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Report Part Title: ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA:

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S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (2010)

Stable URL: http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep05898.6

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ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA
THE INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

The position of Islam and the relative rights of non-Muslims were contentious issues during protracted constitutional negotiations involving the Reid Commission, the Malay sultans and UMNO-Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)-Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) Alliance, which had secured an overwhelming victory in the 1955 general elections.[1] The resultant Federal Constitution, unveiled upon the proclamation of independence on 31 August 1957, was a masterful compromise. The position of Islamic education is arguably safeguarded by Article 3(1): "Islam is the religion of the Federation, but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation."[2] As the basic clause on religious freedom, Article 11 confers on every individual the right to profess, practise and propagate his religion, but the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among Muslims may be controlled or restricted by state law, or in respect of the Federal Territory, by federal law.[3] Thus, not only are non-Muslim missionary activities subject to strict regulation or even prohibition in the states, but Muslim missionaries must also obtain a *tauliah* (letter of authority) from state religious departments. Article 11 also authorizes all religious groups to manage their own religious affairs, to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes and to acquire, possess, hold and administer property in accordance with the law. Article 12 extends such religious freedom to the purview of education, but specifies only Islamic institutions as lawful for the Federation or state to establish, maintain and assist in establishing or maintaining.[4] The Federation or a state is also empowered to provide, or assist in providing, Islamic religious instruction and incur expenditure as may be necessary for the purpose.

Although education is placed under federal jurisdiction in its Ninth Schedule, the technical administration of Islam falls under the jurisdiction of states.[5] State rulers retain their positions as heads of the Islamic religion in their respective states, while the *Yang di Pertuan Agong* (monarch), elected as Head of Federation from among the nine state sultans every five years, continues to become head of Islam in his own state and assumes a similar role in Malacca and Penang, and later by a constitutional amendment, in the Federal Territory, Sabah and Sarawak. Ironically, the Federal Constitution does not oblige the various states to proclaim Islam as their official religion. Through a series of Administration of Muslim Law Enactments, the various states have instituted Councils of the Islamic Religion (Majlis Agama Islam) to aid and advise the sultans in their capacity as heads of the Islamic religion, Departments of Islamic Religious Affairs (Jabatan Agama Islam) to handle daily affairs of Muslims and *shari'ah* courts to adjudicate in Muslim matters.[6] On the whole, claims a legal expert, "the provision that Islam is the religion of the Federation has little significance".[7]

Constitutionally, Islam also plays a vital ethno-cultural function as a determinant of Malayness. Article 160(2) defines a "Malay", the prime indigenous group who benefits from their "special position" as entrenched in Article 153,[8] as "a person who professes the Muslim religion, habitually speaks the Malay language, conforms to Malay custom".[9] Such privileges include measures to accelerate Malay economic and educational progress, protection of Malay land reservations and preference in the recruitment for public service. Under the so-called "Bargain of 1957" or "social contract", the aforesaid privileges, together with provisions to ensure the positions of Islam as the official religion, of Malay sultans as heads of the various states and of Malay as the national language, were quid pro quos for non-Malay demands for relaxed conditions for citizenship, the continued use of the English language in official matters for 10 years and the preservation of the free market economy.[10]

On the eve of independence, the seminal Razak Report of 1956 recommended that religious instructions be provided at public expense in any school with no fewer than 15 Muslim pupils. Lessons in other religions were proposed as additional subjects, so long as the state was not finan-

cially liable for them, and no compulsion was exerted on pupils without the express permission from their parents. The Razak Report's proposals found concrete form in the 1957 Education Ordinance, which allotted two hours per week for Islamic lessons, which were to be delivered by teachers approved by the various states' religious authorities.[11] Although the 1957 Ordinance was a marked improvement from a previous 1952 Education Ordinance, in which only a cursory mention of religious lessons is found, it still failed to fully incorporate Islamic religious knowledge into the mainstream curriculum of government schools.[12] It was only with the publicizing of the Rahman Talib Report of 1960 and the consequent Education Act of 1961 that meaningful integration of Islamic education with the national educational system was tabled and accomplished. Thereafter, Islamic religious lessons were made a core part of the syllabi in both government primary and secondary schools.[13] Religious teachers were inducted into the educational administrative service. State governments and the Ministry of Education were assigned responsibilities for recruitment of the teachers in primary schools and secondary school respectively.[14] That the 1961 Education Act was a hallmark achievement in crystallizing the position of Islamic education in Malaysian schools is undeniable, but it also led to a parallel decline in enrolment in both state and private Islamic schools.[15] Malay parents obviously sought to derive maximum benefits from a national educational system that equipped their children with adequate qualifications and skills to compete in the expanding labour market, without necessarily discarding the obligation to prepare them with rudimentary Islamic knowledge necessary for them to lead the lives of good Muslims. The 1961 Act also brought about concomitant changes in the curricula of private *madrasahs* which, having apparently lost their raison d'être, were literally fighting for their survival. The time allocation for revealed religious sciences was reduced to make way for more slots for rational sciences often-termed "secular". Malay language replaced Arabic as the medium of instruction in all subjects except Arabic itself. Despite the widening of the *madrasahs*' syllabi, their constrained budget meant they were on the losing side vis-à-vis government schools as far as attracting highly qualified teachers and providing instructional facilities were concerned.[16]

The policy of gradual absorption of Islamic educational institutions and practice into a broad national educational system is consistent with the goals of Malaysia's educational policies, viz. to assist economic development, to achieve national unity and to foster ethnic integration by bridging the economic gap between different communal groups—a target accentuated by the May 1969 racial riots and the consequent enunciation of the affirmative action-oriented New Economic Policy (NEP, Dasar Ekonomi Baru) in 1971.[17] The NEP created an environment in which Islam was given greater prominence in the Malay community's rediscovery of their identity following persistent challenges to their cherished special position as enshrined in the Federal Constitution. Thus for example, the first-ever National Cultural Congress convened in 1971 accepted that as an integral component of Malay culture, Islam would automatically be an important element in shaping a Malaysian national culture, which was to be based upon indigenous culture but open to ancillary elements from other cultures.[18] In 1972, Prime Minister Tun Razak declared that fresh government actions in both domestic and international affairs had been guided by Islam, and that the NEP itself found guidance from the Quran.[19] Within the context of the Middle Eastern oil boom of the 1970s and ensuing rise of the political clout of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC),[20] Malaysia became a major recipient of oil-related aid distributed under the aegis of the Jeddah-based Islamic Development Bank (IDB).[21] Improved bilateral ties resulted in the outpouring of investment into government-related Islamic projects from development funds of such countries as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya. Among the primary financial beneficiaries were government-sanctioned bodies such as the Islamic Welfare Association of Malaysia (PERKIM, or Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam SeMalaysia) and the Regional Islamic Dakwah Council for Southeast Asia and Pacific (RISEAP)—both initiated by former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman.[22] However, funding for Islamic educational initiatives was especially conspicuous, culminating in the joint-sponsorship by Muslim countries of the IIUM, founded in 1983 and using English and Arabic as official languages of instruction. As an epitome of higher Islamic education, IIUM's "philosophy of unity of knowledge and integration of Islamic religious values in all branches

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of knowledge" represented, according to its former rector, "a sharp break from the practice of dualism of 'religious' and 'secular' subjects".[23]

Given the co-terminal nature of Malayness and Islam within the framework of post-NEP reconstruction policies, it was perhaps inevitable that Islamic education would assume increasing importance as a gesture of the government's new resolve in affirming Malay hegemony. To coordinate federal efforts at systematizing Islamic education, a separate Religious Education Division (Bahagian Pelajaran Agama) was established within the Ministry of Education in 1973. In 1983, it was renamed the Islamic Education Division (BPI, or Bahagian Pendidikan Islam). In 1995, upon assuming the further responsibility of handling moral education in schools, BPI was upgraded into the Islamic and Moral Education Division (BPIM, or Bahagian Pendidikan Islam dan Moral). However, recent restructuring has seen the division reverting to its original position and name as BPI. In its various configurations over the years, BPI has spearheaded endeavours to exalt Islamic education to a respectable status within the broad spectrum of educational policy in Malaysia. At present, it is entrusted with the management of the Islamic educational policy and curriculum, the Arabic language policy and curriculum, the recruitment and in-service training of Islamic education and Arabic language teachers, *dakwah*[24] and leadership training for Islamic education staff and students, and with aiding and raising the standards of both national secondary religious schools (SMKA, or Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan Agama) and government-assisted religious schools (SABK, or Sekolah Agama Bantuan Kerajaan).[25]

Overall, BPI is entrusted with the responsibility to monitor the integration of religious schools with the national educational system. A landmark achievement towards this aim was the federal government's taking over of 13 state secondary religious schools (SMAN, or *sekolah menengah agama negeri*) and SARs, all of which were duly converted into SMKAs which used a uniform syllabus called the Higher Islamic Knowledge Syllabus (Sukatan Pelajaran Pengetahuan Agama Islam Tinggi).[26] Until now, there are 55 SMKAs scattered throughout the country, including in the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, with a total student enrolment of 38,394 (16,309 boys and 22,085 girls) studying in 1,384

classes.[27] SMKA students can presently choose to specialize in either one of the three available streams, viz. humanities/arts and religion, science and religion, and technical-vocational education and religion. All streams provide the choice of such core religious subjects as Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah education, Islamic *Shari'ah* education and Higher Arabic language.[28] These core subjects are also elective subjects in mainstream secondary education, which operates its own religious stream (*kelas aliran agama*) at selected schools.[29] In both kinds of government-sponsored religious education, the choice of subjects is deemed to be not exclusively religious and broad enough so as to equip students with adequate knowledge and confidence to face the occupational world while upholding Islamic values. Since 2000, students with potential for excellence in religious subjects are allowed to proceed to higher education via the Higher Religious Certificate of Malaysia (STAM, Sijil Tinggi Agama Malaysia), whose Arabic-medium curriculum has been streamlined with Ma'had Bu'uth al-Islamiah of Al Azhar University, Cairo. STAM offers a pathway to tertiary education in Islamic studies faculties in universities in Malaysia and abroad. STAM is also offered to students of SARs and SMANs, who are in the process of streamlining their syllabi to be in sync with STAM instead of the Malay-medium Higher Religious Certificate (STA, Sjil Tinggi Agama) examinations.[30]

Within mainstream primary and secondary education in national and vernacular national-type schools, Islamic subjects are featured as part of the curriculum on moral-cum-values education. It is claimed that their inclusion into the main curriculum reflects the colonial tradition of dichotomizing between secular and religious education; the latter manifesting itself in the form of lessons on "scripture" and "ethics" for Christian and non-Christian pupils respectively. Islamic religious knowledge was thus at the beginning known as the subject *Agama* (Religion) as taught to Muslim students, while civics as a subject was made mandatory upon their non-Muslim counterparts.[31] In the 1960s, the *Agama* syllabus for primary schools contained lessons in *aqidah* (faith), *ibadah* (worship), history of the Messengers of God, *akhlaq / budipekerti* (morals) and recitation of the Quran. At secondary schools, Muslim students were given classes on *fiqh*, *tawhid*, Islamic history, the Quran and *hadith*.[32]

For six years at primary level and five years at secondary level, Muslim pupils were given such doses of Islamic knowledge for two hours per week. From being an originally elective subject at secondary level, greater weightage was later given to *Agama* as a subject whose grade was considered for aggregation at the Malaysian Certificate of Education (SPM/MCE, Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia) level[33] and also counted towards entry into teachers' training colleges.[34]

By the 1970s, there arose genuine concern among policymakers that the didactic and doctrinal approach employed in transmitting *Agama* lessons was producing students who relied on rote memorization to pass examinations but failed to truly understand and internalize the teachings.[35] The 1970s thus witnessed a shift from the content-based to a more practical approach of conducting the religious classes. In 1974, the transfer of authority over primary Islamic education from state governments to the federal government was virtually completed.[36] In 1976 the Ministry of Education directed headmasters of primary and fully aided secondary schools to provide prayer facilities within the school premises. They were also instructed to intensify Islamic co-curricular activities such as Islamic student societies, Quran recital classes, *nasyeed* (Islamic hymn) troupes and Islamic oratory competitions. In 1978, the Ministry established a *dakwah* unit whose officials were placed in all state education departments. Their task was to coordinate religious activities among school headmasters, religious teachers, Parent and Teachers Associations (PTAs) and Islamic student societies.[37] The *Agama* subject was subsequently renamed *Pendidikan Islam* (Islamic Education) to reflect the widening of its scope.[38] Training of Islamic education teachers was given a new lease of life by the founding of an Islamic Teachers Training College (MPI, or Maktab Perguruan Islam) in 1977, after a few months of embryonic existence as an Islamic education unit at the Special Knowledge Teachers Training College (Maktab Perguruan Ilmu Khas). The formation of MPI launched the momentum for the absorption of religious teachers into the federal administrative scheme—a process that culminated with the passing of a 1991 Education Act legitimizing the transfer of religious educators hitherto regulated by various states' Majlis Agama Islam.[39] In 2006, MPI was renamed the Islamic Teachers

Training Institute of Selangor (IPIS, or Institut Perguruan Islam Selangor), and later upgraded into the degree-granting Islamic Campus of the Institute of Teachers' Education of Malaysia (IPGM-KAMPIS, or Institut Pendidikan Guru Malaysia Kampus Pendidikan Islam Selangor).[40]

Islamic education arrived at a watershed following the Cabinet Committee Report on Educational Policy of 1979. The Report criticized the lack of practical aspects in the delivery of Islamic lessons, the methodical weaknesses of Islamic educators, and the lack of supervision over the Islamic education subject.[41] The outcome of the committee's deliberations was a revamping of the curriculum, giving rise to the New Primary School Curriculum (KBSR1, or Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah, 1982), the Integrated Secondary School Curriculum (KBSM, or Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah, 1988) and the Integrated Primary School Curriculum (KBSR2, or Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Rendah, 1994). KBSR2 was in essence an improved version of KBSR1, which had stressed the acquisition of three basic skills, viz. reading, writing and arithmetic within the context a child-centred curriculum.[42] KBSM is said to have been guided by resolutions of the First World Conference on Muslim Education held in Mecca in 1977. KBSM seeks to combine theoretical knowledge with practical skills and moral values.[43] Such a values-oriented education is supposed to run across the curriculum, being integrated into the teaching of all subjects. It endeavours to inculcate in the students' personality 16 core moral values, viz. cleanliness of body and mind, compassion and tolerance, cooperation, courage, moderation, diligence, freedom, gratitude, honesty, humility and modesty, justice, rationality, self-reliance, love, respect and public spiritedness. Under KBSM, all teachers became de facto moral education teachers.[44] Apart from this holistic emphasis, a new Moral Education subject for non-Muslim pupils was introduced to run parallel with the Islamic education subject taught to Muslim students. KBSM even attempted to dispense with the compartmentalization of knowledge based upon arts and science subjects, but, in 1993, reverted to offering science as a distinct discipline from primary level after a massive drop in the ratio of students opting for the sciences to those choosing non-science subjects for SPM examinations.[45] At present, at lower secondary level—for students aged 13 to 15—students may

choose Islamic education or Moral Education as one of their electives; the core subjects being Malay language, English language, Science, History, Geography and Mathematics. However, at higher secondary level—for students aged 16 to 17—Islamic education or Moral Education forms one of the compulsory subjects, besides Malay language, English language, Mathematics and History. In addition, the *Agama* stream is accepted as one of the three specialized streams in secondary education, the other two being the academic stream (science or arts) and the technical and vocational stream.[46] Since the 1980s, additional core subjects have been introduced to bolster secondary level Islamic education as a whole. Four of them, viz. Higher Arabic language, *Tasawwur* Islam, Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah education and Islamic *Shari'ah* education—all introduced in 1992—also serve as electives for students of the two non-*Agama* streams.[47]

On the one hand, the above concessions to Islamic education represented a concerted effort to transform the conception of Islamic education in Malaysia from being a mere subject within a generally secular curriculum to being the definitive philosophy undergirding the entire educational system. The point of reference for the former is the Malaysian nation-state, while for the latter, it should be the *ummah*.[48] The ambitions of the latter educational scheme are universal, as has been conceptualized by such scholars as Abul A'la al-Mawdudi (d. 1979) and Ismail Raji al-Faruqi (d. 1986), whose "Islamization of knowledge" programme endeavoured a synthesis between the vast body of Islamic epistemological tradition and Western humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.[49] From within Malaysia, the strongest voice calling for an all-encompassing educational reform emanated from the distinguished professor Syed Naguib Al-Attas, a key speaker at the 1977 First World Conference on Muslim Education in Mecca. This conference reflected the *ummah*'s earnest concern for "a return to the concept of integrative Islamic education as an alternative to secular education" that had beset post-colonial Muslim societies.[50] But for such a grandiose scheme to take effect, it had to penetrate political structures and interests of powers that be. The penetration took the form of adoption of such educational reforms as a cardinal plank of a broader Islamization agenda initiated by

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the Malaysian Prime Minister (1981–2003). As Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir had previously helmed the 1979 Cabinet Committee Report on Educational Policy. The linkage between theoretical discourse and practical policy is here provided in the person of Anwar Ibrahim, former President of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia) who was co-opted into UMNO and the government in 1982, became Minister of Education in 1987 and Deputy Prime Minister in 1994, before being unceremoniously dismissed from all ruling party and government posts in 1998 after a dramatic fallout with Dr. Mahathir.[51]

Many observers have acknowledged the crucial role played by Anwar Ibrahim and ABIM, which he led from 1974 to 1982, in successfully pressuring, by way of official demands and exemplary initiatives, for formal educational reforms in a more Islamic direction during Dr. Mahathir's premiership.[52] As Education Minister in 1975, Dr. Mahathir had warmly accepted ABIM's memorandum on education for perusal by the cabinet committee entrusted with the task of reviewing the national education policy. According to one-time head of ABIM's bureau of education, Osman Bakar, a lot of the ideas underscoring the memorandum had been inspired by the thoughts of Syed Naguib Al-Attas.[53] Upon his ascendancy to the influential post of Minister of Education in 1987, Anwar Ibrahim embarked on an ambitious path of *reformasi pendidikan* (educational reformation). His programme revolved around seven issues, viz. the coining of a national philosophy of education, the role of the Malay language as the medium for acquiring knowledge at all levels, the emphasis on national unity, human resource development, democratization of access to quality education, the goal of a continual supply of productive labour to run alongside the National Agricultural Policy and the Main Industrial Plan, and the replacement of narrow-mindedness with intellectual tolerance or "globalization".[54] In the opinion of ABIM-affiliated educationist Sidek Baba, Anwar's educational reformation was the alter ego of the National Development Policy (NDP, or Dasar Pembangunan Nasional), which was enunciated in 1991 to replace the NEP towards accomplishing Dr. Mahathir's vision of transforming Malaysia into a "fully developed country along all the dimensions: economically, politi-

cally, socially, spiritually, psychologically, and culturally", albeit in its own mould, by the year 2020.[55] The most profound imprint left by Anwar was a National Philosophy of Education (FPN, or Falsafah Pendidikan Negara). Promulgated in 1988, the FPN formed the preamble to the 1996 Education Act and is still in use today. Pronounced by Osman Bakar as "in line with Islamic teachings" and "can no longer be treated as secular",[56] the FPN proclaims:

> Education in Malaysia is an on-going effort towards further developing the potential of individuals in a holistic and integrated manner, so as to produce individuals who are intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically balanced and harmonious, based on a firm belief in and devotion to God. Such an effort is designed to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable and competent, who possess high moral standards and who are responsible and capable of achieving a high level of personal well being as well as being able to contribute to the betterment of society and the nation at large.[57]

While the underlying philosophy behind the FPN is arguably Islamic, clear-cut mention of or reference to Islamic sources and categories was avoided so as to raise its general acceptance and applicability among Malaysia's multi-cultural, multi-religious society. A philosophical statement expounding a distinctively Islamic form of education was therefore released to bolster the position of Islamic education within the paradigm of the national educational system. The Ministry of Education-announced Islamic Philosophy of Education (FPI, Falsafah Pendidikan Islam) reads:

> Islamic Education is a continuous effort to deliver knowledge, skill and emotional experience based on al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah in order to build behaviour, skill, personality and a view of life as the servant of Allah, responsible for self development, the community, the environment and the nation for the sake of prosperity and salvation in this world and the hereafter.[58]

The aim of such Islamic education has been specified as "to produce Muslims who are knowledgeable, devoted, pious, well-mannered and who also have virtuous characteristics based on al-Qur'an and

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al-Sunnah".[59] Within the conceptual structure of KBSM, the desired end-product of Islamic education has been spelt out as follows: "After learning Islamic Education in the Integrated Curriculum for Secondary Schools, the students should have excellent *akhlaq* and be able to practise noble values as the foundation of a good nation."[60] A perennial concern of policymakers has therefore been the perceived ineffectiveness of such curricula reforms, apparently designed with Islamic motives and targets, to engineer behavioural transformation of Muslim students, as evidenced by ever-rising social ailments among Muslim youth, including drug abuse, corruption, child abuse, prostitution, incest, *lepak* (loitering) culture, sexual permissiveness and heavy crime.[61] Ironically, the publication of news exposing the disproportionate number of Muslim youths indulging in such vices has been one of the factors maintaining the popularity of Islamic schools, whether run by the government or private individuals or organizations. Malay-Muslim parents generally believe that providing their children with an Islamic education within an integrative framework will do well to shield them from undesirable influences in an increasingly hedonistic and materialistic world, while at the same time providing a pathway towards modern qualifications, not necessarily in the religious stream. Some realize their own deficiencies in Islamic knowledge but wish that their progeny be acquainted with knowledge of at least the fundamentals of Islam and not lead wayward lives. They have been socialized by the *dakwah* wave or Islamic revival from the 1970s to 1980s to firmly believe in the utility and promising aspects of Islamic education in Malaysia. They remain undeterred by the various criticisms that have been levelled against the state of Islamic schools,[62] whose weaknesses they are prepared to tolerate so long as their offspring are afforded an education that teaches them the essence of humanity rather than just preparing them for a place in the alienated environment of a capitalistic labour market.[63]

Notes

1. Cf. M. Suffian Hashim, "The Relationship between Islam and the State in Malaya", *Intisari*, 1(1), 7–21 (1962); Ahmad Ibrahim, "The Position of Islam

in the Constitution of Malaysia" in Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain (Eds.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985, pp. 213–220; Joseph M. Fernando, "The Position of Islam in the Constitution of Malaysia", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37(2), 249–266 (2006).

2. *Federal Constitution With Index*, Kuala Lumpur: MDC Publishers Printers, 1998, p. 1. For such an argument relating Article 3(1) to the protection of Islamic education, see Abdul Halim Hj. Mat Diah, *Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia: Sejarah dan Pemikiran*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia Wilayah Persekutuan, 1989, pp. 5–7.

3. *Federal Constitution With Index*, pp. 6–7.

4. *Federal Constitution With Index*, p. 7.

5. *Federal Constitution With Index*, pp. 156–157.

6. Ahmad Ibrahim, "The Position of Islam in the Constitution of Malaysia", p. 216.

7. Ahmad Ibrahim, "Law and Religion – The Malaysian Experience", *Islam and the Modern Age*, 5(3), 6–7 (1974).

8. Gordon P. Means, "Public Policy Toward Religion in Malaysia", *Pacific Affairs*, 51(3), 393–394 (1978), Gordon P. Means, "Malaysia: Islam in a Pluralistic Society" in Carlo Caldarola (Ed.), *Religions and Societies: Asia and the Middle East*, London: Mouton Publishers, 1982, pp. 473–474; *Federal Constitution With Index*, p. 107.

9. *Federal Constitution With Index*, p. 113.

10. R. S. Milne and Diane K. Mauzy, *Politics and Government in Malaysia*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978, pp. 38–39; R. S. Milne and Diane K. Mauzy, *Malaysia: Tradition, Modernity and Islam*, Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 28–30.

11. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 152.

12. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 154–155.

13. Zainal Abidin Abdul Kadir, "Ke Arah Amalan dan Penghayatan Nilai Islam: Satu Pendekatan Bersepadu" in Abd. Halim El-Muhammady (Ed.), *Pendidikan Islam: Peranannya Dalam Pembangunan Ummah*, p. 106.

14. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 155–157.

15. Joan M. Nelson, "Malaysia's Education Policies: Balancing Multiple Goals and Global Pressures" in Joan M. Nelson, Jacob Meerman and Abdul

Rahman Embong (Eds.), *Globalization and National Autonomy: The Experience of Malaysia*, Singapore and Bangi: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, 2008, p. 209.

16. Che Noraini Hashim and Hasan Langgulung, "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia", *Bulletin of Education and Research*, 30(1), 11–12 (2008).

17. Lee Hock Guan, "Globalisation and Ethnic Integration in Malaysian Education" in Saw Swee-Hock and K. Kesavapany (Eds.), *Malaysia: Recent Trends and Challenges*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, p. 230; Nelson, "Malaysia's Education Policies: Balancing Multiple Goals and Global Pressures", p. 190.

18. Sumit K. Mandal, "The National Culture Policy and Contestation Over Malaysian Identity" in Nelson, Meerman and Abdul Rahman Embong (Eds.), *Globalization and National Autonomy*, p. 278.

19. Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 66.

20. Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, "The Geopolitics of Oil in the Twentieth Century and its Impact on Muslim Societies, States and Development", *IKIM Journal*, 8(1), 13–20 (2000).

21. Shanti Nair, *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 62.

22. Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, p. 93; Nair, *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, p. 105.

23. M. Kamal Hassan, "Some Dimensions of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia", p. 57. On the university's origins, see Mokhtar A. Kadir, *Keamanan Sejagat: Peranan Malaysia Dalam Politik Antarabangsa*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991, pp. 105–108.

24. Literally meaning "propagation", as derived from the Arabic term *da'wah*, *dakwah* originally referred to the proselytising activities of Muslims upon non-Muslims, but in the lexicon of contemporary Islam, *dakwah* connotes spreading the message of Islam as *din al-hayah* (The Way of Life) to born Muslims. For discussions of *dakwah*'s multiple manifestations, see for example, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, "The Formative Years of The *Dakwah* Movement: Origins, Causes and Manifestations of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia", *IKIM Journal*, 10(2), 87–90, 105–110 (2002); Sharifah Zaleha binti Syed Hassan, "Negotiating Islamism: The Experiences of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia", *Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 29 (2009), p. 65.

25. See the Division's profile, accessed on 14 September 2009 at http://www.moe.gov.my/?id=45&act=division&cat=JAPIM.

26. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 162.

27. "SMKA", accessed on 15 September 2009 at http://www.moe.gov.my/?id=128&lang=my; "Jadual 7: Enrolmen dan Kelas Sekolah Menengah Mengikut Negeri, Jenis Sekolah dan Jantina", accessed on 15 September 2009 at http://apps.moe.gov.my/emis/emis2/emisportal2/doc/fckeditor/File/Map_Jan_09/Jadual07.pdf?PHPSESSID=9f8adcf520c8b2ae35d325bf21870f68. Both.

28. Adnan Yusopp, "Dasar Pendidikan Islam Negara: Pelaksanaan dan Keberkesanan Sistem Pendidikan di Sekolah-sekolah Kerajaan" in Suzalie Mohamad (Ed.), *Memahami Isu-isu Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia, 2003, p. 36.

29. *50 Tahun Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Pendidikan Islam, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 2009, pp. 71–72. A draft copy of this coffee table book was obtained from a member of the Ministry of Education-commissioned panel of authors, Dr. Ishak Saat of the History section, School of Distance Education (SDE), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang.

30. Adnan Yusopp, "Dasar Pendidikan Islam Negara: Pelaksanaan dan Keberkesanan Sistem Pendidikan di Sekolah-sekolah Kerajaan", p. 37; Abdul Monir Yaacob, "Kurikulum Pendidikan di Sekolah-sekolah Agama Negeri di Malaysia" in Suzalie Mohamad (Ed.), *Memahami Isu-isu Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 92–95; *50 Tahun Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 87–91; "Students with STAM can now apply at 20 public varsities", *The Star*, 16 September 2009.

31. Rahimah Haji Ahmad, "Educational development and reformation in Malaysia: Past, present and future", *Journal of Educational Administration*, 36(5), 462, 466 (1998).

32. *50 Tahun Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, p. 26.

33. The SPM level was equivalent to the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary Level in the British secondary education system until the late 1980s, when Ordinary Level examinations were replaced by new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) qualifications. In Britain, fifteen-year-old pupils sit for GCSE examinations, but in Malaysia, SPM papers are conventionally taken by seventeen-year-old students.

34. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 161, 165.

35. Zainal Abidin Abdul Kadir, "Ke Arah Amalan dan Penghayatan Nilai Islam: Satu Pendekatan Bersepadu", pp. 106–107.

36. Abdul Halim Hj. Mat Diah, *Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia: Sejarah dan Pemikiran*, p. 11.

37. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 163.

38. Rahimah Haji Ahmad, "Educational development and reformation in Malaysia: Past, present and future", p. 466.

39. Abdul Hamid bin Othman, "Maktab Perguruan Islam: Dahulu, Masa Kini dan Akan Datang" in Khailani Abdul Jalil and Ishak Ali Shah (Eds.), *Pendidikan Islam Era 2020: Tasawur dan Strategi*, Bangi: Jabatan Pendidikan MPI, 1993, pp. 60–62.

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44. Mohd. Kamal Hassan, "The Influence of Islam on Education and Family in Malaysia" in Syed Othman AlHabshi and Syed Omar Syed Agil (Eds.), *The Role and Influence of Religion in Society*, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia, 1994, p. 129; Rahimah Haji Ahmad, "Educational development and reformation in Malaysia: Past, present and future", pp. 468–469, 474–475.

45. Lee, "Education in Malaysia: Towards Vision 2020", p. 91. The Moral Education syllabus currently in use for secondary education may be perused at *Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah: Sukatan Pelajaran Pendidikan Moral*, Kuala Lumpur: Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 2000, accessed on 16 September 2009 at http://sekolah.edu.my/kurikulum/sekolah-menengah/bidang-sains-sosial/pendidikan-moral/sukatan-pelajaran-kurikulum-bersepadu-

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53. Osman Bakar, "Implikasi Gerakan Dakwah Ke Atas Sistem Pendidikan Kebangsaan" in *Gerakan Dakwah dan Orde Islam di Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1993, p. 49.

54. Anwar Ibrahim, *Menangani Perubahan*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1989, pp. 63–75; Wan Zahid Mohd. Noordin, "Reformasi Pendidikan dan Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah: Strategi, Cabaran dan Harapan" in *Gerakan Dakwah dan Orde Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 60–66.

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55. Mahathir Mohamad, *Malaysia: The Way Forward*, Kuala Lumpur: Biro Tatanegara Jabatan Perdana Menteri Malaysia, 1991, p. 21; Sidek Baba, "Pelaksanaan Pendidikan Islam Era 2020: Ke Arah Kecemerlangan Generasi Pelajar" in Khailani Abdul Jalil and Ishak Ali Shah (Eds.), *Pendidikan Islam Era 2020: Tasawur dan Strategi*, p. 27. For a summary of the new dimensions introduced by the DPN vis-a-vis the DEB, see Junaidy Abu Bakar, "Teori Masyarakat Industri" in Ghazali Mayudin (Ed.), *Politik Malaysia: Perspektif Teori dan Praktik*, Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002, pp. 285–286.

56. Osman Bakar, "Implikasi Gerakan Dakwah Ke Atas Sistem Pendidikan Kebangsaan", p. 51.

57. Quoted in its original translation from the Ministry of Education official documents, in Roald, *Tarbiya: Education and Politics in Islamic Movements in Jordan and Malaysia*, p. 234; Ab. Halim Tamuri, "Islamic Education teachers' perceptions of the teaching of *akhlaq* in Malaysian secondary schools", *Journal of Moral Education*, 36(3), 371–372 (2007). For an explication of the FPN in its original Malay language and its relevance to Islamic education, see Wan Mohd. Zahid bin Mohd. Noordin, "Peranan Pendidikan Islam Dalam Falsafah Pendidikan Negara" in Suzalie Mohamad (Ed.), *Memahami Isu-isu Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 15–29.

58. Quoted in its original translation from a Ministry of Education official document, in Ab. Halim Tamuri, "Islamic Education teachers' perceptions of the teaching of *akhlaq* in Malaysian secondary schools", p. 373. For further explanation of the FPI in its original Malay language, see Zainal Abidin Abdul Kadir, "Ke Arah Amalan dan Penghayatan Nilai Islam: Satu Pendekatan Bersepadu", pp. 110–111.

59. Quoted in Ab. Halim Tamuri, "Islamic Education teachers' perceptions of the teaching of *akhlaq* in Malaysian secondary schools", p. 373; see also Zainal Abidin Abdul Kadir, "Ke Arah Amalan dan Penghayatan Nilai Islam: Satu Pendekatan Bersepadu", p. 112.

60. Quoted in Ab. Halim Tamuri, "Islamic Education teachers' perceptions of the teaching of *akhlaq* in Malaysian secondary schools", p. 373.

61. Cf. Mohd. Kamal Hassan, "The Influence of Islam on Education and Family in Malaysia", pp. 137–142, 146–154; Awang Had Salleh, "Masyarakat Melayu Dalam Pendidikan Dan Sosiobudaya", *Pemikir*, no. 5 (1996), pp. 30–32.

62. For such a stinging criticism, see for example M. Bakri Musa, "MEANWHILE: Religious schools hinder progress in Malaysia", accessed

on 17 September 2009 at http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/24/ opinion/24iht-edmusa_ed2_.html, posted 24 April 2001.

63. For the various reasons cited by Malay-Muslim parents for preferring a private SAR education for their children, see Zainal Azam bin Abd. Rahman, "Prospek dan Masa Hadapan Sekolah Agama Rakyat" in Suzalie Mohamad (Ed.), *Memahami Isu-isu Pendidikan Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 280–284; Che Noraini Hashim and Hasan Langgulung, "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia", p. 14. On parents' satisfaction of and hence their decision to send their children to government religious schools, see Adnan Yusopp, "Dasar Pendidikan Islam Negara: Pelaksanaan dan Keberkesanan Sistem Pendidikan di Sekolah-sekolah Kerajaan", p. 38; Abdul Monir Yaacob, "Kurikulum Pendidikan di Sekolah-sekolah Agama Negeri di Malaysia", p. 81.