Multicultural Education in Singapore and Japan

by

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A Master's dissertation submitted to Osaka Jogakuin University

Graduate School of International Collaboration and Coexistence in the 21st Century,

Master's Course, in fulfillment for degree requirements.

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August 27, 2018

Abstract

In the 21st century, it is common for people to cross the border as tourists, immigrants, students and businesspeople. And more countries and societies have become multicultural societies. However, in some places people reject diversity and inclusion, immigrants and social minorities are often treated differently. In education, minorities also face the similar situations. Minority students are often at a greater disadvantage which has directed influenced their academic performance. Hence, multicultural education is believed to be able to bring equal opportunities and build a more cohesive society. It is welcomed in many multicultural countries, such as United States and Australia.

Among these countries which have implemented multicultural education, Singapore and Japan are both economically developed countries in Asia, influenced by Confucianism. They both have high standards of education. Every year, large numbers of foreigners come to visit Singapore and Japan, as tourists, workers, businessman, and students. Therefore, to create a cohesive society for all people regardless of ethnicity, language or culture, multicultural education is necessary for both Singapore and Japan and it is worthwhile to learn from each other's experience. The thesis focuses on the two questions: 1) What is the different role of multicultural education in Singapore and Japan; 2) How has it been implemented.

Through fieldwork and content analysis, I found many sociopolitical differences. Generally, Japan was known as a homogenous country. However, due to ageing society and the shortage of labor, receiving more foreigners has become an imperative task. The current multicultural education could not meet the needs. Japan is struggling to move to a multicultural society. The evidence is that some foreign children drop out of schools. On the contrary, Singapore is constitutionally multi-racial and multi-linguistic, where multiculturalism was set as the cornerstone for the nation-building. The government of Singapore has taken various initiatives to enhance the status of multiculturalism. In education, the content of multiculturalism is covered in Social Studies and Citizenship Education and other schools subjects. Multicultural education in Singapore and Japan is conducted at different stages and for different purpose. To respond to current agenda related to multicultural society, Japanese government could obtain some implications from Singapore's experiences.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to show gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Hitoshi Mabuchi, who patiently instructed me throughout the whole process.

I am also indebted to Professor Scott Johnston, for inspiring me with many precious ideas, to Professor Mitsuko Maeda, for guiding me in the methodology of the thesis, and to many lectures in Osaka Jogakuin University who gave me advice.

I would like to thank Osaka Jogakuin University and all the staff in the offices, for their supports over the past two years.

A special thank to my friends in Singapore, for making my fieldwork worthwhile and wonderful.

I would also like to thank Japan Comparative Education Society for giving me the chance to present my research on the seminar.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their substantial support.

Contents

Chapter I Introduction

In the age of globalization, people cross the border as tourists, immigrants, students and businesspeople. Many people also benefit from this change. As a Chinese student, I was able to study in Singapore for bachelor degree and continue my study in Japan. While studying aboard, I notice that many countries and societies have become multicultural societies, in some cases, people of different races can live in harmony, but in some cases, people reject diversity and inclusion. Immigrants and social minorities are often treated differently concerning their race, language, religion, economy and gender.

In education, minorities also face similar problems. For example, children of the immigrants often struggle with the language, and consequently, their academic performances are influenced dramatically. To bring equal opportunities and reduce discriminations, conflicts, and misunderstandings, multicultural education was given the role to help build a more cohesive society.

According to Banks's theory, the three major components of multicultural education are: (1) an idea or concept, (2) an educational reform movement, (3) a process (Banks, 2009). The development of multicultural education is to integrate into the social studies curriculum in future years.

To study multicultural education in one place, social contexts should be taken into account. The similarities and differences between Singapore and Japan provide important backgrounds for studying multicultural education. First, they are both economically developed countries in Asia. They both have high standard education, and are influenced by Confucianism. However the differences are also conspicuous which assigned multicultural education a different role. Singapore is a multi-racial, multi-linguistic country. It is a nation of immigrants whose ancestors were from all over Asia, but mainly from China, India, Indonesia and the Middle East. One of Singapore's achievements is being able to use multiculturalism to foster social cohesion and as a building block of a new nation. Multicultural education has been conducted formally through various subjects, such as history as well as civics and moral education. These subjects underline and emphasize the importance of harmony and tolerance.

Unlike Singapore, Japan is considered a homogenous country, ethnical Japanese made up about 98% of its total population (Ministry of Justice, 2018). However, historically, Koreans and Ainu people (indigenous people of Japan and Russia) and others who live in Japan also expand the diversity of culture in Japan. In addition, more foreigners come to live in Japan for various reasons. Japan is moving to a multicultural society and multicultural education needs to be emphasized.

Considering the current situation, Japan is slow in implementing multicultural education. In Japanese schools, the treatment to foreign children does not fully respond to the immediate agenda of multicultural coexistence. Studying the multicultural education of Singapore, hopefully can give Japan some hints in respect of dealing with new comers.

The research questions of the thesis are:

1) What is different role of multicultural education in Singapore and Japan?
2) How has it been implemented?

In order to obtain more understandings of multicultural education in Singapore, I did the pilot research there. During my fieldwork, I visited several higher educational institutions, including National University of Singapore, Management and Development Institution of Singapore, and Singapore Management University. I visited some religious places, for example, Buddhist temples, Hindu temple, and mosques. Through my observation, I found that regardless of ethnicity, religions or languages, Singaporeans can actually share the common space, communicate effectively, and live in harmony, which was quite different from situation of Japan.

I also interviewed a secondary school teacher from Raffles Institution and one student from Telok Kurau Primary School to obtain the general idea of multicultural education in Singapore. From the interviews, I understand that due to the racial riots in 1960s, which caused not only the loss of lives, but also fear, the uncertainty, and anxiety in people's hearts, Singaporeans have reached to a consensus that social cohesion and harmony is absolutely necessary for nation-building. Thus, multicultural education was conducted through formal various subjects, such as history as well as civics and moral education, underline and emphasize the importance of harmony and tolerance.

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The fieldwork provided me with background knowledge of how Singapore has become multicultural. After I went back from Singapore, I continued my research by using content analysis of documents from Ministry of Education, government policies, books, surveys done by other institutions and articles from newspapers.

I focus on the Social Studies, Moral and Citizenship Education and bilingual education, which are carried out in Singapore now and made a comparison with Japanese current multicultural education. Finally, I will make some suggestions for the future development of Multicultural Education in Japan.

In this paper, I write the theoretic framework of multicultural education in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I write about the different sociopolitical contexts in Singapore and Japan for studying multicultural education. Then I present the findings parts in chapter 4 and finally the conclusion in chapter 5.

Chapter II: The theoretic framework of multicultural education

II.A. What is multiculturalism

In this chapter, I would like to explain the basic concept of multiculturalism, started with the concept of culture. Language, traditions or religion, these things can be part of culture. Nieto (2000) pointed out the power relations underlie in the culture. Multiculturalism is interpreted variously by different people in different contexts. Sometimes, multicultural was simply used as the alternative word to multiracial. In Australia, multicultural is more than a term that describes the ethnic diversity, but a public policy. United States is a typical multicultural society. The social integration has gone through many states, and finally reached multiculturalism. Although it is said that multiculturalism helps to promote equal rights for minorities, it is challenged by some scholars. Baber (2008) argues that multiculturalism in fact restricts individual freedom. Despite those critical views, multiculturalism is beneficial to those minorities and meant to create a more equal society. Therefore, multicultural education is essential for both majority groups and minority groups. I will introduce three widespread theories of multicultural education in this chapter: Nieto's theory, Banks' theory and Sleeter's theory. Recently years, many countries, such as Australia, started to use Citizenship education as a replacement to multicultural education (Mabuchi, 2010). Banks (2007) also advocates a new school subject called multicultural citizenship, which helps students to acquire a balance of cultural, national, and global identifications. Another important part of multicultural education is linguistic diversity. Minority people have linguistic disadvantages at school. Thus, bilingual education is necessary for those linguistic minorities. There are miscellaneous models for bilingual education. In the United States, the most prevalent model is ESL (English as a Second Language).

II.A.1 Concept of Culture

Before explaining what multiculturalism is, it is better to make clear the basic concept of culture.

When people think about culture, they often associate it to food, dress, arts and holidays. They only look at the narrow and superficial side of culture. In fact, culture also manifests communication style, attitudes, values, and family relationships.

What is culture? Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) wrote in their famous book *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions* that there are more than one hundred definitions about cultures. People can define culture according to their own contexts. The *Cambridge English Dictionary* (2008) states that culture is "the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time". Raymond Williams (2001), one of the most influential figures in cultural study has categorized culture into three levels.

There is the lived culture of a particular time and place, only fully accessible to those living in that time and place. There is the recorded culture, or every kind, from art to the most everyday facts; the culture of the period. There is also, as the factor connecting lived culture and period cultures, the culture of the selective tradition.

From the point of view from sociology, culture can be defined as" the ways of thinking, the ways of acting, and the material objects that together shape a people's way of life. Culture can be any of two types, non-material culture or material culture (O'Neil, 2006)". For example, language belongs to non-material culture.

According to Sonia Nieto (2000), culture can be defined as: "Culture consists of the values, traditions, worldview, and social and political relationships created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a common history, geographic location, language, social class, religion, or other shared identity" (P158). She also suggests that power relations are implicated in culture as well. Bennett (1998) points out "the relations of culture and power are best understood in the light of the respects in which the field of culture is now increasingly governmentally organized and constructed" (P61). Culture is used as tools to shape social life and human conduct.

For example, people from dominant group in a society traditionally think of dominant cultural values as "normal", while they view other values of subordinated groups as deviant or maybe wrong. For example, "American value encourages young people to become independent, and women should pursue their dependence" (Independent women, 2014). But in other cultures, interdependence among family members is very important (Kashy&Jellison, 2004). We cannot say which one is right, but groups of people who embrace the idea of interdependence will be discouraged or intimidated by American mainstream society.

This is just one scenario that demonstrates the power relationship implied when observing culture. In many cases, asking everyone to abide by identical rules will turn out to be unfair to minorities (Phillips, 2009).

II.A.2 Introduction to Multiculturalism

As a result, multiculturalism came on to the public as an ideal way to deal with inequality in a world that immigrations are increasing dramatically. However, the concept of multiculturalism itself is very ambiguous. There is a tendency to confuse culture and ethnicity or race. For example, before the term "multicultural" was widely used in North American and Europe, people would have said multiracial or talk about there being many cultural minorities when they mean many people who are black (Hollinger, 2006).

Baber (2008) also points out that some people oversimplified multiculturalism as nothing more than genetic diversity. "When people discuss multiculturalism, they are not talking about the composition of societies, about the ethnic origin of their members, or about citizens' affiliations, traditions, or practices but about how we should view and respond to the facts of genetic and cultural diversity"(p. 36). She enumerates four distinct and separable agendas to explain multiculturalism. First, multiculturalists accept genetic diversity and hold that individuals should not be disadvantaged or excluded from full participation in their society in virtue of race or ethnic origin. Second, multiculturalists regard it is normal and desirable to incorporate the artifacts and customs that are native to other cultures into their own. Third, they suggest that people should be "sensitive "to the value of diverse cultures, even some traditions and practices are objectionable by their own standards. Finally, and most controversially, multiculturalists reject assimilation as an ideal, holding instead that multiethnic societies should support the persistence of cohesive ethnic communities, which coexist peacefully and interact without coalescing.

To further understand what multiculturalism is, I am going to use US as an example to elaborate more, because theories generated from America have great impact on the field of multiculturalism. These theories also went beyond the boundaries to Asia countries, such as Singapore and Japan.

II.A.3 U.S as a multicultural society

The nation's motto of the United States is *e pluribus unum-* out of many, one. Throughout most of its history, how to integrate ethnic groups of color to mainstream has always been a contentious issue under discussion (Banks, 2007). The social integration theory in U.S. has been through many stages, transited from assimilationism, amalgamatonism (melting-pot theory),cultural pluralism, and finally to multiculturalism (Matsuo, 2013).

There was a time that groups of color were blocked from obtaining full citizenship in American. According to Banks (2007), historically, groups of color have experience three major problems in becoming American citizens. First, they were denied legal citizenship by laws. Second, when legal barriers to citizenship were eliminated, they were often denied educational experiences that would help them to acquire the cultural and language characteristics needed to function effectively in the mainstream society. Third, because of racial discrimination, they were often denied the opportunity to full participate in mainstream society although they attained these characteristics. As Gordon (1964) describes U.S. society as characterized by "high levels of cultural assimilation and structural pluralism. " Because of the institutionalized discrimination in American both past and present, Americans from all racial and ethnic groups confine many of their activities to their social class subsociety within their ethnic groups.

As more and more immigrants from Asia and Latin America come to America, as the gap between the rich and the poor widens, the citizenship dilemma has intensified, because the racial, gender and class discrimination is widespread among American society (Smith, 1999).

At the early period of 20ᵗʰ century, along with the civil right movement and cultural democracy, pluralism was proposed by Kallen and Bourne (Meyer, 2008). As an opposing theory against assimilationism, pluralism (salad bowl) embraces the diversity of culture and upholds the value of minorities.

Between 1960 and 1980, along with burst of the civil right movements including the rights of women, the rights of groups of color became prominent in America, pluralism was found incapable to solve the fundamental problem of unequal social structure. Therefore, influenced by post constructionist theory and post colonialism, multiculturalism appears as it

deals with the problem of power, which caused the social inequality (Newman, 1973). In 1980s, Multiculturalism was widely used as a substitute for pluralism.

II.A.4 Critical views against multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has much to be commended. It helps promote equal rights for minorities groups and reduce racism and discrimination. Barber (2008) has challenged multiculturalism in an opposite view. He argues that multiculturalism restricts individual freedom by locking individuals into unchosen identities, affiliations, and social arrangements, some of which are themselves highly restrictive. He also makes a point that is in contrast with multiculturalism where it assumes that immigrants like their cultures and want to maintain the differences. He said "arguably, most immigrants and members of ethnic minorities can, will, should, and above, want to assimilate to the majority culture." He explains that some ethnicity is both "ascribed" and immutable, that some ethnic affiliations are assigned at birth, and people cannot change them. He concludes that multiculturalism benefits individuals who wish to identify themselves with ancestral cultures, or to affiliate with ethnic communities, but for those who wish to assimilate to the majority, multiculturalism chains them to their roots.

Some of Baber's points may be true. However, I personally believe that multiculturalism is meaningful to certain extent. For the new comers, it is hard for these people to assimilate to the majority culture smoothly due to the discordance in cultural, linguistic and religious aspects. And as minority groups, they need certain help from the society to avoid being rejected or discriminated against. To achieve this goal, multicultural education is essential for both new comers and majority people.

II.B. Theories of multicultural education (Three widespread theories)

In this section, I am going to introduce the three most widespread theories about multicultural education. Before that, it is important to clarify a fact that multiculturalism does not equal multicultural education. Multicultural education plays an important role in carrying out the idea of multiculturalism, because it helps students develop the knowledge, values and skills needed to become effective citizens in a pluralistic, democratic society (Banks, 2007).

However, there is confusion between multiculturalism and multicultural education. In some writings, these two words are often interchangeable. In fact, multiculturalism is a term rarely used by theorists and researchers in multicultural education. Banks listed the three major components of multicultural education that distinguish it from multiculturalism: (1) an idea or concept, (2) an educational reform movement, (3) a process (Banks, 2009).

The development of multicultural education is to integrate into the social studies curriculum in future years. For example, many most prestigious colleges and universities in America, such as Stanford, the University of California-Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities require all of their undergraduate students to take courses in ethnic studies (Banks, 2003). One of the goals of multicultural education in U.S. is to create within schools and society the democratic ideals that were called American creed values, such as justice, equality, and freedom (Myrdal 1994, cited in Banks, 2007). In Singapore's educational system, multicultural issues are available from Social Studies syllabus (Singapore Ministry of Education, 2016).

II.B.1 Nieto's theory

Sonia Nieto (2000) points out that one of the causes leading to poor performance in school is one-size-fits-all instruction for low-income students. The gap between rich and poor continues to enlarge. She also criticized that "schooling has been reduced to the transmission of scripted skills and facts to the exclusion of inquiry, critical literacy, and social awareness."

In her pedagogy, she advocates that critical literacy and intercultural communication skills should be taken into account. Therefore, she defines multicultural education as:

Multicultural education is a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all students. It challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, gender, and sexual orientation, among others) that students, their communities, and teachers reflect (p42).

In this sense, multicultural education can be characterized as antiracist, basic education and important for all students. Being antiracist requires teaching to ensure that students have access to a wide variety of viewpoints. For example, in terms of teaching students about history, both the beautiful side and the ugly side should be included alike. Unfortunately, many schools avoid the negative aspects of history, the arts, and science. Nieto explained the reasons why schools are reluctant to tackle these disturbing topics. 'Because instruction in, and discussion of, such topics place people in the role of either the victimizer or the victimized, an initial and logical reaction'(P. 45). As a result, monocultural education has become dominant in too many of our schools, in which many other viewpoints, perspectives are missing. Students can only learn from one fraction of the available knowledge. Furthermore, Nieto also suggested that multicultural curriculum should include teaching young people skills in confronting racism.

In contrast with monocultural education which is incomplete and biased, Nieto (2009) proposed her own model of multicultural education that contains 4 levels: "Tolerance", "Acceptance", "Respect" and "Affirmation, solidarity, and critique". "Tolerance" means people can understand the differences, although not necessarily embrace them. It is the lowest of level of multicultural education. The second level "Acceptance" means people accept differences, at least, recognize their significance. In a multicultural society, diversity in language, lifestyles and opinions should be accepted. The third level "Respect" means that different cultures should be admired and respected. Students should be exposed to different viewpoints, so they would form their own way of looking at the world. The fourth level "Affirmation, solidarity, and critique" means people should treat mainstream culture and minority culture equally. The fourth level is extremely difficult to achieve.

II.B.2 Banks' theory

Banks has developed a typology called "the dimensions of multicultural education" to conceptualize and programmatically describe multicultural education.

Banks' five dimensions of multicultural education are: (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure (2007, p. 83). Content integration means

teachers use examples and content from various cultures to demonstrate key concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in their subjects. The knowledge construction process includes methods, activities, and questions used by teachers to help students to understand, investigate, and determine how implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed. Once the knowledge construction process is implemented, teachers help students to understand how knowledge is created and how it is influenced by the racial, ethnic, and social-class positions of individuals and groups (Collins, 2000).

According to Banks (2007), prejudice reduction means the strategies that teachers use to help students to develop more democratic values and attitudes based on the characteristics of students' racial attitudes. An equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, and gender groups. Research shows that students' academic performance will improve if the teachers have cultural competency in the cultures of their students. An empowering school culture and social structure conceptualizes the school as a social system that is larger than any of its constituent parts, such as curriculum, teaching materials, and teacher attitudes and perceptions. It suggests that the entire system must be restructured, not just some of its parts.

II.B.3 Sleeter's theory five approaches to teaching

Sleeter and Grant (2008) outline five approaches to teaching: (1) Teaching the Exceptional and the Culturally Different approach, (2) Human Relation approach, (3) Single-Group Studies approach, (4) Multicultural Education approach and (5) Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist approach.

Of the five listed approaches, Sleeter and Grant embrace the fifth method, Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist. This approach aims to extend its "realm of social action and on challenging social stratification on celebrating human diversity and equal opportunity." It distinguishes itself from other approaches, because it directly tackles the inequality of social construction based on race, ethnicity, class and gender.

II.B.4 Struggles in current multicultural education

Sleeter (2014) critiques that conventional multicultural education tends to assume a liberal conception of citizenship that is based on individualism and simplistic analysis of how power works. She also points out the field of multicultural education is turning away from its initial objective in dealing with racism and inequality in education and allowing the superficial exposure of cultures to become the standard in multicultural education.

Levinson (2010) also points out that tenets of multicultural education have the potential to conflict directly with the purposes of educating in the dominant culture and some tenants conflict with each other. He worries that a facet of multicultural education would require teaching only the beliefs of this culture while excluding others. In this way, one can see how an exclusive curriculum would leave other cultures left out.

In some countries, such as Australia, multicultural education has gradually been replaced by citizenship education. The term "multicultural" was also replaced by "immigrant or citizenship" (Mabuchi, 2011).

In the next section, I will elaborate more on citizenship education and also introduce linguistic diversity, which consists of the most important parts in multicultural education.

II.C. Citizenship education in a multicultural society

Historically, multicultural education has been accused of promoting separatism and disunity (Schlesinger, 1998). In order for diverse groups to feel a sense of belonging and loyalty to their nation-state, Banks suggests that "citizenship education should be to attain a delicate balance between education for unity and nationhood and educating citizens to recognize, confront, and to help revolve inequality manifested in forms such as racism, sexism, and classism" (Banks, 2007).Citizenship education has been implemented worldwide. In UK, citizenship programs of study are part of the national curriculum (the Department of Education of UK). In China, citizenship education is called "peopleship" education (Xiao, 2013). In Singapore, citizenship education is also included in their national curriculum (Singapore Ministry of Edcuation, 2007).

According to UNESCO's citizenship education for 21st century (UNESCO,1998), citizenship education is based on the distinction between: the individual as a subject of ethics and law, entitled to all the rights inherent in the human condition (human rights); and the citizen – entitled to the civil and political rights recognized by the national constitution of the country concerned. All human beings are both individuals and citizens of the society to which they belong. Therefore, human rights and citizen rights are interdependent.

It requires that all forms of citizenship education inculcate (or aim at inculcating) respect for others and recognition of the equality of all human beings; and at combating all forms of discrimination (racist, gender-based, religious, etc.) by fostering a spirit of tolerance and peace among human beings.

I.C.1 The purpose of Citizenship education
According to William Gaudelli (2016), Citizenship is a term that describes the relation of self-to-sovereign as well as the relationship one has to other citizens. Arnove (2012) elaborates that cultural, national, and global experiences and identifications are interactive and interrelated in a dynamic way.

Therefore, the purpose of citizenship education is to help students to develop thoughtful and clarified identifications with their cultural communities and their nation-states. It should also help students to develop clarified global identifications and deep understandings of their roles in the world community (Diaz, Massialas, &Xanthopoulos, 1991).

II.C.2 Multicultural citizenship education
Banks (2007) advocates a new kind of citizenship education, called multicultural citizenship, which enables students to acquire a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global. identifications and to participate in civic action to create a more humane nation and world.

How does one attain his/her identity? What are the relationships among cultural, national, and global identifications? Identity itself is an ambiguous concept. Gaudelli (2016) offers two grounding issues related to identity. The first is about simplification and automaticity. In other words, people tend to group others according to superficial observances. The second idea is about the social meanings of identity, or how people group and are grouped according to

similarity, perceived or otherwise, and how those identification take on particular meanings at given time and places (p. 82). For example, Asian people are often labeled as "good at Math" in the U.S. Based on these explanations, stereotypes often occur when we see individuals not as individuals but as representatives of a large group.

Olsen (2008) explains that identity was sometimes defined in terms of nationality, at other times it was defined in terms of culture, religion, race, or language and sometimes as a combination of these. In this context, people may have multiple identities. Parekh (1991) elaborates more on the interrelations of cultural diversity and citizenship in British Asian context, "first, cultural diversity should be given public status and dignity. Second, minorities can hardly expect to be taken seriously unless they accept full obligations of British citizenship (cited in Banks, 2008).

Banks' (2007) explanation for the interrelations among cultural, national and global identification focuses on the developmental nature.

> Individuals can attain healthy and reflective national identifications only when they have acquired healthy and reflective cultural identifications, and that individuals can develop reflective and positive global identifications only after they have realistic, positive national identifications (P. 25).

Banks also emphasizes the need for students as global citizens to take action to help solve the world's difficult global problems, such as environmental problems, poverty and violence (p.24). He also states that citizenship education to teaching students to care about other people and to take personal, social, and civic action to create a humane and just society (p. 14).

Other educators, such as Gaudelli (2016) also highlight the significance of developing positive global identification. He elaborates that the broadest invocation for educating global citizens is "an aspirational sense of being human as a universal condition coupled with openness to the plurality of people and their environs (p. 6)".

II.D Linguistic diversity in a multicultural society

II.D.1 Linguistic diversity and learning

As language is part of culture, in the same spirit of multicultural education, linguist diversity in multicultural education should be taken into account. It empowers people the equal

opportunities to learn their mother tongue. Linguistic minorities also should have the right to learn their mother tongue. According to Universal Declaration of Linguistics, it clearly categorizes linguistic rights on the same level as other human rights, concerning the individual and collective right to choose the language or languages for communication in a private or public atmosphere (Extra, 2004). However, Nieto (2000) points out "Language differences affect learning dramatically. In multicultural education, native language issues are frequently overlooked or downplayed." According to her explanation, in US, among culturally dominant groups, bilingualism is a burden, yet among middle-class and wealthy students, it is usually seen as an asset. Why do people have different views towards bilingualism?

The definition of bilingualism itself is very ambiguous and uncertain. People usually think that bilingual refers to someone who is able to use and speak two languages. There are two famous definitions about bilingualism. Bloomfield (1935), in his book Language, defined bilingualism as "a native-like control of two languages" and native language (first language) is a language that a person has been exposed to from birth. In some countries, for example Singapore, the term native language or mother tongue refers to the language of one's ethnic group rather than one's first language (Davies, 2003).

The other definition is compiled by Haugen (1969), which says bilingualism begins "at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language". These two definitions are different from each other. In Bloomfield's definition, a bilingual has to speak both two languages perfectly like native speaker. Haugen's definition is relatively softer. The distinction lies on the proficiency and use of the language. Someone may speak both languages but is fluent in just one. Moreover, when considering the four linguistic skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening), the proficiency level may vary. Just as Grojean (2008) asserted: "the bilingual is not just someone who speaks two languages, but he possesses language and communicative skills in two languages at different levels", bilingualism is not a static phenomenon. The degree of bilingualism can change during time because of the change of social environment, for example, emigration to other countries. Therefore, language diversity and bilingual education should be put within a sociopolitical contest to understand. According to Nieto, bilingual education has always been controversial, but it is, above all, a political issue because it is concerned with power relations in society (p. 230). For example, in U.S, language

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minority students who lack the proficiency in English may be treated as "handicapped". In another scenario, for instance, the third generation of the immigrants may naturally forget their own mother tongue, but only speak English. As a result, bilingual education may have different meanings to different groups of people in a certain context.

Despite some negative perceptions of bilingualism, a good deal of research confirms the positive influence of knowing more than one language. Adesope et al (2010) conclude the benefits of bilingualism include increased attention control, working memory, metalinguistic awareness, and abstract reasoning, all of which, naturally, can contribute positively to academic success. Researchers Aljandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut (2001) also confirm the positive effects of being bilingual. "Students with limited bilingualism are far more likely to leave school than those fluent in both languages. Rather than an impediment to academic achievement, bilingualism can promote learning. In addition, native-language maintenance may act as a buffer against academic failure by simply supporting literacy in children's most developed language".

Nieto (2000) asserted the importance of keeping one's native language as: "Abandoning one's native language leads not only to individual psychological costs and communication breaches within one's family, but also to a tremendous loss of linguistic resources to the nations (p. 227)". In addition, there is a striking finding that the students who studied from nationalities that speak English best are not necessarily earning the highest incomes or have the highest number of managers and professionals among their ranks. On the other hand, Chinese and other Asians and Colombians and other Latin Americans, with relatively low fluency in English, earn considerably more (Ports&Rumbaut, op.cit).

Although bilingual education is a political issue, successful bilingual programs have demonstrated that students can achieve academically while they learn rigorous content through their native language (Brisk, 2006). In the next section, I will list some models to teach language minority students.

II.D.2 Models for teaching English language learners

There are some program models of teaching English for minority students. Firstly, it is better to distinguish between "English as a foreign language" (EFL) and "English as a second language" (ESL). EFL is used to talk about students who learn English only in classroom while

living in a non-English speaking country, for example, a Japanese person learning English in Japan. ESL is mainly about students who learn English in English-speaking countries, which means they can use English outside school, for example, a Chinese person learning English in Canada.

The most prevalent model for teaching language minority is some version of ESL, or English as a Second Language. The programs vary according to the learners' English proficiency or the school or district in which they are implemented. In some programs, instructions are taught in both, English and their home language. In other programs, instructions are only in English, but in a manner that is comprehensible to the students (Wight, 2010). Structure English immersion(SEI) has become a widely used model for teaching English language learners. In this model, students are usually placed in a separate classroom where they learn all their content in English until they are proficient enough to be mainstreamed to a regular classroom (Nieto 2000).

Another model is bilingual education. There is a dizzying array of models and definition of bilingual education (Wiley, 2005). According to Nieto (2000), bilingual education, in general terms, can be defined as "an educational program that involves the use of two languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career" (p. 235). For example, Singapore is conducting bilingual education where English is used as medium of instruction and the learning of the mother tongue is compulsory (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2013).

When put into practice, bilingual education still faces its own challenges: the quality of teachers, many of them are not prepared for teaching in ethnically diverse classrooms; low expectations of linguistic minority students on the part of teachers and schools; bilingual programs are particularly weak models within a specified time, success is measured by rapidity with which they mainstream students (Nieto, 2000, P237).

II.D.3. Approaches to teaching language minority students

In order to conduct successful bilingual programs, Stephen Krashenvf (1988) recommends that teachers who work on second-language acquisition should provide students for whom English is a second language with comprehensible input. He suggests all teachers should have:

1) Familiarity with first-and second-language acquisition.

2) Awareness of the sociocultural and sociopolitical context of education for language minority students.

3) Awareness of the history of immigration in the United States, with particular attention to language policies and practices throughout that history.

4) Knowledge of the history and experiences of specific groups of people, especially those who are residents of the city, town and state where you are teaching.

5) The ability to adapt curriculum for students whose first language is other than English.

6) Competence in pedagogical approaches suitable for culturally and linguistically heterogeneous classrooms.

7) Experience with teachers of diverse backgrounds and the ability to develop collaborative relationships with them to promote the learning of language minority students.

8) The ability to communicate effectively with parents of diverse language, cultural, and social class backgrounds.

Nieto (2000) also advices that entire schools should also develop such environments: for instance, they can make a conscious and concerted effort to recruit and hire bilingual staff members who can communicate with parents in their native languages. They can provide professional development opportunities, and rewards, so that teachers motivated to learn a second language.

II. E. Summary

According to Banks' theory (2009), multicultural education is: (1) an idea or concept, (2) an educational reform movement, (3) a process. It can be integrated into social studies curriculum. Nieto pointed out that multicultural education challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination, which gave students more perspectives when studying history, arts and science. She later listed four levels of multicultural education: "Tolerance", "Acceptance", "Respect" and "Affirmation, solidarity and critique". It provides criteria for studying multicultural education in Singapore and Japan. Citizenship education is a new emerged subject to replace multicultural education in some countries. It aims to help students develop thought and clarified identifications with their cultural communities and their nation-states (Diaz, Massialas,& Xanthopoulos, 1991). It is an essential issue especially in Singapore – a nation formed by immigrants and I will explore this issue in the chapter 4.

Multicultural education promotes equal chance for minority people, as they often have linguistic disadvantages at school. Thus, bilingual education is necessary for those linguistic minorities. However, bilingual education is often concerned with power relations in society. As a result, in multicultural education, native language issues of linguistic minorities are frequently overlooked. When comparing the multicultural education in Singapore and Japan, linguistic diversity and native language issues should be taken into account. The challenges that Nieto mentioned concerning bilingual education should also be considered.

In the next chapter, I will explore the sociopolitical contexts in Singapore and Japan, which make the role of multicultural education different.

Chapter III: Sociopolitical contexts for multicultural education

Before studying the Multicultural Education in Singapore and Japan, it is important to understand the different sociopolitical contexts in the two countries. Singapore is a nation of immigrants, composed of different racial groups, while Japan is generally considered as a homogeneous country, but it is becoming more diverse and multicultural. Due to Singapore's distinct social circumstance, as one of its characteristics is multiracial and multi-linguistic, multiculturalism and multicultural education became necessary for the nation-building.

However, changes are also taken place in Japan recent years. It is easy to find foreign workers in hotels, factories, schools, hospitals and so on. As the continuance of low birth rate and globalization, accepting immigrants became a social necessity. Education related to these foreign children will become a profound social problem in the future. Therefore multicultural education should not be underappreciated in Japan.

III.A. Singapore as a multicultural society

III.A.1. Population and race in Singapore

Singapore was a British colony until 1963 when Singapore became a constituent state of Malaysia. In 1965, Singapore separated from Malaysia and became an independent and sovereign state (Chan, 2013). Postcolonial Singapore was, unlike United States or Canada, originally conceived of as a state that was constitutionally multiracial (Chua, 2003). It is a nation of immigrants whose ancestors were from all over Asia, but mainly from China, India, Indonesia and the Middle East. Due to historically reason, the term race is constantly used in political and popular discourse, particularly in the Singapore context (Lee et al, 2004). All Singaporeans are assigned to a particular race at birth, which is determined by the race of the father.

Table 1: Singapore Citizens Population by Ethnic Group and status, 2016

	Total	Chinese	Malays	Indians	Others
Singapore citizens	3,408,900	2,595,800 (76.1%)	510,200 (15%)	253,300 (7.4%)	49,700(1.5%)

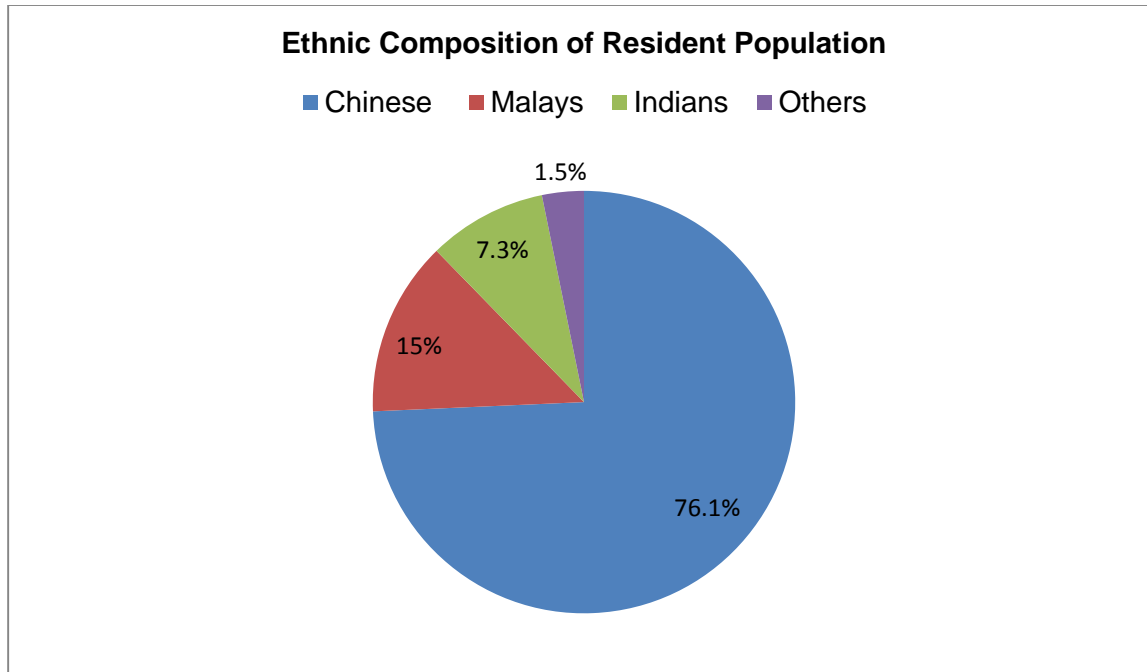Source: Department of Statistics, 2016

Figure 1: Ethnic Composition of Resident Population

According to Department of Statistics (2016), of the total resident population (including Singapore citizen and Permanent Residents), 74.3% are Chinese, followed by Malays (13.4%), Indians (9.1%) and including Eurasians, are classified as "Others".

III.A.2. The process to multiculturalism in Singapore

From the demographic distribution of Singapore, one can easily tell which one is the majority racial group. There was always great risk of the majority racial group assuming political power regardless of the rights of the minority groups. However, the political leaders in Singapore have never allowed this situation to happen, for they understand without shared cultures and ethnic cohesion, Singapore would fall apart and never be one nation. Therefore, since its independence in 1965, multiculturalism has been the cornerstone to forge a nation (Chan, 2013). Although Chinese is overwhelming majority, the Singapore Constitution guarantees that all persons are equal before the law and that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of among race (Toh, 2017). As Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong (2015) made a speech at a conference, he highlighted: "One of our most remarkable achievements over these last 50 years, has been our racial and religious harmony." He reiterated that the racial and religious

harmony stems from a strong belief in the ideal of a multiracial society where everyone is equal, regardless of race, language or religion.

However, on the way to a harmonious society, several major incidents of racial tensions took place in the 1950s and 1960s. Two incidents are particularly salient- the Maria Hertogh riots in 1950 and the Prophet Muhammad birthday riots in 1964, which have caused not only the loss of lives, but also fear, uncertainty, and anxiety in people's hearts (Lai, 2004). In my interview with the secondary school teacher, the interviewee also mentioned about these riots and what Singaporeans have learnt from it. These riots taught Singaporeans how precious harmony is, and to not take it for granted. Singapore cannot afford a dominant or a homogeneous culture, because it will destroy Singapore. To prevent such tragedies, the political leaders made a series of integrative policies and endeavored over many years to create a cohesive society for different racial communities. Chan (2013) commented that "multiculturalism is not simply a social reality that is to be tolerated by the majority ethnic group; it is a political necessity". Among these integrative policies, the Ethnic Integration Policy and Bilingualism policy are two essential policies that facilitate ethnic cohesion.

III.A.2.a. The Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP)

The Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) was implemented on 1 March 1989 to promote racial integration and harmony in Housing and Development Board (HDB) estates ("Racial," 1989). Under the authority of HDB, public housing was regulated and set limits on the proportion of residents of each race in particular neighborhoods.

The Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) aims to maintain a good ethnic mix in HDB estates, thereby helping to promote racial integration and harmony. It applies to all HDB flats. According the policy, a quota was implemented for the Singapore Permanent Resident (SPR), because it can help integrate SPR families into the local community. In addition, the sellers are not allowed to sell their flat to a particular buyer if the sale causes their blocks' or neighbourhoods' EIP and/ or SPR quota to change (House and Development Board, n.d.). This measure effectively prevents one ethnic group from clustering.

III.A.2.b.Bilingualism Policy

Bilingualism policy entails an emphasis on using English and the mother tongue languages, particularly that of the three main ethnic groups: Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malay community and Tamil for the Indians. English was to become Singapore's working language, while the mother tongue would serve to strengthen an individual's values and sense of cultural belonging. The special language policy is also protected by the Constitution. Under Article 153A of the Singapore Constitution, English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil were proclaimed as the four official languages of the nation. Malay, Mandarin and Tamil were thus official designated as the mother tongue languages of the Malay, Chinese and Indian communities respectively (Tan, 2007).

Bilingual policy that appointed English as a neutral common language also helped make multiculturalism possible and unite the people as Singaporeans. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew (2012) explained why bilingual policy had been introduced to Singapore. English was chosen as Singapore's working language because it is used for international business, diplomacy and technology. A common knowledge of English could also bring the different ethnic groups together by enabling them to communicate with one another. As to the mother tongue, Lee firmly believed mother tongue was given the importance that it could build bridge to one's cultural heritage, thereby enhancing one's values and sense of cultural belonging.

The bilingualism policy has been implemented primarily through the education system (Mauzy and Milne, 2002). As a result, the study of a second language was made compulsory in primary schools in 1960 and subsequently in secondary schools in 1966 (Ang, 2008). During my fieldwork, I interviewed a pupil who belongs to Chinese ethnic, according to the bilingualism policy, which means he has to learn Chinese as second language.

III.A.3. New challenges to Singapore

Over 50 years, the government has made great efforts to maintain social cohesion and racial harmony, yet racism still persists in Singapore. According to a survey on race relations commissioned by Channel NewsAsia and the Institute of Policy Studies, more than half of the 2,000 respondents felt it is still an important problem today. They also agreed that being part of

the majority race is an advantage in Singapore, but 67 per cent disagreed that the needs of the majority race should be looked after first, before the needs of the minority races (Philomin, 2018). Singapore is also facing a new challenge of new immigrants. One case happened in 2011 is about a family of new Chinese immigrants complaining about the smell of cooking curries coming from their Indian neighbor (Karen, 2011). After discussion, the Indian family agreed to cook curry only when the Chinese family was not at home. This incident attracted strong social reactions as curry lovers of all races nationwide may feel insulted. Many Singaporean unofficially designated one day as "Cook Curry Day". It was subsequently clarified that the Indian family voluntarily accepted the solution in the interest of racial harmony. The curry incident seems trivial but it could turn to a huge dispute. How to integrate new immigrants with citizens needs efforts from both new citizens and native citizens. The authorities also need to constantly monitor the situation and make efforts to facilitate integration.

III.B. Japan is struggling to become a multicultural society
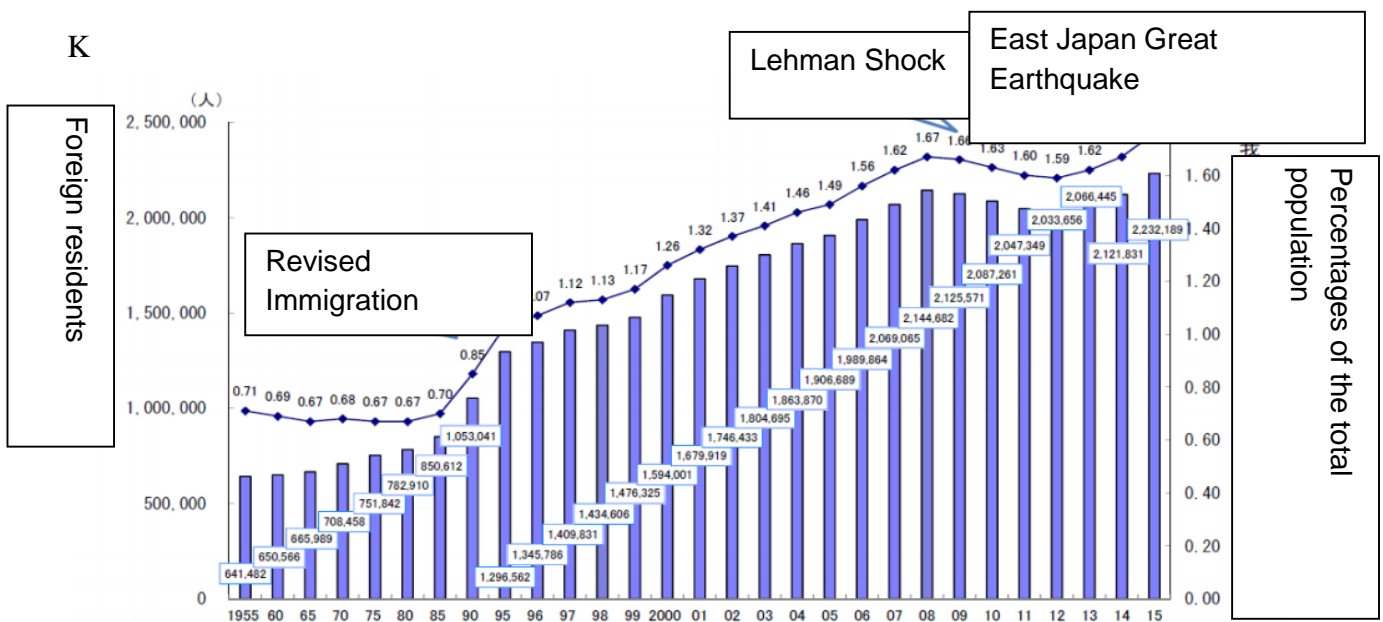
III.B.1. Population and race in Japan

Figure 2: Foreign Residents in Japan. Source: Ministry of Justice (2017)

Unlike Singapore, Japan is considered as a homogenous country, ethnically Japanese made up about 98% of its total population (Ministry of Justice, 2017). However, historically, Koreans and Ainu people (indigenous people of Japan and Russia) and others who live in Japan also expand the diversity of culture in Japan. In addition, more foreigners come to live in Japan for various reasons. According to statistics from Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, hereafter called Ministry of Justice (2017), the number of foreign residents has reached to the highest point—2,232,189 in 2015, which accounts for 1.76% of its total population (Translated by author).

Since the issue of Revised Immigration Control and Refugee Act in 1990, which allows the third generation of Nikkei Jin (children of oversea settlers) to work legally in Japan, the number of Nikkei workers has been growing rapidly. In the meanwhile, international marriage has also increased. Japanese who have the experience of living in a foreign country also become more common in recent years. Those people expand the diversity of culture in the current Japanese society. It is important to notice that some changes also took place in the nationality of those foreign residents and their status of residence. From the Statistics collected by MIC (2017), it suggests that compared with 10 years ago, in which Koreans, Chinese and Brazilians were the main ethnic groups, recently the number of Philippines, Vietnamese and Nepalese has been growing fast. These foreign residents from South East Asian came to Japan as international students or technical internees. There will be more of them in the future. According to the statistic of foreign residents in Japan done by Ministry of Justice, at the end of 2017, Vietnamese has become the third ethnic groups after Chinese and Koreans, and its growth rate is 31.2%. The growth rate of Nepalese and Indonesian has increased rapidly in the last year, which is 18.6% and 16.6% (Ministry of Justice, 2018).

In recent years, due to the continuing of low birth rate and aging society, more foreign labor force has been used to fill up the shortage of labor in domestic industry. Up until October, 2016, there were about 1.8 million foreign workers in Japan (Manabe, 2017). Therefore, accepting foreign workers has become a realistic policy. It is anticipated that Japan will experience some changes in demography in the future, and the arrival of foreigners may bring multicultural issues into the public agenda. In fact, Japanese government has formulated certain policies related to multicultural society.

III.B.2.Policies related to coexistence

      In Japan, "multicultural" is often replaced by "kyòsei". "Kyòsei" means coexistence. MIC had made a promotion plan in regard to Tabunka Kyosei (multicultural coexistence) in 2006. It set up a goal for Tabunka kyosei as: "people of different nationality or ethnicity recognize each other's culture, build up the equal relations, and live as a member of the society together" (2006). According to the promotion plan made by MIC, four specific policies have been made in response to the following five aspects: (1)regions which accept foreign residents; (2) protection of human rights; (3)Activation of region; (4) improvement of local people's understanding about different culture;(5)design of universal city. The policies have provided supports for foreign residents in many ways. For example, Japanese class has been set in many communities.

      General Acts Concerning Foreigners as the residents in Japan was proposed in a liaison meeting of Cabinet Secretariat (2006). It also provides suggestions in the following aspects: (1) creation of a more convenient community for foreigners; (2) education for foreign children; (3) improvement of labor conditions and promotion of social insurance; (4) review of the residence management system.

      However, the word "kyòsei" has received criticism from scholars, stating it was just a beautiful word, and nothing practical. Hatano (2011) pointed out that the word "kyòsei" is produced and served for the majority, rather than for the socially repressed minority, because the precondition of Coexistence for minority to acknowledge the majority's rights. The majorities use the word to demand for minority, such as, "do not violate my rights". In fact, the policy of multicultural coexistence still remains on paper. The de facto implementation of the policy is slow and insufficient.

III.B.3. Current situations in response to coexistence

      Minority groups in Japan are facing problems such as discriminations and inequality. Hate speech is a typical type of discrimination to attack certain ethnic groups, religious groups by using violent, insulting languages. In Tokyo's Shinokubo, hate speech is targeted at Japanese Koreans ("Hate speech", 2015). According to the Ministry of Justice, it is not abnormal that foreigners who live Japan feel being treated differently in their daily life. In the past five years,

35% of them have such experience- when they want to rent a house, they are being rejected, simply because they are foreigners. 25% were rejected when they want to find a job. Even if they do the same job, the salaries are lower than their Japanese colleagues ("Constitutions in 70 years", 2017).

In the aspect of education, especially for the new comers, they could not receive sufficient support from the current school system. As a result, the foreign students' enrollment rate to high school is lower than the Japanese students (Yamada, 2010). It is difficult to provide multi-language service at the local government level. According to a survey "foreign children who do not go to school" conducted by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, hereafter called MEXT (2009), the top two reasons for foreign children to drop out of the school are: (1) lack of the money for school; (2) do not understand Japanese. In Japanese society, the prejudice against new immigrants also is a problem, and because of the linguistic and cultural differences, new immigrants are also struggling to blend into the new society. Japan's multicultural coexistence is still confronted with many challenges.

Singapore is constitutional multiracial, a nation of immigrants. The political leaders made a series of integrative policies, such as Ethnic Integration Policy and Bilingualism policy to enhance multiculturalism as the cornerstone for the country. In Japan's context, due to the low birth rate and aging society, more foreign labor is needed and Japan seems to move to a multicultural society. Policies concerning multicultural coexistence do exist, yet the de facto implementation of the policy is slow and insufficient.

The different sociopolitical contexts in Singapore and Japan also closely concerned with the fundamental role and implementation of multicultural education. In the next chapter, I will analyze the different role of multicultural education to see how it is implemented in the two countries. Hopefully, Singapore's experiences could offer some suggestions to Japan's multicultural coexistence.

IV. Findings

In chapter three, I have introduced the different social contexts in Singapore and Japan. Singapore uses multiculturalism as cornerstone for nation building and multicultural education helps to realize the idea. Japan was historically considered a nation-state, but it is going to be more multicultural. Education systems have long been used to promote, manufacture or legitimize national historical traditions, symbols and values (Smith, 1991). Therefore, multicultural education in Singapore and Japan is conducted at different stages and for different purposes. In this chapter, I will analyze the different role of multicultural education in the two countries, and how it has been implemented through various formal school subjects.

IV.A. The role of multicultural education in Singapore and Japan

Tan and Chew (2004) explain that schools in Singapore closely reflect government policies and the state's priorities and ideals. Multiculturalism was considered as a building block of the new nation. Therefore, the role of multicultural education is essential in fostering social cohesion in a multi-racial, multi-linguistic society. It has been conducted through formal various subjects, such as history as well as civics and moral education, underline and emphasize the importance of harmony and tolerance (Chan, 2013).

The Singapore education system is very centralized, in fact almost all facets of the formal and informal school curriculum, including the Social Studies curriculum, are based on the National Education framework (Singapore Ministry of Education, 2007). Given the very nature of Singapore's centralized education system, multicultural education could be promoted through these school subjects for all citizens.

Ho (2009) points out that in the Singapore context, within the public school traditions, social studies is ideal for identity building and the creation of a sense of historical consciousness. He also explains that unlike the United States, however, Singapore, as a highly centralized state, has not experienced the same degree of disputation over the content, values and goals of the Social Studies curriculum.

In Japan, "multicultural" is often replaced by "kyòsei". "Kyòsei" means coexistence. It was originated from the campaign for elimination of racial discrimination between Koreans and

Japanese in 1970s (Kim, 2011). The substitute term of "multicultural education" is "multicultural coexistence education". The word "kyòsei" has received criticism from scholars. Hatano (2011) pointed out that the word "kyòsei" is produced and served for the majority, rather than for the socially repressed minority, because the precondition of Coexistence for minority to acknowledge the majority's rights. The majorities use the word to demand for minority, such as, do not violate my rights. The word suggests that the Japanese main stream is more willing to keep the status quo rather than to make a change for these minorities. Kim (2011) also suggested the risk of frequently using the word coexistence in the government level would conceal the inequality relationship between the majority and minority.

As a result, it has made the communication between foreign new comers and the majority more difficult and insufficient. Mabuchi (2010) pointed out that in comparison with other foreign countries, the discussions about multiculturalism still remain at the regional level. In other words, the development is slow. Yamada (2011) pointed out that the multicultural contents are not constructed into a practical curriculum, thus the process to becoming one of compulsory courses as general education is very slow. Ishii and Morimo (2011) pointed out Multicultural coexistence education in Japan is conducted mainly in the form of providing supports, especially Japanese language education for the foreign children.

To summarize, the role of multicultural education in Singapore closely reflected the national policies and value, as demanded in a multiracial society, where social cohesion is pivotal for its survival and development. Multicultural education is also conducted at the national level through various subjects and targeted at all students who are under Singapore education system.

In Japan, Multicultural education is called Multicultural Coexistence Education. It is mainly targeted at foreign children, especially children of the new comers who study in Japan, to support their school life. The curriculums about this field are surprisingly scarce. It is often the case that the curricula about multicultural education ended up as an event. The development is still remained at regional level and the support for foreign residents is limited in Japanese language education.

Table 2: The role of multicultural education in Singapore and Japan

The role of multicultural education		
	Singapore	Japan
Significance	Reflected national policies and values	Initial stage
Targeted groups	All students	Foreign children
Range	National level	Regional level
Implementation	- Through various subjects (Social Studies and Citizenship Education) - Bilingual Education	- Curricula are scarce - Japanese as second language

To be more specific, in the next section, I will compare two formal subjects-Social Studies and Citizenship Education in the national curriculum of Japan and Singapore to see how multicultural education is implemented at school.

IV.B. Social Studies and Citizenship Education

Matsuo (2017) pointed out that there is not much awareness of multicultural citizenship education in Japan and the idea of Japan as a mono-ethnic state is still strong. How to teach "multicultural coexistence" varies dramatically at different places or schools. From the national level, according to the instruction of Social Studies for primary school and junior high school, the goal of Social Studies is to foster qualified citizens as members of the peaceful and democratic nation in the international society (MEXT, 2014). In the citizenship class, the diversity of culture and religions in international society is emphasized and global talents are highly encouraged. However, the content of Citizens in a multicultural society in Japanese internal society is rarely mentioned (Matsuo, 2017). The problems that minority groups are facing are rarely dealt in the class. In one word, discussions about disparity, opposition or conflict related to coexistence are hardly found in Japanese current multicultural coexistence education.

While in Singapore, the contents about multiculturalism are easy to find in Social Studies and Citizenship Education. One of the key goals of the Social Studies curriculum in Singapore is "inculcating national pride and identity in Singapore, and instilling, in students, the importance of cultural, racial and religious consensus" (Ho, 2009).In the Social Studies class, the students have to deal with issues, such as "Living in a multicultural society", "Responding to Migration" and "Resolving conflict and building peace" (Singapore Ministry of Education-Social Studies Syllabus, 2014).

Citizenship Education in Singapore is called Character and Citizenship Education (hereafter called CCE). It is aligned with Social Studies to teach students how to deal with issues that could happen in a multicultural society.   Banks' theory of multicultural citizenship education can also be found in Singapore Character and Citizenship Education syllabus, as it enables students to acquire a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global identifications. It is even more important in Singapore's context, as Singapore's future "depends all the more on national cohesion and political stability" (Wong, 2000).

More specifically, as reflected in the CCE syllabus, one of the goals of CCE is to make students take pride in their national identity, have a sense of belonging to Singapore and be committed to nation building. It also emphasizes the importance of respecting multiculturalism as it also helps to shape the national identity and culture. As a result, students will have the sense of belonging to Singapore, as well as, the love for Singapore and loyalty to Singapore (Singapore Ministry of Education -Social Studies Syllabus, 2014).

Other than identity issues, multicultural issues are considered to be essential in the CCE syllabus.   Social cohesion is regarded as a necessary precondition for economic development, and for the survival of the nation-state (Ho, 2009). The Senior Minister of State for Education, Dr Aline Wong (2000), also pointed out "Singapore's transformation in the global era reflects the experience of many other societies which are multiracial… there will definitely be a greater need for interracial harmony and intercultural understanding." This message is aligned with the learning outcome of CCE, students are required to recognizing diversity in the Singapore society and how socio-cultural groups are different and yet similar.

IV.C. Linguistic Education

IV.C.1. Japanese as Second Language and Heritage Language Education

As I mentioned in chapter 2, language diversity and bilingual education should be put within a sociopolitical contest to understand. In the Japanese context, Japanese is the sole national language. Although there were actually 22 languages being taught in Japanese high schools in the year 2000 (MEXT, 2001), foreign language education has implicitly been English language education. Most official policies and common assumptions equate 'foreign language' with 'English'. English is taught at the vast majority of schools in Japan. The Japanese study English ——for three years in junior high school, another three years in senior high school, and in the case of many people, at least another two years in university. In addition, English is an important test for university entrance.

English is given the great importance for business and national competitiveness. MEXT released a report entitled Developing a Strategic Plan to Cultivate "Japanese With English Abilities" in 2002 followed in 2003 by a strategic document called Regarding the Establishment of and Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities. These two documents aimed to reform the foreign language education system.

One point that should not be overlooked, as Yoshida (2003) pointed out, is that the government's initiatives are basically all geared towards the learning and teaching of English, and does not include policies for the education (maintenance) of minority populations or for the teaching of languages other than English. And too much focus on learning English has been criticized for incurring English cultural imperialism.

For the minority people in Japan, Multicultural Coexistence Education in conducted mainly in the form of providing of Japanese language education targeted at foreign children. For the children whose mother tongue is not Japanese, according to a report "The result of the research about the situation to accept the children who need Japanese language program" of MEXT (2015), there are about 29, 198 foreign children who are enrolled in public schools that need instruction in learning Japanese. However, the professional Japanese instructors are deficient at schools. Yamada (2010) pointed out that foreign children who are enrolled in Japanese public or private schools lack the necessary Japanese language education, for this

reason, they cannot process well in their academic life. She also pointed out that foreign students' enrollment rate to high school is lower than the Japanese students.

Sakuma (2014) pointed out that local board of education did not show enough concern to these children, because they thought that Japanese South Americans were guest workers and they would go back to their country eventually, so their children who are not suitable to Japanese style schools. The inadequate system and negative attitude from Japanese side cause the problem of students' dropping out of schools.

According to the MEXT, if a school has more than five foreign students, an extra teacher could be hired to teach these students Japanese. The purpose of Japanese language support has mainly focused on making foreign students learn Japanese faster, so they can have class with other Japanese students and get used to the life in Japan faster. However, one thing has been ignored that even if these foreign children could use Japanese in their daily life quite fluently, it does not mean that they do not extra help in their academic life. For example, some terminologies or Japanese historical events are hard for foreign children to understand. Unfortunately, this factor has not been taken into account as the reason of foreign students' low academic performance.

As regards to heritage language education, it is often overlooked in Japan's Multicultural Coexistence Education. In the public schools in Japan, the focus is still limited on teaching linguistic minorities Japanese. Only some schools have ethnic classes and prepared with bilingual instructions (Matsuo, 2017). The importance of maintaining one's culture and mother tongue is often overlooked. The challenges that Nieto mentioned about bilingual education can also be found in Japan's current Multicultural Coexistence Education: lack of qualified teachers; low expectations of linguistic minority students. In addition, the lack of methods and facilities makes teaching mother tongue more difficult (Nagajima, 2016). There are some educational institutions that providing language and culture education for ethnic minority, such as Korean school, Chinese school and Brazilians school. However, in terms of the legislation and support system for these institutions, it is still insufficient. Therefore, financial burden falls on both side of schools and students (Matsuo, 2017).

IV.C.2. Bilingual Education in Singapore

Singapore is a multi-racial, multi-linguistic country. In this context, mother tongue or native language refers to the language of one's ethnic group (Davies, 2003), while English is used as a neutral common language. Bilingual education plays an important role in Multicultural Education, without it multiculturalism would not be possible (Chan, 2013). Historically, English is not the language spoken by Singapore's residents. After years of development, English has become the first language and three mother tongue languages were also taught at school as a compulsory subject. Promoting bilingual education is not an easy task. During the process, adjustments and transitions are made corresponding to different stages.

Before Singapore gained independence in 1965, a variety of languages were spoken by its population, which included three main ethnic groups-Chinese, Malay and Indian. The Chinese was the majority and mostly speak dialects. Most students in Singapore at that time were enrolled in Chinese-medium schools (Chen, 1984). In 1953, the colonial government issued a white paper on bilingual education in Chinese medium schools, which encouraged these Chinese-medium schools to introduce bilingual education in exchange for financial support. These schools were required to teach the English language and also have subjects such as mathematics and science taught in English ("Colony", 1953).

After Singapore gained independence in 1965, bilingual education policy was further developed. During 1960s and 1970s, the government took initiatives to implement the bilingual policy in schools. These included making second languages compulsory and examinable subjects in the Primary School Leaving Examination in 1966, and then in the Cambridge School Certificate examination-predecessor of the General Certificate of Education examination in 1969 (Shepherd, 2005).

In order to extend the use of second languages in schools, some subjects were taught in these languages from the latter half of the 1960s onwards. For example, at English-stream schools, civics and history were taught in Chinese. However, this one-size-fits-all education programs did not work out. In 1978, a study team led by the Deputy Prime Minister Goh Keng Swee found that the Singapore's bilingual policy was not "universally effective" (Raman, 1978). The study resulted in the introduction of the New Education System in 1979, which transited the old education programs to one with ability-based streaming (Yip, 1997). This change was

marked as a milestone in Singapore's bilingual policy (Lee, 2012). To encourage effective bilingualism, in 1979, passing a second language became a pre-univeristy admission requirement and language performance was also highly valued as an important criteria for university entry (Yip, op.cit).

With a strong shift in parents' preference towards an English-medium education, the enrolment in the vernacular schools dropped rapidly year after year. Finally, all schools- with the exception of the Special Assistance Plan schools- were required to offer English as a first language and other tongue as a second language by 1987(Alfred& Tan,1983). The Special Assistance Plan is a programme in Singapore introduced in 1979 to preserve the culture and traditions of the best Chinese schools and to develop these schools into effectively bilingual institutions. It is only available in selected primary and secondary schools, which caters to academically strong students who excel in both their mother tongue as well as English (Tham, 2007).

With the increasingly widespread use of English among Singaporeans, the number of Mandarin-speaking households has been declining since the 1990s. The same pattern also happened in other ethnic groups. The proportion of Malay and Indian children speaking English at home has also grown (Lee, 2012). In 2015, English was the most common language spoken at home in Singapore (Lee, 2016). The popularity of English also resulted in varying levels of proficiency in the mother tongue languages among students (Singapore Ministry of Education, 2013).

IV.D. Policy implications for Japan government –what Japan can learn from Singapore

First, multicultural education should be raised from the regional level to the national level. In Japanese Social Studies and Citizenship Education, the contents concerning multiculturalism are relatively scarce. Inspired from Singapore's multicultural education, the following contents could be added to Japanese current Multicultural Coexistence Education. Singapore's students are learning the customs, practices and behaviors of other socio-cultural groups, as well as the different systems of belief, religions and practices. Eventually, students will form the right attitude as being non-judgmental and appreciative of socio-cultural diversity. In the future,

Japan will have more foreign residents from Asian area, learning each other customs and culture could reduce racism.

Another good point of Singapore's Character and Citizenship education is integrating students' life experiences, when teaching these knowledge, skills and values/ attitudes. For example, students may have meet students of different nationalities and cultures, participate in exchange programs and field trips, or some community events. Other than formal school curriculum, Singapore government also sets up some activities to promote and enhance cultural, racial and religious consensus.

In 1997, the Ministry of Education marked July 21 as Racial Harmony Day for the first time. On that day, students were encouraged to dress in traditional ethnic costumes and participated in a variety of cultural activities and games. For example, one school in Singapore called Pathlight school has prepared several activities for their students. Students with different ethnic backgrounds could change heartfelt message cards with each other. They could try out different ethnic food and participate in a variety of cultural activities, such as Henna painting and trying out musical instruments of different cultures (Pathlight, 2016). The local board of education of Japan could also plan such activities to help students understand the diverse cultures in Japan and appreciate the harmony among different races. Racism behavior such as "Hate speech" could be eliminated from Japanese young generation.

In linguistic education, learnt from the Singapore's case, promoting bilingual education is definitely not an easy task for both educational institutions and students. For the foreign students enrolled in Japanese public or private schools, on one hand they need more support in Japanese language education. On the other hand, they also need support in mother tongue education from public institutions. Unfortunately, Japan's current Multicultural Coexistence Education does not meet their needs. The most important cause is that local board of education did not show enough concern to these children's needs. Thus, to correspond with demographic change in the future, how to treat these foreign children become a realistic task to Japanese government.

In contrast, the government of Singapore took initiatives and make constant efforts. For example, in order to prevent the decline of speaking mother tongue, major reviews on teaching

of mother tongue languages in schools have been conducted since 1990(Lee, 2012). The Chinese Language Review Committee, as well as Malay and Tamil Language review Committees came up one after another to correct the impression that mother tongue was not important and to facilitate the teaching of mother tongue language.

In addition to the curriculum reforms, national campaigns, such as Speak Mandarin Campaign also play important role in helping Singaporeans learn Mandarin. This campaign covers all aspects of life in Singapore. For example, Chinese parents were urged to speak Mandarin at home to help make learning Mandarin in schools easier for their children. With respect to other languages, paralleled campaigns also took place, such as Malay Language Month, Tamil Language Festival to encourage Singaporeans to speak their mother tongues (Lee, op.cit).

Foreign children who drop out of school is a big problem in Japan's Multicultural Coexistence Education, the government should take initiatives to provide supports for these children in need. Training the large number of professional Japanese teachers who are prepared for teaching in ethnically diverse classrooms is necessary. Effective bilingual programs should be developed and put into use. Bilingual instructions are also indispensable for these children to process well in their academic life.

V. Conclusion

First, I have to mention the limitations of my research. The comparison of multicultural education between Singapore and Japan is mainly based on content analyze from government documents. In practice, the implementation of multicultural education varies dramatically at different areas or schools. Especially, in Japan, the development of multicultural education remains at the regional level, which means in some schools or some areas, multicultural education is well concerned, but in other schools or areas, it is overlooked. During the fieldwork, I was only able to visit a few schools, which limited the spectrum of my research.

In this paper, I examined the theoretical framework of multicultural education in Chapter 2. In education minorities are often at disadvantage, facing problems such as discrimination, inequity and misunderstandings. Multiculturalism is beneficial to those minorities and meant to create a more equal society. And multicultural education plays an important role in carrying out the idea of multiculturalism. There is much research and theories about multicultural education. One of the most widespread theories is Banks' theory. The concept of multicultural education is: (1) an idea or concept, (2) an educational reform movement, (3) a process. It can be integrated into social studies curriculum (Banks, 2009). Recently, Citizenship Education became the substitute subject to replace multicultural education in some countries (Mabuchi, 2011). In addition, linguistic diversity is one of the important elements when discussing multicultural education, but naive language issues are often overlooked or downplayed. Bilingualism is considered as a burden in some situations.

In Chapter 3, I introduced the sociopolitical factors in Singapore and Japan. Sociopolitical contexts are the key factors when comparing multicultural education in two different countries. Singapore is a nation of immigrants, composed of different racial groups. One of its characteristics is multiracial and multi-linguistic, which made multiculturalism and multicultural education necessary for the nation-building. Japan is considered as a homogenous country, ethnically Japanese made up about 98% of its total population. However, due to the continuing of low birth rate and aging society, accepting foreign workers has become a realistic option. Along with these changes, Japan is moving to a multicultural society. In Japan, "multicultural" is often replaced by "kyòsei", which means coexistence. The word "kyòsei" has

received criticism from scholars, as it serves for the majority rather than for the oppressed minorities. The precondition of Coexistence is for minority to acknowledge the majority's rights.

Due to the significant difference in sociopolitical system, multicultural education in Singapore and Japan is conducted at different stages and for different purposes. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, in Singapore, the role of multicultural education is essential in fostering social cohesion in a multi-racial, multi-linguistic society. It is conducted at the national level through various subjects and targeted at all students who are under Singapore education system.

In Japan, Multicultural education is called Multicultural Coexistence Education. It is mainly targeted at foreign children instead of all students. The curricula about this field are surprisingly scarce. The development still remains at the regional level.

As to how multicultural education is conducted, I focused on Social Studies/Citizenship education and linguistic education. In Japan, since there are no national curricula concerning multicultural coexistence, the development remains at regional level. In general, there is not much awareness of multicultural citizenship education in Japan and the idea of Japan as a mono-ethnic state is still strong. The problems that minority groups are facing are rarely dealt in the Social Studies class. While in Singapore, "multicultural society" is abundant in Social Studies and Citizenship Education. In the Social Studies class, the students have to deal with issues, such as "Living in a multicultural society", "Responding to Migration" and "Resolving conflict and building peace" (Singapore Ministry of Education-Social studies Syllabus, 2014).

In linguistic education, Japan's Multicultural Coexistence Education is mainly targeted at the foreign children in the form of providing Japanese language education. However, the problem is that professional Japanese instructors are lacing at schools. For this reason, foreign children who are enrolled in Japanese public or private schools do not acquire proper Japanese language education, which brings negative effect on their academic performance. As regards to heritage language education, it is often overlooked in Japan's Multicultural Coexistence Education**.** In the public schools in Japan, the focus is still limited on teaching linguistic minorities Japanese language. Only a few schools have ethnic classes and are equipped with bilingual instructions (Matsuo, 2017). Singapore's bilingual education covers all students. Given the fact that Singapore is a multi-racial, multi-linguistic country, English is used as a neutral

common language, while mother tongue or native language refers to the language of one's ethnic group. Bilingual education plays an important role in multicultural education, without it multiculturalism would not be possible (Chan, 2013).

By comparing Singapore and Japan, the differences are evident. Since Japan is struggling to become a multicultural society, I made some suggestions learnt from Singapore's past experience for Japan. First, multicultural education should be raised from the regional level to national level. More contents concerning multiculturalism, such as migration and foreign labors, should be added into syllabus of Japanese Social Studies and Citizenship Education. Furthermore, the local board of education should show enough concern to these foreign children's needs. On one hand they need more sufficient support in Japanese language education. On the other hand, they also need support in mother tongue education from public institutions. In this respect, government should take initiatives and make more efforts.

In the future, I hope to focus on more particular schools in Singapore and Japan to see how multicultural education is put into practice. Furthermore, I hope to study and compare the curricula running at different schools or areas and how minority students are treated at schools, what supports are available for them.

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