

Peace-building in Malaysia: Study on the National Unity and Integration Department (DNUI) Programmes

Perdamaian di Malaysia: Kajian Program-program di Jabatan Perpaduan Negara dan Integrasi Nasional (DNUI).

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ABSTRACT

This article describes about the role of the National Unity and Integration Department (DNUI) in terms of peace-building mechanism and ethnic conflict management in Malaysia. During colonial era, British had rule Tanah Melayu (Malaya) and brought in foreign labourers especially from China and India to ensure large-scale activities can be completed accordingly. All of these economic activities are based on the policy of divide and rule practiced by the British. Thus, the different placements and activities between each ethnicity in Malaya at that time resulted in a lack of communication and interaction between the ethnic groups. The tragedy of May 13 1969, marks the black history of the inter-ethnic conflict outbreak in the country. Consequently, the government established the Majlis Gerakan Negara (Mageran) or National Operations Council (NOC) to study and find the possible solutions to address the issues of conflict among ethnicities in Malaysia. As a result of the NOC initiatives, one of the government agencies that were established in order to deal with ethnic conflicts that occur in the country and create substantial value of reconciliation is the Department of National Unity and Integration (DNUI). The DNUI has played a vital roles in managing ethnic conflicts in Malaysia and also creating peace-building programmes for the community. The initiatives taken by DNUI is to establish the Rukun Tetangga (RT) or Community Organization, Skim Rondaan Sukarela (SRS) or Volunteer Patrol Scheme and the Tadika Perpaduan or Unity Kindergarten. The cooperation between the government and members of the community itself in the success of each policy and program implemented by the government.

Keywords: *Ethnic Conflict; Peace-building; National Unity and Integration Department (DNUI)*

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini menerangkan tentang peranan Perpaduan dan Integrasi Jabatan Negara (DNUI) dari segi mekanisme pembinaan keamanan dan pengurusan konflik etnik di Malaysia. Semasa zaman penjajahan, British memerintah Tanah Melayu (Malaya) dan membawa masuk pekerja asing terutama dari China dan India untuk memastikan aktiviti besar-besaran boleh disiapkan dengan sewajarnya. Semua aktiviti-aktiviti ekonomi adalah berdasarkan dasar pecah dan perintah yang diamalkan oleh British. Oleh itu, penempatan dan aktiviti yang berbeza antara setiap etnik di Tanah Melayu pada masa itu menyebabkan kekurangan komunikasi dan interaksi antara kumpulan etnik. Tragedi 13 Mei 1969, menandakan sejarah hitam tercetusnya konflik antara etnik di negara ini. Oleh itu, kerajaan telah menubuhkan Majlis Gerakan Negara (Mageran) atau Majlis Gerakan

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Negara (MAGERAN) untuk mengkaji dan mencari penyelesaian yang mungkin untuk menangani isu-isu konflik antara etnik di Malaysia. Hasil daripada inisiatif NOC, salah satu daripada agensi-agensi kerajaan yang ditubuhkan untuk menangani konflik etnik yang berlaku di negara ini dan mewujudkan nilai utama perdamaian adalah Jabatan Perpaduan Negara dan Integrasi Nasional (DNUI). DNUI telah memainkan peranan penting dalam menguruskan konflik etnik di Malaysia dan juga mewujudkan program perdamaian untuk masyarakat. Inisiatif yang diambil oleh DNUI adalah untuk menubuhkan Rukun Tetangga (RT) atau Pertubuhan Masyarakat, Skim Rondaan Sukarela (SRS) atau Skim Rondaan Sukarela dan Tadika Perpaduan atau Unity Kindergarten. Keadaan ini menunjukkan kerjasama antara kerajaan dan ahli-ahli masyarakat itu sendiri dalam menjayakan setiap dasar dan program yang dilaksanakan oleh kerajaan.

Kata kunci: *Konflik etnik; Perdamaian; Jabatan Perpaduan Negara dan Integrasi (DNUI)*

Introduction

Ethnic conflicts are still on-going either between the states or within the country. Therefore, efforts such as conflict resolution and peace building are needed to transform the negative situation into a more positive situation. According to Galtung (1996), negative situations can be described as civil wars, separatist conflicts, and conflicts of interest whereas positive conditions involve situations and atmospheres of peace and tranquillity where all members of the community can live in harmony. Malaysia is no exception in the face of these problems, particularly involving ethnic conflicts (Kamarulzaman, 2006). Additionally, the existing approaches of conflict resolution need reviewing as it is ineffective against resolving the issues at hand. Sometimes, the conflicts are just being recycled and not really resolved comprehensively, thus perhaps emerging again in the future.

Malaysia is a country that consists of a society that practices religion, its own culture and way of life. Nevertheless, the initial stage of ethnic conflicts occurred when Malaysia was colonized by foreign powers, especially British. The natural resources and strategic locations attracted British to the annex and ruled the Malaya. It became a major source of income for them. In order to spur economic growth and development in Malaya British, they had commercially driven the agricultural system, thus, massively opening the agricultural lands and tin mining industry. To fulfil the need of mass production, British brought in foreign labourers especially from China and India to ensure large-scale activities can be completed accordingly (Yassin, 2010).

All of these economic activities are based on the policy of divide and rule practiced by the British. This policy is designed to prevent the occurrence of inter-ethnic consolidation, which would likely lead to the emergence of resistance movements against colonialism. In addition, the British wanted to keep the Malays—who were regarded as the indigenous group—on food-based agriculture to prevent a food crisis. Therefore, the British's action to bring in foreign labourers was designed to prevent the Malays from leaving the food-based agriculture. However, the adoption of this policy turns out to only benefit the British alone as this brought to three main ethnic groups existing in Malaya, which was separated based on certain economic activities (Fakhri, 2012).

The Malays are the indigenous people of Malaya that had maintained their roles in traditional food-based agriculture, which has been practiced since time immemorial. The Chinese have been placed in the cities and towns to implement the tin mining and business activities. The Indians were also placed in agricultural areas but for commercial purposes such as estates and farms belonging to the British. The different placements and activities between each ethnicity in Malaya at that time resulted in a lack of communication and interaction between the ethnic groups (Chin Yee Mun, 2013). As a result, this situation created the occurrence of inter-ethnic suspicion and expressed negative perceptions of the gap between ethnic unity and it eventually became the start of the conflict. Although inter-ethnic unity was the agenda and the requirements by the British to grant independence to Malaya, but as a result of the policy that was adopted by the British, had caused inter-ethnic unity to become brittle (Shamsul Amri, 1990).

May 13 1969, after 12 years of Malaya independence, marks the black history of the inter-ethnic conflict outbreak in the country (Syed Hussin, 2008). Although at the time, Malaysia was free from the shackles of colonialism and had renamed the merger between Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore, but the conflict was still occurring. The situation in the country was in chaos and tragic, thus, forcing the government to declare a state of emergency. The impact of this tragedy brought realization to the government that the fragility of the unity between the societies has influenced the peace and economy of the country (Mahyuddin, 2011).

Ethnic Conflict in Malaysia and the Response of Government

Bates et al. (2003) defined ethnic conflict as any episode of sustained violent conflicts in which national, ethnic and religious or other communal minorities challenge the government to seek major changes in status. Davies (1962) argued that ethnic conflicts exist when there is an intolerable gap between what people feel they deserve and what they get in terms of goods or economic power; dissatisfied people will join together and revolt. In addition, Marie Besançon (2005) said that political and economic inequality also causes ethnic conflicts. Thus, ethnic conflicts can happen not only because of the differences among the ethnicities but also political instability and economic inequality. Malaysia faced this problem during the May 13 tragedy as the climax of ethnic conflict in the country.

Although the tragedy on May 13 is considered the culmination of the ethnic conflict that occurred in the country, but previously there were several ethnic conflicts that have taken place such as in Batu Pahat (1945), Batu Malim, Raub (1946), Batu Kikir (1946), Penang (1958), Pangkor (May 1959) and Bukit Mertajam (1967) (Mior Khairul Azrin, 2014). Therefore, the government saw ethnic conflict as a matter of concern and had to be taken seriously because it can affect the stability of the political, economic and national harmony. Consequently, the government established the *Majlis Gerakan Negara* (Mageran) or National Operations Council (NOC) to study and find the possible solutions to address the issues of conflict among ethnicities in Malaysia (Zainon et al., 2004).

As a result of the NOC initiatives, the government established the National Unity Department (NUD), which is placed under the supervision of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in an effort to rebuild the unity between ethnic groups in Malaysia and deal with issues of inter-ethnic conflicts that arise. In addition, the NOC also created an ideology that can be shared by all ethnic groups in Malaysia under the tenets as to change the minds

of every member of society to have the same national philosophical principles irrespective of ethnicity (Shamsul Amri, 2005).

The efforts to build unity and reconciliation between ethnic groups in Malaysia shall be implemented as continuity and be preserved as ethnic conflict could explode at any time if it is not seriously monitored. For example, the ethnic conflicts that had recently taken place in Kampung Rawa (1998) and Kampung Medan (2001). This phenomenon is termed as stable-tension, which refers to the relationships between societies that are still fragile despite achieving half a century of independence (Shamsul Amri & Sity Daud, 2013).

The term shows that the multiracial unity in Malaysia is vulnerable to conflict at any time, especially ethnic-based conflicts. This is fuelled by factors such as differences in religion, culture and way of life of the different societies in Malaysia. In addition, a more negative perception has long formed among the country's ethnic groups as it is passed from generation to generation. As a result, ethnic or racial terms are often associated with the negative and the border of the separation between the various races in Malaysia. This situation has created the gap that will lead to ethnic conflicts and possible bloodshed (Shamsul Amri, 1997).

The tension that occurs is that the gap between the races could lead to ethnic conflicts, which may cause bloodshed. The sentiments of the ethnic groups run in a fairly significant manner in this country despite efforts by various parties, including the government, to reduce it. Although Malaysia is seen as a country with fragile ethnic relations, it is still considered a role model for a multicultural state. To handle the ethnic conflicts, the government strives to manage its people by introducing various policies such as the New Economic Policy, constitutional democracy, the rule of law, education policy, cultural policy, the adoption of values and inter-ethnic relations. All efforts are undertaken by the government towards fostering unity among the community that is often faced with tough challenges, especially the risk of conflict. However, harmony and conflict that exist within a society depends on the policy and management carried out by the government (Mansor, 2006). The ruling government carries an important role to the community in the country because the government and its people are complementing each other. For example, in Malaysia, the supreme law of this country—the Federal Constitution—that had been created is the result of a compromise initiative between the various ethnic groups living in the country. Every race has their own interests but they had to compromise on finding a consensus because some of them are contrary to their interests (Raymod & Rajat, 2002). After the tragedy that occurred on May 13, the government began to realize that the progress of a nation cannot be achieved through the efforts of the development and modernization of science and technology alone, but also the integration efforts of the people through programs of solidarity and poverty eradication. Therefore, the government launched the New Economic Policy (NEP), which has two main objectives to be achieved, namely, to eradicate poverty and restructure society (Abdul Aziz, 1978).

To implement the policies, the government has been assisted by the agencies of various departments and placed under the particular ministries. Each agency has a role and task based on the portfolio of the ministry and department policy. One of the government agencies that were established in order to deal with ethnic conflicts that occur in the country and create substantial value of reconciliation is the Department of National Unity and Integration (DNUI) (Kamarul, Zaharah & Abu, 2005). DNUI has a unique history and

different from other government agencies. This is because the agency was established after the occurrence of the May 13 tragedy and the government began to realize the importance of setting up a government agency that has the focus in view of racial conflicts in the country (Madiah Mohamad et al., 2008).

Conflict

Many academics strive to define the conflict according to their findings. For instance, Peter Wallensteen (2002) defines conflict as a situation in which at least two parties aim to get the limited resources at the same time. In addition, he also said conflict occurs when the two countries fought another battle which decided their relationship. Furthermore, Deutsch Morton (1977) stated that conflicts exist when the activities of the opposite or contrary occurs, and the act or acts contrary to the original act such as to resist, block, interfere, injure or in any way, thus, other causes of the original act becomes effective.

Chris Mitchell (1989) said when speaking about any conflicts or disputes, the fundamental distinctions will be drawn between the three inter-related components like conflict situation, conflict behaviour, and conflict attitudes and perceptions. In addition, Marc Howard Ross (1993) defines conflict as occurring when the parties involved cannot agree on the distribution of material or symbolic resources and act as their goal to this contradiction or view in the best interest of their different interests. He also said that both the behavioural elements and psychological views in the conflict are important. So, if we are concerned with behaviour, we will ignore the objects behind an act. Behind if only the highlighted perceptions or opinions, it would fail to take into account the situation where the same perception or behaviour lead to different behaviours. Local scholars like Kamarulzaman Askandar (2002) also defines conflict as a situation where at least two parties have different views and positions involving issues of interest and the cause of action perspective, whether formal or informal.

According to the argument of the scholars, it is understood that every conflict involves definite situations, attitudes and behaviours. These three elements are referred to the goals or different interests and the efforts to achieve it. So, conflict is a human need for change towards the better. Change is when two or more parties feel the ultimate goal is conflicting and are forced to act or otherwise and not remain as before. Therefore, ethnic conflict is a clash between a group or society as a result of factors such as nationalism, political issues as well as issues of culture and religion. Therefore, the conflict between the races in the country shall be managed primarily by authoritative parties such as the government so that it does not spread and become more severe.

Conflict Triangle as a tool for Understanding the Conflict

The Conflict triangle by Johan Galtung's model (1969) argued that we should see conflicts as triangles that are made up from three components, which are situation, attitude and behaviour. In this model, the situation is not matched (visible); that is the goal between the different parties and the products of social values and structure. In other words, situations involving two or more parties are perceived as incompatible interest, opinion and ultimate goals. Conflicts are normally due to the ultimate goals not being able to be compromised. There are two categories of goals: positive and negative. Positive goals are situations whereby it indicates desires whereas negative goals are undesirable situations and parties

that are usually avoided. In a symmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interests between them whereas asymmetric conflict is defined by the parties, their relationship and the conflict of interest inherent in the relationship (Miall, 1999). These entire unrealized goals will lead to frustration and escalate to aggression, evolving internally as attitude of hatred, and externally as behaviour.

Attitude is the second component of the conflict triangle. It contains the parties' understanding or misunderstanding of each other and themselves. Attitudes comprise the cognitive (believe), emotive (feeling) and conative (will) elements of each person or a group. It is frequently influenced by emotions such as anger, frustration, detachment, fear, bitterness, jealousy and hatred (Galtung, 2011). It can be the spark that ignites the emergence of conflict and it is usually either latent or a matter of creating solutions. The attitude could be positive, negative or neutral, however, in brutal, conflicting parties are inclined to launch demeaning stereotypes on each other (Miall, 1999). There also usually have such a thin line between their attitude escalations, which means a process toward increasingly positive or negative attitude (Galtung, 2011).

Behaviour is the third component whereby it involves collaboration or coercion, gestures showing conciliation or hostility. It also can be positive, negative, neutral, and constructive behaviour. In addition, violent conflicting behaviour is distinguished by force of coercion, threat, and destructive attacks. It also includes indirect violence involving structural violence and cultural violence. The direct violence action is committed when non-direct violent action failed to attract attention or solve the conflict. Behaviour also tend to raise the cost of other parties as a mean to achieve their objectives or interest.

Galtung (1996) argued that these three components have to be present together in a conflict structure. This is because the structure, attitude and behaviour changes and affects each other. For instance, when parties want to develop stereotypes towards their opponent—which is considered as their attitude toward their enemies—the parties that are involved in the conflict will be concerned with their own interest and try to pursue it.

Structural Violence

The structure and culture of violence are important elements when it comes to the conflict triangle model. Conflicts that exist in the case studies show that structure and culture could be the causes of the emerging issues in the relationship. Regardless of the situation, attitude and behaviour components in the conflict triangle model, structural violence is inherent in the situation particularly in the context of the internal dispute in the state. John Fisher et al. (2000) explained that the violence consists of actions, words, attitudes, structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental damage and prevent people from reaching their full human potential.

Structural violence is hidden but always present in the structure of society. It is difficult to detect when it is protected by a formal law and stable institutions and have become commonplace in society. Structural violence will be traced when emerging from obstacles to human potential caused by political and economic structures (Winter & Leighton, 2001). For example, street children do not attend school even though the government provided enough teachers and schools. Additionally, the residents of housing areas were forced to inhale toxic from the construction of factories and logging. Referring

to the case of street children, they are entitled to develop their potential through school but they are denied by economic constraints that cause their family to not be able to afford sending them to school. Similarly, the residents of the housing estates are entitled to receive clean air, but they are denied it because the policy (politics) for the development of the national economy has allowed the forests to be cut down and build factories for the industry. Therefore, the structure of violence involves unequal access to resources, political power, education, health and law. Unequal access is systematically implemented in the form of public misery caused by the unfair distribution of resources. With this, the violence will always be a problem and the cause of conflicts to groups of victims. It is also dangerous when it leads directly to violence. One group that has always repressed legally formal cause them to react to violence in the reasons of logical and relevant. Thus, the structure of this violence can be seen as a form of injustice that was done formally in the administrative structures of a country that includes the political, legal, policy, economic, and educational structures. This injustice has been pressing certain parties who are not in tune or not equivalent in groups involved in the administration and management of a country.

Peace and Peace Building

Kamarulzaman (2002) defines peace as fundamental to peace building where peace is built for long-term needs of the peace building process. The process is used in situations of prolonged instability and ongoing conflicts (protracted conflict) by promoting the processes and structures that can change for insecurities and instabilities in the context of socio-economy and politics to safely stabilize. He also said that peace-building requires an ongoing process that requires time, commitment and strategies. According to John Paul Lederach (2003) peace-building is a function to restore contacts, build relationships, the process of transforming the structure of a negative situation into a positive and act as prevention of conflicts in the future. Lederach asserts that peace-building comprises the processes involved in the generation, process, and the approach to transform conflicts into a peaceful state and lasting relationship based on timing of the various activities and functions.

Peace-building involves supporting infrastructural development for peace and change is needed at all levels in the society. This includes structures, processes, relationships, resources and coordination. Lederach reaffirmed that peace-building must be rooted with experience and the reality shaping of society. He also reminded that peace-building must be switched from the traditional perspective and diplomatic activities towards a more open perspective in accordance with the changing times and society. According to Sarah, Graig and Ronald (2010), the government can initiate the peace building efforts based on the top-down approach. The process includes several mechanisms like policy making, nation-building and sharing common values like a national identity. Simon (2001) also argued that the government should take a place in organizing the efforts to building peace in the community based on certain strategy and time line. The government has a responsibility to make sure the efforts of building peace shall be implemented to prevent the conflict from re-emerging.

The Role of Government and Its Agency to Handle Ethnic Conflicts in Malaysia

Roskin et al. (2007) explained that the state is an institution that exists in a country to rule and the government can legitimately use force as a means to make people abide by the instructions issued. Schramm and Caterino (2006) defined government as a central organization to create and maintain a system of rules in the society. Appadorai (1968) emphasized that the role of government is as a single machine or an agency responsible for the formulation, recognition and implementation of the requirements that are necessary for the country such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary, who are involved in the business as a government. Hans Keman (2002) defines government as an institution that has the legal authority in matters such as security, statistics and adoption of policies. This definition is supported by Klingemann (2007) who felt that the government is drafting a board and implementing policies in the interest of the people in a country. He also added to the term that the government should cover all the actions, processes and policy formations.

The conclusion of all the definitions above is that a legally constituted government is responsible for governing a sovereign nation. The government of a country should establish policies that are deemed necessary in order to have undertaken implementation guidelines and goals. These efforts need to be done carefully and systematically so that the well-being of the people and the country's progress can be achieved. Referring to the problem of ethnic conflict in Malaysia, the Malaysian government is the main character to address the problem because it involves issues of security and the sovereignty of a nation. Therefore, the government is directly involved in dealing with the ethnic matters ranging from policy development to implementation.

Jabatan Perpaduan Negara dan Integrasi Nasional or formerly known as the Department of National Unity and Integration (DNUI) was formed on 1 July 1969 following the 13 May 1969 events. The National Operations Council (NOC) decided to set up a body whose role is to monitor the activities of solidarity and as coordinator of recreating a peaceful state in society. The role of DNUI during the early establishment geared towards restoring the fragile public relations that needed to be rebounded at the time.

The establishment of this government agency is predicated on the NOC, which was created as a result of the tragedy of May 13. The NOC saw the need for a specific body to be established as the secretariat for coordination of unity and goodwill among the communities. Therefore, the NOC established a *Majlis Muhibah Negara* (MHN) or National Goodwill Council (NGC). The main task of the Council at that point is to make a study on the attitudes of the people in order to foster goodwill and also restore the relationship between the government and the people. In the following years, the NOC also set up a body known as the *Majlis Perpaduan Negara* (MPN) or National Unity Council (NUC), which aims to find certain rules in order to restore relations between communities as an anti-terrorism measure. Both the councils established by the NOC are chaired by the Prime Minister himself and comprising representatives of various professionals and are experienced with ethnicity and racial background. Finally, on January 1 1972, MHN and MPN were combined and upgraded in the last ministry named the *Kementerian Perpaduan Negara* (KPN) or Ministry of National Unity (MNU) that is responsible for coordinating the tasks of the National Unity Advisory Council at the federal Goodwill and Goodwill Committees (in other states).

In 1974, the MNU changed the status of the Board of National Unity under the auspices of the Prime Minister. Six years later, in the year 1980, the merger of the National Unity Board Secretariat *Rukun Tetangga* was done. Later on, a solidarity organization restructured and changed the name of this body back to the Department of National Unity in 1983 and remained under the patronage of the Prime Minister. In 1990, the Department of National Unity has changed its position to be placed under the Ministry of National Unity and Social Development and the continued role that emphasizes the aspects of race relations, national unity programs, ethno social research, and the Neighbourhood national unity and integration program. In 2004, the Department of National Unity was again transferred back under the Prime Minister and the department name changed to the National Unity and Integration Department (DNUI). However, in 2008, DNUI transferred to the Ministry of Unity, Culture, Arts and Heritage. After Datuk Seri Mohd Najib Abdul Razak was appointed as Prime Minister in 2009, DNUI was transferred under the supervision of the Prime Minister's Department overseen by a Minister to date.

DNUI's Role in Malaysia

One of the main initiatives taken by DNUI is to establish the *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) or Community Organization. The objectives of RT are to preserve, promote and strengthen national unity and integration in line with government policies based on the Federal Constitution and national principles (Akta Rukun Tetangga, 2012). The organization of the activities carried out through RT bureaus are such as *Jiran Muda* (JM) or Young Neighbour, *Jiran Wanita* (JW) Female Neighbours, *Warga Emas* (WE) or Elderly Neighbours and *Tunas Jiran* (TJ) or Neighbours Tunas. The RT bureaus are responsible to provide the ideas and views to the RT Committee to determine the type of suitable activities that could be implemented in accordance with the needs of the community.

Activities to be organized are first brought to the DNUI for approval. This first approval provisions and ensures that activities are carried out appropriately and give a good impact to the community. The DNUI also ensures that the activities carried out by the RT follows the guidelines and are in line with the DNUI requirements not to stray far from achieving the objectives of the RT. A neighbourhood headed by a Chairman and assisted by members of the committee have the authority to conduct any activities in accordance with procedures established by the DNUI. Implementation of programs and activities aimed at eventually creating a tight-knit community and maintaining a harmonious atmosphere. Malaysia's diverse ethnic communities that have existed for a long time followed the approach introduced by DNUI of approving programs and activities across ethnic diversity. Implementation of the activities organized by RT translated across ethnic boundaries in ten areas which include sports, culture, social, recreation, welfare, education, security, health, economic, and religion.

Another programme initiated by the DNUI is *Skim Rondaan Sukarela* (SRS) or Volunteer Patrol Scheme. SRS is a program run by volunteer residents who live in RT areas for the safety of their neighbourhood through control and patrol of activities. The objectives of the SRS are to prevent crime, dealing with social problems, property protection, enhance good neighbourliness among the local population and local conditions in order to restore the peace and prosperity. The requirements to establish SRS is based on the demand by at least 20 residents who live in the RT area. Those interested to involve in this scheme should be at least 18 years of age. SRS members typically are Malaysians.

However, a non-citizen may also be involved in the SRS with the condition that they must have valid travel documents (Mior Khairul Azrin, 2014). The SRS volunteers on duty will be supplied with the vest, hat, flashlight, whistle, light baton, first aid kit, rattan and raincoats. Those equipments were kept by the scheme's committee. The legal of SRS could be referred to Rule 27I under the Essential RT Act 1975 (Amendment) 1988 which clarifies that members of SRS have been permitted as senior police constables that are provided during patrol duties subject to the direction and control of the Director, and Member of the Scheme Committee Scheme. SRS volunteers are allowed to arrest any person who commits an offense as stipulated under Section 27 of the Criminal Procedure Code and send them to the nearest police station (Fatimah Yasin, 2010).

Seems the efforts to promote peace shall be executed from the beginning. DNUI had also established the *Tadika Perpaduan* or Unity Kindergarten. The objective of setting up the unity kindergarten is to establish the potential of children in all aspects of personal growth that is balanced. They should master basic skills and foster positive attitudes in accordance with the Constitution and the Principles of Nationhood. The process and how to initiate the Unity Kindergarten class opening are as follows:

- i. Application of event area.
- ii. A visit to the premises to see and assess the suitability of the class.
- iii. Necessary certificates submitted to the Office of the State Unity.
- iv. Necessary certificates submitted to DNUI Headquarters.
- v. Selection Committee Meeting for Opening Unity Nursery Class.
- vi. Informed decisions accept / reject the Unity State Office for further action.

The Unity Kindergarten has its own uniqueness and specialty compared to other kindergartens as the Unity Kindergarten has been established since 1976. Up to date, there are 1643 unity class kindergartens across Malaysia (Mior Khairul Azrin, 2014). The Unity Kindergarten strives to build peace through the adoption of the values and spirit of unity among the races. Furthermore, the Unity Kindergarten was established based on the Constitution and the Principles of Nationhood. In addition, it adopted the National Preschool Curriculum. In the Unity Kindergarten, teachers and assistant teachers are creative, innovative, well-trained and qualified. It is regulated and monitored by the District Officer of Unity and RT.

There is a *Jawatankuasa Penyelaras Tabika Perpaduan* (JPTP) or Unity Kindergarten Coordinating Committee, which consists of parents. The role played by the Coordinator of Unity kindergartens is to help teachers and assistant teachers of the related Unity Kindergarten class. In addition, the JPTP class help take care of children and achieve unity through the success of their activities. It also jointly handles care, cleanliness and safety classes. The conditions and criteria to be selected to join the Unity Kindergarten are children with parents earning less than Ringgit Malaysia 1,500, children aged 6 years and all the people that come first are eligible and encouraged to apply for the sake of celebrating diversity in Malaysia.

Peace-building in Malaysia: DNUI Programmes and National Development Policies Structures

Activities for peace and harmony of the inter-ethnic relations should be continued. The main role in the context of peace in Malaysia is DNUI because the responsibility of this department is to strengthen the relationship between the races. However the activities are carried out following the real needs in accordance with plans and policies established by the government in the process of nation building. Inconsistencies or contradictions will certainly lead to the ineffectiveness of the programs. Referring to the triangular conflict, the situation itself is a pluralistic society in general and has become a source of conflict. Societies of diverse backgrounds either in terms of culture, religion, language and skin colour has produced a thought or uneven results with each other. This difference will certainly generate the attitudes, perceptions and understanding of different ethnicities, especially in assessing their relationship. Ethnocentrism, stereotype and prejudices become common place and even experienced by each race. Accordingly, the misunderstanding of other people as a result of the diversity of this background will produce a negative behaviour and eventually become a time bomb if not properly managed.

The time bomb is not only due to the weakness in the management of conflict but it involves the structural violence that is inherent in the country's administration. It is apparent that injustice from an economic point of view is not balanced between the races in Malaysia. The Chinese in particular accounted for more than 70% of the country's economy, thus, adversely affecting the competition with other races. The Malays who are makes up the majority in Malaysia feel marginalized when they are not able to compete with the Chinese to develop a business. Although there are efforts and assistance provided by the government but it is still not able to push the ability of the Malays to compete with the Chinese. Thus, this problem becomes ingrained and embedded in the minds of the Malays that the world economy is dominated by the Chinese, and will probably not be shared with them. Per capita income of the majority Malays although still low compared with the Malays. Similarly, from the point of the Chinese, most of the political power cabinet members who hold ministerial portfolios are Malays or Bumiputera in majority. With power available, the national development planning processes disproportionate allocation of funds towards the development of a nation. The focus of state aid is said to prefer the Malays and Bumiputeras in the country's constitution but also outlines the rights of indigenous people that cannot be taken by non-natives. For example, during the reign of Dato' Seri Mohd Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak in which he introduced the concept of '1Malaysia' to try to draw all people to work together to drive the development of the country and the results are felt along. However the concept of '1Malaysia' seemed to gain no response from the other races, especially the Chinese. Seeing this, race relations in Malaysia is still fragile as a result of structural violence that still exists and could lead to conflict at any time.

This is the scenario that applies fundamental structure assisted violence in Malaysia. Accordingly, this needs to be assessed as to what extent the peace building activities are undertaken by the DNUI for positive impacts on racial unity in Malaysia. Despite efforts such as the RT program and Unity kindergartens, there is still the impression that there is a long period of time that even people's acceptance of the program are as if they were forced by the problems of violence that still exists in the process of nation building. Dissatisfaction among the people still exists although many people of

many races visited or participated in open houses during festivals such as Chinese New Year and Deepavali. Thus, the management structure of the state is important in ensuring peace in the programs carried out effectively by DNUI. This has resulted in a situation that is fair, harmonious and prosperous in the state structure in advance as it will produce a positive attitude among the people and lead to behaviours that lead to the well-being in communication with each other. Negative attitudes such as stereotypes and prejudices can be reduced and ultimately lead to mutual attitude of mutual trust, acceptance, cooperation, tolerance and togetherness.

Conclusion

Instead of letting the ethnic conflicts in Malaysia spread, the government has made various policies through the establishment of the NOC, National Anthem, Principle based nationhood and the DNUI. Through the establishment of the DNUI as a government agency responsible for addressing ethnic conflicts in Malaysia from happening again, the DNUI has played a part in creating peace-building activities. Among them is to set up RT so that each member of a group of people are able to recognize each other to further strengthen the spirit of unity with each other. In addition, the SRS was established consisting of members of the RT itself with the aim of patrols carried out to improve the level of safety in their residential areas and create a sense of mutual help.

Through the formation of a positive attitude, the Unity Kindergarten were established by applying the values of education to the children so that they can form a good attitude and are able to create a harmonious situation when they grow up. The program performed by DNUI would not have succeeded if the people at the bottom did not co-operate in achieving the desired goals that represent the government's DNUI. Thus, the involvement of community members in each program created by the DNUI are important because it is they who should determine the state of their lives, whether to create a harmonious living condition or otherwise. Thus, the peace-building top down approach should seek the cooperation and good relations with members of the community at the bottom in order to achieve the national goals of peace.

The Government of Malaysia is seen as the main character in handling ethnic conflicts in Malaysia carries their responsibilities well. This can be seen through the formulation of policies related to the handling of the problem of ethnic conflicts in Malaysia. The government had also set up the DNUI to ensure members of the community can live together and create a concerned community to help and understand each other and live in peace. Most importantly is the cooperation between the government and members of the community itself in the success of each policy and program implemented by the government. Otherwise, it is not impossible for the ethnic conflicts that have happened before to reoccur. Community members need to take precaution in ensuring that the occurrences are not repeated and threaten the stability and harmony of the country in order to achieve the Vision 2020 as a developed country.

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