

**National Agendas, Priorities and Strategies for Change
in ASEAN (Association for South East Asian) Countries.**

by

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Abstract

In spite of the economic dynamism of the ASEAN countries (Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines and Brunei) in the last two decades poverty has been a threat to economic development. Poverty which has been described in the literature with more than one dimension: the dimensions of time, distribution, and attitudes have been of great concern to policy makers and scholars alike. Arguments that are related to the pros of an increased GNP alone does not necessarily guarantee an improved standard or quality of life thus reducing the poverty level for a number of reasons namely: as income per capita increases population increases, the unequal distribution of wealth concentrated or divided by the rural-urban dichotomy is still significant, as financial of projects rely heavily on foreign borrowing, and as countries in the region are vulnerable to natural disasters funds were diverted overcome urgent humanitarian needs.

Eradication of poverty has always been a significant strategy used by all the developing ASEAN countries embedded in the purview of National Development Plans. What seems to be a clear indication, despite many differences among member ASEAN countries is that the focus of solving poverty problem has always been focus on higher education. Strange enough expansion of gross enrolment ratio for higher education has been growing ever since 1950's. It has grown from less than one percent to 4 percent.

This paper therefore is to find answers to two basic research questions which are related to the theories of educational expansionism. First it attempts to search for the courses that led to the enrolment change in higher education, if any, between the period 1930's to 1980's (about fifty years). Secondly it attempts to explain the causes of the changes, if any, and how they are related to the national agendas, priorities and strategies for change within the same period. For both purposes data in the ASEAN countries are used to examine the evidence.

The Scenario for the ASEAN Countries

Inspite of the economic dynamism of the late 1980's and 1990's in countries of the Pacific Rim (see Table 1.0 and Table 2.0) , the greatest threat for nation development in ASEAN countries (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines and Singapore) in particular is still poverty. Poverty has been described in the literature with more than one dimension: the dimension of *time* that is short or long term cyclical occurrence of poverty, the dimension of *distribution* that is the narrow or wide spread concentration or individual poverty, and the dimension of *attitudes* towards the poor which is recorded as sympathetic or hostile. These dimensions have been of great concern to both scholars and policy implementer alike.

Table 1.0
Annual Growth Rate for the ASEAN Countries from 1980 to 1990

Country	Year										
	1980	'81	'82	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90
Brunei	3.5	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.8	2.8	2.0	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.2
Indonesia	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.5	1.6	2.2	2.1	0.5	2.0
Malaysia	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3
Philippines	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.6	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
Singapore	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.7
Thailand	2.8	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.2	1.6

Source: Statistical Yearbook for ASIA and Pacific Rim 1991.
United Nations Publication

Table 2.0
Economic Indicator for ASEAN Countries from 1987 to 1994
Gross Domestic Product by Percentage

County	Year							
	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987
Malaysia	N/A	8.0	8.5	8.5	8.6	9.4	8.7	5.3
Singapore	N/A	9.9	5.8	6.7	8.3	9.2	11.1	8.8
Thailand	N/A	7.9	7.4	7.9	11.5	12.3	13.3	9.5
Indonesia	N/A	N/A	5.7	6.6	7.1	7.5	5.8	4.8
Brunei	na	N/A	5.1	3.0	3.0	3.5	2.2	1.1
Philippines	N/A	N/A	N/A	- 0.7	2.7	6.0	6.3	4.7

Source: NSTP on-line, 1995

Arguments that are related to the pros (and cons) about the increas in a country's Gross National Product (GNP) alone is not full proof that the total poverty can be annihilated. For countries in the ASEAN region, the generalisation is that the GNP alone without taking into account other factors such as inflation, unemployment, GNP income per capita population growth (see Table 3.0, Table 4.0 and Table 5.0) and, in certain cases, the rate of outflow of funds outside the country can affect the economy. This is because the economic dimensions between the ASEAN countries vary from country to country. For example the inflation index of the ASEAN can range from 3.6 percent to 9.2 percent. Unemployment index of 1.7 percent in Singapore will not be the same as 8.5 percent for the Philippines. The

p of the GNP per capita also varies from the lowest US. dollars of 730 for Indonesia to 1,310 for Singapore and not to mention the population growth from a country like Brunei which has a population of a few hundred thousand compared to that of Indonesia which has about 178 million inhabitants. The lists and the disparities between countries could go on.

Table 3.0
Economic Indicator for ASEAN Countries form 1987 to 1994
Inflation by Percentage

County	Year								
	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987
Malaysia	3.9	3.7	3.6	4.7	4.4	3.1	4.0	2.6	0.8
Singapore	N/A	N/A	2.4	2.3	3.4	3.4	2.5	1.6	0.5
Thailand	N/A	N/A	3.6	4.1	5.7	6.0	5.4	3.8	2.5
Indonesia	N/A	N/A	9.2	7.5	9.2	7.4	6.5	8.0	9.3
Brunei	N/A	na	N/A	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.7
Philippines	N/A	N/A	7.6	8.9	18.7	14.2	12.2	8.7	3.8

Source: NSTP on-line, 1995

Table 4.0
Economic Indicator for ASEAN Countries from 1987 to 1990
Unemployment by Percentage

County	Year							
	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987
Malaysia	N/A	5.2	5.4	5.6	6.3	7.1	8.1	8.2
Singapore	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.7	3.1	3.3	4.7
Thailand	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.7	4.6	5.0	6.7
Indonesia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.8	2.8	3.0
Brunei	na	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.4
Philippines	N/A	N/A	8.5	N/A	8.1	8.4	8.3	9.1

Source: NSTP on-line, 1995

Table 5.0
Economic Indicators for ASEAN Countries
GNP per capita in USD

Country	Year 1992	Population 1989
Malaysia	2,790	17.2
Singapore	19,310	2.3
Thailand	2,040	55.2
Indonesia	730	178.0
Brunei	8,356	N/A
Philippines	790	61.2

Source: NSTP on-line, 1995 and
World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

Therefore GNP is only an indicator for economic performance. It does not necessarily guarantee an improved standard of living or reflect the quality of the population at large, though one would expect that the over the period of two decades life expectancy would certainly be improved. For the ASEAN region life expectancy has improved from an average age of 50 years in 1970's to 60 plus in 1990's, an average increase of between 7 to 10 years longer living respectively (see Table 6.0.).

Table 6.0
Life Expectancy at Birth for the ASEAN Countries from 1970 to 1990

Country	Year 1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Malaysia	61.6	64.4	66.9	68.9	69.9
Indonesia	47.4	51.2	54.7	58.5	61.1
Philippines	57.2	59.1	61.0	62.8	63.9
Thailand	58.4	60.6	62.2	64.1	65.6
Singapore	67.7	69.7	71.5	72.9	74.0

Source: World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

The GNP therefore cannot be used as a sole indicator to measure economic success and detect poverty levels for a number of reasons namely:

(a) Income per capita increases parallel with an increase in population as indicated in Table 7.0. In this table no country for the last two decades have recorded negative population growth. When the Gross National Income per capita is compared with population growth the difference is even more glaring. A country like Indonesia clocked an increase of more than 50 percent (60 million) in population while at the same time the Gross National Income Per Capita increased by only about 6.8 times more. Compare that figure with Singapore for example with a slow growth rate of about 600 thousands inhabitants over the last two decades while economically the Income Per Capita rose substantially by about 11 times. These parallel differences among countries continue to reflect the statuses of countries and how incomes are distributed among their populations.

Table 7.0
Gross National Income Per Capita and Population Growth in ASEAN countries from 1970 to 1990

Country	Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Malaysia												
(in USD)		380	390	410	450	550	700	820	920	1,010	1,150	1,400
Pop. (mil)		10.8	11.1	11.4	11.6	11.9	12.2	12.5	12.8	13.1	13.4	13.7
Singapore		950	1,070	1,370	1,580	2,020	2,550	2,760	2,940	3,310	3,880	4,540
		2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4
Thailand		210	210	220	250	300	360	410	460	530	590	670
		34.6	36.8	38.0	39.1	40.2	41.3	42.4	43.5	44.6	45.6	46.7
Indonesia		80	90	90	110	150	210	270	320	380	400	470
		118.0	120.0	123.0	126.0	130.0	133.0	136.0	139.0	142.0	145.0	148.0
Philippines		230	220	220	250	300	360	420	450	510	590	680
		37.5	38.6	38.6	39.7	40.8	41.9	43.1	44.2	46.7	47.9	49.2
Country	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990		
Malaysia												
(in USD)	1,880	1,900	1,900	2,040	1,970	1,850	1,830	1,930	2,160	N/A		
Pop (mil)	14.1	14.5	14.8	15.2	15.6	16.1	16.5	16.9	17.3			
Singapore	5,440	6,170	6,930	7,740	7,600	7,390	7,900	9,090	10,450	N/A		
	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6		
Thailand	750	780	810	840	800	790	850	1,030	1,230	N/A		
	47.7	48.7	49.7	50.7	51.6	52.6	53.6	54.6	55.2	N/A		
Indonesia	550	610	610	580	540	520	490	480	500	550		
	152.0	155.0	158.0	161.0	165.0	168.0	171.0	175.0	178.0	N/A		
Brunei												
Philippines	770	790	740	630	570	560	590	630	700	760		
	50.5	51.8	53.1	54.5	55.8	57.1	58.4	59.5	61.2	N/A		

Source: World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

(b) The current unequal distribution of wealth in society may be perpetuated and trickle down to a larger population. The gap between the have's and have not may still be significant as percent of urban population increases as indicated in Table 8.0 below. Although urban population has increased by at least two folds in the last two decades, the gap and the dichotomy between urban-rural is still significant.

Table 8.0**Urban Population as a Percentage of Total Population for ASEAN Countries from 1970 to 1990**

Country	Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Malaysia	27.0	27.7	28.4	29.9	29.8	30.5	31.2	32.0	32.7	33.5	34.2	
Indonesia	17.1	17.6	18.0	18.5	18.9	19.4	20.0	20.5	21.1	21.6	22.2	
Philippines	33.0	33.5	34.0	34.6	35.1	35.6	36.0	36.3	36.7	37.0	37.4	
Thailand	13.3	13.7	14.1	14.4	14.8	15.2	15.6	16.0	16.5	16.9	17.3	
Singapore	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990		
Malaysia	35.0	35.8	36.6	37.4	38.2	39.0	39.0	39.8	40.7	41.5		
Indonesia	22.8	23.4	24.1	24.7	25.3	26.0	26.7	27.4	28.1	N/A		
Philippines		37.8	38.8	38.7	39.2	39.6	40.2	40.7	41.3	41.8	N/A	
Thailand	17.8	18.3	18.8	19.3	19.8	20.4	20.9	21.5	22.0	N/A		
Singapore	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

Source: World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

(c) The problem of financing most of agricultural, service and lately industrial programmes and projects dependent on heavy investments from outside funds (see Table 9.0). Percentage of Gross Domestic Investment for example over the last two decades only accounted for 15 to 35 percent. It can be anticipated that a sizeable portion of any increase in nation productivity will be paid as return of investments to the outside fund contributors i.e. from the borrower funds (see Table 10.0). This is evidenced by the increase in the countries' external debt and thus over time it might reduce the surplus available to the masses of the poor in these countries. This is of course we on the assumption that the fund made available is not heavily affected by the external pressure from the world economy. But if it were heavily affected for example by exorbitance increase in lending interest rate than the scenario will worsen. In the Malaysian case the rise of the Japanese yen for example could create some difficulties for the country's economic growth causing the price of consumers' goods index to rise and thus increase the inflation rate.

Table 9.0**Gross Domestic Investment: Percentage of Gross Domestic Product for the ASEAN Countries from 1970 to 1990**

Country	Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Malaysia	22.4	22.4	23.3	25.5	30.8	25.3	23.6	25.8	26.7	28.9	30.4	
Indonesia	15.8	18.4	21.8	20.8	19.5	23.7	24.1	23.4	23.9	26.6	24.3	
Philippines	21.2	20.9	19.3	20.2	25.2	29.5	31.0	28.8	28.9	31.1	30.7	
Thailand	25.6	24.2	21.7	27.0	26.6	26.7	24.0	26.9	28.2	27.2	26.4	
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990		
Malaysia	35.0	37.3	37.8	33.6	27.6	26.0	23.4	26.0	29.6	N/A		
Indonesia	29.6	27.5	28.7	26.2	28.0	28.3	31.4	31.5	34.7	35.9		
Philippines	30.6	28.3	26.7	17.0	13.9	12.9	15.6	17.3	18.6	18.8		
Thailand	26.3	23.1	25.9	24.9	24.0	22.0	25.8	28.8	31.1	N/A		

Source: World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

Table 10.0
External Debt in the ASEAN Countries in USD in Millions from 1970 to 1990

Country	Year										
	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Malaysia	440	614	823	893	1,1119	1,843	2,376	3,425	4,167	4,956	6,611
Indonesia	3,096	4,248	5,243	6,563	8,211	10,372	12,634	16,477	18,053	18,631	20,944
Philippines	1,613	1,777	1,962	2,028	2,428	3,064	4,437	8,184	10,781	13,289	17,431
Thailand	726	782	891	903	1,161	1,352	1,686	3,344	5,029	6,625	8,258
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	
Malaysia	9,225	13,397	17,965	18,801	20,387	21,888	22,758	20,400	18,576	N/A	
Indonesia	22,762	26,304	29,978	31,861	36,670	43,090	52,468	52,798	53,110	N/A	
Philippines		20,900	24,538	24,363	24,375	26,819	28,372	30,038	29,161	28,902	N/A
Thailand	10,809	12,198	13,868	14,981	17,528	18,554	20,707	21,827	23,466	N/A	

Source: World Tables 1991, World Bank: John Hopkins Press: 1991

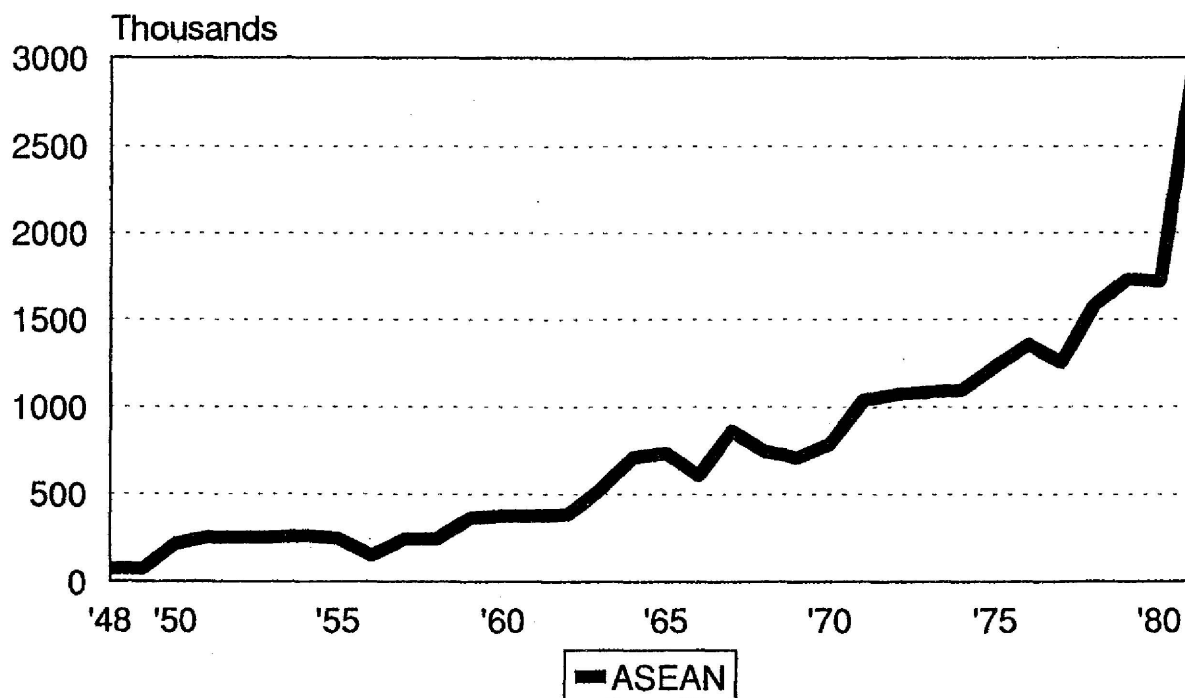
(d) developing countries in the region of ASEAN with the exception of one or two countries (Malaysia and Singapore) are vulnerable to the effects of natural disasters such as monsoons, floods, volcanic eruptions, crop failures, political instability and other natural afflictions. Development plans at times have been aborted and funds have been forcibly redirected from the original intent to overcome unexpected pressing needs.

Concern for Poverty

The concern for the eradication of poverty has always been a significant strategy for all the developing ASEAN countries inspite of the diversity of differences in terms of socio-economic performance, national aspirations, cultures, traditions, religions, and political systems. What seems to be a very clear indication is that the strategy for the eradication of poverty has always been closely associated with higher education within which the enhancement of social mobility is engineered in providing a country's manpower needs for national development. Regardless of the economic performance, and social and political conditions of that country, the focus is to uphold the aspirations of National Development Plans within which national agendas and national priorities over the last fifty years have been translated through higher education. This is evidenced by the phenomenal rate of increase in gross enrolments for higher education in the ASEAN countries over the last fifty years.. It is a mind boggling exercise. The concern for the eradication of poverty has always been associated with higher education. Undergraduate enrolments have expanded at phenomenal rates (see Table 11.0). In this table the percent of higher education or the gross enrolment ratio has continued to increase since 1950's. In 1970's the increase was 2 percent, but by the year 1990's it had reached to a minimum of 4 percent. It is also an interesting factor to note that traditionally higher education has always been dominated by males. Over time the females in many ASEAN countries have increasingly committed themselves to pursue higher education. For example in 1950's there were only about 2.1 percent of females in higher education. In the 1980's this rose to as high as 23 to 33 percent (see Table 12.0).

Table 11.0

Enrolment of Higher Education for ASEAN Countries 1948-1981

**Table 12.0**

**Total Undergraduate Gross Enrolment by Gender for Higher Education in the
ASEAN countries measured at every years interval from 1950 to 1980.**

Year	Female	%	Male	Total %	Enrolments	Population	% of Population
1950	4,832	2.1	217,835	97.9	222,667	-	-
1955	106,468	11.7	802,858	88.3	909,326	-	-
1960	419,371	27.0	1,137,994	73.0	1,557,365	-	-
1965	834,148	25.0	2,499,793	75.0	3,333,941	-	-
1970	1,886,887	33.7	3,706,537	66.3	5,593,424	202.9	2.7
1975	1,088,076	16.5	5,523,700	83.5	6,611,776	230.6	2.8
1980	2,297,205	23.1	7,638,491	76.9	9,935,696	252.0	3.9
1982	1,139,028	19.8	4,609,471	80.2	5,748,499	272.4	2.0

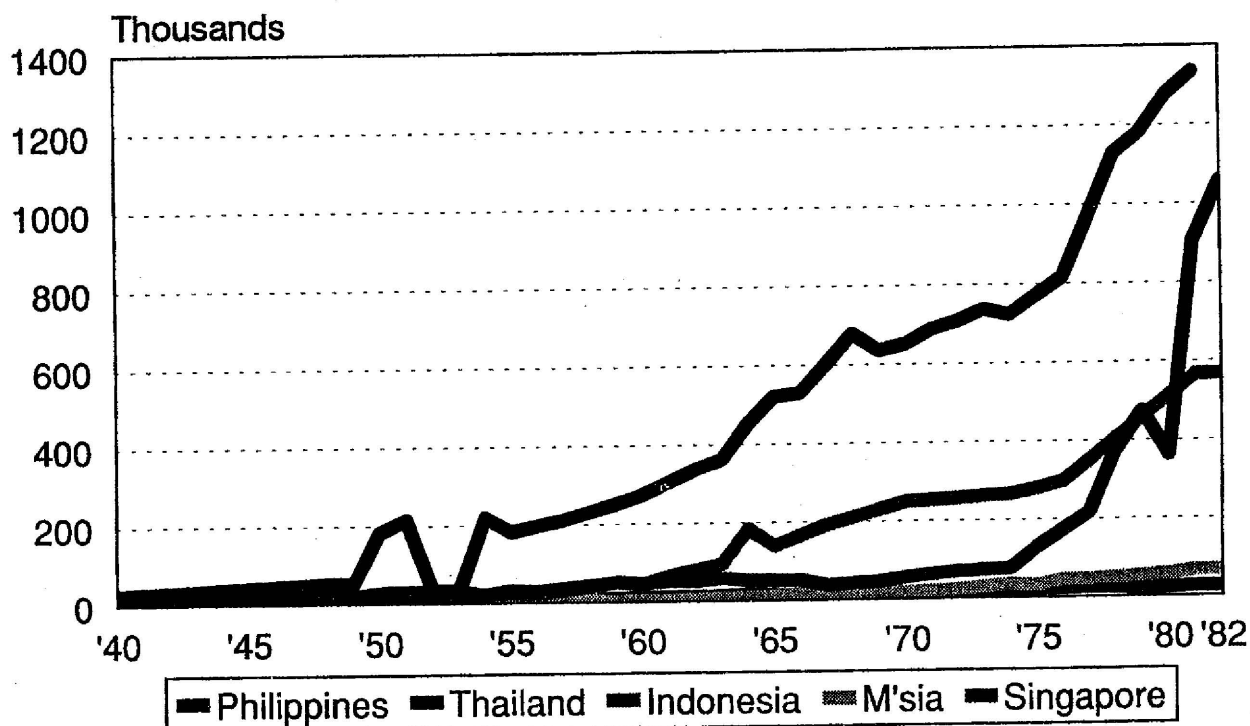
Source: Statistical Yearbook, United Nations (1948-1983)
UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, (1963-1984)

Although the rate of enrolment for higher education overall increased drastically, the growth for each country in ASEAN however has varied depending on the economy, social and political development of that particular country. Regardless of these differences enrolment ratios for higher education for 1990's still continue to grow at an average of 4 percent.

However, closer examination shows that the rate of performance of educational expansion in higher education among member countries varies. For some countries like Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia the demand for higher education is tremendous. Enrolments skyrocketed especially in 1950's for Philippines, 1960's for Indonesia, 1970's for Thailand and overall steady increases for countries like Malaysia and Singapore in 1960's, 1970's, 1980's and in the 1990's. For Brunei the year 1980 is the awakening of the sleeping giant. It has joined the bandwagon. Brunei, which just recently joined the commonwealth of ASEAN immediately established its own University of Brunei. Prior to that all her higher educational needs were met abroad (see Table 13.0).

Table 13.0

Undergraduate Enrolment for ASEAN Countries 1940-1982



This paper therefore is in search of answers to two basic research questions related to the theories of expansionism. First it attempts to search for the causes that led to the enrolment change in higher education, if any, between the period 1930's to 1980's (about fifty years). Secondly it attempts to explain the causes of the changes, if any, and how they were related to national agendas, priorities and strategies for change within the same period. For both purposes data in the ASEAN countries were used.

Discussions

Enrolments in Higher Education

Evidence of enrolment expansion in higher education for ASEAN pointed to the fact that the expansion has been inspired by economic, social and political aspirations translated through national agendas and national priorities. Often expansion for higher education was under pressure by national economic development programmes. Eradication of poverty has always been the hidden agenda associated with national development through providing manpower needs by social engineering the society of that country. Higher educational issues such as the quantity of higher education, educational priorities, excess to higher education, gender ratios across social and economic barriers could bring about changes and benefits to society.

To further support the arguments and to provide evidence about educational expansionism I have attempted to approach the subject by analysing the data and tracing back into several phases of higher educational development in countries of the ASEAN region. The *first phase* of educational expansion deals with the period before and after colonialism. The *second phase* deals with the independence and the *third* deals with post independence or in the case of Thailand, which has never been colonised, the modern era.

A. Pre and Post Colonial Period.

Long before any western colonial influence came to South East Asia, some form of formal education was already established under the auspices of different religious denominations. In the case of Thailand for example the Buddhist monastic or watt schools were already in existence. In Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines the Koranic religious schools known as 'psentrians' or the 'pondoks' - a dormitory style - were prominent. In northern Philippines the Spanish parish was established to serve the spiritual needs of the colonised society.

The early education in these countries (Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei) were to serve the religious purposes. Later when the foreigners came to colonise these countries they established secular institutions of higher learning along side the religious schools. Educational objectives were changed. They were made to serve the interests of the colonials and state rather than the religious needs. In most cases higher education was an instrumentation for social change in favour of the colonials, while other times to prolong the survival of the ruling elite (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei). These trends seemed to be fashionable in almost all the Spanish (in Philippines), British (Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore) and Dutch (Indonesia) colonies in the ASEAN region. In Thailand where the country was not colonised by an outside foreign power higher education was used to serve the ruling elite.

B. Early Expansion in Higher Education.

Philippines:

In the Philippines, the early development of higher education was an instrument for social change. The setting up of the first college of San Carlos in 1595 which was later converted into a university, was established with the objectives of disseminating the Roman Catholic Christian faith among the Filipinos (see Table 14.0). A century later it was converted to serve the function of the state to provide manpower in professional and technological fields such as marine science, agriculture sciences, pharmacy and engineering to serve and strengthen the hold of the colonial rule. Up to ten institutions of higher learning were established.

This process was repeated when Philippines saw the second colonial rule by the Americans and for the next fifty years (1889-1914) higher education in the Philippines was subjected to the process of Americanisation to serve the state process of change. With importation of American teachers, and textbooks, English was completely used as a medium of instruction. By 1910 when Washington's policy was to encourage self government to uphold the principles and practices of democracy, institutions of higher education mushroomed all over the major cities. No less than seventy two of higher learning were established by the year 1941, an increase of 72%.

For more than three decades since 1910 the goal of higher education was to prepare Filipinos for a democratic government as indicated in the ideals of the United States Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Development of higher education and the process of educational expansion up to 1941 by the Americans in the Philippines was basically an instrument to effect social change in favour of the colonial ideals rather than for local national needs.

When the Japanese conquered Philippines (1941-1945) during World War II, education was used as an instrument to help impose Japanese political will on Asia with 'the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' concept to uphold the Japanese colonial ideology.

Table 14.0
Number of Universities and Colleges Established in the Philippines

Universities:		Colleges:	
A. Spanish Colonial (1600-1889)			
1595-1886	3	(1884-1886)	4
B. American Colonial (1889-1941)			
(1900-1925)	28	(1928-1941)	44
C. Japanese Colonial (1945-1950)			
	0	(1943-1945)	2
D. Independent (1946-1950)			
(1946-1950)	18	(1949-1950)	25
(1951-1960)	6	(1952-1960)	25
(1971-1969)	2	(1963-1969)	22
(1971-1980's)	3	(1974-1981)	20
Total:	59	Total:	142
Total number of colleges		dates not known	417
Grand total of universities and colleges			618 (estimate)

Source: International Handbook of Universities, 9th.ed. MacMillian Press, 1983.

Indonesia:

In the case of Indonesia, the Dutch colonials adopted a similar pattern of colonial rule to that of the Spanish in Philippines towards expansion of higher education, i.e. a slow growth. For a very long time the western concept of higher education did not materialise until the beginning of the twentieth century (i.e. four centuries later). The 'true' secular higher education was not initiated until 1920, when a private group of Dutch colonial community established an engineering school, modelled on a similar institution in Delft, Netherlands. Evidence of enrolment just before World War II, indicated that all students enrolled were Dutch and Eurasian and not local Indonesians. Knowing the social and political background of that period it was envisaged that higher education was probably meant for the colonial masters and to sustain the interest of the elite who also happened to be the colonial rulers (see Table 15.0)

Table 15.0
Number of Universities and Colleges Established in Indonesia

Universities:		Colleges:	
A. Dutch Colonial (17 century-1941)			
(1920)	1	(1924-1941)	4
B. Japanese Colonial (1942-1945)			
	0		0
C. Independent (1945)			
(1949-1950)	5	(1948)	5
(1951-1960)	38	(1952-1955)	2
(1961-1970)	19	(1963-1965)	5
(1971-1980's)	1	(1970)	1
Total:	63	Total:	10
Grand total of universities and colleges			73

Source: International Handbook of Universities, 9th.ed. MacMillian Press, 1983.

Malaysia, and Singapore:

In the case of Malaysia and Singapore, since they both shared the same history in the early period of development, western type of higher education is a modern phenomena. Not until 1901 the first Government Medical College was established and not until 1949 it was upgraded into a university. Prior to that period, identified candidates for higher education were usually sons of the elite groups who were sent to England for higher education. The returnees from Oxford and Cambridge were to hold key posts in the administration to serve the ruling elite and the British (see Table 16.0 and 17.0). The status quo was prolonged until World War II when the Japanese ruled Malaysia and Singapore. Higher education stopped during the Japanese occupation (1941-1945).

Table 16.0
Number of Universities and Colleges Established in Singapore

Universities:		Colleges:	
A. British Colonial (1800-1963)			
(1949-1962)	2	(1954)	1
B. Japanese Colonial (1941-1945)			
	0		0
C. Independent (1963)			
(1949-1950)	0	(1968)	1
(1980')	1	(1981)	1
(the two existing universities were combined to become one)			
Total:	1	Total:	3
Grand total of universities and colleges			4

Source: International Handbook of Universities, 9th.ed. MacMillian Press, 1983.

Table 17.0
Number of Universities and Colleges Established in Malaysia

Universities:		Colleges:	
A. British Colonial (1800-1957)			
(1949-1954)	2	(1956)	3
B. Japanese Colonial (1941-1945)			
	0		0
C. Independent (1957)			
(1961-1970)	3	(1958-1969)	3
(1980's)	2	(1981)	1
Total:	7	Total:	7
Grand total of universities and colleges			14

Source: International Handbook of Universities, 9th.ed. MacMillian Press, 1983.

Brunei:

In the case of Brunei, a country with vast resources in petroleum and natural gas, no western type of higher education was established during the colonial British rule. All higher education was done abroad. A university was only set up in 1980 immediately after the country's independence from Britain.

Thailand:

The early development of higher education in Thailand was rather unique. It was the only country which was not colonised by any colonial power. The influence of western higher education in Thailand can be traced as far back as the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) because of contact with the western nations through trade agreements. The establishment of first Medical school at Siriraj Hospital was solely to serve the state and to mark the beginning of higher education in Thailand. This introduction to western type of higher education led to other expansions in higher education, though very centralised in term of specialisation. The next expansion of enrolment came in the wake of political revolution by military officers and intellectuals who wanted not only the educational system to be decentralised to spread scholarship to different institutions but also a constitutional monarchy established. The democratisation of higher education helped enrolment growth and many new colleges and universities were established by World War II.

When World War II broke out, unlike any other ASEAN countries who went to war against Japan, Thailand sided with Japan. The siding with Japan helped enrolment grow and during the period of the war at least three other universities were established for subject areas: the medical sciences, agriculture sciences, art and archaeology. Up to this point higher education was still oriented towards preparing graduates for the elite government services.

C. Independence

When the Japanese surrendered to the allies in 1945, it left a vacuum in most of the ASEAN countries. Before the conditions could be normalised to those before the war, nationalist movements all over South East Asia took advantage of the gap left by the Japanese to pressure for independence from the colonial powers. The struggle for independence was so strong that independence was inevitable and enrolment expansions in higher education slowed down except in Thailand.

In 1945 Indonesia made its first move by proclaiming self independence from the Dutch; followed by Philippines in 1946, Malaysia in 1957, and Singapore in 1963. Brunei was the last country to join the ASEAN federation after its independence from Britain in 1983.

Independence gives significant meaning and new life for higher education. Although the region produces a few of the world's major commodities like natural rubber, tin, rice, palm oil, spices yet it was heavily economically dependent on the former colonial for support. The changing political scenario forced these countries to change this dependency. New national development planning, including economic developments, was drawn up for each country could no longer rely for help on colonial masters as it did before. The new states took new directions for self dependence and new challenges were met.

The newly founded independence gave birth to a new era in educational explosion for all countries in the ASEAN (see Table 13.0). There was rapid increase in enrolments for higher education in Philippines and Indonesia. In the Philippines enrolment skyrocketed. Universities increased by 100 percent (30 universities) and colleges expanded by 200 percent (92 colleges) (see Table 14.0). In Indonesia all higher institutions with the exception of one founded by the colonial Dutch, were established after independence (62 universities and 10 colleges) (see Table 15.0) This was followed by a slower increase in growth in countries like Malaysia - that is an increase of 250 percent (6 universities and 5 colleges) (see Table 17.0).. In the case of Singapore higher institutions, pretty much developed long before independence, experienced 100 percent increase in vocational and technological institutions (2 colleges) (see Table 16.0.). Brunei establishing its own university in 1980. Thailand, though not under any of the colonial powers, was affected by the independence syndrome in South East Asia. The change in the Thai government led to educational reforms such as upgrading of the lower institutions to higher learning institutions that offered degree programmes and to the introduction of the open university concept. There was rapid growth of higher education in all ASEAN countries focusing on national development, national identity and self reliance which were left unattended to by the colonial powers for a very long time.

In all the above cases independence was perhaps the single most significant factor for that influenced expansion and development of higher education. Independence focused attention on national development, economic dependence or self reliance and consciousness of national identity.

D. Post Independence

The third phase of educational expansion was the post independent period. Independence led to extended educational reforms. New educational reforms were formulated to suit new nation's ideals, aspirations and challenges. Of these reforms economic dependency was later translated into nation's national development. The nations' five years plans were good examples of these reforms. The popular aims of these reforms were to increase educational opportunities, supply the work force and restructure its own society. Higher education had to be made available not only to a wider segment of the population but also to diversified parts of the country to reduce the gap between the haves and have not.

In Malaysia, educational reforms were embedded in the New Economic Policy through the nation's five year development plans designed to eradicate poverty and restructure society (First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Malaysian Plan). The national development plan emphasises growth with equity which will enable citizens to participate in the mainstream of economic activities, ensuring political stability, and national unity as stated in the National Development goal:

'High priority is given to education and training as it contributes significantly to the objectives of National Development Policy (NDP) in particular to poverty eradication and restructuring of society. Providing greater access to education and training to those in the low income group will increase their income and employment opportunities and contribute further to improvements in income distribution.'

(Sixth Malaysia Plan:157)

Higher education is also to be extended to the under- served regions (Sixth Malaysia Plan:157). The continuity of these national development programmes aimed to achieve equal the same educational opportunities, participation in the main stream of economic development, political stability and national unity will help to eradicate poverty and restructure society.

Similarly, in the case of Singapore, educational reforms were effected through a National Educational Policy. Educational policy blended education with industrial development and checked economic crisis after the withdrawal of the colonials from the island. Higher education supplied the badly needed white collar workers and technologists through changes in the structure of higher education.

In Indonesia, the National Educational Policy was the prime guider for educational reforms. Under this policy, segmented into series of five years plans, higher education concentrated on economic development, social engineering and reaching a wider segment of the population. Higher education was used as an agent of change for the purpose of development to provide education to a larger segment of the population, concentrate on developing research and provide better service to the community. Under the National Educational Policy the state produced educated manpower - for employment and universities outside the capital. To diversify, the expansion of higher education came under the auspices of various government ministries such as the Ministry of Interior, Public Works and Religion. Although attempts were made to widen access to higher education, yet it was largely concentrated among the urban middle class.

In the case of Philippines, the rapid proliferation of higher education could be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, there was pressure from vested interested businessmen and politicians for educated manpower to beef up the economy of the country. Secondly there was a genuine attempt to expand enrolment for educational excellence. A series of legislation was introduced to legitimise growth in higher education. The Republic Acts of 6055 (1969) and 613 (1970) granted and regulated private higher institutions the right to operate as a private cooperation. These legislations were responsible for speeding up expansion and development of private colleges and universities as indicated in the table below:

Table 17.0

State Universities	7	State Colleges	25
Private Universities	35	Private Colleges	575
Total	42	Total	600

Source: International Encyclopaedia of Higher Education. 1977

Source: International Encyclopaedia of Higher Education. 1977

As indicated 90 percent of the students were enrolled in private institutions while the rest in public institutions. The over supply of private college graduates ultimately affected the job market. There was enough evidence to show that an over supply of graduates in certain fields for example nursing, business studies and others caused unemployment and they were forced to leave the country to find jobs elsewhere. This created a shortage of certain professionals within the country.

In the case of Thailand, educational reforms were aimed at social engineering and economic independence. Educational reforms were many. They were subject to constant changes with changing governments. Initially the concept of higher education oriented towards preparing the elite for government service conflicted with national aspirations for all eligible Thais. The pressure to have access to such opportunity created problem. In order to prevent excessive demand for government employment by future graduates, the state continued to invest in and redirect higher education into vocational and technical education. More vocational and technical institutions of higher learning were established.

In 1959, the National Educational Commission increased educational opportunities in provinces outside the capital city, Bangkok. This led to the introduction of regional institutions: three more universities were established in the north, the northeast and the south. In addition teacher training colleges were set up in all rural areas throughout the country. By the end of the 2nd five year national development plan (1967-71) enrolments had increased by 30 percent.

To enhance further growth in higher education a royal decree of 2512 (1969) was proclaimed. Under this royal decree the Prime Minister's office has the right to establish the concept of open or distance university where by large numbers of students including civil servants, the army, the navy, the air force and the police force who did not possess normal university admission requirements were admitted to the open university. This is to supply the badly needed educated work force, and to provide more opportunities in higher education to larger segment of the population, all for the purpose of supporting economic development and to increase social engineering in the country. Open universities such as University of Sukhotai Thammathirt with an average student population of 180,000 and Ramkhamhaeng University with an average students' population of 400,000 increased their enrolments to new heights.

To further enhance higher educational expansion the Private College Act was adopted in 1969 to allow the establishment of private colleges to grant degrees. Under this legislation at least 17 additional teachers' training colleges, 28 technical colleges, and 9 other general colleges were allowed to grant degree programmes. By 1979, it was estimated that the student enrolment had reached 400,000 (Cowen and Mc Lean:1984) out of which 75 percent were enrolled in the open universities, while the remaining 25 percent in other public universities and colleges.

Conclusion

From the brief survey of the enrolment expansion pattern in the ASEAN region, one could conclude that the race for higher education was tremendous. The early development of higher education was very much inspired by religious dominations to serve religious purposes. When the colonials (Spanish, Dutch, British, American and later Japanese) came

the ASEAN countries they established secular types of higher institutions and education was made to serve the interests of the colonials, the state and the ruling elite who had vested interests. In countries where higher education was delayed for a very long period of time, the selected few obtained their education abroad. The returnees took up administrative posts under the colonial masters and the ruling elite. Even at this very early stage, there was enough evidence to suggest that higher education was developed to supply manpower in professional and technological fields such as medicine, marine, agriculture, pharmacy and engineering sciences.

In the case of Thailand, a country never colonised by any western powers, the secular western higher education was introduced after contact with the western world through trade agreements. Again the western secular model that was adopted was based on economic functions. The establishment of the Siriraj Medical School marked the beginning of western secular higher education in Thailand.

The second significant era of educational expansion was after independence. Independence gave new meaning to higher education. Not only independent nations but political consciousness into proper perspectives, but most importantly began to work towards economic independence. Although, on achieving independence, nations of ASEAN faced new challenges and new realities, yet the wind of change was inevitable. National development, national identity, and self reliance seemed to be the agendas of the day. National priorities and strategies were set to meet the challenges and realities of the day. More universities and colleges of different kinds were established after independence. There was a sudden growth of enrolment in higher education, a rate never before seen in the histories of these countries.

The post independent period was perhaps the most crucial in higher education. New legislations and reforms were formulated to suit the new ideals and aspirations. Countries whose economies were solely dependent on raw commodities such as rubber, tin, timber, petroleum, spices or agro-based economy began to diversify their economic activities to include an industrial economy. Some countries achieved this aspiration faster than others. This is evidenced by the presence of the nations' Five Year Development Plans. Educational reforms were tailored to achieve national goals. The popular reforms are the Republic Acts of 6055, (1969) and 613 (1970) (Philippines), the Royal Decree (Thailand) through which the democratisation of higher education was introduced and lower institutions were upgraded to higher learning institutions. Also regional institutions outside the capital city were established (Thailand, Malaysia), and the concept of open university or distance education (Thailand and Malaysia) was accepted. Higher education aims to foster economic development, social engineering and provide education and training to a wider segment of the population.

Because of the new realities of the post-modern era further educational reforms were incorporated in Five Year Development Plans. Reforms were embedded in the New Economic Policy and the thrust of this policy is to eradicate poverty and restructure society. Education and training were directed to the lower income group to increase their income, employment opportunities and to effect fairer income distribution. The focus of higher education was to generate growth to enable citizens to participate in the main stream of economic activities, to ensure political stability, and to uphold national unity and ideals.

In the slightly more advanced country among the ASEAN, educational policy is to supply white collar workers and technologists for industrial and technological development.

In other countries, National Educational Policies are to foster economic development, social engineering and widen the availability of higher education to a larger segment of the population. However in some countries, higher education is largely concentrated among the urban middle class. Where there was over supply of graduates in certain fields, education had to address issues of relevance and manpower planning.

Finally, educational expansion in ASEAN countries cannot be divorced from the economic performance of each member country. Growth of enrolments is governed by the many economic factors that under-pin national goals and aspirations. GNP, inflation, unemployment, GNP per capita income, population growth, urbanisation, rate of outflow of funds from the country, foreign debts etc.. have effect on the expansion and development of higher education.

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