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INTRODUCTION

Orang Asli education has grown in popularity in the Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025 to offer opportunities for indigenous students in Peninsular Malaysia and aboriginal students in Sarawak and Sabah as other students to ensure quality of education and international recognition. Orang Asli education is one of the key agendas in enhancing the quality of national education (Mohd Nazri Abdul Rahman, Nor Asiah Muhamad & Muhamad Asyraf Mansor, 2019). Despite progression and initiatives on enhancing school education for Orang Asli students, Muhammad Fuad Abdullah (2019) exhibited that 83.4% of the Orang Asli in Terengganu was deprived in years of schooling, and years of schooling revealed high dropout rates among Orang Asli students. Sheera Nabila Singar and Azizan Zainuddin (2017) indicated that the dominant factor of indigenous dropout was parents' educational background as well as low parental support and involvement.

Low educational attainment of indigenous students in Malaysia pointed out the need for further investigation to explore indigenous home learning culture, in terms of their learning as participation in social practice in the indigenous home, as any form of knowledge from the study could be framed to enhance learning and education for Orang Asli students. Jorgensen (2018) stated an incongruence between indigenous home and school learning system, illustrating symbolic violence happened where there was a failure to recognise the differences between home and school cultural systems. Bennett et al. (2009) posited that learning was more likely to be effective for students whose home habitus aligned with the practices of schools. If there was a higher congruence between home culture and school culture then learning was likely to be more powerful for indigenous students.

In the indigenous home context, Orang Asli learned and interacted with the natural environment, and they relied on traditional cultural knowledge to support their families and communities (Nicholas, Engi & Teh, 2010; Endicott, 2015). Semai children typically engaged in outdoor activities, and they usually shouldered responsibilities of their parents in their traditional village (Renganathan, 2016). Traditional music and songs as transmission of cultural values of social responsibility was observed in indigenous Semai community (Suet Ching & Ross, 2015). Traditional and spiritual beliefs were prevalent in the Semai community, denoting interrelationship, reciprocity, humility and respect between humans and ecological relationships (Gomes, 2018). Renganathan (2016) and Walid et al. (2015) denoted the emergence of the use of digital technology and literacy learning. According to Renganathan and Kral (2018), despite a strong influence of oral traditions such as stories, songs and traditional cultural practices on indigenous Semai people, literate resources and practices such as books, magazines, radio, television and Internet played a role in their lives due to modernization and environmental changes.

The current qualitative phenomenological study explored home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students in Perak. By taking a more holistic way to explore the dynamic of home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students, a greater understanding of the deficit orientation of educational attainment, educational motivation and school participation may benefit Orang Asli students, the community, educational initiatives and policy formation. By exploring indigenous home learning culture, it widened the understanding on indigenous cultural values and beliefs through the shifts in ecological context, thus increasing home-school congruency to lead an improvement of Orang Asli education.

Problem Statement

Indigenous students have been reported lagging behind in education compared to other mainstream students in Malaysia albeit the government in Malaysia has increased access to education and improved the quality of education for the Orang Asli over the years (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2018). Previous studies have reported low indigenous students' educational motivation and attainment in the Malaysian context in relation to disadvantaged parental support and capitals positioned within the home learning field (Misnaton Rabahi et al., 2016; Abdul Razaq Ahmad & Mohd Mahzan Awang, 2016; Renganathan, 2016; Norwaliza Abdul Wahab, 2016; Doreen Primus, Ng and Aziah Ismail, 2017). Most of these studies have only involved parental factors in influencing



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Orang Asli struggles in formal education, and they have failed to consider learning culture and other home factors in their wider context and the symbolic system in the sociocultural environment that influenced their learning.

Furthermore, there was a lack of studies that explored the issue of educational backwardness of indigenous students through the lens of their home habitus, as most previous studies focused on school elements such as less culturally responsive school curriculum, instruction, pedagogy, assessment, teacher's attitudes and commitment, and poor teacher-student relationship (Nur Bahiyah Abdul Wahab et al., 2014; Warid Mihat, 2015; Wahab et al., 2016). Indigenous home learning perspective in this study gave an opportunity to indigenous students to voice out their innate learning dispositions and behaviors. The paucity of research based on indigenous home learning culture is a significant gap in understanding the phenomenon of discrepancy in indigenous education.

It was found that indigenous home learning culture in the abroad context comprised of learning through interaction with natural environment (Gratani et al., 2016), learning through oral tradition (Andrea Bowra & Angela Mashford-Pringle, 2020), social learning (Rogoff et al., 2015; De León, 2017), learning based on kinship values (Rona, Forster & O'Neill, 2018) and the influences of neighbourhood (Jirata, 2019) whereas indigenous home learning culture in Malaysian context was denoted as learning through interaction with nature, social learning and the value of stewardship, and learning based on family and community value (Gomes, 2018; Nicholas, Engi & Teh, 2010; Endicott, 2015). Negative influences on indigenous cultural practices were found due to the prevalence of modern technologies in Malaysian context (Isa et al., 2016). There were differences in what and how indigenous people come to shape or be shaped into their identities with respect to different cultural practices (Hodkinson, Biesta and James, 2008). The difference of cultural practices in both abroad and local context and the influences of modernization changes imperatively called for a study that reflected home learning culture of indigenous Semai groups in Malaysian context.

There is a need for more studies about home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students in Malaysian context. To date, there are only two studies that focused on indigenous experiences in home learning culture (Kral & Renganathan, 2018; Renganathan, 2016). Kral and Renganathan (2018) postulated that Orang Asli children come from a non-literate tradition, and their home language use was not the language of instruction in formal education setting whereas Renganathan (2016) postulated that indigenous children's after school routine was less structured and they participated in informal play. Other than these two studies, previous studies have associated the indigenous remote settlement and marginalization with the phenomenon of discrepancy in indigenous education (Aidil Fitri bin Sawalludin et al., 2020; Mazzlida Mat Deli and Ruhizan Mohamad Yasin, 2016) rather than understanding learning culturally from both individual and social context in the home.

Aim of the Study

Learning is social, embodied and practical as a result of individuals' embodied engagement in cultural practices (Bourdieu, 1985; Hodkinson, Biesta and James, 2008). This study aimed to explore home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students. The following research question was developed to attain the aim of this study.

“What is the home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students in Perak?”

School Culture and Pedagogy in Malaysian Context

Formal education in Malaysia emphasizes literacy knowledge and mastery of 4R's which are reading, writing, arithmetic and reasoning with supplementary elements of creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship along with the language practices through which school concepts, curriculum and processes are taught in Bahasa Melayu, English and their first language (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2013). School Based Assessment (SBA) is implemented via classroom-based assessment (PBD), physical activity, sports and curriculum assessment (PAJSK), and psychometric assessment (PSI), and UPSR is fully abolished in 2021 (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2021). In



Teaching and Learning of Orang Asli

According to Endicott (2015), forest-human relations are deciphered in ritual and everyday life as an “adult-child caring” with the forest being perceived as a parent and to be regarded with love and appreciation for its nature’s “gifts”. To the Orang Asli, their customary land is a living entity, with a spirituality and a sacredness of its own (Nicholas, Engi & Teh, 2010). This view was supported by Gomes (2018) who mentioned that the Semai believed in their traditional and spiritual beliefs, that they refer to as Kenah Senlook, and it is connected with the “laws” of nature building on interdependence, reciprocity, humility and respect between humans and ecological relationships.

Gomes (2018) denoted that Orang Asli engaged in intra-community interdependence and generalized mutuality in production or opportunities for production. Orang Asli traditionally followed a communal system of ownership (Gomes, 2018). They are involved with their community, and they prioritized the welfare of the community over their own. Social organization is collaborative, and they take initiative to contribute and connect as valued members of their community. They depend on sustenance and interaction with the natural environment, and they rely on traditional cultural knowledge to support their families and communities (Nicholas, Engi & Teh, 2010; Endicott, 2015). Interestingly, it was noted literacy learning and digital literacy in the indigenous home and in the village environment (Renganathan, 2016; Walid et al., 2015).

According to Misnaton Rabahi et al. (2016), lack of cultural capital of a literate home background contributed to low school motivation and educational attainment among Orang Asli students. The findings of Murtaza et al. (2019) revealed that parents’ income and parents’ years of education, home environment, particularly the availability of learning materials, parental responsiveness to the child and variety of daily stimulation were associated with the cognitive performance of Orang Asli students. Norwaliza Abdul Wahab (2016) further indicated that the environmental conditions at indigenous homes were less favourable for learning and formal education was not focused in their homes. Economically disadvantaged indigenous children’s after school routine was less structured, and they participated in informal play and spending time with peers, which were often perceived as lacking in educational content (Renganathan, 2016).

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

A qualitative phenomenological research design, with emphasis on personal meaning and sense-making in a particular context of people sharing a specific experience, was the best fit for the study. The current phenomenological study explored indigenous Semai primary school students, who are experiencing and have experienced lived experiences related to engaging with home learning culture, thereby portraying a holistic picture of their home learning experiences that could be beneficial for indigenous education. Lived experiences is the study of “the nature or meaning of everyday experiences”, and it enabled the researcher to essentialize those lived experiences and to share these through textual representation, thus providing a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Sampling Methods

Criterion purposive sampling was employed, and the participants were recruited based on fulfillment of the following criteria, namely 1) pure Semai ethnic group, 2) aged between 9-12 years old, 3) regardless of gender and 4) family background with medium family size and family monthly income of less than RM4000. The study sample consisted of six indigenous Semai primary school students living in Tapah, Batang Padang District, Perak as suggested by Creswell (2014), noting to interview 5-25 participants who have all experienced the phenomenon. With a small sample size, it enabled the researcher to provide insightful and deep descriptions of the phenomenon



which led to “information richness” (Patton, 2015).

Instruments of the Study

Data were collected through a research instrument, consisting of the observational protocols, subject instruments, interview protocols and visual photographs, and an informant instrument, using focus group interview protocols. The researcher instrument, subject instruments and informant instrument were employed to triangulate the data. Observation was conducted to explain the physical settings, the student participants’ activities, involvement and interaction in the indigenous home, and it added contextual data to the verbal conversation and increased the richness of data collected through the interview process.

Furthermore, individual semi-structured interviews with the student participants were conducted following the interview protocols, whereas focus group interviews with their parents or primary caregivers were conducted using the focus group interview protocols to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants’ home learning experiences until it reached the point of data saturation. Utilizing photography allowed a new type of communication between a non-Orang Asli researcher and Orang Asli student participants (Langmann & Pick, 2018), which was especially important and less stressful for them, and it also provided different mirrors for reflecting on indigenous home learning culture.

Data Analysis

Data were analysed using a six-phased method of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). Interview data collected via audiotapes was transcribed into verbatim transcripts. All the observational data and interview data were logged into Microsoft Excel with accompanying photographs, and they were read and reviewed repeatedly as a whole in an active way to obtain a sense of the entire data set. Initial colour coded data was generated in order to identify the themes based on the participant extracts of data. Constant comparative method was applied and similar responses were coded into categories. Each category was further compared and analysed, and similar categories were clustered to form emerging themes. The themes were then organised into subordinate themes and subthemes.

FINDINGS

Three subordinate themes were found when the researcher analysed the research data in accordance with the research question “What is the home learning culture of indigenous Semai primary school students?” They were: (1) cultural norms and values, (2) formal education values, and (3) developmental and modernisation values.

Cultural Norms and Values

Throughout indigenous primary school student participants’ experiences on cultural norms and values, they expressed learning through interaction with the environment. Interaction with physical surroundings was mentioned with “playing with sands”, “playing with the wood stick”, “catching butterflies”, “diving in the river”, “looking for fish in the river”, “bathing in the waterfall”, “bathing pet dog and tortoise”, “feeding hens”, “catching deer with dad” and “making toy house and toy car using the resources available in their physical surroundings”. The participants further expressed learning apprenticeship as experienced on interaction with the environment.

“I built a hut before with dad. Dad will guide. Yes, fun. I built a hut in the plantation. It is used to sit and rest. Woods. Got the woods from the jungle. Dad will choose. He knows the types of woods suitable for hut making.” (Student 5 – excerpts from interview transcripts)



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Figure 1: Photograph taken by Student 2 indicating chasing the roosters is part of his daily activities

The findings about interaction with the environment coincided with the researcher's observation, illustrating a sense of appreciation of biodiversity via "Student 4 who showed to her friends the pet tortoises she reared and she talked about the features between these two species, such as the feet and the shape of the head". Student 4 further alluded to the notion of edible plants and planting techniques via "the leaves of cassava plant can be stew cooked and eaten", "plant pineapples with its head", "when it bears fruits, cut the pineapple head and plant again" and "cassava bears fruit underground", illustrating learning and understanding of whether certain parts of the plants could be eaten and how to grow fruits and vegetables.



Figure 2: Photograph taken by Student 4 showing how pineapple is grown from the crown

Furthermore, indigenous student participants expressed kinship obligations throughout their experiences on cultural norms and values. "Performing house chores", "family harvests", "taking care of siblings", "work in the plantation", "community service", "karaoke sessions", "gotong-royong", "family day", "participating in Zumba", "Aerobic exercise", "help the adults to carry woods when they are building the house", "help to carry things during wedding functions" were expressed, illustrating a pattern of their collaboration in family work and community-children relationship.

"Go to the jungle, find cassava. Go to the jungle and find petai with the child." (Parent 2 – excerpts from FGI transcripts)



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The participants' ideas expressed during the interviews was consistent with the explanation for the photographs.



Figure 3: Photograph taken by Student 5 showing the farm located in the forest where he helped his dad to plant durian trees

Teaching and interacting between adults and indigenous participants were mentioned, which was described via "Grandparents teach me how to plant.", "If I am not good at catching fish, I will ask for help from dad.", "Dad teaches me how to make the bird catapult using woods. I observe and I do.", "Dad teaches me how to make fish arrows.", "Dad will let me do it on my own after demonstration.", illustrating selfless sharing of cultural knowledge and life skills between indigenous adults and children. Furthermore, teaching and guidance from the indigenous participants to younger siblings or friends were described with "I teach younger friends on how to play and make a toy car". The following was extracted from observation field notes, illustrating care for younger siblings.

"He brought down a pony toy and he played with his younger sibling at home." (Student 2 – excerpts from observational field notes)

Moreover, throughout the participants' experiences on cultural norms and values, they expressed cultural shifts and incorporation of Malay culture in their traditional activities via "Sewang dance accompanied with traditional music" and "Malay songs". Language shifts were not indicated and the nature of widely spoken Semai language practised by the participants were observed. The participants further expressed learning spiritual practice and taboos, which was narrated with "I was told by my parents not to urinate while going to the forest. If the situation is desperate, I have to make a "hajjat" (wish) to ask for permission." and "I should not throw rubbish anywhere. Bad consequences will happen. I will get a stomach ache and earache if I do so." Character development and moral education such as teaching indigenous students to be disciplined and guiding them to good conduct and appropriate behaviour were expressed as experienced on learning spiritual practices and taboos.

"The taboo teaches the child to be disciplined in every matter and to abide by the rules of every situation that has been pre-set." (Parent 4 – excerpts from FGI transcripts)

"If I do well, I will get good consequences. If I do bad, I will get bad consequences." (Student 5 – excerpts from interview transcripts)

Formal Education Values

When asked whether to do schoolwork in the home, Student 2, Student 3, Student 4, Student 5 and Student 6 reported that they performed school-related tasks at home by uttering "I finish school work. Then I play.", "I do English homework" and "The busiest day of the week is Wednesday because I have got a lot of schoolwork".



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Parental emphasis on school education was narrated via “children learn from books (spell), at night I will ask them to do some school work” and “it is not really fine when the child plays a lot and learns less”. Parents also expressed the use of extrinsic motivation to motivate their children to learn school work via “I will challenge her. If she learns more, I will give her the handset”, “I would allow one to two hours for the child to play with the handphone when he has completed his work” and “I will give a present if he gets third prize in school”.

Lack of academic knowledge, skills and poor school learning attitude were expressed by indigenous parents via “his school learning skill is not really good”, “he is lazy in school learning” and “when I asked her to do school work, she would run away.” were expressed. Furthermore, lacking educational learning support such as, books, educational toys and study tables was found in the observational data, illustrating school-related learning was not particularly prominent among indigenous participants, and there was a lack of conducive place to study, albeit parental emphasis on the school education.

Developmental and Modernisation Values

All the participants expressed that they spent most of their time involving in outdoor play, which was described via “strength game”, “Batak” (chasing and fleeing), “Batak Kasut” (chasing and attacking opponents with slippers), “Batak Tong” (chasing and hitting the tins with slippers), “hide-and-peek” and “zombie game”. Physical and social development were expressed as experienced while engaging in the play.

“They have strong stamina in running. For example, in the play, they throw the slippers and run very fast to avoid getting hit by the slippers. They are good at running. If they go to the jungle, they are good at running too.” (Parent 2 – excerpts from FGI transcripts)

“He was telling his group members to stand at certain areas to defend and block the other group from hitting the tins.” (Student 2 – excerpts from observation field notes)

The participants expressed experiencing self-created games. Learning rules of the social context was experienced by Student 1, in which he negotiated on the spot when another friend turned up and wanted to join the game, albeit there needed to be equal number of players on each team as in following the rules of the “Batak Tong” game per se, illustrating indigenous students’ involvement in games with rules and learning rules of the social context as experienced in the play activity.

“Half way through the game, a new friend wanted to join in the game, and they chose the new “chaser” by counting numbers with their feet/slippers again.” (Student 1 – excerpts from observation field notes)

Furthermore, the participants expressed learning and engaging with digital technology. Student 2, Student 3, Student 5 and Student 6 expressed engaging in the use of technology for entertainment such as “watching cartoon using the handset”, “watching Upin Ipin”, “watching Astro program”, Pada Zaman Dahulu”, “playing crossword puzzles on phone”, “playing Free Fire”, “watching Korean dramas on handphone” and recording and editing the videos”. Student 5 and Student 6 further spoke about communicating with friends on social media.

“I use handphone to whatsapp with friends.” (Student 6 – excerpts from interview transcripts)

DISCUSSIONS

The findings indicated that home learning culture comprised of cultural norms and values, formal education values as well as developmental and modernisation values, implying that learning is both a cultural and instructional



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play activities in indigenous societies are generally non-guided and play materials are created by the children themselves in the process of establishing the play activity.

Suggestions from the Study

Based on preceding discussion, the researcher would like to present the following suggestions for the Ministry of Education, policy makers, stakeholders, school educators and indigenous parents.

Firstly, the findings of the current study provide insight to the government and policy makers to take note of the blending of learning in the indigenous home that reflects cultural values and institutional patterns of learning in response to digital technologies, in accordance with the four important indigenous epistemologies, namely peoplehood, land, language and time and circular thinking suggested by Holmes (2014) as well as development of learning motivation throughout indigenous students' experiences in the home. With the goal of bridging the gaps between indigenous and mainstream students and reducing dropout rates among indigenous students, it is suggested that the curriculum policy makers could propose an indigenous learning framework that honours Orang Asli's home learning experiences in relation to the inherently dynamic context. In the indigenous learning framework, learning includes the way indigenous students learn, teach and to be taught in their everyday life in the home, comprising of cultural values and norms, formal education values and developmental and modernisation values.

School educators can make use of the findings of the current study to plan and strategize a school learning culture that is in adherence to indigenous home habitus. An outdoor learning-based pedagogy, native language-based multilingual education and a sense of community could be promoted for indigenous notion of relatedness, thereby enhancing school motivation of indigenous students. Jaffee (2021) suggested pedagogy of making cross-cultural connections and pedagogy that is community-based to engage Latinx indigenous youths in social science education. Disa Hynsjö and Amy Damon (2016) found Quechua medium instruction contributed significantly to indigenous students' academic achievement. Acknowledging indigenous home cultural experiences through the shifts in technological condition and modernisation, it is suggested that school educators leverage the use of native language and outdoor learning practices, and foster meaningful school-related learning through interest-driven engagement in technology.

Furthermore, this research sparks the needs for Orang Asli parents to become aware of indigenous home learning that operates synchronistically with the changes of literacy and digital technology. Parents are credited most frequently of having the most interaction with their children in the home, therefore they play an important role in influencing their children's learning. Orang Asli parents could enhance their children's competence in school-related activities by providing adequate educational resources to assist them to be more intrinsically motivated in school context. Given that parental influences seem to be beneficial for indigenous children's learning motivation, home visits could be offered, or sessions for parenting classes that teach parents how to promote highly involved and value-autonomy parenting practices, and positive connectedness that elicit learning motivation and ameliorate the application of extrinsic motivation with satisfying relatedness, competence and autonomy needs.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to explore home learning culture of the indigenous Semai primary school students in Perak. This study has found that indigenous participants have experienced cultural and institutional learning through the shift in situational conditions through living of indigenous cultural norms and values, formal education values, and developmental and modernisation values. Indigenous home learning culture operates synchronistically with technological advancement and literacy transformation. This study has provided a deeper insight into development of formal education through an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon of home learning culture. It suggested to



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school educators to plan teaching and learning contents with understanding and sensitivity of indigenous home learning culture and how and why learning occurs in the home to indicate home-school congruence.

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