more of the work that is being done in supporting Orang Asli

communities. This particular NGO that will remain unnamed for the purposes of anonymity, provided support to Orang Asli community classrooms and the researcher was exposed to the work being done with regards to education in Orang Asli communities. Indeed, it was through contacts with the NGO that the researcher was able to identify villages which were willing to participate in this study. Thus, it is important to note that the Orang Asli participants in this study were aware that they and their villages were identified as potential participants and sites for research by the researcher through the assistance of the NGO that supports their work. However, this may result in a participant's view that the interviews for this study might be conducted as an evaluation of their performance and the researcher was careful to inform the teachers that this was not the case when they met to discuss participation in the study. Although the researcher was considered an outsider, the connection the researcher had with the NGO ensured that the participants were first acquainted with the researcher before beginning interviews. When speaking with the participants the researcher asked what would be important for researchers to bear in mind when conducting research like this and was reminded by the participants that outsiders are not usually allowed into the village without cause. This was why an initial engagement with the NGO was required as an introduction to the teachers and the village. This also meant that the researcher would require permission from the village head. Although most of the village heads gave their consent to the study based on the desires of the teachers in their village to be involved in the study, the teachers themselves appreciated that proper protocols for entering the villages to conduct interviews were followed.

Data analysis

Data was collected through interviews based on the four guiding questions. They were coded, then categorised forming key building blocks for the themes which are presented later in this section. These themes are then related back to the actions or

interactions of the participants namely the use of the mother tongue in their informal classrooms. Through this process, a set of propositions were produced to provide understanding of the participants' use of mother tongue within the context of their informal classrooms. Grounded theory requires several layers of coding that Vollstedt and Rezat (2019, p. 86) describe as “ a process of conceptual abstraction by assigning general concepts (codes) to singular incidences in the data”. These general concepts are important starting points in the process of organising data into categories. There are several established methods of coding propounded by qualitative researchers. In this study the techniques advanced by Strauss and Corbin (1990) were used. This technique involves three layers of coding; open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Open Coding. The first step in the coding process is open coding. It is used to categorise incidences in the data into generalised ideas or concepts (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). In this study, open coding was utilised to develop the categories that represented the participants' perspectives on the use of their mother tongue in their classrooms. These categories provided the researcher with a general understanding of participants' perspectives and highlighted prominent areas of interest that merit deeper exploration.

The initial step in the coding process was to find responses from the participants through the four components of perspective; intent, strategies, outcomes and expectations. Responses were labelled as belonging to one of these four components. Next, each of the labelled responses in the interview transcript were coded and the codes recorded for use in subsequent transcripts. The example in Table 2 below shows how an exchange between the researcher and the participant was labelled. In this exchange the response was labelled as “STRATEGIES” as it presented information regarding how the Semai language was being used.

Table 2*Labelling responses*

Raw Data	Translation	Codes
Right, right and that's Your also when it becomes difficult for them to understand something so they come back here for extra class, like classes you are also still using Semai.	Right, right and that's your... also when it becomes difficult for them to understand something and they come back here for extra class, like classes... you are also still using Semai?	M/T as translating tool: STRATEGIES
<i>Yes! Like we do a text comprehension kan? They have to read a text and then they have to understand and then they have to answer the question so from there I go through with them one by one the sentences kan than I explain in bahasa semai and then also if they don't understand we go to the bahasa Malaysia la and then I do explain in bahasa semai, which is the dictionary will be them la. I encourage them to use the dictionary.</i>	<i>Yes! Like we do a text comprehension? They have to read a text and then they have to understand and then they have to answer the question so from there I go through with them one by one the sentences, then I explain in Bahasa Semai and then also if they don't understand we go to the Bahasa Malaysia and then I do explain in Bahasa Semai, which is the dictionary will be them. I encourage them to use the dictionary.</i>	

The next example in Table 3, shows responses reflecting which languages this participant thought were suitable for teaching Mathematics and Science in her classroom. This question was derived from the “STRATEGIES” component and was labelled as such.

Table 3*Coding of responses. Example. 1*

Raw Data	Translation	Codes
Ah I see.... Ok bagaimana dengan Matematik dengan sains? Guna tak bahasa ibunda atau bahasa melayu?	Ah I see... OK, how about Mathematics and Science? Do you use the mother tongue or Malay?	Bilingual Methods: STRATEGIES
<i>Guna jugak. Dua2 guna.</i>	<i>We use both too</i>	

In this example, the researcher was asking about which language was preferred, Bahasa Malaysia or the mother tongue. These perspectives included the participants’ perspective on how they taught the subjects of Mathematics and Science. The response given from the participant marked in italics indicates that both languages were used. Thus, in this example, the code for this section of transcript was “Bilingual Methods”. To probe further, the researcher later asked why the mother tongue was important in the classroom, which can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Coding of responses. Example. 2

Raw Data	Translation	Codes
Jadi penting tak bagi budak2 orang asli untuk belajar bahasa ibunda?	So, is it important for the children to learn the mother tongue?	M/T for understanding concepts: STRATEGIES
<i>Penting.</i>	<i>It's important</i>	
Penting, kenapa rasa penting?	Important, how so?	
<i>Apabila macam mereka macam nak belajar yang baru apa yang kita ajar mereka akan faham</i>	<i>When they need to learn something new, what we teach them, they need to understand.</i>	

Here, the code for the participant’s response was “M/T for understanding concepts”, indicating that one strategy of the teacher’s was to use their students’ knowledge of mother tongue to ensure their students understood new concepts. In this case, the question was asked about learning the mother tongue but the response accounts for why they used the mother tongue in this situation. The codes highlighted the importance of the mother tongue and its use in the classroom.

As more of these codes began to repeat in other responses from other participants, patterns began to be identified. This repetition indicates that the codes can be organised into groups and categorised (Creswell, 2013). Through this process of organising the open codes into categories, connections between these categories were

identified and developed into the four themes of this study. By having the data coded and organised in this way, the researcher identified why and how the participants used their mother tongue in the classroom. The process yielded the following three categories:

1. The participants' perspectives on languages used in the classroom.
2. The participants' perspectives on the ways they used the languages to teach.
3. The participants' perspectives on what could be gained from their practices in the classroom.

These categories were developed during the open coding process as more codes could be grouped together to form a category. The three categories that resulted from this open coding process were found to represent how the participants saw the use of the mother tongue, the role it played in their classroom and the expectant results for using the mother tongue as part of their classroom practice. As such, the nature of this analysis followed conventions of grounded theory. For example, it utilised an approach to coding that avoided any preconceived notions, ideas, or speculative concepts (Creswell, 2013; O'Donoghue, 2007). No codes were prepared before the study began. Instead, codes were assigned to the responses that participants gave. This process was started during transcription as the written form of the interviews unfolded for the researcher. As similar responses emerged from subsequent interviews, these codes were utilised again if the responses reflected similar meaning as responses from previous interviews. This method was used because the categories that were emerging were expected to come from the data itself (O'Donoghue, 2007). This was an important step in the data collection process because data collected from the first few interviews and data collected from subsequent interviews were coded and compared so that those codes could be added to a code list and categorised (see Appendices B and C). Comparing the data from interviews with subsequent ones allowed the researcher to identify patterns

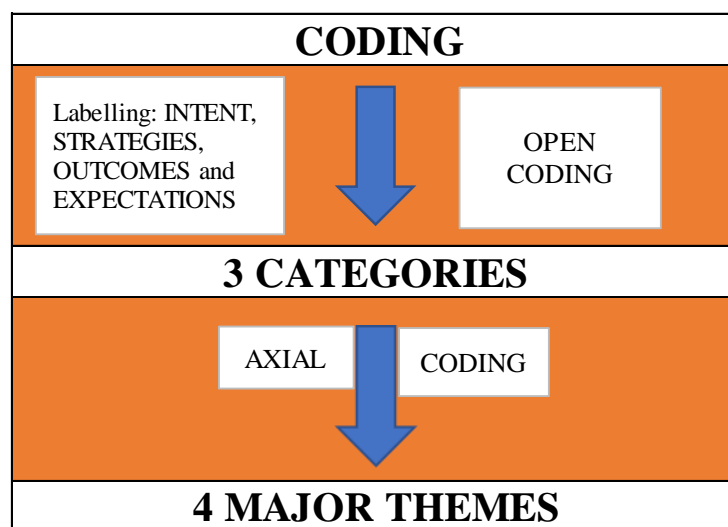
that recurred from one interview to the next and aid in the forming of the three categories (Moghaddam, 2006). This also allowed the researcher to determine if data saturation was achieved. Data saturation, according to Urquhart (2013), is determined to be when there are no new codes that can be generated during the coding process as the existing codes repeat in subsequent data but no newer codes are emerging then analysis may stop (Urquhart, 2013). For this study, the interviews were compared to see if there were any newer codes emerging during the coding process from interview to interview. When the codes were categorised and no other codes could be used to develop any new categories, analysis at the open coding level ceased. As each of the open codes fell into one or more of the three categories (See Appendix C), these three categories enabled the researcher to see the different ways a participant chose to answer the questions regarding the use of the mother tongue in their classroom. One response could cover a participant's perspectives on why some languages were being used in the classroom or a participant's perspectives on how those particular languages should be used. In some cases, the response could even fall into two or more categories.

Axial Coding. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) the axial coding process involves exploring the connections between the categories developed in open coding. This is achieved by focusing on the how categories can inter-relate. For example, in this study the category of "Participants' perceptions of the languages they use" is connected to the category of "Participants' perceptions of how they use those languages" by the roles that the participants saw the languages played. Axial coding examines this causal link (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019) between the "Participants' perception of the languages they use" and the "Participants' perceptions of how they use those languages". One category provides insight on why they use the languages and the other provides insight into how they languages are used. However, a link may be drawn between the two categories when participants describe the use of these languages

for a specific purpose and as such, the use of one language is related to the way it is used. Connections similar to this example were revealed when open codes from the participants' responses were seen to have fit into two or more of the categories (see Appendix C). By finding the connections between categories, a picture of the participants' perspectives on the reasons for using their mother tongue and the ways they used it emerged. This axial coding process produced four main themes that further revealed the participants' motivations, actions and expected effects from their use of the mother tongue in their classrooms. The four themes are presented in Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five. Figure 5 charts the process of analysis for this study and summarises the flow from open coding to axial coding.

Figure 5

Data analysis process summary



Selective Coding. The final stage of coding interrelates the resultant themes from axial coding into a cohesive narrative. In simple terms, Corbin and Strauss (1990) and Creswell (2013, p. 191), both refer to the process of selective coding as the development of a “story” or a set of propositions (a theory) related to the conditions of the phenomenon, the actions/interactions taken in response to the conditions and the

consequences that arise from the adoption of the actions/interactions taken by the participants. This process involves examining the themes that were developed in the axial coding process and integrating them with a central or core category (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Corbin and Strauss (1990, p. 14) define the core category as the “main analytic idea” of a study or the main concept that underpins the findings of the study.

In the process of identifying the main analytic idea for this study, the researcher approached the four themes through two lenses. The first was to approach the actions and interactions of the participants through the lens of the future. This involves examining the themes from the view of what the participant anticipated their students would encounter in the future as they grew older and began to enter formal schooling. The second was to examine the themes from the view of the present. This meant the way in which the participants saw their actions and interactions presently in their efforts to affect better outcomes for their students in the future. By examining the themes in this way these four themes are reintegrated into one conceptual focus that connects how the participants are approaching the use of their mother tongue now directly to the anticipated conditions that their student will face in formal education later. In line with this approach, this study makes two propositions which will be detailed and discussed on the Finding and Discussion sections.

Data Quality

In view of the interpretivist paradigm chosen to guide this study, it is important to look at how data quality should be evaluated. In this field, the work of Lincoln and Guba (1986) became the foremost source of reference that guided the evaluation of the data collection and analysis process. Their criteria designed to parallel conventional descriptions of data quality namely internal validity, applicability, consistency and objectivity, were used in this study. In the form Lincoln and Guba have adapted the

terms, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are used as the criteria to ensure the trustworthiness and authenticity of data (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). The importance placed on detailed comparison of data collected to achieve a “thick description” is a responsibility that was placed in the hands of the researcher. This is a recognisable trait of this study, which employed some techniques of grounded theory to analyse the data acquired through interviews with the Orang Asli participants.

Credibility

Credibility, which is the criteria determining internal validity of the data, can be determined through the crucial transcription of the interviews and subsequent visits to the villages for member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). This was one of the ways in which trustworthiness of the data was ensured. Each interview was transcribed, and the researcher returned to the site with hard copies of the transcripts in Bahasa Malaysia. Participants were briefed on the intent of showing them what they had said in the interviews in the transcripts and were told they could make changes or revise their initial statements or remarks, before approving the transcripts. There were no objections to the versions presented, and all transcripts were approved by the participants, with minor changes requested, mostly based on errors in spelling or grammatical conventions in Bahasa Malaysia.

Another way to improve trustworthiness in the data is through data saturation. In the case of this study, there are some data saturation parameters suggested particularly for grounded theory analysis. Saunders et al. (2018) refers to Urquhart (2013) on ways to determine saturation in the analysis phases of studies rather than during the collection of data phase. Here, saturation is considered achieved when the codes developed from analysis of the data show no more emergent themes, rather than looking at the saturation in data collection phase (Saunders et al., 2018). With data that was collected in this

study, the type of views that individual participants tended to provide were generally quite similar, something that Saunders et al. termed as Inductive Thematic Saturation, where saturation is focused on the emergence of themes in the process of analysis. From a grounded theory perspective, this parameter of achieving thematic saturation is understood to be because there are no pre-existing codes to refer to during the data collection process, since the aim of grounded theory-based analysis is rooted in the development of theory. As such, coding began during the interview process until all the participants interviews were completed. Furthermore, while coding and analysis occurred, the themes were drawn out until they were considered to be exhausted. Considering there were limits to the number of participants in the case of this study, it was appropriate to use this method of determining saturation.

Transferability

Transferability is concerned with the applicability of the data or the ability for others to assume that all or some of the data can find similar comparisons in a different context (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). By providing descriptive data, the researcher paid attention to the context and how the data collected fitted in specific context. This is an important requirement in ensuring transferability (Guba, 1981). To do this, the researcher reviewed and refined questions based on the experiences gained from the previous interviews to gain more insight into the contexts of the participants between interview sessions (Creswell, 2013). These modifications are recorded in the fieldwork journal (see Appendix D). For example, based on the experiences in Interview 1, new probing questions were added to help the researcher understand the context of the participants in their classroom (See Entry dated 13/02/2019 in Appendix E). Thus, new questions directed specifically towards what the participants practiced in their classroom were added to probe further into the languages they used. It is important to note that there were intentions to trial questions in a pilot interview, which did not occur due to

the time constraints during the data collection phase. This was less than ideal and meant that there was no chance to refine the questions before the first interviews were conducted. This forced the review and refinement of the questions to be done as the interviews continued during the data collection phase. As a result of this, some of the initial questions asked in an earlier interview may vary from those in later interviews as the sets of questions changed or as some questions were added to the interviews later. It must be noted, however, that since these interviews were semi-structured in nature, the researcher was careful to fit the questions within the framework of the four guiding questions or confined additional questions to finding out more background on the participants or the village. This strategy was used to ensure consistency within the interview process.

Dependability and Confirmability

Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggested that Table of the data includes the practice of note taking in the field to ensure that the process of collection and compilation of the data is documented to provide an internal audit trail of the study, particularly in the field. This is provided by the researcher in the form of memos, reflections as well as journal notes written during the coding process available in Appendix D and Appendix E. As discussed under the data analysis sections, the notes prepared during the data collection phase documented the thought processes of the researcher as well as notable changes made during that phase. Therefore, the field notes and journal entries themselves are not included in the findings and are used for the purpose of refining data collection processes and reflecting the thought processes of the researcher in the field as well as through the process of coding the data.

Ethics

Before any fieldwork could be conducted for this study, ethical considerations and protocols were followed to ensure that the participants were protected. These considerations included obtaining the necessary clearances to conduct research with members of indigenous communities in Malaysia and ensuring that the correct protocols were observed in gaining permission from the potential participants of this study. The relevant governing body that approves intended research in Malaysia is the Ministry of economic Affairs (MEA), in the Malaysian Prime Minister's Department. The role of the MEA is to liaise with all agencies relevant to the research proposed and to obtain clearances from said agencies before granting permission to proceed. During this process to gain approval to proceed with this study, some changes to the study proposal had to be made to accommodate the stipulated requests of the MEA, which was to confine the study to only one state in Peninsular Malaysia, as it would be challenging to gain approval for multiple states. Approval was granted by the MEA in December 2019, with the Human Ethics of the University of Western Australia issuing an approval under reference file RA/4/20/4464 to commence with fieldwork.

Once approval was granted in Malaysia, the MEA issued a letter (See Appendix H) and official pass to enter and conduct research in indigenous communities. This pass and letter were to be presented to the heads of these communities as permission to proceed must be gained before approaching the potential participants. With the approval gained from the appropriate government agency, the application for permission to proceed with fieldwork was granted by the University of Western Australia's Human Research Ethics Office. The official pass and letter issued by the MEA were presented together with official UWA information sheets and consent forms that both village heads and participants needed to read and sign before any interview could be performed. Official UWA information sheets and consent forms were translated into Bahasa

Malaysia for this purpose. The researcher was required to first approach village heads to provide information regarding the study and gaining permission to approach potential participants. If permission was given, the potential participants were approached and the informed of the intent of the study. As per the information letters issued, the participants were informed that the interviews were voluntary and that they could withdraw their data and participation in the study at any time before the publication of findings. Participants who agree to be interviewed completed consent forms and signed them before interviews were conducted under the condition of anonymity. All copies of the information sheets and consent forms for the participants and the village heads can be found in Appendices F and G.

Data collected in these interviews are required to be kept confidential to protect the anonymity of the participants and the villages they operate in. To ensure this anonymity, the names of the participants and the villages they belong to in the transcripts were replaced to avoid identification. The recordings of interviews were erased but the transcripts will be stored in a secure UWA repository for 7 years and cannot be distributed.

Chapter conclusion

The paradigms of interpretivism and the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism were used to develop the methods employed in this study to discover perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms. Data for this study was collected using semi-structured interviews and methods from grounded theory were used to analyse the data extracting major themes that reflect the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants in this study.

In the next chapter, the findings and major themes extracted from the data will be discussed in further detail. Descriptions of the responses from participants provided

thick description of the perspectives of the participants regarding their use of their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia as they explained the use of these languages and the importance of using them in their classrooms.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Introduction

The main aim of this study was to discover the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding their use of their mother tongue in their informal classroom. The findings of this study were derived from three categories emerging from the initial open coding of the data. Open coding as a process is the classification of data into “categories of information” (p. 195) that are used later to draw out the themes in this study (Creswell, 2013). The following categories were used in the identification of the four main themes in this study: 1) The participants’ views on the use of languages; 2) The strategies that they employed using those languages, and; 3) What they believed they would gain as a community from using those languages and strategies. However, a brief overview of each participants’ contextual background is also provided before the three categories and the main themes derived from each of these categories are presented.

Overview of Participants and Context

The following sections provide context for the data collected through an overview of the individual participants and the village classrooms in which they operated at the time of data collection. Some individuals are described as a pair; this is to indicate they practised within the same village classroom in roles as co-teachers, typically in larger classrooms with 10-20 students than the smaller classrooms with 8 to 10 students in other villages. The teachers in these community classrooms conduct daily classes in two languages. They communicate with the students in their mother tongue or home language and use Bahasa Malaysia which they consider to be an important language for their students to learn for education. The villages in this study belong to the same language group of Semai with the exception of Village 3. The teachers in Village 3 speak Temiar. In these villages the mother tongue or home language is spoken

from birth although most children are exposed to Bahasa Malaysia as well. This could be in the form of exposure to mass media like television, books and toys or other material that might make its way into these remote locations. In some villages, satellite television may be available, and children may be able to access media in a different language, however the participants maintain that Semai and Temiar are the main languages spoken in their communities and Bahasa Malaysia is only spoken to outsiders.

The villages in this study are located in rural interiors of Malaysia. Many of these locations are close to oil palm plantations or border forested areas. In these villages Orang Asli live on a combination of foraging, subsistence farming and/or seek employment in nearby towns if they are accessible. Although accessible, these villages can sometimes be difficult to get to and access requires the use of four-wheel drive vehicles. There are typically 10-20 houses in these villages. In some villages a small multipurpose hall is available, and these spaces are often used for the community classrooms. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there are some buildings that have been purpose built to house classroom space with help from donations and NGO support (See Image 1).

A typical Orang Asli school is made of wood or a mixture of brick and wood on a concrete foundation or on stilts. Some villages have access to water and electricity but not all, and not reliably. Some villages are remote enough that they are reliant on off grid supplies for water, utilising wells or the river. The layout of these buildings typically resembles classroom spaces in pre-schools or kindergartens with an empty space that allows the teachers to arrange tables and chairs into any configuration or be removed if they are not needed at all for a specific activity. In terms of sanitation, there are toilets built outside the classrooms. Additionally, there is usually an area used for

meal preparations as most of these community classrooms provide a meal or a snack for the children who attend classes.

Image 1

Orang Asli community classroom building



Orang Asli community classroom building, 2019

Almost all of the villages in this study did not have internet or cellular coverage even though many of the participants owned mobile phones at the time of the study. When participants needed to use their mobile phones, they had to travel to the nearest town with cellular coverage in order to receive messages or call. This made coordinating and scheduling of visits to the village challenging. The turnaround time for communication between participants and the researcher could take up to one week because of this situation.

The community classroom in these seven villages receive aid from many sources including private donations, government support and support from NGOs. A majority of the community classrooms in these Orang Asli villages were identified with the assistance of a local NGO, however two of the seven villages were referred to by the

participants in this study who knew of other teachers who operated in their community classrooms independently. This particular NGO's focus is on advocacy for children's rights and is mainly involved in work with children in the refugee and indigenous communities. The nature of their support given to the other five community classrooms are in the form of various resources such as; the provisions of funds to assist in building a classroom or upgrading existing facilities, the provision of materials like books and stationary and informal training. The NGO engaged by the researcher for this study provides informal training in the form of seminars held twice a year. These seminars employ volunteer teachers who guide the Orang Asli teachers and help them to familiarise themselves with the materials used to teach the children. Thus, these Orang Asli teachers do not receive any form of formal training recognised by the government or professional teaching bodies. The Orang Asli teachers who have received support from this NGO communicate using Bahasa Malaysia and the materials used in the classrooms are usually in Bahasa Malaysia or English. Therefore, in the context of the community classrooms the teachers are expected to teach using Bahasa Malaysia. It is important to note that the Orang Asli teachers are not obligated by the NGO to use their mother tongue in their classrooms. Indeed, it is assumed that Bahasa Malaysia and English largely dominates these classrooms situations. The following sections present the profile of each of the participants in this study, providing their personal backgrounds and the backgrounds of their community classrooms and the villages that they operate in. For the purposes of anonymity, pseudonyms will be used for the names of all the participants.

Imel and Eli

Imel and Eli were co-teachers in a village located in the Batang Padang regional district. The village used Semai as their mother tongue and was close to a small town. In the village, most of the children who attended the community classroom were between

the ages of four and six years. At the time of data collection, there were 20 children attending the class. However, some of the children were of school age and had begun primary school. Some of those who had begun primary school were still attending the community classes in their village after school hours. This is a common occurrence in many of these community classrooms, where children who are aged out of the early childhood development classes are still attending, either to help them catch up to the levels in school or to receive tutoring from the teachers. One teacher had more experience than the other. At the time of the interview, Imel had been teaching for 6 years while Eli started as a helper and a substitute teacher. As of 2019, Eli had begun duties as co-teacher for the community classroom. Imel was a pioneer of this effort, as outsiders from a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) had approached her to start a class in her village. On a voluntary basis, Imel joined this effort straight out of high school. Imel's direct recruitment from high school meant that she had no formal training as a teacher. Eli, who was the more junior member of the two-person teaching staff had been Imel's helper and substitute teacher for four to five years, almost the same amount of time as Imel had been teaching. However, at the time of the interview she was officially a co-teacher.

Sona

Sona's village is also located in the regional district of Batang Padang. At the time of the research, she taught 20 children on her own with support from an NGO. These NGOs supported the participant financially, provided materials to the community classroom and provided some training to the participant. Of the 20 children, only eight were in her early childhood class; the other children were all of school age and some were in their teens. She tutored the older students while providing early childhood education to the younger students. Since she was alone in handling these two groups, she focused on the younger ones first so she could send them home early. She then

turned her attention to the rest of the school age children for the rest of the afternoon when they returned from formal school. Sona's experience with the community classroom came directly after finishing high school. She had around three to four years of experience. She had volunteered for about three months before moving out of the village to find work. She only returned to the village to teach full time after getting married. Sona inherited the role of the teacher in the village. Before her, someone else had started the community classroom and Sona took over to ensure its continuation in the village.

Sona's main focus was helping the early childhood class to develop skills in literacy and basic mathematics. She was also concerned that they did not understand Bahasa Malaysia and therefore felt the need to introduce the language to her young students. However, Sona's classroom had a schedule that divided the class time into different subjects. Both her early childhood class and her tutoring class had Semai, the mother tongue, scheduled as a subject in the timetable. She also spent time preparing charts and posters that were displayed around the classroom. Despite the Semai language not having a writing system, Sona used the Romanised alphabet to spell out words in Semai. All the charts in the classroom had Bahasa Malaysia and Semai translations on them.

Sinta and Alana

Sinta and Alana were young and new teachers teaching in a community classroom set up for two villages located in the Hulu Perak regional district. Sinta and Alana were not from the same tribal group as the rest of the participants in this study. While the majority of the indigenous population in the State of Perak are from the Semai tribes, Sinta and Alana belonged to the Temiar tribal group and as such had a different language from their Semai counterparts. Sinta and Alana came from two

separate villages that were located near each other. Getting to the village where Sinta and Alana worked was a challenge as their village lies beyond hectares of palm oil growing estates. Travelling to these areas required the use of a four-wheel drive vehicle, through rough terrain. The village itself was located close to a small primary school built at the border of the village and the oil palm plantations. The school was built to service the village and the children from the estate.

Both Sinta and Alana had no prior experience as teachers; they were recruited by the previous teacher at the village and encouraged to continue his work after he had fallen ill and could no longer continue teaching. Alana in fact mentioned that the main reason she agreed to join the community class as a teacher was to ensure the class would not close due to the previous teacher's illness. Both Sinta and Alana wanted to ensure the class would continue to help the children from both the villages they represented. At the time of the interview both Sinta and Alana had only taken over the class for six to eight months, in contrast to their Semai counterparts who had more years of experience as teachers. Despite their inexperience, Sinta expressed pride and happiness that she had the opportunity to teach children from her own tribe.

Anna

Anna was from a village which is relatively challenging to access in the regional district of Batang Padang. To attend the interview, she had to travel from her village to another village that was closer and more accessible. Because Anna was supported by an NGO, she like the other teachers had regular visits from a coordinator but instead of receiving visits, she travelled out to meet with the coordinator. Typically, this meant that her husband had to take her on their motorcycle, sometimes with their child in tow as well. For the interview, Anna travelled to the village of another teacher, Hanis, who was also a participant in this study. The visit to Hanis' village coincided with regularly

scheduled meetings where she reported the things happening in her community classroom to Hanis, whose role included helping the NGO with coordination work because of her experience.

Anna already had 5 years of service as a teacher at the time of the study. Like some of the other teachers in this study, she inherited her community classroom from another teacher (her aunt). Anna's aunt started a class near her village and invited P6 to join her. Anna taught for two years on her own before agreeing to partner with the NGO for support. This allowed her aunt to retire and Anna took over. Like other participants, Anna partnered with the NGO because she felt she could get some training to help her improve as a teacher. The NGO also provided her with materials and financial resources to run her community classroom. Anna had one of the smaller classes of the group of participants in this study, with only nine students in her classroom. The children were all of kindergarten age, between four and six years of age. She covered five subjects throughout the week and compared to other participants she ran her classes in the mornings, presumably because none of her children were going to primary school at the time. P6's focus was also on literacy, mentioning that learning the alphabet was done in Bahasa Malaysia and the lessons usually included writing and reading skill development.

Hanis

As mentioned in the descriptions of Anna, Hanis was a teacher from a village closer and more accessible to a main town in the regional district of Kampar, than the village Hanis was from. Despite its proximity to a main town, access to this village was still challenging, requiring travel through a palm oil plantation. Hanis was a unique participant in this study as the interview with Hanis was conducted bilingually. Hanis could freely switch between Malay and English in the conversation and was eager to

share her feelings and experiences in both languages. Whenever Hanis found herself stuck in one language she would switch to the other to describe her experiences. Hanis was supported by the same NGO that supported Hanis but had an additional role, where she volunteered to help the NGO with coordination and training of other teachers in communities relatively close to her village. She had been asked to take on this role based on her previous work and experience in a nursery in Kuala Lumpur where she had been involved in early childhood development for children between the ages of four to five years before returning to her village to start her own community classroom.

Hanis' experience in early childhood education was from a private, pre-school nursery which provided day care as well as early childhood development programs. She was not formally trained, but she claimed to have improved her functional use of English from the five or so years of working in this setting. Hanis said these experiences had helped shape her desire to return to her village and start a community classroom. She said the change was gradual and that her passion for the work grew from working in the nursery with the urban children and she began to desire that the children in her village should receive the same privileges. Hanis saw the opportunity to be closer to her family living in her village and decided to stop work in Kuala Lumpur and return to her village. There she set about starting her own community classroom. In her village, Hanis gained permission from the parents in the village to educate their children. She was proud of the trust that they had given to her.

Hazel

Hazel's village is in the regional district of Batang Padang. It is small, with only a handful of families living close together. The village is surrounded by palm oil plantations. Like many of the families in the village, Hazel and her husband provided for their family mainly through subsistence farming; they also had some rubber trees

that they tapped to supplement their income. Hazel was also not officially supported by an NGO although she did accept help occasionally in the form of books or donations. Like Hanis, Hazel started the community classroom in her village on her own. In this case without outside help, but with the encouragement of her village elders. Hazel had been teaching in her village for 9 years, the longest serving member of this pool of participants.

She said she started teaching her own children first. She then realised that most of her relatives' children and indeed the children in her village had a lot of free time in the afternoon and wondered if she could begin teaching them as well. She sought approval from her village head who supported the idea. In addition to that, with advice from other teachers who taught in the area, she was encouraged to engage the parents of the village. Hazel described her interactions with the parents of the children as an essential part of the endeavour. She mentioned that without the buy-in from the parents her efforts would all be for nought. She set up meetings with parents who consented to her proposal and she began to teach her class from her own home. Of the 10 participants, it was Hanis and Hazel who made mention of their interaction with the parents of the village. This was not prominent in the discussions with the other eight participants. Hazel had 11 students in her class at the time of this interview. They were split into two classes. Three of the students were in a tutoring class as they had begun school, and eight others were in a pre-school class, which took up most of her time as a teacher.

Zaini and Nina

Located in the Batang Padang regional district, this is the village closest in proximity to bigger towns. It is also the village that seems most integrated to urban living compared to the other villages. There is a boarding school built within the same

vicinity of the village. Children from the village attend this school, but it also services other villages that are in the interior, further in from this area. The village regularly receives visits from outsiders, and according to the Zaini and Nina, their village head often takes visiting groups around the village for their corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs. This might be because of the village's proximity to bigger towns, which may be an attractive location for companies and other organisations looking for a place to fulfil their CSR obligations. The village head also mentioned the presence of a Teaching College close by and trainee teachers were often dispatched to the school to learn about teaching Orang Asli. The overall picture of this particular village is that it is relatively well equipped and is frequently supported by outside organisations. As such, both Zaini and Nina were not affiliated with any NGO group and remained independent as they already seemed to receive a lot of financial help from other organisations. The community classroom in this village was not started by Zaini or Nina. They inherited it from other individuals who had stopped teaching but had invited both of them to take over the responsibilities. Zaini had four years of experience but Nina only started six months prior to being interviewed. Nina did, however, have prior experience teaching in a kindergarten and had helped in the class before for a period of two years on part time basis.

Initial observations about the role of this community classroom seemed to indicate that it had been established to support the children who were already attending formal public-school. Some of the children also attended a government organised kindergarten, in contrast to other villages visited in this study which did not have their young children sent to government organised kindergarten and were usually sent straight into Year One when they reached the school age of 7 years. This is a significant difference between the teachers from other villages and the village of Zaini and Nina. This circumstance shifted the roles Zaini and Nina played in their village slightly

towards a supplementary role. The class was a supplement to the existing education that their children received from the school they attended near the vicinity of the village, rather than one that was preparatory for the younger children in other villages. A summary of participants' years of experience and training in their respective villages can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Participants' class numbers, years of experience and training.

Village 1					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Imel	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	6	20	Pre-school/Primary	None
Eli	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	4 to 5	20	Pre-school/Primary	None
Village 2					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Sona	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	3 to 4	20	Pre-school/Primary	None
Village 3					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Sinta	Temiar/Bahasa Malaysia	6 to 8 months	13	Pre-school/Primary	None
Alana	Temiar/Bahasa Malaysia	6 to 8 months	13	Pre-school/Primary	None
Village 4					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Anna	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	5	9	Pre-school/Primary	None

Village 5					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Hanis	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	5*	25	Pre-school/ Primary	None

Village 6					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Hazel	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	9	11	Pre-school/ Primary	None

Village 7					
Participants	Languages	Years of Experience	Number of Students	Student Education Level	Formal Training
Zaini	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	4	10	Pre-school/ Primary	None
Nina	Semai/Bahasa Malaysia	6 months**	10	Pre-school/ Primary	None

* 4 or 5 years as a helper in a kindergarten prior. ** Prior part-time experience.

Note: This table shows the participants' years of experience in what they considered as teaching roles.

In the following sections of this chapter, the three categories and the respective theme(s) drawn from these categories are presented to provide descriptions of the participants' perspectives on their use of languages in the classroom. Table 3 is a summary of the categories, themes and subthemes that are presented.

Table 3

Summary of Categories, Themes and Subthemes.

1.0 Category One: Participants' Perspectives on Languages Used in Their Classrooms.

1.1 Theme One: Use of Two Languages in the Orang Asli Classroom is Important.

1.1.1 Subtheme One: Mother Tongue is Used to Preserve Cultural Heritage.

1.1.2 Subtheme Two: Bahasa Malaysia is Used to Gain Access to Formal Education Through the Language.

2.0 Category Two: Participants' Perspectives on the Ways They Use Languages to Teach.

- 2.1 Theme Two: Employing Bilingual Strategies is Essential in the Orang Asli Classroom.
 - 2.1.1 Subtheme One: Translanguaging Occurs to Ensure Effective Communication Between Teachers and Students.
 - 2.1.2 Subtheme Two: Mother tongue is Used as a Scaffold to Help Teach Bahasa Malaysia.

3.0 Category Three: Participants' Perspectives on What can be Gained from Their Practices in the Classroom.

- 3.1 Theme Three: Orang Asli Teachers Want Students to Develop Skills and Dispositions That are Useful in the Formal Classroom.
 - 3.1.1 Subtheme One: Prioritising Literacy is Seen as Essential.
 - 3.1.2 Subtheme Two: Preparing Students for the Environment of the Bahasa Malaysia classroom.
 - 3.1.3 Subtheme Three: Developing Boldness and Confidence so Students can Engage Actively in Learning Within the Formal Classroom
- 3.2 Theme Four: Education in Two Languages Benefits the Individual and the Community.
 - 3.2.1 Subtheme One: Teachers Want Students to Achieve Better Participation in Mainstream Society.
 - 3.2.2 Subtheme Two: Teachers See the Use of the Mother Tongue as a Way to Highlight the Value of Orang Asli Culture and Identity in Society

Categories

1.0 Category One: Participants' perspectives on languages used in their classrooms.

Category one represents the perspectives of the participants regarding their use of their mother tongue (Semai and Temiar) and Bahasa Malaysia in their community classrooms. Here, a brief overview of the category and its significance is presented. In this category the compiled data showed their preferences for both these languages and explains why they had chosen to use both these languages in their classroom. This category also describes the importance these languages played for the participants and their perspectives on their importance to the students that they taught.

The use of Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue were central to the practice of the Orang Asli participants. Both languages held importance to the Orang Asli participants in this study and their goal of educating the children in their community. Many of the participants were prepared to rank both Malay and the mother tongue as equally important, but there were discernible dilemmas that pulled the participants in two opposite directions.

The participants seemed unwilling to understate either language; they stressed the importance of using both languages for their efforts in their community classrooms. Both languages seemed to play distinct roles in the classroom. Participants saw the mother tongue as a key to their students' understanding and learning because it was the first language that the children spoke in their village. They also saw the mother tongue as an important marker of their identity and did not wish to see their students forget who they were. However, participants hoped that through the students' learning of Bahasa Malaysia, they could enter the public school system. Thus, participants saw Bahasa Malaysia as necessary for their students, so they would be prepared for the challenge of using it when they attended public school. This resulted in many of the participants focusing their efforts on literacy in Bahasa Malaysia with their young students. This situation forced the Orang Asli students to develop their literacy through a language in which they had little or no background knowledge. As a result, Bahasa Malaysia became a language that was in a position of power over the mother tongue, but this does not mean that the mother tongue was not used in the village classroom. Although participants recognised the importance of Bahasa Malaysia as the language needed to access knowledge, they saw the mother tongue as a key to understanding it and preserving their heritage and culture. This dynamic will be explored in further detail with the first theme, which has two subthemes regarding the use of both these languages.

1.1 Theme One: Use of two languages in the Orang Asli classroom is important. The participants saw both the use of the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia as equally important, but the roles that each of these languages played were different in the classroom. In this section, each of the main reasons for the use of the two languages are presented as two subthemes:

Subtheme one: Mother tongue is used to preserve cultural heritage.

Subtheme two: Bahasa Malaysia is used to gain access to formal education through the language.

1.1.1 Subtheme One: Mother tongue is used to preserve cultural heritage. A prominent motivator behind the use of the mother tongue in the classrooms by participants was the preservation of cultural identity. As some participants mentioned, they used the mother tongue in their classroom because they did not want their students to “forget themselves” believing their use of the language was an important way to maintain the significance of their language. Furthermore, some participants saw that the continued use of their mother tongue as an important part of village life, merited its use in the classroom. Despite some participants mentioning the notions of protecting and preserving their culture and language voluntarily, most, but not all did so when prompted by probing questions about their perspectives on the topic. When asked about the roles that each language played in the classroom, some replied from a very pragmatic perspective, talking about the mother tongue as a useful tool for helping the children understand material in Bahasa Malaysia. If they did mention preserving their cultural identity their replies seemed to be a matter of fact, conveying that the preservation of their cultural heritage was important by default from their perspective, but also doubling back to highlighting the importance of Bahasa Malaysia to their children as well. The doubling back to reinforce the importance of Bahasa Malaysia as

an important language occurred in all interviews regarding the importance of the mother tongue. This continually highlights the dilemma that Orang Asli teachers faced in the classroom as they constantly negotiated the need to help their students gain proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia but were at the same time concerned about their students losing their own mother tongue. This dilemma is reported in other communities who feel the need to embrace the national language, which is often seen as having more linguistic capital in mainstream society but are unwilling to see their own cultural and linguistic identities lost. Fearing the loss of their language was specifically expressed in their concern for the next generation not being able to speak their own mother tongue as seen in the quote below by Eli. Thus, the anticipation that students would use less of their mother tongue in formal schooling because of the dominance of other languages like Bahasa Malaysia were a source of these fears. Some examples of this struggle can also be seen in the Malaysian Indian minority communities (Mukherjee & David, 2011; Nambiar, 2011) and in other Orang Asli communities like the Semang-Kensiu communities (Alias & Salasiah, 2015), where the younger generations speak less of their mother tongue and more of the dominant language used in formal schooling and main stream society.

Indeed, the participants did express these perspectives during the interviews. At first, they talked about the importance of their cultural heritage and their mother tongue. Eli's remarks regarding the mother tongue are a reflection of the basic sentiments regarding the importance of their own mother tongue that the participants had:

<p><i>Eli: Macam kita kena macam perlu tahu kita punya bahasa sebab bahasa ibunda in adalah kita punya apa? kita punya nenek moyang la dari dulu dari tahun ke berapa kea bad ke berapa sampailah sekarang dan jadi kita kena kita kena apa? belajar la kita kena belajar dan kita kena faham sebab ada jugak orang tak faham, tak faham oh diorang tak faham bahasa diorang.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Eli: For us, we need to know our own language because [it's our] mother tongue. That language is ours. It is from our ancestors from a long time ago like centuries all the way till now, and we need to know it and understand it because there are those who don't understand too. There are those who don't understand their own language.</i></p>
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In this study, seven of the 10 participants were forthcoming with their views on their cultural identity. In general, the remarks reflected their belief that the mother tongue that they spoke was a part of their cultural identity and they agreed that its status was important to the Orang Asli. When the researcher tried to suggest that there may be concerns about language shift and perhaps a decline in usage of the mother tongue, Sona's remarks show there was concern:

<p><i>Sona: Ok pengalaman saya sebagai seorang guru di kelas komunity ini. Bahasa pertama yang perlu kita ajar dan kita terapkan ialah bahasa ibunda walaupun di gunakan di ruman tetapi di kelas pun penting erm</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: [...] OK, in my experience as a teacher in community classrooms the first language that we teach is the mother tongue even though it's used at home but in class it's important ... erm these days I don't want children these days to forget themselves.</i></p>
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Sinta, when asked about her views on why the mother tongue is important, replied:

<p><i>Sinta: Sebab yang tu memang dari keturunan kita orang tu la memang tak dapat di lupakan.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sinta: "Because that (the mother tongue) comes from our heritage it cannot be forgotten."</i></p>
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The fear was that children might forget themselves, so there was a concern for the preservation of Orang Asli identity, but it was quickly qualified with the reminder that Bahasa Malaysia is an important language and the understanding that the mother tongue is an important pragmatic tool as well. This highlights the dilemma that the use of these two languages posed to the Orang Asli participants. When asked if Sona thought the children would continue to use the mother tongue when they were older, she replied

<p><i>Sona: Saya rasa guna masih boleh tapi mungkin la sesetengah tak tahu la mereka anak guna la. Er...apa tadi? Apa penting bahasa ibunda ye?Sebab dekat kelas ni saya kan budak2 dia akan lebih faham bahasa ibunda. Senang la untuk cikgu ber...macam apa menjelaskan. Tapi jangan lupa pulak yang bahasa kedua tu bahasa Melayu pun kena guna jugak.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: I feel it's still used, but maybe for some I don't know if they use it anymore. Er...what was it? What's important about the mother tongue? Because in the classroom, the children will understand more in the mother tongue. It's easier for teachers to explain. But don't forget the second language of Bahasa Malaysia which we have to use as well.</i></p>
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Like the remarks made by Sona, other participants who declared the importance of mother tongue in these conversations seemed eager to qualify their statements with the reminder that Bahasa Malaysia has an important role to play in the children’s learning, seeking to ensure their thoughts on the matter reflected a balance between the two languages. In Zaini’s remarks regarding the matter, the two languages are used for different aspects of their lives. It is expressed specifically in relation to the acceptance that Bahasa Malaysia is an unavoidable necessity.

<p><i>Zaini: Macam saya, saya terima saya tak lah takut apa, sebab kalau kita dah pergi sekolah bandar memanglah bahasa utama nya bahasa melayu, sebab misalnya tak ada orang asli kan, tak ada guru orang asli di sama kan? Terpaksa la kita terima. Tapi bila diorang dah balik, balik kesini mereka datang kelas kami, kami cuba lah terangkan supaya bahasa semai tukira diorang dah sekolah sana nak buat macam mana kan? Tak kan la tidak2 bahasa mana diorang dah ke sekolah bandar. Kita terima saja la. Bila mereka ke sini kami cuba la membantu diorang faham kan, apa yang diorang belajar dari sana bila datang sini kami cuba la ajar dalam, macam kita translate la bahasa semai ke apa bahasa melayu tu diorang kalau nak buat kerja ke Macam tu lah.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Zaini: For me I accept, I'm not afraid, because when you go to the city of course the main language will be Bahasa Malaysia, because for example there aren't any Orang Asli teachers there, so we have to accept. But when they (children) return here and they come to our classes, we will try to explain things in the mother tongue. I mean they have gone to the city for school, right? And that can't be helped, so we accept it. But when they come back here, we try to help them understand what they are learning from there. We try to teach deeper, like we translate it into Semai. Bahasa Malaysia is for when they need to do their work.</i></p>
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Zaini specifically mentioned that “Bahasa Malaysia is for when they need to do their work”. It suggests that from her perspective, the role of Bahasa Malaysia is a practical one. When these remarks are observed considering Zaini’s remarks earlier in the interview, the two languages are seen to play two distinct roles. Bahasa Malaysia fulfills the roles of communication tool outside the village, while the mother tongue is a part of cultural identity and heritage and therefore used as part of their efforts to ensure the language remains significant to the students even if it is only for use in their village.

<p><i>Zaini: Kalau saya sebab saya ni Orang Asli memang saya pentingkan bahasa saya sendiri. Walau saya pergi mana duduk mana tapi saya bahasa semai memang saya tak akan, memang dia akan tempat pertama. Ah bahasa semai memang saya akan letak tempat pertama.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Zaini: “Because I am Orang Asli, of course I would consider my own language as important. No matter where I go or live, Semai will always be... the first spot.”</i></p>
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In Zaini's statements above her mother tongue still represented part of Orang Asli culture and there seemed to be a sentiment that at least internally within the confines of the village, the children would still have to use the language to communicate and that the teachers themselves still used the language to help the children understand their studies in the classroom. There were, however, some participants who believed their cultural identity was not only acknowledged as part of their internal community setting, but part of a larger society. In Hazel's remarks, her feelings about recognition of Orang Asli identity outside of the community were clear and direct.

<p><i>Hazel: Kadang-kadang kita Orang Asli tapi pergi, kalau kita pergi luar kita sudah ada rupa sikit lain la, macam dia orang tak cakap kita Orang Asli. Dia orang akan cakap kita Melayu la tapi dalam kampung memang penting bahasa ibunda sebab bahasa ibunda ni dia orang bukan.</i></p>	<p><i>Tranlation:</i> <i>Hazel: Sometimes we Orang Asli, when we go out, we have a different look, like they (outsiders) don't say we are Orang Asli. They call us (ethnic) Malay, even though in the village we all use the mother tongue because to them it's not.</i></p>
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Hazel's remarks made a distinction based on the language that they used, referring to the reality that they did not speak Bahasa Malaysia but their mother tongue. To her this separated their identity from that of Malay cultural identity, even though Bahasa Malaysia was to be learned by her students for school and work in the future. Hazel also took her feelings about identity and the mother tongue even further by suggesting that Orang Asli needs an official writing script. She recounted a conversation with her student that shed light on this issue saying:

<p><i>Hazel: Ejaan tu kalau kita tahu sangat bagus tau sebab bila kita belajar lepas tu walaupun kita dah pandai bahasa Inggeris, tapi kalau kita belajar bahasa ibunda sangat bagus tau sebab ejaan saya kan cakap sangat unik la. Unik untuk siapa2 belajar. Sebab kalau kita tulis dia orang macam saya punya anak-anak dekat di sini kan, dia orang akan cakap</i></p> <p><i>Students: "kenapa kita punya bahasa macam ni?"</i> <i>"Kenapa kita punya bahasa ada macam symbol-simbol?"</i></p> <p><i>Hazel: " Saya cakap "symbol melambangkan semua orang faham". Kalau tak ada symbol dia orang tak akan faham.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: Spelling, if we knew our own would be good, because when we learn in English and even though we become fluent in it, but we learn the mother tongue and the spelling in our own language, then we would be unique. It would be unique for all who want to learn it. Because when we write, like for my kids here, they will ask me.</i></p> <p><i>Students: "Kenapa kita punya bahasa macam ni" (Why is our language like this) "Kenapa bahasa kita ada symbol" (Why does our language have symbols)".</i></p>
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<p><i>Contoh macam "lemui" symbol dia macam mana? "Lemui" tapi kalau tak ada symbol dia orang tak tahu.</i></p> <p><i>Hazel: Sangat penting tau bahasa ibunda. Supaya mereka boleh belajar walaupun kanak-kanak yang 4 tahun, 5 tahun, 6 tahun, dia orang slang dia lain sikit tapi dia orang faham.</i></p>	<p><i>Hazel: I say "symbol melambangkan semua orang faham" (the symbols represent that other people can understand) If there were no symbols, they(outsiders) would not understand. For example, "Lemui" what is the symbol? "Lemui" but if there was no symbol they wouldn't know.</i></p> <p><i>Hazel: "The mother tongue is so very important, so that they can learn even at the age of 4,5 or 6, and even if the slang is different".</i></p>
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Hazel was the only participant to offer remarks regarding the desire for an official writing script in the mother tongue, but it did reflect a desire for the language and the people to be recognised by those who were not Orang Asli. In her remarks regarding the use of the mother tongue, Hanis also highlighted the importance of the language to Orang Asli self-worth. Of all the participants, she was the most passionate and vocal about this issue.

<p><i>Hanis: Saya nak anak-anak orang asli ni banga menjadi anak orang asli, dan juga terapkan nilai-nilai jati diri kepada orang asli menyedari orang asli ni adalah unik mempunyai budaya dan juga adat resam dia tersendiri yang tidak sama seperti bangsa2 lain. So bukan sahaja terhad di dalam tadika komuniti di kampung tetapi apabila kita hari2 memberi kesedaran tentang keunikan kita sebagai orang asli kita menerapkan jati diri orang asli, apabila mereka melangkah ke sekolah rendah, ke sekolah menengah atau mereka berpeluang untuk belajar, saya nak mereka bawa jati diri keunikan budaya orang asli ni kemana-mana.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: I want the children to be proud of themselves as Orang Asli and also to instil the values of self-worth, to help them realise they are unique and have a culture and customs that are altogether different from other races. So not just limited to the community kindergarten but when we make them realise daily of their uniqueness as Orang Asli, we instil self-worth to the Orang Asli. So, when they move on to primary school, to secondary school or if they have the opportunity to study further, I want them to bring that self-worth with them everywhere.</i></p>
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Hanis not only wanted to build a sense of pride for Orang Asli identity in the children but desired to showcase their independence. The following statements reveal she believed in using the mother tongue to prove that they could achieve success.

<p><i>Hanis: Saya berharap dengan peranan saya di kampung 5 ni sebagai guru Orang Asli mengetengahkan bahasa, budaya kami, bahasa oa. Saya berharap seluruh kampung dan komuniti melihat bahawa hanya Orang Asli sendiri yang boleh membantu Orang Asli sendiri untuk berjaya, Itu peranan pendekatan bahasa ibunda.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: Ok, I hope that with my role in village 5 as a teacher prioritises our language and culture. Orang Asli language. I hope the whole village and community can see that Orang Asli themselves are the ones helping Orang Asli to succeed. That is the reason we are for the mother tongue.</i></p>
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While the mother tongue was seen as the obvious choice for preserving heritage and identity, there was one other language that Orang Asli teachers considered important in their classrooms. Bahasa Malaysia was constantly referred to in interviews as an important language for the Orang Asli teachers, because Bahasa Malaysia is the dominant language in the Malaysian public school classroom.

1.1.2 Subtheme Two: Bahasa Malaysia is used to gain access to formal education through the language. Bahasa Malaysia is the national language, and the Orang Asli teachers recognised its utility and significance to their own ambitions for their students. This is why Bahasa Malaysia has a prominent presence in the Orang Asli classroom. Within every interview in this study, the importance of Bahasa Malaysia was never understated. The participants accepted the situation where their students were required to access education through a system where the children had to learn a different language. Perhaps only one participant asked if it was possible for children to learn in their own language similar to the national type schools that use Mandarin and Tamil as the medium of instruction, but even she recognised that because it was not the case, there was no alternative but to teach their children how to learn in the dominant language, Bahasa Malaysia.

Bahasa Malaysia was approached in the village classroom as a vital component to the children's education. The intention was to use it to prepare the children for the type of learning they would be receiving from the national school system. Imel expressed this belief:

<p><i>Imel: Bagi pendapat saya peranan Bahasa Malaysia juga sangat penting juga sebab bila mereka sudah ke sekolah rendah atau pun sekolah menengah, mereka akan bercakap dengan bahasa Melayu, bukan bahasa ibunda lagi la, jadi saya sentiasa bagi mereka menggunakannya la juga didalam kelas, ah... bercakap dalam Bahasa Melayu tu.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Imel: In my opinion, the role of Bahasa Malaysia is also important because when the children go to primary school or even to secondary school, they will be speaking Bahasa Malay and not the mother tongue anymore. So for me I am always getting them to use it in the classroom ... speaking in Bahasa Malaysia</i></p>
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Participants also recognised that their children would be taught by non-Orang Asli teachers so they would need Bahasa Malaysia and therefore needed to learn it in the community classroom. Eli implied the need for Bahasa Malaysia in her remarks that the children did not understand if Bahasa Malaysia was used in her classroom:

<p><i>Eli: Contoh bila kita sekolahkan dia orang diorang tak faham. Dia orang tak faham apa itu kerja cikgu bagi, diorang tak faham, cikgu-cikgu ... tak tahu la cikgu bagi penerangan ke tak tapi diorang memang tak faham.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Eli: For example, when we send them (their students) to school, they don't understand. They don't understand what the teacher there is teaching or when she gives them work. They don't understand the teacher, we don't know if they (teachers) give explanations to the children, but the children really don't understand.</i></p>
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In this situation, Bahasa Malaysia was considered the key to being able to do the work given and this meant participants used Bahasa Malaysia as deliberately as possible in their classrooms. Although young children were used to communicating in the mother tongue, their literacy was taught through Bahasa Malaysia, so their teachers were teaching them the alphabet phonetically and teaching their children to write the alphabet as well. Sona mentioned this in her response about the use of Bahasa Malaysia.

<p><i>Sona: Ok untuk tadika tu saya biasa ajar mengikut subjek macam BM, BM tu kita ajar membaca, mengeja baca huruf A, B, C.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "OK, for the kindergarten I usually teach subjects like Bahasa Malaysia. Bahasa Malaysia, we teach reading, spelling and the ABCs".</i></p>
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And later in the interview she added:

<p><i>Sona: Kita macam Bahasa Malaysia ada dia punya certain time, untuk Bahasa Malaysia macam kita ada flash card A. B. C.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "For Bahasa Malaysia we have specific times, for Bahasa Malaysia flash cards for the ABCs".</i></p>
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In the interviews with these Orang Asli participants, learning Bahasa Malaysia was a priority. This was made clear as they constantly reminded the researcher of its importance even when they spoke of using the mother tongue, as seen in the responses

made earlier regarding the use of mother tongue in the classroom. Thus, there was a constant shift between two languages when the participants taught. This was because the participants saw translation as a way for the students to understand Bahasa Malaysia. For example, they reflected on the difficulties that Bahasa Malaysia posed in terms of how limiting it was for the students or the challenges of the younger children because they did not have any prior exposure to the language. Conversely, they also explained the benefits of the children knowing more of the language. They reported that the children who had a grasp of the language were able to function better in school, had better relationships with the non-Orang Asli teachers and other students, whereas student who were weak in the language were reserved and shy, quiet and seemed lost in the classrooms. The participants understood that the function of Bahasa Malaysia was very much tied to the academic success of their children and saw their role of teaching their students Bahasa Malaysia as important in ensuring the children stayed in school instead of dropping out.

According to the participants, both Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue served separate purposes in the classroom but were tied together because Orang Asli teachers sensed the limitations that their students had in understanding what they were learning in Bahasa Malaysia hence the need for their mother tongue. This fuelled the use of both languages in tandem with each other and can be further explored in the following category related to the strategies that participants practised in their classrooms.

2.0 Category Two: Participants' perspectives on the ways they use languages to teach

This category presents the participants' perspectives on the how the two main languages of the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia are used in their classrooms. This section highlights the strategic use of both languages as part of their own practice and

reveals the motivations behind their use. Participants saw the use of the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia as practical tools for education, using the two languages in tandem with each other. The findings for this category reflect the acknowledgement that both languages were used to achieve their goals of protecting their cultural heritage and gaining access to the formal education system. Understanding how both languages were used in the environment of the participants' community classrooms offers a glimpse into how each language is used and the descriptions participants provided of how the languages were used point to bilingual strategies.

2.1 Theme Two: Employing bilingual strategies is essential in the Orang Asli classroom. The participants in this study referred to the switching between languages while they taught, as they used the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in the situations that necessitated their respective uses. This reveals bilingual practice in their classrooms. In this section, two characteristics of bilingual strategies emerged prominently while using the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. These two characteristics are presented in two subthemes:

Subtheme One: Translanguaging occurs to ensure effective communication between teachers and students.

Subtheme Two: The mother tongue is used as a scaffold to help participants teach Bahasa Malaysia.

2.1.1 Subtheme One: Translanguaging occurs to ensure effective communication between teachers and students. Despite the Orang Asli participants' desire for their students to be proficient in Bahasa Malaysia, the mother tongue was used regularly in their teaching practice. This was especially for communicative reasons between the teachers and the students. In their classrooms, Orang Asli teachers needed to get information across clearly and accurately and this was why Orang Asli teachers

claimed the mother tongue was used the most in the classroom. The mother tongue was also used to give instructions; something that all the participants mentioned in their interviews. The language was also used to fulfil many of the roles that Orang Asli teachers saw themselves in, like being a motivator or as a maternal figure in the classroom. Participants reported that they could get their children to settle down and do the work if they told their students to do so in the mother tongue. They also mentioned that students responded better to instruction in their own language. Sometimes participants reported their students ignoring instructions and attempts to manage the classroom if it was done in Bahasa Malaysia. The best example of this was Hazel's remarks on the matter:

<p><i>Hazel: Paling berkesan? Kalau saya bahasa saya sendiri la. Bahasa Ibunda...sebab kalau bahasa melayu cakap lah sepuluh kali nak cakap, dia orang faham tapi...Kalau yang pra kita cakap jangan keluar (dalam bahasa melayu) tapi mereka keluar jugak. Tapi "jangan (semai language)" Baru dia orang takut sebab dia orang dengar bahasa dia orang sendiri kan, dia orang akan takut. Tapi bila saya cakap bahasa melayu 4/5 kali dia orang akan keluar.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: The most effective? For me it's my own language. The mother tongue... because if it's Bahasa Malaysia I can say it 10 times they won't understand it...For the pre-schoolers we say "jangan keluar" (don't go outside) but they will still go, but if we say don't in Semai, then they will listen because they hear it in their own language and they will be afraid. But if I say it in Bahasa Malaysia 4 or 5 times they'd still go out.</i></p>
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For practical reasons the mother tongue was preferred as a useful tool for the management of a classroom. In the 10 interviews, remarks made about the use of the mother tongue as the language of interaction between teacher and student were consistently mentioned by all participants. In all these remarks the ease of communication seemed to be the main reason for significant use of the mother tongue in the classroom. The participants also remarked that from their point of view it was quite natural that the use of the mother tongue was tied to communicating with the children, since the children themselves used the language at home and in the village. In this next exchange, the researcher asked Alana what language was used in the home:

<p><i>Researcher: Ok So kita boleh berbincang tentang bahasa ibunda la. Jadi untuk P5, bahasa ibunda P5 adalah ...</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Temiar</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Dan biasanya dirumah pun guna Bahasa Temiar?</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Ah Memang dirumah kita guna bahasa temiar, hanya di sekolah kita campur.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Researcher: OK,... so can we talk about mother tongue? So your mother tongue is ...</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Temiar</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: And do you use it at home, the Temiar language?</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Ah definitely I use Temiar at home, we only mix in school.</i></p>
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Alana clearly delineated the use of languages in the home compared to the languages used in the classroom, showing the preferred language that she was comfortable with was her own mother tongue and reserving the use of other languages for school. In the following, Zaini remarked about the use of her mother tongue Semai. She described the use of the language as more effective in getting her instructions heard and understood.

<p><i>Zaini: Kalau saya cakap "duduk!!" tak boleh duduk jugak. Saya cakap "geui" hah baru diaorang ha "geui"(sit) ha macam tu la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Zaini: "If I say "duduk" (sit in Bahasa Malaysia) they don't sit. If I say "geui" (Sit in Semai) hah then they "geui". That's how it goes."</i></p>
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Remarks like the one above show that the children were more responsive to their own mother tongue than Bahasa Malaysia. This was not unexpected for any group of students learning a new language and applies to the Orang Asli children as well, since Bahasa Malaysia is only exposed to them sporadically in their village. Participants mentioned that they spoke their mother tongue at home, in the village and with their peers, and encountered Bahasa Malaysia outside their village. Therefore, the use of the mother tongue as a language for communicating and interacting with their students in the classroom was considered an obvious choice.

The participants also emphasised their students understanding in the classroom with many of them concerned about how the students needed to know what was happening in their surroundings. Since the children were not as exposed to Bahasa

Malaysia or used the language in the classroom, the mother tongue was needed for the purpose of making sure the children were able to follow what happens in the classroom.

<p><i>Nina: Apa yang saya lihat, mereka mudah faham... mudah faham, mudah bertindak apa yang kita suruh buat dia buat. Macam hari ini kita "ambik buku, ambik pensil ni" Mereka mudah faham la selain dari bahasa Malaysia.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Nina: ...what I notice is it's easier for them to understand. Easier for them to react, when we tell them to do something. Like today, we said "take the book and the pencil" And it's easier for them to understand other than just Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p>
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In this case, the remarks made by Nina show that in order for the students to do their work, they needed to follow the instructions of their teacher. Knowing what to do with the materials required the teacher to provide instruction in the mother tongue. The participants explained that it was “*easier for the children to react*”, which indicated that their students needed the mother tongue to understand and then respond to their teacher’s instructions. Hanis puts it in another way when she remarked:

<p><i>Hanis: Ye yes yes for the communication I always use bahasa ibunda because after this past 5 years that bahasa ibunda is a very comfortable la for the children to learn.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: "Yes, yes, yes for the communication I always use the mother tongue because after this past five years that mother tongue is very comfortable for the children to learn."</i></p>
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Hanis referred to “comfort”, another word used a lot with “ease of use”, which suggested that the use of the mother tongue was important in creating a safe and welcoming environment for the students. A comfortable place, a place that made it easy for the students to follow what was happening in the classroom as opposed to a place that felt foreign.

The Orang Asli participants themselves also expressed their desire to use the mother tongue for their own convenience in the classroom. Knowing how to use Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue allowed them to switch between the two languages because they were themselves bilingual. Thus, there were also remarks that were made about how the practice of using the mother tongue was also to accommodate the

participants themselves. The teachers in these community classrooms were themselves fluent speakers of their mother tongue and in the same way felt the use of the mother tongue was intuitively easier because of the level of comfort and familiarity they had with their own language. For example, Sona found it easier to use the mother tongue:

<p><i>Sona: Dekat kelas ni saya kan budak-budak dia akan lebih faham bahasa ibunda. Senang la untuk cikgu ber...macam apa menjelaskan.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "...in my classroom, the children will understand more in the mother tongue. It's easier for teachers to explain..."</i></p>
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This meant that the practice of translating was happening often, to accommodate the children and the teacher in the classroom, to ensure students understood and to allow teachers to interface with the students in an expedient manner. Sometimes teachers also used the English language. Sona, for example, highlighted that some of the materials used in her classroom were in English:

<p><i>Sona: Memang ada penterjemahan la saya dengan musird2. Bila soalan Bahasa Inggeris contohnya er... apa yang soalan tu kehendaki saya akan jelaskan kepada murid-murid dalam bahasa ibunda atau bahasa melayu.</i></p> <p><i>Sona: Kerja meja yang saya guna sekarang ni ada kebanyakannya lebih kepada bahasa inggeris, jadi pertama saya akan baca dalam bahasa inggeris...lepas tu baru cikgu jelas kan dalam bahasa ibunda atau bahasa melayu la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: Definitely there's translating going on between me and the students. If there are English questions for example ... what do the questions want, I have to explain it to the students in the mother tongue or in Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p> <p><i>Sona: Desk work which I use, is mostly in English so first I read it in English then I translate it to the mother tongue or Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p>
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This was an important insight into the translation practices as it revealed the priorities that Sona placed on both the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. Translating from English to the mother tongue so the children may understand was not enough. The translation was taken further to Bahasa Malaysia as well, because she believed the children would understand better.

The practices of using the mother tongue as it was needed by the participants when interacting with their students suggested they did so to accommodate the

limitations that their students experienced in the classroom. It was also used to translate instructions given in Bahasa Malaysia or English if it was present in the materials. The participants in this study relied on their knowledge of their mother tongue, Bahasa Malaysian and limited knowledge of English to help their students understand materials and to react to what was happening in the classroom environment. They also used the mother tongue to make students feel safe and welcomed in the classroom, making it comfortable for their students. They bridged gaps in their students' linguistic capacities through the use of their own linguistic repertoire, helping their students mitigate their limitations in the classroom. These practices that employed the use of multiple languages drawn from their knowledge to fit the situations of their classroom, in order to effectively communicate with their students, reflect the characteristics of translanguaging described by scholars like Garcia and Markos (2015). These techniques were also seen in practices where the participants used the mother tongue frequently as a way to scaffold the learning of Bahasa Malaysia and other subjects during classroom time.

2.1.2 Subtheme Two: Mother tongue is used as a scaffold to help teach

Bahasa Malaysia. To the participants of this study, the mother tongue can be used as a tool for communicating concepts and ideas. It is a tool used to impart knowledge; keywords that often arose in interviews across many participants were words like 'comprehend' and 'understand'. These were meant to express the grasping of ideas and concepts. The participants' focus was on making sure their students understood what they were learning and knew what it meant to them in their mother tongue. Typically, the participants were concerned about their students' command of Bahasa Malaysia and they wanted their students to achieve a competency that would allow them to access the content and materials taught in public schools later. The Orang Asli participants recognised this and leveraged the common language they shared with their students to

give instructions, explain, elaborate and clarify ideas and test understanding to better ensure their children were learning. This may be the reason why the use of words like ‘understand’ and ‘comprehend’ were prevalent in conversations about the role of the mother tongue in the classroom. To the Orang Asli participants, the mother tongue provides a scaffold for the learning of Bahasa Malaysia. This seems to be the main reason Orang Asli teachers were translating Bahasa Malaysia into the mother tongue and vice versa. To further explore this dynamic in the use of Malay in addition to the use of the mother tongue, it was important to look at the details the participants provided when they discussed the use of both languages in the classroom. This was done by looking at how these two languages were used in tandem with each other in the classroom.

All the participants taught their mother tongue in some form; however, some teachers had dedicated classes, while others had special times in their week to teach folk tales in the mother tongue despite the limitations of their language. For example, some participants employed the use of the alphabet to spell out the words in their language, including the translated script into flash cards, and integrating the use of Bahasa Malaysia in literacy. Furthermore, some teachers would integrate the use of the letter for a Bahasa Malaysia word, but also use the letter for a word in their mother tongue. In one case the teacher described how a mother tongue word was used in a Bahasa Malaysia sentence. An example of this was when Zaini described how she integrated the mother tongue into the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia. She intentionally replaced some Bahasa Malaysia words with words from her mother tongue. In this example, Zaini used the mother tongue to explain the words that she used in Bahasa Malaysia to make a sentence for her students:

<p>Zaini: <i>Ok selalunya kalau 'A' sebab bahasa ibunda kalau 'A' bukan 'A' ayam, bukan. Sebab lain tapi kalau saya nak selitkan:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>ok ayam ni selalunya kalau dekat rumah siapa yang...kalau dia orang kata:</i></p> <p>Students: <i>"oh tadi ada dekat rumah, saya makan tadi lauk ayam".</i></p> <p>Lama-lama nanti saya akan selit kan:</p> <p>Zaini: <i>" lauk ni siapa yang masak?" Sebab 'a' tu kalau mengikut bahasa semai kami, 'a' 'Ambe'</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>OK usually if 'A' because in the mother tongue 'A' is not 'A' for 'ayam' (chicken in Bahasa Malaysia) right. Because it's different, but if I am to slip in mother tongue, "I'd say:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>ok this 'ayam' (in Semai) is near your house".</i></p> <p><i>Oh and they (the children) might say:</i></p> <p>Students: <i>Oh tadi ada dekat rumah, saya makan tadi lauk ayam" (in Semai), which means "oh today at home I ate a chicken dish".</i></p> <p><i>Then I will slip in:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>Lauk in siapa yang masak?" (in Semai) which means "Who cooked this dish?", because 'A' according to Semai is 'A' for 'Ambe (Mother in Semai)'</i></p>
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In this case, the participant Zaini used the mother tongue to respond to the children while she made the Bahasa Malaysia sentence to show the children that the letter 'A' is used in the Bahasa Malaysia sentence. In her description of this process in her practice stated above, she explained to the researcher that in Semai the letter "A" is for "Ambe" (the word for "mother" in the Semai Language). Then, Zaini further described how the Bahasa Malaysia sentence integrates her language, Semai, into the sentence so the students could understand and see the use of the alphabet in both languages as shown in the exchange she described below:

<p>Zaini: <i>Ah diselit kan dalam bahasa pelajar tu la. Kalau saya kata kan:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>OK ayam ni, "Oh tadi saya makan lauk ayam", "Oh lauk ayam tadi siapa yang masak?"</i></p> <p>Students: <i>"Ambe saya yang masak"</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>Hah diorang tahu la 'A' tu Ambe. Ambe itu mak ah bahasa kami.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>Ah so slipped into what they learn. If I said:</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>OK ayam ni ("OK this is chicken" in Bahasa Malaysia) Oh tadi saya makan lauk ayam", (in Semai) which means ("Oh I just ate a chicken dish", in Semai). " Oh lauk tu tadi siapa yang masak" (In Semai), which means ("Oh who cooked the dish?", in Semai).</i></p> <p>Students: <i>"Ambe saya yang masak" (In Semai), which means "My mother cooked the chicken", in Semai)</i></p> <p>Zaini: <i>Ah then they will know 'A' is for "Ambe" and "Ambe" is "Mother" in our language.</i></p>
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In light of the descriptions above, it became clear that most of the participants considered the use of the mother tongue important enough that it was used to teach another language like Bahasa Malaysia. Teachers also reported using the mother tongue to translate for subjects like mathematics and science in order to help children grasp more abstract concepts and ideas. With exceptions to a few of the participants, almost all of them preferred to have a class to teach their own language even though there was no official writing script or alphabet. In many cases participants like Zaini simply used the Romanised alphabet to work out syllables and phonetics in their own language. Despite the participants' efforts to make a clear delineation between the roles of Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue, there was frequent use of the two languages in tandem with each other in the classroom, where both the languages were essential tools in educating the children in their village. The participants used phrases like "slipped in" and "integrated" to describe the practice.

Thus, it becomes more apparent that these participants were describing translanguaging situations when they were teaching their students. These strategies resemble what Creese and Blackledge (2010) described in their study of bilingual teachers teaching in immigrant complementary schools, where the process of using two languages is not isolated but alternated between two languages specifically to help students navigate understanding and use of one language by integrating the other in to their communication with the students. In this study, the participants regularly used the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia to test a child's understanding and displayed very familiar strategies employed in bilingual classrooms. As an example, the teachers were found to do things like using more mother tongue when the child was younger and progressively increasing the use of Bahasa Malaysia as the children grew older. Other participants designated a specific time in the day for languages to be spoken in the mother tongue and in Bahasa Malaysia. Some participants mentioned they also toggled

between the two languages, moving from one language to the other within the same lesson. For example, the participant would describe driving the lesson in Bahasa Malaysia, but translating each sentence in the mother tongue so weaker students could understand what was being taught.

Other responses by the participants also described bilingual education practices based on understanding and comprehending Bahasa Malaysia. Orang Asli teachers expressed their desire to see their students become proficient in both languages as Imel expressed in the next set of remarks:

<p><i>Imel: Kalau di situasi di dalam kelas saya menggunakan dua bahasa la... ah bila saya mengajar bahasa ibunda, bahasa orang Asli, saya guna dua bahasa, Bahasa Melayu dengan Bahasa Orang Asli, Sebab saya ingin kanak kanak itu faham la , tapi kalau hari yang lain masa hari tidak ada bahasa untuk bahasa ibunda saya gunakan tiga bahasa. Bahasa Inggeris, Bahasa Melayu dengan Bahasa Asli la</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Imel: "For situations in the classroom, I use two languages. When I teach mother tongue, indigenous language I use two languages, Bahasa Malaysia and the indigenous language. I do it because I want the children to understand".</i> <i>"I use the mother tongue when the children still can't understand. When they can't understand in Bahasa Malaysia, I use the mother tongue".</i></p>
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In these remarks about using both languages, participants like Imel tended to emphasise that both the languages existed in the same space and shows the flexible use of the two languages by the students and the teachers in the classroom. With the knowledge that the students are already using their mother tongue to communicate with the participants and bearing in mind that the participants are keen to develop literacy in Bahasa Malaysia through the use of the mother tongue Imel's use of the word "teach" suggests both the languages are used to develop literacy as described earlier in this section with the integration of the Semai mother tongue when teaching the alphabet in Bahasa Malaysia since the same alphabet is used for both Semai and Bahasa Malaysia. Nonetheless this is indicative of the use of both languages in the classroom as part of the participants' strategy in their classrooms.

As described in previous sections, a word commonly repeated was “understanding” and the concern that the children in the classroom were not able to catch what was being taught directed the approach of most participants. Their ability to command both languages was leveraged to ensure their students knew what was being taught and it was evident in the ways that they described how the mother tongue was used in tandem with Bahasa Malaysia. Imel expressed how the mother tongue is used before using Bahasa Malaysia:

<p><i>Imel: Bahasa Ibunda yang kita ajar, um... mereka akan lebih berfikiran terbuka dan fikiran mereka ah... mungkin dapat luas lagi la, untuk (inaudible) secara berfikir. Sebab sebelum saya mengajar saya bagikan mereka berfikir dulu dalam bahasa sendiri tentang pendapat mereka apa yang mereka belajar sesuatu tu ah saya bagi mereka peluang untuk befikir dalam bahasa sendiri kemudian mereka aka beritahu saya apa yang mereka fikirkan didalam situasi di kampung, ah dan cara pemandangan dan fikiran mereka la, pastu saya gunakan kedalam Bahasa Melayu.</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Contoh saya bagi satu pemandangan, gambar pemandangan contohnya pemandangan di kampung apa yang mereka dapat lihat di situ, apa yang aktiviti ah mereka nampak di dalam gambar tu, atau pun situasi apa dan apakah kepentingannya didalam gambar tu. Saya terjemahkan dulu mereka dalam bahasa Semai sendiri, ah mereka akan banyak la cakap cakap. "oh itu macam ni, macam ni, macam ni, oh di sana macam ni"</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Ah bila mereka tengok gambar tu bila kita terjemahkan dalam bahasa ah... bahasa Semai tadi lah. Bila kita sudah gunakan dalam bahasa semai tadi tentang pemandangan baru saya tukar bagi mereka bercakap pendapat mereka di dalam bahasa melayu pula. Apa yang mereka lihat di dalam gambar tu.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Mother tongue which we teach, it will widen their thinking. It will open up the way they think. Before I teach them, I let them think in their own language about what they are learning. I give them the opportunity to think for themselves and I ask them to tell me what they are thinking in their own language, and they will tell me what they are thinking in that situation in the village and their point of views and their thinking. After that I start using Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p> <p><i>Imel: ...for example, I give them a picture of a landscape like the landscape of a village which they can see in the picture. What are the activities which they can see in the picture or the situation they see in the picture? I use Semai first so they will use Semai their own language and they will talk a lot. "oh like this" or "oh it's like that"...</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Ah! When they see the picture but we are using the Semai language. When we have used Semai about the picture then I switch to how they should speak their thoughts in Bahasa Malaysia for the picture that they see.</i></p>
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This description reveals how Imel saw the use of the mother tongue as a tool to develop knowledge using the mother tongue first. Imel mentioned that the mother tongue was “their own language” and gave the children an “opportunity to think for themselves”. These were important statements not only because of the choice of language for developing learning skill, but it was also a stepping stone for the other language. As

Imel suggested further, once the understanding of the material was achieved, Bahasa Malaysia was introduced. The most telling of these phrases was, “then I switch to how they should speak their thoughts in Bahasa Malaysia”. In this statement it became clear that the mother tongue was used as a scaffold for learning Bahasa Malaysia, once the teacher was convinced the material was understood through the mother tongue. The recognition that their children needed their mother tongue to understand what they were going to learn, suggests that the mother tongue was used to develop the understanding of the content they are learning, before Bahasa Malaysia was introduced as a skill they had to develop. The same rationale was used for teaching English as expressed in the remarks by Imel below:

<p><i>Imel: Bila saya sudah gunakan bahasa ibunda dan saya tukar kepada bahasa yang kedua bahasa seperti bahasa Inggeris dan Bahasa Melayu ah ... mereka anak cepat menangkap benda sesuatu tu Sekiranya contoh saya tidak menggunakan bahasa ibunda saya terus mengajar bahasa Inggeris contoh seperti "cat" mereka hanya dapat tengok gambar dan hanya dapat baca "cat" sahaja</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Imel: When we're using the mother tongue and I change to another language like English or Bahasa Malaysia they can pick up things quickly. So, for example if I don't use our language and teach English, for example "cat" all they can see is a picture of a cat and the word "cat".</i></p>
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Although English was less of a priority for the Orang Asli, like Bahasa Malaysia, it is a dominant language and similar concerns regarding understanding the language at early stages of education remain the same.

This deep concern for what the students understand in the classroom seemed to come from the perceived shortcomings experienced in the public school system. As Eli put it earlier:

<p><i>Eli: Diorang tak faham. Dia orang tak faham apa itu kerja cikgu bagi, diorang tak faham, cikgu2 ... takt ahu la cikgu bagi penerangan ke tak tapi diorang memang tak faham. Bila diorang bawak balik kerja dia orang dia tanya mak diorang "oh macam ni rupanya kerja cikgu bagi tu" Maknanya dekat situ kita ada nampak kan diorang kita punya bahasa boleh tolong tolong diorang untuk faham diaorang punya kerja. Dalam bahasa inggeris pun sama, dalam bahasa melayu pun sama.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Eli: "They don't understand what the teacher there (in public school) is teaching or when she gives them work." When they bring the work home, they will ask their mother. "Oh is that what the teacher wants us to do", so from there we know that our language helps, helps them to understand the work. It's the same for English. English and Malay.</i></p>
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When contrasted with their approach to teaching in their classrooms, participants including Eli mentioned:

<p><i>Eli: Tapi bila kita bagi penerangan dalam Bahasa Melayu....dalam bahasa ibunda mungkin dia orang faham apa itu cikgu cakap, apa cikgu ajar macam tu la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Eli: "But when we give explanations in the mother tongue for the Bahasa Malaysia, then maybe they will understand what the teacher is teaching."</i></p>
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In the response given above, mother tongue was clearly seen as an essential tool to ensure the children grasped what was being taught before being used as a scaffold to help them learn Bahasa Malaysia. Remarks like those that have been highlighted so far were a common occurrence throughout the data collection process. Every participant expressed these sentiments in their responses to how they approached the practice of teaching in their classroom with two languages, once again emphasising how both mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia were used together in the classroom.

From the responses of the participants, the strategies used to teach the children included many characteristics of bilingual education. Participants and their students used this approach fluidly and in many of the remarks, participants referred to the back and forth switching between Bahasa Malaysia and mother tongue as part of the process of understanding material taught in the classroom. The following sequence of remarks from Alana further describes the dynamic referred to here:

<p><i>Alana: Bila waktu Alana mengajar di depan Alana akan cakap Bahasa Melayu ada setengah budak tu macam boleh faham, boleh ikut arahan. Kadang-kadang sesetengah budak dia macam tak boleh ikut, macam tak faham Bahasa Malaysia, so Alana bagi arahan dalam bahasa ibunda, Bahasa Temiar. Diorang macam boleh ikut la, diorang boleh dengar apa yang kita cakap tu sebab setengah budak diorang memang tak faham.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Alana: When I am teaching in the front of the classroom, I will speak Bahasa Malaysia, and there are a few children who seem to understand, follow instructions. Sometimes some of the children can't understand, like they don't understand Bahasa Malaysia, so I give instructions in the mother tongue, Temiar. Then they can follow, they can hear what we say because some of them may not be able to understand.</i></p>
<p><i>Alana: Kalau bahasa melayu pun bagus jugak tapi macam setengah budak tu dia kurang faham so bila kita nak bagi arahan ke apa dalam bahasa melayu dia macam tak boleh</i></p>	<p><i>Alana: If it is Bahasa Malaysia then good, but some children find it hard to understand so when</i></p>

<p><i>nak buat kerja. Tapi bila kita bagi macam menggunakan dua bahasa dia macam boleh faham so dia macam boleh ikut buat kerja meja.</i></p>	<p><i>we give them instructions in Bahasa Malaysia, they can't do the work. But when we use both languages, they get it and can do the desk work.</i></p>
<p><i>Alana: ...kecuali budak yang dia macam kurang faham bahasa melayu so Alana terangkan dalam Bahasa Temiar.</i></p>	<p><i>Alana: "...except if the children find it hard to understand Bahasa Malay so I explain it in Temiar."</i></p>
<p><i>Alana: ...saya selit Bahasa Melayu, selit bahasa ibunda kadang2 kita nak tahu budak mana yang faham budak mana yang tak faham. Bila Alana bagi dalam bahasa ibunda memang semua boleh faham.</i></p>	<p><i>Alana: "...but I slip Bahasa Malaysia in, I slip the mother tongue in sometimes to see if we can detect who understands and who doesn't. When I instruct in the mother tongue, they all understand."</i></p>

In this sequence of remarks made by Alana, she mentioned Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction but was concerned that there may be students in her classroom who did not have the necessary command of the language to grasp what was being taught. So, she informed the researcher that Temiar, her mother tongue as well as her students', was used as well. However, this action revealed that Alana recognised the children in her class had different levels of language capability and that the need to use the mother tongue in this situation was important. No sooner did she describe this situation, Alana doubled back and mentioned that Bahasa Malaysia was "slipped" back in again, and then mentioned that the mother tongue was used to detect which child understood and which did not. In this case it was not only to ensure the children understood but also to gauge the *level* of understanding in her students.

Zaini was also another participant who described switching between two languages in practice. In her lessons she began with her mother tongue, Semai as the language used in the classroom, yet turned her attention to how it was used when it was utilised while teaching something in Bahasa Malaysia or English.

<p><i>Zaini: Jadi dalam kelas ini kami lebih gunakan bahasa sendiri la bahasa semai. Setiap apa yang kami ajar dalam bahasa Melayu atau bahasa inggeris kami akan selitkan dengan bahasa semai supaya kanak2 lebih memahami setiap perkataan, apa yang mereka belajar sebab bukan apa, Bahasa Semai ni bahasa yang kami guna setiap hari di rumah la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Zaini: So, in the classroom we speak our own language which is Semai. Anything we teach in Bahasa Malaysia or English we slip in the Semai language, so the children can better understand each word, what they have learned, because Semai is what we speak in our home.</i></p>
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This remark reveals that even though one of the expressed intentions of the participant was to ensure that her students achieved competency in using Bahasa Malaysia, the use of the mother tongue in the process was a prominent feature in order to achieve that goal. Descriptions about the use of Bahasa Malaysia in the classroom, like the one below provided by Alana, were often tagged with qualifications that the mother tongue was always on hand to provide support.

<p><i>Alana: Alana berdiri la di depan Alana, bagi arahan dalam Bahasa melayu so kalau mana-mana budak yang tak faham Alana pergi dengan dia dekat-dekat so Alana, cakap bahasa ibunda, Bahasa Temiar.</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Bila waktu Alana mengajar di depan Alana akan cakap Bahasa Melayu</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Ahah Bahasa Melayu kecuali budak yang dia macam kurang faham Bahasa Melayu so Alana terangkan dalam Bahasa Temiar.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>Alana: "I stand in the front, I give instructions in Bahasa Malaysia, then I find those who don't understand and I move to them and speak in Temiar."</i></p> <p><i>Alana: "When I am teaching in the front of the classroom, I will speak Bahasa Malaysia."</i></p> <p><i>Alana: Ah huh Bahasa Malaysia, except if the children find it hard to understand Bahasa Malaysia so I explain it in Temiar.</i></p>
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These remarks made by Alana are an example of the ways the teachers described the use of Bahasa Malaysia. Using it as the instructional language "in front of the class" but quickly reverting to the mother tongue because of the concerns about comprehension and understanding of what was being taught. Alana noted that there were students in her class who would struggle in Bahasa Malaysia and this made it important to have the mother tongue on hand to help the children understand and follow the class. Despite the perceived importance of Bahasa Malaysia, teachers in these villages were flexible and found that switching to their mother tongue was still an essential part of their teaching. Anna also explained this dynamic between the two languages:

<p><i>Anna: Lepas tu mereka akan tengok je apa yang saya tunjukan. Lepas tu baru saya cakap Bahasa Melayu " Ah tengok, kamu tengok dalam gambar ni apa bend ni" Lepas tu diorang faham la ...Tak faham jugak saya cakap Bahasa Semai.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>Anna: "Then they'll watch me point at the pictures, and then I speak in Bahasa Malaysia. And then I say " look at this picture, what do you see?" Then they will understand, and if they don't, I use Semai."</i></p>
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Anna explained that she spoke Bahasa Malaysia at the beginning of class when she taught, but the pattern remained the same, beginning with Bahasa Malaysia and followed up with the mother tongue, the presence of the latter was a common part of the process of teaching in the community classrooms.

Even when the participant claimed that the mother tongue was not the medium of instruction for the class, the mother tongue was always present to mitigate any lack of understanding. Imel's exchange with the researcher also displays this dynamic in the classroom:

<p><i>Researcher: So agaknya yang mana digunakan ah... terbanyak? Bahasa Semai, Bahasa Melayu atau pun Bahasa Inggeris? Mana terbanyak?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Ah biasanya saya gunakan bahasa Melayu la.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Ok biasanya Bahasa Melayu jugak la</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Bahasa Melayu terbanyak ...ye</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Tapi untuk bila menggunakan Bahasa Ibunda itu apakah, bilah kah Imel akan gunakan bahasa ibunda itu di dalam kelas?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Ah bila saya gunakan bahasa ibunda itu sekiranya macam ... kanak-kanak itu masih tak faham lagi dalam bahasa Melayu saya akan gunakan lah bahasa ibunda ... seperti kanak2 macam empat tahun mereka tak faham lagi.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: So, in your estimation ... which language is used the most? Semai? Bahasa Malaysia? Or English? Which is the most?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Usually I use Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Oh, OK, so it's Bahasa Malaysia that you use?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Bahasa Malaysia is the most ... yes.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: So, when do you use the mother tongue, then? When would do you, [name of teacher] use the mother tongue in the classroom?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: So, I use the mother tongue when the children still can't understand. When they can't understand in Bahasa Malaysia, I use the mother tongue...like when the children are four years old, they don't understand yet...</i></p>
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Imel referred to the use of the mother tongue as a tool for translating the language of Bahasa Malaysia instead.

<p><i>Imel: Semasa saya mengajar saya tidak menggunakan bahasa ibunda.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Oh ok so ah jadi kalau um anak-anak itu atau murid-murid tu tidak faham sesuatu, yu akan terjemahkan? atau pun apa cara Imel untuk ah ... untuk menggunakan bahasa ibunda</i></p> <p><i>Imel: Saya terjemahkan la</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i></p> <p><i>Imel: When I teach, I don't use the mother tongue.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Oh, OK,so if...the children or students don't understand something you have to translate? What do you do for the use of mother tongue use?</i></p> <p><i>Imel: I translate of course.</i></p>
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The main use of the languages seemed to fall into specific roles, mother tongue as the tool for understanding and communication, Bahasa Malaysia as the language targeted

for learning was used like the medium of instruction, However, this was complicated by the difficulties that children had in understanding what they were learning in Bahasa Malaysia. It is likely that participants felt that to learn Bahasa Malaysia they and the students still very much needed the mother tongue.

The remarks made regarding the ways in which both Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue were used in the Orang Asli classroom highlight this dynamic fluidity in the languages being spoken; they reveal a flexible and nimble characteristic to the teaching practice in the classroom all in an effort to ensure the children understood the material being taught to them.

3.0 Category Three: Participants' perspectives on what can be gained from their practices in the classroom.

The perspectives of participants regarding what could be gained from their practices in their classroom was the third and final category drawn from the data. While the previous two categories helped the participants describe the nature of using two languages in their classrooms, this category is focused more on the expected outcomes they hoped to achieve through the use of the two languages. This included the kinds of benefits they saw for their students, as well as for their community as a whole. Thus, there were two themes derived in this category:

Theme Three: Orang Asli teachers want students to develop skills and dispositions that are useful in the formal classroom.

Theme Four: Orang Asli teachers believe that education in two languages will benefit their students and their communities.

The teachers in this study had deep concerns for their students' future in the formal public school environment and beyond, but also saw many benefits to using

bilingual education for the students and for their community in general. This section will show what the participants hoped their students would gain from their efforts in terms of skills and attitudes towards learning and education. In addition to this, findings also reveal how the participants felt about the potential benefits their efforts may bring to their communities.

3.1 Theme Three: Orang Asli teachers want students to develop skills and dispositions that are useful in the formal classroom. It is important to note that a lot of what the participants described related to their efforts in preparing their students for life in the Malaysian public school system. The participants raised issues regarding three aspects when discussing the kinds of outcomes they hoped their efforts as teachers could produce. They believed that the skills and attitudes they aimed to instil and develop in their students would help in the process of preparing them not only for life in public school but life in the outside world away from the village. The three aspects these Orang Asli participants mentioned in their interviews are presented in three subthemes below:

Subtheme One: Prioritising literacy is seen as essential.

Subtheme Two: Preparing students for the environment of the Bahasa Malaysia classroom.

Subtheme three: Developing confidence so students can engage actively in learning within the formal classroom.

3.1.1 Subtheme One: Prioritising literacy is seen as essential. Literacy was the most mentioned outcome and occurred across all the conversations with participants. It is important to note that from the participants' points of view, the ambitions and aspirations for the future generations of Orang Asli depended a lot on gaining literacy. Sona mentioned that literacy in Bahasa Malaysia is the goal:

<p><i>Sona: Ok Bahasa Melayu pun sama matlamat saya tu budak tu boleh menulis dalam perkataan Bahasa Melayu tu, bertutur...</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "OK, in Bahasa Malaysia it's the same goal. My goal is that the child should be able to write in the Bahasa Malaysia word and say it."</i></p>
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Sona then explained that her goal was to ensure that the students gained basic literacy skills at the earliest stage:

<p><i>Sona: Ok saya mulakan deangan tadika dulu. Saya nak mereka capai perestasi yang membangakan la kalau boleh kan saya nak mereka boleh menulis, mengenal huruf a-z, boleh membaca, boleh membuat operasi tabah tolak dalam matematik. Boleh mengenal kuantiti, nombor itu pun saya rasa cukup la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: I start with the kindergarteners. I want them to achieve something that we can be proud of. If they can write and recognise the alphabet, 'a-z', they can read and can add and subtract in mathematics and recognise quantities and numbers that'll be enough for me.</i></p>
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In all but one of the responses the participants were clear that the path to more success in the public school system required literacy, particularly in Bahasa Malaysia. Thus, the participants wanted their students to be able to read, write, speak and listen in Bahasa Malaysia as well as being able to converse and use their mother tongue. Ultimately, the participants hoped that their students would be able to straddle two worlds, with the proficiency of their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. One reason for the strong desire that participants had for their students to gain literacy in a different language like Bahasa Malaysia was so they could interact with the environment outside the village. In Sona's remarks below, she advocated Bahasa Malaysia because it is an important tool outside the village.

<p><i>Sona: Bahasa Melayu jugak penting saya rasa kena biasakan budak-budak tu berbahasa melayu sebab kan mereka boleh faham, dah boleh cakap dengan lancar dengan orang-orang luar yang bukan berbahasa... berbahasa asli.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "Bahasa Malaysia is also important which I think the children need to get used to speaking in because they can understand and become fluent when speaking with outsiders who don't speak our language."</i></p>
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This and other similar remarks regarding the importance of helping students achieve literacy, especially in Bahasa Malaysia, occurred in almost all conversations with the

participants. Indeed, there were some teachers who saw literacy and the usage of Bahasa Malaysia as a key to unlocking better interaction between their students and people outside their communities in public school. Sona mentioned that literacy gave their students boldness.

<p><i>Sona: Bagi saya seorang cikgu, matlamat tu yang penting seperti saya nak anak murid dalam kelas ni sekarang2nya mereka boleh menulis, mengenal huruf, mereka berani berinteraksi berkomunikasi bukan setakat dengan saya saja sebagai guru di kelas komuniti ini tetapi dengan orang luar pun.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: I think it's important for my students in this class is to at least that they be able to write, recognise the alphabet, be brave in interacting and communicating not just with me in the community classroom but with the outside as well.</i></p>
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It is pertinent to note that success for the participants was measured not only in the children's ability to perform well academically but their ability to interact with people outside the village was also deemed to be important.

3.1.2 Subtheme Two: Preparing students for the environment of the Bahasa Malaysia classroom. Another aspect that participants in the interviews emphasised was their students' preparedness for the formal public school classroom, which uses Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction. The participants were aware of the challenges that their students might experience in these classrooms and felt that part of their role in their community classrooms was to help their students prepare for the difficulties they might face. The main concern was for understanding Bahasa Malaysia. Eli's remarks summarise this concern:

<p><i>Eli: Ok Contohnya anak anak kita dalam apa? Dekat sekolah, sekolah rendah la diorang bagi kerja rumah cikgu cikgu bagikan diorang tak faham masa (inaudible) diorang tak faham so bila diaorang bawak balik kerja diaorang mak ayah ke ataupun cikgu kelas tuition tengok ah so dia tolong ajar so diorang faham apa benda cikgu ajar, kebanyakan macam tu la kita punya murid...masalah</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Eli: OK, for example our children in school, in primary school they give them homework. The teachers, when they give them homework, at that time the children don't understand. So, they bring the work back home to show it to the parents or the teacher in their tuition class back in the village who helps them to understand what the teacher taught. That's most of our children's experience... it's a problem.</i></p>
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The participants thought that the challenges their children faced with understanding what goes on in the classroom often came from the use of Bahasa Malaysia. Thus, part of their efforts in the community classrooms focused on helping their students get accustomed to the environment of the classroom that uses a language that is different from what they are used to at home or in the village. The participants did this by using two languages in their community classrooms. Imel explained the strategy:

<p><i>Imel: Bahasa...Bahasa yang paling sesuai saya mengajar la, Bahasa kedua-duanya la bahasa Melayu dengan Bahasa Ibunda. Sekiranya sebab biasanya kita sudah latih mereka daripada awal lagi, contoh tentang perarturan atau pun cara-cara mengendalikan diri didalam kelas dan mereka membuat atau pun mereka belajar, saya sentiasa gunakan la dua bahasa ... supaya mereka itu lebih faham, mereka boleh berfikir sendiri ah... apa yang mereka dapat faham untuk diri sendiri la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Imel: Languages which are suitable for me to teach, like the two languages of Bahasa Malaysia and my mother tongue. We have been training them (children) from a young age. For example, rules and how to carry themselves in the class or what they do or what they learn in the class. I am always using two languages so they can better understand, so they can think for themselves and they can understand.</i></p>
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Imel's remarks encompass more than just understanding Bahasa Malaysia in the classroom. Her concern was also that the students did not know how to behave in the classroom or did not know what was expected of them when they began primary school. In her efforts to prepare her children for this challenging experience, Imel used both languages to help her students familiarise themselves with the new environment they were expected to get used to. Hanis also expressed similar views by explaining what was done in her classroom before some of her students transitioned into the public school system.

<p><i>Hanis: Yeah. I have go through with them, brief them ah...roughly la what is happening in the Standard 1. What is the words that you use in the school, how is the situation, OK? How is the teacher giving lesson, What is the language that they are using. So, I go through with them I brief them for 1 month like that. I keep saying the thing, the same thing, the same thing....</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: Yeah. I have go through with them, brief them ah...roughly la what is happening in the Standard 1 (Year 1). What is the words that you use in the school, how is the situation, OK? How is the teacher giving lesson, What is the language that they are using. So, I go through with them I brief them for one month like that. I keep saying the thing, the same thing, the same thing.</i></p>
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In her remarks, Hanis was specific in describing what the students were being prepared for, covering different facets of what the students should anticipate when the time came for them to start Year 1. Much of what she mentioned was tied to concerns about language like “what words you use in school”, “How the teacher giving lesson” or “What is the language they are using” which revealed Hanis’ concerns about the preparedness of her students. To further emphasise the issue, she continued by expressing her routine practice with the students.

<p><i>Hanis: For a whole month like November we had finish everything so this time I do revision, and then do the preparation for them to go to Standard 1 at the same time I do briefings about the language...</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: For a whole month like November we had finished everything so this time I do revision, and then do the preparation for them to go to Standard 1 (Year 1). At the same time I do briefings about the language ...</i></p>
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Hanis also expressed some success in her efforts, asserting that there was feedback from the parents of students entering Year 1 that their children were more prepared to handle their situations in school.

<p><i>Hanis: So what I find it, what I have get from the parents, the feedback, They said, my students, their children go to the Standard 1 they can bring themselves already I mean they can mix, they can follow the routine la, they know already. So I build their confidence I build their brave, encourage them so they feel like “I’m ready to go to Standard 1” So anything I can help them.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: So, what I find is, what I have get from the parents, the feedback, they said, my students, their children go to the Standard 1 (Year 1) they can bring themselves already I mean they can mix, they can follow the routine, they know already. So, I build their confidence I build their bravery, encourage them so they feel like “I’m ready to go to Standard 1” So anything I can help them.</i></p>
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In her remarks, Hanis also mentioned that she wanted to build confidence in the students, so they were able to approach this new environment of public school ready to navigate the challenges they would face. This is another way the participants sought to prepare their students for the challenges of being in public school, which leads to the final aspect that participants wanted their students to develop in preparation for public school life.

3.1.3 Subtheme Three: Developing confidence so students can engage Actively

in learning within the formal classroom. In the interviews, participants were concerned about the dispositions of their students as they entered public school. They wanted their students to be confident as they entered the public school system. However, participants believed that their students were not likely to be confident. Hazel explained that it was connected to language because the students did not speak Bahasa Malaysia regularly.

<p><i>Hazel: Sebenarnya kalau ikut orang asli ni dia orang pemalu, Orang Asli memang pemalu sebab saya sendiri pernah mengajar dan saya sendiri pernah ikut... trend dia orang. Bila saya hantar anak sekolah, orang asli ni kurang bercakap Bahasa Melayu.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: Actually, if you follow or observe Orang Asli, they are usually shy and reserved. Orang Asli are usually reserved, because I myself taught and I have seen this trend (trait?) in them when I sent my child to school. Orang Asli children seldom speak Bahasa Malaysia.</i></p>
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Hazel also elaborated that despite being able to speak Bahasa Malaysia, some students did not do so. For example, she described a situation in which the use of Bahasa Malaysia could silence the students.

<p><i>Hazel: Lepas tu Orang Asli ni dia, ... memang lah kalau kita nak cakap diaorang boleh berbahasa Melayu tapi sifat pemalu tu memang ada. Bila saya mengajar disini, saya cakap Bahas Melayu. Diorang kalau saya cakap:</i> <i>Hazel: "Hari ni hari apa?"</i> <i>Hazel: Boleh diorang jawab. Tapi kalau saya cakap "tub tub tub" (to simulate multiple questions being asked) diorang diam. Jadi saya terpaksa guna jugak bahasa ibunda.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: With other Orang Asli they could probably speak Bahasa Malaysia but they have reserved personalities. When I teach here and I speak Bahasa Malaysia, I say:</i> <i>Hazel: Hari ni hari apa? ("What day is today?" in Bahasa Malaysia)</i> <i>Hazel: They would be able to answer me. But if I ask, "tub tub tub" (to simulate multiple questions being asked) they will fall silent. So, I have to switch back to the mother tongue.</i></p>
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To Hazel, this reservedness highlighted the need for her students to feel that they were capable enough to interact in the classroom environment. For example, Hazel felt that her students needed this confidence so they could be engaged in the classroom environment of public schools, otherwise they would be silent and avoid any engagement in the classroom. She used the example of her own child:

<p><i>Hazel: Sebab sekarang anak saya, Saya hantar dia lebih awal 5 tahun ke sekolah dia diam saja. Dia tahu bahasa melayu, dia tahu bahasa ibunda tapi dia nak bercakap tu belum lagi. Lepas tu bila cikgu bertanya dia angguk sebab dia faham tapi dia nak cakap tu belum.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: Because right now my child, I sent him over to school early, at 5 years, he was very quiet. He knew Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue but didn't speak. The teacher would ask questions and he would just nod his head, because he would understand but would not speak.</i></p>
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In Sona's remarks, she referred to confidence as being 'brave' because the students 'know and experience learning'.

<p><i>Sona: Bila mereka datang ke kelas ni matlamat saya la kan saya nak mereka berani, Berani dan tidak takut sebab saya fikir kalau nanti bila mereka ke sekolah luar mereka sudah tahu dan rasa pengalaman belajar</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Sona: "When they come to this class my goal is, I want them to be brave, brave and not afraid because I think that when they get to school eventually, they will already know and experience learning."</i></p>
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This remark suggests that the teacher's goal was to make sure her students knew what to expect from going to public school and feel less intimidated about it. In Hanis' remarks this preparedness was linked being bilingual or multilingual as a source of confidence for students when they began public school. She remarked:

<p><i>Hanis: Tiga, semua saya nak diorang ok.</i></p> <p><i>Hanis: Sebab saya tak nak terlampau diorang tahu bahasa asli jugak. Bahasa Semai jugak, sampai Bahasa Malaysia pun diorang tak pandai, English pun tak pandai, Saya nak diorang jadi macam saya semua bahasa boleh cakap. even though bahasa English tak berapa bagus at least dia ada, dia ada knowledge tu apatah lagi BM. Semai of course la, kita punya bahasa kan. So tiga bahasa ni bila mereka boleh menguasai semuanya, ini akan membuatkan mereka rasa yakin diri. Mereka rasa macam berani.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: "Three (referring to mother tongue, Bahasa Malaysia and English). I want it all for them, OK."</i></p> <p><i>Hanis: Because I don't want them to just know too much of the Orang Asli language either. The Semai language and Bahasa Malaysia are already weak. English isn't their best. I want them to be like me, I can speak them all. Even though their English isn't that great at least they have the knowledge, what's more Bahasa Malaysia. Semai, of course, is our language. So, when they know these three languages, it will make them self-confident. They will be bold.</i></p>
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For the participants, having a confident disposition seemed to be an important aspect of their students' development in their classrooms. Indeed, all three of the aspects are tied to the desire for the participants' students to be ready for their move to the public school system. In these findings, language use was a central part of their concerns. They were

particularly concerned that the language spoken in the formal classrooms affected their students' ability to be involved in the public school classroom. In the next section, the final theme will be presented as the participants explained what they believed makes education in two languages beneficial to their students and their community.

3.2 Theme Four: Education in two languages benefits the individual and the community. The fourth theme identified in this study presents the expectations of the Orang Asli participants. They hoped that their efforts to educate their students in two languages would result in benefits for their students and their community. There are two subthemes for the fourth and final theme.

Subtheme One: Teachers want students to achieve better participation in mainstream society.

Subtheme Two: Teachers see the use of the mother tongue as a way to highlight the value of Orang Asli culture and identity in society.

3.2.1 Subtheme One: Teachers want students to achieve better participation in mainstream society. What the Orang Asli teachers hoped for their students was tied to interactions with mainstream society outside the village. They saw the ability for their students to integrate better with mainstream Malaysian society as part of giving their students more options for the future. Participants envisioned their students leaving the village, finding employment, or attaining higher levels of education. The next exchange between the researcher and Anna was parts of an interview that expressed what the participants envisioned for the students they taught.

<p><i>Anna: Dah besar? Saya nak macam mereka ada status sendiri?</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Status maksudnya apa?</i></p> <p><i>Anna: Status macam dah.kan budak tu ada status tersendiri? Contoh nya nak masuk ni, nak masuk ni...</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Oh nak masuk, sekolah ke ataupun...</i></p> <p><i>Anna: Atau pun perkerjaan ...</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Anna: When they are grown up? I want them to have their own status.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Status? How do you mean?</i></p> <p><i>Anna: Status like ... like how the children will have their own individual status, for example when they want to enter this or that...</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: Oh like school or...</i></p> <p><i>Anna: Or even a job.</i></p>
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In this exchange, Anna referred to opportunities to go to school and secure employment as a ‘status’, wanting her students to be recognised as part of society and being able to attend school and apply for jobs. The ability to command other dominant languages becomes key to that success for their students. Anna’s thoughts reflect this belief.

Referring to English and Bahasa Malaysia she said:

<p><i>Anna: Penting jugak sebab itu adalah masa depan mereka nak tahu arah tujuan mereka nak pergi mana-mana kan, contohnya pelajaran ke, nak apa? nak berkerja ke, senang mereka nak pandai Bahasa Melayu dengan Bahasa Inggeris.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Anna: “Those (the two languages) are important too because in the future they need to know the direction for their lives, for example in education what do they want? Or a career, it’s easier with Bahasa Malaysia and English.”</i></p>
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Similarly, Nina expressed the importance of being multilingual; desiring for it to make their students ambitious individuals who aspire to more than the circumstances they are in. Nina’s remarks on this show that her expectations for the students encompassed the benefits of social mobility:

<p><i>Nina: Harapan saya memang cukup tinggi la bagi anak bangsa saya supaya mereka masa hadapan mereka tu masa yang sangat cerah masa yang, apa mereka berjaya la apa yang mereka belajar dari kecil di kelas komuniti ini supaya mereka tak akan lupa kita punya asal kita, dari mana kita mula.Macam sini kita mula belajar sini dapat berjaya macam tu la supaya mereka barjaya masuk U(niversity) ke. Jadi cikgu, jadi doctor ke, supaya ...saya selalu asahkan mereka macam tu. “Kamu mesti ada cita-cita, dari sekarang harus kamu belajar” Tujuan kita belajar tu mesti ada pencapaian la.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Nina: My hopes are very high for the children. It’s so they have a future that’s bright, where they succeed in what they learn from this small community classroom, so they won’t forget their roots and where they come from. Like here we start learning so they can succeed and enter university maybe. So, they become teachers, doctors, so we are always shaping them, " You must have higher ambitions, and you have to start learning now". The purpose of our learning must have an achievement.</i></p>
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These responses provide a glimpse into what teachers wanted to effect in the lives of the children. Their efforts in the classroom were seen as a stepping stone that would provide their students with the tools they needed for participation in the world outside their village.

Participants believed that learning in two languages would result in these pragmatic benefits for their students. Remarks made by the participants reveal how participants felt about the dominant language Bahasa Malaysia. Imel's example was regarding the filling of forms.

<p><i>Imel: Ah bila mereka sudah kerja Bahasa Melayu tu lah sangat penting sekali, kerana bila mereka nak kerja nanti mereka akan bertanya macam entah macam mana nak isi borang ke, atau pun mereka ah...dah suaikan diri mereka dengan keadaan situasi kerja ke dengan kawan yang baru.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Imel: Ah when they are working then it's Bahasa Malaysia which is very important, because when they are about to work, they will be asked to fill out forms and they will need to get used to situations at work with new friends and a new environment.</i></p>
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Another example from Hazel, can be as simple as going to a clinic:

<p><i>Hazel: Untuk bahasa melayu ni sebagai panduan, sebab kita.... Pada pendapat cikgu la, sebab saya kalau saya keluar saya akan guna bahasa melayu Mana-mana saya pergi, hospital, klinik....mesti erm... macam walaupun kita tak fasih dalam bahasa melayu tapi kita cuba, cuba untuk bertanya dengan siapa, sebab kalau kita diam...ada orang dia diam, makna dia pergi klinik pun dia diam tak tahu apa-apa.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: For Bahasa Malaysia it's for our reference, because we... In my opinion as a teacher when I am outside, I use Bahasa Malaysia. Anywhere I go, the hospital, clinic...we have to... even when we are not fluent in Bahasa Malaysia we have to try, we have to ask because otherwise we just keep silent. So, if we're in the clinic but were just silent and don't know anything.</i></p>
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In these examples the same pattern of gaining access repeatedly conveyed the view that Orang Asli children need to develop skills in other languages in order to gain access to services outside the sphere of their village. In this case, gaining access to services that they as individuals or the community need.

This view of Bahasa Malaysia as a tool for access also extends to social interaction, which the participants expected would be part of their students' future experiences. Hazel explains:

<p><i>Hazel: Um... saya rasa sebab sini Semai, bahasa lain kalau orang asli la. Kalau bahasa lain saya tak tahu tapi penting jugak sebab kita sekarang buka duduk satu rumpun saja, sebab kita bergaul kan.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: Um I feel like, because here [in this community] it's Semai. In other places it's different because we're Orang Asli. For other languages I'm not so sure but I think it's important because we're all mixed together now. Aren't we all living in common areas and interacting, right?</i></p>
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Hazel explained that her tribe did not exist in a vacuum and that her community was interacting with other communities. She maintained that the students in her class would need to be part of this interaction, which led her to remark that Bahasa Malaysia had an important role to play:

<p><i>Hazel: Sangat penting la. Sangat penting sebab kita mana2 pergi pun memang dia orang cakap bahasa melayu tu bahasa utama seba kita nak hubungkan antara kaum2 yang ni kan. Tapi penting jugak bagi saya.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: "So, it's important. Very important in fact because wherever we go, we speak Bahasa Malaysia and it is the main language because we want to interact with other races, so it is important."</i></p>
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These remarks reflect the participants' view that the aspirations they had for their students went beyond the borders of their communities and showed that they considered much of the road toward achieving those aspirations lay outside their village. The schools, jobs, and services they wished to gain access to remained gated unless they could unlock access to them by using Bahasa Malaysia. To the participants, learning and using Bahasa Malaysia provided the benefits such as accessing services needed in their communities, attaining access to education at higher levels and opportunities to find employment to help support their families and their communities. The participants were, however, aware that it was not only Bahasa Malaysia that provided benefits to them and their communities.

3.2.2 Subtheme Two: Teachers see the use of the mother tongue as a way to highlight the value of Orang Asli culture and identity in society. Previous sections have presented findings that show how the participants expressed the value of their mother tongue as part of their linguistic repertoire when they taught in their classrooms. The participants considered both languages equally useful and important during interview sessions. However, from the perspectives of the participants the use of the mother tongue was expected to reap a different type of benefit compared to Bahasa Malaysia. Learning Bahasa Malaysia was seen to have many practical benefits, but the Orang Asli participants were also concerned about their identity and self-worth in society. They saw the benefits of using mother tongue in tandem with Bahasa Malaysia as part of a way to instil pride in their students' identity and their community. Although not all the participants spoke of this issue overtly, most of them felt they needed to instil a sense of pride and confidence in their students as they entered the public school system and aspired for their students to contribute to their community. This was where they felt the mother tongue was needed, in maintaining a respect for their identity and worth as a community. As Hanis explained:

<p><i>Hanis: So bukan sahaja terhad di dalam tadika komuniti di kampung tetapi apabila kita hari2 memberi kesedaran tentang keunikan kita sebagai orang asli kita menerapkan jati diri orang asli, apabila mereka melangkah ke sekolah rendah, ke sekolah menengah atau mereka berpeluang untuk belajar, saya nak mereka bawa jati diri keunikan budaya orang asli ni kemana-mana.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: So not just limited to the community kindergarten but when we make them realise daily of their uniqueness as Orang Asli, we instil self-worth to the Orang Asli. So, when they move on to primary school, to secondary school or if they have the opportunity to study further, I want them to bring that self-worth with them everywhere.</i></p>
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In their remarks, Hanis made it clear that what she was doing in her classroom must include the mother tongue as part of this effort. Hazel's thoughts also reflected similar ideas but she also commented on what she perceived as the community's collective low self-worth:

<p><i>Hazel: Sebab selalunya orang asli kalau dah ada rendah diri macam, kita cakap tadi kan. Kita ada rendah diri “ah tak nak la” sampai tak didik anak. So itu tak boleh la. Itu lah harapan saya, saya nak mereka lebih... lebih kreatif daripada saya macam mereka belajar la setinggi mana pun kita tahu harapan kita tahu masa depan kita.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hazel: Orang Asli are so prone to lowering themselves. Like I said just now, we are so prone to it, that we tell ourselves “we don't need this” [education] and we fail to educate our children. So that won't do. My hope is for more; that they're more creative, and achieve more so we can have a brighter future.</i></p>
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In Hazel’s remarks above, the benefit of having increased self-worth was also connected with achieving more and expecting or wanting more, which reflected the participants’ belief that Orang Asli were deserving of success in society.

Finally, identity and self-worth were seen by participants as values that preserved their uniqueness as a community. In this next exchange between the researcher and Hanis, she remarked about why Semai, her mother tongue, was so important in the classroom:

<p><i>Researcher: Orang Asli teachers use Semai in the classroom, why do you use it? What’s the reason why bahasa ibunda is used?</i></p> <p><i>Hanis: Saya nak anak-anak orang asli ni banga menjadi anak orang asli, dan juga terapkan nilai-nilai jati diri kepada orang asli menyedari Orang Asli ni adalah unik mempunyai budaya dan juga adat resam dia tersendiri yang tidak sama seperti bangsa2 lain.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Researcher: Orang Asli teachers use Semai in the classroom. Why do you use it? What’s the reason? Why is mother tongue used?</i></p> <p><i>Hanis: I want the children to be proud of themselves as Orang Asli and also to instil the values of self-worth, to help them realise they are unique and have a culture and customs that are altogether different from other races.</i></p>
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Remarks made here point to two reasons why the use of mother tongue was seen to be beneficial. The first was to instil a sense of pride in the students, so they would be confident in themselves, and the second was to show that the Orang Asli as a community are unique in Malaysian society. Finally, Hanis also described how she saw mother tongue use as a source of inspiration to the Orang Asli community:

<p><i>Hanis: Ok Saya berharap dengan peranan saya di kampung 5 ni sebagai guru Orang Asli mengetengahkan bahasa, budaya kami, bahasa Orang Asli. Saya berharap seluruh kampung dan komuniti melihat bahawa hanya Orang Asli sendiri yang boleh membantu orang asli sendiri untuk berjaya, Itu peranan pendekatan bahasa ibunda.</i></p>	<p><i>Translation:</i> <i>Hanis: OK, I hope that with my role in Village 5 as a teacher that prioritises our language and culture... the Orang Asli language. I hope the whole village and community can see that Orang Asli themselves are the ones helping Orang Asli to succeed. That is the reason we are for the mother tongue.</i></p>
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The participants in this study valued both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in the classroom, and at the same time believed there were specific benefits for choosing both these languages as part of the tools that they used. Their perspectives reveal the issues that concerned them most about education in their villages and these concerns have been shown to be tied to their identity and access to formal education. These were pragmatic concerns that reflected perspectives that were born of necessity as the participants consistently reminded the researcher that their approach towards the practices in their classrooms were influenced by the challenges that their students would face in the future when they enter the formal public school system. According to the participants, their approach in their community classrooms was a necessity formed from their perspective of the formal public school environment and they have responded in anticipation of the challenges their students will face. Thus, it was not that the participants were worried about whether their students would get to go to school, but rather their concern surrounds the fear that their students would not have the tools they needed to navigate the challenges they would face in the very different environment of the public school. This specific concern merits deeper consideration as the analysis of these perspectives develops into the main analytical concept or core category of this study.

Core Category: A preparedness for formal schooling means the use of the mother tongue now.

Through the process of selective coding, the three categories and the four respective themes presented in this chapter were inter-related to form one core category. This is a cohesive narrative that integrates the findings of this study into one core concept that encompasses the participants' perspectives on the conditions surrounding their use of their mother tongue in their classrooms, the actions or interactions that they take and the outcomes that arise from the actions or interactions that they have taken.

In the four themes outlined in this Findings chapter, the participants provided their perspectives on the use of the Mother Tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in their classroom attaching specific roles to each of them. This is clearly indicated through the first main theme. However, the roles that the participants attached to the Mother Tongue and Bahasa Malaysia can be related directly to the desired outcomes and expectations of using these two languages. This is in relation to what the participants believed will help their students when they reach school going age and begin formal schooling outside the confines of their community. These desired outcomes are presented in the third and fourth main themes and when viewed in the light of their use of their Mother Tongue and Bahasa Malaysia, reveal the preparatory approach of their practice in anticipation of the challenges they believed their students would face at public school. This is reflected in the consistent reference to the future where their student will have to leave their community to attend school outside their village. Fear that their students would not be able to cope with Bahasa Malaysia and would lose their own cultural and linguistic identity motivated the teachers' actions in the classroom. Therefore, theme one, three and four can be viewed as the perspectives of the future that the participants wished to see for their students. These were ideas that they expressed consistently in the form of their desire to see their students as bi/multilingual learners, who would be able to

navigate a monolingual environment of the formal public school classroom. This is an important aspect of the core category that has been derived from analysis of this study; as the participants did not wish to see their students as merely embracing the dominant language of Bahasa Malaysia, rather they wished to see the Bahasa Malaysia as an addition to their students' repertoire that would enable their students to gain better access to education in the public school system. There is, however, one more thread in this Finding sections that has been left hanging and this is with regards to theme two and the employment of bilingual strategies that the participants clearly described through their perspectives.

To integrate theme two into the core category of this study, the researcher explored the participants' actions and interactions from the lens of the present. This was in reference to what the participants practised as part of their actions or interactions while they were teaching their students in their community classrooms. While themes one, three and four reflect what participants anticipated and expected in the future, theme two and its subthemes are firmly planted in what the participants were doing in the present. Thus, theme two is related to the practices of the participants in achieving the preparedness of their students for the future. In theme two, bilingual strategies are presented as practices that ensure effective communication between the participants and their students or the understanding of content through practices such as translation. It also highlights the use of the mother tongue as a scaffold to help the participants teach Bahasa Malaysia. The use of the Mother Tongue is thus an essential part of learning Bahasa Malaysia and learning in Bahasa Malaysia. The participants revealed through their perspectives that they were reliant on their mother tongue as they believed it to be the best way to bridge the linguistic gap that their students faced. As the participants described their experiences of switching between their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia to teach their students, they provided a picture of how the languages were

used in the present situation of their classroom. This dynamic brings a participant's translanguaging strategies into view. The participants' perspectives indicate that their translanguaging practices provided support to their students, helping them communicate effectively using their own cultural and linguistic knowledge to bridge the gap between their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia.

Inter-relating the themes and subthemes arising from the open and axial coding process produced an emergent conceptual narrative that sits at the heart of the three categories presented in this section. Central to this conceptual narrative of Orang Asli teachers using the mother tongue in the informal community classroom is a view that the future challenges that Orang Asli students were anticipated to face in public school influenced the strategies that were employed in the present. The core conceptual narrative therefore is that **in view of the future challenges that participants believed their students would face in formal school settings, the participants came to view the use of mother tongue through translanguaging strategies as methods of supporting their students as they moved into the unfamiliar formal school setting.** This conceptual narrative in turn highlights the nature of the participants' practice of translanguaging as a strategy that supported their students' learning in the community classroom. The use of both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in tandem as part of their own linguistic repertoire shows that the translanguaging strategies were used to bridge the present situation with the future of their students in the public school system.

Chapter conclusion

This study found that the participants straddled two language spaces. The mother tongue was considered an essential choice for use in the classroom and participants found that their students responded better to their mother tongue, found it easier to conduct lessons and felt comfortable using their mother tongue with their

students. As such, the mother tongue remained an important tool in supporting their students' learning. However, they were also found to be pulled in the opposite direction due to the realisation that the development of their communities and the future of their students depended on the use of the national language, Bahasa Malaysia. Since their students' future was seen as dominated by Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in the public school system, the participants were acutely aware that their students needed to know the language to access the formal education provided by the government. This reality frames the participants' view of their students' future. Their perspectives regarding the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage was balanced with the need for their students to learn Bahasa Malaysia and, in turn, influenced their actions and interactions in the classroom.

Although the teachers felt that mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia served two separate roles, the use of the languages were intertwined and involved the practice of using bilingual strategies like translanguaging in the classroom. One language was used in tandem with the other to enhance the effectiveness of the participants in the classrooms and support their students' development and learning. The participants also saw their mother tongue as a resource that their students could use in the classroom, allowing them to use it when they interacted with the participants and the peers in the classroom. Participants hoped to see this practice help their students develop literacy and communication skills needed in formal schooling. They saw these skills as beneficial for the students' future, as well as for the future of their community.

In the next chapter, the core conceptual narrative that emerged from the integration of the four main themes is discussed in further detail to explore its relevance to the issues facing Orang Asli education and the prevailing understanding of bilingual education for indigenous communities like the Orang Asli.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Analysis of the data regarding the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in non-formal, community pre-school classrooms revealed several themes related to the choices participants made about language use in their teaching practice. These themes are derived from the data classified into three categories presented in the previous chapter. Table 3 below summarises the themes and frames this discussion specifically with regards to how Orang Asli teachers in this study viewed the use of mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in their classrooms. In this chapter, each of these themes and subthemes is discussed in detail. The final part of this chapter is dedicated to the core conceptual narrative that was formed from inter-relating these themes to form two key propositions. In turn, these key propositions are discussed and their implications presented in the concluding chapter of this study.

Table 3

Table of themes

Theme One: The Use of Two Languages in the Orang Asli Classroom is Important
Subtheme One: Mother Tongue is Used to Preserve Cultural Heritage. Subtheme Two: Bahasa Malaysia is Used to Gain Access to Formal Education.
Theme Two: Employing Bilingual Strategies is Essential in the Orang Asli Classroom
Subtheme One: Translanguaging Occurs to Ensure Effective Communication Between Teachers and Students. Subtheme Two: Mother Tongue is Used as a Scaffold to help Teach Bahasa Malaysia.
Theme Three: Orang Asli Teachers Want Students to Develop Skills and Dispositions that are Useful in the Formal Classroom
Subtheme One: Developing Literacy is Seen as Essential Subtheme Two: Preparing Students for the Environments of the Bahasa Malaysia Classroom. Subtheme Three: Developing Confidence so Students Can Engage Actively in Learning Within the Formal Classroom.
Theme Four: Education in Two Languages Benefits the Individual and the Community
Subtheme One: Teachers Want Students to Achieve Better Participation in Mainstream Society. Subtheme Two: Teachers See the Use of the Mother Tongue as a Way to Highlight the Value of Orang Asli Culture and Identity in Society.

Theme One: Use of two languages in the Orang Asli classroom is important

The participants in this study considered the use of both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia to be important in the classroom. This is the main theme that describes the intentions of the participants when they taught the children from their village. This theme clearly reflects the dilemma faced by the Orang Asli participants who expressed in their interviews that they wanted to ensure that their students were able to access education through the National Language, Bahasa Malaysia, yet were concerned about maintaining their cultural identity and sought to protect it through the use of the mother tongue in their classrooms with their students. Thus, the use of the two languages served separate purposes but participants used both languages to teach their students. Within this dynamic of use between the two languages, participants experienced being caught between the desire to use the mother tongue as a practical tool and a means to protect their cultural heritage and the necessity of applying the use of Bahasa Malaysia to access education available to them in the mainstream Malaysian education system. Mukherjee and David (2011) have seen the presence of this dilemma expressed in many other minority communities in Malaysia, though they have not provided any from the perspectives of Orang Asli. However, in this study the responses from the participants indicate that in similar fashion, the Orang Asli communities also struggle with this dilemma.

The dilemma of having to choose between Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue that the participants of this study expressed are very similar to the other experiences in small minority communities around the world and for the participants their actions in the informal classroom reflected their efforts to deal with this dilemma. The perspectives of participants in this study are significant because they reveal that the participants were also using their mother tongue as a pedagogical tool; one that was utilised in the classroom for the purposes of communication, instruction and translation.

More importantly, mother tongue was used in tandem with Bahasa Malaysia in their classrooms. Thus, participants believed in the value of their language as a tool that helped their students. They also saw it as a way to maintain cultural identity and heritage, explaining that their students' success should not come at a cost of "forgetting themselves". Thus, the use of the mother tongue was to help preserve Orang Asli cultural heritage, with the added benefit of being a useful tool in the classroom.

Subtheme One: Mother tongue used to preserve cultural heritage

This subtheme focuses on the Orang Asli participants' use of the mother tongue as a way to maintain the cultural heritage and identity of their students even as they taught them Bahasa Malaysia for the purposes of accessing education in preparation for life in the public school system. The task of balancing these two languages in the classroom was a challenge that underpinned the use of both these languages. Thus, this study shows that participants deemed both languages as important in their efforts to help their students gain a better education. The balance between Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue is difficult to navigate. It becomes challenging particularly when teachers in indigenous communities feel the pressure to teach their children the national language and prioritise it in education, knowing that the significance and importance of their own languages may have to be minimised. As seen in studies reporting cultural endangerment of indigenous Orang Asli groups like the Semang-Kensiu, the threats to language and culture are attributed to language shift from the non-dominant mother tongue to the dominant national language, used as the MoI in the national public school system (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). Caught in this dilemma of using the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, as a way to participate in mainstream society and the desire to protect their cultural identity, the Orang Asli participants seemed aware that this dilemma increased the more they aspired to progress in mainstream society. The sense that one language has to be sacrificed in order for the other to gain the ability to use the more

dominant language is a struggle that is also documented within other minority communities in the Malaysian context (Mukherjee & David, 2011).

For the Orang Asli, this is a quandary and the recognition of the need to maintain their own cultural identity is an indication of their own concerns about adopting Bahasa Malaysia as part of their children's language repertoire. The idea of language shift or the movement away from the home language or the mother tongue in favour of the more widely spoken dominant language is often a result of pressure to use that dominant language. This is particularly prevalent in the monolingual education environment where a national language or an official language is used exclusively as the MoI in school. This ultimately sees younger generations slowly move away from the non-dominant minority languages that their communities speak (May, 2006). The repeated desire of many of the participants, that both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia to be part of their students' linguistic repertoire may suggest that, practicality aside, the use of the mother tongue in their classrooms represents the hope that their students do not forget the language of their community and thus who they are. The participants were, however, aware that despite these efforts the use of their mother tongue in education would not carry forward to public school classrooms and would be relegated to use in the village community. Examples of these documented instances can be seen in Malaysian Indian communities (David et al., 2009; David & McLellan, 2014). Shifts from their non-dominant languages like Tamil, Telegu and Bengali often occur in the younger generations as they enter formal schooling, but attempts to retain cultural identity are held together through other means like observing cultural and religious practices, using traditional dress or cooking and consuming traditional food (Mukherjee & David, 2011). In these case studies conducted among Indian communities in Malaysia, minority languages were often sidelined but not forgotten; communities recognised the value of learning and using dominant language like Bahasa Malaysia or

English but were concerned that their cultural identities could become lost. To offset the anticipated loss of cultural identity, minority communities find other ways to maintain their language and culture. The Orang Asli participants in this study seemed to have similar feelings for their mother tongue. They sensed the need to maintain their language and culture but did not wish to choose between their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. Instead, they declared both languages to be of equal importance to them and their students. Participants assigned roles to the two languages in similar fashion to other communities, such as the ones mentioned above. However, details provided by the participants of this study indicate that they had the opportunity to bestow the mother tongue with a significant role in education for the children in their village. In interviews, participants mentioned that the mother tongue was part of their identity and therefore had a central place in their classrooms.

These notions seemed prevalent, especially when the participants in this study insisted that they had an obligation to their own language and culture. Indeed, the sense that Orang Asli teachers were not willing to let their mother tongue diminish was usually mentioned to qualify their statements about how they wanted their children to learn Bahasa Malaysia, eventually settling on the idea that both languages would have to be considered important. These are experiences in many communities particularly in post-colonial settings, where there is a policy that lifts a dominant language above other minority languages which do not possess higher linguistic capital in society (Martin, 2005). In the context of countries like Botswana, Brunei, Kenya and South Africa, the challenges of balancing the use of a dominant language for official use in the classroom with the use of a non-dominant language often forces the use of the non-dominant language as an informal practice routinely considered to be “bad practice” in the classroom (Martin, 2005, p. 88). According to Martin (2005) and Rahim and Ahmadi (2021), this practice is also frowned upon in the Malaysian context where less dominant

languages are considered inappropriate and obstructive to learning the new language. In Rahim and Ahmadi's (2021) study on the roles of teachers in reducing interference of the L1 languages in Malaysian primary school classrooms, the argument is still made that teachers should not be allowed to use the L1 because the belief is that it will impede the learning of the L2. These notions are also attributed to local media in Malaysia, indicating the common conception that languages need to be learned in separate spaces with no room for the mother tongues or L1s that "interfere" with learning the target language (Martin, 2005).

It was therefore important to explore the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants because they routinely used their mother tongue despite common conception that languages like Bahasa Malaysia should be used exclusively in public school classrooms. Additionally, there are arguments in favour of using two or more languages in an indigenous classroom. For example, such practices are documented in Western Australia and in the Australian Northern Territories (Oliver et al., 2020), where teachers use traditional indigenous languages (TIL) and Standard Australian English (SAE) in their classrooms to support their students' learning. Similarly, immigrant students have benefited from the use of their mother tongue in their classrooms in Singapore and in Hong Kong. Studies conducted by Vaish and Subhan (2015) and Lin and He (2017) show that the use of the mother tongue allowed students and teachers to take advantage of the knowledge they possessed in their mother tongue to help them understand what was being taught to them in a different language. This draws attention to how the participants saw the significance of Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue in the classroom, for in as much as it was important to use and maintain the mother tongue the participants expressed that Bahasa did have an important place in their classroom. This is because Bahasa Malaysia is perceived to have more linguistic capital than the mother tongue, as expressed by the expectations of the participants who

believed that their mother tongue would not be used in the formal public school classroom. The next subtheme addresses this issue and discusses how the participants viewed Bahasa Malaysia in connection with their concerns for their students' education, not only at the moment of their practice in their classrooms but also in their outlook for the future of their students.

Subtheme Two: Bahasa Malaysia is used to gain access to formal education through the language.

Bahasa Malaysia's official status as the national language and the official MoI in public-schools requires all students to learn and use the language in public schools (Puteh, 2010). For the Orang Asli participants, this meant that they needed to teach their students to understand and use Bahasa Malaysia in order to access knowledge and be prepared for participation in formal schooling. Participants felt their students' academic success was dependent on acquiring knowledge in Bahasa Malaysia and had no choice but to prepare their students for formal schooling in public schools. This belief is not unique; other Orang Asli communities in Malaysia like the Semang-Kensiu encounter this situation when they choose to rely on the public school system for education (Alias & Salasiah, 2015). This pull towards Bahasa Malaysia threatens to slowly diminish the importance of mother tongue languages in minority communities. As seen previously in various Indian communities in Malaysia, non-dominant Indian languages like Telegu, Malayalam or Bengali are not used as MoI in Malaysian public schools and therefore the status of these languages are reduced, making languages like Bahasa Malaysia and English more important to these communities. (Mukherjee & David, 2011; Nambiar, 2011). Nambiar (2011) in particular lists the factors that precipitate these shifts away from the mother tongue. She cites factors like migration, economic factors, the higher prestige of dominant languages, urbansation and smaller populations sizes of non-dominant language speakers as reasons for the decline of mother tongue use. For the

Orang Asli participants, these may well be contributing factors for the importance they place on Bahasa Malaysia in their classrooms, but specifically, it is the sense of inadequacy that they express regarding their students' ability to speak or learn in Bahasa Malaysia that ultimately focuses the intent of the participants towards helping them survive in the public school environment. These are considerations that compelled the participants to evaluate their priorities in terms of the languages they used, and once again highlight the dilemma they face when it came to weighing the importance of their mother tongue versus the importance of Bahasa Malaysia. In the following paragraphs, the participants are particularly focused on the future of their students and thus shift their priorities toward Bahasa Malaysia because they are intending to prepare their students for an environment where they anticipate Bahasa Malaysia is used exclusively.

In interviews, participants talked about showing their students what to expect in a Year 1 classroom or how they should behave in the classroom environment where Bahasa Malaysia is spoken, in an effort to ensure their students were ready to engage and be involved in learning and to not feel alienated in the public school classroom. The participants' concerns always turned towards the ability of their students to understand what went on in the classroom and fearing that their students' weak proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia meant they would be left behind in the formal public school classrooms. For the participants in this study, the use of only Bahasa Malaysia was not a forced practice in their informal community classrooms, but its prominence as an essential part of their efforts to educate their students displayed the same dilemmas as the other examples represented by other minority groups in Malaysia, mentioned earlier.

In this case, the policy to use only Bahasa Malaysia in public schools leaves the Orang Asli with limited options when considering how their children should be educated. Similar situations like the experiences of the Orang Asli are reported in other parts of the world, particularly in post-colonial countries like Ethiopia. Prior to reforms

in the 1990s, access to education could only be gained through the use of the official language of Ethiopia which was Amharic (Cohen, 2007). However, reforms allowed different regions of Ethiopia to choose the languages that Ethiopian primary school children could learn in, to facilitate access to basic education. The intent of this policy was equity, by allowing children to learn in their mother tongue as part of their efforts to provide basic education to a larger proportion of the population (Cohen, 2007). This Ethiopian example begs the question of whether the indigenous Orang Asli of Malaysia may benefit from a similar policy, as the participants of this study have already revealed the role that their own mother tongue plays in the classroom as a scaffold for learning the national language and as a tool to help the participants communicate with their students in the classroom. Indeed, with the use of translanguaging strategies which will be discussed later in this chapter, it can be argued that the use of mother tongue by the Orang Asli participants of this study already shows that their practices are similar to practices of using mother tongue in other similar contexts. Certainly, despite the participants' belief that they needed Bahasa Malaysia, it seemed the need for their mother tongue was indeed just as great because of the way they approached teaching in their classrooms.

In the informal community classrooms that were the focus of this study, the ability to use two languages was a prized benefit, allowing the participants to leverage their autonomy from the formal school system to adopt the use of their mother tongue when they saw fit to do so. They made the decisions to switch to their mother tongue in mid-sentence, integrate the use of the mother tongue when they taught the alphabet or directly translated instructions given in Bahasa Malaysia so their students may understand. In other words, the classroom environment was directly under their control. This leads to this study's discussion of Theme Two, which concerns the use of bilingual and translanguaging methods in the classroom.

Theme Two: Employing bilingual strategies is essential in the Orang Asli classroom

The situations that the participants in this study found themselves in, where the autonomy of the informal classroom allowed their practices to be flexible, enabled teachers to respond spontaneously to the environment of the classroom. Participants found that the challenges their students faced in understanding content in Bahasa Malaysia required the use of the mother tongue. In this situation, employing bilingual strategies in the classroom became important, despite the acknowledgement that Bahasa Malaysia was needed and remained a priority for access to formal education. Although there was no standardised practice among the participants, the intent behind the practices of these participants revealed similar attributes.

From the responses provided by the participants, many of their strategies seemed to be spontaneous reactions to the difficulties they saw their students face when interacting with Bahasa Malaysia. For example, an Orang Asli teacher may seek to find out if a student in the class understands instructions given in Bahasa Malaysia by observing if any of their students seemed lost. That teacher may see the need to approach students who are having difficulties and use the mother tongue to give them instructions instead. Participants also revealed that they might ask a question in Bahasa Malaysia and expect an answer in the mother tongue from the students instead. This flexible toggling quality in their teaching practices highlights many characteristics present in concepts like translanguaging. Characteristics like the ones described by the participants are indeed features present in other contexts as well. Although the work of Creese and Blackledge (2010) is contextualised within migrant populations in the UK, the students and the teachers negotiated their classrooms in similar fashion to the participants, utilising the full linguistic repertoire to negotiate learning in the classroom. These characteristics include: 1) Drawing from the knowledge of their mother tongue

and using it in the classroom to help students shape an understanding of the lesson from their own perspectives (Kirsch et al., 2020); 2) Switching strategically between languages for the purposes of managing the classroom in situations such as managing behaviour in students or the management of an activity set by the teacher (Gort & Sembiante, 2015), and; 3) Using the mother tongue as a translation tool for specific parts of the lesson, to aid in understanding concepts and allowing the use of the students own linguistic repertoire in classroom activities like discussions, investigations and role play (Sanders-Smith & Davila, 2019). Although the participants in this study did not articulate all of the characteristics of translanguaging mentioned above, they did however detail the use of some of these techniques particularly when they talked about communicating with their students in the classroom. This will be discussed in particular detail below, in Subtheme One.

Subtheme One: Translanguaging occurs to ensure effective communication between teachers and students.

According to Garcia et al. (2011), translanguaging in bilingual or multilingual education reflects a flexible and often bespoke practice. It is based on the needs and contexts of the students in the classroom. Garcia et al. (2011) described the use of translanguaging in the classroom as indirect, in the sense that there are no fixed strategies from one community's classroom to another. Each community navigates the difficulties and challenges it has in its own way in order to help children learn within that specific context. This is a particularly useful way to describe the practices of the Orang Asli participants in this study because with translanguaging, learning a new language and learning in a new language are described as tasks that not only require the learning of vocabulary or grammar, but as tasks that entails learning from a completely different frame of reference (Garcia & Wei, 2015). By this, Garcia and Wei (2015) mean acknowledging that learning a new language must take into consideration the

context of the learners. This means that learning a new language and learning in a new language results in new ways to act, speak and see the world. These are functions that involve taking into consideration how a new language fits into learners' ways of understanding each other in the new language, the ways in which learners understand what they are learning and the ways in which they then use their new knowledge (Garcia & Wei, 2015). Thus, for the Orang Asli, learning Bahasa Malaysia and learning in Bahasa Malaysia are significantly different experiences in the formal public school classroom. The participants in this study recognised this difference through their practices in the classroom, finding ways to help their students learn with the help of the mother tongue and translanguaging strategies. When taken into consideration in light of these situations, these translanguaging strategies begin to provide a frame of reference for the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants of this study. This is a particularly suitable way to describe the ways the participants in this study taught using their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia because in this context, the decisions on when to use the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia, how to use the two languages and how much to use them were all made by the teachers and the students as they negotiated their interactions in the classroom. Thus, these languages were used in tandem with each other, occupying the same space in the environment of the informal classroom. Although the practice was not uniform across all the participants, all of them did practice a form of translanguaging according to how they saw fit. In much the same way as Garcia and Wei (2015) and Garcia et al. (2011) have defined and described translanguaging in bilingual classrooms, the Orang Asli participants in this study, saw their practice as ways to navigate the difficulties for students in finding the meaning and understanding through another language. Thus, their usage of their cultural and linguistic knowledge from their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia were combined with their students' cultural and linguistic knowledge to provide pathways towards

better learning experiences. These translanguaging strategies, which are employed in the informal Orang Asli community classrooms, show that the participants believed their use of the mother tongue to be an important part of their students' education and their practices warrant more examination as part of efforts to improve teaching practices or adopt new ones for the benefit of Orang Asli students learning in Malaysia's public school system.

Perhaps an even more precise way of describing the strategies employed by the Orang Asli participants in their community classrooms is by considering the concepts of natural translanguaging and official translanguaging. Natural translanguaging is often the result of a necessity for the children to understand the content presented to them in a different language from the language they usually speak (Williams, 2012). This means that the children who are learning a new language are actively using knowledge of their own linguistic repertoires to help them make sense of the new materials they are presented with. Thus natural translanguaging is typically used to describe what the students are doing in a bilingual classroom (Garcia & Wei, 2015). This is in contrast to official translanguaging, where intentional bilingual strategies involving planned switches between languages for specific tasks in the classroom are practised (Williams, 2012). This is typically the type of translanguaging that is attributed to the actions of the teacher in the classroom, who plans the use of translanguaging strategies as part of their lessons to help students learn (Garcia & Wei, 2015). However, natural translanguaging is used in an "as-necessary" fashion, and indeed it is possible for teachers to be engaged in natural translanguaging especially when they are engaged with small groups of students in the process of explaining new ideas and concepts, through acts like translation (Garcia & Wei, 2015). Lin and He (2017) indeed use the term "naturally" to describe the implementation of translanguaging strategies in their study of South Asian students learning science in Hong Kong classrooms. This becomes significant because

in the context of Lin and He's study the use of South Asian mother tongue languages were not permitted in their classrooms. Despite this policy, the use of mother tongue languages were allowed by the teachers because students were observed to benefit from using their own mother tongue to develop better understanding of their lessons and were better engage in classroom activities (Lin & He, 2017). This fits into the nature of the practice that the Orang Asli participants of this study described. Their teaching relied on natural translanguaging to help children navigate the environment of the classroom. In their classrooms, participants found ways to incorporate their mother tongue while they taught in Bahasa Malaysia or found it more effective to communicate a concept or idea in their mother tongue entirely. This was an attribute of translanguaging which participants adopted spontaneously in the practice of teaching and guiding their students in the community classrooms. Other examples include slipping in mother tongue words into the presentation of the content for their lessons, helping their students to understand specific vocabulary important to the lesson or they might begin a lesson using their mother tongue elicit participation from their students and then switch to instruct their students on how to respond to them in Bahasa Malaysia. The strategies described were used because participants referred to the mother tongue as important for their students' understanding of the material and content that was presented to them in Bahasa Malaysia, a language they were not as familiar with and might struggle to command in the public school system unless they received much needed support through the use of their mother tongue. Research into the use of mother tongue through translanguaging strategies has been established through many studies but notable ones like Creese and Blackledge's (2010) study on the use of translanguaging strategies posits that the benefits of using home languages or mother tongue languages as part of a student's or teacher's repertoire is that the use of the mother tongue supports the learning in classrooms with minority students, enabling them to understand their teachers'

instructions and giving them the ability to make meaning from content normally taught to them in a language they have limited understanding or proficiency in.

These circumstances are familiar to the participants in this study. They expressed their concern for the students' understanding of important concepts and comprehension of ideas presented in the content taught to them in the Bahasa Malaysia. Thus, in participants' classrooms, the mother tongue was used to translate the content and instructions which were in Bahasa Malaysia. For the participants, the mother tongue played a supporting role in delivering the contextual knowledge that the children needed to grasp concepts, follow instructions, and learn in the new language. However, the participants did not expect to see public schools employing the same type of strategies for the use of mother tongue in its classrooms. This explains why there is significant concern about their students' ability to learn in Bahasa Malaysia and contributes to the dilemma between using their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia presented earlier. The participants believed Bahasa Malaysia to be an important language and were aware that in the environment of their students' public school classroom their students' limited proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia would hamper their progress in education. However, despite recognition of these circumstances, the participants revealed through the descriptions of their practices that they still needed their mother tongue, specifically to bridge the linguistic gap between their students and learning in Bahasa Malaysia. This is an important perspective because mainstream public school teachers in Malaysia find that the lack of proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia remains a significant barrier to Orang Asli students' performance in school (Edwards, 2015).

Edwards (2015) points to a key implication for situations with indigenous students similar to descriptions of the participants, in which teachers in public schools concluded that children from minority communities underperform in school because they lacked the proficiency in the language used as the medium of instruction in public

school classrooms. Malaysian public school teachers believe that Orang Asli children lack proper support needed at home or in the village to develop literacy and, in turn, proficiency in a language that they need in the public school classroom. Indeed, these suggestions are echoed by Malaysian researchers, most common of these views is the lack of support provided by Orang Asli families or their households because of the lack of awareness of the importance of education (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). These views are often tied to poverty and lack of education in the Orang Asli parents themselves (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). However, this study has shown that from the perspectives of the participants, there is a belief that their students also lacked support within public school classrooms. Although the participants acknowledged that support in households in the village may be limited, they expected that there would be very little support for the children in the public school classroom as well. In response to these difficulties, participants were spurred in their efforts to prepare their students for the eventuality of struggling in a Bahasa Malaysia classroom. To do so they used the mother tongue often as a way to bridge the linguistic gap between their students and Bahasa Malaysia, by communicating and instructing using both the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia within their classroom environment. This response is similar to the responses by other indigenous communities like the indigenous populations of Cambodia, which have successfully demonstrated the use of their own mother tongue languages in informal schooling within remote rural locations (Lee et al., 2015; Thomas, 2003). In this case, the Cambodian example demonstrates how mother tongue languages support indigenous learners, providing them with a scaffold for learning in the national language Khmer. However, in this study the participants have begun the introduction of Bahasa Malaysia as early as possible but use their mother tongue to constantly support their students as the new language is being introduced.

This is also reflected in the additional efforts of many of the participants who continue to provide support for older children who had aged out of the participants' pre-school classes and had begun formal schooling. Often this support came in the form of encouraging the school going children to return to the community classroom after school for more tutoring, review of the day's school work and ensuring the children completed the homework they had brought home from school. Participants in villages, where children had begun to attend public school, reported splitting their time between the younger pre-school children and those who come back from school in the afternoon. Participants also revealed that they used the mother tongue and translanguaging strategies to clarify what was delivered to the children in Bahasa Malaysia. They explained concepts covered in the national syllabus and helped the students understand what they had learned in the classroom.

The situations described by the participants show that they anticipated that most teachers of Orang Asli children in public schools would themselves not be Orang Asli and would have little to no knowledge of the children's home language. Indeed, the participants were concerned that teachers in public school may not know how to address the struggles experienced by Orang Asli children because of their limited familiarity with the customs, culture and values of the Orang Asli. Research on how to effectively teach and develop literacy among Orang Asli children in Malaysia often highlights this limitation. Studies by Harun et al. (2020) and Aminuddin et al. (2019) describe the difficulties that mainstream public school teachers have in addressing the struggles that Orang Asli face in their classrooms. These teachers attribute much of their students' difficulties to cultural and linguistic barriers and admit they lack the training to address these issues. In light of these challenges, Harun et al. (2020) recommend strategies that seem to echo translanguaging principles used in a bilingual classroom. For example, Harun et al. (2020) lists essential requirements teachers in government schools should

have in their approach to teaching Orang Asli children. One of the key requirements places importance on the ability to plan lessons based on the intention to bridge the gaps between the national curriculum and the needs of the Orang Asli children. It emphasises the leveraging of Orang Asli knowledge in their classrooms and the ability of teachers to adapt teaching methods to the context of the Orang Asli children (Harun et al., 2020). This particular recommendation is a familiar characteristic of translanguaging, in which the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the students are used to help them learn from a more familiar context (Duarte, 2020). In Duarte's (2020) study of multilingual education classroom settings in Luxembourg and the Netherlands, observations in classrooms where translanguaging strategies were used showed the use of the students' own home languages or mother tongue helped to support the students in their learning particularly because it built bridges between the languages in the classroom. This was particularly true in the Luxembourg example as the translanguaging that occurred in that setting was not official translanguaging, rather it was natural translanguaging which occurred spontaneously in the classroom (Duarte, 2020).

There are other characteristics of translanguaging that contribute to better communication between participants and their students in their classrooms. This was especially pertinent to the participants' concerns for their students when it came to their thoughts regarding participation in the classroom. Participants were so concerned that their students found it difficult to learn in a new language that their response was to include the use of the mother tongue while teaching in Bahasa Malaysia, especially when they noticed that the children were unable to understand or respond to their instructions in the classroom. This strategy was often turned to when they were trying to keep children on-task during an activity or when they tried to motivate and encourage the students. Participants revealed that their students preferred the use of their mother tongue when they communicated with their teachers. They also expressed that they felt

the use of their mother tongue in their classrooms made their students more willing to respond to their instruction and were more engaged with the lessons, indicated by their students' willingness to interact with their teacher using their mother tongue. Harun et al. (2020) recommends a similar practice encouraging teachers to create lessons that are more integrated with the context of the experiences of Orang Asli children, specifically in the use of the mother tongue as a way to create an environment that allows the Orang Asli children to be involved in an active way. As the children were more familiar with the mother tongue, this seemed like a natural step to take for the participants. This practice of using their mother tongue in tandem with the national language provided the students and the participants with an environment that was comfortable for them. Indeed, the word "comfortable" was used by participants to describe the use of the mother tongue in the classroom. Even as researchers recommend effective ways to teach Orang Asli children in the Malaysian public school system by promoting the use of more Orang Asli centred teaching practices, comparisons can be made between these recommendations and the practices of the Orang Asli participants of this study. In doing so, the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants themselves demonstrate that these recommendations correspond with Orang Asli practices in their classrooms, demonstrating that Orang Asli teachers are well aware of the concerns of their public school counterparts and employ strategies that leverage their cultural and linguistic resources to address these concerns. Thus, the value of Orang Asli knowledge and experience should not be overlooked in the planning of policies and practices for Orang Asli education in Malaysian public schools. Recommendations to implement practices similar to what the Orang Asli participants in this study are already doing exist in other contexts. In the Australian context specifically, the aim of using traditional indigenous languages (TIL) in tandem with Australian Standard English (ASE) is to enhance communication between the teachers and the students (Oliver et al., 2020). Oliver et al.

(2020) suggests that among indigenous teachers teaching in indigenous schools, the use of translanguaging occurs naturally, as they switch from one language to another to help their students navigate the lesson. This practice is similar to what the Orang Asli participants in this study were doing, as they instinctively used their mother tongue when they felt they needed to, to help their students understand what they were teaching. Studies regarding translanguaging and the use of two or more languages in the manner described above highlight benefits to students who speak languages other than the official language in formal public schools. These benefits should be considered in the context of early childhood classrooms of the Orang Asli as well. For example, Gort and Sembianti's (2015) study of the translanguaging practices of pre-school teachers showed the practice of translating concurrently between two languages to communicate information about activities and instructions benefited students in a similar position to Orang Asli students, particularly in giving them voice in the classroom and getting them involved and engaged in the activities of the class (Gort & Sembianti, 2015). This ethnographic study of dual language teachers focused on the use of translanguaging as a flexible tool that helped the teachers and the students navigate lessons bilingually (Gort & Sembianti, 2015). By accepting the use of a language that the students understand, teachers are allowing the students to engage in the activities of the class while using their own linguistic and cultural resources.

The participants' perspectives on practising translanguaging strategies as a way to ensure they are communicating effectively with their students showed that they valued the use of their mother tongue and highlights the importance of considering the use of the mother tongue and official translanguaging strategies in formal education settings to enhance the learning experience of Orang Asli students. Indeed, Harun et al.'s (2020) recommendations stated above are considerations that many of the participants were familiar with in their practice. In many cases, their main reasons for

practising translanguaging in their classrooms were to address concerns that are similar to those outlined by Harun. Thus, it seems that translanguaging can be seen as a pragmatic practice, supporting the continued use of the mother tongue as a tool to bridge understanding of content in Bahasa Malaysia and, at the same time, also being a tool for learning the Bahasa Malaysia language itself.

Subtheme Two: Mother tongue is used as a scaffold to help teach Bahasa Malaysia.

The children in the participants' villages were not proficient Bahasa Malaysia speakers, making the mother tongue the only language that enabled effective communication and understanding in the classroom. Thus, the mother tongue was often relied on in the teaching of Bahasa Malaysia as well as in the teaching of the content that was presented in Bahasa Malaysia. Duarte's (2020) research regarding the functions of official and natural translanguaging describes three roles that translanguaging plays for communities relying on it to provide education for their children. The first is a symbolic function, which lifts the profile of the minority language as an important part of the education process. The second is a scaffolding function, in which the use of the mother tongue is attributed to the need to bridge a linguistic gap and the third is an epistemological function in which the use of different languages improves and develops the content of the knowledge the students are learning. Although the functions that Duarte refers to are contextualised in immigrant communities, they bear a resemblance to how participants responded in this study.

The symbolic function of translanguaging is important because it represents a foundation for the use of the mother tongue as scaffolding to learn a new language (Duarte, 2020). Duarte (2020) specifically suggests that this involves acknowledging the use of mother tongue languages for a significant purpose and creates a comfortable and safe space for the minority students to use their own language in their classroom

activities. For example, participants often said they were not afraid to use their own language because it was part of their cultural identity. To the participants the language was an intrinsic part of being Orang Asli. The mother tongue was as they expected, the language their students used to fall back on if they found it difficult to understand the content they were learning. However, it was not only because of its usefulness as a translation tool, but also a point of pride because the use of their language in their classroom had given the language legitimacy. As the participants were not restricted in the use of the language in informal classrooms, some participants reported that it was liberating and freeing and indicated that their students were also free to use the mother tongue to ask questions in the class and interact with their teachers. Duarte (2020) uses the term “valorising” (p.244) to describe the uplifting of the minority language in the mainstream education system because it raises the status of the language in the classroom. Indeed, with the participants expressing their students had no choice but to learn Bahasa Malaysia in order to access education, their fear was that their own mother tongue would be lost to their students as they progressed further in formal education. Valorising the mother tongue and maintaining its significance as an essential part of their students’ education ensures that both the teachers and students feel that there is a place for the mother tongue “elevating its status and usefulness” (Benson, 2002, p. 309) in their classroom. In Benson’s (2002) review of bilingual models of public education in Guinea-Bissau, Niger and Mozambique in Africa and Bolivia in Latin America, observations of teachers using their mother tongue revealed there is less judgement on students who rely on their mother tongue, thereby allowing it to be utilised as a scaffold in bilingual classrooms. Although the situation in this study was not a mainstream education scenario like the examples of public education presented by Benson, the principle of using the minority language in the classroom as a legitimate tool for teaching the students in the community classroom still elevates the status of the

language. In so doing, the use of the mother tongue could be accepted as part of the classroom and could be used as needed to teach and learn languages with more official status like Bahasa Malaysia. Indeed, a few of the participants revealed their desire for their mother tongue to become an official MoI that is used in public school as well, indicating their wish that they had the same privilege that other groups have to conduct primary school in languages like Mandarin and Tamil.

The second function of scaffolding is the idea that the participants are using the mother tongue to teach Bahasa Malaysia. Having elevated the status of the mother tongue as an accepted language in the classroom, the participants could use the language freely in different roles. Indeed, being able to use their own language as an aid in helping the students learn the target language of Bahasa Malaysia was a benefit attributed to the practice of translanguaging (Lewis et al., 2012). Lewis et al. (2012) explains that the use of the mother tongue in translanguaging strategies helps students develop their communication skills and literacy in the weaker language, which is Bahasa Malaysia in the case of the Orang Asli. Examples of using the mother tongue as a scaffold for learning occur in other contexts as well. The Prax-Dubois and Hélot (2020) study on the use of the mother tongue over French in the island of La Réunion highlights the effects of using the mother tongue as a scaffolding tool that encouraged pre-primary students to learn using their own language as a resource because the teachers used the mother tongue and provided multilingual materials to accommodate their students' language repertoire. Similarly, whether it was by using the phonetic alphabet to spell out words in the mother tongue or by using the mother tongue to highlight an important concept, the use of the mother tongue by the participants in this study was tied to supporting the students in such a way that they did not feel alienated from their content. This continued to convince the participants that there was a place for

their mother tongue in their community classrooms even when they anticipated the shift toward Bahasa Malaysia when their students began public schooling.

Finally, epistemological functions of translanguaging have already been alluded to when participants mentioned their use of the phonetic alphabet to spell out words in their mother tongue. This is an indication that participants were generating their own materials in the mother tongue to help their students learn in the classroom. This was an important strategy to note because it showed an example of the use of the mother tongue to contextualise the learning process for the students, giving them an opportunity to develop a “deeper and fuller understanding of subject matter” (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 645). In this case, it showed how the participants in this study were using their mother tongue as a way to enhance the content and the knowledge to fit the needs of their students (Duarte, 2020). Participants wanted to show the students that what they were learning applied to their community, even though the language they were learning was different from their mother tongue. In the findings of this study, participants explained how they “slipped” the mother tongue into the Bahasa Malaysia lessons they taught their students. For example, when teaching the alphabet, they may use a Bahasa Malaysia word and a word in their mother tongue that begins with the same alphabet to highlight the phonetic sound in both languages. Doing so allowed the students to use both languages as they learnt the alphabet, but also showed that the participants used examples that were culturally relevant to their students to help them understand what they were learning. Thus, the three functions of translanguaging proposed by Duarte (2020) show that the use of the mother tongue as part of their translanguaging strategies in the participants’ classrooms has become a useful tool in the support of their efforts to prepare their students for the environment of the Bahasa Malaysia classroom. Using their mother tongue as a bridge, the participants believed their students would learn Bahasa Malaysia because the students had the opportunity to use their valorised

language as a scaffold and allowed the participants to use their mother tongue to develop materials that use their language to support the students' learning. Indeed, in countries like Australia, studies such as Fielding and Harbon's (2020) review of NAPLAN scores for 4 primary schools show that bilingual schools where L1 languages are supported recorded better outcomes, particularly in English, which teachers attributed to the use of two or more languages, specifically pointing to their students' ability to toggle between their mother tongue and English to navigate through their learning tasks. This example displays the potential for indigenous Orang Asli languages to perform the same roles in Malaysian public schools for the benefit of Orang Asli students as well.

Theme Three: Orang Asli teachers want students to develop skills and dispositions that are useful in the formal classroom.

The linguistic and cultural gaps that the children often face in entering the public-school system make the use of translanguaging strategies an essential part of the Orang Asli classroom. As part of their perspectives regarding the use of the mother tongue in their classrooms, participants also expressed their feelings regarding what they hoped to achieve with the choices they made when they taught in the classroom. Their use of both languages was an accepted practice because they felt they needed it to ensure their students grasped concepts and ideas foreign to them in the village. There were many examples of why they felt the need to toggle between languages. These were usually expressed in the form of what they aspired for the children they taught. The participants pinpointed skills and mindsets that they felt their students would need to gain in order to be successful in the public-school system. To that end, they found their choice to use the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia interchangeably in the classroom advanced their goals of preparing their students for formal schooling by helping them develop skills they might use in formal public-school settings. In the case of the Orang

Asli participants in this study, there were three main outcomes they desired to see their students achieve. The first was developing literacy, the second was being prepared for the Bahasa Malaysia classroom and the third was developing self-confident disposition that would allow the students to engage actively in learning within the formal classrooms.

These three qualities that the participants hoped to instill were tied not only to the idea of coping with academic pursuits but with the desire for their students to be able to interact and participate actively in the public school classroom and in situations outside their village. These qualities are reflective of results of other studies like Kirsch et al. (2020) in Luxembourg and Sanders-Smith and Davila (2019) in Hong Kong which show the success of translanguaging strategies that involve the use of students' and teachers' linguistic repertoire in helping students feel comfortable to engage in classroom activities. Both these studies show that translanguaging strategies play an important role in helping minority students, particularly in creating spaces where interactive activities that use their mother tongue are allowed. Activities that involve interactions like discussions or role play between students or between students and teachers require classroom environments that encourage communication and participation by the students and the use of mother tongue helps minority students feel safe and encourages them to be willing contributors and participants in the classroom (Sanders-Smith & Davila, 2019). In the Kirsch et al. (2020) study, the teachers employing translanguaging strategies in their classrooms endorsed translanguaging strategies employed in their classrooms because it created safe and inclusive spaces where students' well being was promoted. The teachers believed that this helped students develop the confidence to use their own languages in their classroom because the teachers themselves were using the same language and allowed students to do the same as they learned and interacted with their peers and with their teacher.

Thus, a key part of helping students feel confident in participating in the classroom is the creation of safe and inclusive spaces. The participants themselves revealed that the use of their mother tongue indeed encouraged their students to be participative, but they were constantly concerned about whether their students' disposition would continue to be confident when they entered public school. This is why they were adamant that their priority was to make sure their students were literate before entering the public school system.

Subtheme One: Developing literacy is seen as essential.

A good way to understand how the Orang Asli value literacy is to look at the stories they tell about how knowing how to read or understand numbers can help them in mainstream society. In interviews conducted during this study, participants relayed experiences comparing their own generation to that of their parents. One example mentioned in the Findings chapter describes how a participants' parents' experiences buying items from a local market could be difficult because of a limited vocabulary in Bahasa Malaysia. The participant described the difficulty her mother experienced in understanding what an item was called or finding the right words to use to when asking for an item, while she attempted to buy something in the market. In this scenario the participants expressed the hope that future generations would not have to experience the difficulties faced in generations past. They hoped that their efforts to educate their students would result in their students being able to function in the context of mainstream society outside their village when they have completed schooling. In short, these participants were talking about access and the benefits that literacy could bring to their community when community members are educated and able to interact with the world outside their village. Indeed, to the Orang Asli, the skill of being able to read and write is considered useful for helping the rest of the community as well. Other participants mentioned different scenarios regarding literacy during interviews, like

helping fellow villagers with doctor visits, filling out government forms or being able to read notes given to them from their children's teachers when they come home from school. All of these are things that the Orang Asli participants want for the children. However, it is not only the hope that their students become proficient in the new language as a way to be part of two communities but also a desire to give their students an opportunity to achieve more in school.

In considering the expressed aspirations of the participants, the example of indigenous groups in Cambodia mentioned earlier in this study provide a similar comparison. The situation that Orang Asli find themselves in is a familiar experience to the indigenous peoples of Cambodia in that both communities struggle to participate fully in mainstream society. Like the Orang Asli, their Cambodian counterparts speak a language that is not the same as the language spoken in public schools. Therefore, they have had to learn a new language, Khmer, in order to access education as their mother tongues were not used officially in the education system (Kosonen, 2005). Fortunately, for Cambodian Indigenous groups, efforts to promote the use of their mother tongue as a MoI in village classrooms over the past decade have helped them achieve better access to education, helping more people in these communities develop literacy (Thomas, 2003). The mother tongue education programmes piloted in the rural interiors of Cambodia have helped to encourage the Cambodian government to support indigenous communities in the use of their home languages and mother tongue to achieve success in school through the use of those languages (Lee et al., 2015). These examples in Cambodia would prove to be valuable in highlighting the experiences of indigenous populations particularly in developing opportunities to develop literacy and proficiency through the use of the mother tongue. Since Malaysia does not have specific education policies that cater to the direct needs of Orang Asli in terms of language use in their

education (Renganathan & Kral, 2018), it is worth exploring what Orang Asli themselves feel are important in terms of gaining literacy and access to better education.

A good way to identify what the Orang Asli participants want to achieve through literacy is to view how they would intend their students to use their those skills.

Cummins (2008) and Hornberger (2012) have delineated two ways to view literacy that may be useful. The first is Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS), which the participants in this study expected would be useful for their students' everyday interactions with society outside their community and the second is Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), which reflects the participants' concern for their students' ability to follow lessons and learn in the public school system (Cummins, 2008; Hornberger, 2012). While both are a part of what the participants intended and expected as an outcome of their efforts in the community classroom, the children developing CALP seemed to be the main concern, because participants applied translanguaging strategies that focused much of their efforts on helping the children understand content and materials that were presented to them in Bahasa Malaysia. More importantly, they intended for their students to be proficient enough in Bahasa Malaysia so that in the public school classroom they would be able to interact and engage in active learning. This was consistent with their priorities in the classroom as they attempted to develop literacy in their students, making it the main priority in the process of learning a new language. However, in doing so, participants faced a challenging task trying to develop CALP in Bahasa Malaysia, consequently making the use of the mother tongue an essential part of the process because their students were not familiar with the national language. Francis and Reyhner (2002) also emphasised the need for the mother tongue or L1 of the learner when developing CALP. They maintain that the absence of the mother tongue for indigenous learners hampers their ability to develop CALP for several reasons.

Firstly, indigenous learners may find an inability to understand or express in their own words what is taught to them in the official language or the L2 because they lack an understanding of the content that is not explained to them in their own language (Francis & Reyhner, 2002). According to Francis and Reyhner (2002) this “isolates and marginalises” indigenous learners in the classroom (p. 71). Secondly, materials provided to the indigenous learner in the official language may be at a level that the learner cannot cope with. This makes access to the knowledge contained in the material unattainable for the learner, further hampering their ability to develop literacy skills (Francis & Reyhner, 2002). In this study, both the first and the second situations described by Francis and Reyhner (2002) apply to Orang Asli students. These are challenges that Malaysian public school teachers are aware of when they teach Orang Asli students in their classrooms (Aminuddin et al., 2019; Harun et al., 2020). Salleh and Ahmed (2009) refer to these situations as barriers to progress for Orang Asli students in public schools, pointing to the Orang Asli students’ lack of proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia. However, as the participants of this study have shown, their solution was to constantly use translanguaging strategies to mitigate these challenges their students faced in understanding the language. To cope with materials that were provided in a language that their students did not understand, they translated the materials as they presented them to the students, providing their students with the support they needed to cope.

In the third situation, Francis and Reyhner (2002) highlight that in critical periods of academic language development the absence of the mother tongue or the L1 can delay the learning of the official language (L2) because much of what is taught to the learner is not understood. Without the mother tongue indigenous learners are hampered in their development of CALP in the official language because of the conflict between using the official language and using their own mother tongue (Francis &

Reyhner, 2002). This situation is in reference to learning in the formal setting of a public school classroom, where indigenous children find themselves embarrassed to use their mother tongue and the official language because they feel a lack of confidence in their ability to speak fluently (Francis & Reyhner, 2002). These scenarios were expressed by the participants of this study in the Findings chapter and are the reason why they believed the mother tongue was so important to the development of academic skills for their students. The participants' perspectives on the use of their mother tongue as a way to support their students' learning in Bahasa Malaysia are echoed in the studies by Seltzer et al. (2020) which reviewed bilingual programmes in New York pre-schools and found that the use of the students' home languages became a key part of providing minority learners with the support they needed to learn in another language. Indeed, the perspectives of the participants themselves highlight that even in the development of literacy in Bahasa Malaysia, the participants were reliant on their mother tongue and were already using it through translanguaging strategies in their classrooms.

Subtheme Two: Preparing students for the environment of the Bahasa Malaysia classroom.

The concern that students would not be able to communicate and engage with teachers and other students in a public school classroom was part of the reason why participants hoped their use of bilingual strategies would prepare their students for formal schooling. However, it is important to understand why Orang Asli students find it challenging in the public-school classroom. One key area is to look at how unfamiliar the concept of formal education might be to Orang Asli students. In many Orang Asli communities, the idea of leaving the home to attend schools is a foreign concept (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). Going away to school is counter intuitive to the Orang Asli, who see sending a child away from the village to get an education for long periods of the day as an unnecessary burden, much less have the children leave the village to stay in a hostel

that's closer to the public school, as is common for villages deeper in the interiors of some states. Isolated from the support of their community and placed in an unfamiliar environment, Orang Asli students may feel vulnerable and exposed (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). Salleh and Ahmed (2009) report from their observations that Orang Asli families are tightly knit family units, thus children are not used to the idea of leaving their community and the familiarity of the village environment. Traditionally, teaching and learning in the villages are very much focused on the co-responsibility of the community and the members of the child's family (Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008). This means the children are familiar with the people who teach or instruct them. Learning is often unstructured in the village, making attending school very different from their concepts of how to educate their children (Kamaruddin & Jusoh, 2008). Even programmes developed specifically for Orang Asli children run by the Malaysian Ministry of Education have met difficult challenges related to absenteeism and low motivation (Isa, 2018).

For the participants of this study, these challenges were not out of the ordinary, indeed even in conversations regarding the difficulties they themselves had in their classroom, the management of the classroom was one of the challenges mentioned most often. Participants, who were not formally trained in Early Childhood development and education mentioned coaxing students to stay seated in class. Getting children to stay in class was often a challenge because the younger students would run back home or disappear for long periods of the class time. Factors related to the unfamiliarity of formal school environment that the Orang Asli students experience contribute to the difficulties in motivating them to attend a class, particularly for those of a younger age (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). At least three of the most experienced participants of this study talked about convincing children and parents of the importance of education. This is evident in their descriptions of interactions with the children in the classroom where

they mentioned motivating their children, encouraging attendance to the class because they needed to learn before they can achieve loftier ambitions. Within their own villages, participants were aware that being from the same village afforded them some influence and helped them gain the trust of the parents and the children. Thus, participants explained that motivating and encouraging the children to attend their classes was usually conveyed in their own language, as it was important to impart the sentiment to children who were not accustomed to being in a classroom for long periods of time. The idea was foreign to children in the village, but in the view of the participants, it was something the children would have to get used to if they were to attend school when they grew older. The participants meant to make their efforts towards ensuring the children were ready for formal school life a priority and knew that part of their role in their community classroom was to prepare their students for the environment of the formal classroom.

In thinking about this situation for the Orang Asli in a public school classroom, one can see how participants are intending to prepare the children in their village for life in public school. The role of mother tongue in this is to make sure that the children understand what is expected when they enter school later. It is seen as helping the students to understand why they are attending the class, why they need to learn a new language, and why the process they are going through is important to their future. Explaining all this in a language they are unfamiliar with would be difficult. From the participants' perspective, this understanding is an important outcome of their practice of using the mother tongue in the classroom. It was mentioned often in situations where they were interacting with the children, whether it be in trying to keep their children on task, managing behaviour, or in general trying to give their students an impression of what to expect in school. All these efforts seem aimed at preparing the children for what

they believe is expected of the students when they enter formal schooling in a totally different environment, from their village and community.

Subtheme Three: Developing confidence so students can engage actively in learning within the formal classroom.

In their efforts to prepare their students for life in public school, another concern that participants mentioned frequently in interviews was their students' lack of confidence in the public school classroom. Participants bemoaned the lack of interaction between their students and teachers and other students in public school. They felt that the perceived silence and lack of engagement of their students in public school limited the attention their students would get in the public school classroom. For this reason, there was significant discussion in the interviews that related to the participants' desire to see 'bolder', more engaged students in their classrooms. Often, the discussions in interviews would turn towards the hope that the students would feel less alienated because they wanted their students to put up their hands to answer questions or avoid feeling afraid when asked a question in front of their peers. These rationales are consistent with Francis and Reyhner's (2002) assertions that in situations where the official language used in the classroom is the dominant language, indigenous students who speak the non-dominant language, shy away from engagement with the class fearing their own lack of fluency would bring them shame. Research on the effects of language barriers and the immense cultural shift Orang Asli children go through when they begin formal schooling straight from the village indicates that low self-worth often becomes a hindrance to attendance and motivation to continue schooling (Abdullah et al., 2013). This may be the reason why participants concluded that their students lacked the confidence to engage in learning in public-school settings. This was an outlook that was conveyed in interviews about how differently their students behaved when they

were in the community classroom compared to how they behaved in public school classrooms.

According to the participants, their students were more active in their community classrooms and engaged each other as well as with their teachers more because they were free to use their own language. In contrast, the participants thought that in the public school settings the students were timid and reserved, staying quiet and out of the attention of their teachers. There was a strong desire for their students to behave more like what they do in their community classrooms, once they were prepared for life in public school classrooms. This resulted in a desire to help their students develop their proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia so they could learn as their peers from other communities were able to. It is important to note that the participants believed that the key to unlocking more confident students was to make their classroom environment more conducive for student-teacher engagement. In a study conducted by Creese and Blackledge (2010), this desire to create a classroom environment that was more comfortable and welcoming for the student was reflected in the efforts of teachers to use translanguaging strategies with migrant students. Although the context of this study is different from this example, the use of translanguaging by the teachers in Orang Asli classrooms and those mentioned in the Creese and Blackledge study with immigrant students are similar. In four case studies conducted at complementary schools in the UK, Creese and Blackledge (2010) studied the use of translanguaging strategies for the purpose of helping students to connect what they were doing in their classrooms to the “social, cultural, community and linguistic domains of their lives” (p. 112). In doing so, the teachers in these complementary schools allowed their students to participate in the lessons using the language repertoire of both the students and the teachers to negotiate their understanding of the lessons and the activities of the classroom environment (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Similar to the Creese and Blackledge (2010) example,

the participants in this study made their classroom environment a more inclusive space for their students to encourage them to participate more. Despite wanting their students to improve their proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia, they also wanted to use their mother tongue. In particular, the participants described using their mother tongue in translanguaging strategies that they felt encouraged their students put up their hands more, interact more with the teacher or ask more questions. In short, they desired for their students to be participative in the classroom. The descriptions that participants in this study provided paint a familiar picture. It is a picture that has been repeated in many contexts with regards to the use of translanguaging strategies that make the cultural, linguistic and local knowledge of the students and the teachers a useful tool in helping the students learn and develop skills within a bilingual or multilingual space.

Other studies on the use of translanguaging to augment the environment of the classroom to the advantage of the students, highlight strategies that helped students feel that their language is a legitimate part of their classroom environment, resulting in more confident students in the classroom. Charamba and Zano's (2019) South African study affirmed the student centred nature of translanguaging because the concurrent use of indigenous languages and the official medium of instruction (English) in the classroom allowed the students in the classroom to feel that their own language was a useful part of their learning process and suggest this would help indigenous students approach their learning more positively (Charamba & Zano, 2019). This also helped the students perform better when testing was done to see the effectiveness of using mother tongue in translanguaging strategies. Charamba and Zano's (2019) study used material for lessons in the mother tongue, allowing the students to learn effectively in the language they were used to. Thus, although it seems the Orang Asli teachers in this study believed that their students themselves needed to develop confidence, it could be argued that a part of the participants' own efforts to see their students display those qualities in their own

village classrooms, might also be a function of how translanguaging strategies can be employed in public school classrooms to boost confidence in the Orang Asli Students. In other words, the participants themselves seemed to be modelling strategies that may prove effective in helping their students develop confidence. For example, Orang Asli participants in this study mixed the use of their mother tongue into Bahasa Malaysia sentences to help their students grasp the meaning of a sentence. In other situations, they were also known to teach the alphabet in two languages, providing one word for the letter in Bahasa Malaysia and one word in their mother tongue to represent the same alphabet's phonetic sound for both languages. They even made sentences mixing both words and do this by eliciting a response from their students to provide the mother tongue word so it could be used to form a sentence. In using strategies like this, the participants were not only imparting knowledge, but also facilitating the participation of their students in the learning process. Using their mother tongue allowed their students to be a part of the process actively as they are able to set aside their inhibitions regarding responding to their teachers or engaging with their peers in Bahasa Malaysia in a public school classroom.

Theme Four: Education in two languages benefit the individual and the community

The Orang Asli participants believed there were benefits to educating the children in their village in both the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. They saw these benefits in their own lives as a comparison to the lives of the generation before them, and they eagerly wished to show their communities that the same benefits could be passed on to the next generation through education. The participants did not only see education as merely a benefit to the individual but also as one that could reflect well on their own community. They saw their bilingual ability as a desirable trait, allowing them to occupy the world outside their village, yet able to retain their own cultural heritage.

This desire to inhabit two worlds was not without its challenges. Orang Asli participants in this study revealed they did not wish to give up their identities in the process of educating their students; this was evident in their insistence that both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia remained on equal footing when it came to their importance to individuals and the community.

Theme four reflects the pull between the two languages that the participants and their students experienced. Even as participants harboured the expectations of seeing their students achieve success and access to the benefits of mainstream society, they did so with their culture and their identity in mind. Thus, the role of Bahasa Malaysia was seen as a means to an end, helping the Orang Asli gain access to education. On the other hand, the mother tongue was seen as both a tool to bridge the linguistic gap that their students experienced and at the same time a way to preserve their cultural identity.

Finally, the Orang Asli participants considered it a point of pride to preserve their cultural identity. Some of the the participants expressed a desire for their community to be recognised not just as a part of Malaysian society, but as a unique part of society. This meant that they desired their culture and language to stand out instead of it being marginalised; they endeavoured to prove that being Orang Asli was not considered a disadvantage if they were given the same opportunities as other groups in Malaysia. Thus, the following two subthemes reflect the participants' desire for their students to embrace society outside their community but also to do so in a manner that reflected their identity are Orang Asli in Malaysia.

Subtheme One: Teachers want Students to achieve better participation in mainstream society.

The participants' desire for their students to be better engaged with mainstream society was often challenged by the dilemma they faced in learning Bahasa Malaysia.

Participants in this study were asked in their interview to state which language was more important in their classroom. In response to this question, all the participants answered that both were important. This was indicative of their desire to occupy the two spaces in society, the mainstream one, where opportunities for employment and social mobility are more available to them and the localised space of their community, which represents cultural heritage and identity. The participants often referred to Bahasa Malaysia as the language that would be used outside their village, in places of work, in the marketplace and in school, referring to all those spaces as accessible through the use of Bahasa Malaysia. McCarty's (2013) study of Native American youth revealed dilemmas between retaining their cultural heritage and desiring to participate in mainstream life. The pull between their aspirations and the fear of losing their identity posed difficult choices for themselves and their community. These issues are rooted in the ways that minority languages are perceived in society (McCarty, 2013). Often, the desire to retain the minority language is seen in poor light, a problem or a hindrance to completely embracing mainstream society and there are similar sentiments among the Orang Asli. However, McCarty's (2013) findings reflect the same desire for cultural maintenance in Native American communities that are similar to the Orang Asli. They desire to be recognised as part of the mainstream without "forsaking who they are", as some Native American youth in McCarty's (2013) study explain. These are strong desires that shape the ways in which language is used in education, particularly indigenous languages, which do not see much use as MoI in mainstream public schooling.

It is important to note that the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants in this study regarding their use of the mother tongue in their classrooms are a reflection of this dilemma. This was prominently reflected in the translanguaging strategies they employed in their informal classrooms, utilising their mother tongue as part of a toolset

in educating their students. Despite of this dilemma, the participants saw their practices in their classrooms as part of the path to helping their students achieve better participation in mainstream society by embracing both languages. They also saw it as a way to help their community benefit from their interaction with mainstream society, viewing the ability to use Bahasa Malaysia and the mother tongue like a bridge between these two spaces. They often saw Bahasa Malaysia as a means of accessing services like being able to go to a clinic or go to school. Yet, they also believed that with both their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia they would be able to help their community to access those same services.

This perspective of embracing the mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia equally to achieve better participation in mainstream society should emphasise the need for policy planners in formal Malaysian education to consider the value of Orang Asli input in educating their children. As seen in the perspectives of the participants in this study, the use of both languages facilitates the process of gaining access and also preserving identity. Like the participants of this study, Martin (2005) sees the value of mixing the use of different languages in the indigenous classroom, noting that tensions between the policy of using only the national language or English in rural East Malaysian schools versus the practice of using the combined linguistic resources of both teachers and students already occurs. Like their Orang Asli counterparts in Peninsular Malaysia, indigenous teachers in East Malaysia, find ways to incorporate the use of multiple languages to create an environment conducive for access to knowledge for their students (Martin, 2005). Thus, allowing the use of translanguaging strategies in formal public schools may assist Orang Asli students in gaining better learning experiences and reduce the feeling of separation from mainstream society that Orang Asli students so often feel while attending public schools.

Subtheme Two: Teachers see the use of the mother tongue as a way to highlight the value of Orang Asli culture and identity in society.

Responses from Orang Asli participants show that they wanted their students to use of Bahasa Malaysia without sacrificing the mother tongue. They mentioned that their language was still useful and represented who they were as a community. In the context of the classroom in public schools, some participants were eager to point out that they wanted Orang Asli students to prove that they were capable and that Orang Asli communities could rise to the challenge of being educated. Specifically, they believed it was possible with their students being able to speak two languages, their own mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. In essence, this reflected a desire for Orang Asli identities to be affirmed in mainstream society, especially in the classroom. In some interviews, the participants referred specifically to their mother tongue and their identity as unique and desired for both these elements to be part of their students' success in mainstream society, reminding the researcher that they did not intend for their culture and identity to be eclipsed by more dominant identities. The participants' sentiments regarding the preservation of their identity and the concern they felt for their language being forgotten were an indication that the Orang Asli themselves are aware of the dangers their language and culture face when their children have to attend public school and learn in the more dominant language of Bahasa Malaysia. This was because the Orang Asli languages were seen mainly as identity markers for the Orang Asli, relegated to use in their villages and not considered languages that could be used for education in public school (Renganathan & Kral, 2018). Thus, the notion of "linguistic genocide" was very real in the minds of some of the participants, because it highlighted the dangers of language shift experienced in other minority communities in Malaysia (Mukherjee & David, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). It is therefore

important to note that these participants desired for their language to reach a status of some significance and believed in the uniqueness of their language and culture.

The affirmation of minority identities in a classroom is one of the ways to make a classroom more equitable, since recognition of these identities encourage inclusion of the linguistic and cultural experiences of minority communities in the task of teaching the students (Brisk et al., 2015). Brisk et al. (2015) highlight that affirming minority identities opens up opportunities for minority learners to be a part of their learning process when their values, beliefs and way of life are incorporated into the pedagogy of their classrooms. Calls for more Orang Asli centred teaching practices are already a feature of the Orang Asli education landscape. Aminuddin et al. (2019) and Wahab and Mustapha (2013) have focused specifically on the training of teachers from non-Orang Asli backgrounds, noting that there should be more preparation and on-going training for teachers who are posted to rural schools attended by Orang Asli children. They recommend the nature of this training to be centred around Orang Asli culture, language and way of life (Aminuddin et al., 2019), emphasising the importance of providing the Orang Asli students with an environment that is inclusive to them when they attend public school.

From the Orang Asli perspective, the participants in this study were already inherently practising the affirmation of their students' identities, because they themselves represented their communities and understood the difficulties and challenges related to educating their students. In allowing their students to use their mother tongue in the classroom and using it themselves in their translanguaging strategies, the participants found ways to elevate the importance of their language in their classes. They did a number of things to this end, like using the alphabet to spell out mother tongue words, integrating their mother tongue in the teaching of the alphabet and creating materials in their mother tongue for use in the classroom. Although responses

from participants in this study showed that they largely accepted the need to learn Bahasa Malaysia, their incorporation of their own language and culture to the classroom reflected their desire for the mother tongue to remain on equal footing with the dominant Bahasa Malaysia. Thus, the participants' belief in the uniqueness of their identity and the relevance of their culture in their classroom are solidified through the use of their mother tongue.

Core Conceptual Narrative

As mentioned in the previous chapter, inter-relating these four main themes has resulted in the emergence of a core conceptual narrative. This conceptual narrative centred around the outlook of the participants regarding their students' future in the formal public school system. Much of their actions and interactions regarding the use of their mother tongue in their classrooms were motivated by this outlook, which anticipated the challenges their students might face in the public school environment. In response to this outlook, the participants used their mother tongue in tandem with Bahasa Malaysia as part of their translanguaging strategy in their classrooms to support their students' learning and development in preparation for life in the formal public school system in Malaysia. This core conceptual narrative revealed two propositions arising from the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants.

1. Firstly, participants were acting and interacting in their classrooms based on the awareness that their students would need to cross a linguistic divide between their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia to gain access to formal education.
2. Secondly, their perspectives also revealed that despite the knowledge that their mother tongue would not be used as a medium of instruction in the formal school setting, participants still used the mother tongue in translanguaging strategies as a key part of educating their students informally.

Both of these propositions and the corresponding implications are discussed in the following paragraphs and in the final chapter.

Proposition One

The first proposition is that Orang Asli teachers expected that formal education in the Malaysian public school system would be in the medium of Bahasa Malaysia, and were therefore aware that their students must take an additional step to cross a linguistic gap in order to access education in public school. This expectation revealed two key aspects of the Orang Asli participants' perspectives:

1. The first was the dominance of Bahasa Malaysia as the exclusive MoI in the formal public school system.
2. The second was greater linguistic capital of Bahasa Malaysia as a dominant majority language in mainstream Malaysian society compared to Orang Asli Mother tongues.

Key Aspect One: The dominance of Bahasa Malaysia in formal education.

The participants in this study were intentional about assigning equal status to their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia. From their perspectives, they also appeared to assign specific roles to both these languages, reflected in the way they used both languages in their classrooms. Ultimately, the participants viewed their efforts in educating their students as a preparatory process in anticipation of the kind of environment that their students would be experiencing in the formal setting of public school classrooms. This means that although the participants were concerned about maintaining their cultural identity, they were chiefly concerned about their students' competence in Bahasa Malaysia, a dilemma that was constantly alluded to in interviews. While they acknowledged the importance of the mother tongue as an essential part of their practices in the classroom, their awareness that their students were not proficient in

Bahasa Malaysia and the constant reminder that they were reliant on the language to access to formal education compelled them to pay more attention to the dominant language.

In this study, the participants routinely used their mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia in their classrooms, mixing them and switching between them as they went through a lesson, but eventually found that the dominance of Bahasa Malaysia would take over their students' education and separate the mother tongue from further use in the classroom when their students begin formal schooling. As Lambert (1974) describes it, the mother tongue is subtracted from the classroom particularly when a more dominant language like Bahasa Malaysia is taught and used for other subjects as the MoI. Thus, even with the teaching of the mother tongue as a subject continued, the languages were no longer used in tandem as they were in the participants' classrooms. Cummins (2007) refers to this subtractive model of bilingual education as "two solitudes" in which rigid separation between the two languages are observed to avoid supposed interference of the L1 when the L2 is being taught and used in lessons. Indeed, the practice of using the mother tongue and a target language together in a classroom is frowned upon in post-colonial countries like Malaysia (Martin, 2005; Rahim & Ahmadi, 2021). This view of language in education contributes to the diminishing significance of minority languages like those of the Orang Asli. Cases where minority communities including the Orang Asli make decisions to sideline their own mother tongue or home languages and relegate the role of the language to home or community use have already been mentioned in this study and demonstrate the immense challenge that minority communities have in maintaining their cultural and linguistic identity despite their best intentions (Alias & Salasiah, 2015; Mukherjee & David, 2011; Nambiar, 2011). Within their own communities these efforts are often thwarted

when their children begin formal education under the shadow of more dominant languages like Bahasa Malaysia and English.

Key Aspect Two: Bahasa Malaysia's greater linguistic capital applies pressure on minority languages. This second key aspect of Proposition One reflects the reality of what minority communities like the Orang Asli face when it comes to interactions with society outside their communities. The participants in this study expressed frequently that the world outside the Orang Asli village would not use their mother tongue. Languages like Bahasa Malaysia and English would likely take the most precedence in mainstream society and apply pressure on the students to use these languages more as they begin to move out of the village communities and migrate to urban centres (Nambiar, 2011). The recognition that Orang Asli communities increasingly need to rely on other languages to gain access to services that lie outside their communities mean that the participants were aware that they had to prioritise the use of Bahasa Malaysia. Therefore, as noted from their perspectives regarding language use, despite the participants not being prepared to relinquish the important status of their mother tongue, the participants felt they had no choice but to accept the importance of Bahasa Malaysia.

It is in this situation that the power of the position of Bahasa Malaysia as the official language displays its greater linguistic capital and influence in mainstream society compared to minority languages like the Orang Asli mother tongue. As such, the language with more linguistic capital pushed the participants in this study to make literacy in Bahasa Malaysia more important than literacy in their mother tongue. It was also why participants expected their students to be prepared not only linguistically and academically, but also socially for their future outside the community. Often the participants talked about developing a more confident disposition in the classroom, encouraging their students to be engaged in the classroom and participate in activities

with other students from different backgrounds, while at the same time being fully aware that these activities would have to be done in the more dominant language and sideline their mother tongue. These situations are not distinct to the Orang Asli communities alone. Even when official status is granted to non-dominant languages in countries like India and Pakistan the struggle to prioritise the use of those languages in education was still felt (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). The struggles in India and Pakistan have been mainly attributed to the dominance of languages like English which has more linguistic capital and the continued practice of teaching each language in isolation to achieve mastery of that language (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). Often, this practice forced the learners and their teachers to prioritise languages with more linguistic clout in mainstream society and relegated the home language or mother tongue to secondary or even tertiary status (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013). With the powerful linguistic capital that languages with official status hold in society, indigenous languages are usually set aside, often by the minority communities themselves as they see their mother tongues or home languages as less significant or useful in mainstream society (Blommaert, 2006; Canagarajah, 2005b). The participants of this study were clear that they did not wish to see their own mother tongue diminish in significance and be forgotten. It was this concern that remained one of the primary reasons for using their mother tongue, but as the participants revealed, they usually had very little choice if their students were expected to enter the Malaysian public school system. Thus, despite providing support to their students using their mother tongue before they commenced public school, these participants were already resigned to the knowledge that their form of teaching would not exist in the public school classroom. This is an issue that is discussed in Proposition Two as it pertains to the use of the mother tongue and the translanguaging strategies that the participants had come to rely on to provide the necessary support they felt their students needed in their community classrooms. This

issue raises the question of whether these practices could continue for Orang Asli students when they begin studying in public school.

Proposition Two

Proposition two is the participants' use of mother tongue in translanguaging strategies as a key part of educating their students informally in spite of the knowledge that its use would no longer be prioritised in the formal public school classroom. The findings of this study revealed that the participants used the mother tongue in translanguaging strategies informally in much the same way as other minority groups in different cultures do. For example, this study has already highlighted the use of translanguaging practices in the Australian Northern Territories and Western Australia where the use of Traditional Indigenous Languages (TIL), Aboriginal English (AE) and Kriol are mixed into the environment of indigenous classrooms to support the students' learning of Standard Australian English. (Oliver et al., 2020). Indeed, the motivations for using translanguaging strategies in an informal or formal capacity in other minority classroom contexts, whether they be immigrant or indigenous, seemed similar to that of this study's participants. In these cases, the mother tongue or home language is used in these contexts to create an environment that is conducive for the indigenous or immigrant learner. As shown in studies in immigrant classrooms done by Creese and Blackledge (2010) and Duarte (2019, 2020), these studies, highlighted in the literature review chapter, reveal how the mother tongue or home language is used as a way to recognise the background of the students and in turn utilise the learners' linguistic background and knowledge to learn in the classroom. The teachers in these minority classroom contexts, leveraged the dynamic nature of translanguaging strategies because they spoke the language of their students. For example, studies of immigrant classrooms in Luxembourg, Sweden and Malta show the use of translanguaging in learning situations like "show and tell", read-alouds, unstructured playtime and sociodramatic

play (Pontier et al., 2020). In these studies, the teachers modelled the use of two or more languages in the classroom, translated material in their lessons, developed materials in their mother tongue and used the mother tongue to create a space that was safe and conducive for the students to learn. In similar fashion, the participants in this study sought to create a bilingual environment in their classrooms and though they expected their students to develop bilingually, they were aware that these translanguaging strategies would stop when the MoI changes exclusively to Bahasa Malaysia in the public school environment.

This perspective raises an important question as to whether exclusive use of Bahasa Malaysia in public school classrooms should continue when there are potential benefits for the practice of translanguaging using the mother tongue. There are many situations where the benefits of allowing translanguaging to occur in formal education settings have been shown to improve student comprehension and develop student confidence in the classroom (Garcia & Wei, 2015; Lin & He, 2017; Vaish & Subhan, 2015). Studies conducted by Vaish and Subhan (2015) and Lin and He (2017) demonstrate how translanguaging using the mother tongue can improve a student's sense of self, helping them to gain confidence in the classroom as they use their own language to make sense of their lessons through meaning making. The use of their own language also gives the students the ability to themselves employ translanguaging incorporating their own local knowledge into their understanding of what they are learning (Garcia & Wei, 2015) and this is demonstrated in some of the ways participants in this study deliberately referred to everyday activities their students experience to encourage students to respond in the classroom when they introduced new topics during lessons. Some participants talked about how presenting something new in Bahasa Malaysia often drew blank stares from their students but begin to elicit responses from their students when they grounded the topic in their own language and contexts.

These examples highlight the value of bilingual education that utilises translanguaging strategies. They reiterate the concepts of “common underlying proficiencies” and “linguistic interdependence” coined by Cummins (1979), specifically underlining the usefulness of the mother tongue as part of a student’s or teacher’s repertoire to help bridge linguistic gaps when developing competence in a second language (Garcia et al., 2011), which was certainly the goal of the Orang Asli as they prepared their children for public school education. The idea that the Orang Asli can rely on their language as a scaffold for another language also reinforces the call to use non-dominant languages as a MoI in indigenous classrooms, tying the Orang Asli to other indigenous communities like the Welsh and the Maori who have successfully used their mother tongues in their education systems (Baker, 1995; Baker, 2003; May, 2004, 2006). Although the Welsh and Maori examples displayed the successful effects of revitalisation efforts of minority languages these examples showed that a concerted and deliberate effort to prioritise the mother tongue could help communities gain access to quality education and help their communities learn effectively especially in situations where the cultural and linguistic contexts can be very different from mainstream society.

Chapter Conclusion

Orang Asli teachers are an untapped source of knowledge

The perspectives of the participants of this study have opened a window into many opportunities to explore more effective ways to educate their children which deserve further attention and critical analysis. It is important to pay attention to the practices of Orang Asli teachers in these informal community classrooms. In this study, the perspectives of the participants revealed that they were aware of the needs of their students and had chosen to respond to those needs by using translanguaging strategies to

support their students in their informal classrooms. There were two key characteristics that the four themes discussed above revealed regarding the participants of this study. These were revealed through the core conceptual narrative through which two propositions emerged. The first was the participants' awareness that Bahasa Malaysia remained a priority for their students because of its exclusive use as the MoI in the public school system. The second was despite Bahasa Malaysia's immense linguistic capital compared to their mother tongue, the participants were still reliant on the mother tongue through translanguaging strategies to educate their students informally.

Both of these propositions reveal that participants in this study implemented strategies that suited their intent with the goal of attaining their own desired outcomes and expectations for their students. Their perspectives revealed they were themselves aware of their strengths and limitations. Participants in this study were aware of the limitations that held back Orang Asli children in public school. They were concerned about dropouts, illiteracy and children being left behind in mainstream Malaysian society. They recognised the difficulties children from their village faced in getting used to the distinct cultural shift from village life to spending time in a public school setting for long periods of the day (Dali et al., 2013). The challenges of using Bahasa Malaysia to communicate with teachers and children of other backgrounds in school and the difficulties in understanding the lessons in Bahasa Malaysia, were burdens that they understood because they knew the experiences that the Orang Asli children went through firsthand from the experiences of their students in their village.

Indeed, the recognition of their community's limitations in language use were one of the primary reasons why these community classrooms were started to mitigate these challenges. The participants were aware that their students would have to succeed in communicating and comprehending in public school classrooms to remain in school and be successful in it. The participants were aware of how the cultural differences

present in the public school system affected their students. In response, they readily embraced the differences in their own classrooms to help their students develop more. These practices are worth further exploration because the local teachers' knowledge of their own village community enabled them to engage with parents and the children directly without any cultural or linguistic barriers, allowing them to address difficulties directly. As such, these teachers would be relevant stakeholders to consult when considering how best to approach Orang Asli education moving forward. In this regard, precedence has been set in parallel situations referenced earlier in this study with the example of Cambodia's experiences in providing mother tongue education programmes for informal schools in remote villages.

Additionally, the informal practice of these participants reflects an eagerness of the Orang Asli to be directly involved in their children's education and the setting up of their own community classrooms in their villages has afforded the participants a measure of autonomy and agency.. Participants were not encumbered by any obligations imposed on them. To the participants, this was an opportunity to affect a better outcome on the education of the children of their village in the manner that they saw fit. Their responses to the unique challenges that they had come to understand for themselves as members of their own community was a perspective that also extended to their choice of what language to use in the classroom and when to use it. When asked for their perspectives on their ability to choose when and how they used the two languages in the village, participants expressed the feeling of being unrestricted and uninhibited. Thus, paying attention to the participants' agency was an important factor in understanding the participants and their views on language use in the classroom. The key in this was that they could decide for themselves how best to solve the problems and challenges they had in teaching their students. They were also able to try different practices and

determine for themselves the effectiveness of their practice. Thus, their experiences and pedagogies may contribute to knowledge in many aspects of Orang Asli education.

In this study, the perspectives of the Orang Asli participants regarding the use of their mother tongue have been made the focus as a way of recognising the efforts of these participants. This was done by actively and deliberately engaging with the Orang Asli teachers, giving them a voice and an opportunity to reveal their own perspectives on the challenges of their efforts and the strategies they employed with their mother tongue to mitigate the difficulties they experienced. Doing so also revealed how they valued their mother tongue and used it to their advantage in their classrooms to support their students' progress. Understanding the participants' perspectives also encourages more exploration into how Orang Asli can contribute to the development of curriculum, provide their own human resources that can be trained to teach their children and ultimately determine for themselves how best to educate their children. The implications that have emerged from this discussion and the recommendations for how the knowledge of the Orang Asli teachers can contribute to improving education for Orang Asli children will be presented as part of the concluding chapter of this study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Summary of Study

The aim of this study was to discover perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding their use of mother tongue in their informal classrooms. Thus, the research question asked was: What are the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal classrooms? This question is important because research into the use of the mother tongue in informal indigenous classrooms is lacking, particularly when it comes to Orang Asli education. Much of the focus is instead placed on the Orang Asli and their experiences within formal classrooms, but this study focused on the volunteer Orang Asli teachers, teaching in community classrooms that have been established in their own villages. This study sought to discover perspectives on the use of the participants' mother tongue to better understand the intent, strategies, outcomes and expectations of their language practices in their own classrooms through the descriptions they provided regarding their experiences and their rationales behind their language practices when they teach their students.

Capturing the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers was a significant endeavour in that it allowed them to express their views regarding the education of Orang Asli children and describe the ways in which they have come to deal with the challenges they faced. The results of this study have shown that perspectives of the Orang Asli voluntary teachers revealed that their practices in the informal classroom corresponded with their understanding of the challenges their student faced in formal education. Thus, their response to these challenges was reflected in the way they used their mother tongue for education and the way in which their mother tongue was used in tandem with the more dominant language of Bahasa Malaysia. Within these perspectives, participants acknowledge the realities of the position of their mother

tongue in comparison to Bahasa Malaysia. They were aware that they had to strike a balance between both their own language and the national language when it came to their practice in their classroom. This study shows how the participants are attempting to balance preparing their students for education that does not use their mother tongue as a MoI, while at the same time trying to maintain their cultural identity. As such, the participants in this study wished to bridge a linguistic gap to mitigate the disadvantages students might experience when receiving a formal education that is not in their own language, whilst at the same time maintaining a sense of unique identity even when the students enter into the public school domain.

To capture the perspectives of the Orang Asli volunteer teachers in this study, the interpretivist paradigm was used to underpin the methodological approach in order to “understand how others understand their world” (O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 9). Thus, this approach sought to find the significance behind the use of the mother tongue in the classroom by giving the participants a platform to voice their own perspectives through the use of semi-structured interviews. The four components of intent, strategies, outcomes and expectations were used to formulate four corresponding guiding questions which were in turn used to develop the interview questions for this study. In this study, 10 participants were interviewed. The interviews were transcribed and translated into English and analysed using techniques drawn from grounded theory, such as open and axial coding to classify data into categories which were in turn used to draw out the main themes of the perspectives from the participants. From this point the themes that emerged were inter-related to form a core conceptual narrative. This conceptual narrative reintegrates the themes that emerged from the perspectives of the participants to form two propositions which were discussed in the previous chapter.

The Orang Asli teachers' views and perspectives were analysed to reveal how important the use of mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia were to the teaching practices

in their classrooms. This study also explored the views behind the choices the participants made in using the forementioned languages in their teaching practice. The interaction between the use of mother tongue and Bahasa Malaysia within Orang Asli classrooms was a key finding of this study, as the participants in this study found ways to incorporate both languages into the classroom environment. As mentioned, they achieved this through the use of translanguaging strategies allowing both languages to shape the classroom environment for specific purposes.

Through the analysis of the interview data, this study classified the perspectives of the participants into three categories. The first was the participants' perspectives on the use of languages in their classrooms. The second was the participants' perspectives on the ways they used languages to teach, and the third was the participants' perspectives on what could be gained from their practices in their classrooms. These three categories represent the most prominent areas of focus during interviews among the participants. Within these three categories, the participants described in more detail their practices and their rationales behind them, which allowed the researcher to draw out four main themes of this study. These four main themes are:

- 1) The use of two languages in the Orang Asli classroom is important;
- 2) Employing bilingual strategies is essential in the Orang Asli classroom.
- 3) Orang Asli teachers want students to develop skills and dispositions that are useful for the formal classroom;
- 4) Education in two languages benefits the individual and the community.

These four themes encompass a variety of issues that the participants saw as important to their community and to the students that they taught. Each of these themes

was organised into several subthemes which were discussed in detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Through the four separate themes this study reveals the conditions that influenced the practices of the participants in their classrooms. The themes reflect the responses that the participants made towards how they viewed their situation as informal educators to the children in their village. Through the process of selective coding these four themes were inter-related and revealed that the participants of this study based their actions and interactions in the classroom on one main condition which was the expectation that the usage of Bahasa Malaysia as the dominant language in public classrooms would make their language irrelevant in public education. This condition formed the core conceptual narrative of this study as the participants anticipated the challenges their students would face in Bahasa Malaysia classrooms and focused their efforts in the classroom on preparing their students for these challenges. However, despite this condition the participants were still using their mother tongue and believed that in their capacity as informal educators in their village, the mother tongue is an effective and useful tool. This core narrative raises important implications regarding the use of the mother tongue in formal education to create an environment where the use of the mother tongue continues so that Orang Asli students may benefit from the support that it provides as they transition into formal education.

Limitations of the research

Due to the specificity of the sampling and the geographical constraints of this study, limitations to the sample size confined the number of participants to only 10, covering only one state in Peninsular Malaysia. This meant that the data collected was only representative of a small segment of volunteer Orang Asli teachers practising in informal community classrooms. Considering that there are other community

classrooms in other villages across different states in Peninsular Malaysia, where other Orang Asli groups speak in other languages and live in areas with different circumstances than the participants from this study, there may be opportunities to explore many more perspectives regarding the use of their mother tongue in those context. This was, however, not possible in this study due to the limited time available to complete this study.

Taking into consideration the stipulated time frame for the completion of this study and travel difficulties associated with the remoteness of the schools, a pilot study and follow-up interviews with participants could not be done. In the early stages of planning this study, observations of these informal classrooms were considered to provide further depth to this study. However, observations were not logistically possible due to the time constraints placed on this study considering the additional time that would have been needed in order to secure ethical approvals to conduct full scale observations within indigenous classrooms.

In order to achieve saturation of data, in-depth interviews commonly require follow up interviews to deepen and enrich data provided by the participants, but opportunities to do so were not possible due to the time and logistical constraints. Despite this, interview transcripts were compared with each other as interviews continued to be conducted. Notes were taken regarding each interview experience in the researcher's field journal and used to refine the questions asked in the next interview to help the researcher probe for more insights from the participants as the study progressed. A pilot study was planned with questions prepared for use in semi-structured interviews with volunteer participants from NGOs that supported some of the participants in this study. These pilot interviews were prepared to determine the appropriateness of interview questions based on sensitivity to Orang Asli culture and

customs and the level of Bahasa Malaysia used in the interviews. However, this was not possible in the time allotted to the researcher.

Logistical difficulties were particularly challenging in this study for several reasons. First, keeping in contact with participants was challenging as turnaround times for receiving and sending messages took several days because cellular or internet services do not reach remote areas where some of the villages are located. This meant that communication was slow and required careful planning and organisation. Secondly, access to some of the villages also required the hiring of vehicles that could drive further into the interiors and required drivers who knew how to get to these villages. Arranging for a vehicle and the availability of a driver with the knowledge to get to these villages could sometimes take weeks, and as such the researcher was forced to complete interviews within a small window of opportunity. Thus, the overall difficulties in gaining access to the participants limited the depth of this study.

There are also other limitations, one of which is tied to the use of language in this study. As presented in the Methodology section of this study, the interviews for this study were conducted in the participants' second language, Bahasa Malaysia. The interviews were transcribed in Bahasa Malaysia first to maintain the accuracy and then translated by the researcher into English before analysis was conducted. The researcher also considers the Bahasa Malaysia language to be a second language and there are some limitations to understanding nuances in meaning that may occur. Once again, it is important to recognise and acknowledge the subjectivity in the meaning of translations based on the experiences of the researcher and the participants of this study as they both express their ideas and their perspectives through the use of a second language (Van Ness et al., 2010).

Implications

The perspectives that the Orang Asli participants expressed in this study have revealed that the bilingual practices they employed in their classrooms featured translanguaging strategies. They believed that these strategies were effective and necessary teaching methods that fulfilled the needs of their students in the classroom. These needs included preparation of their students for entering formal education in a different language, the need for their students to be able to command the use Bahasa Malaysia so they could participate in mainstream Malaysian society and the need to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity through the use of their mother tongue despite the need to embrace a more dominant language and culture. It is noted that although the participants acknowledged that Bahasa Malaysia remains a priority in public school classrooms, the participants were very much in favour of using their mother tongue through translanguaging strategies in their informal classes. Indeed, the participants expressed that their practices, which reflected a dynamic and flexible translanguaging strategy, were relied upon in preparing their students for formal education in Bahasa Malaysia. Thus, the perspectives drawn from this study form the basis for the implications for policy, practice and future research regarding Orang Asli mother tongue education, described below.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The implications drawn from the findings of this study cover a wide range of issues regarding policy and practice pertaining to Orang Asli education. In light of the concerns that have been mentioned above, the list of the main implications for this study are as follows:

1. There needs to be appropriate teacher education for volunteer Orang Asli teachers.
2. Orang Asli centred training should be a requirement for mainstream teachers.
3. Translanguaging strategies should be recognised and utilised to support Orang Asli students in formal education.
4. Consulting with Orang Asli teachers and their community regarding their children's education is important.
5. Volunteer Orang Asli teachers should be recruited for service in mainstream public schools.
6. Policies regarding Orang Asli education should shift towards Orang Asli perspectives.

1. There needs to be appropriate teacher education for volunteer Orang Asli teachers. The participants in this study were not formally trained teachers and had received only limited training from the NGOs they were affiliated with. Other participants with no affiliations with any organisation had been teaching without any formal training for many years. However, if there were pathways for these experienced volunteer teachers to achieve qualifications that would enhance their teaching skills and help them synergise their practices with up-to-date teaching methods, it would help these teachers become more effective in their efforts to educate the children in their villages. Training volunteer Orang Asli teachers in these communities would also enable them to teach as helpers or co-teachers in public schools attended by Orang Asli children. This would also allow Orang Asli teachers the opportunity to support Orang Asli students even as they entered an environment where their own mother tongue was not usually used. As volunteer teachers, some participants in this study mentioned that they lacked training, often mentioning that they began teaching straight after completing

secondary school or learnt from other volunteer teachers while they worked as helpers in kindergartens before taking over the community classrooms in their village. Although the participants in this study did not explicitly request that they would like to be trained, they may welcome the offer to gain formal training if given the opportunity to do so. Further training and equipping of Orang Asli teachers in the use of teaching strategies that leverage their indigenous culture and language would be a useful addition to training courses as well. As seen in this study, the Orang Asli teachers have much to offer when it comes to the use of their mother tongue as a tool that supports their students' learning. The participants in this study utilised the knowledge of their language and culture alongside the use of Bahasa Malaysia within their own informal classrooms and these practices could be used as a model for more formalised practice in mainstream Malaysian education. When these Orang Asli teachers are given the opportunity to share their knowledge and experience regarding the use of their language and culture, a more indigenous focused Orang Asli pedagogy can be researched and developed for use in formal public school classrooms. These would equip Orang Asli teachers with the tools they need to teach and support Orang Asli children in formal public school classrooms.

2. Orang Asli centred training should be a requirement for mainstream teachers. There are also implications for teachers in training who will be stationed in public schools in the rural interiors of Malaysia, where they are most likely to encounter Orang Asli children attending public schools. In studies conducted by Harun et al. (2020) and Aminuddin et al. (2019), mainstream teachers stationed in schools with Orang Asli students felt that the differences in culture and language of the Orang Asli remained barriers to their efforts in teaching effectively. In the Aminuddin et al. (2019) study where 12 teachers stationed in areas where Orang Asli children attended public school were surveyed, respondents expressed their concerns regarding their lack of

training before they began their work in these schools. This was an important insight, as these teachers expressed their views on the challenges they faced in teaching Orang Asli in public school classrooms; their views on practice in the classroom should be seen through the lens of Orang Asli experiences, particularly the experiences of Orang Asli teachers. Training that includes Orang Asli perspectives could turn attitudes towards mother tongue languages away from being viewed as hurdles to better education and move them towards the view that the mother tongue can be celebrated and used to help Orang Asli children achieve more. However, among the 12 participants only one teacher was trained specifically for Orang Asli education, although it is not indicated how this individual was trained (Aminuddin et al., 2019). Nevertheless, this study indicates that there is a need for mainstream teachers who are stationed in areas where Orang Asli are attending school to be trained appropriately before they begin service. Indeed, the Aminuddin et al. (2019) study lists key areas in which concerted focus should be placed in training teachers to help ensure the needs of Orang Asli children are met with regards to their education. These areas include training and preparation in: 1) An Orang Asli centred curriculum based on the needs of the Orang Asli students; 2) Practices that are focused on elements of Orang Asli history, culture, language, belief and way of life, and; 3) Effective communication, particularly in the use of Orang Asli languages (Aminuddin et al., 2019).

These areas of focus are echoed by DeMejia and Helot (2015) who lay out three foundations that bridge the gaps between teacher training and the realities of teaching children who speak non-dominant languages in the classroom. The first is a need for teachers to have a comprehensive knowledge of the experiences of the children and an acceptance that they are developing as bilingual or multilingual learners, instead of monolingual ones (DeMejia & Helot, 2015). The second foundation is the understanding of non-dominant language learners' home and community context

(DeMejia & Helot, 2015). By orienting teachers towards the non-dominant language learners' contexts in education, teachers can begin to provide targeted support within the education system. This helps the students to familiarise themselves with their new environment in the public school classroom. Finally, the third important foundation is the ability to integrate knowledge from the students' culture, language and social context into the material they are teaching (DeMejia & Helot, 2015). Focus in these areas might help in the reorientation of teacher education towards the Orang Asli perspectives so mainstream teachers teaching in these schools may be more equipped to address the challenges they face in teaching Orang Asli children.

3. Translanguaging strategies should be recognised and utilised to support Orang Asli students in formal education. While the implications stated above have focused on teacher training for Orang Asli volunteer teachers and mainstream teachers in public schools, the implications for policy and practice in the next few paragraphs point to the possibility of using translanguaging strategies for the education of the Orang Asli as a teaching strategy in formal and voluntary schools. This is an implication that strikes at the heart of this study because the perspectives of the participants show the importance of mother tongue use in their classrooms despite the knowledge that their children will have to navigate formal education in Bahasa Malaysia. The participants considered the use of translanguaging strategies as a viable form of practice for the benefit of Orang Asli students who would eventually attend public school. Thus, a further implication is the need to consider the recognition of Orang Asli languages as viable languages for the purpose of education in public school classrooms, particularly as it pertains to its use as a way to support Orang Asli learning in the classroom. In Malaysian public schools, the use of Bahasa Malaysia takes priority as the MoI for education where there is no room for the use of minority indigenous languages like Semai or Temiar (Puteh, 2010). However, the participants of this study have themselves

demonstrated that the use of their mother tongue in translanguaging strategies and these practices deserve more attention as possible teaching strategies used in areas where Orang Asli children attend public school. Translanguaging strategies have been adopted in many different contexts across many cultures and settings. Examples of translanguaging have emerged in Hong Kong, where studies show the use of the mother tongue in translanguaging strategies have helped students engage better with their peers during class interactions (Sanders-Smith & Davila, 2019). Other examples in Luxembourg present the case for the use of translanguaging strategies as a way to ensure that students feel safe and included in their classroom space, allowing them to participate in the activities of the lesson (Kirsch et al., 2020). Still other examples show translanguaging is a useful strategy in engaging the use of the languages that students speak for the purposes of helping them develop a deeper understanding of materials that are presented to them in another language, or filling gaps in the students' knowledge of the new language with the scaffold of their own languages (French & Armitage, 2020; Seltzer et al., 2020). In these examples, spread across different settings, translanguaging coupled with the perspectives of the participants of this study should provide the basis for consideration regarding the merits of using the Orang Asli mother tongue through translanguaging strategies for Orang Asli students who attend formal public school.

4. Consulting with Orang Asli teachers and their community regarding their children's education is important. Another implication for policy and practice with regards to the use of the Orang Asli mother tongue through translanguaging is the possibility of turning to Orang Asli volunteer teachers as a resource for more knowledge and expertise in developing translanguaging strategies for use in public schools. Orang Asli teachers who teach in village community classrooms are well suited for this role as they can be consulted on various concerns regarding Orang Asli children. For example, non-Orang Asli teachers in public schools who frequently express concerns about

language barriers and differences in cultural norms with their Orang Asli students (Harun et al., 2020), would benefit from consultation with Orang Asli teachers. Orang Asli teachers are familiar with the attitudes of their students and have used translanguaging strategies in situations where classroom and behaviour management is needed. Their knowledge of customs and the values that Orang Asli consider important to their communities would be useful knowledge that could help develop classroom practices and materials that include translanguaging and reflect culturally sensitivity teaching practices. Thus, Orang Asli teachers could contribute with their knowledge and familiarity with their students to help non-Orang Asli teachers in public schools, who find it hard to interact with their Orang Asli students (Harun et al., 2020). There are significant examples of how consultation with indigenous communities regarding the education of their children have resulted in policies or practices in formal schooling or voluntary schools. The clearest examples can be seen in revitalisation efforts among the Maori communities in New Zealand, where members of the Maori speaking community were engaged to help develop Maori education. Although the Maori context is different from that of the Orang Asli in that their example covers the broader work of revitalising the language at a national level, the example of community engagements and consultation with the Maori speaking community represented a significant factor in the success of the language and its use in Maori language education (May, 2004). This suggests a similar principle of engaging the perspectives of Orang Asli teachers at the community level may be applied. Practices in Orang Asli community classrooms may provide insights into effective translanguaging strategies that can be adapted into practice in formal school settings for Orang Asli students.

5. Volunteer Orang Asli teachers should be recruited for service in mainstream public schools. Finally, the Orang Asli teachers could themselves be recruited into mainstream public schools as Education Assistants. This in specifically in

regards to helping in the implementation of translanguaging strategies and the use of Orang Asli mother tongues as standard practice in formal public schools. In this study participants revealed the strategies and the rationales behind their teaching practice in their community classrooms. They expressed their belief that both languages have a place in their classrooms for various practical reasons and have used both languages interchangeably during lessons for the benefit of their students. Although these Orang Asli teachers were not formally trained they were familiar with what the students were learning and are able to help their student make meaning especially with complex concepts or ideas. For example, an Orang Asli teaching assistant could draw on a shared reservoir of cultural knowledge to help the Orang Asli students contextualise the content presented to them in the classroom. What's more, these assistants would be able to translate unfamiliar words or concepts in their mother tongue and help the students achieve deeper understanding. Within the context of this study, Orang Asli students who attended public school frequently attended tutoring classes conducted using their mother tongue. These classes conducted by the participants in their village continued to help their students even after they have begun formal schooling. While these tutoring classes were held outside the formal classroom, the work that Orang Asli teachers do could be part of in-class support. Therefore, Orang Asli teachers could be approached to provide such support to Orang Asli children who have begun formal schooling and provide additional help as they transition from learning in a village classroom to learning in public school.

Similarly, the programmes designed to provide mother tongue education for indigenous communities in Cambodia are a good example of how local community speakers of minority languages can be recruited and trained to provide support and teach their own children. In these programmes, Kosonen (2005) found that one of the major factors in the success of mother tongue education programmes in Cambodia was

the use of local community members as teachers, volunteers and curriculum developers. Thus, in consideration of what Orang Asli teachers have to offer in terms of the local knowledge of their culture, language and community values, combined with the knowledge and experience which come from their own practice, it would seem that the recruitment and training of the Orang Asli themselves could be a plan worth exploring for the implementation of translanguaging strategies in public school classrooms.

6. Policies regarding Orang Asli education should shift towards Orang Asli perspectives. The final implication for policy and practice derived from this study addresses the views of Orang Asli culture and languages as barriers towards progress in educating Orang Asli children. Within the public education space in Malaysia, this is a common view that frames the linguistic and cultural differences of the Orang Asli as the focus of the challenges they face in public school classrooms. It is also viewed as part of the reason why Orang Asli drop out of school or fail to continue their studies further within the Malaysian education system (Salleh & Ahmed, 2009). However, it is important to note that the participants in this study indicated through their perspectives on the use of their mother tongue and the practice of translanguaging strategies, that Orang Asli languages and culture are essential in efforts to educate Orang Asli children. This was evident in the ways the participants in this study viewed the role of their language as an important resource in their classroom and the value they placed on their agency and independence when it came to deciding how to use their mother tongue in the classroom. Similarly, Garcia and Wei (2015) view the importance of recognising the role that multiple languages play in the classroom, noting that the use of the mother tongue and teaching strategies like translanguaging have helped educators in bilingual and multilingual settings improve learning experiences for non-dominant language speakers like the Orang Asli. With the experiences and perspectives of the participants of this study in mind, it is important to begin shifting views regarding Orang Asli

culture and language towards acknowledging them as valuable resources that could be tapped to help Orang Asli children progress in their education and away from notions that they are barriers and problems that impede progress in education for Orang Asli children.

One way to engender this shift towards Orang Asli perspectives, particularly around the topic of using their mother tongue in education, is to support the further recognition of Orang Asli languages as official languages that can be used in areas where Orang Asli children attend public school. This policy would further legitimise the use of the mother tongue in education and support further development of standardised writing systems for these languages. Indeed, some participants in this study expressed their desire for their language and culture to be recognised as a unique part of Malaysian society and emphasised that Orang Asli children deserve equal opportunities in receiving quality education. These opportunities could come from the use of Orang Asli mother tongue languages as an official MoI which would allow Orang Asli children to learn in their own language. In this respect, models of mother tongue education (MTE) used in primary school already exist in different contexts. There are of course the examples of Maori and Welsh, but there are also examples in post-colonial context like Ethiopia where the use of MTE has seen success in education outcomes at the primary school level (Sied, 2016). Finally, a shift towards Orang Asli perspectives in the development of policy and practice for Orang Asli education could encourage the development and sourcing of teaching materials and resources relevant to Orang Asli teachers and learners. Creating these resources would be an important step toward improving education outcomes for Orang Asli communities. The Charamba and Zano (2019) study demonstrates this impact in South Africa, showing that academic outcomes can improve with the development of materials created in the mother tongue.

Ultimately, the goal in shifting the views of teachers and educators within the Malaysian education system towards Orang Asli perspectives is a step towards accepting Orang Asli identities as part of their classrooms. This would go a long way towards dealing with the challenges that Orang Asli children face linguistically and culturally within a classroom in a public school setting. A shift towards an emphasis in educating Orang Asli children in their social, cultural, and historical context is essentially what the participants of this study were already doing in their community classrooms, but it is the environment of the public school classroom that could be changed to provide more support when Orang Asli children begin formal schooling, if a change in outlook can be made in the public school classroom (Garcia & Markos, 2015). This shift towards Orang Asli centred policy and practice is not just a way to affirm the identities of the minority children, it also encourages both teachers and children to engage in the sharing of knowledge and begins to promote the integration of both languages into the classroom environment (Brisk et al., 2015). In other words, an important marker of effective teaching practice for teachers tasked with educating Orang Asli children within the public school system would require them to embrace Orang Asli views and values, accepting that their perspective on education should be respected and be taken into consideration as part of the process of education.

Implications for Future Research

Research into the perspectives of volunteer Orang Asli teachers in this study has demonstrated the potential for gaining more knowledge regarding Orang Asli education that could be useful for educators and education policy makers in Malaysia and beyond. Thus, it is essential that more research be conducted to explore the practices and perspectives of the Orang Asli community, particularly in the area surrounding informal education and volunteer teaching within the Orang Asli communities. As this study has done, the highlighting of Orang Asli teachers' perspectives raises important

implications for how Orang Asli children are educated and may complement other forms of research regarding effective teaching practice for Orang Asli students. To that end, there are other opportunities for research that could be proposed in order to add depth to knowledge in the area of Orang Asli education, from Orang Asli perspectives.

Expanding the Scope of Research. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, limitations with regards the sample size of this study were due to the specificity of the sampling and geographical constraints. This narrowed the study and confined it to only a small group of 10 Orang Asli volunteer teachers within one state. There are many other states in Peninsular Malaysia where other Orang Asli groups reside and there might be opportunities to explore the perspectives of these communities if there are community classrooms established in those villages. These communities speak languages that are different from the participants of this study and may perhaps have different perspectives from the participants of this study. Pursuing research into the perspectives of other Orang Asli groups would broaden the scope of studies like this one, taking into consideration more variation in participants from different areas and different language groups. The variation would allow more comparisons to be made across different states, sub-groups and context to improve transferability in this study.

Including Orang Asli Students' Perspectives. Another opportunity for research which focuses on Orang Asli perspectives is to shift the focus from the Orang Asli teacher to the Orang Asli student. While there are many studies regarding the perspectives of Orang Asli students in the context of the public school classroom, the opportunity to explore the perspectives of Orang Asli students in the contexts of the informal school settings should not be ignored. Studies in other communities around the world which centre on student experiences are important in revealing the effectiveness of bilingual programs or the use of mother tongue in schools. The Charamba and Zano (2019) example used in this study reflects the value of engaging students and their

perspectives to contribute to knowledge about using the mother tongue in classrooms through translanguaging strategies. Other studies like the one conducted by DeNicolò (2019) show the value of observing and engaging students to provide their perspectives in research. Although focused on both the teacher and the Mayan students of a Spanish/English Year 1 classroom in the United States, the study revealed through observations and interviews how students and teachers interact and use their mother tongue as well as other languages in their linguistic repertoire to navigate through lessons in their classrooms (DeNicolò, 2019). Likewise, studies that are centred on the work of Orang Asli as they use the resources available to them to educate their children would be valuable knowledge that could contribute to discussions on teaching practice and language use for the Orang Asli. Thus, as this study has given voice to volunteer Orang Asli teachers in informal community classrooms, research on the use of the mother tongue by the students in these Orang Asli community classrooms would provide Orang Asli children with a voice and provide insight into how they understand their teachers and their peers, what they prefer to do in their informal classroom environment and what drives them to behave in the ways that they do when they are in the environment of a bilingual classroom.

Studying Orang Asli students' perspectives could also reveal more knowledge on natural translanguaging that may occur in the classroom among the Orang Asli children and this could be compared to the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers to determine if the assumptions made by Orang Asli teachers regarding their students are accurate within the environment of their classrooms. This knowledge could also help to determine if the practices of the volunteer Orang Asli teachers are effective from the perspectives of their students. Furthermore, comparisons between the experiences of Orang Asli students learning in informal community classroom environments and the experiences of learning in formal public education classrooms could also provide

contributions to knowledge that could be significant in determining the effectiveness of practice in both settings.

Other Qualitative Methods. Further research on the practices of Orang Asli teachers could be carried out using alternative methods. Besides the use of semi-structured interviews that was the main means of data collection in this study, classroom observations and ethnographic studies on the use of the mother tongue and teaching practices like translanguaging may reveal other facets of the Orang Asli teachers' practices and experiences in their informal classrooms. Observations in the classrooms of these volunteer Orang Asli teachers may be useful in determining the consistency between what is mentioned regarding practice and what is done within the environment of the classroom. It may also provide opportunities to observe the responses of Orang Asli students to the strategies employed by their teachers. In other words, observational research over a period of time could provide more elaborated descriptions of the phenomena occurring in the classroom (Good, 1988). In the case of Orang Asli teachers and the context of their own community classrooms, this could mean the evaluation of current practices to gauge efficacy or to determine the effectiveness of new practices used in the classroom.

Mixed Methods and Longitudinal Studies. Finally, mixed methods longitudinal studies that track the experiences and progress of Orang Asli students through their development in community schools taught by volunteer teachers could also provide valuable insights regarding the use of mother tongue and its effectiveness in the classroom. For the Orang Asli participants of this study in particular, the preference for using mother tongue in their classroom has come from perspectives that are based in the practicalities of using the same language as their students and their desire to continue the use of the language for the purposes of maintaining cultural identity and to bridge the gap between their communities and the mainstream society

that uses different languages. This study, however, does not determine the effectiveness of their practices outside of their responses to their preference for using the mother tongue in tandem with Bahasa Malaysia in the classroom. While this study provides one perspective coming from the Orang Asli themselves, other studies that may find complementary data to determine efficacy in the practices used by Orang Asli teachers in informal settings and would enhance knowledge regarding this area of research in more quantifiable ways. Together, input from qualitative and quantitative studies may help provide volunteer Orang Asli teachers as well as public school teachers with additional tools for targeted improvement in their delivery of education to Orang Asli students. Furthermore, studies that cover a wide scope of methods could provide assistance in the development of Orang Asli focused policy and practice in informal community classrooms, public schools and beyond.

Chapter Conclusion

This study was conducted to discover the perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers regarding the use of their mother tongue in their informal community classrooms. In this study, participants revealed a deep awareness of the challenges that their students faced within the Malaysian education system that saw them turn to the use of linguistic resources like their mother tongue to prepare their students for the environment of the Malaysian public school system. Through the perspectives of the participants in this study, an understanding of the use of their mother tongue, the intent and strategies they employed as well as the outcomes and the benefits they expected their students to reap from their efforts provides a view of Orang Asli education that privileges the voice of the Orang Asli participants themselves. It was a central element of this study's aim to present the Orang Asli perspective and highlight the importance of viewing Orang Asli education through the lens of the Orang Asli volunteer teachers, who could prove to be a valuable resource in understanding Orang Asli culture,

language, values and way of life. This study has also shown that Orang Asli teachers offer a wealth of knowledge regarding the work that they do, highlighting the needs that must be met in order to help Orang Asli children succeed in school.

These Orang Asli participants shared their practices on their informal classrooms and in doing so revealed the rationales behind the strategies they employed for the benefit of their students. These perspectives highlight the use of their mother tongue despite the acknowledged importance of more dominant languages like Bahasa Malaysia that threaten to push the mother tongue aside, as they seek to help their students embrace mainstream society through the public school system. In addition, the contributions of the participants in this study help to emphasise the Orang Asli's desire to protect their cultural and linguistic identities and signal the importance of recognising and supporting the Orang Asli's own efforts in their villages. These efforts highlight the need to include the perspectives of the Orang Asli community and indeed their own teachers in the planning and implementation of policy and practice for Orang Asli Education. Finally, the responses of these Orang Asli participants also stress the need to provide more inclusive support for Orang Asli children when they begin attending public schools so that they can feel safe and participate in public school on an equal footing without sacrificing their unique cultural identity.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Research Title: Mother tongue use in informal indigenous education: The perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers in Peninsula Malaysia.

Interview Protocol Sheet:

Time of interview:	40 min. - 1 hr.
Date:	
Place:	
Interviewer:	Keith Chin
Interviewee:	
Position of interviewee:	Volunteer Teacher

Research Description:

What are the perspectives of volunteer Orang Asli teachers, regarding the use of mother tongue in their informal village classrooms?

Questions:

Guiding Question 1:	<p>From the perspectives of the Orang Asli teachers what are the intentions for use of the various languages, including mother tongue in their classroom?</p> <p>Why do they have these intentions and where do these ideas come from?</p> <p>Dari pandangan guru Orang Asli apakah niat penggunaan bahasa-bahasa yang didalam kelas, termasuk penggunaan bahasa ibunda?</p> <p>Mengapa mereka mempunyai niat tersebut dan dari mana idea ini muncul?</p>
Questions	<p>What is your mother tongue? Or What language do you use in your home?</p> <p>Apakah bahasa ibunda anda? Atau Apakah bahasa yang anda gunakan dirumah?</p> <p>What is the most common language in your village? Is it the same as the language you use in your home?</p> <p>Apakah bahasa yang paling banyak digunakan di kampung? Adakah bahasa ini sama dengan bahasa yang anda guna dirumah?</p> <p>What language is used the most in the home of the children you teach?</p> <p>Apakah bahasa yang di gunakan di dalam rumah anak-anak yang anda ajar?</p> <p>Do you think it's important to use your mother tongue? (UV) Why? (UV)</p> <p>Adakah penggunaan bahasa ibunda penting? Mengapa?</p> <p>Do you use your mother tongue in the classroom when you teach the children? (RO) Why or why not? (UV)</p>

	<p>Adakah anda guna bahasa ibunda di dalam kelas apabila mengajar anak-anak? Mengapa ya atau tidak?</p> <p>How important is the choice of language in your classroom? Why?</p> <p>Adakah ia penting untuk membuat pilihan yang tepat mengenai penggunaan bahasa di dalam kelas? Mengapa?</p>
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Guiding Question 2:	<p>What are the strategies that Orang Asli enact to make their intentions a reality in the classroom?</p> <p>Apakah kaedah guru Orang Asli untuk menjayakan niat mereka di dalam kelas?</p> <p>Why do they choose these strategies?</p> <p>Mengapa guru Orang Asli memilih kaedah tersebut?</p>
Questions	<p>How many languages do you use in the classroom? (MP)</p> <p>Berapa bahasa digunakan di dalam kelas?</p> <p>Do you use more than one language? What are those languages? (CP)</p> <p>Adakah anda gunakan lebih daripada satu bahasa? Apakah bahasa yang anda gunakan?</p> <p>Can you give me an example of how you use the different languages in the classroom? (RO) Why do you use different languages?</p> <p>Bolehkah anda berikan contoh bagaimana anda gunakan bahasa-bahasa yang anda sebutkan? Apakah sebab anda memilih untuk menggunakan bahasa-bahasa itu?</p> <p>Which languages are the easiest for the children to understand? Which are the hardest? (MP) (CP)</p> <p>Apakah bahasa yang paling difahami anak-anak yang anda ajar? Apakah bahasa yang paling susah?</p> <p>What are some of the challenges or difficulties in using the various languages in your classroom? Which do you have the most difficulties with? (CP)</p> <p>Apakah cabaran atau kesusahan menggunakan bahasa-bahasa di dalam kelas anda? Bahasa yang manakah memberikan cabaran yang terbesar?</p>

Guiding Question 3:	<p>How are these strategies and intentions significant to them?</p> <p>Adakah kaedah yang ada digunakan untuk memenuhi niat anda mempunyai kesan ketara?</p> <p>Why do the Orang Asli see them as significant?</p> <p>Mengapa Orang Asli menganggap kaedah and niat ini penting?</p>
Questions	<p>Which languages do you prefer to use? (G/P) Why? (UV)</p> <p>Bahasa yang mana anda anggap sebagai bahasa yang anda lebih suka guna? Mengapa?</p> <p>Which language do you think the children prefer you use? (G/P)</p> <p>Bahasa yang manakah anak murid anda lebih suka guna?</p> <p>Do you use the language that the children prefer? (G/P) Why? (UV)</p> <p>Adakah anda menggunakan bahasa yang di gunakan anak murid anda? Mengapa?</p>

	Which language do you use the most in the classroom? (UV) Bahasa manakah yang anda gunakan terbanyak di dalam kelas anda?
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Guiding Question 4:	Are the expected outcomes of their intentions being met through the pursuit of these strategies and intentions? Adakah anda dapat hasil yang anda hendaki daripada kaedah-kaedah yang anda gunakan untuk menjayakan niat anda?
Questions	Which languages do you think are effective for teaching in the classroom? (AA) Bahasa yang manakah paling berkesan untuk mengajar anak murid anda di dalam kelas? What are the advantages of using those languages in the classroom? (AA) Apakah kelebihan menggunakan bahasa tersebut di dalam kelas? Which language would benefit children from your village the most? (UV) Why? (UV) Bahasa yang manakah memberi kelebihan dan manfaat terbaik untuk anak murid anda? Mengapa? What do you think are the results of using your mother tongue in the classroom? Dalam pandangan anda apakah kesan menggunakan bahasa ibunda didalam kelas? How are the children affected using mother tongue? Apakah kesan menggunakan bahasa ibunda tersebut kepada anak murid anda? How are children affected using other languages? Apakah kesan menggunakan bahasa lain kepada anak murid anda?

End

Appendix B

CODES

Use of Mother Tongue(M/T) and Malay: INTENT

M/T not MoI: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is not the intended medium of instruction
M/T preferred language: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is preferred in the classroom.
M/T for maintaining cultural identity: INTENT	Indicates maintaining pride in their cultural and linguistic heritage
M/T preferred in community: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is the preferred language of the community
M/T as an advantage: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is seen as an advantage when it being used
M/T as a motivator: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is used as a motivator in the classroom
MALAY for education: INTENT	Indicates that Malay is seen as useful for education
MALAY for limitations of M/T: INTENT	Indicates that Malay is used because of limitations in the Mother Tongue. For example, lacking a script or official spelling in the language.
MALAY to achieve literacy: INTENT	Indicates the use of Malay language for developing literacy.
MALAY to communicate outside: INTENT	Indicates the use of Malay language for communication outside the village.

Strategies employed in the use of Mother Tongue (M/T): STRATEGIES

M/T as translating tool: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to translate content presented to the students in the Malay language
M/T for understanding concepts: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to ensure that the students understand key concepts.
M/T for Communication: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of Mother Tongue as part of everyday communication with the students in the classroom
M/T for giving instructions: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of Mother Tongue when trying to get instructions across to students
M/T bridge for knowledge: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue as a way to give students access to knowledge.
M/T as scaffold to learn other languages: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to help the student learn Malay
Bilingual Methods: STRATEGIES	Indicates bilingual practices like using two languages, switching between two languages and the like in the classroom.

Expected outcomes as a result of the strategies: OUTCOMES

Access to Education: OUTCOMES	Indicates participants hope their students can access education from the public school system
Learn other languages: OUTCOMES	Indicates participants want their students to gain skills that make them bi/multilingual
Literacy: OUTCOMES	Indicates that participants want students to gain literacy, so they are prepared for formal public-schooling
Pride in cultural identity: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for the students to maintain their cultural identity and be proud of it, despite having to learn a new language.
Maintaining Mother Tongue: OUTCOMES	Indicate the desire for the Mother Tongue to still be spoken among the students.
Develop Confidence: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for students to be more confident when they are attending public-school
Develop Boldness: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for students to engage in the public-school classroom and not be shy in doing so.

Expected benefits as a result of achieving outcomes: EXPECTATIONS

Greater Ambition: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that students will strive for greater achievements
Further Education: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that students will further their education at higher levels.
Bi/Multilingual: EXPECTATIONS	Expect that their students will eventually be able to speak two or more languages on top the Mother Tongue
Function outside community: EXPECTATIONS	Expects their students to be able to engage with society outside the village and find better jobs.
No longer looked down upon: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that as a result of education their students and community would not be looked down upon.
Capable: EXPECTATIONS	Want to be seen as a community with the same capabilities and potential as any other community.
Benefit own community: EXPECTATIONS	Want students to give back to their communities and help develop their villages and communities.

End

APPENDIX C

Coding Tables

Use of Mother Tongue(M/T) and Malay: INTENT		
OPEN CODES	DESCRIPTIONS	Coding categories: Participants' Perspectives on:
M/T not Mol: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is not the intended medium of instruction	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T preferred language: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is preferred in the classroom.	Languages used in the classroom
M/T for maintaining cultural identity: INTENT	Indicates maintaining pride in their cultural and linguistic heritage	Languages used in the classroom
M/T preferred in community: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is the preferred language of the community	Languages used in the classroom
M/T as an advantage: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is seen as an advantage when being used	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T as a motivator: INTENT	Indicates that Mother Tongue is used as a motivator in the classroom	Languages used in the classroom
MALAY for education: INTENT	Indicates that Malay is seen as useful for education	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
MALAY for limitations of M/T: INTENT	Indicates that Malay is used because of limitations in the Mother Tongue. For example, lacking a script or official spelling in the language.	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
MALAY to achieve literacy: INTENT	Indicates the use of Malay language for developing literacy.	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
		What is gained from the practices in the classroom
MALAY to communicate outside: INTENT	Indicates the use of Malay language for communication outside the village.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom

Strategies employed in the use of Mother Tongue (M/T): STRATEGIES		
OPEN CODES	DESCRIPTIONS	Coding categories: Participants' Perspectives on:
M/T as translating tool: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to translate content presented to the students in the Malay language	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T for understanding concepts: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to ensure that the students understand key concepts.	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T for Communication: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of Mother Tongue as part of everyday communication with the students in the classroom	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T for giving instructions: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of Mother Tongue when trying to get instructions across to students	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
M/T bridge for knowledge: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue as a way to give students access to knowledge.	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
		What is gained from the practices in the classroom
M/T as scaffold to learn other languages: STRATEGIES	Indicates the use of the Mother Tongue to help the student learn Malay	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach
		What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Bilingual Methods: STRATEGIES	Indicates bilingual practices like using two languages, switching between two languages and the like in the classroom.	Languages used in the classroom
		The way languages are used to teach

Expected outcomes as a result of the strategies: OUTCOMES		
OPEN CODES	DESCRIPTIONS	Coding categories: Participants' Perspectives on:
Access to Education: OUTCOMES	Indicates participants hope their students can access education from the public school system	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Learn other languages: OUTCOMES	Indicates participants want their students to gain skills that make them bi/multilingual	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Literacy: OUTCOMES	Indicates that participants want students to gain literacy, so they are prepared for formal public-schooling	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Pride in cultural identity: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for the students to maintain their cultural identity and be proud of it, despite having to learn a new language.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
		Languages used in the classroom
Maintaining Mother Tongue: OUTCOMES	Indicate the desire for the Mother Tongue to still be spoken among the students.	Languages used in the classroom
Develop Confidence: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for students to be more confident when they are attending public-school	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Develop Boldness: OUTCOMES	Indicates the desire for students to engage in the public-school classroom and not be shy in doing so.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom

Expected benefits as a result of achieving outcomes: EXPECTATIONS		
OPEN CODES	DESCRIPTIONS	Coding categories: Participants' Perspectives on:
Greater Ambition: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that students will strive for greater achievements	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Further Education: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that students will further their education at higher levels.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Bi/Multilingual: EXPECTATIONS	Expect that their students will eventually be able to speak two or more languages on top the Mother Tongue	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Function outside community: EXPECTATIONS	Expects their students to be able to engage with society outside the village and find better jobs.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
No longer looked down upon: EXPECTATIONS	Indicates the hope that as a result of education their students and community would not be looked down upon.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Capable: EXPECTATIONS	Want to be seen as a community with the same capabilities and potential as any other community.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom
Benefit own community: EXPECTATIONS	Want students to give back to their communities and help develop their villages and communities.	What is gained from the practices in the classroom

End

Appendix D

Examples of Memos

Field notes 19th March 2019

Village 4 (V4)

Participant 6 and 7 (Anna, Hanis)

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>V4 is a small and lies 20 minutes into the interior. The village is surrounded by former palm oil plantations and has no cellular service. In place of these old plantations several eco-tourism resorts have sprung up. Some Orang Asli have found employment in these resorts and although cellular service is not available, Satellite TV is intermittently available. In short the village is not isolated and is quite exposed to the outside world, but it is still challenging to stay connected.</p> <p>I spoke to Individual 3 a former Semai radio presenter, living in the village. He told me that there at least three known Semai dictionaries written by various people. Missionaries as well as academics. In general Individual 3 believes that there is so much variation in the Semai language that not all Semai may be able to understand these dictionaries. He says there are at least 42 known varieties of Semai. He laments the lack of a standardized language that could help the development of the language. He believes much of the work done by outsiders make it difficult for Semai people to accept the dictionaries as well. He is also concerned about the encroachment of Malay into the Semai language as more and more of the younger generation begin to speak the Malay language, in particular he mentions his experience in broadcasting in Semai radio, where Malay is often mixed in with Semai by radio presenters. Recalls being chided for doing this in his youth by his elders.</p> <p>Hanis being a teacher for several years in the Kuala Lumpur before returning to her</p>	<p>Although there is a small town near the village, it is easily accessible and within a short distance of the state's major commercial township of Ipoh. Many Orang Asli seek employment there and are much more exposed to mainstream Malaysian society.</p> <p>Speaking with Individual 3 has highlighted many of the things that pose a challenge to usage of the mother tongue in school, but to my amazement none of these very real challenges seem to faze teachers like Hanis. Two things stand out about Hanis:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A deep belief in the potential of her people and by proxy their culture and language, fuels her ambition and aspiration for the children. 2. Language learning may pose a challenge but teachers from the village press on because their language is native to the village and can be used as a way to access education. <p>My conversation with Individual 3 also reveals the double-edged sword of living in a community within close proximity to the mainstream society. There is a dilemma between protecting the identity and culture of the community and the aspiration to be educated and gain access to a better life. In the case of Hanis I find that her intentions are more towards bringing her culture and identity into the main stream rather than bring the culture of mainstream society into her community. She wants her people to be known as unique, often using the term to emphasize a point of pride in her</p>

<p>village to teach and start here community school has much more experience with children of other back grounds. She learned to speak English and learned how to manage classrooms in her time teaching at a pre-school helper and then teacher. She maintains her desire to give back to the community she comes from. She believes Semai are unique and have a language that must be preserved. Her arguments about the use of mother tongue in the classroom go further than pragmatic usage. It is more nuanced, and she believes that there is a need to maintain Orang Asli identity, using their mother tongue becomes an integral part of that effort to instil, confidence and encourage their children to be bold and speak up.</p>	<p>community, that people will know who they are and that they will prove to others that they are just as capable as anyone else from other communities.</p> <p>Also important to note that Semai is perhaps one of the more established indigenous languages compared to other Orang Asli languages like Temiar. The fact that there is a Semai language radio station reveals that the language has a presence in media and society.</p>
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Fieldnotes 25th March 2019

Village 6 (V6)

Participant 8 (Hazel)

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>In V6, Hazel is preparing documents, maps of her village and other affidavits for a meeting with her village elders. They are representing their village in a case against a land claim over their ancestral land which was allegedly partitioned without their consent in the 1980s. They hope to build a case which will be referred to the courts.</p> <p>The village is small, only a hand full of houses that are surrounded by palm oil plantations. The families subsist on rubber tapping and small-scale farming. Hazel and her husband tap rubber in the morning and then Hazel teaches the children in the village in the afternoon.</p> <p>Utilities and other services in this village remain limited, though they have electricity they do rely on generators and there does not seem to be in-house plumbing. There's no cellular service in this village. Word must be brought to</p>	<p>The burden of being educated and having the skills needed to advocate for her own village are not lost on Hazel. She acknowledges that her education has played an important role in helping her own community with the struggles they have been having. Believes that education is an important tool in protecting their rights.</p> <p>She and her husband are proud that their children can read and write and are still in school.</p>

<p>Hazel by other people from other villages.</p> <p>Hazel has been teaching for almost 9 years in her village. She is clearly a point person in her village and mentions that she had already spoken to the village head about my request to interview her. Though I received consent from the village head, she mentioned that he had already deferred to her judgment on that matter. She says no one should enter Orang Asli villages without an expressed reason. I also spoke to her husband who has had experience helping linguist research Orang Semai narrative history. Both have very clear passion for Orang Asli identity and feel strongly about their Semai heritage and culture.</p> <p>Hazel's husband is welcoming and explains that other researchers have come to speak to him as well. He shows me a copy of the dissertation written about Semai narrative history. I spend some time talking to him first while waiting for Hazel. She is concerned about how long the interview will take as she must prepare for the meeting with village elders straight after. The meeting will be held in the school house built for her to conduct her classes.</p>	
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Fieldnotes 13th April 2019

Village 7 (V7)

Participants 9 and 10 (Zaini, Nina)

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>V7 is a village that has a hostel school nearby, this means that other villages with children of school going age who live further into remote areas send their children to the hostel. Despite the existence of government run preschools. V7 still has a community school. It has two teachers Zaini and Nina. An teachers and tutors primary school children in the village. Nina teachers 4-6 yr old. Before they move on to primary school.</p>	<p>Another interesting theme the teachers seem to be concerned about is the shyness of orang asli children and the pressure they face in schools. This echoes some other teachers who have mentioned that orang asli children seldom engage in the classroom because there are timid and shy. Both Zaini and Nina claim that the bolder the student the better they perform in school. Although they did not mention solutions to this challenge, some other</p>

<p>V7 receives many visitors for social work and research projects according to the head man. He says he is often called upon to be the guide to other villages as well. This is not surprising as there is a teaching college nearby.</p> <p>This visit was interesting because there are two teachers one with 4 years of experience and another with only about 6 months on the job. Like all the other teachers I have met, there is a strong desire for their orang asli to be educated. In terms of language mother tongue is used both as a bridging language but also taught because teachers feel they have a duty to ensure the language is not forgotten. All this is done knowing they do not have an official writing script. Some words share similarity with Malay but in classrooms where I have visited there are charts on the wall with Semai words written in Romanised alphabet for numbers shapes and parts of the body.</p>	<p>teachers in other interview have mentioned that teaching in the mother tongue in their community schools have helped their children develop self-worth and confidence.</p> <p>Their exposure to the teaching college and other forms of academia that come to the village, make this set of teachers very sensitive to the questions asked in the interview, they seems to be careful about making comments about the school near their village but do not seem to hide their frustration when it comes to the challenges their students face despite going to the school nearby. There is a feeling that implies that perhaps the approach used in the schools may not be working for orang asli children, but they are ready to fill in the gaps they perceive with their community classroom.</p>
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End

Appendix E

Research Journal

Date: **16/01/2019**

Meeting with Individual A, supervisor for SuKa Society the NGO overseeing support of volunteer indigenous teachers in the various villages in the state of Perak.

Fruitful discussion on the questions. She points out that some of the questions I have developed would be considered repetitive by potential participants and suggest that I combine them if they fit thematically. She also suggests that I specifically ask questions about what the children understand with the use of different languages, which I think is an excellent angle that I did not think about.

Arrangements that have been made so far involve the distribution of consent forms and information forms to the villages. Nora suggests that I schedule my visit to the village to coincide with her trips in. She says I am not to enter villages on my own without first being introduced by someone the village head is familiar with. She says the village heads need time to read the information forms. She suggests I print them out and give them to her so she may send them to the villages and ask that I give the village heads time to go through documents first before arranging to meet with them. I have informed her she cannot be part of the interviews and she seems to understand that I must follow this protocol. She says she will leave me to talk to the teacher if I have gained permission from the village head and will return later to pick me up. She also says that once I have gained permission I can enter again on my own later when I seek to do member checking when I return to the village. She also says that some villages are linked by kin so she can hand me off to another teacher and that teacher could then take me to another village and introduce me to the village head instead of her. She also mentions that for some villages it might make more sense for the teacher to come out to the nearby town to meet me rather than go in to the village.

Date: **22/01/2019**

Meeting with Individual B SuKa NGO director was productive in terms of determining logistical concerns with entering villages, particular to the remote villages that require specialized vehicles that may be difficult to obtain. Several strategies were suggested and recommended as flexible options.

1. Orang Asli teachers travel to one of the more accessible villages twice a year to join one of the more experience teachers for training. This experienced teacher who teaches in her own villages have other counterparts from other villages visit hers so she can help them with more hands on training. An option is to obtain the schedule of the volunteer teachers and go to this village when a volunteer teacher is there so interviews can be done without having to travel further or obtain a four wheel drive vehicle.
2. Option two is to ask volunteer teachers to come out to the town near by if the location of the village is too far into the interior.

Another topic of discussion also touched upon by Individual B is the level of experience the various teachers have in teaching, some have been doing the work for several years while others may have only begun to teach children in their village. This input is

important, and I believe that including questions about the experience of the teacher is important. Questions that may be ask:

1. How long have you been teaching in the village?
2. How did you get into teaching the children in your villages?

These questions may also help break the ice and furnish me with a clearer context of the participant's situation.

Date: **30/01/2019**

I spoke to Dr. Kamal Solhaimi on Monday. He is an anthropologist at the University of Malaysia, his research focus mainly on Orang Asli development and not in education specifically but overall development. I though he would be a good resource in terms of gaining more insight into things I should know when entering a village as he has many years of experience.

He ended up giving me some leads for other people involved in Orang Asli development work in education who could also lead me to other potential participants. Kamal also informed me that a Semai dictionary is now being developed.

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>On Tuesday the 29th I arrived at 11am at the Village V1, a village near the town of Slim River in the state of Perak. The journey was not eventful and the roads for access to the area functional which posed no difficulty.</p> <p>I think it is safe to say that this particular village is closer to developed areas as you need to drive through a palm oil plantation to get to the village. A government pre-school is also near the village, and the teacher that interviewed mentions it in passing during the interview.</p> <p>Both the teachers were very accommodating, the children were not present at the school at that time. Classes start at 2pm and end at 5pm in the afternoon. Both Imel and Eli were eager to give their opinions. We sat on the floor of a large, square, low rise table. Before the interviews began they wanted to ask about the study and why I was going to record the conversation.</p> <p>Imel has more experience and begun teaching in the community classroom as soon as she finished secondary school,</p>	<p>They therefore feel that their ability to translate the Malay into Semai gives their children access to that knowledge. Yet at the same time the know that in order for their children to progress the Malay language is needed. This explains to my surprise that reason why P1 says she spends more time speaking to them in Malay. She does however indicate that she toggles between Malay and Semai quite often.</p>

she has now been teaching for 6 years. The interview was conducted with her young child present. Some of the interesting insights from this interview with P1 include her opinion that she is willing to see language shift in the children she teachers saying that Malay is important for the future of the children. Yet she is also adamant that the Semai language plays an important role in “widening their thinking” The specific words she uses in Malay are “*meluaskan pemikiran/minda*”. When asked for further elaboration she seemed to refer to both Malay and Semai as equal players in the “widening of their children’s thinking” Semai being a language that will be needed for their children to access the knowledge that is available to them in Malay.

Eli has less experience in teaching than Imel does. She has however been Imel’s helper for since 2014. She has only just become a teacher after helping P1 for more than 5 years. Eli clearly states that she speaks to the younger kids in Semai but says once she knows the older ones can understand Malay, she speaks to them in Malay toggling back to Semai occasionally. She shares similar opinions to Imel but is less confident in herself so she is unsure about certain issues. Nevertheless, she also believes both languages are important. Specifically, she feels that there is value in using both languages, she gives the example of the children being able to help their illiterate parents and being bridges in their community with the outside.

Date: **13/02/2019**

Added new questions to the interview question pool today.

The following questions were added based on review of previous 2 interviews conducted on the 29th of Jan. 2019.

- Can you describe what a typical day of class is like?

Boleh ceritakan bagaimana kelas dikendalikan setiap hari dari mula hingga akhir waktu?

- What subjects do you teach?
Apa mata pelajaran yang di ajar dalam Kelas Kommunity?
- Can you give me an example of how you teach a language subject and how you teach other subjects in the community classroom?
Berikan contoh bagaimana kamu mengajar matapelajaran bahasa and contoh bagaimana kamu mengajar mata pelajaran lain seperti Matematik dalam kelas community.

These questions are based on the need to understand more context which was not explored as much in the previous two interviews. These questions help the interviewer focus on the pedagogical practice of the teachers in the classroom.

Following these questions leads to more specific questions about the use of mother tongue in the classroom particularly of interest is the teaching of other languages and I thought it would also be interesting to compare that with the way teachers handle non-language subject like Math and Science. This led to the following questions.

- What language do you use when teaching a language subject like Malay or English? Do you use any mother tongue at all? How?
Apakah bahasa yang anda gunakan bila anda mengajar mata pelajaran bahasa seperti Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Inggeris? Adakah anda gunakan Bahasa Ibunda? Bagaimana anda gunakan bahasa ibunda dalam keadaan ini?
- What language do you use when teaching other subjects like Mathematics and Science? Do you use any mother tongue at all? How do you use it in this situation?
Apakah bahasa yang anda guna bila anda mengajar mata pelajaran lain seperti Matematik atau Science? Adakah anda gunakan bahasa ibunda? Bagaimana anda gunakan bahasa ibunda dalam keadaan ini?

These questions specifically target what teachers do in the classroom depending on the type of subject they are teaching, and the expectation is that data regarding their strategies in the classroom can be gleaned from these questions.

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
	While reviewing the 1 st interview it was apparent to me that the teachers see Malay as a way to access education perhaps because they have no other language to use to access education further which makes the language a priority.

Date: 15/02/2019

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
OA teachers are also very aspirational hoping to see their student finish high school and hoping that they develop and cultivate things that their communities have never done before.	Becoming apparent to me in transcribing these interviews that the need to learn Malay is prioritized because OA believe it is the language of access for their

	education. Eli keeps saying, “so that they understand” very frequently.
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Date: **22/02/2019**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>The interview done on the 20th of Feb was easier to conduct and had a much smoother conversational flow. This might be because of the participants willingness to contribute more to the conversation instead of just answering the questions.</p> <p>The participant wanted to contribute further and often took the conversations into other relevant topics or talking points. With this interview there was certainly a more pronounced concern and enthusiasm for the mother tongue. This is the first interview where identity is raised as part of the conversation. Pride in the language and the fear that it may be lost.</p>	

Date: **26/02/2019**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
	Clearly the mother tongue is seen as a way to bridge the gap in knowledge that is available in more dominant languages. The mother tongue is therefore used as a translation tool helping them gain access to knowledge only available to them in other languages.

This begs the question would they learn other languages if the knowledge was available to them in their own mother tongue.

Can you imagine a situation where the students in your class could learn Mathematics and Science or other subjects in their own language? How would you feel about that?

Boleh tak anda bayangkan jika anak murid anda boleh belajar matapelajaran dala bahasa ibunda sendiri? Bagaimana perasaan anda?

Date: **4/03/2019**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
	It's pretty clear that after 5 interviews there is a familiar pattern emerging

	<p>regarding the perspectives OA teachers have towards their mother tongue. They feel there is an importance in the role it plays to bridge the language gap in order to gain access to further education. And the purpose for their children's education is for better integration into society. A desire for their children to take their place in Malaysian society where they can interact with members of other ethnic groups and access knowledge.</p>
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Date: **26/03/2019**

The past two interviews with OA teachers have been very interesting and stand out among the other interviews that I have conducted.

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>Both Hanis and Hazel have much more teaching experience than the other teachers I have interviewed and there is clearly a distinguishing factor between these two teachers and the others based on their experiences.</p> <p>Both are passionate advocates of the use of mother tongue in their classrooms but also their reasons for this believe it seems is further fuelled by their desire to maintain the identity of their ethnic heritage as Semai.</p> <p>During member checking discussions with Jes this unique Semai identity sentiment is also reiterated. She talks about how more younger generations "lupa diri" translated from Malay to means literally "to forget one's self" as a concern for Semai people. She talks about being proud to be Semai and uses an example of speaking it in public when people assume she is Malay because of her appearance.</p>	<p>Although all the Semai and Temiar I have interviewed are proud of their heritage, Hanis and Hazel are more deliberate and intentional about making it known that there are more reasons to maintain and use their mother tongue beyond its practical use as a translation tool. They express their need to use the language as part of their unique identity as Semai people.</p>

Date: **15/04/2019**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>On my return to Village 5 (V5) to conduct member checking, I arrived early and found out that Hazel and her husband were out in the rubber plantation tapping rubber. They travel to their small patch to tap rubber by motorcycle. When they returned Hazel showed me the maps and other documents she was using as part of their village's legal claim to the lands that they are currently working. There is a solemn determination in their way of life. Their village is the smallest of all the other locations I have visited, it has no water supply other than well or the river, yet there is a dedicated brick building for their school, built for Hazel to conduct classes for the children. Their resolve is inspiring.</p> <p>I also conducted member checking with Hanis, unable to travel into her village, we met at the town nearby. It is there that I also learned that Hazel's village is fighting a claim over their land where a dam is being built, their case is also under litigation. In these villages education has a very clear goal; uplift the status of Orang Asli by educating their young. Identity is a constant theme of their conversation about language. Once again their mother tongue is important for both their identity and as a key to access education making these teachers an important bridge because they are bilingual speakers.</p>	

Date: **19/04/2019**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
<p>One thing to remember when discussing the use of languages in education for orang asli is that they are contending with not just one other language but two. Since Malay is often used as the medium of instruction the language takes precedence but in recent years English</p>	

<p>and its prominence has become increasingly emphasized with the government encouraging its use in math and science. This means materials given to Orang Asli teachers are also funnelled to them. Teachers from the OA circles have trouble using English materials because it is not a language which they are fluent in. I am reminded of this because Zaini has been referring to the translation of materials for the science subject from English to the mother tongue rather than from Malay to the mother tongue.</p>	
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End

Appendix F

Participant Consent Forms



Chief Investigator: Dr. Grace Oakley
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Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Participant Information Form

Project title: Mother tongue use in informal indigenous education: The perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers in Peninsula Malaysia.

Name of Researchers:

Ed.D Candidate: Keith Chin Wei Jun

Supervisors: Dr. Grace Oakley

Dr. Jennifer Shand

Invitation:

Dear Sir/Madam,

You are invited to participate in a study to determine the perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers regarding the use of mother tongue in their classrooms. You are asked to take part in this project because you are a volunteer teacher, teaching children in your own village who speak the same home language as you do. Your perspectives on the languages used in the classroom are a valuable source of information about how education for Orang Asli is delivered in your classrooms.

Aim of the Study (What is the project about?)

Many Orang Asli children are sent to government schools and much of the information about educating Orang Asli children and the languages used comes from the research done in government schools. There is however very little information about education and language in informal schools or community classrooms that are taught by Orang Asli themselves, like yours.

This study's aim is to gather and analyse the perspectives Orang Asli teachers who teach in their own village. The information you provide will be helpful in understanding how you communicate and teach your students in your classroom. The study is particularly focused on languages that are used in your classroom and you will be asked how you feel about your usage of those languages.

What does participation involve?

The University of Western Australia
M459 Perth WA 6009 Australia

T +61 8 6488 3703
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E humanethics@uwa.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Code 00126G

In this study the researcher will be visiting your classroom to see what goes on in it. This is not a test or a judgment on the way you teach in the classroom. You do not need to change the way you teach in your classroom and the classroom is still in your control, the researcher is only there to familiarise himself with your situation.

After the visit to your classroom, the researcher would like to conduct an interview with you. The interview is an opportunity for you to share your experiences teaching in your own village. The interview will take no more than one hour, but you can stop the interview at any time. This interview will be recorded in audio only. The recording will be used by the researcher to help in the recall of the conversation.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal from the Study

It is important for you to understand that the class observation and the interview will only proceed if you give the researcher the permission to do so. You can decline this invitation to be a participant of this study and you do not have to give any reasons for this decision.

If you feel that you no longer want to continue with the observations or the interview, you may stop the researcher at any time and withdraw your participation. You do not have to give any reasons for this decision. Any recordings of the interview will be destroyed if you choose to stop the interview and withdraw from participation.

Your withdrawal from participation has no negative consequence towards you or your reputation. Your work in the village will continue and you will not be punished for leaving the study.

Your privacy

The interview and your identity will remain strictly confidential. All information you provide will be kept securely during the research process and for 5 years after the completion of the study. The data derived from the information you give will be published as part of the study but your identity and the identity of your village will be hidden unless your consent and the consent of the village head is given.

Possible Benefits

This study's aim is to gain insight and understanding of your perspectives as an educator in your village. Your role is an important part of village life but also has further reaching implications for Orang Asli education.

Your participation in this study will contribute to how further research can be done on mother tongue use in the classroom and has wider relevance to how Orang Asli feel about education and how it is delivered from their perspectives. Therefore, the input of Orang Asli educators is very much needed as it is the voice of Orang Asli teachers that should be heard.

Possible Risks and Risk Management Plan

There are no foreseeable physical risks to your health when participating in this study, however you may feel tired during the interview sessions. Should you need to take a break from the conversation please feel free to tell the researcher and the interview will be stopped for you to take a break.

Contacts

If you would like to participate or discuss any aspect of this study, please feel free to contact the researcher Keith Chin at 0466257002 on mobile or at 20188245@student.uwa.edu.au for email.

Sincerely,

Assoc. Prof. Grace Oakley

Approval to conduct this research has been provided by the University of Western Australia, in accordance with its ethics review and approval procedures. Any person considering participation in this research project, or agreeing to participate, may raise any questions or issues with the researchers at any time. In addition, any person not satisfied with the response of researchers may raise ethics issues or concerns, and may make any complaints about this research project by contacting the Human Ethics office at UWA on (08) 6488 4703 or by emailing to humanethics@uwa.edu.au. All research participants are entitled to retain a copy of any Participant Information Form and/or Participant Consent Form relating to this research project.



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Participant Consent Form

PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEWS

I, (participant), agree to participate in the individual semi structured interviews as part of a research study on mother tongue use in informal Orang Asli education.

I (the participant) have read the information provided and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realising that I may withdraw at any time without reason and without prejudice.

I understand that all identifiable (attributable) information that I provide is treated as strictly confidential and will not be released by the investigator in any form that may identify me. The only exception to this principle of confidentiality is if law requires these documents.

I have been advised as to what data is being collected, the purpose for collecting the data, and what will be done with the data upon completion of the research.

I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that my name or other identifying information is not used.

Signed Date

Email address

Contact phone number

BAHASA MALAYSIA TRANSLATIONS



THE UNIVERSITY OF
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BORANG MAKLUMAT PENYERTA

Tajuk Kajian: Penggunaan bahasa ibunda secara tidak rasmi dikalangan Orang Asli dalam Pendidikan: Perspektif dan pandangan guru sukarelawan Orang Asli di Semenanjung Malaysia.

Nama Penyelidik:

Calon Ijazah kedoktoran: Keith Chin Wei Jun

Penyelia: Dr. Grace Oakley

Dr. Jennifer Shand

Jemputan:

Tuan/Puan,

Anda telah di jemput untuk menyertai sebuah kajian untuk Ijazah kedoctoran yang akan dikendalikan untuk mengumpul dan menganalisis pengalaman dan pandangan guru sukarelawan Orang Asli mengenai penggunaan bahasa ibunda didalam bilik darjah. Anda telah dijemput untuk kajian ini, kerana anda adalah guru sukarelawan yang mengajar di kampung anda sendiri dan mengajar murid dari kampung yang sama. Ini bermakna bahasa ibunda yang anda gunakan adalah sama dengan bahasa yang murid anda gunakan. Sebagai guru di dalam bilik darjah pandangan dan pengalaman yang anda kongsi adalah sumber maklumat yang bernilai tinggi dalam kajian bagaimana Orang Asli menggunakan bahasa untuk mendidik anak-anak mereka.

Tujuan Kajian

Ramai anak-anak Orang Asli dihantar ke sekolah kerajaan dan banyak kajian yang telah dibuat tentang pendidikan Orang Asli menghasilkan maklumat tentang penggunaan bahasa didalam sekolah kerajaan. Akan tetapi, maklumat tentang penggunaan bahasa dikalangan guru dan murid didalam sekolah atau bilik darjah dikampung seperti kampung anda amatlah sedikit.

Tujuan kajian ijazah kedoktoran ini adalah untuk mengumpul dan menganalisis pengalaman dan pandangan guru Orang Asli seperti anda yang mengajar didalam kampung anda sendiri. Maklumat yang anda berikan adalah berguna untuk memberikan pemahaman mendalam tentang cara Orang Asli mendidik dan berkomunikasi didalam bilik darjah. Kajian ini akan memberi tumpuan terperinci terhadap perasaan anda sebagai guru dalam pengalaman anda dan dalam penggunaan bahasa semasa berada didalam bilik darjah.

Apa penglibatan anda dalam penyelidikan ini?

Penyelidik akan mengendalikan temuduga dengan anda dan temuduga ini adalah peluang untuk anda berkongsi pengalaman dan pendapat anda sebagai seorang guru Orang Asli didalam kampung anda. Jangka masa temuduga ini tidak akan melebihi satu jam, akan tetapi jikalau anda rasa temuduga ini sudah terlalu lama dijalankan atau anda ingin berhenti, anda berhak untuk memberitahu penyelidik dan penyelidik akan menamatkan temuduga ini. Suara anda dan penyelidik akan dirakamkan dalam temuduga ini, supaya senang untuk penyelidik meningati sesi perbualan tersebut. Jika anda tidak setuju untuk membenarkan suara anda dirakamkan, sila beritahu penyelidik tanpa sebarang raguan. Anda berhak membuat demikian sekiranya anda tidak selesa dengan keadaan temuduga ini.

Penyertaan secara sukarela dan penarikan diri dari kaji selidik.

Ia adalah penting untuk anda faham bahawa temuduga ini hanya akan dikendalikan dengan izin anda. Anda berhak untuk tidak memberi izin tanpa sebarang keraguan atau alasan.

Jika anda rasa tidak selesa dengan temuduga yang sedang di kendalikan anda berhak untuk memberhentikan penyelidik dan menarik diri daripada kaji selidik ini tanpa sebarang keraguan atau alasan. Segala rakaman suara anda akan dipadamkan jika anda tidak ingin meneruskan penglibatan anda dalam kajian ini.

Keputusan anda untuk menarik diri daripada kaji selidik ini tidak akan membawa kesan negatif terhadap nama baik anda kerana ini adalah hak anda. Keputusan anda juga tidak akan memberi kesan kepada kerja anda sebagai guru di dalam kampung anda. Anda masih boleh menunaikan tanggungjawab anda sebagai guru tanpa sebarang gangguan daripada pihak penyelidik.

Keadaan berahsia anda

Temuduga ini dan nama anda akan selalu dijaga dan dianggap sulit. Segala maklumat yang ada berikan akan disimpan dalam keadaan selamat dalam masa kaji selidik ini iaitu untuk masa 5 tahun. Kesimpulan dan hasil penganalisis serta maklumat yang anda berikan dalam temuduga ini akan diterbitkan tetapi nama anda dan nama kampung anda akan dirahsiakan dan hanya boleh didedahkan dengan izin anda dan izin tok batin kampung anda.

Manfaat kaji selidik

Tujuan kaji selidik ini adalah untuk mendapat pemahaman yang mendalam tentang pendapat pendidik seperti anda yang mengajar anak-anak didalam komuniti kampung sendiri. Peranan anda sebagai pendidik di dalam kampung anda adalah amat penting dan pendapat dan pengalaman yang anda kongsi boleh digunakan memberi dorongan untuk menaik tarafkan pendidikan Orang Asli.

Penyertaan anda dalam kaji selidik ini akan menambah lagi kajian dalam bidang bahasa ibunda terutamanya dalam kaitan penguasaan bahasa ibunda didalam bilik darjah. Ia adalah penting bagi para penyelidik untuk memahami pendapat dan pengalaman dari sudut pandangan Orang Asli dan bukan sahaja pendapat orang luar mengenai pendidikan Orang Asli. Jadi, pendapat yang anda kongsi amat berharga dan perlu di beri perhatian semua pihak berkepentingan.

Risiko dalam menjalankan kaji selidik.

Tiada mana-mana risiko berkaitan dengan keselamatan dan kesihatan dijangka berlaku kepada penyerta kaji selidik ini. Akan tetapi jika anda terasa letih semasa temuduga ini dan ingin berhenti, sila beritahu penyelidik tanpa keraguan atau rasa segan.

Jika wujud sebarang pertanyaan sila hubungi:

Jika anda ada sebarang pertanyaan atau ingin berbual tentang mana-mana aspek atau ciri-ciri kaji selidik ini, sila hubungi penyelidik, Keith Chin melalui nombor telefon +61466257002 atau melalui E-mel: 20188245@student.uwa.edu.au.

Dengan ikhlas,

Penolong Profesor Grace Oakley

Kebenaran untuk mengendalikannya kajian ini diberikan oleh University Western Australia, mengikut ulasan prinsip ahlak dan prosedur kebenaran institusi kajian tinggi. Sesiapa yang ingin mengambil keputusan untuk menyertai ataupun sudah menyertai projek kajian ini, boleh mengemukakan sebarang persoalan kepada penyelidik pada bila-bila masa. Sekiranya anda tidak puas hati dengan jawapan yang diberikan oleh penyelidik, pengaduan boleh dibuat kepada: Pejabat Etika Insan (Human Ethics office) di University of Western Australia, No. telefon: +6186488 4703 atau secara E-mel kepada humanethics@uwa.edu.au. Mana-mana peserta berhak menyimpan salinan Borang Maklumat Penyerta atau Borang Kebenaran Peserta Kajian untuk kajian ini.



Penyelidik Utama: Dr. Grace Oakley
School Of Education,
The University of Western Australia
M242 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley WA
6009
Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Borang Kebenaran Peserta Kajian

PENYERTAAN DALAM TEMUDUGA

Saya, (peserta), secara individu bersetuju untuk menyertai temuduga ini, sebagai kajian akademik mendalam mengenai penggunaan bahasa ibunda dalam pendidikan secara tidak rasmi dikalangan Orang Asli.

Saya (penyerta) telah membaca segala maklumat yang diberikan dan segala soalan yang saya ada mengenai kajian ini telah di jawab secara lengkap dan mengikut kepuasan saya. Saya setuju untuk menyertai aktiviti kajian ini dan langsung menyedari bahawa saya boleh pada bila-bila masa menarik balik penyertaan saya tanpa apa-apa alasan atau sebab. Saya juga sedar bahawa penarikan balik penyertaan saya tidak akan mewujudkan apa-apa prasangka antara saya dan penyelidik kajian ini.

Saya juga faham bahawa segala maklumat yang saya berikan yang boleh mengenal pasti identiti saya sebagai individu akan dianggap sebagai maklumat yang sulit. Maklumat ini tidak akan diterbitkan oleh penyelidik kajian ini, kecuali dalam syarat maklumat ini diperlukan menurut undang-undang negara.

Sebagai peserta saya diberikan penerangan mengenai maklumat yang akan diambil dalam temuduga ini. Tujuan dan penggunaan maklumat yang diambil juga telah diterangkan kepada saya secara teliti. Saya juga telah dimaklumkan tentang apa akan berlaku kepada maklumat yang dikumpul setelah kajian ini telah tamat.

Saya setuju dengan penggunaan maklumat yang dikumpul sebagai maklumat yang boleh diterbitkan dengan syarat nama dan identiti saya sebagai individu tidak digunakan dan dianggap sulit.

Tandatangan: Tarikh:

E-mel:

Nombor telefon:

Appendix G

Village Head Consent Forms



THE UNIVERSITY OF
**WESTERN
AUSTRALIA**

Chief Investigator: Dr. Grace Oakley
School Of Education,
The University of Western Australia
M242 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley
WA 6009
Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Village Head Information Form

Project title: Mother tongue use in informal indigenous education: The perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers in Peninsula Malaysia.

Name of Researchers:

Ed.D Candidate: Keith Chin Wei Jun

Supervisors: Dr. Grace Oakley

Dr. Jennifer Shand

Invitation:

Dear Sir/Madam,

The teacher in your village has been invited to participate in a study to gain insight in to the perspectives of Orang Asli volunteer teachers regarding the use of mother tongue in their classrooms. They have been chosen to take part in this project because they are volunteer teachers, teaching children in your own village who speak the same home language. The perspectives of these teachers on the languages used in the classroom are a valuable source of information about how education for Orang Asli is delivered in their classrooms.

Aim of the Study (What is the project about?)

Many Orang Asli children are sent to government schools and much of the information about educating Orang Asli children and the languages used comes from the research done in government schools. There is however very little information about education and language in informal schools or community classrooms that are taught by Orang Asli themselves.

This study's aim is to gather and analyse the perspectives Orang Asli teachers who teach in their own village. The information provided will be helpful in understanding how orang asli teachers communicate and teach their students in the classroom. The study is particularly focused on languages that are used in the classroom and the teachers will be asked how they feel and share their experiences about the usage of those languages when they teach.

What does participation involve?

In this study the researcher will be visiting the classroom to see what goes on in it. This is not a test or a judgment on the way they teach in the classroom. They do not need to change the way they teach in your classroom and the classroom is still in their control, the researcher is only there to familiarise himself with the situation and environment.

After the visit to the classroom, the researcher would like to conduct an interview with the teacher. The interview is an opportunity for the teacher to share their experiences teaching in their own village. The interview will take no more than one hour, but the teacher can stop the interview at any time. This interview will be recorded in audio only. The recording will be used by the researcher to help in the recall of the conversation.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal from the Study

It is important to understand that the class observation and the interview will only proceed if you the village head and the teacher give the researcher the permission to do so. You can decline this invitation to be a participant of this study and you do not have to give any reasons for this decision.

If the teachers feel that they no longer want to continue with the observations or the interview, they may stop the researcher at any time and withdraw their participation. The teacher does not have to give any reasons for this decision. Any recordings of the interview will be destroyed if they choose to stop the interview and withdraw from participation.

The teacher's withdrawal from participation has no negative consequence on their reputation or the reputation of your village. The teacher's work in the village will continue and they will not be punished for leaving the study.

Your privacy

The interview and the teacher's identity will remain strictly confidential. All information teachers provide will be kept securely during the research process and for 5 years after the completion of the study. The data derived from the information teachers give will be published as part of the study but their identity and the identity of your village will be hidden unless your consent as village head and the consent of the teacher is given.

Possible Benefits

This study's aim is to gain insight and understanding of your perspectives as an educator in your village. The volunteer teacher's role is an important part of village life but also has further reaching implications for Orang Asli education.

The teacher's participation in this study will contribute to how further research can be done on mother tongue use in the classroom and has wider relevance to how orang asli feel about

education and how it is delivered from their perspectives. Therefore, the input of orang asli educators is very much needed as it is the voice of orang asli teachers that should be heard.

Possible Risks and Risk Management Plan

There are no foreseeable physical risks to a teacher's health when participating in this study, however they may feel tired during the interview sessions. Should they need to take a break from the conversation they are free to tell the researcher and the interview will be stopped for them to take a break.

Contacts

If you would like to discuss any aspect of this study, please feel free to contact the researcher Keith Chin at 0466257002 on mobile or at 20188245@student.uwa.edu.au for email.

Sincerely,

Assoc. Prof. Grace Oakley

Approval to conduct this research has been provided by the University of Western Australia, in accordance with its ethics review and approval procedures. Any person considering participation in this research project, or agreeing to participate, may raise any questions or issues with the researchers at any time. In addition, any person not satisfied with the response of researchers may raise ethics issues or concerns, and may make any complaints about this research project by contacting the Human Ethics office at UWA on (08) 6488 4703 or by emailing to humanethics@uwa.edu.au. All research participants are entitled to retain a copy of any Participant Information Form and/or Participant Consent Form relating to this research project.



THE UNIVERSITY OF
**WESTERN
AUSTRALIA**

Chief Investigator: Dr. Grace Oakley
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The University of Western Australia
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WA 6009
Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Village Head Consent Form

PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEWS

I, (the village head) of Village,
..... agree to allow members of my village to
participate in the individual semi structured interviews as part of a research study on
mother tongue use in informal Orang Asli education.

I (the village head) have read the information provided and any questions I have
asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to allow members of my
village to participate in this activity, realising that I may withdraw the involvement of
my village at any time without reason and without prejudice.

I understand that all identifiable (attributable) information that I provide is treated as
strictly confidential and will not be released by the investigator in any form that may
identify me. The only exception to this principle of confidentiality is if law requires
these documents.

I have been advised as to what data is being collected, the purpose for collecting the
data, and what will be done with the data upon completion of the research.

I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that my
name or other identifying information is not used.

Signed Date

Email address

Contact phone number



Penyelidik Utama: Dr. Grace Oakley
School Of Education,
The University of Western Australia
M242 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley
WA 6009
Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Borang Maklumat untuk Tok Batin

Tajuk Kajian: Penggunaan bahasa ibunda secara tidak rasmi dikalangan Orang Asli dalam Pendidikan: Perspektif dan pandangan guru sukarelawan Orang Asli di Semenanjung Malaysia.

Nama Penyelidik:

Calon Ijazah kedoktoran: Keith Chin Wei Jun

Penyelia: Dr. Grace Oakley

Dr. Jennifer Shand

Jemputan:

Tuan,

Guru Kelas Komuniti di kampung anda telah di jemput untuk menyertai sebuah kajian untuk Ijazah kedoktoran yang akan dikendalikan untuk mengumpul dan menganalisis pengalaman dan pandangan guru sukarelawan Orang Asli mengenai penggunaan bahasa ibunda didalam bilik darjah. Guru ini telah dijemput untuk kajian ini, kerana beliau adalah seorang guru sukarelawan yang mengajar di kampung anda dan mengajar murid dari kampung yang sama. Ini bermakna bahasa ibunda yang digunakan adalah sama dengan bahasa yang murid-murid kampung gunakan dirumah. Sebagai guru di dalam bilik darjah pandangan dan pengalaman yang mereka kongsi adalah sumber maklumat yang bernilai tinggi dalam kajian bagaimana Orang Asli menggunakan bahasa untuk mendidik anak-anak mereka.

Tujuan Kajian

Ramai anak-anak Orang Asli dihantar ke sekolah kerajaan dan banyak kajian yang telah dibuat tentang pendidikan Orang Asli menghasilkan maklumat tentang penggunaan bahasa didalam sekolah kerajaan. Akan tetapi, maklumat tentang penggunaan bahasa dikalangan guru dan murid didalam sekolah atau bilik darjah dikampung seperti kampung anda amatlah sedikit.

Tujuan kajian ijazah kedoktoran ini adalah untuk mengumpul dan menganalisis pengalaman dan pandangan guru Orang Asli seperti guru yang mengajar didalam kampung anda sendiri. Maklumat yang guru ini berikan adalah berguna untuk memberikan pemahaman mendalam tentang cara Orang Asli mendidik dan berkomunikasi didalam bilik darjah. Kajian ini akan memberi tumpuan terperinci terhadap perasaan guru tersebut. Sebagai guru pengalaman mereka dalam penggunaan bahasa semasa berada didalam bilik darjah amat berharga dan bermakna.

Apa penglibatan guru dalam penyelidikan ini?

Penyelidik akan mengendalikan temuduga dengan guru dan temuduga ini adalah peluang untuk beliau berkongsi pengalaman dan pendapatnya sebagai seorang guru Orang Asli didalam kampung anda. Jangka masa temuduga ini tidak akan melebihi satu jam, akan tetapi jikalau beliau rasa temuduga ini sudah terlalu lama dijalankan atau ingin berhenti, beliau berhak untuk memberitahu penyelidik dan penyelidik akan menamatkan temuduga tersebut. Suara guru dan penyelidik akan dirakamkan dalam temuduga ini, supaya senang untuk penyelidik meningati sesi perbualan tersebut. Jika guru tersebut tidak setuju untuk membenarkan suaranya dirakamkan, sila beritahu penyelidik tanpa sebarang raguan. Guru berhak membuat demikian sekiranya dia tidak selesa dengan keadaan temuduga tersebut.

Penyertaan secara sukarela dan penarikan diri dari kaji selidik.

ia adalah penting bagi guru di kampung anda untuk faham bahawa temuduga ini hanya akan dikendalikan dengan izinnya. Beliau berhak untuk tidak memberi izin tanpa sebarang keraguan atau alasan.

Jika beliau rasa tidak selesa dengan temuduga yang sedang di kendalikan beliau berhak untuk memberhentikan penyelidik dan menarik diri daripada kaji selidik ini tanpa sebarang keraguan atau alasan. Segala rakaman suara beliau akan dipadamkan jika beliau tidak ingin meneruskan penglibatannya dalam kajian ini.

Keputusan guru tersebut untuk menarik diri daripada kaji selidik ini tidak akan membawa kesan negatif terhadap nama baiknya kerana ini adalah hak beliau. Keputusannya juga tidak akan memberi kesan kepada kerja beliau sebagai guru di dalam kampung anda. Beliau masih boleh menunaikan tanggungjawabnya sebagai guru tanpa sebarang gangguan daripada pihak penyelidik.

Keadaan berahsia guru

Temuduga ini dan nama guru akan selalu dijaga dan dianggap sulit. Segala maklumat yang beliau berikan akan disimpan dalam keadaan selamat dalam masa kaji selidik ini iaitu untuk masa 5 tahun. Kesimpulan dan hasil penganalisis serta maklumat yang beliau berikan dalam temuduga ini akan diterbitkan tetapi nama guru dan nama kampung anda akan dirahsiakan dan hanya boleh didedahkan dengan izin guru dan izin tok batin.

Manfaat kaji selidik

Tujuan kaji selidik ini adalah untuk mendapat pemahaman yang mendalam tentang pendapat pendidik seperti guru dikampung anda yang mengajar anak-anak didalam komuniti kampung sendiri. Peranannya sebagai pendidik di dalam kampung anda adalah amat penting dan pendapat dan pengalaman yang beliau kongsi boleh digunakan memberi dorongan untuk menaik tarafkan pendidikan Orang Asli.

Penyertaannya dalam kaji selidik ini akan menambah lagi kajian dalam bidang bahasa ibunda terutamanya dalam kaitan penguasaan bahasa ibunda didalam bilik darjah. Ia adalah penting bagi para penyelidik untuk memahami pendapat dan pengalaman dari sudut pandangan Orang Asli dan

bukan sahaja pendapat orang luar mengenai pendidikan Orang Asli. Jadi, pendapat yang beliau kongsi amat berharga dan perlu di beri perhatian semua pihak berkepentingan.

Risiko dalam menjalankan kaji selidik.

Tiada mana-mana risiko berkaitan dengan keselamatan dan kesihatan dijangka berlaku kepada penyerta kaji selidik ini. Akan tetapi jika guru yang di temuduga terasa letih semasa temuduga dan ingin berhenti, beliau boleh memberitahu penyelidik tanpa keraguan atau rasa segan.

Jika wujud sebarang pertanyaan sila hubungi:

Jika anda atau guru ada sebarang pertanyaan atau ingin berbual tentang mana-mana aspek atau ciri-ciri kaji selidik ini, sila hubungi penyelidik, Keith Chin melalui nombor telefon +61466257002 atau melalui E-mel: 20188245@student.uwa.edu.au.

Dengan Ikhlas,

Penolong Profesor Grace Oakley

Kebenaran untuk mengendalikakan kajian ini diberikan oleh University Western Australia, mengikut ulasan prinsip ahlak dan prosedur kebenaran institusi kajian tinggi. Sesiapa yang ingin mengambil keputusan untuk menyertai ataupun sudah menyertai projek kajian ini, boleh mengemukakan sebarang persoalan kepada penyelidik pada bila bila masa. Sekiranya anda tidak puas hati dengan jawapan yang diberikan oleh penyelidik, pengaduan boleh dibuat kepada: Pejabat Etika Insan (Human Ethics office) di University of Western Australia, No. telefon: +6186488 4703 atau secara E-mel kepada humanethics@uwa.edu.au. Mana-mana peserta berhak menyimpan salinan Borang Maklumat Penyerta atau Borang Kebenaran Peserta Kajian untuk kajian ini.



THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Tel: +61 8 6488 2301
Email: grace.oakley@uwa.edu.au

Borang Kebenaran Tok Batin Kampung

PENYERTAAN DALAM TEMUDUGA

Saya, (Tok Batin), sebagai Tok Batin
Kampung..... secara individu memberi izin untuk guru di
kampung saya menyertai temuduga ini, sebagai kajian akademik mendalam mengenai
penggunaan bahasa ibunda dalam pendidikan secara tidak rasmi dikalangan Orang Asli.

Saya (Tok Batin) telah membaca segala maklumat yang diberikan dan segala soalan yang
saya ada mengenai kajian ini telah di jawab secara lengkap dan mengikut kepuasan saya.
Saya setuju memberi izin kepada guru di kampung ini untuk menyertai aktiviti kajian ini dan
langsung menyedari bahawa saya boleh pada bila-bila masa menarik balik penyertaan
kampung saya tanpa apa-apa alasan atau sebab. Saya juga sedar bahawa penarikan balik
penyertaan ini tidak akan mewujudkan apa-apa prasangka antara saya dan penyelidik kajian
ini.

Saya juga faham bahawa segala maklumat yang saya berikan yang boleh mengenal pasti
identiti saya sebagai individu akan dianggap sebagai maklumat yang sulit. Maklumat ini tidak
akan diterbitkan oleh penyelidik kajian ini, kecuali dalam syarat maklumat ini diperlukan
menurut undang-undang negara.

Sebagai Tok Batin, saya diberikan penerangan mengenai maklumat yang akan diambil
dalam temuduga ini. Tujuan dan penggunaan maklumat yang diambil juga telah diterangkan
kepada saya secara teliti. Saya juga telah dimaklumkan tentang apa akan berlaku kepada
maklumat yang dikumpul setelah kajian ini telah tamat.

Saya setuju dengan penggunaan maklumat yang dikumpul sebagai maklumat yang boleh
diterbitkan dengan syarat nama dan identiti saya sebagai individu tidak digunakan dan
dianggap sulit.

Tandatangan: Tarikh:

E-mel:

Nombor telefon:

Appendix H

Research Authorisation Letter



Kementerian Hal Ehwal Ekonomi
Ministry of Economic Affairs
Blok B5 & B6, Kompleks B
Kompleks Jabatan Perdana Menteri
Pusat Pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan
62502 Putrajaya

Tel : 603-8000 8000
Faks (Fax) : 603-8888 3755
Laman Web (Web): www.me.gov.my

Our Ref.: UPE 40/200/19/3579(5)

Date: 10 January 2019



Mr. Keith Chin Wei Jun
21 Jalan 10/12
Off Jalan Gasing
46000 Petaling Jaya
Selangor
Email : keith.chin@gmail.com

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN MALAYSIA

With reference to your application, I am pleased to inform that your application to conduct research in Malaysia has been approved by the **Ministry of Economic Affairs (MEA)**. The details of the approval are as follows:

Researcher's name : **KEITH CHIN WEI JUN**

Passport No./ I.C No : **790918-14-5297**

Nationality : **MALAYSIAN**

Title of Research : **"MOTHER TONGUE USE IN INFORMAL INDIGENOUS EDUCATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF ORANG ASLI VOLUNTEER TEACHERS IN PENINSULA MALAYSIA"**

Period of Research Approved : **1 year (10.01.2019 – 09.01.2020)**

- Please take note that the study should avoid sensitive issues pertaining to local values and norms as well as political elements. At all time, please adhere to the conditions stated by the code of conduct for researchers as attached.

"Merancang Ke Arah Kecemerlangan"

3. The issuance of the research pass is also subject to your agreement on the following:

i. **Department of Orang Asli Development**

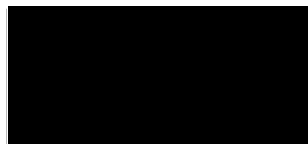
- a) The researcher should obtain written consent from the Orang Asli community (Tok Batin) and the individual to be interviewed by obtaining the signature of the consent to conduct the study. The names to be interviewed should be noted in the review report.

ii. **Ministry of Economic Affairs**

- b) To ensure submission of a brief summary of your research findings on completion of your research;
- c) To submit three (3) copies of your final dissertation/publication; and
- d) To return the research pass to the Research Promotion and Co-ordination Committee, Macroeconomics Division, Ministry of Economic Affairs.

4. Thank you for your interest in conducting research in Malaysia and wish you all the best in your future research endeavor.

Yours sincerely,



(YANTI MOHD NOR)

Macroeconomics Division
for Secretary General
Ministry of Economic Affairs
Email: yanti.mohdnor@mea.gov.my/oridb@mea.gov.my
Tel : 03 88723261
Fax : 03 88883798

ATTENTION

This letter is only to inform you the status of your application and **cannot be used as a research pass.**

C.C

Ketua Pengarah
Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA)
(Kementerian Pembangunan Luar Bandar)
Tkt. 3, 5, 20 & 20m, West Block,
Wisma Golden Eagle Realty,
142-c, Jalan Ampang,
50548 Kuala Lumpur.
(u.p.: Bahagian Perancangan Dan Penyelidikan)

Pengarah
Unit Perancang Ekonomi Negeri Perak
Aras 1, Bangunan Perak Darul Ridzuan
Jalan Panglima Bukit Gantang Wahab
30000 Ipoh Perak