

淡江大學國際事務與戰略研究所碩士班

碩士論文

指導教授：梁家恩 博士

臺灣高教對東南亞學生之影響：
探討馬來西亞華人學生來臺念書之原因

The Influence of Taiwan's Higher Education towards a
Southeast Asian ethnic Chinese Community:
A Case Study of Malaysian Students

研究生：黨以石 撰

中華民國 107 年 1 月

謝辭

終於，我終於畢業了，真的是TMD的超級感動，我還以為我無法畢業了。2013年，大三還在加州交換時，我接到了一通電話，內容我已經忘記了，我只記得我的直屬槍哥已經幫我送了預研報表。沒有多做太多反抗，回臺灣後我就矇矓懂懂的來當預研生了，開始我在戰略所的研究所人生。算起來我也在這裡三年半了，這三年半我學到了很多，真的很多。第一堂施正權老師的行動戰略就讓我懷疑人生，不過也因為夠艱辛，我當下才覺得我來對地方了。就像文政老師常常說的，戰略所是訓練海軍陸戰隊的地方，不行的離開了也沒關係。尤其是每個禮拜在上何思因老師的課，前一天中午就開始焦慮，那種感覺真的永身難忘。黃介正老師的夜晚突襲的想定，有時也讓我贈恨臉書的發達。翁明賢老師的幽默與智慧可謂是建構的最高境界，希望我長大也可以像翁明賢老師一樣。最後，李大中所長的無時無刻的那聲招呼，這個家我真的捨不得離開。

可以畢業還是要感謝我最親愛的指導老師-梁家恩老師。從大四開始當你的助理後，你就有如最親密的家人，照顧的你的學生。我很榮幸可以成為你的學生，我知道指導我會很頭痛，常常要忙東忙西，我當學生當的是真的很荒謬，很謝謝老師耐心的指導我，真是辛苦老師了。我永遠不會忘記那些往返臺北宜蘭在馬自達上的課程，還有每一個禮拜的進度報告。為了要讓我的論文有所進度，不管我有沒有寫什麼內容，你每週都會主動找我聊一聊。聊論文、聊生活、聊人生，真的是辛苦老師了，有時候我已經分不清楚您是我的老師還是我的家人，還是兩個都是。當然，也很謝謝師母-林瓊珠老師，時常關心我的生活近況並請也給予我很多建議。

李大中所長也是我特別要感謝的人，沒有所長我應該很難這麼順利畢業XD。謝謝所長每次在重大活動上都如此的信任我，還有無時無刻溫柔的關心及勉勵。我永遠記得，所長在我們三年級開始的沒過多久，晚上留下來陪我們一起開讀書會，給予我們寫論文的建議，我永遠不會忘記所長的指導。秀真姐一位需要被大大感謝的人，秀真姐真的是我們戰略所的天使，尤其以一個基督徒來說。從第一天進戰略所秀真姐就一直很照顧我，也不忘提醒我做人處事的道理。同時她也無時無刻的提醒給我們打氣，不過是在在實務與理論上。我很難想像以後不能每天走去所辦跟秀真姐說一聲：「Hi!秀真姐。」

還有淡江校園蘭陽校園的政經系師長，尤其是包正豪主任跟周應龍老師。謝謝包正豪主任在我大四那年，信任我，給了我機會參與GSIP才會讓我對於東南亞有極大的興趣，大四和碩一這兩年帶的GSIP給我很多人生許多新的體驗與經驗。一直到了碩二寫計劃書期間，包正豪主任也主動的找我聊論文的內容，給了我許多很直接了當的經驗，也才讓我找到了方向。周應龍老師也是時常的關心我們在戰略所的生活，從來沒有忘記我們每一個從政經系畢業的學生。

我也要特別謝謝我兩位直屬，槍哥與威廉學長。槍哥是把我這個不學無術抓進淡江戰略的人。雖然我們兩個人在戰略所沒有交集的時間，但是他基本上，應該也可以說是無時無刻的「鞭策」我。謝謝槍哥！威廉學長則是在所上最實質上照顧到我的人，那一晚的一聲：「從此以後你就是我的直屬！」就無時無刻地把我帶在身邊，把所有的東西教都給了我。謝謝威廉學長！當然有太多學長姐要感謝，信力學長、昱臻學長、智懷學長、拿督學長、Peter學長、信鈞學長、賴打學長、智凱學長、捷峰學長、山米學長、MoMo學姊、佳紋學姊。這些學長姐都在我求學的階段扮演一段對我非常特別的故事。

我還要對一起從大學混上來的世均、仕傑和瑋宸致上最大的感謝。大學到現在已經同窗六年半，培養的革命情感已經不在話下。我們一起考的戰略所、一起參加的研習營、一起辦的外交模擬營還有年會，都是我在戰略所的日子最快樂的日子。世鈞、仕傑在某種程度上已經是我最珍視的人，因為我無法忘記每次你們的挺身而出，這種兄弟情誼我會帶著，一輩子帶著。也恭喜我們都達成我們半年前的目標，這些年有你們兩個真好。還有打從我認識彥廷之後，我就知道戰略所的人都很厲害。你們四個是我在戰略所最好的同班同學。

說到同班同學，我也要特別感謝承翰、巧玉，這兩位本來可以成為我同班同學卻最後「陰錯陽差」成為我學弟的同學。寫論文那段每日每夜的日子都有你們，兩個寫一個看，一些陪伴和玩弄，都是我繼續挺下去的動力。太多感性的話講了也不好意思，不過真的很謝謝你們呀！

學弟妹，祐生（某種層度也是同學 XD）、許齊、鈺翔、彥廷、Gonzalo 和 Hakar。很多時候你都把歡笑帶給了我，傻頭傻腦的你們，希望你們未來在戰略所一切順利，早日體會到寫論文的崩潰。當然你們會先體會到年會的崩潰，巧巧。也特別感謝我所有的訪談對象，20 個訪談對象、20 個冒險故事。謝謝你們撥空參與我的研究，希望你們在臺灣的收穫都可以很豐富。也要特別感謝中正大學的雅筑學妹、巧玉還有祐生，幫我尋覓到這些馬來西亞同學。

謝謝我的女朋友魯玉還有她的家人，在一起之後，我就一直在寫我的論文。妳從來不抱怨，也都一直在後面給我加油打氣。也願意給我時間讓我好好的準備我自己的事情，謝謝妳的包容與鼓勵，沒有妳很難把這些東西寫完。謝謝你們！

最後還是還要感謝我的家人，阿嬤、姑姑、姑丈、亨爸爸、亨媽媽、阿姨、姨丈、舅舅、舅媽、小白叔叔，還有我媽媽。尤其是我的媽媽，打從我決定念研究所後，承擔了很多閒言閒語。小時候的時候長輩們都叫我們多唸點書，長大後就會拜託你不要再唸了。不過我媽媽一直以來都很支持我的決定，現在終於畢業了，現在開始就不需要再操我的心了，我真的已經可以獨當一面的長大了。同時，我也想謝謝我在天上的阿公，雖然您已經走了七年，但每當夜深人靜的時候，我真的有時會想到你，想著你會說叫我趕快畢業，不要再這樣蹉跎了。想著想著我就會很窩心，然後繼續有動力努力下去。還有我一輩子的老師 Neil，最後在關鍵的時候利用過年時間，陪我修改我的論文。

真的要感謝的人太多了，真的只能在感謝天了。我的天就是我的上帝，一切的一切美好都是妳所賜，我都將一切歸於妳。

黨以石 淡水
Jan. 31, 2018

論文名稱：臺灣高教對東南亞學生之影響：探討馬來西亞 頁數：133
華人學生來臺念書之原因

校系(所)組別：淡江大學國際事務與戰略研究所碩士班

畢業時間及提要別：106 學年度第 1 學期碩士學位論文提要

研究生：黨以石

指導教授：梁家恩博士

論文提要內容：

自從蔡英文總統當選後，宣佈成立新南向辦公室，這也說明了政府經營東南亞關係的態度。談論到臺灣與東南亞國家的雙邊關係，臺灣早就與馬來西亞建立了長久民間的關係。馬來西亞每年平均都有一萬多人來到臺灣唸大學，為世界上最多外籍生在臺灣的國家。本論文將討論，為何臺灣可以吸引這麼多馬來西亞學生？馬來西亞是一個多元的種族的國家，百分之六十八為馬來人、百分之二十三為華人、百分之七為其他種族。馬來西亞華人與馬來人之間的愛恨情仇，不僅僅只有在政治和經濟上，教育也是一個雙方爭執的點。目前在馬來西亞，華人教育仍不被官方承認與認可，儘管如此馬來西亞華人仍靠著他們對中文文化的執著，努力的維持馬來西亞「獨立中學」。這些獨立中學的學生畢業後，很難繼續在馬來西亞升學，所以許多獨立中學的畢業生都前往以華文教育為主的臺灣繼續升學。

另外一方面，自從中華民國政府退守臺灣後，美國政府擔心共產勢力在東南亞的蔓延，給予中華民國政府美金的援助，使中華民國政府有資金制定「僑生政策」，邀請東南亞華僑前往台灣唸書，同時間也厚實了臺灣教育單位的基礎力量。僑生政策行之有年，教育出很多馬來西亞現在當地的國會議員、公司行號董事長與總經理，這些歸國的僑生，對於臺灣都有濃厚的感情。這些歸國的馬來西亞華人也會以他們在臺灣的自身經驗宣傳給更多的馬來西亞華人。

本研究要檢視，為什麼馬來西亞學生想要來臺灣唸書的拉力與推力，以及臺灣對他們的有什麼特別的感覺。同時，以訪談的方式，去進行質化分析，再討論把這些吸引馬來西亞華人的因素轉化成臺灣未來的軟實力。

關鍵字：馬來西亞華文教育、臺灣僑生政策、軟實力

*依本校個人資料管理規範，本表單各項個人資料僅作為業務處理使用，並於保存期限屆滿後，逕行銷毀。

表單編號：ATRX-Q03-001-FM030-03

Title of Thesis : The Influence of Taiwan's Higher Education towards a Southeast Asian ethnic Chinese Community: A Case Study of Malaysian Students Total pages : 133
Key word : Malaysia Chinese Education; Overseas Chinese Education Policy; Soft Power

Name of Institute : Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, Tamkang University

Graduate date : January, 2018 Degree conferred : Master

Name of student : Tang, Yi Shih Advisor : Dr. Kar Yen Leong
黨以石 梁家恩 博士

Abstract :

In 2016, the current administration of Tsai, Ing-wen introduced the "New Southbound Policy", showing the determination of building up a friendly relation towards the Southeast Asia countries. However, Taiwan already created a long term relations with Malaysia. Over ten thousand of Malaysian Chinese students come and study in Taiwan universities every year, which is the most foreign students in Taiwan. This research is mainly discussing why did these Malaysian Chinese students come and study in Taiwan. Malaysia is a diverse country, with a population of around 32 million; 68.8 percent are *Bumiputera* (Son of the soil), 23.2 percent are Chinese, 7 percent are Indian. Others ethnic groups make up the final 1 percent. Due to this reason, Malaysia had racial conflicts on politics, economics, and education system. Though the Malaysia Chinese education are still forbid by their government, with the hard work by Malaysian Chinese, it still remains the Chinese Independent School. However, it is unlikely for these students to continue their higher education in Malaysia, therefore Taiwan universities become their best option.

After the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan, the United States government worried the Southeast Asia countries would turn "Red" by the influence of China. The United States offered the R.O.C government aid to established the Overseas Chinese Education Policy. This encouraged many Overseas Chinese students from Southeast Asia to study in Taiwan, and this also educated many famous Malaysian Chinese students. These students returned to Malaysia with a close relationship with Taiwan, which can encourage more and more students to study in Taiwan.

This research will examine the "Push" and "Pull" factors of Malaysian Chinese students coming to Taiwan. With the research method of In-depth interview to understand the factors, and discuss how to transfer these to Taiwan Soft Power.

According to "TKU Personal Information Management Policy Declaration", the personal information collected on this form is limited to this application only. This form will be destroyed directly over the deadline of reservations.

表單編號 : ATRX-Q03-001-FM031-02

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1: Research Background.....	1
1.2: Research Motivations.....	4
1.3: Research Purposes.....	6
1.4: Literature Review.....	8
1.4-1: “New Southbound Policy”-The shift from dependence on China toward Southeast Asia.....	8
1.4-2: The Context of Chinese Education in Malaysia.....	9
1.4-3: The Republic of China Government Policy toward Overseas Chinese Student.....	12
1.4-4: The Use of Soft Power.....	13
1.5: Research Method.....	16
1.6: Limitations of the Study.....	18
1.7: Analytical Framework.....	19
Chapter Two: The Development of Malaysia Chinese Education	21
2.1: Human Geography of Malaysia.....	21
2.2: The British Colonial Era.....	23
2.2-1: Straits Settlements.....	23
2.2-2: The Federated Malay States.....	24
2.2-3: Unfederated Malay States.....	26
2.3: Post World War II.....	27
2.3-1: Malayan Union.....	27
2.3-2: Federation of Malaya.....	28
2.4: The Independence of Malaysia.....	32
2.4-1: Federation of Malaysia.....	34
2.4-2: The Separation of Singapore.....	36
2.5: The Riots and Social Movements in Malaysia.....	38
2.5-1: Establishment of National Operation Council.....	42
2.5-2: New Economic Policy.....	43
2.5-3: Operation Lalang (Operasi Lalang).....	45
2.6: Conclusion.....	48
Chapter Three: Taiwan (R.O.C) Government Policy toward Malaysian Chinese Student	51
3.1: The Context of the Overseas Chinese.....	52
3.1-1: The Definition of Overseas Chinese.....	53
3.1-2: The Population Distribution of Overseas Chinese.....	57
3.2: The Overseas Chinese in the Southeast Asia.....	62
3.2-1: The Early Ages.....	63
3.2-2: The Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese and the Revolution.....	64
3.2-3: Overseas Chinese Affairs in Southeast Asia.....	66
3.3: The Overseas Chinese Education.....	70
3.3-1: The Improvement of Overseas Chinese Education in Taiwan.....	71
3.3-2: The Malaysia Overseas Students in Taiwan.....	73
3.4: Conclusion.....	76
Chapter Four: Chapter Four: Interviews	77
4.1: The Reasons for Malaysia Students Coming to Taiwan.....	85
4.1-1: Overseas Chinese Students.....	87

4.1-2: Foreign Students	91
4.1-3: Chinese Independent High School Teacher and Senior Students effect.....	92
4.1-4: The Influence of Film Industry	95
4.2: Life for Malaysia Students in Taiwan	98
4.2-1: The Difference between Taiwan and Malaysia	100
4.2-2: Discrimination in Taiwan or Malaysia?	103
4.2-3: Negative Factors in Taiwan	106
4.2-4: Staying in Taiwan after Graduation?.....	108
4.3: Conclusion.....	112
Chapter Five: Conclusion	113
5.1: What is Taiwan’s Soft Power toward Malaysia student?	114
5-2: The “New Southbound Policy”	120
5-2: Recommendations for Future Research	123
Bibliography	124
Glossary of Non-English Text.....	130



Chapter One: Introduction

1.1: Research Background

In 1990, the R.O.C. (Taiwan) administration of President Lee Teng-hui implemented the “Southbound Policy”. This policy targeted major countries in Southeast Asia such as Thailand, Indonesia, Philippine, Vietnam, Brunei, and Malaysia. During that period of time, the Taiwan economy was being confronted by the devaluation of the New Taiwan Dollar, the limited amount of labor in terms of manufacturing¹, the rise of environmental awareness², and the lack of land. These pressures forced local Taiwanese companies to go abroad and seek out business opportunities in Southeast Asian countries. Meanwhile, in 1997, due to the Asian Financial Crisis and the rise of China’s economic power, a large number of Taiwan companies moved their assets to China³. I state that Lee Teng hui’s “Southbound Policy” of 1990, which I will refer to as the “Old Southbound Policy” was an “Incomplete” policy. In 2016, the current administration of Tsai, Ing-Wen introduced the “New Southbound Policy”.⁴

¹ From 1960 to 1980 Taiwan’s economy started to grow; government and people were saving assets. This action influenced Taiwan with it facing challengers in the field of international economic, and influenced it to change its structure from agriculture to industry and commerce. These reasons caused the increase in Taiwanese wages, the loss of labor intensity, and then afterwards the revaluation of Taiwan dollar. See: Yu Zongxian and Wang Jinli, *Taiwanese asset price bubble*, (Taipei, Linking Publishing, 1997), p. 55-91

² He Mingxiu, *Green Democracy*, (Taipei, Socio Publishing, 2006), pp. 35-66

³ Liang Minghua, “Taiwan Southbound Policy’s Political and Economic Relationship,” in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao’s, ed., *Taiwan and Southeast Asia: go-south policy and Vietnamese brides.*, (Taipei, Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies, 2003), p.43-46.

⁴ Bureau of Foreign Trade, “*New Southbound Policy Programme*,” Aug, 16, 2016, < <https://www.newsouthboundpolicy.tw/PageDetail.aspx?id=9d38cb45-4dfc-41eb-96dd-536cf6085f31&pageType=SouthPolicy> >

In her inauguration speech on May 20th, 2016, Taiwan's new president, Tsai, Ing-Wen, announced that the "New Southbound Policy" would be the first economic reform policy for the Taiwan economic in her Inauguration speech. The "New Southbound Policy" would strengthen relations between Taiwan and countries within the Southeast Asian region, and also improve Taiwan's economic viability. This policy was also meant to decrease Taiwan's reliance on China. In addition to promoting this policy, President Tsai also highlighted the strategy of the "New Southbound Policy", placing it directly under the office of the President.⁵ In the words of Tsai, Ing-Wen:

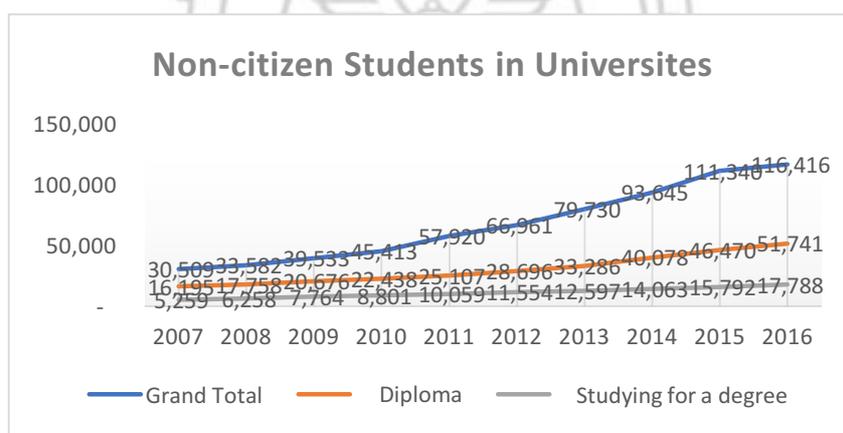
"We will also promote a "New Southbound Policy" in order to elevate the scope and diversity of our external economic, and to bid farewell to our past overreliance on a single market." (Tsai, Ing-Wen, 2016)

The "New Southbound Policy" plan is divided into four distinct categories: 1) "Economic and Trade Cooperation", 2) "Expert Exchange", 3) "Resource Sharing", and 4) "Regional Relations". "Expert Exchange" focuses on "People", in which at its core is the deepening of the relationship between young scholars and students from Taiwan and Southeast Asia, while also expanding scholarship opportunities to encourage students from Southeast Asia to study in Taiwan. Southeast Asia has been Taiwan's largest source of foreign students; a certain percentage of the people residing in the region, for examples in countries such as Malaysia, also share the same culture and language with Taiwan.⁶

⁵Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of China (Taiwan), "ROC President Dr. Tsai Ing-wen delivers inaugural address" May, 20, 2016, <
http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=8157691CA2AA32F8&sms=4F8ED5441E33EA7B&s=E14734C1FB32BB0B >

⁶ Bureau of Foreign Trade, "New Southbound Policy Plans," Sep, 05, 2016,

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the number of students worldwide studying abroad multiplied four times over the past thirty years, with ninety percent of them leaving for higher education, including undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral studies. This is an indication of the phenomenon of free student mobility and the growth of the international higher education market.⁷ This trend has made governments become more interested in transnational academic research. Foreign students in Taiwan alone increased from 30,509 in 2007 to 116,416 in 2016 (See Graph 1-1.). In 2015, 40 percent of the foreign students in Taiwan came from Southeast Asia, with most of them from Malaysia. In 2015, the Malaysia students in Taiwan totaled 14,946, a number higher than from either mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Vietnam.⁸ In 2016 this number grew to 16,051.⁹



(Graph 1-1)¹⁰

< <https://www.newsouthboundpolicy.tw/PageDetail.aspx?id=cbf0a167-7c9e-4840-ba5b-2d47b5badb00&pageType=SouthPolicy> >

⁷ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, “*Education at a Glance 2011: OECD Indicators*.” Paris, FR: OECD.

⁸ Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), “The Number of Overseas Students”, Jan, 30, 2016, < http://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=9E7AC85F1954DDA8&s=FEAB840E5EF4E49C>

⁹ Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), “2016 Overseas University Students in Taiwan”, 2016, <

<http://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/brief/105%E5%B9%B4%E5%A4%A7%E5%B0%88%E6%A0%A1%E9%99%A2%E5%A2%83%E5%A4%96%E5%AD%B8%E7%94%9F%E6%A6%82%E6%B3%81.pdf>>

¹⁰ Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), “Foreign Students in Taiwan”, Jan, 30, 2016, < <http://depart.moe.edu.tw/ed4500/cp.aspx?n=1B58E0B736635285&s=D04C74553DB60CAD>>

1.2: Research Motivations

Geographically, Taiwan is located between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia; it stands at an important military and economic strategic point. In the 1970s, Taiwan joined Singapore, South Korea, and Hong Kong as the “Asia Economic Dragon.”¹¹ As such Taiwan should play a more prominent role in the region, but due to its unique international standing *vis-a-vis* China, Taiwan is usually relegated to a lower position within international relations. Taiwan needs to find a way to break through this predicament, therefore searching for new friends is very important. Since becoming the current Taiwan president, Tsai, Ing-Wen has faced immense pressure from mainland China. During the previous Ma Ying-jyou administration, Taiwan and China had a more cordial relationship under the core of the “1992 Consensus”.¹² This created a dangerous dependency on only one country, China.¹³ President Tsai, Ing-Wen must, therefore, find ways to decrease its reliance on the Chinese market.

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has a population of more than six hundred million, larger than the European Union,¹⁴ the largest economic community in the world. ASEAN could have been Taiwan’s replacement for the Chinese market, but for various reasons the “Old Southbound Policy¹⁵” failed. Therefore, the new “Southbound Policy” should not only emphasize the economy but

¹¹ Also, called the “Asia Economic Tiger”. See: Robert Dayley and Clark D. Neher, *Southeast Asia In The New International Era* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), p.8

¹² Both People of “Republic of China” (Mainland China) and “Republic of China” (Taiwan) claims itself as “China”, but with a different meaning. See: Su Chi and Anguo Zheng, *Guozheng Congshu*, (Taipei: National Policy Foundation, 2002), p.40.

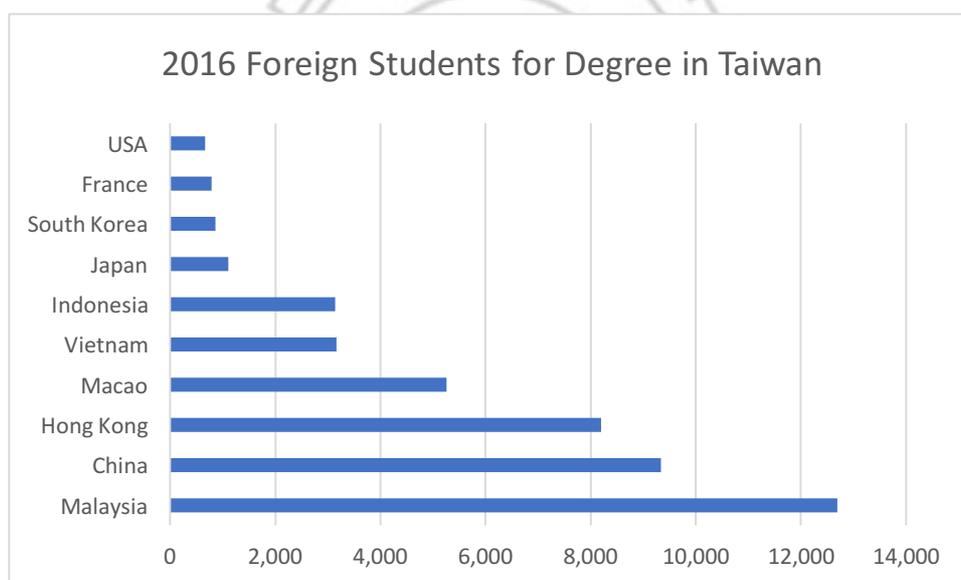
¹³ Kdaus Knorr, *The Power of Nation*, (Basic Books, INC, Publishers, 1975) pp.207-217

¹⁴ The EU covers over 4 million km² and has 508 million inhabitants — the world’s third largest population after China and India. See: European Union, *Living in the EU*, < https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/figures/living_en >

¹⁵ In 1997, during the Lee Teng-hui administration, the biggest economic crisis hit Asia. Taiwanese company moved their asset back to Taiwan rapidly, indirect the failure of the “Old Southbound Policy”.

also other factors like education and culture. How can Taiwan influences on Southeast Asia improve the situation?

Culturally, Taiwan already has a huge cultural footprint in Southeast Asia, especially in terms of film and television entertainment,¹⁶ and education. Taiwan also shares the same language with many Malaysian Chinese here for educational purposes. According to 2016 data, Malaysia ranked first in the number of foreign students coming to Taiwan for bachelor degrees, more than any from other Southeast Asian country. It is even greater than the students from mainland China and Hong Kong (See Graph 1-2). Therefore, the motivation of this thesis is to find out why Malaysian students come to Taiwan?



(Graph 1-2)¹⁷

¹⁶ Taiwan variety show, “Guess Guess Guess” (我猜我猜我猜猜猜), and “Mr. Player” (綜藝玩很大), both host by Jacky Wu, are on Saturday’s Prime time of 8TV. This imply the popularity Taiwan’s television entertainment. See: 8TV official website, < <https://www.tontonextra.com.my/zh/8tv/> > or, 8TV official Facebook Fans page, < <https://www.facebook.com/badukongjian/photos/a.131338633579658.15747.130821996964655/915235168523330/?type=1&theater> >

¹⁷ Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), “2015 Overseas Students in College and University”, Jan, 30, 2015, < <http://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/brief/104%E5%B9%B4%E5%A4%A7%E5%B0%88%E6%A0%A1%E9%99%A2%E5%A2%83%E5%A4%96%E5%AD%B8%E7%94%9F%E6%A6%82%E6%B3%81.pdf>>

1.3: Research Purposes

The purpose of this thesis is to mainly discuss:

1) What brings ethnic Chinese Malaysians to Taiwan for study. 2) What “Pushes” ethnic Chinese Malaysians out of their own country for higher education, and 3) What “Pulls” these ethnic Chinese Malaysians to Taiwan as students.

The following items are the detailed purpose:

1. Understanding the basic “Push” and “Pull” factors of why Malaysia students studying in Taiwan.

Malaysia has a special education system, including an independent Chinese high school system, of which most Taiwanese do not understand its history. This thesis will portray the relationship between the Malaysian Chinese education and Malaysian history, in order to understand the “Push” factor. Taiwan’s Overseas Chinese Policy will be explained to help to demonstrate the “Pull” factor.

2. What kind of soft power advantage does Taiwan have? What is the right way for Taiwan to use this power to improve?

soft power is an indicator of how a country can spread its social and culture value.

In World War II when the US air force bombed Germany, many of their aircraft skipped Heidelberg, because Americans had watched the movie “Student Prince”, which just took place in Heidelberg. To these American soldiers, Heidelberg was the symbol of warmth and peace.¹⁸ soft power saved Heidelberg. Taiwan is faced with a great many diplomatic challenges and there is no way Taiwan can directly

¹⁸ Legislative Yuan Republic of China (Taiwan), *Official Gazette*, May, 1, 2014, p. 226.

match the might of its East Asian neighbor.¹⁹ Finding our Soft Power and using it effectively in the right direction, is extremely important.

3. **How can Taiwan’s Soft Power affect Malaysia?**

Taiwan does not play an official role in most international affairs, so the only possibility is for Taiwan to utilize Soft Power. According to Joseph Nye’s “*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*”, one of the aspects of public diplomacy is through long-term scholarship, exchange programs, discussion, discussion forums and conferences to increase bilateral relations between two sides.²⁰ From my point of view, Malaysia has the potential to become Taiwan’s best unofficial ally in the Southeast Asia region. How can Taiwan maintain and strength this power is one of the research purposes.

4. What can Taiwan do to affect, strengthen, or improve our “New Southbound Policy”?

Though the “New Southbound Policy” is one of the most important policies of the Tsai, Ing-Wen administration, it has yet to function as well as it could. Problematically, Taiwan officials do not fully realize their disadvantages and advantages toward Southeast Asia. This research is going to search for direction by looking at the potential role of education in soft power and its role in education. Based on this, recommendations will be provided as to how the “New Southbound Policy” could be improved.

¹⁹ According to Global Fire Power, China is on the 3rd place, and Taiwan is on the 19th. See: Global Fire Power, *2016 Complete List*, Apr, 1, 2016, <<http://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp>>

²⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004) pp.181

1.4: Literature Review

This thesis looks at the dilemma of the “New Southbound Policy”, the ethnic Chinese education history in Malaysia, how Taiwanese university education is related to Malaysia’s Chinese education, especially the Overseas Community Affairs Council, and based on the ideas of Joseph S. Nye, the application of Soft Power that Taiwan could aim at Malaysia.

1.4-1: “New Southbound Policy”-The shift from dependence on China toward Southeast Asia

From 2008 to 2016, during the Ma Ying-jeou presidency, the foundation of the cross-strait policy was the “One China Policy”.²¹ There was a tremendous amount of cooperation due to this policy, with a trade surplus between China and Taiwan which stood at about 77.17 billion US dollars in 2010.²² According to Knorr in his book “*National Power*”, a single country cannot be dependent on one single country without making itself vulnerable.²³ For Taiwan, this would threaten its economic autonomy and cause disequilibrium. To counter this, Taiwan’s current president, Tsai, Ing-Wen, came out with a new strategy. She scaled down the policy of “One China Policy”²⁴ and promoted the “New Southbound Policy”. However, I feel pessimistic about this new policy. The reason is that Taiwan cannot escape from the China market. China has

²¹See: Su Chi and Anguo Zheng, *Guozheng Congshu*, (Taipei: National Policy Foundation, 2002), p.40.

²² Bureau of Foreign Trade, *2015 International Trade Analysis*, p.9 < file:///Users/tangyishih/Downloads/46fc1c3a-44ff-4f45-bd82-24e05970c6a3.pdf >

²³ Kdaus Knorr, *The Power of Nation*, (Basic Books, INC, Publishers, 1975) pp.207-217

²⁴ Lally Weymouth, “Opinions Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-Wen: Beijing must respect our democratic will,” *The Washington Post*, July 21, 2016, < https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2016/07/21/44b0a1a4-4e25-11e6-a422-83ab49ed5e6a_story.html?utm_term=.fa7fd36270b6>.

already invested in most of the ASEAN countries, which means that Taiwan is still dependent on China. Thus this research will first focus on the counter importance of “dependence”, based on Albert O. Hirschman’s *“National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade”*, and James W. Davis, Jr’s *“Treats and Promise”*, Kdaus Knorr’s *“The Power of Nation”*, and Jean-Marc F. Blanchard’s *“Power and the Purse”*. Based on this theory of dependency in the narrow sense of solely economics policy, I will show the value and inevitability, of another factor in the “New Southbound Policy”, “Expert Exchange”.

1.4-2: The Context of Chinese Education in Malaysia

“Expert Exchange” is one the factors in the “New Southbound Policy.” The main goal is to attract students from Southeast Asia for study in Taiwan. This thesis will focus on Malaysian ethnic Chinese students, so understanding their history is very important. This research divides the Chinese education in Malaysia history into three different aspects, political, economic, and cultural. These three aspects often collide with each other. Establishing and maintaining Chinese-language education in a country in which the ethnic Chinese are not a major group is difficult; until now Malaysia Chinese education is still fighting to become official. Although there is evidence of Chinese settlements back to the 15th century, my research focus will start from the early 1800s when large numbers of Chinese began moving to the Malay Peninsula.²⁵ From the diary of *Xue Fucheng*, a Chinese diplomat in the Qing Dynasty, the first Chinese

²⁵ Tong Chee Kiong, “The Chinese in Contemporary Malaysia,” in Lian Kwen Fee ed., *Race, Ethnicity, and the State in Malaysia and Singapore* (Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 2006), p. 98.

school was opened in Penang in 1819.²⁶ In the late the 19th century, facing the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, some Chinese elites in Southeast Asia started to establish Chinese-language schools, thus spreading Chinese culture and patriotism for the Qing Dynasty.²⁷ Though different from Qing Dynasty supporter, revolutionaries such as Sun, Yat-sen also established many Chinese medium schools.²⁸ After the May Fourth Movement,²⁹ textbook content changed, preferring vernacular Chinese to classical. In this new atmosphere of a transformation, more and more Chinese schools were established.³⁰ Before the May Fourth Movement, ethnic Chinese in the Malaya still felt like outsiders. However, the Japanese invasion of Malaya in 1942 forced the ethnic Chinese in Malaya to fight against Japan for Malaya, and not for China. Due to this, many Malaya ethnic Chinese felt a greater sense of belonging to Malaya rather than China.³¹

This sense of belonging became more obvious in 1949 with the end of the civil war between *Kuomintang*(KMT) and the Communist Party of China. Some ethnic Chinese returned to China to join the new government of the People's Republic of China(PRC), but for those who stayed behind the awareness of belonging became stronger and stronger. Despite this period of growing awareness, there were still ethnic

²⁶ “Wu Fu Shu Yuan” (五福書院) is the first Chinese “Private School”(私塾) in Malay. See: 薛福成光緒 1819 年 10 月 25 日記，見薛福成：《出使日記續刻》，收於鍾叔河編：《出使英法議比四國日記》（長沙：嶽麓書社，1985），卷 9，頁 874。

²⁷張克宏，《康有為在新馬》（吉隆坡：華社研究中心，2006），頁 264。

²⁸林水椽，《獨立前華文教育》，林水椽、何啟良、何國忠、賴觀福：《馬來西亞華人史邊》第 2 冊（吉隆坡：馬來西亞中華大會堂聯合會，1998），頁 219。

²⁹ The May Fourth Movement is a student movement in Beijing on May fourth, 1919. See: 周測縱，*The may fourth movement: Intellectual revolution in modern China*, (Tapei, 桂冠, 1989) p.28

³⁰ 林水椽，《獨立前華文教育》，林水椽、何啟良、何國忠、賴觀福：《馬來西亞華人史邊》第 2 冊（吉隆坡：馬來西亞中華大會堂聯合會，1998），頁 221。

³¹崔貴強，《新馬華人國家認同的轉向 1945~1959》（新加坡：南洋學會，1990），頁 154~155

Malayan Chinese, like Lim Lian Geok,³² who advocated the maintenance of Chinese culture in Malayan Chinese schools.³³ At this time there were four different types of school systems - English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil - each relying on its own medium of instruction, sponsorship base, and cultural orientation.³⁴

In 1957, after the founding of the Federation of Malaya, Malaya was a pluralistic society; 50 percent Malays and/or aboriginal, 37 percent were Chinese, and 12 percent Indian.³⁵ The founding of the Federation of Malaya was supported by each different race, but especially the Chinese. In 1954, Abdul Rahman³⁶ persuaded the British to hold Malaya's first Federal Election. To solidify Chinese support he endorsed that, "*it would not be the Alliance's policy to destroy the schools, language, and culture of any race*", and he persuaded Tan Cheng Lock³⁷ and the ethnic Chinese in Malaysia who were trying to "Push" Chinese education to agree to postpone the issue until after the election. With this support, the Alliance coalition won the election and formed the Federation of Malaya.³⁸ The ethnic Chinese in Malaysia, people such as Lim Lian Geok and Lim Chong Eu³⁹, considered themselves important contributors to the

³²Hou Kok Chung, "Lim Lian Geok," Kok-Chung, Hou, ed., *The Intellectual Elites in Malaysian Chinese History* (Taipei: Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, 2001), pp. 39-76.

³³ 林連玉, 《改編華校教科書》, 《風雨十八年上集》(吉隆坡: 林連玉基金委員會, 1990), 頁 32~33

³⁴ Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.42.

³⁵ Harold Crouch, *Government and Society In Malaysia*, (United States of America: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.14.

³⁶ Malaysia's Founding Father.

³⁷ The founder of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA). See: Tay Lian Soo, "Tan Cheng Lock: Gentleman Politician in a Scholar's Mold," in Khai-Leong Ho, ed., *The Political Elites in Malaysian Chinese History*, (Taipei, Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies). Pp. 25~54.

³⁸ Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), pp.49~50.

³⁹ Lim Chong Eu defeated Tan Cheng Lock in 1958, and became the President of MCA. See: Lim Chooi Kwa, "Lim Chong En: The Ups and Downs of a Tragic Figure," in Khai-Leong Ho, ed., *The Political Elites in Malaysian Chinese History*, (Taipei, Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies). Pp. 145~176.

independence of Malaya. Though they still aimed to carry forward their own culture, they failed to make Chinese one of the official languages of Malaya.⁴⁰

The above is only a short description of the history of Malaysia Chinese education, but this is not to say there were no more conflicts after the founding of Malaysia. Just a few that followed were the conflicts between United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia, and the United Malays National Organization, which caused the 13 May Riot in 1969⁴¹. Most of the resources referenced in this research are Malaysia historical literature, but sources such as Ang Ming Chee's, "*Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*", Harold Crouch, "*Government and Society in Malaysia*", and Lian Kwen Fee's, "*Race, Ethnicity, and the State in Malaysia and Singapore*", Khai-Leong Ho's "*The Political Elites in Malaysian Chinese History and The Intellectual Elites in Malaysian Chinese History*" will also be used.

1.4-3: The Republic of China Government Policy toward Overseas Chinese Student

The government has the special term "*Hua Qiao*"⁴², for Chinese who live overseas. This term has been in use since the 19th century referring to them in poetic way such as "*Brave*", "*Away from their native land,*" and "*Crossed a million oceans*".⁴³ This ancestral connection grew especially strong among Malayan ethnic Chinese back in the

⁴⁰ 柯嘉遜:《馬來西亞華教奮鬥史》(吉隆坡:雪蘭莪中華大會堂,1991),頁84~85

⁴¹ National Operation Council, *The May 13 Tragedy: A Report* (Kuala Lumpur: National Operation Council, 1969).

⁴² "Hua Qiao" (華僑) refer as Overseas Chinese Students and "Overseas Chinese".

⁴³ 陳樹強,《三民主義僑務政策之實踐與評估》,(臺北:財團法人海華文教基金會,1994年),頁20-22。

beginning of the 20th century when Sun, Yat-sen was attempting to overthrow The Qing Dynasty.⁴⁴ In 2008 there were more than thirty million “Overseas Chinese” living around the world, with eighty percent of them in Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ However, these ethnic Chinese, no matter whether from the United States, countries in South America, or Malaya, have not been living in Taiwan for one, two or even more generations. Most are citizens of other countries. Though this ideology of categorizing an individual as Chinese could now be considered “old fashion”, this thinking has worked for more than thirty years. For the ten years from the 2005 to 2016, Taiwan universities have increased their “Overseas Chinese Students” numbers,⁴⁶ showing that despite it potentially being an old fashion concept it still works. Therefore, fully understanding the context of the term “Overseas Chinese Policy” is extremely important.

1.4-4: The Use of Soft Power

Why is the background of the “Overseas Chinese Policy” is worth reviewing is because it is an element indicative of Soft Power. In 2006, the term “Soft Power” became a new trend in the field of international affairs, and became a concept in opposition to “Gun-Boat Diplomacy”, “Command Power”, or “Hard Power”. The first appearance of soft power was in the late 1980s. During that period of time, the rest of the world considered the United States as a country whose power was declining. Joseph

⁴⁴林水椽，《獨立前華文教育》，林水椽、何啟良、何國忠、賴觀福：《馬來西亞華人史邊》第2冊（吉隆坡：馬來西亞中華大會堂聯合會，1998），頁219。

⁴⁵黃奎博，〈台僑在東南亞之生根與發展〉，發表於「2008年僑務發展之外交意涵學術」研討會（臺北：僑務委員會，2008年5月15日），頁127。

⁴⁶ From 2005 to 2016, overseas students numbers have grown from 9,972 to 11,097. See: Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), Number of Overseas Chinese Students from 2005~2016, <http://depart.moe.edu.tw/ED4500/News_Content.aspx?n=48EBDB3B9D51F2B8&sms=F78B10654B1FDDB5&s=212B2CF76078EBF4>

Nye argued this situation in his book *“Bound to Land”*. In 2001, Nye used the term in his book, *“The Paradox of American Power”*. In 2004, he again demonstrated the utility of the concept in his book, *“Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics”*⁴⁷. Therefore what is soft power?

Soft power can be a powerful force if used in a smart way.⁴⁸ Joseph Nye in his book soft power clarifies the term as power that rests upon the attractiveness of a country’s **Culture, Domestic Values and Policies, and Foreign Policies.**⁴⁹ It is easy to understand “Hard Power”, which means force and economic strength to manipulate one’s intended target. The “Carrot and Stick” method is one of the best examples.⁵⁰ Soft power, however, rests on attraction rather than coercion or payment. This is just like educating a child, where the parents teach through sound ethical values, rather than the threat of punishment.⁵¹ Cultural soft power can be separated into high culture and popular culture. As for high culture, it focuses on literature, art and education. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell once stated that, *“I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here (United States).”*⁵² For the United States, popular culture is one of the most available forms of soft power. Although there are some critics who argue that soft power has

⁴⁷ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，*《柔性權力》*（*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*）（臺北：遠流出版社，2006年），頁23~24。

⁴⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，*《柔性權力》*（*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*）（臺北：遠流出版社，2006年），頁33~34。

⁴⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p.11.

⁵⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，*《柔性權力》*（*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*）（臺北：遠流出版社，2006年），頁32。

⁵¹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr, “Donald Trump and the Decline of US Soft Power,” *Project Syndicate*, Feb 6, 2018, <<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-american-soft-power-decline-by-joseph-s-nye-2018-02>>

⁵² Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p.44.

little political effect, it is the most readily accessible form of culture around the world. As poet Carl Sandburg put it in 1961, “*What, Hollywood’s more important than Harvard? The answer is, not as clean as Harvard, but nevertheless, further reaching.*” And with the spread of sports, it creates an environment that shows the popular culture value that everyone can be famous and rich through hard work. The worldwide sport entertainment population is huge. National Basketball Association (NBA) games are broadcast to 750 million households in 212 countries and 42 languages; Major League Baseball (MLB) games are shown in 224 countries and 11 language.⁵³

Political values such as democracy, human rights, and domestic policy can be an attraction for any country’s soft power. The United States has traditionally used these to attract other countries to its values; however, in the first twelve months of the Donald Trump presidency, the favorable view of the United States has dropped twenty percent. Trump’s policies especially “America First”, have not presented the world with any positive attraction.⁵⁴

Obviously, Taiwan does not have enough strength in terms of “Hard Power”, therefore the implementation of soft power is significant. One of the best areas for Taiwan to implement soft power is in foreign policy. The Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (TFD) was established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in 2003. The foundation has become a strong link to the world through the sharing of Taiwan democracy experiences, especially in other Southeast Asia countries. Every summer,

⁵³ Joseph S. Nye, Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p.47.

⁵⁴ Joseph S. Nye, Jr, “Donald Trump and the Decline of US Soft Power,” *Project Syndicate*, Feb 6, 2018, <<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-american-soft-power-decline-by-joseph-s--nye-2018-02>>

young people who have already joined social movements in their own countries are invited by the TDF to forums in Taiwan. This is a good example of the kind of soft power that Taiwan can implement in its foreign policies.⁵⁵

1.5: Research Method

Documentary Analysis

Documentary Analysis is basically the collection and analysis of various forms of data. This research topic involves looking into several fields: 1) the Malaysia Chinese education movement, 2) Malaysia and Taiwan education system, 3) the Overseas Community Affairs Council (OCAC) policies towards Malaysian Chinese students, and 4) Taiwan's "New Southbound Policy". This data can be found in both printed and electronic form in publications, journals, government documents, news reports, published theses, and the internet.

In-Depth Interview

This research is mostly about "People". According to the parameters of the research, "In-Depth Interview" will be conducted with ethnic Chinese Malaysians in Taiwan currently studying for, or having completed, post high-school university degrees. My goal is to interview twenty people from the five different majors of Media, Political, Medical, Technology, and Education. These five specialties are the best

⁵⁵ HongYing Wang and Yeh-Chung Lu, "The Conception of Soft Power and its Policy Implications: a comparative study of China and Taiwan," *Journal of Contemporary China* (2008), 17(56), August, p. 443.

“weapons” within Taiwan’s Soft Power arsenal. The following basic questions will comprise the content of the interviews:

1. What is your background?
2. What was your first impression of Taiwan?
3. Why did you come to study in Taiwan?
4. What is your parents’ thoughts about your decision to study in Taiwan?
5. In your mind, is Taiwan different now than how you thought it would be?
6. What is your favorite thing about Taiwan?
7. What is the most annoying thing about Taiwan?
8. Why did you choose your study major?
9. What is the biggest difference between Taiwan and Malaysia?
10. What are your thought about Taiwan media, politics, medical, technology, and education? Better or worse than Malaysia?

1.6: Limitations of the Study

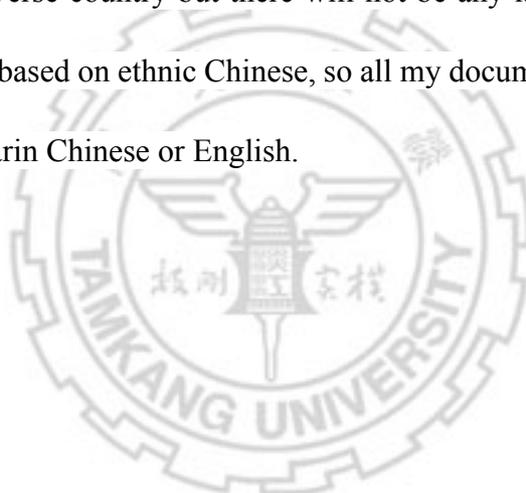
My research encompasses a broad field, from historical, regional studies to strategic studies. The following will be my limitations.

1. Interview limitation

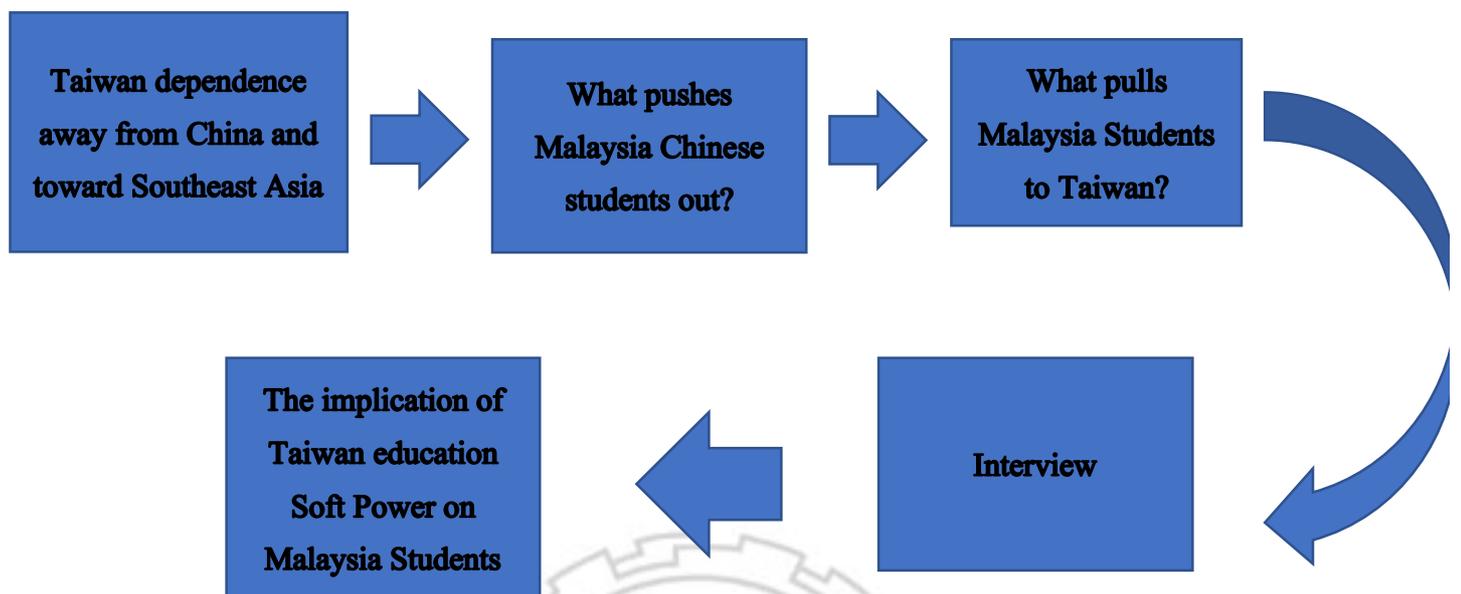
My research is focused on ethnic Chinese Malaysian students studying in Taiwan for either both undergraduate, or upper-graduate degrees, including Master and Doctoral degrees.

2. Language limitation

Malaysia is a diverse country but there will not be any language limitation. My research topic is based on ethnic Chinese, so all my documents and interview will use either Mandarin Chinese or English.



1.7: Analytical Framework



The aim of this research is to understand why Malaysia students come for study in Taiwan and how this can be used to improve Taiwan's soft power approach. This research will focus on what "Pushes" the Malaysia Chinese students out and what "Pulls" them to Taiwan. In Chapter Two, the author will focus on Malay Peninsula history in terms of "Race". This chapter will look at the relations between the Malay, the Chinese, and the Indians from the British Colonial "Divide-and-Rule Policy" up until Operation Lalang (1987). The focus will also be on the influence of Malaysia Chinese education. Chapter Three will explore the historical meaning of both "Overseas Chinese" and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. It will explain why the R.O.C government regards Overseas Chinese as important, and the reason for the government implementation of "Overseas Chinese Education". In Chapter Four, the author is going to investigate the "Push" and "Pull" factors by interviewing 20 Malaysia students

currently studying in, or previous graduated from, Taiwan universities. Chapter Five will discuss how to use this information to enhance Taiwan soft power.



Chapter Two: The Development of Malaysia Chinese Education

2.1: Human Geography of Malaysia

Malaysia is a country located in Southeast Asia. With a population of around 32 million; 68.8 percent are *Bumiputera* (Son of the soil), 23.2 percent are Chinese, 7 percent are Indian. Others ethnic groups make up the final 1 percent.⁵⁷ One characteristic of this country is that it combines three diverse races, notably the Malay and Chinese. Due to this diversity of races Malaysia has extreme differences in culture, language and religion. The Malay believe in Islam, Indian mostly believe in Hinduism, and Chinese believers are either Taoist or Buddhists. In addition, the Chinese speak a variety of Chinese languages.⁵⁸ For all these reason Malaysia is a diverse country.

The Malaysia government is a Federal System made up of 13 states: Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Penang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor, Terengganu, Sabah, Sarawak. In 1974, the capital Kuala Lumpur became the first Federal Territory. In December 2000, Putra Jaya became the third Federal Territory, and the one leveraging the greatest political influence in the country. Malaysia is rich in natural resource, including tin, petroleum, natural gas, timber, copper mine, and iron ore. It has the richest tin reserve in the world, and though it has a petroleum, although it reserves are not as great as neighbor countries, such as Indonesia or Brunei. Nonetheless, Malaysia still plays an important role in international gas pricing.

⁵⁷ Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal, *Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2016-2017*, Release Date: Friday 14, July 2017 1200,
<https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemByCat&cat=155&bul_id=a1d1UTFZazd5aJiRWFHNDduOXFFQT09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZkIWdzQ4TlhUUT09>

⁵⁸ Including, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, and Fuzhou.

The existence of the Chinese Independent School was presented to us as a *fait accompli* when reviewing the history of it. It is easy to detect the intense relationship it has with the history of Malaysia. In Short, Chinese education is an integral part of it. Therefore, to understand how the Malaysia Chinese Education System development is necessary; a brief understanding of Malaysia history is also essential. This chapter examines Malaysia history from the British Colonial era onward when it comprised the Federated Malay States, Unfederated Malay States, Malayan Union, and the Federation of Malaya. We will examine the context of Malay Chinese arrived to the Malay Chinese arrival on the Malay Peninsula, how the British government administrated the three diverse races by their Divide-and-Rule policy, and the examine the Japanese-controlled period, which was the darkest period of Chinese education in the British Colonial Era.

The second section examines the Post World War II period, with emphasis on the Malayan Union and Federation of Malaya. The section expounds the administration of British colonial government, and the rebuilding of the Chinese education system after its the massive destruction by the Japanese. The formation of Malaysian Chinese Association(MCA) and the collaboration between United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and MCA will be discussed⁶⁰. The most important events for Chinese education in this period was the effect caused by the *Barnes Reports* and the *Fenn-Wu Report*, and the establishment of The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia, *Jiaozong* (馬來西亞華校教師總會, 教總) and The United

⁶⁰ Also call UMNO, was establish in May, 11, 1946, and founded by Onn Jaafar. UMNO is a party which based on Malay. The biggest, strongest, the most influential political party in Malaysia. After a long term of leading, from 1981 to 2003, by Mahathir, and Dato Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 2003 to 2009. The present leader is Dato Sri Mohd Najib. His father, Tun Abdul Razak, was also the leader. See More: 顧長永,《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》(臺北：臺灣商務印書館, 2009年), 頁 120~127。

Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, *Dongzong* (馬來西亞華校董事聯合會總會, 董總). The third section illustrates pre and post independent Malaysia, the effect of the independence of Malaya, and the challenges presented by the *Razak Reports*⁶¹ and *Rahman Talib Report* toward Chinese education. The last section indicates the major riots and social movement events in Malaysia, including the May 13 Riots, the New Economic Policy (NEP) and Operation Lalang. Their influence on, and collision with, Chinese education will be examined.

2.2: The British Colonial Era

2.2-1: Straits Settlements

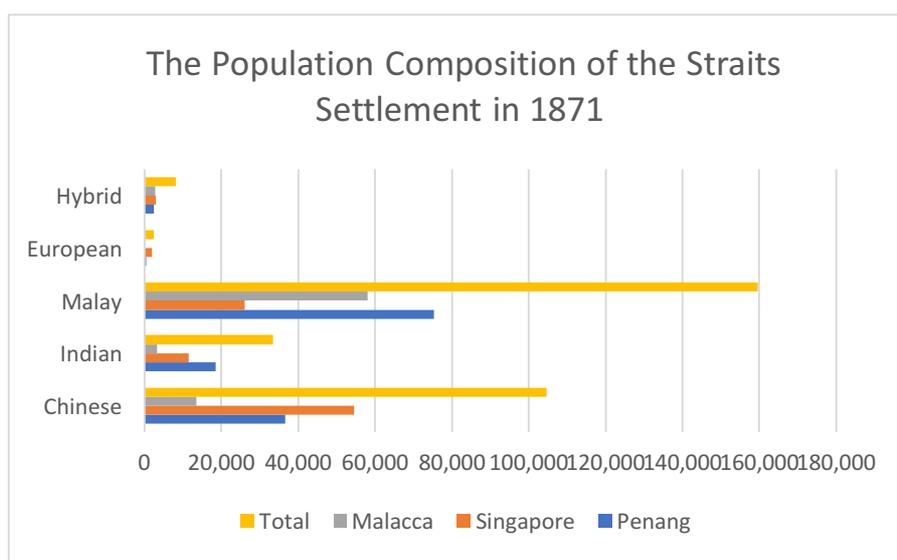
After the Industrial Revolution, European countries started to extend their territories in search of natural resources and markets. The British arrived on the Malay Peninsula in the 18th century; the first city attacked was Penang. In 1786, the British and the Sultan of Kedah signed a treaty thus officially making Penang the first British colony on the peninsula.⁶² The British then acquired Malacca and Singapore, forming the “Straits Settlements” on November 27, 1826.⁶³ Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were build up mostly by Chinese. In 1794, the Chinese in Penang numbered around three thousand, engaged mainly as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, merchants, and

⁶¹ *Razak Reports* was adopted on 1956, by the first Education Minister of Malaya, Abdul Razak bin Dutuk Hussein. The reports state that Malay is the only national language, but simultaneously respects different kinds of language developments. The main goal was to gradually centralize the main medium language, and reform the education system in Malaya. See More: 國家教育研究院, 〈雙語詞彙、學術名詞暨辭書資訊網〉, 2000年12月, <<http://terms.naer.edu.tw/detail/1306435/>>。

⁶² 顧因明, 王且華譯, 《檳榔嶼開闢史》, (臺北: 臺灣商務印書館, 1936年), 頁39~40。

⁶³ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), pp.145-147.

peasants.⁶⁴ These Chinese, lured by jobs offered by British colonial government had immigrated to Penang, Malacca, and Singapore in search of a better life. This number increased to 104,615 in 1871 due to the increased political unrest in China. (See graph 2-1) This relationship strengthened the British colonization process, as well as opened up the area to Chinese development. From the large number immigrants emerged the first Chinese education institution, *Si Shu*,⁶⁵ in Malacca in 1815.⁶⁶



Graph 2-1 Population composition of the Straits Settlements in 1871⁶⁷

2.2-2: The Federated Malay States

Prior to 1896, Malay and Chinese often fought for land and resources. To decrease this conflict, the Malay asked the British for help, so the British adopted the Divide-and-Rule policy. Due to this, the British established “The Federated Malay States”⁶⁸ to

⁶⁴ 郭湘章，〈東南亞之華僑〉（臺北：正中書局，1967年），頁423-439。

⁶⁵ *Si Shu*(私塾), is an old-style private school. According to the Strait Settlement Annual Education Report, the number of SI Shu in Penang was 52; 12 in Malacca. See more: 鄭良樹，〈馬來西亞華文教育發展史〉（第一分冊）（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，1998年），頁10。

⁶⁶ 郁樹錕主編，〈南洋年鑑〉（新加坡：南洋商報出版，1951年），頁39。

⁶⁷ 資料來源：曾豹慶著作”馬來西雅華人教育的困境與出路”圖表（1.1）

⁶⁸ Chinese also call 四州府。

manage Pahang, Selangor, Perak, and Negeri Sembilan. According to the treaty between the British and the Malay Sultan; Sultan would have the power to rule the Malay, and the British Resident General were responsible to the community of Chinese and Indians. The British Resident General though had the right to interfere in Malay society affairs if needed.⁶⁹ The British Divide-and-Rule policy separated the three major races. This at the time seemed fair, and reduced the racial conflicts, however, it also shut down relations between the three groups effectively missing an opportune moment for racial harmony. The British Divide-and-Rule policy not only separated the three major race settlements, but also entrapped the Malays in the rural peasantry leading Malay education to a lower provision.⁷⁰ However, Chinese education was a totally different situation. It was encouraged by the British officials in the tin-mining industry in order to support the Chinese with a better economic standard. This support of Chinese education in turn produced a better economic gain on their assets.⁷¹

⁶⁹ 顧長永，〈馬來西亞：獨立五十年〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009），頁 8~9。

⁷⁰ According to Mahatir, the Divide-and-Rule policy not only divided the Chinese and Malays, but also divided the urban Malays and the rural peasants. This caused the rural peasant Malay to continue their habit of near-relation marriage and early marriage. See More: Mahatir bin Mohammed, *The Malay Dilemma*, trans. C.C. Liew, (Kuala Lumpur: World Book, 1981) p.30.

⁷¹ Yao Sua Tan & Hooi See Teoh, "The development of Chinese education in Malaysia, 1952-1975: Political collaboration between the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Chinese educationists," *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 44.1, 83-100, (2015), pp. 85. & Robert Dayley and Clark D. Neher, *Southeast Asia in the New International Era* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), p.279.

	1941		Japanese Period	
	Number of Schools	Number of students	Number of Schools	Number of students
Chinese School	370	38,000	21	2,543
English School	81	27,000	36	5,000
Malay School	29	5,800	22	4,572
Indian School	18	11,000	8	789

Graph 2-2 Number of Schools and Students before and after the Japanese Period⁷²

2.2-3: Unfederated Malay States⁷³

At the turn of the century the British were still continuing to expand their colony. In 1874, the Pangkor Treaty was signed vesting the British with powers over Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu, and Johor. This treaty maintained the Malay Sultan could actually rule his own state; the British were appointed as “Advisor” to the nominal leader.⁷⁴ Johor had a British Advisor until 1914, the last state to have one.⁷⁵ Although the British era began in 1786 with their control of Penang, they did not have complete control of all twelve Malay Peninsula states until 1914. According to statistics of Chinese students, in 1901 there were over 2,000 students going to Chinese schools, a number significantly greater than the 600 going to English medium instruction

⁷² Source of data: 許雲樵主編，《新馬華人抗日史料 1937-1945》，（新加坡：南洋學會，1984年），頁 52。

⁷³ Chinese also call 五州府。

⁷⁴ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia*, (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), pp.196-198.

⁷⁵ Harry Miller, *A Short History of Malaysia*, (Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, New York, 1966.) p. 89.

school.⁷⁶ The Chinese Independent School system in 1901 was a fait accompli. The iron-will and unbending spirit of Chinese ideology worked to construct, develop, and maintain its language and culture by mobilizing clan associations, associations of townsmen, and commerce chambers. This drive continued until 1941 when it was terminated by the Japanese occupation of Malaya.⁷⁷ The massive massacre directed against Chinese that followed caused a dramatic decline in the number of students going to Chinese schools.⁷⁸ (See Graph 2-2)

2.3: Post World War II

2.3-1: Malayan Union

In September 1945, after the unconditional surrender of Japan, the British promptly retook control of the Malay Peninsula, Sabah, and Sarawak. With the end of World War II, the rise of nationalism spread globally; the Malay Peninsula was also influenced by this trend. In virtue of this reason, the British established the “Malayan Union”, comprising all the Malay Peninsula, except Singapore. The British did not offer Malay authorities to rule the Malayan Union, they further enraged the Malay by giving Chinese and Indian civil rights.⁷⁹ This decision terrified the Malay; they consider themselves as the local aborigine, with the tradition of Sultan ruling. However, economically, they were the vulnerable group. The Malay worried the Chinese would

⁷⁶ Loh, FS, *Seeds of Discord: British Policies in the FMS, 1874-1940* (London, 1979), p. 15.

⁷⁷ Chin, Ko, *Malaya Upside Down* (Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publication, 1976), p.98.

⁷⁸ During World War II, the intensely crucial and massive battles in China proper caused the Japanese to shift their grievances toward Malaysian Chinese. In 1942, 70,699 Chinese were captured, some of them school teachers, suspected of spying and intelligence gathering. See more: Chin, Ko, *Malaya Upside Down* (Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publication, 1976), p.95. & Chenh Boon Kheng, *Red Star over Malaya* (Singapore : NUS Press, 2012), p.22

⁷⁹ Mahatir bin Mohammed, *The Malay Dilemma*, trans. C.C. Liew, (Kuala Lumpur: World Book, 1981) p.11.

dominant them. Due to these reasons, the Malay were against the establishment of the Malayan Union.⁸⁰ The British conformed to the Malay's concern, and established the "Federation of Malaya" in 1948.

During the Japanese control period, the damage and destruction of Chinese schools was enormous. Schoolhouses became ruins and the rate of school children obliged to discontinue schooling and overage rapidly increased. With all the obstacles and difficulties, the Chinese emerged their natural instincts, and rebuilt the schoolhouses and began to enroll students in the October of 1945 just three months after the Japanese surrender.⁸¹ The rebuild and re-established of Chinese schools proceeded smoothly without a hitch. One year later, the flourish of Chinese Education has emerged, the Chinese schools in the Malayan Union had raised to 1,105, with 172,101 students and 4,513 faculty members.⁸²

2.3-2: Federation of Malaya

The establishment of the "Federation of Malaya" was in 1948, during the same period of time the Communist Party of Malaya started to armed rebellion. The appeals was to overthrow imperialism that the Chinese did not attain basic rights. The Communist Party of Malaya was supported by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.⁸³ On the other side, the British government supported the Federation

⁸⁰ 顧長永，〈馬來西亞：獨立五十年〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009），頁 12~13。

⁸¹ 鄭良樹，〈馬來西亞華文教育發展史〉（第三分冊）（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，1998年），頁 1-21。

⁸² 莫泰熙，〈馬來西亞華文教育運動〉（德國漢諾威第六屆國際漢語教學研討會：董總，1990年），頁 7。

⁸³ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), pp.396-397.

of Malaya to suppress the Communist Party of Malaya until 1960, therefore 1948 to 1960 was called “*The Malayan Emergency*”.⁸⁴ When the left wing of Chinese was rebellion with the Communist Party of Malaya; the right-wing was supported by the KMT. In 1949, these right-wing Chinese, followed by their leader Tan Cheng Lock, established the Malaysian Chinese Association.⁸⁵

Malaysia Chinese education was one of the longest social movements. Since the Federation of Malaya enacted the *Barnes Reports*⁸⁶ in 1951 and the 1952 Education Ordinance, it became the most crucial period of time for Chinese education. In 1950, the colonial government appointed fourteen members, including five Europeans and nine Malays committee, led by Doctor L.J. Barnes. They examined the education system in the Federation of Malaya. The committee advocated the English-Malay bilingual primary schools, also called “National Schools”.⁸⁷ The *Barnes Reports* recommended “*the end of separate vernacular schools for the several racial communities, and their replacement by a single type of primary school common to all*”.⁸⁸ The announcement of the *Barnes Reports* raised the intensity of the Chinese community. The Chinese community had the idea that the day announcement of a national school system would be the end of Chinese education.⁸⁹ Between August 25th

⁸⁴ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), p.270.

⁸⁵ 「陳禎祿創建馬華公會」，新加坡文獻館，< <http://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=3346>>

⁸⁶ Unified the medium of instruction in the national educational system was the main issue for the interim local government. *Barnes Reports* proposed ban of the non-Malay elementary school, and developed only Malay elementary school. See More: 國家教育研究院，〈雙語詞彙、學術名詞暨辭書資訊網〉，2000年12月，< <http://terms.naer.edu.tw/detail/1303070/>>。

⁸⁷ Victor Purcell, *Malaya Communist or Free?* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954), p. 154.

⁸⁸ FM (Federal of Malaya), *Chinese Schools and Education of Chinese Malaysians: The Report of a Mission Invited by the Federation Government to Study the Problem of the Education of Chinese in Malaya*, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1951a).

⁸⁹ 鄭良樹，〈馬來西亞華文教育發展史〉（第三分冊）（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，1998年），頁10。

and 25th 1951, in essence of against the *Barnes Reports* and consolidating the power of Chinese educationist, the *Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Teachers' Association* (森美蘭華校教師公會) proposed to hold a *National Convention of Chinese School Teachers' Association in Malaya* (全馬教師工會代表大會) in *Selangor Hokkien Association* (雪蘭莪福建會館). On 25 December 1951, The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia (*Jiaozong*) was established, David Chen (陳充恩) became the first chairman. *Jiaozong* objectives were to improve the standard of Chinese education, promote Chinese culture within Malaya, safeguard schoolteacher status, and improve schoolteacher welfare.⁹⁰

To moderate the Chinese community grievances, High Commissioner Sir Henry Gurney appointed another committee to examined the Chinese education system. The committee was directed by Dr. W. P. Fenn and Dr. Wu Teh Yau. The result was so called the *Fenn-Wu Report*. The *Fenn-Wu Report (Chinese Schools and the Education of Chinese Malaysians)* took an opposing position contrasting to the *Barnes Reports*. This report purposed that the government should encourage the Chinese-medium school to initiated trilingual-medium schools and enhance the ability of Chinese-medium school students in both Malay and English. Furthermore, the Chinese school shouldn't be eliminated until the Chinese community itself decided that such schools were not needed.⁹¹ Although there was a discrepancy between the two reports, the

⁹⁰鄭良樹，《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》(第三分冊)(吉隆坡:馬來西亞華校教師總會,1998年),頁87-101 & Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951-2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.44.

⁹¹ Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951-2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.59. & Victor Purcell, *Malaya*

government mainly adopted the *Barnes Reports*, and the 1952 Education Ordinance was passed through the Federal Legislative Council.⁹² On August 22, 1954, the state level Chinese school committee association established the United Chinese School Committee Association of Malaysia(*Dongzong*). *Dongzong* collaborated with the *Jiaozong* to go against the 1952 Education Ordinance to safeguard the rights and interests of Chinese education.

In order to strive for the rights and interests of Chinese education, the three-major communities, comprised the *Dongzong*, *Jiaozong*, and MCA. The collaboration of these major communities was called, the Grand Three. The purpose was to handle the challenge of the education problem. The Grand Three entrusted the Chinese Education Central Committee to act as an MCA subordinate. It proclaimed that the 1952 Education Ordinance deprived of the basic right for the ethnic Chinese in Malaysia to learn its native language. However, the result was disappointed, Sir Gerald Templar interpreted that the government would not allow the same language that the Communist Party of China was using to become one of the Malaysia medium languages.⁹³ In November, a special committee investigated the expensive of education facility. In 1954, this special committee released the *Report of the Social Commission Appointed by the High Commissioner in Council in Considering Ways and Means of Implementing the Policy Outlined in the Education Ordinance* (1954 White Paper on Education Policy). The main intention of this report was to reform the medium of mother tongues

Communist or Free? (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954), p. 156.

⁹² 莫順生,《馬來西亞教育史》(吉隆坡:馬來西亞華校教師會總會,2000年),頁47。

⁹³ 柯嘉遜,《馬來西亞華教奮鬥史》(吉隆坡:董教總教育中心,1999年),頁44-45。& Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951-2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.45.

in Chinese and Tamil schools, and force all schools to use English as the only medium language. The government censured the use of multiple language schools in one country, as more expense for education. The only way to economize the use of expense is to implement the English-medium schools. The Chinese educationist, lead by Lim Lian Geok (林連玉)⁹⁴, then quickly published the *Malayan Oppose on the Convention of Vernacular Schools into National Schools* (教總反對改方言學校為國民學校宣言). The *Jiaozong* even promised to the Chinese Community that there would be no concession on Chinese culture and education. The nationwide boycott emerged in all sorts of ways. In January 1955, the government proclaimed the termination of the 1954 Education White Paper Policy.⁹⁵

2.4 The Independence of Malaysia⁹⁶

On July 1955, the British executed the first national election. The coalition of UMNO, MCA, and Malaysian Indian Congress won the election, by winning 51 seats, however the Federation of Malaya did not successfully become independent.⁹⁸ The

⁹⁴ Lim Lian Geok (1901-1985), the most representative figure for Malaysia Chinese Education Delopment. Born in Fujian and moved to Malaysia in 1927. He started his teaching career at Confucian Private Secondary School, Kuala Lumpur in 1935. Spent his life fighting for Malaysia Chinese Education, causing the government deprived his civil right in 1961. The Soul of The Malaysia Chinese pass away on December 18, 1985. See More: Hou Kok Chung, "Lim Lian Geok," Hou Kok Chung, ed., *The Intellectual Elites in Malaysia Chinese History* (Taipei: Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, 2001), pp. 39-76.

⁹⁵ 柯嘉遜,《馬來西亞華教奮鬥史》(吉隆坡:董教總教育中心,1999年),頁49 & Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.47-48.

⁹⁶ The word of "Malaya" was origin form the language of Tamil, which means mountain. See More: 許雲樵,「馬來西亞的來歷」,載於許雲樵,《馬來亞研究》,世界書局,新加坡,1961年,頁1-7

⁹⁸ Harry Miller, *A Short History of Malaysia*, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, New York, 1966. Page 194. & 侯政宏,《馬來西亞華人政治參與之研究-兼論華人政治上的地位與角色》(臺北:淡江大學東南亞研究所論文,2002年),頁56。

leader of Malay and Chinese continually fight for independence, but the different needs on politics, economic, and education emerged between the two major ethnic groups. The British coordinated both sides to formulate a commonly acceptable constitution for ensuring their rights and interests. Within the circumstance of the constitution, the bargaining politics between the three parties succeed between 1945 to 1957. Finally, the British government allowed the Federation of Malaya to be independent on the 31 of August, 1957. The UMNO leader Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Bapa Malaysia*, became the first Prime Minister.⁹⁹ The Federation of Malaya joined the United Nations on 17 September 1957.¹⁰⁰

Before the independence of Malaya, the Chinese education did not obtain a favorable attitude by the government. In order to carry out the government objective and enabled the Malay to become the teaching medium language the government mostly adopted the advices from *Razak Reports*. On 14 September 1955, the Alliance government formed a fifteen-members Legislative Council Committee on Education. The committee gathered three major races in the country, chaired by Abdul Razak.¹⁰² The *Razak Reports*, integrated the vernacular schools into “National-type” primary schools, and the Malay-medium schools became the “national” schools. All the national schools would be using Malay and English as the main medium of instruction. The “National-type” primary schools can also teach in its own language, and can acquire aids from the government.¹⁰³ The *Razak Reports* was accepted by the Chinese

⁹⁹ 顧長永，〈馬來西亞：獨立五十年〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009年），頁15~16

¹⁰⁰ United Nations, Members states, <<http://www.un.org/zh/member-states/#gotoM>>

¹⁰² Five of them are Chinese, respectively Lim Chong Eu, Goh Chee Yan, Too Joon Hing, Leung Cheung Ling, and Lee Thean Hin. See More: Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.48.

¹⁰³ Wu, Wen-Wu, *A Research on Malaysia Chinese Independent Schools' Unified Examination (Senior*

educationists reluctantly, still it is the most enlightened adjustment for Chinese education. Some of the Chinese schools, for example, the Penang Chung Ling High School (鍾靈中學) was the first Chinese secondary schools to shift into “National-type”.¹⁰⁴ In 1956, the government conducted a survey. The main purpose of this survey was to add up the numbers of student willingness of entering to what types of school. The Chinese educationists led by Lim Lian Geok mobilized the Torch Movement (火炬運動) for showing the government that the numbers of students willing to enter Chinese medium school can be huge. the Chinese school teachers visited the Chinese family door-by-door encouraging the Chinese family to send their children into Chinese Independent School.¹⁰⁵

2.4-1: Federation of Malaysia

In 1959, the British government gave autonomy to Singapore, and at the same time, the British government proposed the idea of “Greater Malaysia”.¹⁰⁶ The “Greater Malaysia” was proposed in 1951 by a British Commissioner name Malcolm MacDonald. This idea included Singapore and North Borneo into the Federation of

Section) (1975-2005) (Master Diss. Graduate Institute of History, Tamkang University, 2006), pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁴ The only action by Chung Ling evoked the grievance from the Chinese community causing the students’ strike nationwide. See More: Chun-Ni, Chen, “Study on the Chinese Education and Chinese Self-identity in Malaysia” *The Elementary Education Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (2017), p. 77-78.

¹⁰⁵ Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.49. & 碧澄, 〈想起當年的“火炬運動”〉, 《中國報》, 2015年2月5日, <
<http://www.chinapress.com.my/20150205/%E7%A2%A7%E6%BE%84%E6%83%B3%E8%B5%B7%E7%95%B6%E5%B9%B4%E7%9A%84%E7%81%AB%E7%82%AC%E9%81%8B%E5%8B%95/>> .

¹⁰⁶ Stanley S. Bedlington, *Malaysia and Singapore: The Building of New States*, Ithaca, New York, 1978, pp.103-104.

Malaya. Tunku Abdul Rahman accepted this idea, due to the reasons of the fear that Singapore will become the second Cuba and the threat by the Communist party in Malaya.¹⁰⁸ After a period of time confronting the Left-wind Chinese in Singapore in 1961, the idea was also accepted by Lee Kuan Yew, therefore the idea of Singapore joining the Federation of Malaya was adopted. However, some of the UMNO members worried that the new coming Singapore will break the balance of the ethnic amounts, so advocated to include North Borneo and Sarawak. These UMNO members considered the people from North Borneo and Sarawak as *Bumiputera* (son of soil).¹⁰⁹ On 16 September 1963, the Federation of Malaysia was established. The Federation of Malaysia including eleven states from the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, Sabah, and Sarawak.

The Chinese education encountered more and challenge during this period of time, such as the publication of the *Report of the Education Review Committee (Rahman Talib Report)* in August 1960.¹¹⁰ The *Rahman Talib Report* took a more extreme approach to elevate the Malay language as the main medium of instruction in all schools, and offered the right for Education Minister to shift any “Nation-type” primary schools into national primary school. With the lack of support from MCA, the parliament adopted the 1961 Education Ordinance on the October of 1961, and operated it in the

¹⁰⁸ Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, *Looking Back, Monday Musings and Memories*, Pustaka Antara, la Lumpur, Malaysia, 1977, p119.

¹⁰⁹ Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore were brought in to maintain a favorable proportion of non-Chinese in the population. See More: Robert Dayley and Clark D. Neher, *Southeast Asia in the New International Era* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), p.279.

¹¹⁰ Federation of Malaya, *Reports of the Education Review Committee 1960*, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press)

first day of 1962.¹¹¹ The 1961 Education Ordinance became the first act of legislation regraded to Education.

2.4-2: The Separation of Singapore

On September 1963, Both Tunku and Lee Kuan Yew fulfilled their political ideal, which is bringing Singapore into the Federation of Malaysia. However, this ideal did not last long. The People's Action Party mostly represent the Singapore had friction with the UMNO and MCA. These conflicts cannot be solved, in conclusion, Singapore declared its independence in the 9th of August in 1965. The follows are the reason why Singapore leave the Federation of Malaysia. The first major reason will be the racial conflicts.

The ethnic Chinese in Singapore criticized the political inequity in the Federation of Malaysia and the “*Ketuanan Melayu*”. Lee Kuan Yew proposed a new ideal of "Malaysian Malaysia!". The People's Action Party held the Malaysian Solidarity Convention nation-wide for proposing this idea, which later caused racial conflict in Singapore.¹¹² Another racial conflict was, after Singapore joined the Federation of Malaysia the raise of ethnic Chinese population. In 1960, the population of Malaya was around 10 million, and the population of Malay was around 3.1 million. Chinese were 2.3 million and Indian was around 7 hundred thousand. The new coming of Singapore had around 1 million ethnic Chinese which would ascent the Chinese population higher

¹¹¹ See More: Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.54. & Wu, Wen-Wu, *A Research on Malaysia Chinese Independent Schools' Unified Examination (Senior Section) (1975-2005)* (Master Diss. Graduate Institute of History, Tamkang University, 2006), pp. 34.

¹¹² Harry Miller, *A Short History of Malaysia*, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, New York, 1966. Page 256.

than Malay.¹¹³ And Singapore considered themselves could have a higher standard compared to other states (Including the states in Malay Peninsula, Sabah, and Sarawak), therefore Singapore considered that they should play more role in the Federation. However, the Malay political leader only considered them as one of the fourteen states of the Federation. With all the reasons, there is always a gap between the two sides.¹¹⁴ This caused the insecurity of the Malay, and the distrust toward Chinese, which caused the separation of Singapore.

It is reasonable that Singapore cannot get along with Malay, therefore they should find a better way to communicate with the Chinese in the Malay Peninsula, such as the Malaysian Chinese Association. However, the second major reason was the conflict between MCA and People's Action Party. According to Lee Kuan Yew's memoirs, he indicated Tan Siew Sin (陳修信) as acrimonious and devoted to suppress the People's Action Party. The two Chinese based political parties dislike each other. Lee Kuan Yew even once attempted to persuade UMNO to cooperate with People's Action Party rather than MCA, however, Tunku did not accept his proposal. There are still many details which caused the separation of Singapore, but there are still some researchers wondering what is Lee Kuan Yew's real attitude toward this incident. No matter what, he did feel that he did not fulfill the expectations from the people of Singapore, and Malaysia, especially the Chinese. After Singapore quitted the Federation, Chengara Veetil Devan Nair became the leader of People's Action Party in Malaysia, nevertheless, the

¹¹³ Albert Lau, *A Movement of Anguish, Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement*, Times Media Private Limited, Singapore, 2003, p. 11.

¹¹⁴ Mohamed Norrdin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation, Political Unification in the Malayan Region 1945-65*, (Penerbit University Malayan, Kuala Lumpur), p.185

Malaysia officials deemed the party as a foreign party, therefore the People's Action Party rename itself as Democratic Action Party(DAP).

Advancing to a higher school is the inevitable problem for Chinese education. Before 1949, the first option for these students is the university or college in mainland China, however after the KMT government retreated to Taiwan the doubts toward the communist party by the colony government block the only way. By the effort of Tan Lark Sye(陳六使), the Nanyang University was established in March 15, 1956. Before Singapore closed Nanyang University in 1980, this university was praised as the highest Chinese medium institution in Southeast Asia. According to Lee Kuan Yew memoirs, he indicated that the Chinese education must accept numbers of adjustment, and even more he did not think the extinction of Chinese school would be the end of Chinese culture in Singapore. He even used his three children as example; all of his children can speak, read, and write in Chinese, however there are no chance for them to used it in real life. Lee Kuan Yew believe the most effective way to pass on Chinese culture is by family virtue not by school teachers.¹¹⁵

2.5: The Riots and Social Movements in Malaysia

Looking back to the history of Malaysia, after the World War Two, Malaysia did not occur massive martial racial conflicts like Philippine or Indonesia. Both Malay and Chinese had conflicts for Malays privilege, Chinese becoming Malaysia official language or Chinese education, but these conflicts only caused intensive debate, or Chinese storekeepers strike.

¹¹⁵ 新加坡聯合早報編，《李光耀 40 年政論選》（臺北：聯經出版，1994 年），頁 415-421。

In 1956, Malay established the “Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Literary and Language Agency” (語文與出版局). Its goal is to develop Malay special terms on a different region, such as commerce, higher education, technology, and science. In the March of 1967, the Malaysia parliament approves the “National Language Bill”, the Malay become the only official language in Western Malaysia. In 1972, Malaysia and Indonesia standardize the Malay into one system.

The Chinese society has a debate after the establishment of Federation of Malaysia constitution, which regulated that the Malay will be the only official language after ten years in 1957. One of the MCA member, Sim Mowyu(沈慕羽) supported to put Chinese into the official language, however was against by Tan Siew Sin. In 1966, the MCA adopted two resolutions. (1) Against to put Chinese into Malaysia official language, (2) Expelled Sim Mowyu out of MCA, since he did not obey MCA’s party discipline.¹¹⁶ In September 1967, the Parliament formally adopted the National Language Bill, regulated the Malay as the only official language, but also offered the opportunity to learn and teach other languages, and allow using English at stake of public interest. Many Malays considered this as a concession to non-Malays. The chairman of Council for Language and culture (語言與文化理事會), Syed Nasir bin Ismail, criticized the Chinese company and commercial firm’s still using Chinese shop sign. Fourteen days later, he lodged a secret memorandum to the Prime Minister, and other important government members, criticizing government tolerant the Chinese.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ 謝詩堅，馬來西亞華人政治思想演變，1984年5月，網路版，第十部份（09）馬華華團關係淡化。 < http://seekiancheah.blogspot.tw/2004/05/blog-post_4151.html > 2016年10月23日瀏覽。

¹¹⁷ Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia: The Making of Nation*, (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies,

In November, the minister of education proclaimed to restrict all students to obtain a Cambridge or Malaysian Certification of Education before studying abroad. This gain the complaints of the Chinese community, which worried the graduated from Chinese secondary school cannot study in Taiwan or other countries.¹¹⁸ The Unified Chinese School Committee's Association of Malaysia and The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia, requested the government to establish a Chinese medium language university, Merdeka University. This request was supported by DAP, and also some members from MCA, such as, the secretary of the Alliance, T.H. Tan.¹²⁰ However, the chairman, Tan Siew Sin, had against this request, due to the fear that Malays resentment.¹²¹

“The founding of Merdeka University has a significant meaning for the Chinese community here, and the university has a long road ahead of it. Although we will face many challenges, we shall possess the determination and courage to surmount all difficulties, and we shall not be daunted by repeated setbacks.”
(Yen Hong En 1968 at Merdeka University Founders' Assembly)

Singapore, 2002), p.103.

¹¹⁸ 鄭良樹，〈《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》（第四分冊）（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，2003年）〉，頁169-170。And Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.59.

¹²⁰ After the establishment of Federation of Malaya, the British government hold an election in Georgetown in 1951, UMNO did not win the election, this frighten the British government. The British government worry if the Communist of Malaya take control of Malay Peninsula, it will become the nineteenth province of China, so encouraged the UMNO to cooperate with MCA. The two parties won the national election in 1952, this victory naturally tied the two party together, and became “The Alliance”. See More: James C.C. Yang, *The Malaysian Chinese In a Dilemma: A Case Study on the Chinese Society and the Political Process in West Malaysia 1957-1978*, (Taipei, The Liberal Arts Press, 1982), p.15.

¹²¹ Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.60.

On May 1969, one day before the election, a funeral was held for a member from the Chinese Communist Party of Malaya that was killed by the police. More than ten thousand people joined the funeral. This evoked the anti-government sentiment.¹²² After the national election, the Alliance won 66 seats out of 103 electoral districts, however they only received 48.5 percent of votes. It was much lower compared to the opposition party, which they had received 51.4 percent of voting percentage, but they only got 38 seats.¹²³ Although the opposition party got a higher percentage of votes, the Alliance still won the national election. On May 12, Tunku Abdul Rahman publicly announced that he will not invite the DAP and Malaysian People's Movement Party into the government, the UMNO will continually work with their old Chinese partner MCA. This decision irritated the Chinese, numbers of big rally was held. With the fear that Chinese would take over all the dominant position(economy and politics), and with the encouragement of ruling party, the two races encounter, which is the start of the May 13 Riots. This Riot spreaded from Kuala Lumpur to nationwide until the end of June.¹²⁴

According to Malaysia official statistics, 196 people were killed in this incident (Chinese 143, Malay 24, Indian 13, 15 cannot be identified), 439 people injured (180 were wounded by gun), and 9,143 people were arrest (5,126 Chinese, 2,077 Malay, 1,874 Indian).¹²⁵ Some nongovernmental media even estimated more than 800 people

¹²² Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), pp.366.

¹²³ Harold Crouch, *Government and Society In Malaysia*, (United States of America: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.23.

¹²⁴ 顧長永,《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》(臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009年)，頁204-206。

¹²⁵ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), p.366.

were killed in this tragedy.¹²⁶ Around 6,000 citizens' houses were destroyed in Kuala Lumpur, mostly were Chinese.¹²⁷ Since Malaya was independence there were still several outbreaks of riots, for example, Pangkor in 1959, Kuala Lumpur in 1965, and in 1964, when Singapore was still in Malaysia, twenty-two people were killed in that riot.¹²⁸ However, None of these events were similar as the May 13 Riots. This riot changed the political environment in Malaysia. After the national election, Mahathir Mohamad leads a bunch of radicalism seeking to reform the UMNO, and requested the MCA to leave the government, and hoping to establish an UMNO control country.¹³⁰

2.5-1: Establishment of National Operation Council

After the 13 May Riots, the Malaysia government immediately proclaimed the State of Emergency and implemented the curfew nationwide. Three days later, due to the pressure from Mahathir and other UMNO radicalism, Tunku established the National Operation Council(NOC). The NOC became the highest administrative institution, leading by the Vice Prime Minister, Abdul Razak. The police immediately arrested 93 suspected communists after Abdul Razak's new Cabinet. The members of the National Operation Council had six Malays and two non-Malays, which is Tun V.T. Sambanthan and MCA's Tan Siew Sin.¹³¹ Tunku was not on the list of the NOC.¹³²

¹²⁶ 李光耀，《李光耀回憶錄（1965~2000）》（臺北：世界書局，2000年），頁265。

¹²⁷ 方山，《馬泰邊區風雲錄，第二集，萬水千山窗林情：南下、北上、肅反、分裂、土地和民族》（吉隆坡：21世紀出版社，2005年），頁284。

¹²⁸ Harold Crouch, *Government and Society In Malaysia*, (United States of America: Cornell University Press, 1996), p.23.

¹³⁰ William Case, "Malaysia Aspects and Audiences of Legitimacy." In Muthiah Alagappa, eds., *Political legitimacy in Southeast Asia: the quest for moral authority* (Stanford University Press, California 1995), pp.69-107.

¹³¹ Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia: The Making of Nation*, (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2002), p.74-75.

¹³² A.M. Healy, *Tunku Abdul Rahman*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1982.

Tunku resigns the Prime Minister on the 30th of August, 1970, and in the next day, the *Rukun Negare* was enacted. One of the most important task for National Operation Council was to enact the *Rukun Negare*, building up a Malaysia national ideology.¹³³ Which are (1) Belief in God, (2) Loyalty to King and Country, (3) Upholding the Law and Constitution, (4) Rule Of Law, (5) Good Behavior And Morality.¹³⁴

2.5-2: New Economic Policy

... eradicate poverty, by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race. It also aimed accelerating the process of restructuring the Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. (cited from GM 1971e, p2).

After the May 13 Riots, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was proposed to prevent the same tragedy to happen again. After more than one year of discussing and researching, the NOC concluded the biggest problem was the economic gap between Malay and Chinese. The only measurement that the Malaysia government could be implemented was to offer economic support to Malay by its national power to narrow this gap. In June 25, 1971, Malaysia parliament adopted *the Second Malaysia Plan*, which is also called The New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy is a 20 years' plan, hoping to finish in 1991. *The Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975* expounded the two goals of NEP. First, raising the national income

P30.

¹³³ 建國五大原則

¹³⁴ 顧長永，〈馬來西亞：獨立五十年〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009年），頁207-209。

and employment opportunities under the premise of racial problems, in the course of time eliminating poverty. Second, rebuilding the Malaysia society, including modernize the rural areas, and rapid but stable growth of the city.¹³⁵ The real purpose behind the UMNO is hoping to lead Malays depart from the position of poverty, increase the number of Malays on manufacture and commerce, and increase the Malays control force in business communities.¹³⁶ During that period of time, the proportion of population of Malay was 53.2 percent, but their assets were only account 2.4 percent in the country. By contrast, the proportion of other races, including Chinese and Indian, the population was 46.8 percent, but their assets were account 33 percent in the country. Obviously disproportionate, therefore the Malaysia government adopted various measurements to assist Malay increasing its asset, but simultaneously Chinese and Indian did not have the same privilege.¹³⁷

In order to increase Malay's asset, the Malays adopted two measurements:

1. Distribute the company stocks to Malays.
2. Rebuilt the employment structure. This measure increased the proportion of Malay going to higher education, by increasing the education budget, giving large number of scholarships for Malay students to study abroad,¹³⁸ and the "Kuota System"¹³⁹.

¹³⁵ *Second Malaysia Plan*, (National Printing Department, Kuala Lumpur, 1974), p.41.

¹³⁶ Kuo Yu-Wen, *A Study on Economic Impacts on Malays under "New Economic Policy" in Malaysia* (Ma. Diss./ Thesis, Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies of Tamkang University, 2004), p. 53.

¹³⁷ Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), pp.375-378.

¹³⁸ 劉文榮，〈馬來西亞華人經濟地位之轉變〉（臺北：世華經濟出版社，1988年），頁202。

¹³⁹ 胡愛青，〈由固打制向績效制轉變：機遇抑或挑戰〉，《世界民族》，第1期，2004年，頁65-72。

The meaning of “Kuota” is basically the same as “Quota”, and this word was used in Malaysia education system. In Malaysia, the enrollment of university does not only base on the result of the study, but on the quota of race. The government encouraged Malays to engage in specialized jobs, including lawyer, doctor, engineer, dentist, accountant, surveyor, and architect. These eight professions only accounted for five percent in 1970 for the Malay, however in 1988, it increased to twenty five percent.¹⁴⁰

The goal of NEP is to offer Malay to catch up to Malaysian Chinese economic standard. Although this policy did increase the Malay economic condition, still it did not enhance their strength. Most of the Chinese employers does not consider the Malay has enough spirit of enterprise and lack of education, so these Chinese employers would not teach the Malay how to manage a business. They would not even share the method of how to earn more money, and most of the Malay did not pay attention or try to learn how to run a business anyway. Due to the reason that, even without hard working, they can still get their share and bonus.¹⁴¹ The proceed of NEP was totally in an opposite direction. Ironically, the main purpose was to avoid racial conflict, however, in 1987, the Malaysia still face the outbreak of Operation Lalang.

2.5-3: Operation Lalang (*Operasi Lalang*)

In 1971, the number of Malay studying in university was 13,324, which is only 9.7 percent compared to other races, however, this number raised to 31,529, increase the percentage to 65. Therefore, during the national election in 1978, the DAP defined their

¹⁴⁰ K.S. Jomo, “Wither Malaysia’s New Economic Policy?”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.63, No.4, Winter 1990-1, p.475-499.

¹⁴¹ The NEP did not eliminate the Malay’s poverty, critically it did not solve the racial conflict. See More: 顧長永, 《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》(臺北：臺灣商務印書館, 2009), 頁 213~217

position as to establish the Merdeka University. The Malaysia government believed this issue would intensify the racial problem, so for this reason the government did not select any stand among positive or negative. After the national election, the Preparatory Committee of Merdeka University presented a petition to the Supreme Head of Malaysia (*Yang di-Pertuan Agong*), for establishing the Merdeka University. The Education Minister, Datuk Musa bin Hitam, immediately opposed this idea. For this reason, the UMNO even tried to launch a rally. Fortunately, the government put a stop on this rally. This incident almost became the first racial conflict after the May 13 Riots.

On the September 1987, the Education Minister Anwar Ibrahim, was planning to send 54 principles to 42 different Chinese education elementary schools in Penang, Malacca, and Selangor. These principles have no abilities to speak, read and write Chinese. *Dongjiaozong* became the first organization to criticize this administrative decree. One month later, DAP Secretary-General, Lim Kit Siang (林吉祥), and other opposition party leaders wanted for a riot, and was captured by the police, because of the *Internal Security Act*. In the same day, MCA, DAP, and other opposition parties gathered together in the *Thean Hou Temple* (吉隆天后宮) in Kuala Lumpur, protesting the government's incorrect decision on sending non-Chinese educated principles. In response to this gathering, more than 50,000 students adopted a students' strike.¹⁴²

From October 27 to November 4, the racial conflict began. The police arrested 63 people in 28th, including the chairman of *Dongjiaozong*, Sim Mowyu, and his son¹⁴³.

¹⁴² Chen Hurng Yu, *A History of Malaysia* (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research Lan Tai Publishing Co., 2012), p.440.

¹⁴³ Sim Mowyu had been kept under surveillance after he elected the chairman of *Jiaozong* in 1966. See more: Ang Ming Chee, *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), p.60.

The police also ceased publication toward *The Star*, *Sunday Star*, *Watan*, and *Sin Chew Daily*. This massive arrested action was also called the Operation Lalang, Weeding Operation, or Ops Lalang.¹⁴⁴ Operation Lalang was stemmed from government incorrect decision on sending non-Chinese educated principles, this incident caused the establishment of SUARAM. SUARAM is the first human rights Non-governmental organization in Malaysia. Not only that, Operation Lalang can also tell that how Malaysia Chinese community value the Chinese education.



¹⁴⁴ 南洋星洲聯合早報（新加坡），1987年10月25日，頁15。

2.6: Conclusion

This Chapter examine the Malaysia history context from 1760s, from the time that British government colonized Malaya until the Operation Lalang in 1987. (See Graph 2-3) The chapter mostly examined the history of Malaysia and its Chinese education. The cause and effect of the Malay Chinese Education affect the students go aboard for the higher degree, this chapter aimed to discover what “Push” the Malaysia students out of the country. Two major points were identified:

1. **Racial Conflict:** The major challenge of Chinese education is mostly regarded to Malaysia racial problem. This can seek back to the colonial period during the British era, during the colony period, the British government implemented the Divide-and-Rule policy. This policy separated the three races on the peninsula, the Malay, the Chinese, and the Indians. It eliminated all early chances for these three races to get along, causing a longer period of mutual unknown. Under this policy, encouraged by officials in the tin-mining industry, the Chinese were given better opportunities to create a better economic standard for themselves. After independence, although the Chinese held the economic power, the Malay maintained the political control. This control enabled the Malay to develop a deeper ethnic consciousness. After the riots of May 13, the NEP was established. The Malaysian government created a policy that is far more favorable toward the Malay. A good example of this is the “Kuota System”, a policy which is unfair toward ethnic Chinese Malaysia students, and thus a policy that has been indirectly responsible for the “Push”. Throughout Malaysian history the British colonization,

the Second World War, religion, and communism issues have all been elements with deep connections to racial conflict. Chinese education issues are also a part of these elements.

The “Iron-will” of Malaysia Chinese: Chinese has an identity that will never forgot their roots. Russia’s Educator Konstantin Ushinsky once state, “Language can not only be expressed as a nation’s vitality, but it is also an identity. If a nation loses their language, it is the end of this race.” The immigration of Chines brought the Chinese culture and system all the way to Malaya Peninsula. However, the authority in order to build a Malay identity country, the Chinese education development was suppressed before and after the independent. For a long time, Malaysia Chinese has been marginalized. They are not the local born and bred *Bumiputera*, nor powerful colony government. Their language and culture are totally not the same contrast to Malay or Indian. Indirectly, together with the Chinese education situation, this “Iron-will” mentality has added to the “Push” of students leaving the country for higher education.

Year	Special Incident
1760	Industrial Revolution
1786	Penang becomes the first British colony on the Malay Peninsula
1794	Chinese in Penang is around three thousand
1815	The first Chinese education institution, <i>Si Shu</i> , in Malacca
1819	“Wu Fu Shu Yuan”
1826	Straits Settlements
1871	The number of Chinese in Penang, Malacca, and Singapore increase to 104,615
1874	Unfederated Malay States
1895	Federated Malay States
1896	Divide-and-Rule Policy
1901	Chinese students going to Chinese school is over 2,000
1941	Japanese occupation
1946	Malayan Union
1948	Federation of Malaya, also The Malaysian Emergency (1948-1960)
1951	<i>Barnes Reports</i> , and <i>Fenn-Wu Report</i>
1951	<i>Jiaozong</i>
1954	<i>Dongzong</i>
1956	<i>Razak Reports</i>
1957	Federation of Malaya
1959	Singapore join the Federation of Malaya
1960	Rabman Talib Report
1963	Federation of Malaysia
1965	Independence of Singapore
1967	National Language Bill
1969	May 13 Riots
1971	New Economic Policy
1972	Malaysia and Indonesia standardize the Malay language into one system
1987	Operation Lalang

(Graph 2-3)

Chapter Three: Taiwan (R.O.C) Government Policy toward Malaysian Chinese Student

The connection with Malaysia can seek back to 1911, when the Republic of China was established. One of the fundamentals of building this country was with the support of Overseas Chinese in Malay Peninsula and Singapore. But, along with the civil war and the establish of the People's Republic of China, Malaysian Chinese broke into two different identities, the Malayan Communist Party and Malaysian Chinese Association. After the independence of Federation of Malaya, it did not have any foreign relations with either the R.O.C or the P.R.C government. It waited until 1974, when Malaysia established diplomatic relations with the P.R.C. However, during the period of the racial conflicts in Malaysia, both the cross-strait did not get involved. The major connection between Taiwan and Malaysia is the Malaysian Chinese students studying in Taiwan. Actually, the major work for Taipei Economic and Culture Office in Malaysia is to help Malaysia Chinese students to study in Taiwan.¹⁴⁵ Since 1998, Taiwan investment in Malaysia has had a significant reduction. Due to the reason of the rise of China. Most of the Taiwanese businessman, *Taishang*(臺商), shifted their investment toward China. During the Asia finial crisis, the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim, visited Taiwan seeking for financial support, however Taiwan hoped to receive the promotion of political relationship from Malaysia, therefore both sides did not have any relations afterward.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ 顧長永，〈《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009），頁 221~225。

¹⁴⁶ 顧長永，〈《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》〉（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009），頁 236~238。

The previous chapter illustrated the “Push” effect of how the Malaysia Chinese education “Push” Malaysians Chinese students out from their own country. This chapter is going to examine what are the “Pull” factors. This chapter will be separate into three different sections. The first section will be the historical background of the Overseas Chinese. This section will explain the meaning of Overseas Chinese, and its historical background, offering the readers a basic context of Overseas Chinese. This section will also introduce the distribution of Overseas Chinese worldwide based on the data by Republic of China’s Overseas Community Affairs Council. The second section is mostly about the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, examining how the Chinese from mainland immigrated to Southeast Asia, and how the former dynasty government communicated with Southeast Asia’s countries. This section will illustrate how Southeast Asia Chinese contributed to the revolution and the anti-Japanese war. The third section will discuss the Overseas Chinese education. From these Overseas Chinese contexts we can discover the biggest “Pull” factor that attracts Malaysian Chinese students.

3.1: The Context of the Overseas Chinese

Traditionally, Chinese maintain a strong concept of respect to their ancestors and showing devotion to their parents piety is the foundation of all virtues. The biggest insult to a Chinese is to forget his or her own origins and to be ignorant of the history of his or her own country. This concept has tied with Chinese for more than three thousand years. The historical context of Overseas Chinese can be seek back to a long

time ago,¹⁴⁷ No matter where Chinese move, they will always miss their hometown. This is one of the reasons of how Overseas Chinese developed.

3.1-1: The Definition of Overseas Chinese

Overseas Chinese is large-scale of meaning, and which is very difficult to explain. In order to make it easier, this chapter will embrace the Chinese Nationalism and Republic of China, and temporarily abandoning the Taiwanization. Chinese is an extensive and profound language, with each character has various of meanings, one traditionally recognized component, and even some with more than one pronunciation. In this manner, to make a deeper explanation, the definition should start from the meaning in Chinese characters. The pronunciation of Overseas Chinese is “*Hua Qiao*”. The first character “*Hua*”(華), carries the meaning of Chinese; the second character, “*Qiao*”(僑), means to live abroad.¹⁴⁸

The earliest migration of Chinese can be seek all the way back to the Shang(商朝) and Zhou(周朝) Dynasty between 1600 B.C. to 256 B.C. The numbers increased after the Qin(秦朝) and Han(漢朝) Dynasty. Due to the inconvenience of communicating, these Chinese only migrated to Xiyu(西域), the western regions of China. During the Tang (唐朝) and Song Dynasty(宋朝) from 618-1279, and the development of transportation by sea, the Overseas Chinese started to spread. However, there was no

¹⁴⁷ 高信，〈《中華民國之華僑與僑務》〉（臺北：正中書局，1989年），頁12。

¹⁴⁸ Chinese Encyclopedia, 〈華僑〉 < <http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=7870> >

specific appellation for these immigrants.¹⁴⁹ In the late Qing Dynasty period, the weakness of itself and the internal instability caused a huge number of migrations to go worldwide, these Chinese migrates were called by other Great Powers as “Chinamen”. The first mention of “*Hua Qiao*” was in 1878 by a Qing Dynasty’s ambassador, *Chen Lanbin*(陳蘭彬).¹⁵⁰ The first time using this word, Overseas Chinese, can be seek back to 1898, when the establishment of the first Overseas Chinese school in Yokohama.¹⁵¹ The wide spread point is when the revolutionaries in the late Qing Dynasty.¹⁵² The Overseas Chinese played an important role and contributed a lot to the Xinhai Revolution(辛亥革命).¹⁵³ Dr. Sun, Yat-Sen once stated, “*The Overseas Chinese are the mother of the Revolution.*” Sun, Yat-Sen was known as his extraordinary speech talent, so encouraged many wealthy Oversea Chinese supporting the Revolution. These Overseas Chinese came from different countries, such as United States, Japan, Philippine, Vietnam, Burma, Europe, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaya.¹⁵⁴ The contribution of Overseas Chinese was not only confined to financial aid, but also to different aspects, such as propaganda, recruitment, look after to the fugitives, and distribution of newspaper. The Overseas Chinese supported the revolution by material strength and the essence of spirit¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ More details see: 李樸生, 《華僑發展簡史》(密西根州: 海外文庫, 1962), 頁 1-3。

¹⁵⁰ 陳樹強, 《三民主義僑務政策之實踐與評估》(臺北: 龍華文教基金會, 1994 年), 頁 20。

¹⁵¹ 楊建成, 《華僑史》(臺北: 中華學術院南洋研究所, 1985 年), 頁 3。

¹⁵² 莊永敬, 《華僑開國革命史料》(臺北: 正中書局, 1977 年), 頁 252。

¹⁵³ 李樸生, 《華僑發展簡史》(臺北: 龍華文教基金會, 1994 年), 頁 33。

¹⁵⁴ 李為麟, 《華僑革命史》(臺北市, 正中書局, 1988 年), 頁 73-82。

¹⁵⁵ 楊建成, 《華僑史》(臺北: 中華學術院南洋研究所, 1985 年), 頁 3。

There is many meanings for Overseas Chinese, thereafter will be illustrated at full length. According to *Qiu, Han Ping*(丘漢平), Overseas Chinese only included Chinese who live abroad but did not forfeit their nationality.¹⁵⁶ Qiu's explanation mostly agrees with another scholar, *Wu, Zhu Hui*(吳主惠). Wu indicated four necessary conditions: (1) Chinese who have moved overseas. (2) Still maintain a connection with the home country's current law. (3) A connection with the home country's current economics. (4) The currents Overseas' Chinese society is still linked with the home country.¹⁵⁷ Wu's definition integrated the aspects of practical and a certain degree of legal principle. *Liu, Shi Mu*(劉士木) and *Xu, Zhi Gui*(徐之圭), however focused on blood relationship and descent. Liu and Xu identified the Overseas Chinese as, "*The Chinese who moved to foreign territories and his or her descendants who still live in the foreign territory.*"¹⁵⁸ The former Overseas Community Affairs Council advisor *Qiu, Zheng Ou*(丘正歐), offered a much more extensive definition: men and women with Chinese origin who settle in foreign territories for job and life, but maintain Chinese consciousness, considerable connection with Chinese culture, politics, law, economy and society.¹⁵⁹

If we synthesize the definition above, we can discover that the concept of Overseas Chinese is mainly concentrated on nationality, culture, and blood relationship. We can also realize that Overseas Chinese is not a simple concept; it has to be redefined.

¹⁵⁶ 邱漢平，〈華僑問題〉（長沙市：商務印書局，1939年），頁4，〈臺灣華文電子書庫〉，<<http://taiwanebook.ncl.edu.tw/en/book/NCL-004759408/reader>>。

¹⁵⁷ 吳主惠著，蔡茂豐譯，〈華僑的本質分析〉（臺北：黎明文化事業公司），頁10-12。

¹⁵⁸ 劉士木與徐之圭，〈華僑概觀〉（上海市，中華書局，1935年），頁9。

¹⁵⁹ 丘正歐，〈華僑問題論集〉（臺北市，中華學術院，1978年），頁188。

Traditionally, the government of the Republic of China always considered all the ethnic Chinese abroad as Overseas Chinese, no matter if these ethnic Chinese still hold the citizenship of R.O.C, or possessed another country nationality.¹⁶⁰ However, according to the Overseas Community Affairs Council the object is to provide to every R.O.C national who resides in a foreign country.

This Act applies to Republic of China ("ROC") nationals who reside in a foreign country, provided that it does not apply to persons with Mainland China, Hong Kong or Macau residency status, or persons holding passports issued by Mainland China region.¹⁶¹

(Overseas Compatriot Identity Certification Act, Article 3)

Therefore, the official identification of an Overseas Chinese is on R.O.C national who resides in a foreign country. In order not to have further confusion, the words for ethnic Chinese, *Hua Ren*(華人), and Chinese descents, *Hua Yi*(華裔) emerged. The Overseas Community Affairs Council identified ethnic Chinese as all Chinese living abroad except Overseas Chinese, and holders of mainland China, Hong Kong or Macau passport. Chinese descents refer to the descents of Chinese born abroad.¹⁶² In 2006, the Overseas Community Affairs Council increased the option of Overseas Taiwanese(臺灣僑民).¹⁶³ The Overseas Taiwanese refer to all citizens born in Taiwan, including Peng-Hu, Jinmen and Ma-Tsu, who have moved to foreign countries, and

¹⁶⁰ 陳樹強，〈三民主義僑務政策之實踐與評估〉（臺北：龍華文教基金會，1994年），頁20。

¹⁶¹ Overseas Community Affairs Council, *Overseas Compatriot Identity Certification Act*, 2015, <<http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=E0040019>>

¹⁶² 僑委會，〈89年僑務統計年報〉，2000年，頁6。

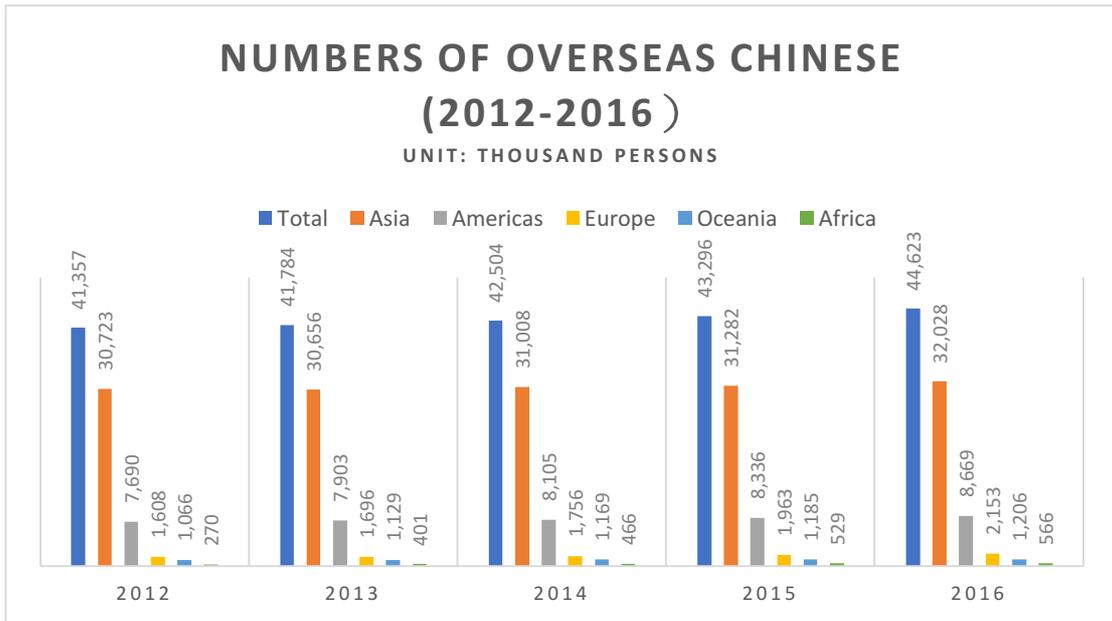
¹⁶³ 僑委會，〈95年僑務統計年報〉，2006年，頁10。

their descendants. Through a different political party, Democratic Progressive Party(DPP), ruling Taiwan in 2000, the word Overseas Chinese has been shifted into Overseas ethnic Chinese, and so with the increase in Overseas Taiwanese already blurred the identification of Overseas Chinese even more.

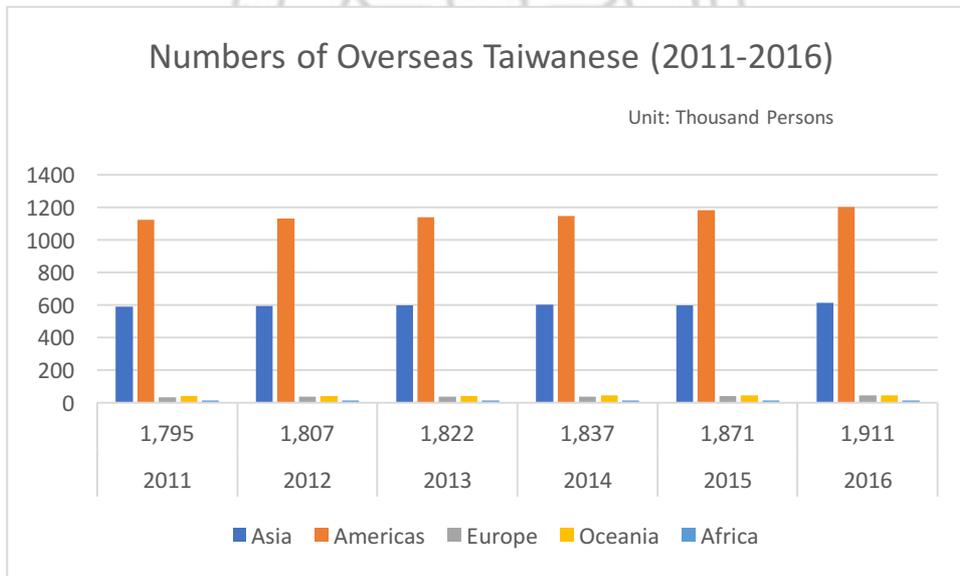
3.1-2: The Population Distribution of Overseas Chinese

In 2016, the estimated number of Overseas Chinese worldwide was 41.62 million. The number of Overseas Taiwanese stood as 1.91 million. Asia has the greatest population of both Overseas Chinese and Overseas Taiwanese, with 613,000 (71.8 percent) and 30,723 (32 percent) accordingly (See Graph 3-1 and Graph 3-2), this includes Indonesia with 9.05 million, Thailand with 7.01 million, Malaysia with 6.04 million), and Singapore with 2.92 million. There are about 8.67 million Overseas Chinese in the Americas, accounting for 19.4 percent. This is the most outside of Asia. The United States is home to 4.99 million and Canada has 1.58 million. The estimated figure of in Europe is 2.15 million, or for 4.8 percent of the worldwide Overseas Chinese population. (See Graph 3-3)¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Overseas Community Affairs Council, 2016 Statistical Yearbook of the Overseas Community Affairs Council, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2016, p.5.



(Graph 3-1)¹⁶⁵



(Graph 3-2)¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Overseas Community Affairs Council, Number of Overseas Chinese, 2016, <
<http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/Eng/Pages/VDetail.aspx?nodeid=323&pid=336264> >

¹⁶⁶ Overseas Community Affairs Council, Number of Overseas Taiwanese, 2016, <
<http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/Eng/Pages/VDetail.aspx?nodeid=323&pid=336264> >

Ranking and Numbers of Overseas Chinese in vital countries (2014-2016)

Unit: Ten Thousand Persons

	Asia				Americas		Europe		Oceania		Africa	
	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia	Singapore	USA	Canada	France	UK	Australia	New Zealand	South Africa	Nigeria
2016	905	701	664	292	499	158	68	53	97	18	30	4
2015	848	700	664	290	474	160	62	60	96	17	30	3
2014	836	700	658	287	455	158	50	46	95	17	25	3

(Graph 3-3)¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Overseas Community Affairs Council, *2014, 2015, and 2016 Statistical Yearbook of the Overseas Community Affairs Council, Republic of China (Taiwan)*, (2014, 2015, and 2016), p. 10-11, 10-11, and 10.

2016 Overseas Chinese students in Taiwan								
United: 1 Person								
Semester	Total	Public University	National Defense Medical Center	Division of Preparatory for Overseas Chinese	Junior College	Junior High School	Vocational School	Elementary School
2012	16,472	14,214	74	1,141	55	516	134	338
2013	18,068	15,866	80	1,123	66	505	115	313
2014	21,437	18,741	81	1,248	64	918	115	385
2015	24,649	21,782	88	990	58	1,131	115	400
2016	26,973	23,618	98	850	60	1,760	232	355

(Graph 3-4)

The numbers of Overseas Taiwanese that exist are slightly different than Overseas Chinese. Differing from Overseas Chinese that most are in Asia, Overseas Taiwanese are mostly located in the Americas, accounting for 62.9 percent, which is the most population among other continents. The United States ranked number one, accounting for 80.2 percent. Indonesia ranked number followed by Thailand, and Japan. Indonesia

also leads other Southeast Asia countries for the number of Overseas Chinese. (See Graph 3-5)¹⁶⁸

Since 2000, when Taiwan experienced the first political party alternation, the policy of Overseas Chinese has shifted to a direction different than before. Before 2000, the government usually manipulated the “Chinese Nationalism” to consider Overseas Chinese, however, the ideological of China is gliding with the ideology of Taiwanization and *Tian-Ran-Du*(天然獨)¹⁶⁹. More and more people taking off the identity of being a Chinese, consequently the contradiction of Overseas Chinese exists.

Ranking and Numbers of Overseas Taiwan in vital countries (2014-2016)											
Unit: Thousand Persons											
	Americas			Asia			Oceania		Europe		Africa
	USA	Canada	Brazil	Indonesia	Thailand	Japan	Australia	New Zealand	France	UK	South Africa
2014	95	9.6	7.2	20.9	14.3	6.1	3.2	1	1.2	0.7	1
2015	95.7	12.3	7.2	20.1	14.4	6.3*	3.3	1	1.2	0.7	0.9
2016	96.4	17.3	3.8	20.1	14.5	6.3	3.4	0.9	1.2	0.8	0.9

*The ranking of Overseas Taiwanese in Japan tied with Vietnam in 2015, and in 2016

Vietnam become the third largest Overseas Taiwanese in Asia.

(Graph 3-5)

¹⁶⁸ Overseas Community Affairs Council, 2014,2015, and 2016 Statistical Yearbook of the Overseas Community Affairs Council, Republic of China(Taiwan), (2014,2015, and 2016), p. 11, 11, and 11.

¹⁶⁹ Taiwan political technical term and an advocate, meaning the generation that born after the 1980 mostly identify themselves not Chinese anymore, as Taiwanese. Contrast to the Taiwanese before which considered themselves Chinese. The author is also born in the generation of *Tian-Ran-Du*.

3.2: The Overseas Chinese in the Southeast Asia

The majority of Overseas Chinese are in Southeast Asia more than half of the total number worldwide, accounting for 71.8 percent, most of them are in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore, a total of 23.45 million people. A certain percentage account of these Chinese have already become citizens in these Southeast Asia countries. a Malaysia, according to the Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal, the population of Malaysia in 2017 was around 32 million, the ethnic Chinese group accounting for 23.3 percent.¹⁷⁰ Southeast Asia is located next to mainland China, Southeast Asia was no doubt the first area for Chinese to migrated to. However, due to the underdevelopment of sea transportation, the first immigrants waited until to the Han Dynasty,¹⁷¹ and the first Chinese migration was believed in Song Dynasty.¹⁷² With the trend of globalization on market that brought by the European countries, the migration has begun worldwide. In the beginning of the 17th century, the Chinese resided near the major coast areas. The population of Chinese in Southeast Asia was around one hundred thousand. These Chinese still resided in the coast areas, relying on the transporting the crop cultivation and the mining industry. In addition they tried to develop the uncultivated inland. In the 19th century, Kalimantan in Indonesia, Tonkin in Vietnam, and on the Malay Peninsula could easily find the footprint of hardworking Chinese. During this period the Chinese in Southeast Asia had increased to 1.5 million.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal, *Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2016-2017*, Release Date: Friday 14, July 2017 1200, <https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemedByCat&cat=155&bul_id=a1d1UTFZazd5ajJiRWFHNDduOXFFQT09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVSZkIWdzQ4TlhUUT09>

¹⁷¹ 李樸生，〈《華僑發展簡史》〉（臺北：龍華文教基金會，1994年），頁1。

¹⁷² Wang Gungwu, *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese*, trans. Chong Yit Sun (Taipei: Buffalo Book CO. LTD., 1969), p. 14.

¹⁷³ 莊國土，〈論東南亞華族及其族群認同的演變〉，張啟雄主編，〈時代變局與海外華人的族國認同〉（臺北：中華民國海外華人研究學會，2011年），頁23。

3.2-1: The Early Ages

Regarding the Overseas Chinese in Malaya history, the first attachment of literature records was in 1349 when a Chinese businessman sailed through the *Tumasik* (Now Singapore). In the 15th century, the first official connection occurred, the Kingdom of Malacca and Ming Dynasty. Later in 1415, the famous Chinese explorer, and diplomat, *Zeng He*(鄭和) visited the Kingdom of Malacca, and built up a good relationship. However during that period, there were no signs of permanent Chinese residents. The first Chinese society did not appear until 1459, however the size and population is untraceable. The earliest period traceable population was in 1641, when the Dutch conquered the Malacca. Chinese numbered only three to four hundred. The increase of migration began in 1786, lead by the one of the British East India Company captain, Francis Light, with the captured of Penang Island. Francis Light lived on the Penang Island for eight years. He passed away on the island in October of 1794. His last report to the company stated that there were more than three thousand Chinese, engaged on carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, merchants, and peasantry. These Chinese were the well-known *XinKe*.¹⁷⁴ Malacca became not as important, after the established of Penang Island. The Chinese in Malacca decreased from 2,161 to 1006 from 1750 to 1817.¹⁷⁵

In 1842, the Qing Dynasty signed the Treaty of Nanjing, revealing the incompetent of the Qing Dynasty. With the simultaneously outbreak of Taiping Revolution, a lot of

¹⁷⁴ 郭湘章，〈東南亞之華僑〉（臺北：正中書局，1967年），頁423-439。

¹⁷⁵ Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya*, London: Oxford University Press, 1948. pp. 61-66.

Chinese fled to Southeast Asia for safety.¹⁷⁶ They migrated toward Southeast Asia did not stop after the Qing Dynasty defeated the Taiping regime in 1864. Many members of Taiping escaped to Southeast Asia. During that period, the number of Chinese moved to Malaya was more than two thousand. At the end of the 19th century, Tin was discovered in the Malay peninsula, and to most of the Chinese tin was similar to gold. With the encouragement of British government, more than one hundred thousand Chinese crowded into the Malay Peninsula.¹⁷⁷

These Overseas Chinese were the pioneers in the early ages. These migrated have mostly happened in the Ming and Qing Dynasty. Neither Both Dynasty valued the foreigner, although Ming supported the *Zeng He's* sailing to Southeast Asia, it was not well planned, and was basically an unexpected event for internal conflict. The Ming Dynasty even practiced the sea ban; the Qing Dynasty carried with this policy after they controlled China. The policy of sea ban did not end until the later period of the Qing Dynasty, due to the pressure from other Great Powers. In a small conclusion for this part, neither Dynasties cared about the affairs of Overseas Chines. The Qing Dynasty even considered these people as outsiders and uncultured peoples.

3.2-2: The Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese and the Revolution

The famous statement by Sun, Yat-Sen, "*The Overseas Chinese are the mother of the Revolution.*" These Overseas Chinese comprised the Overseas Chinese worldwide, however those on Southeast Asia play an important role in the revolution. Economically,

¹⁷⁶ 華僑志編纂委員會合著，《馬來亞華僑志》（臺北：華僑志編纂委員會合著，1959年），頁102。

¹⁷⁷ 楊慶南，《馬來西亞、汶萊華僑概況》（臺北：正中書局，1989年），頁41。

the amount of funding that Overseas Chinese in Malay Peninsula and Indonesia donated was around eighty thousand US dollars during the Guangzhou Uprising.¹⁷⁸ Politically, “the blue sky, white sun, and a wholly red earth flag”, designed by *Lu Haodong*(陸皓東) who was also the first victim of the revolution, was first raised in Singapore, Southeast Asia. At the beginning of the revolution, the Singapore Overseas Chinese raised funds for sending people who volunteered to fight for the revolution. The Overseas Chinese in Indonesia also strongly supported the revolution, with more than three thousand people returning to China in the first two months after the uprising.¹⁷⁹ Southeast Asia was also the stronghold for the *Tongmenghui*(同盟會), it could be find everywhere. The first *Tongmenghui* established in Singapore was in late 1905. One year later, Malaya had established *Tongmenghui* in different areas.¹⁸⁰ In later stages of the revolution, the Overseas Chinese in Malay Peninsula and Indonesia all enthusiastic to raise funds, and contributed the most worldwide.¹⁸¹

Why did these Overseas Chinese wanted to joined the revolution? First, there was resentment toward the Qing Dynasty. The weakness of the Qing Dynasty directly influenced their treatment, and the Qing Dynasty considered these Overseas Chinese as outsiders, never trying to protect them. In essence, most of the Overseas Chinese were the Han people, different to the Qing Dynasty’s imperial family. Second, the Overseas Chinese expected reform. Southeast Asia was ruled by Western modern countries, and

¹⁷⁸ 梁子衡，《華僑政治生活》（臺北，華僑協會總會，1997年），頁62。

¹⁷⁹ 劉士木與徐之圭，《華僑概觀》（上海市，中華書局，1935年），頁73。

¹⁸⁰ The *Tongmenghui* in Malaya located respectively in Penang, Malacca, Kuala Lumpur, Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negeri Sembilan. See More: 李為麟，《華僑革命史》（臺北市，正中書局，1988年），頁59。

¹⁸¹ 李為麟，《華僑革命史》（臺北市，正中書局，1988年），頁74-76。

these countries implement a better way on materially and institutionally. Third, most of the revolution members were from the south of China, and most of these Overseas Chinese were from the south. This connection of coming from the same place,¹⁸² made these Overseas Chinese proud, hoping a successful revolution could improve their hometown.¹⁸³ The revolution not only turned China into a modern country, but also benefited the Malaysia Chinese education. Before the success of the revolution, Sun, Yat-sen and some of the famous revolution “Giants”, such as *Huang Xing*(黃興), *Hu Han-min*(胡漢民), and *Wang Jin-wei*(汪精衛), also traveled to Southeast Asia. The Xinhai Revolution was a process of a re-identification of its own culture and history. It brought the positive effect toward the Malaysia Chinese education.¹⁸⁴

3.2-3: Overseas Chinese Affairs in Southeast Asia

The Overseas Chinese affairs can be divided into four different periods. The “Germination Period” from 1840-1911, the “Develop Period” from 1911-1949, the “Mature Period” from 1950-1984, and the “Recent Period” from 1984 to nowadays. During the germination period, the Qing Dynasty basically did nothing. The incidents of Chinese workers been carried away by tricky, and crucified by western human traffickers was emerging in an endless stream. The first official Overseas Chinese affairs began after the establishment of the Republic of China.

¹⁸² Most of the Overseas Chinese in Malaya were came from Fujian and Guangdong. See More: 楊建成, 《英屬馬來亞華僑》(臺北:中華學術院南洋研究所, 1986年), 頁 9-10。

¹⁸³ 楊建成, 《華僑史》(臺北:中華學術院南洋研究所, 1985年), 頁 121。

¹⁸⁴ 鄭良樹, 《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》(第一分冊)(吉隆坡:馬來西亞華校教師總會, 1998年), 頁 115-132。

Sun, Yat-sen immediately instituted measurements to protect the Chinese worker after he became the Provisional President in 1911.¹⁸⁵ In 1923, the Bureau of Overseas Chinese was established.¹⁸⁶ The first order of the established Bureau of Overseas Chinese regard to the Overseas Chinese affairs indicated the difficult situation, and the need of protection by the new government toward Overseas Chinese. This also showed how Sun, Yat-sen valued the Overseas Chinese. From 1923 to 1949, the affairs of Overseas Chinese improved gradually, however, during that period, the KMT represented the people to exercise the political power, so the policy from the government mostly came from KMT.¹⁸⁷ In 1926, the Bureau of Overseas Chinese who reformed into the Overseas Chinese Affairs Council and listed the three-political program:

- I. Try to provide equal treatment for Overseas Chinese in their residence.
- II. Offer an easier way on education for Overseas Chinese students.
- III. A Special requirement is provided to these Overseas Chinese returning for business.¹⁸⁸

In 1930, the Southeast Asia was suffering the Great Depression, the R.O.C government organized a committee to help Overseas Chinese, by giving money support, open a specific area for Overseas Chinese to returned, and make job searching plan for

¹⁸⁵ 中山學術資料庫，〈國父全集〉（第六冊），（臺北：中國國民黨文傳會黨史館），頁69。

< <http://sunology.culture.tw/cgi-bin/g32/gweb.cgi/ccd=YzJZ5./grapheviewer1?dbid=CF777777784&initpage=99>>

¹⁸⁶ 中山學術資料庫，〈國父全集〉（第八冊），（臺北：中國國民黨文傳會黨史館），頁621。

< <http://sunology.culture.tw/cgi-bin/g32/gweb.cgi/ccd=06Cp6Q/grapheviewer1?dbid=CF777777782&initpage=99>>

¹⁸⁷ 楊建成，〈中國國民黨與華僑文獻初編〉，（臺北市：南洋研究所，1984年），

¹⁸⁸ 高信，〈八十自選集. 續集〉，（臺北市：臺灣商務印書館，1990年），97頁。

returning Overseas Chinese.¹⁸⁹ All the KMT government measurements toward Overseas Chinese, at certain instance, was broad and specific. Unfortunately, it did not sustain long, due to the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.¹⁹⁰

The Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, at a certain instance, lead the Overseas Chinese affairs into a different aspect. It focused on mobilizing the manual power and material resources for the war, and encouraged the Overseas Chinese to donate money, invested in mainland China, organized Overseas Chinese groups, enhance the anti-Japanese war's propaganda, conducted Overseas Chinese return back to China, and promoted national diplomacy. On December 1941, the Pacific War began, the trend of invasion from Japan pointed to Southeast Asia. The president of R.O.C immediately published a statement, hoping the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia can support these friendly soils.¹⁹¹ However, the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia led by *Tan Kah Kee* (陳嘉庚)¹⁹², already organized fund raising after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937. The Overseas Chinese in Malaya supported the R.O.C government even more. More than twenty organization was established in different

¹⁸⁹ 僑委會華僑通訊社編，《中華民國僑務發展歷程》，（臺北市：僑委會華僑通訊社編，1990年），40頁。

¹⁹⁰ There are eight measurements of KMT government in February, 1937. (1). Advance the Overseas Chinese education. (2). Promote sports activities. (3). Pay an attention to Overseas Chinese living. (4). Investigated the Overseas Chinese organization worldwide. (5). Design and implantation Literate Movement, National Products Movement, New Life Movement. (6). Propagated the achievements of the R.O.C government career. (7). Obtain the contact to Overseas Chinese worldwide. (8). Implement various education movement. See More: 華僑志編纂委員會合著，《華僑志總志》（臺北：華僑志編纂委員會，1964年），頁647。

¹⁹¹ 夏誠華，《民國以來的僑務與僑教研究》（臺北：玄奘大學海外華人研究中心，2005年），頁43-44。

¹⁹² Tan Kah Kee (1874-1961), a successful entrepreneur in Southeast Asia. Support Sun, Yat-sen's idea of overthrown the Qing Dynasty. During the anti-Japanese war, he was the leader in Southeast Asia to support the KMT government, most of the movement in Southeast Asia, however, after the war, he changed his political identities to the PRC. Pass away in 1961 in Beijing. See More: Lim How Seng, "Tan Kah Kee: Life of an Exemplary Huaqiao Leader," Chooi-Kwa Lim, ed., *The Entrepreneurial Elites in Malaysia Chinese History* (Taipei: Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, 2001), pp. 1-40.

Malaya Peninsula areas. These Overseas Chinese organizations contributed almost one hundred and seven million US dollars, and the number of people who went back to China for battles were around three thousand.¹⁹³ The Malaya Overseas Chinese also appealed the boycott toward Japanese products, this movement stroked the Japanese Malaya market.¹⁹⁴ During the invasion from Japanese toward the mainland China, the Overseas Chinese in Malaya and Singapore all responded to the R.O.C government appeal. Some donated money for military supplies and equipment, some donated their life by returning to the China's battlefield, thus can discover the massive contribution by the Malaya Overseas Chinese.

The mature period between 1950 to 1984 was the period that KMT government retreated to Taiwan, which can be the new page for Overseas Chinese affairs. In this period, when R.O.C government lost their stage on the international affairs, the Overseas affairs faced the challenge from the People's Republic of China, and the trend of independence of Southeast Asia. The goal for the Overseas Chinese affairs in 1964 was on Overseas Chinese's economic, education, united the Overseas Chinese in different countries, and develop their potential, in order to resume the mainland China.¹⁹⁵ The goals, policies, and measurements for Overseas Chinese had a sufficient success, such as the Overseas Chinese organizations, the return of Overseas Chinese, Overseas Chinese education, and Overseas Chinese returning to study for higher education.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ 陳直夫，《華僑與中國國民革命運動》（臺北：香港時報，1981年），頁175-178。

¹⁹⁴ The Japan market lost around ten million per month, due to the boycott. See More: 華僑志編纂委員會合著，《馬來亞華僑志》（臺北：華僑志編纂委員會合著，1959年），頁268。

¹⁹⁵ 僑務委員會編，《高信委員長言論選輯》（臺北市：編者印行，1964年），頁16。

¹⁹⁶ The overseas affairs guidance, (1). encourage Overseas Chinese to advocate liberalism, (2). Counsel the Overseas Chinese to study the local law, to obtain their rights. (3). Increase the economic

From 1984 to 1994, it was the golden era for Overseas Chinese to invested in Southeast Asia. The Overseas Chinese invested in Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. In the pace with capital, and number of overseas family members proceed to Southeast Asia, the overseas affairs aimed to protect their rights, looked after their children education, and counseled their social intercourse.¹⁹⁷

3.3: The Overseas Chinese Education

After 1949, the R.O.C government retreated to Taiwan, some young people in Hong Kong and Macao went to mainland China for higher education. This not only threatened the R.O.C government but also terrified the United States.¹⁹⁸ The United States worried that this trend would influenced the whole Southeast Asia turning “Red”. The R.O.C government immediately draw up the Overseas Chinese education measurements, and implemented it in 1962. However, due to the reasons of tension situation of the cross-straits, the number of Overseas Chinese coming to Taiwan were only 36 students. In order to improve the Overseas Chinese education, the government strengthen the standard of universities in Taiwan, and with the aid form the United States, all the universities can be subsidized ten thousand Taiwan dollars for recruiting Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese students. During that period of time, ten thousand Taiwan dollars equated to nowadays ten thousand US dollars. The cultivated of these

connection between the Overseas Chinese and the government. (4) Support the Overseas Chinese education, cultivate the youngster on Chinese and Chinese culture. See More: 僑務委員會編，《僑務五十年》（臺北市：編者印行，1982年），頁556。

¹⁹⁷ 陳樹強，《三民主義僑務政策之實踐與評估》（臺北：龍華文教基金會，1994年），頁20。

¹⁹⁸ In 1950, Richard Nixon, who was the vice president of the United States, visited the Southeast Asia and Taiwan. He discovered the potential threat of the Communist in Southeast Asia. See More: 高信，《中華民國之華僑與僑務》（臺北：正中書局，1989年），頁64-65。

Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese students gave the R.O.C government a chance to continually connect with Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese Students. In fact, this policy educated many Overseas Chinese, and these students became our best ally in Southeast Asia. For example, these Malaysian Chinese students graduated in Taiwan became member of their parliament, board chairman, or general manager.¹⁹⁹ For United States, its goals for Overseas Chinese student education policy was to stop the Communist trend for Southeast Chinese, and for R.O.C government was aiming to employ the power of Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia to counterattack. Which now becomes the best “Pull” factor to attract Malaysia students to Taiwan.

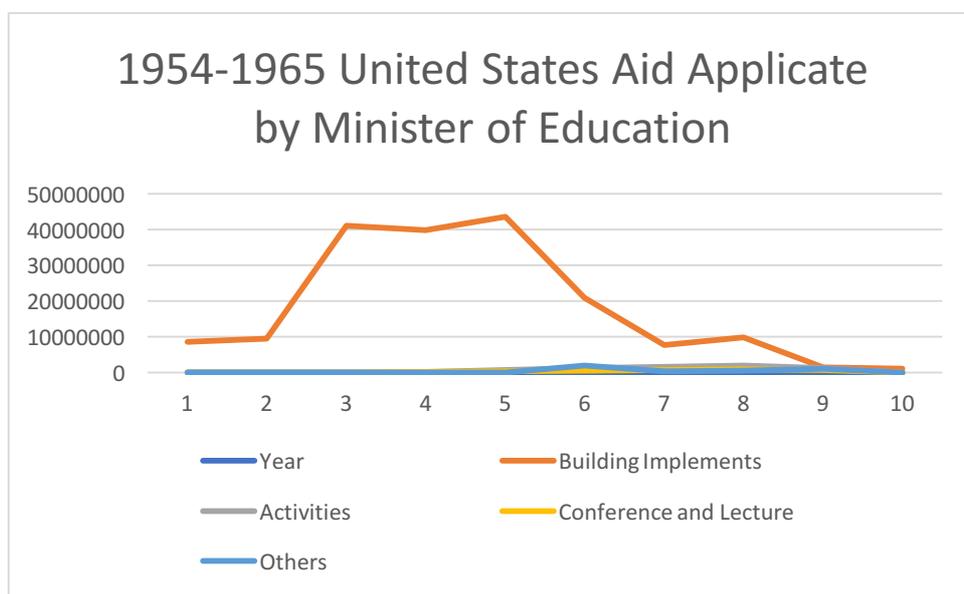
3.3-1: The Improvement of Overseas Chinese Education in Taiwan

From 1949 to 1989, was called “The Improvement of Overseas Chinese Education”, it mainly emphasis on Southeast Asia Overseas Chinese.²⁰⁰ From 1954 to 1965, the Overseas Chinese education was support by the United States. The amount that assisted by the United States for the Overseas Chinese education in this twelve years was more than two hundred million Taiwan dollars. These aids were applicate by Ministry of Education (See Graph 3-6), and Overseas Community Affairs Council (See Graph 3-7), the aid was used on constructing new school primes, increase school

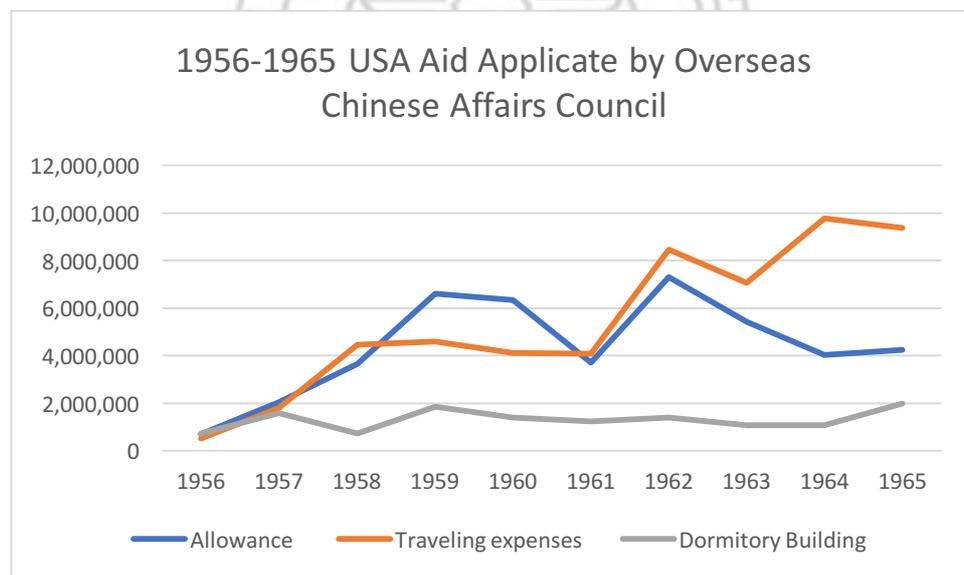
¹⁹⁹ 高信，〈八十自選集. 續集〉，（臺北市：臺灣商務印書館，1990年），223-227頁。

²⁰⁰ “The Improvement of Overseas Chinese Education” comprised (1). The improvement of administration for Overseas Chinese education institute. (2). The revise of Overseas Chinese education regulation. (3). The promulgate of Overseas Chinese school’s courses. (4). Provide textbooks for Overseas Chinese schools. (5). Overseas Chinese school’s teachers training. (6). Give guidance to Overseas Chinese students. (7). Install schools specially collect Overseas Chinese students. (8). Make use of America’s aids to set Overseas Chinese into action. (9). Hold short-term school for Overseas Chinese. (10). Convoke Chinese education conference. (11). Establish the World Chinese Language Association. (12). Send professional Chinese educationist to Overseas Chinese education institutes. See more: 郝漢良，〈華僑教育發展史上冊〉，（臺北：國立編譯館，2001年），383頁。

equipment, and distribution of Overseas Chinese students, plane ticket, and living expenditure.²⁰¹



(Graph 3-6)²⁰²



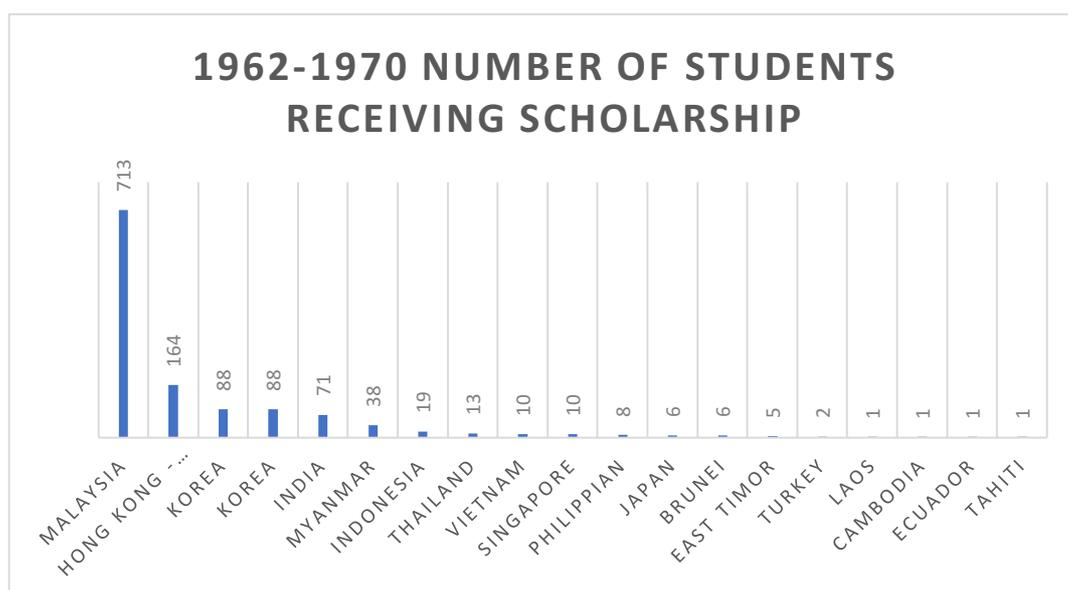
(Graph 3-7)²⁰³

²⁰¹ 郁漢良，《華僑教育發展史上冊》，（臺北：國立編譯館，2001年），482頁。

²⁰² 郁漢良，《華僑教育發展史上冊》，（臺北：國立編譯館，2001年），483頁。

²⁰³ 郁漢良，《華僑教育發展史上冊》，（臺北：國立編譯館，2001年），486-487頁。

The American aids toward the Overseas Chinese students set up a milestone for the R.O.C government, however, the aids suspended in 1962. However, the government still instituted other measurements, such as scholarship to recommend outstanding and grants for poor Overseas Chinese students. From 1962 to 1970, around 713 Malaysia Chinese students received the scholarship from the R.O.C government, which was the highest number compared to others countries. (See Graph 3-8)²⁰⁴



(Graph 3-8)²⁰⁵

3.3-2: The Malaysia Overseas Students in Taiwan

Recently, according to the Ministry of Education, the Oversea Chinese students has been increasing in the past five years and the number of Malaysia Oversea Chinese studying in Taiwan rank number one in 2016. The number of Malaysia students was 7,598 in 2016, which is also the highest number in the past ten years. (See Graph 3-

²⁰⁴ 周陸僑，《僑生回國升學概況》，(臺北：僑委會，1972年)，134頁。

²⁰⁵ 郝漢良，《華僑教育發展史上冊》，(臺北：國立編譯館，2001年)，490-496頁。

11)²⁰⁶ However, where did these Malaysia Overseas Chinese come from and how did these “Malaysia Overseas Chinese” apply for Taiwan universities? More about this diversity (will be discussed in Chapter 4), the author tries the most Malaysia Overseas Students ways, by the University Entrance Committee for Overseas Chinese Students (海外聯合招生委員會). In the website of Universities Entrance Committee for Overseas Chinese Students, they open up a special webpage for Malaysia Chinese students. This webpage taught how to become an “Overseas Chinese”. First, the committee instruct the students to select Overseas Chinese students in the form. The other options in this form are Hong Kong and Macao students and other nationalities. (See Graph 3-9) In the second form is about how long have you been living aboard, the committee make a clear and definite, instructing the Malaysian Chinese students to select eight years.²⁰⁷ Basically, our Overseas Chinese education toward Malaysia Chinese students is different from other countries, Taiwan government allow every Malaysian Chinese student become Overseas Chinese students.

Step 1-3 資格檢視1

海外聯合招生委員會 - 申請資料填報系統

注意！您的密碼尚未驗證，請儘速前往填報密碼驗證頁面。若您未收到驗證信，請按 這裡 重送驗證信。

申請類別：學士班(含優先甄)

身分別：

- 海外僑生：最近連續居留海外(指臺灣地區以外之國家或地區)6年以上，並持有香港或澳門永久性居民身分證書。
- 海外僑生：最近連續居留海外(不含大陸、港澳及臺灣)6年以上，並取得當地永久性居留簽證中之留學學生。
- 港澳海外留學歸國之留學學生：最近連續居留海外，持有香港或澳門永久居留資格，未曾在臺設有戶籍，且最近連續居留香港、澳門或海外6年以上之留學學生。

申請身份別：

- ◎ 臺灣生
- ◎ 海外僑生
- ◎ 港澳海外留學歸國之留學學生

 註：馬來西亞籍同學一律選取「海外僑生」。

是否曾經分發來臺唸書？

- ◎ 是
- ◎ 否

 註1：首次申請來台灣唸書的同學一律答「否」。

²⁰⁶ 中華民國教育部，《僑生及港澳生人數概況統計 94 年到 105 年》，(臺北：教育部，2003~2016)
https://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=829446EED325AD02&s=212B2CF76078EBF4

(See Graph 3-9)

Step 1-3

資格檢視2

海外居留年限

● 報名截止日可至 [官網](#) 查詢

▲ 醫、牙及中醫學系需連續居留僑居地8年以上才可申請

請問自報名截止日往前推算，已在僑居地連續居留多少年？

- 報名時未滿六年
- 報名時未滿六年，但至入學當年度8月31日前滿六年
- 報名時已滿六年，但未滿八年
- 報名時未滿八年，但至入學當年度8月31日前滿八年
- 報名時已滿八年

1.海外居留年限多久

註1：如果您是在馬來西亞土生土長，過去6年/8年都住在馬來西亞，請選「報名時已滿八年」。

在台停留日期

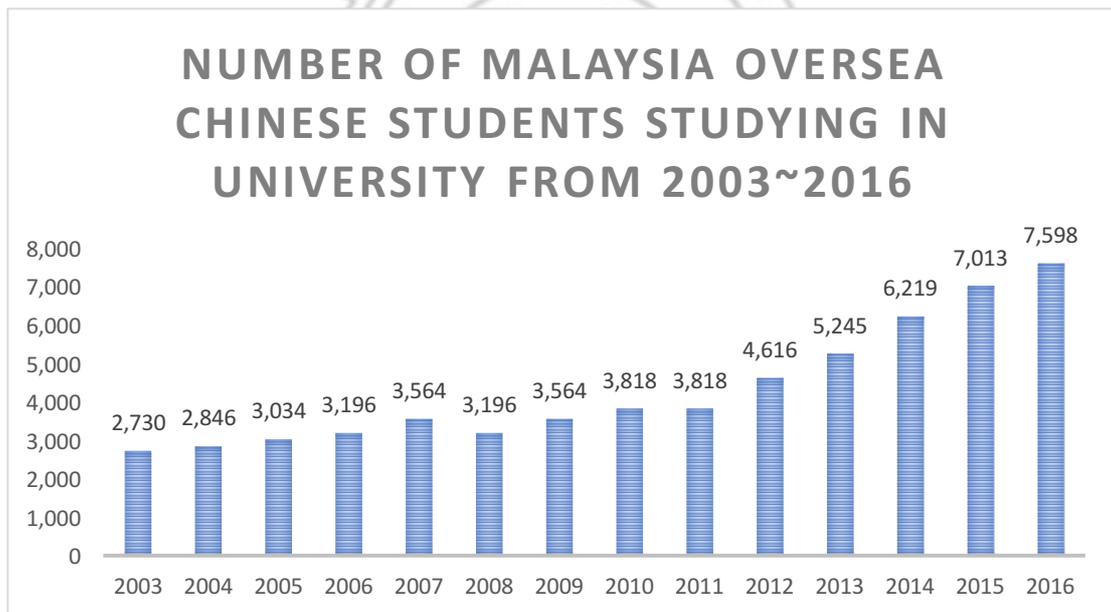
報名截止日往前推算僑居地居留期間內，是否曾在某一年來臺停留超過120天？

● 是 ● 否

2.是否曾經在臺灣停留超過120天



(See Picture 3-10)



(See Graph 3-11)

3.4: Conclusion

The role of the overseas Chinese is an interesting existence. We consider them a part of our country, even though they have been living abroad for a long time. The Chinese people have their identity in their roots; remembering is part of our culture. From history, it is obvious that the Chinese were not a people that easily went abroad or immigrated. China was not like European countries which went abroad to find new colonies. When the British were colonizing the Malay Peninsula, the Chinese government was still implementing the “Sea Ban Policy” Every single dynasty in history has considered itself as the center of the world.

These reasons decreased the number of Chinese willing to immigrate. This changed toward the end of the Qing dynasty with the lack of human rights in China and the growing weakness of the dynasty. To avoid being sold as slaves, some Chinese escaped to Southeast Asia. It did not matter if these Chinese had been sold or had escaped from their hometowns, when the revolution started, for the hope of a change to the good for their home country, they contributed a lot. This is when the formation of Chinese Affairs began. American aid to the R.O.C. government contributed to the establishment of the Overseas Chinese Education, and thus became a Taiwan “Pull” factor for Malaysia Chinese students. The next chapter will discuss the views of these students.

Chapter Four: Interviews

In Chapter Two and Chapter Three, the author examined the “Push” and “Pull” factors, and the basic concept of how Malaysia and Taiwan governments affect Malaysia students. This chapter the author is going to interview Malaysia students who are currently studying in Taiwan. The research method which will be using in this chapter is the Snowballing Sample. The steps of doing this method is to look for a basic sample and then create more samples by these basic samples, to reason by analogy, like rolling a snowball. I will try to find local Malaysia students. The author will first introduce myself and purposed the detail of this research by the my friend, then I will invite the interviewee if he or she is interested to join this research. The In-Depth Interview comprised Structured Interview, Semi-structured Interview and Unstructured Interview. The Structured Interview details that the researcher set the question before the interview, than follow the question. The Semi-structured Interview also details the researcher setting up the scheme of the question, but allow adjusting its interview content. The Unstructured Interview has no set questions, only based on the interviewees mind.²⁰⁸ In consideration if the interviewee might be too shy or has no thought about the purpose of this research, therefore the author set up a basic scheme for the interviewees and also considerate that there will be some interesting view by the interviewees, so adjusting question was not forbid. The time of each interview will be 30 minutes to 1 hour. The twenty Malaysia (See Graph 4-1) students will be interview in a public area. The follow below is the list of the 20 Malaysia students.

²⁰⁸ 高淑清，〈質性研究的 18 堂課首航初探之旅〉（臺北：麗文，2008 年），頁 116。

Interviewees				
Number	Name	School	Department	Hometown
1.	Zeng, Zheng-Wei	TKU ²¹⁹	International Business	Johor
2.	Cai, Jing-Hang	TKU	GIASS	Johor
3.	Li, Lin-Qi	TKU	International Business	Kuala Lumpur
4.	Alan Tan	TKU	Transportation Management	Penang
5.	Tan, Wee Yang	Soocho ²²⁰	Music	Johor
6.	Hong, Jun-Yang	TKU	Computer Science and Information Engineering	Kuala Lumpur
7.	Tan Jia Song	TKU	Industrial Economic	Johor
8.	Dai, Jing-Yi	TKU	English	Malacca
9.	Li, Jya-Hwei	TKU	Mass Communication	Negeri Sembilan
10.	Hwang Syou-Wen	KMU ²²¹	Healthcare Administration and Medical Information	Johor
11.	Augustine Seng	Soochow	Political Science	Ipoh
12.	Hwang Jyun-wei	TKUL ²²²	International Tourism Management	Penang
13.	Vickie Tue	TKUL	International Tourism Management	Ipoh
14.	Chong, Su, Xin	TKUL	Innovation Information and Technology	Kuala Lumpur
15.	Pau Chiong Bim	TKUL	International Tourism Management	Sarawak
16.	Lee Ka Ken	TKUL	Global Politics and Economic	Malacca
17.	Chen Fei-Da	CCU ²²³	Law	Selangor
18.	Wang Ong Seth	CCU	Psychology	Sabah
19.	Lim Yen-Yen	CCU	Computer Science and Information Engineering	Johor
20.	Foo Jing Yu	TKU	Mass Communication	Kelantan

(Graph 4-1)

²¹⁹ TKU: Tamkang University (淡江大學)

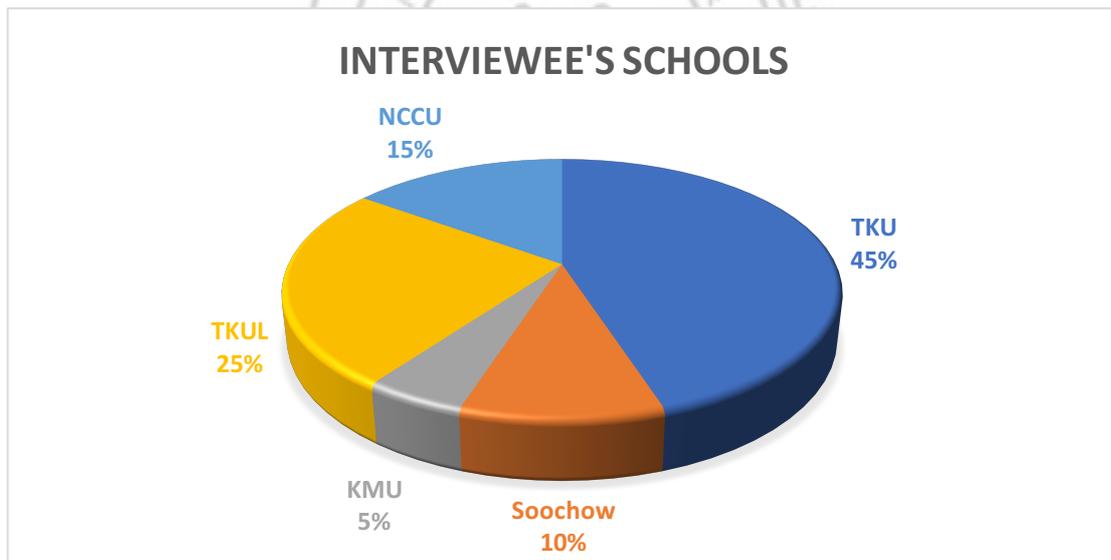
²²⁰ Soochow: Soochow University (東吳大學)

²²¹ KMU: Kaohsiung Medical University (高雄醫學大學)

²²² TKUL: Tamkang University Langyang Campus (淡江大學蘭陽校園)

²²³ CCU: National Chung Cheng University (中正大學)

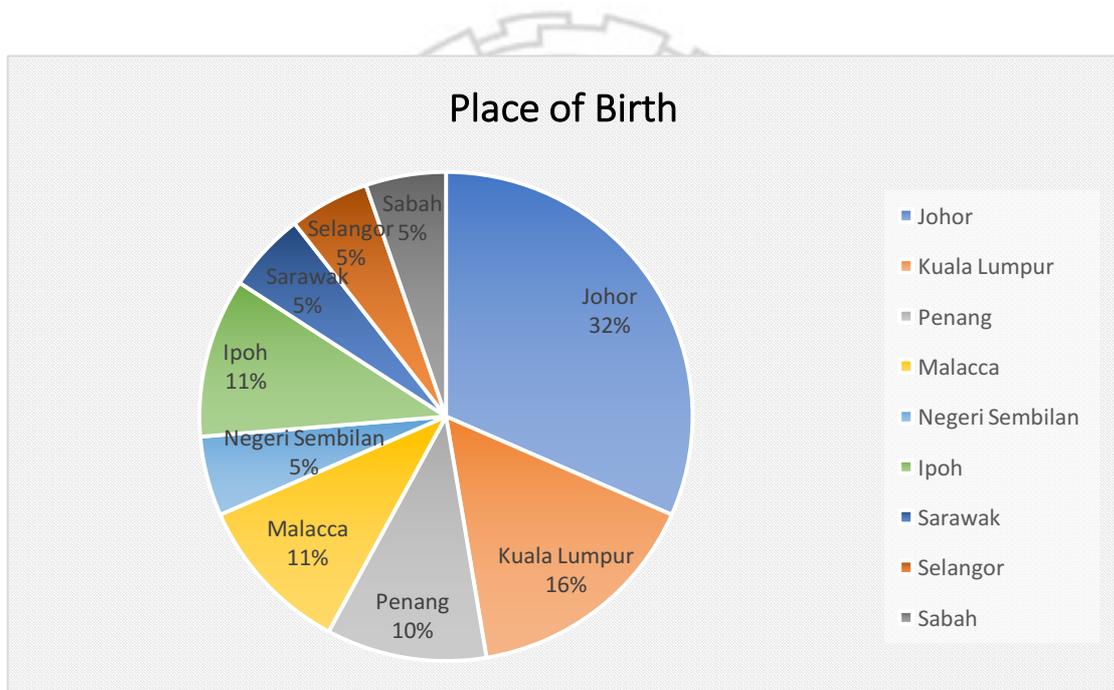
Due to snowball sampling, most of the interviewees are from Tamkang University and introduced to the author by my Taiwanese friends. In order to increase my interview's variety, some of the Malaysian students were from Soochow University. However these two schools are still located in the capital city, Taipei or New Taipei City. Therefore, the author seeks more Malaysian students in Tamkang University Langyang Campus, which was located in Yilan, and is also the author's alma mater. Taiwan also has the issues of bias towards the north and against the south, so understanding the Malaysia students in the South is worthy. Through personal connection, these three interviewees are from National Chung Cheng University in Chiayi, the author's hometown (See Graph 4-2).



(Graph 4-2)

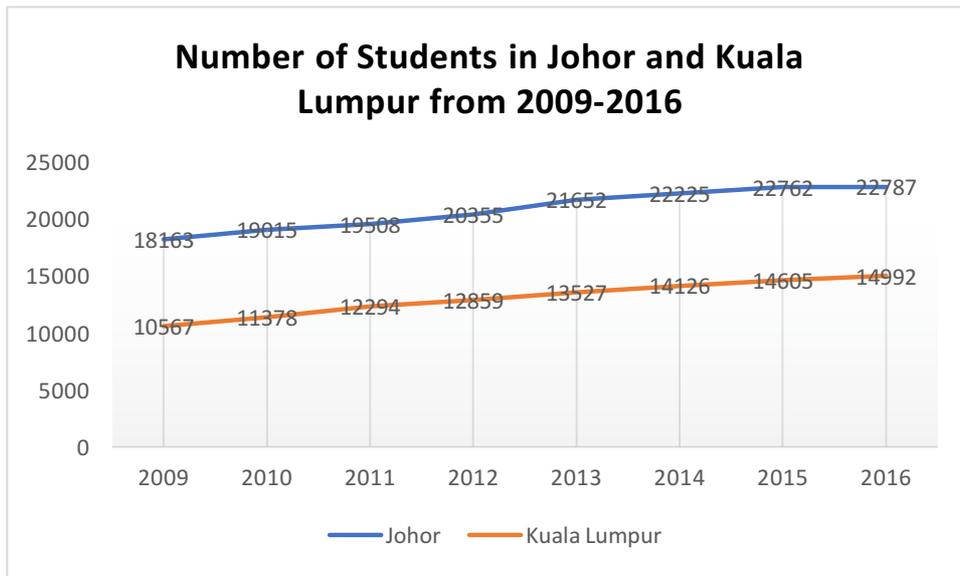
This research focuses on the reason why Malaysia students come to study at Taiwan universities, so all interviewees are university level, undergraduates, or doctoral students. Analyzed how the Malaysia domestic environment “Pushes” students out and the Taiwanese government input that “Pull” these students to Taiwan. In addition

discussed the higher education mobility between Taiwan and Malaysia. Discover a more practical diplomatic relationship, therefore the Overseas Youth Vocational Training School's students are not the main focus of this research. The interviewees are from different parts of Malaysia and with different majors in Taiwan universities. Most are from Johor and major in business. (See Graph 4-3 and 4-5) With almost half of the interviewees were either from Johor or Kuala Lumpur showcases the other important statistic figure. Johor and Kuala Lumpur concentrated the first and second amount of Chinese Independent High School between 2009 and 2016.²²⁴ (See Graph 4-4).

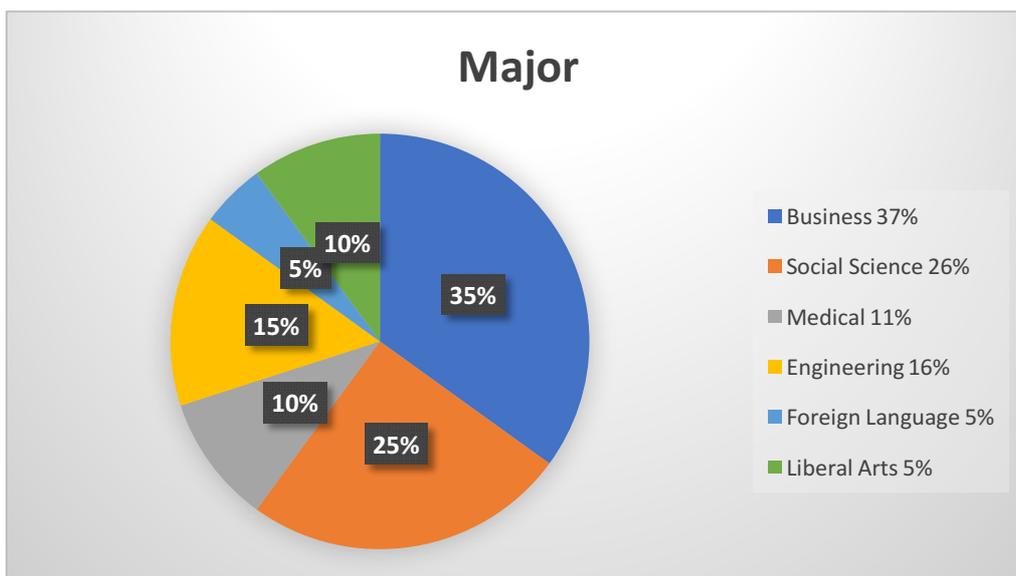


(Graph 4-3)

²²⁴ 馬來西亞華校董事聯合會總會，〈2009-2016 年全國華文獨立中學基本統計資料〉，2009-2016。
http://www.dongzong.my/resource/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=75&Itemid=76



(Graph 4-4)



(Graph 4-5)

Selecting a major is always a crucial decision before going to university. This section is going to examine what factors determinate the interviewees choose of the major, and whether these had anything to do with Taiwan universities capability on this subject. The reason for choosing a major can be separate into four different reasons.

1. The distribution by Unified Examination Certificate(UEC) and Division of Preparatory Programs for Overseas Chinese Students(DPPOCS). These interviewees did not have a favorite or did not successfully get into the department they wanted to, therefore they followed the department preference on their *Preference Card*(志願卡).

The first reason is I do not want to stay in the DPPOCS anymore, so I must choose a school from my distribution, and your grade determinate what school you can select, it is almost the same like the College Entrance Examination in Specified Subjects in Taiwan. Most of the majors I put in my preference card were in the same field, and the result was Healthcare Administration and Medical Information. Taiwan universities has a lot of different kinds of departments, unless you enter and study in that department, otherwise you will never know what it is teaching about. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²²⁵

I pay lots of attention of public affairs, I always want to be a diplomat when I was in high school, therefore my first preference was National Chengchi University's Department of Diplomacy, however due to some reason, I entered into the Department Political Science in Soochow University. I change a lot in Soochow, I am so into the political ideology now. (#11 Augustine Seng)²²⁶

The environment in the DPPOCS was very intense, you can find students still studying in 3 A.M. Some of my classmates wish to enter the College of medical, some of them even have only one goal, which is Nation Taiwan University College of Medical. All my classmates learn faster and deeper than me, so I kind of give up in the end, haha. (#18 Wang Ong Seth)²²⁷

2. Most of the interviewees selected there major according to their interests, and sometimes due to the reason of a special program of a particular school. Students of this section comprised the students coming by the way of UEC, and Foreign

²²⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

²²⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

²²⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Wang Ong Seth, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

Students, because Foreign Students were able to apply to the school and department individually.

The reason I chose TKUL is because I want to learn Hotel Management, I think there are only two universities that have a department regard to hotel management. The other reason is that I want to study in a fully English environment program, intern program, and study abroad program. TKUL provides these options for me. (#15 Pau Chiong Bim)²²⁸

The reason I chose Computer Science and Information Engineering is kind of childish, I thought I can join the computer game's company or become a famous hacker after I graduate. I had eight grade syndromes during that time, haha. However, my computer skill is the best among other subject when I was in highschool la. (#19 Lim Yen-Yen)²²⁹

The main reason I am studying in Taiwan now is basically this school provide English-taught courses, and I liked economics when I was in high school. Then I found out that economics has a lot to do with politics, and with the opportunities of scholarship, I decided to choose this department. (#16 Lee Ka Ken)²³⁰

3. Part of the interviewees acknowledged that the major of Taiwan university attracted them to study here.

I participated in the debate competition when I was in high school; I like to argue strongly for what is right. I know the law in Taiwan cannot be used in Malaysia, but to me the law in Taiwan is much more open, not only compared to Malaysia, but also in Asia, for example I was very surprised by the same-sex marriage in Taiwan. Therefore, I am not planning to be a lawyer in Malaysia. I am going to learn from Taiwan, and establish a non-governmental organization in Malaysia, and fight for changes. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)²³¹

²²⁸ ²²⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Pau Chiong Bim, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²²⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lim Yen-Yen, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

²³⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lee Ka Ken, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²³¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chen Fei-Da, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

I think business in Taiwan is much more advanced compared to Malaysia. Some of our Malaysian successful businessmen that I know came to study in Taiwan before, that is one of the factors why I chose Industrial Economic as my major. (#7 Tan Jia Song)²³²

I want to go abroad and I want to study Mass Communication, so I think Taiwan can provided a better environment than China, that is why I come to Taiwan. (#20 Foo Jing Yu)²³³

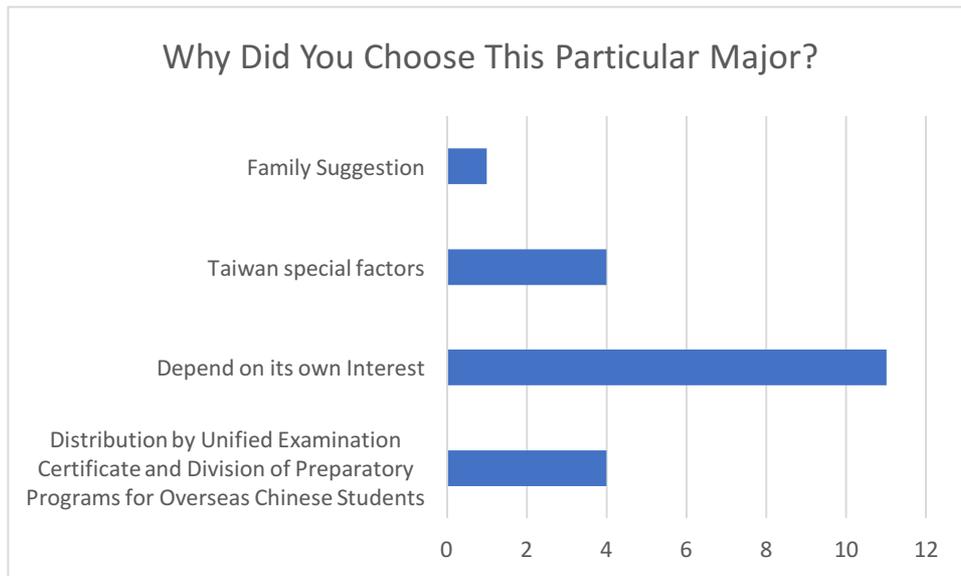
I admitted I have eight grade syndromes, and the only reason I study in Political Science for my major in university is that I want to "overthrow" the Malaysia government. My family always supports the opposing party in Malaysia, and we always donate money to the opposing party all the time. It kind of raised my interest in politics since I was little. I knew that the elections in Taiwan are ten times more astonishing than Malaysia, so I was hoping to learn some election strategic in Taiwan, with the idea of overthrowing Malaysia government still in my mind until now. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)²³⁴

4. There are still some other reasons such as family advice. From the interviewees, Taiwan presence in some industries was unique enough to attract Malaysian students. With the four different factors distributed by UEC and DPPOCS, depending on their own interests, Taiwan special factors, and other reasons. (See Graph 4-6)

²³² Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Tan Jia Song*, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²³³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Foo Jing Yu*, Interview, 2017, 12, 29.

²³⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Cai, Jing-Hang*, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

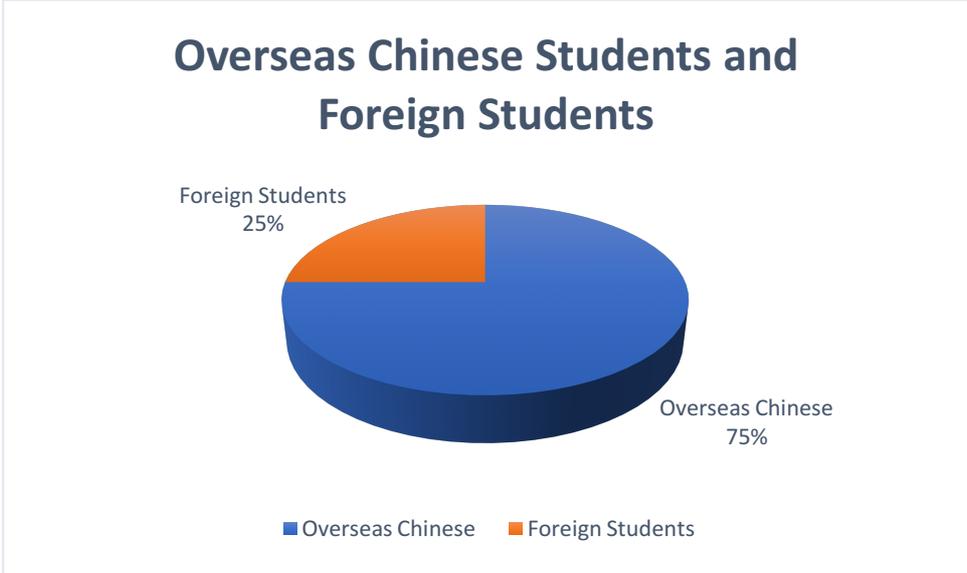


(Graph 4-6)

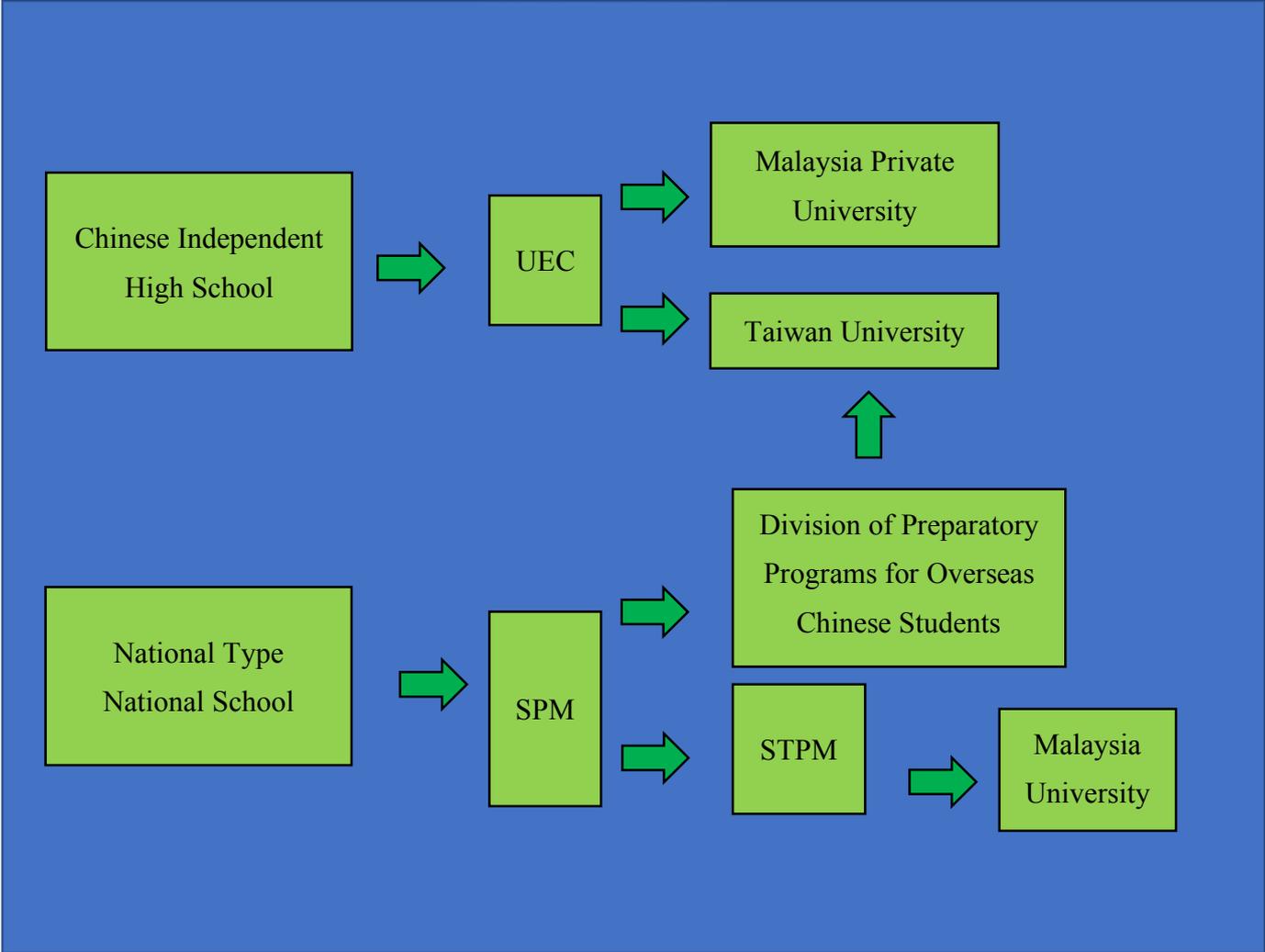
4-1: The Reasons for Malaysia Students Coming to Taiwan

Taiwan universities has faced the trend of globalization, which has opened up the market of Foreign Students. Taiwan higher education was actively developed the international possibilities these couple years, through providing scholarship, strengthening guidance system, and constructing a friendly international environment hoping to attract more international students.²³⁵ Malaysian students in this circumstance possess an advantage compared to other countries. Malaysian students can apply to Taiwan universities not only by the identity of Foreign Students, but also as Overseas Chinese student. In the list of this research interview, 15 are Overseas Chinese and 5 of them are Foreign Students. (See Graph 4-7) The follow is going to examine the factors that attract Malaysian students.

²³⁵ R.O.C Ministry of Education, *Education Statistic Report*, 2015, p.1.



(Graph 4-7)



(Graph 4-8: The Process of Malaysia Students going to University)

4-1-1: Overseas Chinese Students

Chapter Three already mentioned the number of Overseas Chinese students increased 2,730 to 7,598 from 2003 to 2016.²³⁶ Fifteen interviewees studying in Taiwan universities now are Overseas Chinese Students. These Overseas Chinese Students graduated from both Malaysia Chinese Independent High School and National-type school, (See Graph 4-8) however the students graduated from Malaysia Chinese Independent High School that go through the UEC, can directly study in Taiwan universities. Some of them, however like Hwang Syou-Wen, Augustine Seng, Wang Ong Seth, and Pau Chiong Bim, still went to the DPPOCS. These students were disappointed in the result of the UEC. Hoping to get a better school or department than going to DPPOCS as an option, because during the time in DPPOCS, they can have another attempt for a favorable major. Another reason is the difference between the end of semester between Taiwan and Malaysia.

First, I was distributed to a university's Early Childhood Education department, however this was not my first pick, so I decided to give myself another chance. That is why I went to the DPPOCS. The distribution of UEC and DPPOCS are different, therefore getting a better school or a department that you want is possible. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²³⁷

I have two reason for going to the DPPOCS. The first is "time". The Malaysia high schools graduate in November, and the new semester of Taiwan universities has to wait until the next September, therefore the empty year was too risky for me, I might change my mind of coming to Taiwan for higher education, so my teacher suggested I go to the DPPOCS first. (#11 Augustine Seng)²³⁸

²³⁶ 中華民國教育部，〈僑生及港澳生人數概況統計 94 年到 105 年〉，（臺北：教育部，2003~2016）

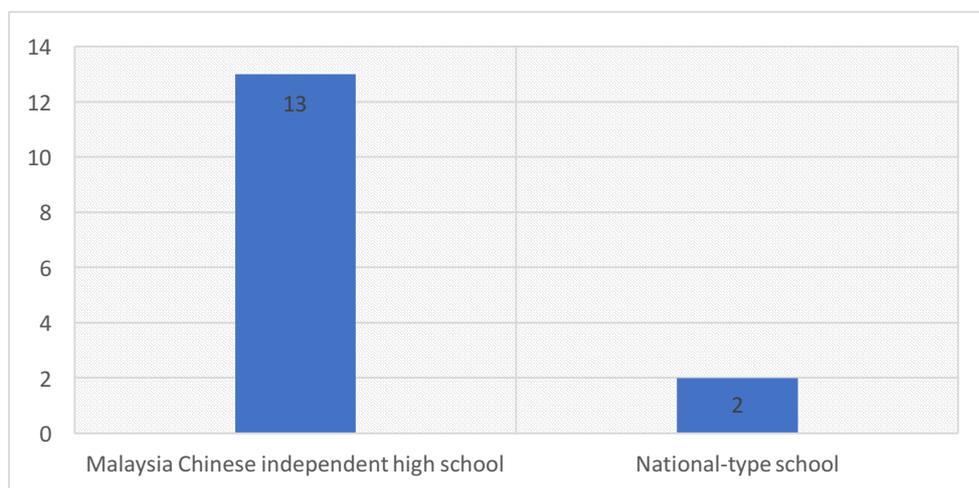
<https://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=829446EED325AD02&s=212B2CF76078EBF4>

²³⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

²³⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

The students such as Zeng, Zheng-Wei and Dai, Jing-Yi who were graduated from Nation-type schools all go through the DPPOCS before they went to university. One of most important reasons that nation-type students need to go to DPPOCS is because they did not take the UEC.

After I graduated from high school, I had no idea what I wanted to do, and I did not know what should I major in, so one of my friends in Nation-type school invited me to come to Taiwan with her. I thought it was a good idea, therefore I registered with the DPPOCS, because I did not take UEC. (#8 Dai, Jing-Yi)²³⁹



(Graph 4-9)

Most of the interviewees indicated that the main factor for coming to Taiwan for university is the tuition fee.

The tuition in Taiwan is very cheap. During that time when I was going to graduate from Malaysia Chinese Independent High School, I considered the possibilities of studying in Malaysia, or going to Taiwan, however after comparing the tuition between both sides, the tuition is almost the same, the only difference is living expenses. Although the Malaysia ringgit has been devaluating, the time I came here

²³⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Dai, Jing-Yi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

was still okay, and if I come to Taiwan I don't need a car like I am in Penang, so I could save another amount of money. The only money I needed to spend is the airplane ticket. (#4 Alan Tan)²⁴⁰

The reason I came to Taiwan through the identity of Overseas Chinese students is mainly because of tuition is much cheaper. Compared to Foreign Students, it is cheaper, the tuition as an Overseas Chinese student is the same amount as for local Taiwanese students. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)²⁴¹

I was also recruited by the History Department of Aomori University, Japan, however the basic expense for a year is around six hundred thousand New Taiwan Dollars. During that time, my family was not that rich, so coming to study in Taiwan is a very economic choice. For example, I had estimated before, if I come to Taiwan, I only need to spent around two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)²⁴²

"Money" talks, especially for students and parents. Most of the students first consideration for coming to Taiwan is money and The Overseas Chinese students only need to pay the same amount as local students. As to Tamkang University tuition toward local Taiwanese students and Overseas Chinese student are all the same.²⁴³ However, to enjoy the benefit tuition like local Taiwan students the Malaysia Students have to first admit themselves as an "Overseas Chinese Students". As already mentioned in Chapter Three, most of the Malaysia students do not really care about the meaning and do not mind being called Overseas Chinese Students.

When I was in Malaysia, not like other students studying in Chinese Independent High School, I was a nation-type school students, so I needed to spent a year in the DPPOCS. All the students from there are Overseas Chinese Students, I do not really need to ask whether I am an Overseas Chinese Students or not. (#1 Zeng, Zheng-Wei)²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Alan Tan, Interview, 2017, 11, 29.

²⁴¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Lin-Qi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁴² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Cai, Jing-Hang, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

²⁴³ 淡江大學,《淡江大學 107 學年度僑生及港澳生來臺就學單獨招生簡章》, 2017 年, 9 月, 7 頁;淡江大學,《106 學年度學雜費收費標準表》, 2017 年。

²⁴⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Zeng, Zheng-Wei, Interview, 2017, 11, 22.

I did some research about the meaning of Overseas Chinese, and the school teachers will also explain to us in our history or some Malaysia Chinese education class. I think the meaning of Overseas Chinese has something to do with Sun, Yat-sen, to fed-back the contribution of Overseas Chinese effort during the revolution. I think everybody is ethnic Chinese, so I do not mind to be called Overseas Chinese Students. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)²⁴⁵

I did not really understand the meaning of Overseas Chinese Students. Our senior only introduced the difference of welfare, scholarship between Overseas Chinese Students and Foreign Students, however they did not tell us the real meaning of Overseas Chinese Students. Our Senior also told us we cannot switch our identity after we come here. The only thing I cared about before I came to Taiwan is the scholarship and welfare. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁴⁶

The other attraction for Overseas Chinese Students is the convenience of applying. According to the interviews, thirteen students that were graduated from Chinese Independent High School applied Taiwan universities as an Overseas Chinese Students. In the Malaysia's Chinese Independent High School system, students gain lots of experience in how to guided students to submit the list of their university department choices in order of preference after the UEC. Even for Malaysia Chinese students studying in national-type schools, the DPPOCS are easy to apply for.

In my school (Chinese Independent High School), it was very normal that the school will help you to deal with these things (applying for Taiwan universities); compared to other students trying to apply for another countries universities, we are much easier. (#7 Tan Jia Song)²⁴⁷

We have a teacher who will help us organize our application documents, so we just need to hand in our documents, and this teacher is responsible only on Overseas Chinese Students. (#12 Hwang Jyun-wei)²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁴⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

²⁴⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Tan Jia Song, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁴⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Jyun-wei, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

The school will help and guide us how to apply on the internet, and will also teach us how to apply for scholarship. (#13 Vickie Tue)²⁴⁹

Our school teacher did teach us how to go through the application process, and after we finished our paper work, we just needed to hand it in to the teacher who is only in charge of Taiwan application affairs. (#14 Chong, Su, Xin)²⁵⁰

When I was applying for the DPPOCS, I went to a private agency to help me with everything on the application, including my visa. This agency was not official, but a private agency. I think the owner of this agency studied in Taiwan before, and running an agency in Malacca now. He was in charge of all the Malacca Chinese Independent High Schools. (#8 Dai, Jing-Yi)²⁵¹

4-1-2: Foreign Students

The other way of coming to Taiwan is by Foreign Students identity. Five of the interviewees are Foreign Students; three of them are national-type students. The reason for them coming to Taiwan is basically the same as Overseas Chinese students, due to the reason of cheaper tuition.

I applied the Global Politics of Economic of Tamkang University because it provided a scholarship. I do not need to pay for any tuition in my first two years. I think Yilan living expense is almost the same with Malaysia; the Tamkang University Langyang campus also provided dorm. The spending is almost the same if I study in Malaysia, and in addition I can go abroad, therefore I think I can have more experience here. (#16 Lee Ka Ken)²⁵²

The reason I want to study in Taiwan is because the tuition in Taiwan is cheaper. I think Taiwan wants to attract more foreign talented people, so Taiwan universities provide many scholarship, for example, I received a CCU scholarship, all my tuition is free. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Vickie Tue, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²⁵⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chong, Su, Xin, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²⁵¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Dai, Jing-Yi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁵² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lee Ka Ken, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²⁵³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chen Fei-Da, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

I came to Taiwan when I was a Junior, I was studying in New Era University College(新紀元學院) before. In some of certain departments students must come to Taiwan universities for there Junior and Senior years. Therefore, I picked Tamkang University, and TKU provided one scholarship quota for the New Era University College every year, and fortunately I acquired the scholarship, so all my tuition is free. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁵⁴

According to the interview, three students receiving scholarships, therefore the factor of tuition determines Malaysia students using the identity of Overseas Chinese Student or Foreign Student.

My sister came to Taiwan as the identity of Foreign Students, and she went to Department of Nursing in I-Shou University(義守大學). She obtained a scholarship that she does not need to pay for tuition for two years. Basically, most of the Malaysia Foreign Students have scholarships, my sister is one of them, and my other classmate in Kaohsiung Medical University who is also a foreign student that received scholarship. The economic consideration is the most important factor, we depend which identity is cheaper. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²⁵⁵

4.1-3: Chinese Independent High School Teacher and Senior Students effect

Imagine at a hot, stuffy day, you are sitting in a classroom without an air conditioner, and the teacher is teaching trigonometric function. suddenly, the teacher stops talking about the trigonometric function, because he realizes that most of his students are paying no attention. Therefore, he tries to pull your soul back from the swimming pool and beaches. He started to share a romance with a girl during his university time, how they visited the 101 in a cold winter day to count down the end of 2005. A lot of interviewees indicated that many of their teachers had also studied in

²⁵⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁵⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

Taiwan before. When you were in high school the amount of time you spent on the school was around eight hours, about one-third of a day. These students were effect by their teacher a lot. According to Tan Jia Song from Johor now currently studying Industrial Economic at TKU, responded when the author asked him if he was going to encourage Malaysia students if he has the chance.

I will definitely encourage others Malaysia students, because my teacher used to encourage me too. Before I decided to came here, I was quite unsure whether I should stay in Malaysia or Taiwan, then one of my teachers told me, “Get out of Malaysia, and see more views outside the country”. I made up my mind after that single sentence. The teacher really determined my decision. My teacher often share his experience in Taiwan, and he always described everywhere in Taiwan like Xinyi District, which kind of made me feel like Taiwan is an interesting country. (#7 Tan Jia Song)²⁵⁶

I received massive Taiwan information when I was studying in a Chinese Independent High School, because most of our teachers were graduated from Taiwan universities. When I was in New Era University College, the teacher over there can also change our concepts, for example the first option of mine coming to Taiwan was Shih Hsin University(世新大學), however one of my teacher was graduated from that university and he told me the disadvantage of that school, that is why I chose TKU instead. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁵⁷

When I was still in Pei Chun High School, ninety percent of the teachers were graduated from Taiwan universities, so it was too easy to be affect by the teachers. The teacher that encouraged me to study in Taiwan was graduated from National Cheng Kung University. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)²⁵⁸

The teacher encouragement may play an important role, but students and teacher still remain a gap. The closest relationship toward students will be often students, so in this circumstance the influence of their seniors who are already in Taiwan is massive.

²⁵⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Tan Jia Song, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁵⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁵⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Cai, Jing-Hang, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

Many senior in Chinese Independent High School studying in Taiwan, they will hold a lot sharing, so I attained a lot during my school life. Basically, I adjusted really fast when I arrived to Taiwan. I think the sharing lecture that I heard really helped. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁵⁹

When I was in high school, the seniors that were studying in Taiwan were very unified. They would always come back to our school as a group, and share Taiwan university experiences to us. The atmosphere that they created really attracted us to study in Taiwan, and we usually have a very close relationship with our seniors in Taiwan. Therefore, when I become a senior, I will try to continue this tradition too. We still have a lot of different activities, such as we unite with the whole states students to take the same flight to Taiwan. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁶⁰

When I first came to Taiwan, we all took the same flight, and the teacher who was responsible to Taiwan will also come with us, and when we arrived at the airport there would be different school seniors waiting for us, such as Tamkang, and Soochow. Then the seniors would bring you back to your school. I felt really secured, it was like I already had relatives or friends in Taiwan, and we really needed this relieved. (#12 Hwang Jyun-wei)²⁶¹

Malaysian students have already built up a solid relationship with various Malaysian associations in Taiwan, such as the Malaysia Student Association in Taiwan. The Malaysia Student Association in Taiwan was established in 1973; its affiliates are spread through 26 different universities in Taiwan. TKU is also one of them.²⁶² Fortunately, one of the interviewees, *Foo Jing Yu*, is currently the President of Tamkang University Malaysian Students Association. She shared the purpose of the association and how they interact with Malaysia students.

The number of students now in Tamkang University's Malaysian Students Association is around one hundred, and we try to maintain the relationship of Malaysia students in Tamkang University. For

²⁵⁹ *Yi Shih Tang*, interview, *Li, Jya-Hwei*, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁶⁰ *Yi Shih Tang*, interview, *Augustine Seng*, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

²⁶¹ *Yi Shih Tang*, interview, *Hwang Jyun-wei*, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²⁶² Malaysia Student Association in Taiwan, *The Affiliates of Malaysia Students Association in Taiwan*, < <http://msait95.wixsite.com/msait/blank-ig0m8> >

the new students coming from Malaysia, we provide them a continuous line service. We will have the list of Malaysia students coming to Tamkang immediately after the distribution from the school, and find every single one of them on Facebook. Then we establish a Facebook group and notify them how to enroll, and other important things before coming. We will even help them find a place, and advance the deposit for them.

When they arrive, we will ask them if they need to be picked up. We have a taxi driver that has been working with us for a long time, and then we will wait in front the dorm or their apartment before they arrive. We will hold various activities just like other clubs in Tamkang, such as Orientation Camp, University Family Gathering(家聚), Christmas Party, and Welcome & Farewell party...etc. I hope every Malaysia student can know each other, and are able to recognize each other on the road. The seniors all help us before and after we came to Taiwan, so it is important for us to inherited this spirit. (#20 Foo Jing Yu)²⁶³

4.1-4: The Influence of Film Industry

What is your first impressions of Taiwan? Fourteen of the interviewees answer was the Taiwanese film industry, including idol dramas, variety shows, movies, and songs. Over the past ten years, the Taiwan film industry can be praised as the nowadays K-pop as seen in three different parts: variety shows, idol dramas, movies and songs. Variety shows started from *Super Sunday*, that was hosted by *Chang Hsiao-yen*(張小燕), followed up by Jacky Wu's massive show, the well-known *Guess Guess Guess*(我猜我猜我猜猜猜), and continuing with *Kangsi Coming*(康熙來了). Some of the interviewees stated that they knew Taiwan by these variety show.

My first expression of Taiwan is Jacky Wu's variety shows, the variety shows I often watched when I was little is all Jacky Wu's show. Just like you guys. (#1 Zeng, Zheng-Wei)²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Foo Jing Yu*, Interview, 2017, 12, 29.

²⁶⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Zeng, Zheng-Wei*, Interview, 2017, 11, 22.

The key for a variety show is to create happiness to the audiences, then when a Taiwanese on television become your amusements, it will increase the impression of Taiwan. However, the variety shows were not the main point for the interviewees. The most attracting factors to some of my interviewees are Taiwan's idol dramas.

I think my favorable impression of Taiwan was by variety shows, I have heard about Super Sundays, and I like the Meteor Garden a lot. I watched a lot of idol dramas when I was little, such as The Prince Who Turns Into a Frog, Westside Story (西街少年), My MVP Valentine (MVP 情人). I also watched the Movie directed by Jay Chou, Secret (不能說的秘密). Mayday is also my favorite band. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)²⁶⁵

Singers from Taiwan are also important, for instance Jay Chou, Jolin, LeeHom Wang, and Mayday. These Taiwanese singers have been famous for more than a decade. Other famous idol groups, although most of them were dismissed, still kept teenager memories in their mind.

I usually listen to Jay Chou's music, and Energy, however they had been dismissed. I still remember the 5566 idol groups went to Malaysia for concert when I was in junior high schools, lot of my friends went to the concert. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²⁶⁶

Jay Chou is not a singer to me, he is a musician of this century. No one every sang like him before, he changed the Asian music environment by himself. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)²⁶⁷

When all the elements combine with each other, it becomes one of the factors that attract Malaysian students to Taiwan. If a child listened to Jay Chou's songs, or watched Meteor Garden, it is hard for him to have bad feeling toward Taiwan. Some

²⁶⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Lin-Qi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁶⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

²⁶⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Cai, Jing-Hang, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

interviewees admit the decision they came to Taiwan was influenced by the Taiwan film industry.

I think there was some influence, I know Taiwan by Devil Beside You (惡魔在身邊), the Rose (薔薇之戀), and Smiling Pasta (微笑 Pasta), and realize that we are using the same language that Taiwan is using, and also had the idea that Taiwan is an friendly environment by Guess Guess Guess, and Kangsi Coming. (#Wang Ong Seth)²⁶⁸

My first impressions of Taiwan are Taiwan's variety shows, and Super Sunday. This variety show was hosted by Chang Hsiao-yen and Harlem Yu (庾澄慶). During that time, the Taiwan popular culture was still a very strong culture. Jay Chou and Jolin occupied the mainstream of pop culture, including Taiwan idol dramas, such as Meteor Garden, The Rose, The Prince Who Turns Into a Frog (王子變青蛙). These popular cultures can influence a high school students a lot. Ten years before, in that period of time. The China had not developed their film industry, although they still had famous songs like Mouse Loves Rice (老鼠愛大米), but they were not the mainstream. I came here in 2006, and studied in CCU, I chose CCU only because it was the location of filming Meteor Garden, and I never thought that NCCU is in the middle of nowhere. Totally different on T.V. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)²⁶⁹

I started to watch Taiwan idol dramas when I was in fifth grade, like MVP Valentine, The Prince Who Turns Into a Frog, Hot Shot (籃球火), Why Why Love (換換愛), and Devil Beside You. Coming to Taiwan is just like a dream come true, the first two years in Taiwan, I was so crazy to find these scene that appear in the Jay Chou's music videos or the idol dramas. For example, I went to the Miramar Ferris wheel, because it was the most important scene for Why Why Love, but it looks very different than on the television. I used to think that Taiwan school uniform was cool, quite jealous when I was Malaysia, but I think I am wrong on this too. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁷⁰

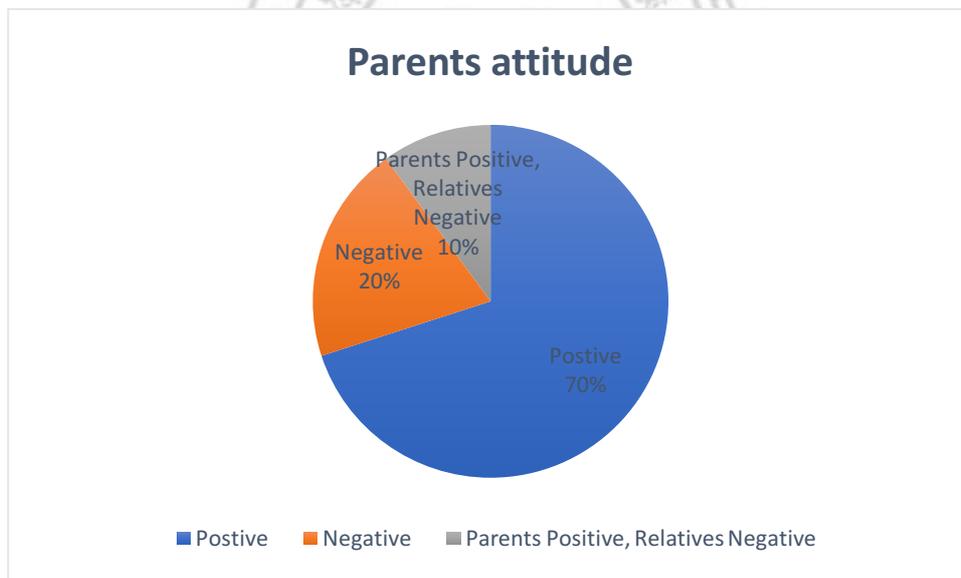
²⁶⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Wang Ong Seth, interview, 2017, 12, 23.

²⁶⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Cai, Jing-Hang, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

²⁷⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

4-2: Life for Malaysia Students in Taiwan

Studying abroad is not an easy choice, for instance leaving hometown, family and friends, so how to develop a friendly environment for Malaysia students should be understood and carefully discussed and to sustain or improve at. This Section will mainly examine the living environment of a Malaysia student leaving in Taiwan. Before going too deep, the attitude of a parent should be the biggest variability. For twenty interviewees, sixteen of their parents approved or do not care studying in Taiwan. (See Graph 4-9) The interviewees answer to this question has a common point, that is the parents mostly did not have any opinion, and parents in Malaysia respect their children's decisions.



(Graph 4-10)

My parents did not oppose my idea of majoring in Music in Taiwan. When I told them I want to come and study in Taiwan, my parents immediately said, "Okay." (#5 Tan, Wee Yang)²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Tan, Wee Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 02.

My mother support my decision to come to Taiwan. My mother thinks I should go outside Malaysia when I am still young. She is the person that think young people should go around and see more things. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)²⁷²

My parents have good feelings toward Taiwan, they think Taiwan is a democratic country, and the public order is good, therefore they think I will be very safe in Taiwan. (#13 Vickie Tue)²⁷³

And in addition, especially when your family had someone also had already studied in Taiwan before, with the encouragement by these relatives often strengthen the mindset of coming to Taiwan, and also seized the uneasy feeling from parents.

My uncle was studying in Taiwan before, and he had already asked my older sister, however my older sister turned him down, therefore he asked the same question to me. I was like, I do not want to stay in Malaysia anyway, so I said yes, and applied for Taiwan universities. (#1 Zeng, Zheng-Wei)²⁷⁴

Two of my uncles were studying in Taiwan before, and I was quite independent when I was in high school. I can communicate here, and the school kept popularizing the advantage of going to Taiwan, so my parents' attitudes of me coming to Taiwan is quite positive. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)²⁷⁵

There are parents also support the idea of coming to Taiwan, but, there were opposing voices from relatives. The reason is that Taiwan does not have a sound education for English learning.

I think most Malaysians respect their child's opinion, basically, my parents have no opinion, they gave me the right to choose where I want to study. My parents think a youngster like me should go outside the country and try to find is my limit. However, some of my relatives, like my aunts were afraid that I will leave my English behind. (#16 Lee Ka Ken)²⁷⁶

²⁷² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chen Fei-Da, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

²⁷³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Vickie Tue, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

²⁷⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Zeng, Zheng-Wei, Interview, 2017, 11, 22.

²⁷⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁷⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lee Ka Ken, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

Some of my relatives have the idea that I will not learn English in Taiwan, however my parents think English is a language you can learn everywhere. (#7 Tan Jia Song)²⁷⁷

There are still parents against the idea of studying in Taiwan, they worried about the de-recognition of Taiwan university diplomas, the lack of Taiwan's English education, and reluctant to let children going abroad alone.

Malaysia government does not recognize Taiwan education diplomas, and Taiwan did not guarantee job for me in Taiwan after I graduate, so they were afraid that I will be jobless. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)²⁷⁸

My dad did not fully support my decision of coming to Taiwan, due to the reason that he considers the ability of speaking English and Malay are very important. In our impression, Taiwan is always a country that only speaks Chinese, so my father was afraid that I will be uncompetitive after I go back to Malaysia. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁷⁹

Parents will still worry about your future employment, because of the Malaysia government does not recognize Taiwan degree, and they will also worry you cannot survive in Taiwan. Of course, your abilities on using English and Malay. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁸⁰

4:2-1: The Difference between Taiwan and Malaysia

The main idea of comparing the two different countries is to analyze what Taiwan is lack of, and finding the disparity that Taiwan has to comprehend from the interviewee's point of view. Discovering the biggest differences of Malaysia students think of Taiwan. First, Taiwan is a generally homogenous state, not like Malaysia

²⁷⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Tan Jia Song*, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁷⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Li, Lin-Qi*, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁷⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Li, Jya-Hwei*, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁸⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Augustine Seng*, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

having three diverse races. Due to this reason, some of interviewees proposed that Taiwan biggest difference is the language.

The biggest difference between the two countries is in Taiwan you have only one race. In Malaysia, we usually need to speak two or three languages in one day, but in Taiwan you just need to speak Chinese, everybody will understand you. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)²⁸¹

For some of the Malaysia Chinese, their English and Chinese are not as good as their Chinese, therefore in Taiwan they solve the language disabilities. In Malaysia, if you go to the government official, all the documents are in Malay or English, it is very hard for some Malaysia Chinese. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁸²

We have three different races in Malaysia, we can see different races every moment, so this lead to the element of language. In Malaysia, although I am a Chinese, however I still need to learn English and Malay. In Taiwan, I can just use Chinese. Especially, I am not that good at English and Malay, so I felt annoyed sometime when I am doing some paper work in the government officials. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)²⁸³

Public transportation is one of the difference between the two countries. All of the interviewees praised the Taiwan public transportation, whether in Taipei, Yilan or Chiayi, they found transportation convenient.

If you want to go to Yilan City from Jiaoxi, you just need to take a ten minuts train, basically you can go to anywhere by public transportation in Taiwan, however in Kuala Lumpur, you must need a car. (#14 Chong, Su, Xin)²⁸⁴

The public transportation in Taiwan is much more convenient than my hometown Penang. The public transportation in Penang is always behind the schedule. Even Kuala Lumpur has the same

²⁸¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Lin-Qi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁸² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁸³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁸⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chong, Su, Xin, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

problem, the KTM in Kuala Lumpur is hot, smelly, and dirty. Taiwan public transportation is pretty amazing. (#4 Alan Tan)²⁸⁵

I think the public transportation in Taiwan is very convenient. Taiwan has bus stops everywhere, and it will tell you when the bus is arriving or departing, not like the bus in Malaysia, which are always behind the schedule. (#19 Lim Yen-Yen)²⁸⁶

The other difference between the two countries is the minimum wages. Lots of Malaysia students have a part time jobs. Starting from 2018, the minimum wages in Taiwan is one one hour 140 New Taiwan Dollars, to many of Malaysian students it is a high number. The author discovered this difference interviewing a Malaysia students, Hong, Jun-Yang.

According to my personal part-time experience in Malaysia before, the money I got for one hour in Taiwan is 1.5 times higher than in Malaysia. 10 ringgits per hour was the highest I heard, which it is just around 70 NTD, so comparably every hour in Taiwan is 133 NTD which was really high to me, and we did not even mention it going to be 140 NDT in 2018. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)²⁸⁷

The wages in Taiwan are higher, and I think the prices between Kuala Lumpur and Taipei are almost the same. The highest wages I could get in Kuala Lumpur was 10 ringgit, it was almost eighty NTD, in Taiwan I can have 133 NTD per hour. I think the most attractive thing about living in Taiwan is the minimum wages. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)²⁸⁸

The minimum wage in Malaysia is very low, the average is lower than 100 NTD. For a student who is going to study in Taiwan, this will be one of the attractions. (#12 Hwang Jyun-wei)²⁸⁹

I don't have time for a part time job yet, however I still think the minimum wage in Taiwan is higher than Malaysia. The minimum wages for us is around 3 ringgit per hour, it is around only 21 NTD.

²⁸⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Alan Tan, Interview, 2017, 11, 29.

²⁸⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lim Yen-Yen, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

²⁸⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁸⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Lin-Qi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁸⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Jyun-wei, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

If a student who does not have a fine family financial situation, he or she can still try to earn some extra money while he or she is here. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)²⁹⁰

However, there are some interviewees with different opinion on this discussion. They have the same feeling as other fresh Taiwanese graduates, who are facing such low salaries and the high prices level, which is impossible to save money.

The minimum wage in Taiwan is 133 NTD per hour, and in Malaysia is only 60 to 70 NTD, of course, at the first glance, Taiwan minimum wage is higher. However most of the people forgot that the country you earn the money, you will still spend it in that country. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²⁹¹

If you convert directly to the exchange rate, of course, the minimum wage in Taiwan is super high, higher than Malaysia. However, I think it is very low if you consider the price level in Taipei compared to Malaysia. As for my own experience, one quarter of my salary has to pay my rent, plus the transportation fee and living expenses, I do not have extra money left. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁹²

4.2-2: Discrimination in Taiwan or Malaysia?

The interviewees have various of identities, including the identity as an Overseas Chinese Student or as a Foreign Student, and all of them are Malaysian, Malaysian Chinese, and Southeast Asians. This section is going to examine whether the interviewees are discriminated against in Taiwan as an Overseas Chinese Student, a Southeast Asian, or a Malaysian. In contrast, whether these interviewees would discrimination against in Malaysia as a Malaysian Chinese.

There are many negative public opinion towards Overseas Chinese Student. These negative opinions shown up randomly on the internet, and because of special identity

²⁹⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chen Fei-Da, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

²⁹¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

²⁹² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

the public often enlarge, the behavior of Overseas Chinese Students. Commonly, some of Taiwanese consider the Overseas Chinese Students have many benefit in Taiwan.

I encountered a landlord that was kind of afraid of Overseas Chinese Students, due to the reason that two years ago, an Overseas Chinese Students killed his landlord. I can understand la, however I still feel uncomfortable. (#11 Augustine Seng)²⁹³

I was asked by a Taxi driver, what is the benefit for me to come to Taiwan. I was asked several times in Taiwan, especially by Taxi drivers. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)²⁹⁴

Face to face criticism were only individual cases. Most of the interviewees did not receive any critics, although some of the interviewees had heard complaints from their friends or senior.

I heard one of my seniors said that, some of the Taiwanese think we are occupying their quotas on scholarship. It feels really bad, it feels like we have taken a lot benefit while we are in Taiwan. Fortunately, all the Taiwanese I meet so far are all very friendly. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)²⁹⁵

I read an article in the newspaper criticizing the Overseas Chinese Student policy, I don't know, I felt I am discriminated against by both sides, both Malaysia and Taiwan. (#4 Alan Tan)²⁹⁶

Taiwan is a very friendly country toward foreigners, however Taiwanese seems to be only endure to specific “White” foreigners, “Black” foreigners, “Latin” foreigners, Japanese, or Korean. Southeast Asians, such as Indonesians, Vietnamese, and Philippines, they often face Taiwanese discrimination. Therefore, turning the aspect from Overseas Chinese Students to a Southeast Asian or a Malaysian, are Taiwanese

²⁹³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Augustine Seng, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

²⁹⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

²⁹⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

²⁹⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Alan Tan, Interview, 2017, 11, 29.

friendly to them? Basically, Taiwanese are friendly, however we often make fun of their accent or calling them as “Malay”.

My friend laughed at my accent when I was still freshman, I think there was just joking, I did not get offensive at all, however there was a guy telling me to clean his dishes because I am from Malaysia. I am not pleased with that; however, it was an individual case, I still consider Taiwan as a very friendly country. (#7 Tan Jia Song)²⁹⁷

I did not really care about it, but my friend often makes fun of my accent. I think this happens when you study abroad, they did not make fun of Malaysia, simply honour Malaysia Chinese accent. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)²⁹⁸

I do not feel discriminated against, except some of the Taiwanese will “title” me as a “Malay”. I think most of the Taiwanese cannot understand the difference between “Malaysian” and “Malay”. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)²⁹⁹

Although, making fun of their accent was probably not a big deal, this kind of joke should be reduced. There is another funny story of all Malaysians is living on the tree.

I was asked if I live on the tree in Malaysia or not, actually with this kind of the question, we already prepared a S.O.P. We will respond like, “Yeah, we lived on the tree, every day I have to go up and down the tree by elevator, and we also have air conditioner. The bad thing about living on the tree is the internet is slower, but it is still okay la.”

Some of the Taiwanese will ask very odd questions, such as do you live on the tree or do you every try eating rice in Malaysia, and we always answered them, that we go back to the tree by elevator. Maybe there were just kidding la. (#19 Lim Yen-Yen)³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Tan Jia Song, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁹⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

²⁹⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chen Fei-Da, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

³⁰⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lim Yen-Yen, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

I never encountered this kind of question. However, we still have a joke shared by our senior, that Taiwanese think we live on the tree. (#4 Alan Tan)³⁰¹

Turning the same question back to Malaysia, most of the interviewees do not encounter racial discrimination in Malaysia, however, most of them consider they were only be discriminate against by government politics, such as the “Kuota System”.³⁰²

Never, I never face any discrimination in Malaysia as a Malaysia Chinese. (#3 Li, Lin-Qi)³⁰³

I don't think we have racial problems anymore, if I was discriminated against, I will consider as an indivial case, not Malay discriminate against Chinese. (#5 Tan, Wee Yang)³⁰⁴

For a normal citizen like me, I have never have confronted by any discrimination by other races, however I think the Malaysia government is still doing many policies to separate the races in Malaysia. We still has some extremism in the government establishing racial policy. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)³⁰⁵

I did not feel any discrimination while I was in Malaysia, the only discrimination I encounter is the “Kuota System”. (#16 Lee Ka Ken)³⁰⁶

I did not feel discriminated against in daily life, however the policy like “Kuota System” is the biggest discrimination from the government. (#14 Chong, Su, Xin)³⁰⁷

4.2-3: Negative Factors in Taiwan

Though the interviewees mostly praised Taiwan in a positive way, they also indicated some negative factors about Taiwan. These factors did not bother their life in

³⁰¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Alan Tan, Interview, 2017, 11, 29.

³⁰² “Kuota” is originally from English “Quota”. This word was used in Malaysia education system, in Malaysia, the enrollment of university does not only base on the result of study, but base on the quota of race.

³⁰³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Lin-Qi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

³⁰⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Tan, Wee Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 02.

³⁰⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

³⁰⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lee Ka Ken, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

³⁰⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chong, Su, Xin, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

Taiwan, however they points out the ridiculous and absurd of Taiwan. News reporting in Taiwan pose an overwhelmingly negative effect by these interviewees. According to most of the interviewees Taiwan news report always concentrated on indifference matters, and lack of international news.

The news reports in Taiwan were very shallow, I even saw a cow falling down into the river on the news report before. In Malaysia, we only broadcast the important news. (#1 Zeng, Zheng-Wei)³⁰⁸

I think Taiwan news reports are awful and exaggerate. I saw a reporter acting the wind was very strong on a typhoon day, and Taiwan news reports never focus on international news, they rather focus on car accident and couple arguing on the street. (#13 Vickie Tue)³⁰⁹

The first time I watched a Taiwan news report was in Malaysia, our professor showed it to us in the class. The lecture gave us an example of what is “Chaos in the Media”, “Exaggerate News” and, “Media sensational”. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)³¹⁰

The interesting part of Taiwan is the News, well I mean the content of it is interest, the way they broadcast it is interesting, the ancient that happen is not interesting. I think the most important thing for Taiwan news are car accidents, there will be a car accident report on the television every day, and they seldom broadcast the international news. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)³¹¹

Some of the interviewees consider Taiwan’s democracy is way too over, too much complaining, and too many unsatisfied.

Basically, Taiwan has a more democratic system than Malaysia, however most of Taiwanese idea is more deviated than I expected. Before I came here, I thought Taiwan will value their government transparency, however I discovered that Taiwanese complained a lot. Taiwanese always enlarged the

³⁰⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Zeng, Zheng-Wei, Interview, 2017, 11, 22.

³⁰⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Vickie Tue, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

³¹⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

³¹¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

mistakes that the government make, never treasure the good things from the government. (#16 Lee Ka Ken)³¹²

My personal opinion, I consider Taiwan too democratic. If you ask me whether I want to be a politician in Taiwan? I will say no, because I think this is a shame, because all the first impression of politicians in Taiwan is fighting in the Legislature Yuan, it is not a holy job, no one will really respect you. For another example, if a professional scholar tried to be a politician, it is like dissolution of themselves, and always be aware to be thrown shoes by common people. (#10 Hwang Syou-Wen)³¹³

Most of the Malaysia Chinese are more conservative, we focus more effort on economics, the Taiwan Political system had lots of advantage before, because we had seen the powerful Taiwan under Chiang Ching-kuo administration. We admired Taiwan during the period of the “Four Asian Tiger”, and Taiwan’s democratization, Taiwan was like a wild charger now. We often compared Taiwan and Singapore, two of the country were like pharos to us, Taiwan used to occupy the best country in our Southeast Asian’s community, including Malaysia Chinese, Thailand Chinese, even Singapore admired Taiwan’s political system. However, the series of “performance” of Taiwan enable Singapore to surpass Taiwan, making us consider Singapore political system is more efficient than Taiwan.

4.2-4: Staying in Taiwan after Graduation?

According to the interviewees, there are four choices for them after they graduate no matter from University, Graduate School or Doctoral Program. Of course, the premise of this question is whether or not if Taiwan can offer a stable and ordinary job after they graduate. (See Graph 4-10)

The first option, and also the most popular option by the interviewees are finding a job in Taiwan for a couple years, then return to Malaysia. Most of the interviewees still consider Malaysia their home, and hope to bring the knowledge they learn in Taiwan back to Malaysia.

³¹² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Lee Ka Ken, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

³¹³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Syou-Wen, Interview, 2017, 12, 16.

Working in Taiwan is always my option; however, I still need to depend on what kind of job I can find here in Taiwan. I hope that I can find an intern next year, when I am senior, and work in Taiwan for a couple year, then strive for opportunities to go back to Malaysia. I still like the environment in Malaysia, because it is still my home. (#6 Hong, Jun-Yang)³¹⁴

If I can find a job here, I will stay in Taiwan, however I will go back to Malaysia, because Malaysia is still my home. (#8 Dai, Jing-Yi)³¹⁵

My plan is always returning to Malaysia, if I have a chance I will like to work in Taiwan for a year or two, to gain some experience, however eventually I will still return to Malaysia, because I think Malaysia is a country that is lacks of talented people. Malaysia is suffering the problem of brain-drain, I don't want to be one of it. (#9 Li, Jya-Hwei)³¹⁶

Twenty-five percent of the interviewees are going to leave Taiwan, and return to Malaysia after they graduate. The reasons are mainly on family opinions, the working policy for foreigners, and making adjustment to the Taiwan living environment.

I think I still need to go back to Malaysia, because my family is still in Malaysia, I still need to consider my parents' feeling. I have been in Taiwan for six years, I did not spend lots of time with them these past years, I think it's time for me to go back to home, unless my father tells me to stay here and find a job. (#1 Zeng, Zheng Wei)³¹⁷

There are lots of Malaysians who stay in Taiwan, I was one them, because my ex-girlfriend is Taiwanese, therefore I didn't repel to stay in Taiwan. However, my current girlfriend is a Malaysian, so I have to go back. I think if I am single, I won't stay in Taiwan anymore, the opportunity in Taiwan is decreasing, I don't think there is space for me. The salary in Taiwan is not higher than China and Hong Kong, and the policy toward us working in Taiwan is not that friendly. (#2 Cai, Jing-Hang)³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hong, Jun-Yang, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

³¹⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Dai, Jing-Yi, Interview, 2017, 12, 7.

³¹⁶ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Li, Jya-Hwei, Interview, 2017, 12, 15.

³¹⁷ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Zeng, Zheng-Wei, Interview, 2017, 11, 22.

³¹⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Cai, Jing-Hang, Interview, 2017, 11, 30.

I cannot adjust to the weather and food in Taiwan, and although the salary in Malaysia is not as high as Taiwan, but still the prices are lower, so I think Malaysia is a better place to stay. (#15 Pau Chiong Bim)³¹⁹

Two interviewees are hoping to work or study in another country after they graduate from university.

The economics in Malaysia is not good, and I think if I have a chance I will like to go to other country, such as Hong Kong. If not I think I will stay in Taiwan. (#14 Chong, Su, Xin)³²⁰

I will try to apply to a graduate school in other country, such as British, USA, or China. I like to see the world more, and I think having a university degree is not special in Taiwan. (#18 Wang Ong Seth)³²¹

Three interviewees hope to stay in Taiwan as long as they can.

The factor of me staying in Taiwan depends on whether I can find a job after I graduate. If I can find one, I will stay. I think there are more opportunities here in Taiwan rather in Malaysia. (#4 Alan Tan)³²²

I even want to immigrate to Taiwan, well I always follow my heart, so if you ask me if I want to stay in Taiwan or not, I will say yes. (#12 Hwang Jyun-wei)³²³

I will stay in Taiwan, because I think the environment in Taiwan is much better than Malaysia, although I heard that the Labor Standards Act is a little scary. I will probably move back to Malaysia after I retire.

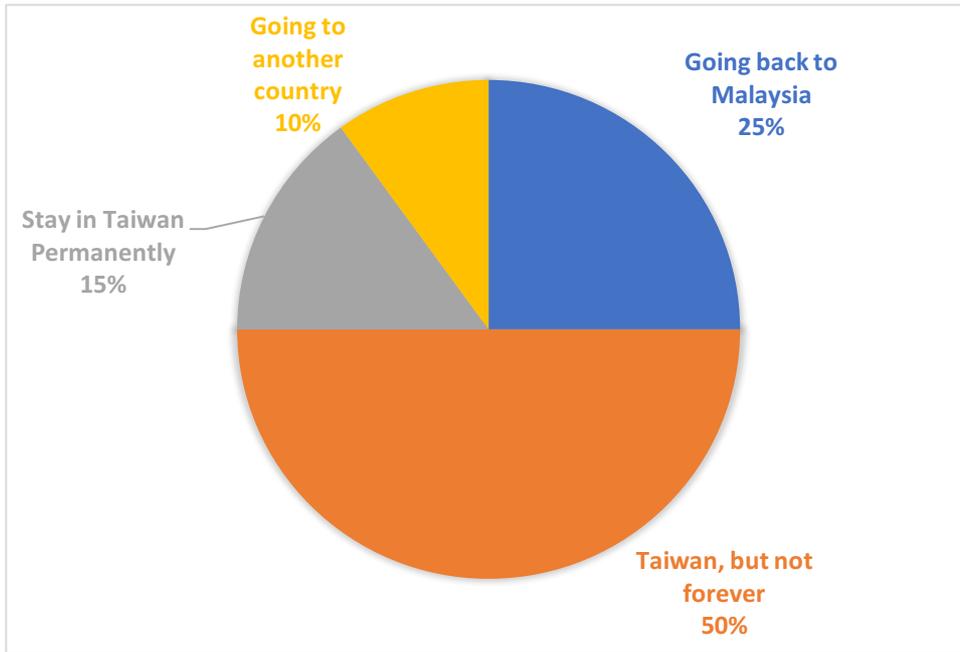
³¹⁹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Pau Chiong Bim, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

³²⁰ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Chong, Su, Xin, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.

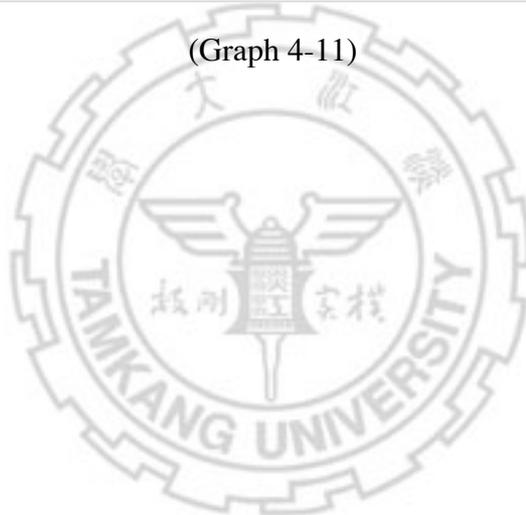
³²¹ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Wang Ong Seth, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

³²² Yi Shih Tang, interview, Alan Tan, Interview, 2017, 11, 29.

³²³ Yi Shih Tang, interview, Hwang Jyun-wei, Interview, 2017, 12, 19.



(Graph 4-11)



4:3: Conclusion

Through the interviews, we can find a pattern in the factors that affect Malaysia Chinese students coming to Taiwan. Reduced tuition and the convenience of applying as an Overseas Chinese are two important ones. Understanding the process these students go through to come to Taiwan, and then their lives while in Taiwan is paramount. Discovering the reasons why these students decide to stay in Taiwan or return home after graduating will help the Taiwan administration in their drive to keep skilled people in Taiwan.

Throughout the interviews, a variety of factors surfaced as to why Malaysia Chinese students choose to study in Taiwan. Although every factor is important from a different aspect, and some of the factors appeared very individual, all connected with each other. If we can strengthen these factors, it could bring a larger number of Malaysia students to Taiwan. In each interview, I heard a different story of what brought them here. From their stories, it is clear that Malaysia Overseas Chinese students have the potential to become Taiwan's future goodwill ambassadors.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

In Chapter Four, we discovered the different factors that attracted twenty Malaysian students to study in Taiwan. These factors possess multiple directions, so no matter what these factors are, it is worthy to find out how the Taiwan government can apply them in the future. The first step should be to understand Taiwan's attractiveness, which is really what its soft power is. Soft power can be divided into three different aspects: culture, political values and foreign policy. Every country in the world has its own soft power. Norway is one good example. Over the past twenty years, Norway has been a political negotiator for many countries, including the Philippines, Colombia, Guatemala, Sri Lanka and several Middle East countries. Norway has built up a common value in international affairs by acting as an international fixer, thus increasing its soft power. China is increasing its cultural soft power by establishing Confucius institutes. It already has 512 Confucius institutes in 140 different countries.³²⁴ These institutes reflect the trend of learning Chinese, and understanding Chinese culture, thus increasing China soft power. This kind of power can however have unexpected negative effects as in the case of Malaysia not welcoming these institutes, seeing them instead as an affront to their religion.³²⁵ Taiwan may not have the ability to create soft power strong enough to influence international affairs, but it does have capability to strengthen itself and its soft power with its inherent capability to attract Malaysia students for advanced education degrees.

³²⁴ 孔子學院， < http://www.hanban.org/confuciusinstitutes/node_10961.htm >

³²⁵ The Malaysia authority considered the Confucius institute as a religion, it did not successfully established in Malaysia in the beginning, eventually, the institutes changed its name to "Global Chinese Center"(全球漢語中心). See More: Yi-Chun Yen, *China's Confucius Institute Policy*, (MA. Diss. Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, Tamkang University, 2012), p.101.

5-1: What is Taiwan's Soft Power toward Malaysia student?

The use of power is extremely important. Aiming our target and understanding their preference is the first aim of this research. Power should not be used only to command or threaten. It should be exercised by your object demand.³²⁶ The Malaysia Chinese student can be a target for Taiwan universities due at least partly to the reasons of Malaysia's lasting racial problems since the British colonization-era Divide-and-Rule Policy that influenced the racial conflicts between the Malay and Chinese. The conflict between the two groups of people was affected by the establishment of the Barnes and Fenn-Wu Reports, the 1952 Education Ordinance, Dongzong, Jiaozong, Chinese Independent High Schools, and the Kuota system. These Malaysian domestic affairs influenced them to abandon Chinese education, or to leave the country. Taiwan Overseas Chinese education provides for the demand of these students with, for example, 162 universities in Taiwan acknowledging the UEC.³²⁷ Every university in Taiwan can absorb students from Malaysia, building up a friendly environment for them. This will naturally attract Malaysia Chinese students to come and study in Taiwan universities.

There are other forms of Taiwan soft power that attract Malaysia Chinese students to Taiwan universities. Normally, the cultural soft power comprises literature, art, education, and pop culture. In this category of soft power, the Taiwan education system and the Overseas Chinese Students Policy can be the best soft power for Malaysia Chinese Students. It offers them a much cheaper tuition and an easier way to study in

³²⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，《柔性權力》（*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*）（臺北：遠流出版社，2006年），頁28。

³²⁷ 董總考試局，《認識統考》（馬來西亞：馬來西亞華校董事聯合會總會，2014年），頁9。

Taiwan. Taiwan has a tremendous advantage over China on this discussion. China (including Hong Kong and Macao) and Taiwan are the only two countries that can fit Malaysia Chinese students for higher education. Taiwan provides a better environment than China. These influences came from the factors discussed in Chapter Four, and it is these factors that China does not possess.

The first choice of studying abroad will be Taiwan when I was still in Malaysia, this kind of atmosphere was the mainstream in the school. Although China universities will still send people to our school, giving lots of scholarships, but most of my classmates still wanted to come to Taiwan. I think the main reason is because the influence of my classmates and my senior. (#11 Augustine Seng)³²⁸

Pop culture is a modern method to increase soft power. Before the fall of Berlin Wall, western movies and songs had already penetrated the wall.³³⁰ Although, some people may believe pop culture can be negative, with Taiwan soft power it is generally very positive. Before most of the young Malaysia Chinese had the idea of going to university, they had already known the Taiwan university lifestyle. They had watched the famous idol drama, *Meteor Garden*. They know Taiwan has same-sex marriage, because they had read *Giddens Ko's*(九把刀) novel, and they already knew of Tamkang University, because of a scene in the movie , *Secret* directed by *Jay Chou*. For most of the Malaysia Chinese students, their first impression of Taiwan is from our pop culture. Although it may not always help the government to produce the effect they wanted, it still needs to assist Taiwan's Media industry. Ten years ago, Taiwan pop culture was

³²⁸ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Augustine Seng*, Interview, 2017, 12, 18.

³³⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，《柔性權力》(Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics) (臺北：遠流出版社，2006年)，頁96。

still the main stream culture in Malaysia, however in these couple years, it has been surpassed by the pop cultures of South Korea, and China.

Taiwan pop culture is facing the problem of too many television stations, a decrease in adverting revenue, and a sharp drop in overseas revenue. The Ministry of Culture should step in and be the engine of Taiwan media industry. It should invest the government resources into the industry, and combine it with Taiwan tourism. Taiwan still maintain some of the ability to influence pop culture, such as the *Golden Horse Awards* which is still the most important events for Asia movie. The author experienced the popular of Taiwan movie, *Our Times*, during my Malaysia internship in 2015. This movie not only influenced the Malaysia Chinese like usual, but also Malay. Some students from Perak, even remake the movie's music video, uploading it to YouTube. It has now reached more than eight hundred thousand viewers.³³²

Certain internal political values can also reduce a country's soft power, for example the lost felt by the United States of America because of racial segregation in the 1950s.³³⁴ Taiwan political values are one of the most modern in the Asia region, especially compared to Malaysia or China. While some of the political values might help it gains soft power, some might loss it as we saw in Chapter Four. Taiwan democracy should be Taiwan's best political values soft power, but it will not be if the only impression is something like Taiwan politicians fighting in the Legislative Yuan. In this area, Taiwan has compromised some of its soft power with Malaysia students.

³³² 《馬來西亞板我的少女時代 MV MY Our Times 小幸運》(2015)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=38&v=v40s5MTApK4

³³⁴ Joseph S. Nye, Jr 著，吳家恆和方祖芳譯，《柔性權力》(*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*) (臺北：遠流出版社，2006年)，頁 41-46。

However, there are still some positive political value that can strength Taiwan soft power, and in particular our acceptance of same-sex marriage.

I was quite surprised that Taiwan will be the first country to adopt the same-sex marriage. I thought would it be Hong Kong or Thailand. It is kind of amazing to me, and I think it is good for Taiwan. (#14 Chong, Su, Xin)

The best thing I like about Taiwan is there open-mindedness, for example the same-sex marriage This is one of the biggest difference compared to Malaysia. I think the day when Malaysia adopt same-sex marriage will be a hundred years from now. (#17 Chen Fei-Da)³³⁵

Foreign policy can be the most difficult part for Taiwan to implement, however one of the main concern of foreign policy are the values behind it. United States set many bad examples, such as invading Vietnam or Iraq. These are just an example as there is no way Taiwan is going to be too aggressive bully to the point of invading others. In contrast, Taiwan should continually defend the value of peace and human rights in the field of international affairs. There are two perspectives that Taiwan government can implement on this part:

1. Taiwan government should stop minimise deadlocks with the Chinese government. Though the Tsai administration has trying to offer the olive leaf, the base line of 1992 Consensus between China and Taiwan has become an international obstacle. Taiwan should either find a new way to communicate with the Chinese government or consider restoring the 1992 Consensus. After Tsai, Ing-Wen became president, cross-strait relations have moved backwards. Taiwan

³³⁵ Yi Shih Tang, interview, *Chen Fei-Da*, Interview, 2017, 12, 23.

can only use its soft power on a condition of peace and friendly cross-strait relations.

2. Taiwan should continue to support other countries with human right awards. Bersih 2.0, one of the best-known NGOs in Malaysia, won Taiwan's Democracy Award in December of 2016.³³⁶ This can definitely increase the favorable impression of Malaysian Chinese toward Taiwan, which is how we can gain valuable soft power.

In short, Taiwan can create a lot of applicable soft power. These uses of soft power can be seen in three major aspects:

1. Using our soft power to attract more and more Malaysia Chinese students to come and study in Taiwan universities can lead to two different positive results. The first one is with the students staying in Taiwan after they graduate from Taiwan universities, and the other one is with the ones returning to Malaysia. Taiwan is now becoming an aged society, therefore to solve this problem Taiwan can consider Singapore immigration policy which is encourages and attracts people to come and stay in Singapore. If Taiwan can create a better environment for Overseas Chinese working in Taiwan (the complaint about the current one is that it is too strict), it will increase the willingness of graduates to stay here and work. A better working environment and more opportunities can also increase the confidence of Malaysia Chinese students coming to Taiwan for university.

³³⁶ FMT Reporters, "Bersih to receive democracy and human rights award," *Free Malaysia Today*, November 16, < <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2017/11/16/bersih-to-receive-democracy-and-human-rights-award/> >

2. The other positive result is from these Malaysia students that return to Malaysia. After studying and living in Taiwan, these students must gain from Taiwan values in various ways which they can carry back to Malaysia. These graduated Malaysian students will be the soft power that encourages more and more students to come and study in Taiwan.
3. These Malaysia students can be Taiwan business partners after they return to Malaysia. JR Group is one example. This company has been receiving many awards in the field of biotechnology; its board chairman graduated from National Chung Hsing University(中興大學). He has established a platform that Taiwanese and Malaysian to collaborate with each other. He has also indicated that if a Taiwan businessman wanted to invest in Malaysia, the first thing to do would be to visit the local Association of Taiwan Universities. From these associations, they can easily find the connection with, and advice from, Malaysia Chinese who have graduated from Taiwan.³³⁷

³³⁷ 外貿協會經貿透視雙周刊，《經貿透視雙周刊 472，大馬汶萊雙星，閃耀新南向。》(臺北，外貿協會，2017)，頁 59。

5-2: The “New Southbound Policy”

In 2016, The New Southbound Policy provided scholarships for nine Taiwan students to study in a Southeast Asia country. However, only one chose Malaysia. The first pick for Taiwanese student is still Singapore, which we often consider as a more modern country. The “Exchange of Experts” program between Taiwan and Malaysia is often imbalanced, with far more students coming to Taiwan than Taiwanese going to Malaysia. Therefore, to enhance the connection between two countries, the New Southbound Policy should encourage more Taiwan students to study in Malaysia, or at least exchange to Malaysia for short term internships or education programs. Taiwan should try to know Malaysia more. The importance of short term exchange can have a strong effect, as can be seen from the author’s own experience. I join the Global Service Internship Program (GSIP) that was held by Tamkang University in 2014 and 2015. This program provides an opportunity for students in Tamkang to intern in Southeast Asia countries NGOs. I was chosen to intern in Bersih, Malaysia. Though I had been to Malaysia five times before, it did not help me understand anything about Malaysia. Because of the internship I learned different aspect of Malaysia, history, culture, and politics. Therefore, I decided to write my thesis on Malaysia. Some of my intern partners who went to Indonesia, decided to go to Indonesia for a year to study Indonesian. Therefore, offering more resource and opportunity for students to do exchanges is the easiest way to gain relationships with Southeast Asia countries.

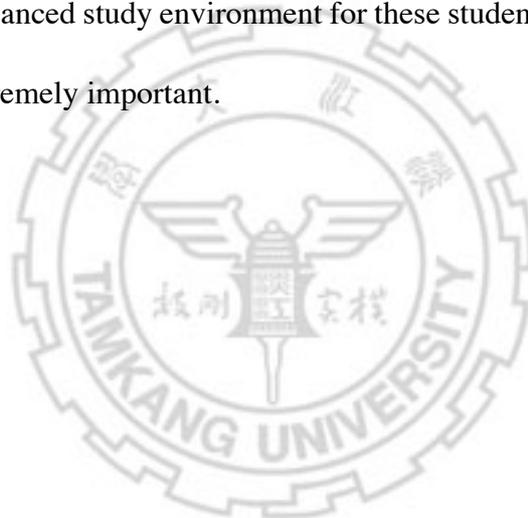
The New Southbound Policy should aim at the aspect of pop culture too. Ten years ago, Taiwan pop culture could still influence the Malaysian teenagers. Unfortunately, in these past few years, it has lost out to South Korea and China. The New Southbound

Policy should find a way to collaborate with the Ministry of Culture to invest for example in a series about Malaysia students studying in Taiwan. They should find some famous actors, actresses, and directors to produce an TV dramas or movies, to influence the Malaysian young students again, and try to restore the golden age of Taiwan's film industry.

Taiwan is not the only Asian country that is implementing a “New Southbound Policy” as seen by the South Korea's president, *Mun Jae-in's*, “New Southern Policy”. It focuses on “People”, “Peace”, and “Prosperity” by increasing Southeast Asia scholarship, and expanding the scale of Southeast Asia research in the aspect of “People”. In regards to “Peace”, South Korea is hoping to build up a “Peace Commerce” with ASEAN to avoid terrorism and other security threats. It will also invest in transportation, energy and information technology.³³⁸ After the political fallout from deploying the USA-based missile defense system, South Korea's economy is seeking to increase its market range to find a way to stop relying only on China. With this competition from other countries, Taiwan should take more measure of its own attempts. Instead, the New Southbound Policy under the Office of the President has been cut and moved to the Executive Yuan. The reason stated is that its mission has been accomplished. With the competition from China's “The Belt and Road”, and South Korea's version of the “New Southern Policy”, how long will the Taiwan's New Southbound Policy be sustainable? If we are not careful, this policy may end up like the Old Southbound Policy.

³³⁸ Prashanth Parameswaran, “Questions remain over Moon's new Southern Policy”, *The Straits Times*, Dec 9, 2017, <<http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/questions-remain-over-moons-new-southern-policy>>

Therefore, focus on the efficiency of Overseas Chinese Policy, and pondering the measures that could keep these students in Taiwan after they graduate is of great important. Though the Overseas Chinese Policy has been criticized by some politician these past couple years, for increasing students from Malaysia it has made a tremendous contribution. Taiwan universities are facing the problem of the lack of student, so attracting Malaysian students could help alleviate this problem, while at the same time giving Taiwanese a chance to learn and understand about Malaysia. Malaysia still have 60 Chinese Independent High Schools, and the number of students is still increasing. Providing a better advanced study environment for these students through the Overseas Chinese Policy is extremely important.



5-3: Recommendations for Future Research

This research focused on the “Push” and “Pull” factors of why Malaysia Chinese students come and study in Taiwan. The “Push” factors discussed are specific to the history of Malaysia. However, the “Pull” factors could well be used to influence other Southeast Asian countries. Although the Chinese language is not openly taught in Indonesia, it does have the largest ethnic Chinese population in the world. Even though the Myanmar ethnic Chinese population is far less, it provides for Chinese language learning. Taiwan could be a prime destination for those students seeking advanced education. Thailand would be yet another potential research focus because of the large number of ethnic Chinese and Chinese-language schools in the north. Whether or not, Taiwan soft power could apply the same “Pull” factors to other Southeast Asia countries would be worth investigating. Continuing to discover ways to “Pull” Overseas Chinese to Taiwan, thus increasing Taiwan soft power even more, would be a worthy topic for future research.

Bibliography

Books in English

- Bedlington, Stanley. *Malaysia and Singapore: The Building of New States*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Case, William. *Malaysia Aspects and Audiences of Legitimacy*, In Muthiah Alagappa, eds., *Political legitimacy in Southeast Asia: the quest for moral authority*. California: Stanford University Press, California, 1995.
- Chee, Ang Ming. *Institution and Social Mobilization-The Chinese Education Movement in Malaysia, 1951~2011*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Crouch, Harold, *Government and Society In Malaysia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Dayley, Robert and Neher, Clark D. *Southeast Asia In the New International Era*. Colorado: Westview Press, 2013.
- Gungwu, Wang. *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese*. Taipei: Buffalo Book CO. LTD., 1969.
- He, Mingxiu. *Green Democracy*. Taipei: Socio Publishing, 2006.
- Healy, A.M. *Tunku Abdul Rahman*. Queensland Press: Queensland, 1982.
- Hou, Kok Chung ed. *The Intellectual Elites in Malaysian Chinese History*. Taipei: Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, 2001.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.
- Knorr, Kdaus. *The Power of Nation*. Basic Books, INC, Publishers, 1975.
- Ho, Khai-Leong, ed. *The Political Elites in Malaysian Chinese History*. Taipei, Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, 2001.
- Kheng, Chenh Boon. *Red Star over Malaya*. Singapore: NUS Press, 2012.
- Kheng, Cheah Boon. *Malaysia: The Making of Nation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- Ko, Chin. *Malaya Upside Down*. Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publication, 1976.
- Liang, Minghua, *Taiwan Southbound Policy's Political and Economic Relationship*, in Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao's, ed. *Taiwan and Southeast Asia: go-south policy and Vietnamese brides*. Taipei: Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies, 2003.
- Miller, Harry. *A Short History of Malaysia*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, 1966.
- Mohammed, Mahatir. *The Malay Dilemma*. Kuala Lumpur: World Book, 1981.
- Purcell, Victor. *Malaya Communist or Free*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1954.
- Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Malaya*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.

- Su, Chi and Anguo, Zheng. *Guozheng Congshu*. Taipei: National Policy Foundation, 2002.
- Rahman, Tunku. *Looking Back, Monday Musings and Memories*. Malaysia: Pustaka Antara, la Lumpur, 1977.
- Tong, Chee Kiong, *The Chinese in Contemporary Malaysia*. in Lian Kwen Fee ed. *Race, Ethnicity, and the State in Malaysia and Singapore*. Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 2006.
- Yang, James. *The Malaysian Chinese In a Dilemma: A Case Study on the Chinese Society and the Political Process in West Malaysia 1957-1978*. Taipei: The Liberal Arts Press, 1982.
- Yu, Zongxian and Wang, Jinli. *Taiwanese Asset Price Bubble*. Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1997.

Books in Chinese

- 丘正歐，《華僑問題論集》。臺北市：中華學術院，1978年。
- 邱漢平，《華僑問題》。長沙市：商務印書局，1939年。
- 李光耀，《李光耀回憶錄（1965~2000）》。臺北：世界書局，2000年。
- 李樸生，《華僑發展簡史》。密西根州：海外文庫，1962。
- 李為麟，《華僑革命史》。臺北市：正中書局，1988年。
- 林水椽，《獨立前華文教育》。吉隆坡：馬來西亞中華大會堂聯合會，1998。
- 吳主惠著，蔡茂豐譯，《華僑的本質分析》。臺北：黎明文化事業公司。
- 林連玉，《改編華校教科書》，《風雨十八年上集》。吉隆坡：林連玉基金委員會，1990。
- 周陸僑，《僑生回國升學概況》。臺北：僑委會，1972年。
- 郁漢良，《華僑教育發展史上冊》。臺北：國立編譯館，2001年。
- 郁樹鋸主編，《南洋年鑑》。新加坡：南洋商報出版，1951年。
- 柯嘉遜，《馬來西亞華教奮鬥史》。吉隆坡：雪蘭莪中華大會堂，1999年。
- 高信，《中華民國之華僑與僑務》。臺北：正中書局，1989年。
- 高信，《八十自選集·續集》。臺北市：臺灣商務印書館，1990年。
- 張克宏，《康有為在新馬》。吉隆坡：華社研究中心，2006年。
- 張啟雄主編，《時代變局與海外華人的族國認同》。臺北：中華民國海外華人研究學會，2011年。
- 顧因明，王且華譯，《檳榔嶼開闢史》。臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1936年。
- 崔貴強，《新馬華人國家認同的轉向 1945~1959》。新加坡：南洋學會，1990年。
- 許雲樵主編，《新馬華人抗日史料 1937-1945》。新加坡：南洋學會，1984年。
- 高淑清，《質性研究的 18 堂課首航初探之旅》。臺北：麗文文化事業股份有限公司，2008年。
- 郭湘章，《東南亞之華僑》。臺北：正中書局，1967年。
- 梁子衡，《華僑政治生活》。臺北：華僑協會總會，1997年。

莫泰熙，《馬來西亞華文教育運動》。德國漢諾威第六屆國際漢語教學研討會：董總，1990年。

莫順生，《馬來西亞教育史》。吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師會總會，2000年。

莊永敬，《華僑開國革命史料》。臺北：正中書局，1977年。

新加坡聯合早報編，《李光耀40年政論選》。臺北：聯經出版，1994年。

鄭良樹，《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》（第一分冊）。吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，1998年。

鄭良樹，《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》（第三分冊）。（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，1998年。

鄭良樹，《馬來西亞華文教育發展史》（第四分冊）。（吉隆坡：馬來西亞華校教師總會，2003年。

夏誠華，《民國以來的僑務與僑教研究》。臺北：玄奘大學海外華人研究中心，2005年。

曾豹慶，《馬來西雅華人教育的困境與出路》。長沙：嶽麓書社，1985年。

陳樹強，《三民主義僑務政策之實踐與評估》。臺北：海華文教，1994年。

楊建成，《華僑史》。臺北：中華學術院南洋研究所，1985年。

楊建成，《英屬馬來亞華僑》。臺北：中華學術院南洋研究所，1986年。

楊建成，《中國國民黨與華僑文獻初編》。臺北市：南洋研究所，1984年。

楊慶南，《馬來西亞、汶萊華僑概況》。臺北：正中書局，1989年。

鍾叔河編，《出使英法議比四國日記》。（長沙：嶽麓書社，1985年。

陳直夫，《華僑與中國國民革命運動》。（臺北：香港時報，1981年。

陳鴻瑜，《馬來西亞史》。臺北：蘭臺出版社，2012年。

黃奎博，〈台僑在東南亞之生根與發展〉，發表於「2008年僑務發展之外交意涵學術」研討會。（臺北：僑務委員會，2008年5月15日。

華僑志編纂委員會合著，《馬來亞華僑志》。臺北：華僑志編纂委員會合著，1959年。

華僑志編纂委員會合著，《華僑志總志》。臺北：華僑志編纂委員會，1964年。

僑委會華僑通訊社編，《中華民國僑務發展歷程》。臺北市：僑委會華僑通訊社編，1990年。

僑務委員會編，《高信委員長言論選輯》。臺北市：編者印行，1964年。

僑務委員會編，《僑務五十年》。臺北市：編者印行，1982年。

劉文榮，《馬來西亞華人經濟地位之轉變》。臺北：世華經濟出版社，1988年。

劉士木與徐之圭，《華僑概觀》。上海市，中華書局，1935年。

顧長永，《馬來西亞：獨立五十年》。臺北：臺灣商務印書館，2009年。

Journals

Yao Sua Tan & Hooi See Teoh. "The development of Chinese education in Malaysia, 1952-1975: Political collaboration between the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Chinese educationists". *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 44.1, 83-100, 2015.

Chun-Ni, Chen. "Study on the Chinese Education and Chinese Self-identity in Malaysia". *The Elementary Education Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1, 2017.

Master Thesis

Kuo Yu-Wen. *A Study on Economic Impacts on Malays under "New Economic Policy" in Malaysia*. Ma. Diss./ Thesis. Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies of Tamkang University, 2004.

Wu, Wen-Wu, *A Research on Malaysia Chinese Independent Schools' Unified Examination (Senior Section) (1975-2005)*. Master Diss. Graduate Institute of History, Tamkang University, 2006.

Yi-Chun Yen. *China's Confucius Institute Policy*. MA. Diss. Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, Tamkang University, 2012.

Government Documents, Reports, and Newspaper

Bureau of Foreign Trade, "New Southbound Policy Programme," (2016),

< <https://www.newsouthboundpolicy.tw/PageDetail.aspx?id=9d38cb45-4dfc-41eb-96dd-536cf6085f31&pageType=SouthPolicy> >

Bureau of Foreign Trade, "New Southbound Policy Plans," (2016),

< <https://www.newsouthboundpolicy.tw/PageDetail.aspx?id=cbf0a167-7c9e-4840-ba5b-2d47b5badb00&pageType=SouthPolicy> >

Department of Statistics Malaysia, Official Portal, "Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2016-2017", (2017), <

https://www.dosm.gov.my/v1/index.php?r=column/cthemByCat&cat=155&bul_id=a1d1UTFZazd5ajJiRWFHNDduOXFFQT09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVVSZkIWdzQ4TlhUUT09>

R.O.C Ministry of Education, "Education Statistic Report", (2015).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of China (Taiwan), "ROC President Dr. Tsai Ing-Wen delivers inaugural address" (2016), <

http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=8157691CA2AA32F8&sms=4F8ED5441E33EA7B&s=E14734C1FB32BB0B >

Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), "The Number of Overseas Students" (2016),

<http://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=9E7AC85F1954DDA8&s=FEAB840E5EF4E49C>

Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), "Foreign Students in Taiwan", Jan, (2016), <

<http://depart.moe.edu.tw/ed4500/cp.aspx?n=1B58E0B736635285&s=D04C74553DB60CAD>>

Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), "2015 Overseas Students in College and University", (2015), <

<http://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/brief/104%E5%B9%B4%E5%A4%A7%E5%B0%88%E6%A0%A1%E9%99%A2%E5%A2%83%E5%A4%96%E5%AD%B8%E7%94%9F%E6%A6%82%E6%B3%81.pdf>>

Ministry of Education Republic of China(Taiwan), *Number of Overseas Chinese Students from 2005~2016*, (2017) <

http://depart.moe.edu.tw/ED4500/News_Content.aspx?n=48EBDB3B9D51F2B8&sms=F78B10654B1FDBB5&s=212B2CF76078EBF4>

National Operation Council, *The May 13 Tragedy: A Report*, Kuala Lumpur: National Operation Council, (1969).

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, “*Education at a Glance 2011: OECD Indicators.*” Paris, FR: OECD.

Overseas Community Affairs Council, “*2016 Statistical Yearbook of the Overseas Community Affairs Council.*” Republic of China (Taiwan), (2016).

Overseas Community Affairs Council, “*Number of Overseas Chinese.*”, (2016) <

<http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/Eng/Pages/VDetail.aspx?nodeid=323&pid=336264> >

European Union, *Living in the EU*, < https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/figures/living_en>

Overseas Community Affairs Council, “*Number of Overseas Taiwanese.*”, (2016) <

<http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/Eng/Pages/VDetail.aspx?nodeid=323&pid=336264> >

Legislative Yuan Republic of China (Taiwan), *Official Gazette*, (2014).

中華民國教育部，〈《僑生及港澳生人數概況統計 94 年到 105 年》〉，（臺北：教育部，2003~2016）

https://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=829446EED325AD02&s=212B2CF76078EBF4

中華民國教育部，〈《僑生及港澳生人數概況統計 94 年到 105 年》〉，（臺北：教育部，2003~2016）

<https://www.edu.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=829446EED325AD02&s=212B2CF76078EBF4>

馬來西亞華校董事聯合會總會，〈《2009-2016 年全國華文獨立中學基本統計資料》〉，2009-2016。

<http://www.dongzong.my/resource/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=75&Itemid=76>

僑委會，〈《89 年僑務統計年報》〉，2000 年。

僑委會，〈《90 年僑務統計年報》〉，2001 年。

僑委會，〈《91 年僑務統計年報》〉，2002 年。

僑委會，〈《92 年僑務統計年報》〉，2003 年。

僑委會，〈《93 年僑務統計年報》〉，2004 年。

僑委會，〈《94 年僑務統計年報》〉，2005 年。

僑委會，〈《95 年僑務統計年報》〉，2006 年。

僑委會，〈《96 年僑務統計年報》〉，2007 年。

僑委會，〈《97 年僑務統計年報》〉，2008 年。

僑委會，〈98年僑務統計年報〉，2009年。
僑委會，〈99年僑務統計年報〉，2010年。
僑委會，〈100年僑務統計年報〉，2011年。
僑委會，〈101年僑務統計年報〉，2012年。
僑委會，〈102年僑務統計年報〉，2013年。
僑委會，〈103年僑務統計年報〉，2014年。
僑委會，〈104年僑務統計年報〉，2015年。
僑委會，〈105年僑務統計年報〉，2016年。

Lally Weymouth, "Opinions Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-Wen: Beijing must respect our democratic will," The Washington Post, 2016

碧澄，〈想起當年的“火炬運動”〉，《中國報》，2015年2月5日，<

<http://www.chinapress.com.my/20150205/%E7%A2%A7%E6%BE%84%E6%83%B3%E8%B5%B7%E7%95%B6%E5%B9%B4%E7%9A%84%E7%81%AB%E7%82%AC%E9%81%8B%E5%8B%95/>
>。



Glossary of Non-English Text

- Abdul Razak (阿都拉薩)
- Anwar Ibrahim (安華)
- Chang Hsiao-yen (張小燕)
- Chen Lanbin (陳蘭彬)
- Chung Ling High School (鍾靈中學)
- Chinese Independent School (獨立中學)
- Communist Party of Malaya (馬來亞共產黨)
- David Chen (陳充恩)
- Democratic Action Party (民主行動黨)
- Devil Beside You (惡魔在身邊)
- Division of Preparatory Programs for Overseas Chinese Students, DPPOCS (僑生先修部)
- Federated Malay States (馬來聯邦)
- Federation of Malaya (馬來亞聯合邦)
- Giddens Ko (九把刀)
- Global Chinese Center (全球漢語中心)
- Guess Guess Guess (我猜我猜我猜猜猜)
- Han Dynasty (漢朝)
- Harlem Yu (庾澄慶)
- Hot Shot (籃球火)
- Hua Ren (華人)
- Hua Qiao (華僑)
- Huang Xing (黃興)
- Hua Yi (華裔)
- Hu Han-min (胡漢民)
- I-Shou University (義守大學)
- Jay Chou (周杰倫)
- Jinmen (金門)
- Johor (柔佛州)
- Jolin Tasi (蔡依林)
- Kangsi Coming (康熙來了)
- Kaohsiung Medical University, KMU (高雄醫學大學)
- Kedah (吉打)
- Kelantan (吉蘭丹)

Kuala Lumpur (吉隆坡)
Kuomintang, KMT (國民黨)
Lee Teng-hui (李登輝)
LeeHom Wang (王力宏)
Lim Lian Geok (林連玉)
Lim Kit Siang (林吉祥)
Liu Shi Mu (劉士木)
Lee Kuan Yew (李光耀)
Lu Haodong (陸皓東)
Malacca (馬六甲)
Malayan Emergency (馬來亞緊急狀態)
Malayan Oppose on the Convention of Vernacular Schools into National Schools (教總反對改方言學校為國民學校宣言)
Malayan Union (馬來亞聯邦)
Malaysian Chinese Association, MCA (馬來西亞華人公會)
Malaysian Indian Congress (馬來西亞印度國民大會黨)
Marco Polo Bridge Incident (七七事變)
Ma Tsu (媽祖)
Mayday (五月天)
May Fourth Movement (五四運動)
Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九)
May 13 Riots (五一三事件)
Meteor Garden (流星花園)
Mouse Loves Rice (老鼠愛大米)
Mr. Player (綜藝玩很大)
Mun Jae-in (文在寅)
My MVP Valentine (MVP 情人)
National Chung Cheng University, CCU (中正大學)
National Chung Hsing University (中興大學)
National Convention of Chinese School Teachers' Association in Malaya (全馬教師工會代表大會)
Negeri Sembilan (森美蘭)
Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Teachers' Association (森美蘭華校教師公會)
New Economic Policy, NEP (新經濟政策)
New Southbound Policy (新南向政策)
Operation Lalang (茅草行動)

Our Times (我的少女時代)
Overseas Taiwanese (臺灣僑民)
Pahang (彭亨)
Pangkor Treaty (邦咯條約)
Penang (檳城)
Peng-Hu (澎湖)
Perak (霹靂州)
Perlis (玻璃市)
Preference Card (志願卡)
Putra Jaya (布城)
Qin Dynasty (秦朝)
Qing Dynasty (清朝)
Qiu Han Ping (丘漢平)
Qiu Zheng Ou (丘正歐)
Sabah (沙巴)
Sarawak (砂拉越)
Secret (不能說的秘密)
Selangor (雪蘭莪)
Selangor Hokkien Association (雪蘭莪福建會館)
Shang Dynasty (商朝)
Shih Hsin University (世新大學)
Sim Mowyu (沈慕羽)
Si Shu (私塾)
Smiling Pasta (微笑 Pasta)
Song Dynasty (宋朝)
Soochow University (東吳大學)
Southbound Policy (南向政策)
Straits Settlements (海峽殖民地)
Sun Yat-sen (孫中山)
Tamkang University, TKU (淡江大學)
Tamkang University Langyang Campus, TKUL (淡江大學蘭陽校園)
Tan Cheng Lock (陳禎祿)
Tan Kah Kee (陳嘉庚)
Tan Lark Sye (陳六使)
Tang Dynasty (唐朝)



Taishang (臺商)

Terengganu (登嘉樓)

Thean Hou Temple (吉隆天后宮)

The Overseas Chinese are the mother of the Revolution. (華僑為革命之母)

The Prince Who Turns into a Frog (王子變青蛙)

The Rose (薔薇之戀)

The United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, Dongzong (馬來西亞華校董事聯合會總會, 董總)

The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia, Jiaozong (馬來西亞華校教師總會, 教總)

Tian-Ran-Du (天然獨)

Tongmenghui (同盟會)

Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文)

Tunku Abdul Rahman (東姑阿都拉曼)

Unfederated Malay States (馬來屬邦)

Unified Examination Certificate, UEC (獨中統一考試)

United Malays National Organization, UMNO (馬來民族統一機構)

University Entrance Committee for Overseas Chinese Students (海外聯合招生委員會)

University Family Gathering (大學家聚)

Wang Jin-wei (汪精衛)

Westside Story (西街少年)

Why Why Love (換換愛)

Wu Zhu Hui (吳主惠)

Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命)

Xiyu (西域)

Xue Fucheng (薛福成)

Xu Zhi Gui (徐之圭)

Yilan (宜蘭)

Zeng He (鄭和)

Zhou Dynasty (周朝)