## Teaching Cultural Diversity and Sense of Identity in the Primary Two Social Studies Classroom in Singapore: Analysis and Critique

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#### Abstract

According to Rose (2016), images display the world in particular wavs through meanings" "made or representations that are socially and culturally constructed. Visual images form part of teaching resources used in classrooms and hence play an important role in the construction of knowledge for children. This paper examines how cultural diversity and identity are taught in Singapore in order to understand the extent to which it fosters or hinders the understanding of the complexities of cultural diversity and identity through a curriculum critique of the reader New Girl in Town which is used within Primary Two classrooms as a teaching resource for cultural appreciation. Through semiology as critical visual methodology, this study examines how dominant ideologies of cultural diversity and identity as defined by the state are represented and reinforced through the images presented in the reader. Key findings from this study highlight the implications of representing cultural diversity and identity as static and noncomplex constructions of individuals and the extent to which it hinders the understanding of cultural diversity and identity.

## Introduction

This paper explores the way visuals used as part of instructional materials in the social studies curriculum embody ideologies of diversity. This perception is based on views held by key thinkers within visual culture methodologies, such as Gillian Rose who asserts that "images offer views of the world; but this rendering...is never innocent" (Rose, 2016, p. 2). According to Rose (2016), images display the world in particular ways through "made meanings" or representations that are socially and culturally constructed.

Schools, as a key vehicle through which cultural and ideological hegemony are re(produced) and maintained, help to reproduce the knowledge that is necessary in order to maintain and to enhance existing dominant political, economic and 1979). cultural structures (Apple, According to Apple (1979), schools control people as well as help to control meaning through their curriculum. pedagogy and daily activities in classrooms. This paper will focus on the analysis of the formal curriculum and how dominant ideologies are (re)produced and reinforced.

Singapore has a highly centralised education system that designs policies and develops curriculum according to directives from the Ministry of Education (MOE) and its political leaders (Sim & Print, 2005). According to Sim and Print (2005), most resources such as school textbooks and teacher's guides, especially those related to citizenship education, are developed and produced by MOE. The of certain values prioritisation and knowledge and/or the omission of other kinds of knowledge can be viewed as part of a "selective tradition" (Williams, 1998). Therefore, the curriculum reflects the skills, knowledge and values that are prioritised by the Ministry and hence analysing the formal curriculum would give an understanding of the dominant ideas being presented and (re)produced in classrooms.

The main objective of this paper is to examine how cultural diversity and identity are communicated in Singapore's classrooms in order to understand the extent to which it fosters or hinders the understanding of the complexities of cultural diversity and identity. This is important as "the emergence of multiple overlapping identities involving and ethnicity, gender, religion and transnationalism further complicate the concept of diversity and how teachers address the needs of children from a widening cultural spectrum (Banks, 2004; Kymlicka, 1995), (Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2010, p. 127). An increasingly diverse world requires the need to learn to co-exist with people of different belief-systems and to negotiate other cultural realities. Additionally, the demand for recognition and the belief that our self-identity is shaped by it as theorized by Charles Taylor (1994), have introduced a new politics of multiculturalism that strongly asserts due recognition as a vital human need. Therefore, the need to deal intelligently and sensitively with diversity and the plurality of perspectives is crucial for the recognition of differences and instilling respect for and understanding of one another's culture and sense of identity.

This calls for a more nuanced understanding of diversity.

In line with the goals of multicultural and creating education a learning environment that empowers students from different cultural backgrounds, as well as goals of democratic citizenship the education that aim to prepare students for the future, a complete understanding of diversity is important in order to be able to negotiate the realities different from one's own. Therefore, this paper contends the importance of a multicultural education in Singapore that takes a more expansive and understanding inclusive of cultural diversity by expanding on the existing notion of diversity set by the state to give a understanding nuanced that more facilitates acceptance across (sub)cultures.

The following paragraphs in this paper will contextualise diversity and education in Singapore. This is followed by a short methodology section that explains the theoretical framework employed in the critique of a part of Singapore's Primary Two Social Studies formal curriculum in an attempt to highlight problematic and simplistic constructions of cultural diversity and identity perpetuated within the curriculum. Its implications are then discussed in the findings and discussion suggestions section before and kev takeaways for educational practice in classrooms are presented in the concluding parts of the paper.

## Literature review

Diversity has emerged as one of the key issues in contemporary society today. As classrooms mirror the complexities of broader society, the increasingly rapid movement of people and cultural groups across the world has resulted in a concomitant rise in diversity within classrooms. This changing demography of student population has implications for educators as well as students. As a result, there has been rising prominence of multicultural education that addresses the complexities of diversity and teaching for the understanding of differences. In underpinning Singapore. the state's definition of diversity is the ideology of which according Multiracialism, to Benjamin (1976), is the "reflex of a functioning national Singaporean culture' that has resulted in consequences to the social and cultural organisation of the nation" (p. 119). Therefore, the construction of diversity in Singapore is closely tied to the construction of race. As a political philosophy, multiracialism has been used to manage diversity and difference in Singapore (Lian & Hill, 1995). Thus, due to the way diversity is presented and understood in Singapore, the following discussion inevitably involves the discussion on race because race is a key feature in public discourse on diversity issues (Lee et al., 2004). In this paper 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture' are used interchangeably even though they are recognised to be distinct and separate concepts.

## Diversity in Singapore: Multiracialism and 'CMIEO' framework

In Singapore, a multi-racial nationcultural diversity state, has been emphasised and understood largely through the ideology of multiracialism and the CMIEO racial framework defined by the state, which is based on the four main racial/ethnic groups namely Chinese, Malay. Indian. Eurasian and Others (CMIEO). The proliferation of such racialised understanding of diversity and cultural identity occurs in many aspects of Singaporean lives as "race" is institutionalised in many ways within society. According to PuruShotam (1998),

"state racial projects of categorisation are translated to societal practices and understandings, through inscription on forms identity official and cards. representation in national and local events, and implementation of socio-economic policy" (cited in Rocha, 2011, p. 97). The prevalence of racial categorisation has resulted in a highly racialised society where race is taken as a primary identitymarker (Clammer, 1998) and has played an important role in everyday life and state organisation in Singapore (Rocha, 2011).

State-defined understanding of diversity has also shaped and influenced the way diversity is taught and understood in schools. According to Ismail (2014), the co-option of the education system for societal governance and management of diversity in Singapore has prevented a more nuanced understanding of diversity and difference. This is reflected in a study done by Lee and her colleagues (2004) that studied students' experience of multiracial relationship in a primary school setting. Key findings from the study found that the racial classification framework restricted and distorted efforts in understanding and respecting identities of self and others (Lee et al., 2004). The study also highlighted "Birds-of-a-Feather" phenomenon (p. 120) where students were observed to have a tendency to group themselves according to same-race groups. The study pointed out that an explanation for this particular finding was justified by a teacher who shared that wanting to be with one's own race was "natural" as one would "want to be with their own" as it provided a sense of familiarity (p. 121).

Taking a post-structuralist view, race is defined in this paper as a social construct that is "created, powered, transformed, controlled and governed" through discursive practices (Kobayashi, 2014, p. 1102). As there is no basis for the categorization of humans according to race and that it is not "natural", there are ways in which a racist social order is then socially (as well as politically in Singapore's context) maintained (Mitchell, 2001). In this vein, the key findings from the study conducted by Lee et al. (2004) are significant as they illustrate how the narrow and misconstrued understanding of through **CMIEO** diversity racial classification has implicated the way individuals understand themselves and others, and have shaped the spaces as well as social relations between different races. The assumptions made based on race as reflected in the study done by Lee et al. (2004) are important and productive to especially think about, since such assumptions have real and problematic consequences. This will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

# Issues with Diversity and Identity in Singapore

The findings from the study illustrate the extent to which people have been socialised to think that the people who are most alike to them are those of their own "race" and that this was "natural". Such understandings of diversity and identity are misconstrued. Firstly, to understand oneself and others simply through the lens of race shows the distilling of identity to a single affiliation rather than recognizing the composite nature of identity. Maalouf (1996) posits that identity is composite and fluid and that an individual has many affiliations that are significant to the makeup of a person's identity. Therefore, diversity needs to be understood by fully accepting different cultural components that produce a composite individual identity (Clammer, 1998). Gurung (2009) asserts that concentrating on only an element of an individual ignores the complexity of identity. Secondly, the view that assumes race as primordial and natural

instead of as a social construction wrongly views race as inherent, thus leading people into believing that there are inherent differences between races and therefore used as justification for homophily. A study conducted by Alviar-Martin and Ho of teacher's (2010)perceptions on diversity in Singapore found that most of the teachers involved in their study lacked the awareness of the state's involvement in the construction and validation of identity groups, leading to the tendency to regard such constructions as part of the natural order of things. Such ways of thinking influenced by the division of people according to race have resulted in the opposite effect of forging inter-ethnic relations at the micro level (Clammer, 1998).

Additionally, the multiracial ideology of Singapore based on separate racialised groups leaves "little room for racial projects involving more complex individuals and institutional racial projects" (Rocha, 2011, p. 95). This is especially evident in state rhetoric and views regarding hybridity or mixed identities. In a recent interview, when asked about the situation in which a "half-Malay" were to run for a presidency position reserved for Malays, Law Minister and Home Affairs Minister K Shanmugam replied that:

"...we have to set up a Chinese committee to decide whether you are Chinese or not Chinese. I don't know how we are going to do that, but we will do it...In the GRC system... there is a two-step test. So let's take a Malay-Chinese...Does he or she consider himself or herself primarily Malay or Chinese?... If he considers himself Chinese, then he cannot qualify as Malay... Then there is also a committee that looks to see whether you say you are Malay, but are you accepted by the community as Malay? So that's the two-step criteria..." (Cited in Lim, 2016, n.p.)

theoretical The conservatism propounded in state rhetoric reflects essentialising and a simplistic portrayal and lack of recognition for the complexity of diversity and identity. The management of the society strictly based on the ideology of multiracialism requires the reinforcement of boundaries that need to be upheld in order to maintain CMIEO as separate racial identities. As such. hybridity in Singaporean society is seen as transgressive even though mixed-identities are common in Singapore as it highlights the "fluidity and multiplicity of ethnic, racial and cultural identities" (Rocha, 2011, p. 96).

## Diversity and Identity in Social Studies

The teaching of diversity and identity through ideas on diversity defined by the state is evident especially within Social Studies, which is a subject that is employed as a vehicle of the state for citizenship education in the context of National Education for the fulfilment of national agendas (Sim & Print, 2005). Sim and Print (2005) argue that the approach taken to teach the concept of diversity in Social Studies curriculum has not been one for a true understanding of diversity but rather to socialize students to the set of core societal values that the government has perceived to be essential in maintaining a harmonious society. Others have also argued that the curriculum takes a superficial approach in understanding diverse cultures through "managed multiculturalism" (Goldberg, 1994 as cited in Poon. 2009) and "intra-racial homogenization" (Poon, 2009), which has resulted in a lack of real understanding of cultural differences.

The projection of a particular understanding of diversity and identity in Singapore can be viewed as a political agenda as the prioritisation of certain values and knowledge and/or the omission of other kinds of knowledge as a process of 'selective tradition' (Williams, 1998), where specific culture is consciously selected. Therefore, the curriculum on diversity reflects the skills, knowledge and values that are prioritised so as to maintain the ideology of multiracialism and the framework through racial the re(production) of dominant ideas. As asserted by Mitchell (2001), race is a social construct, and hence unnatural which then requires it to be constantly maintained in order to be sustained as status quo.

## Primary Two Social Studies Curriculum

Part of the Social Studies curriculum, within the theme of racial and religious harmony, involves students exploring diversity through the culture, traditions, and heritage of main racial groups in Singapore. The Social Studies syllabus at the primary level is categorized into three broad clusters and takes a thematic approach framed by concepts and themes of "Identity, Culture and Heritage and People and Environment" (Curriculum Planning & Development Design [CPDD], 2013, p. 6). At the Primary 1 and 2 levels, students consider important ideas about their identity as well as the multicultural society in which they live in through the cluster study broadly titled of "Discovering Self and Immediate Environment". The rationale for such an approach is for developing citizens with "socially responsible behaviour" and nation building as they appreciate the different communities and understand how everyone lives harmoniously as а community with a shared identity (CPDD,

2013, p.19). The translation of these ideas into Social Studies lessons take on varying approaches and depends largely on the teacher; however, each primary level comes with a Teaching and Learning Guide and readers for the lower primary levels, which are picture books accompanied by short texts used to introduce the lesson. Class activities are also suggested.

The Social Studies curriculum has also infused ambitious goals for the making of  $21^{\text{st}}$ century active global citizens. Emphasis has been given to critical thinking and preparing "active citizens" "appreciate able are to who the complexities of human experiences" (CPDD, 2013, p. 1). The shift in emphasis from passive citizenship to active citizenry to reflect а shift in seems the conceptualisation of citizenship education (Sim & Print, 2005). It seems to reflect the expansion of the National Education narrative by preparing students for a multicultural global future. However, while this view of citizenship education is apparent within the syllabus, it is unclear how this is being accompanied by the necessary and appropriate changes in pedagogy and instructional materials that can help to realise the broader goals of the curriculum. According to Print and Smith (2000) appropriate educational practices and pedagogy are important in order to encourage participative skills and values in social studies for the preparation of students for active citizenship.

## Methodology

This study employs the visual methods approach known as semiology or social semiotics, which considers how meanings are made from visual materials, as part of the process of generating data to answer research questions. This approach was chosen because it serves as a useful analytical tool that allows the deconstruction of images and then connects the ideas to how they operate within broader systems of meaning (Rose, 2016). According to Rahil (2014), "the system...needs to education address uncomfortable and at times questionable notions of how diversity is understood and presented as institutionalized, dominant narratives" (p. 25). Thus, concerned with the representation of images used in readers, semiology was chosen because particular approach recognises this ideology as contained in representations that reflect the interests of power and therefore has the ability to lay "bare the prejudices beneath the smooth surface" (Iverson, 1986, cited in Rose, 2016), thus revealing the ideological status of visual material. The source of visual images was taken from the reader titled New Girl in Town (Ho, 2012). According to the curriculum, this particular reader is incorporated under the block of study that aims to emphasise that diversity makes Singapore unique. This is done through cultural appreciation of the diverse communities and their customs and traditions (CPDD, 2012). The reader is part of an important teaching resource for the introduction of the lesson.

The intention for employing visual methodology in this study follows the idea set by Rose (2016) who contends that images have to be taken seriously as they can have effects. As the reader consists of mainly illustrations, only images were analysed. Illustrations in picture books capture children's imagination and play an important role in the construction of knowledge for children as they make meaning out of images. The images were analysed by looking at the how groups and individuals are positioned and also questioning who or what are included and excluded from being represented in order to find out the explicit and implicitly

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intended ideas on diversity and identity. This is done by identifying "codes" through which dominant ideologies at work can be accessed to reveal "dominant codes" within society (Hall, 1980, as cited in Rose, 2016, p. 128).

The analysis was structured based on the following research questions:

Main research question:

• To what extent does the Primary Two Social Studies curriculum promote understanding of cultural diversity and difference?

Guiding questions:

- How is culture portrayed and represented?
- Does the portrayal of cultural identity invite the understanding of identity as composite and fluid?

The questions above are predicated upon the concern for the representation of cultural diversity that would facilitate a more expansive understanding of diversity that recognises the multiplicity and fluidity of identity.

## **Findings and Discussion**

## Cultural Diversity and Identity as Static and Non-complex

The portrayal of culture in the reader alludes to the idea of culture as static and non-complex. In the reader, the portraval of smiling children and adults project images of the lived experiences of diverse communities within Singapore as harmonious and lively (see Appendix A). While this is not entirely untrue, it is not an accurate representation of lived reality as well. The images conceal the

undesirable aspects of living with difference. William Sewell (1999) argues that cultures, despite earlier thinking and representation of culture by classic ethnographers as coherent and distinct entities. should be thought of as "contradictory. looselv integrated. contested, mutable and highly permeable" (p. 47). This understanding of culture is more complete as it highlights the complexity of culture and the construction of culture along power relations.

A recent survey on race relations in Singapore conducted by the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) indicated that about 50% of respondents interviewed held stereotypical and discriminatory perception towards other racial groups (Mathews, 2016). Many researchers have shown that children enter school with negative racial perception influenced by adults (Banks, 1997). Such realities are not reflected. It is generally assumed that children are innocent and their cognitive ability at a young age disallows them to be exposed to problematic ideas and construction. However, Bickmore (2007) argues that classroom knowledge may be considered as dull and unrelated to students, especially to those who are marginalised, conflicts when and viewpoints they see and live with are ignored.

## Diversity vis-à-vis Race (CMIEO), Language and Religion

The construction of diversity vis-à-vis CMIEO results in a very simplistic construction of diversity that ignores the multiplicity of diverse identities and ways of being by reducing the composite and unlimited nature of identity to simply a few affiliations. This is evident in the reader as aspects of diversity are portrayed mainly through race/ethnicity, religion, and linguistic affiliation (see Appendix B). As such, diversity in Singapore is mainly understood along these lines. According to the study conducted by Alviar-Martin and Ho (2010), teachers' perceptions on diversity paralleled state policy and rhetoric. namely the narrow conceptualisation of multiculturalism that is confined to linguistic, racial, and religious markers of identity. This narrow understanding of diversity, informed by the dominant discourses on diversity, hinders the understanding of the complexity of diversity and entraps students as well as teachers within conventional meaning and modes of being. As such, race is normalised and the CMIEO framework is taken as a frame of reference for what constitutes diversity in Singapore. Consequently, identities that fall outside this framework are constructed as the "other". Thus, CMIEO becomes a framework for structural exclusion of identities.

The lack of representation of hybrid identities is one example in which the CMIEO racial framework becomes a framework of structural exclusion for diverse groups that are not represented. The prevalence of race within society and the conceptualisation of diversity within a strict racial framework that forces people to see themselves as ethnically defined (Benjamin, 1976) makes it especially confusing for hybrid identities as they are excluded from the dominant narrative. According to Taylor (1994), "identity is forged partly through recognition or its absence" (p.75); thus students from excluded group are given a negative image of themselves either by being portrayed negatively explicitly or omitted entirely, and therefore reforming the curriculum and giving due recognition is important.

## Implications

Creating	а	more	nuanced

understanding of diversity requires the creation of more inclusive identities. This firstly requires a shift from understanding diversity vis-à-vis CMIEO as static, noncomplex, and absent of intragroup differences to the understanding of complex. multiple and diversitv as This allows a dynamic. better understanding of diversity as it recognises and acknowledges the complexities of human experience and does not force individuals to conform to a specific way of being. By understanding identity as composite, one is free to understand him/herself better and in virtually unlimited ways instead of "being pressed to stay within tribes" (Maalouf, 1996, p. 5).

One way mind-set can be shifted from traditional ways of thinking is through discussions in classrooms where lived experiences are shared and issues are discussed. This helps to expand students' understandings of diversity, especially when minority experiences are brought forth. According to Haste (2016) "to persuasively impact another's worldview, there must be argumentation which addresses the meaning-making process, not just the superficial attitude statement" (p. 168). According to Vetter (2008), if students are not exposed to opportunities for societal issues and welcoming of diverse discourses within the classroom from the primary grades, then they will work to prolong the dominant discourse that silence and subjugate by upholding discriminatory practices. She contends that "rich talk" characterised by meaningful, authentic and purposeful classroom talk and critical literacy is the foundation for effective citizenship education. Educators also emphasise the importance of "critical consciousness" (Tatum, 1997) so as to train students to recognise and resist the negative impact of oppressive messages. She discussed how books with oppressive messages could be useful for allowing the discussion of discrepancies.

According to Banks and his colleagues, students should learn about stereotyping and other related biases that have negative effects on racial and ethnic relations (Banks et al., 2001). Tatum (1997) asserts that even preschool children are not too young to start thinking about what can be done about inequality (p. 49). While it is important to keep in mind children's developmental stages and how thev process information (Tatum, 1997), it does not mean that their ability to understand issues should be undermined, neither does this justify simplistic construction of abstract concepts as a shortcut. According to Ross (2007), short cuts should not be taken to define concepts as the correct answer; rather educators should help children to construct their meaning through repeated exposure to examples and discussions of them. According to Tatum (1997), picture books with images countering the dominant culture with various representation is important for the filling in of representational gaps.

## Conclusion

The findings from this paper highlight that the ideas regarding diversity and identity presented in the reader does not promote a nuanced understanding of the complexity of cultural diversity and identity as they are presented as static and non-complex constructions. Additionally, the tendency to portray cultural diversity and identity through race, religion, and language confines the understanding of diversity. Therefore, the promotion of a more nuanced understanding of diversity and identity is limited. The findings from the study show that images used in the readers can play a part in transmitting and reproducing dominant ideologies and understandings of diversity and identity within the Social Studies curriculum, thus

highlighting the importance of viewing images as not something that is neutral but as a sphere of ideology. This highlights the need for teachers to be critical and aware their educational practices. of Bv deconstructing the images in the reader, a better understanding of how diversity can be better taught will help to influence teaching practices and pedagogy that are aimed towards the goals of multicultural education. For educators, this is important because education should be enlightening for students and "not simply a means of perpetuating vicious or vapid social practices and arrangements" (Mayes & Williams, 2013, p. 9).

This study however, has not explored how dominant meanings in images may be negotiated. This would be a possible area for research in future.

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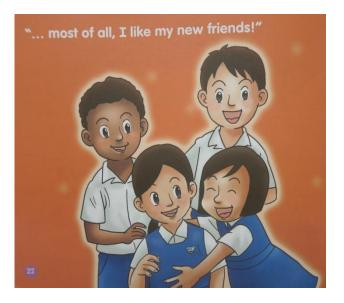
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## Appendix A





## Appendix B

Diversity – Language



Diversity - Race/Ethnic Groups (i.e. CMIO)



Diversity – Religion

