DECODING THE MEANING OF MULTICULTURALISM:

AN INTERNATIONAL STUDY OF MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND HAWAI'I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT

DECEMBER 2008

By

Vijayan P. Munusamy

Dissertation Committee:

Dharm P.S. Bhawuk, Chairperson
Richard Brislin
Kiyohiko Ito
Kumaran Muthusami
Paul Pedersen
Shuqiang Zhang

UMI Number: 3347667

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy
submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and
photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper
alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized
copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3347667

DEDICATION

Thank you, Swami. Without your support and guidance, I would have never taken this wonderful journey, would have never met Professor Bhawuk, would have never known wonderful teachers and friends, and would have never known the word 'ALOHA' – *"to learn what is not said, to see what cannot be seen, and to know the unknowable."*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On a Gantt chart, this dissertation journey took three years to complete. In reality however, this journey also owed years of love, encouragement, support and mentorship of others -- my family members, my mentor, Dr. Dharm Bhawuk, my dissertation committee members, my 'ohana' at the East-West Center, my cohort friends and professors at the University of Hawai'i and my colleagues at the Center for Creative Leadership. Each of them encouraged me to complete this project in a timely manner. Completing this dissertation while working full time in the last two years was not an easy task and I am indebted to all of them for their support.

My family members deserve special acknowledgment. They allowed me to pursue the PhD degree without knowing how much work it would be and how much they would have to sacrifice. My wife, Hema was patient throughout the process, both during our stay in Hawai'i and in Singapore. She was the best timekeeper as I could not afford to suppress her joy of wanting me to complete this dissertation. Apart from being a full-time homemaker taking care of our three children, she also worked whenever she could to meet our financial obligations. For her love, support and sacrifices, I will be grateful to her in this life and our future lives.

My children accepted me leaving home early and coming back late as a norm for all fathers. My evening time with them was precious for me but it was more so for them. They always found excuses so that I could be at home. Sometimes their smartness to trick me to stay at home chuckled me. Whenever I had to go to school in the evening and weekends, I always mentioned to them that I need to finish my homework. One day, my

son, Sukkrivaa, who was in grade 2 asked me "Naina (Dad), homework means you are supposed to do your work at home, why are you doing the homework at school? I was speechless.......Thank you, Sukkrivaa for your wittiness. My first daughter, Swati has been inspirational for me to keep things organized. She always made compromises with her older brother and with her younger sister and avoided disagreements. Her ability to harmonize always fascinated me. Swati, thank you for reminding me the value of harmony. Gowrishta, my youngest child was born in Hawai'i when I was in the first semester of the PhD program. Each of her birthday celebration reminded me the time that I had spent in the program and pushed me to work harder. I promised that I would complete before she turned five, and I am proud that I did so (3 days before her 5th birthday!). With her naïve tricks, she brought a lot of humor to the family, a much needed therapy for me. Gowrishta, thank you for your timely arrival.

My parents supported and prayed for my success. Without their blessing, I could not have embarked on this journey and would not possibly complete this study. My brother, Vimalan and my sisters, Menaga and Indirani provided moral support and took care of some of my family responsibilities when I was in Hawai'i for almost 6 years. Many thanks to my relatives who also provided moral support. Being the first PhD member in the family, they have high hopes for me – I hope I can meet their expectations.

My academic journey of six years as a 'professional student' (MBA, MPA, International Culture Studies Graduate Certificates, East-West Center International Leadership Certificate and a PhD) was financially supported by the East-West Center

1 ½ hour defense practice. It was the longest research presentation they had ever been asked to listen to! I must thank Michael Hoppe for translating an article written in a German language. I thank Luke Novelli and Marian Ruderman for their encouragement and mentorship. I thank my CCL colleagues in North America and Europe for their moral support. I would like also to thank team members of the 'Leadership Across Differences' project for their encouragement. Thank you, CCL'ers.

As I was away from Hawai'i, Prabodh Illukpitiya was instrumental in getting this document printed and submitted to all my committee members and later to the Graduate Division. My wife and I also stayed at their residence when we were there for my defense. Thank you, Prabodh and Chandani for your hospitality, friendship and all the help that you gave to us.

The primary data for this dissertation are letters to the editor. I gratefully acknowledge the writers of letters to the editor for their effort in writing letters and exchanging their perspectives in the public domain (their names are listed in the appendices). It takes time, energy and much reflection before putting something in writing. I thank newspapers for their openness in publishing these letters.

My dissertation committee was very patient, made an exception for me to work full time at CCL after ABD and gave me the freedom to fully maximize the strength of grounded theory methodology. Dr. Richard Brislin went through my dissertation draft carefully and gave me copious feedback. Dr. Kiyohiko Ito helped me to focus on 'SO WHAT' questions. Dr. Paul Pedersen gave numerous suggestions to relate the dissertation findings to government action plans. Dr. Kumaran Muthusami helped me to

understand the role of NGOs in promoting multiculturalism. Dr. Shuqiang Zhang helped me to understand how multicultural policies can benefit the majority or dominant groups much more than the intended minority or non-dominant groups. Their input improved the quality of this study and I am indebted to all of them. Thank you very much.

Finally, I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Dharm Bhawuk for his mentorship, warmth, support, and encouragement. Dissertation is said to be independent activity but from my experience (maybe cultural), this seems to be a simplistic view. For me, it was truly an interdependent activity where I view the completion of this dissertation as a starting point for me to work even more closely with Professor Bhawuk. Professor Bhawuk is truly a people builder. He knows when to set stretching goals, when to cheer, and most importantly when to stop (I had difficulty finding a closure for this dissertation). I first met him in 2000 when he taught me in the Japan Focused MBA program. He was instrumental for steadfastly pushing me to greater academic and personal growth at the University of Hawai'i and encouraging me to set stretching goals. His example of writing on average at least 9-10 drafts before final submission sets a high benchmark for me to follow. He encouraged me to view dissertation as part of my future program of research and was instrumental in pushing me to explore new frontiers of international management for my dissertation research. Multiculturalism is not a traditional topic for the field of international management but he convinced me that it would be at the frontier of knowledge in this 21st century for managers, organizations and nations. As multiculturalism is an interdisciplinary subject, he encouraged me to take courses outside the management field such as Feminist Theory and Cultural Analysis to

sensitize me the social construction of gender and culture and its implications for organizations. Professor Bhawuk has an open door policy and was available whenever I needed him even when he was traveling. When I was reviewing my defense draft, he and his wife, Poonam-jee were on vacation and traveling to India and Nepal but that didn't stop him from being available – we had six conversations in six different cities (some in transit airports) all within a week! Even now, I compete for his time! I also would like to thank Poonam-jee for her support and friendship. Thank you, professor and Poonam-jee.

ABSTRACT

Sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and psychologists have all studied multiculturalism from their disciplinary perspectives, which has led to more confusion than clarity about this construct. This study took an interdisciplinary approach and examined the meaning, the antecedents and the consequences of this construct in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i through multiple methods (focus group, grounded theory, historical analyses and emic-etic model building) and multiple data sources (letters to the editor, historical documents and interdisciplinary perspectives from cross-cultural researchers). Four successive phases were undertaken – (1) capturing interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism, (2) developing emic models of multiculturalism, (3) developing etic models of multiculturalism, and (4) testing emic models and refining etic models of multiculturalism. The etic model shows that true multiculturalism can only be achieved if there are community citizenships, efficient governance and effective local and global multicultural policies and laws. These elements together are crucial for promoting fair and equal access for basic needs, parity of acknowledgment, non-sectarian leadership, and natural intercultural interactions in multicultural societies. This study found that capacities for having meaningful dialogues on multicultural issues are only possible if these characteristics are present. It was found that embracing indigenous concepts such as *"Muhibbah"* in Malaysia and *"Aloha"* in Hawai'i and superordinate identity concepts such as *"One Nation, One People, One Singapore"* in Singapore can help to increase these capacities. This study suggests that development of superordinate identity can foster multiculturalism beyond what

superordinate goals, equal contact and respecting differences can help achieve. It was also found that both positive and negative historical events, modern origin of the nation and ecology shape the development of multiculturalism. This study shows that it is not sufficient to avoid complacency and it is necessary to examine the so called effective multicultural policies for their latent negative consequences. Finally, this study also found that multiculturalism is a multi-level construct and to be effective it requires the effort at all levels, from individual to parents to educational institutions to organizations (ethnic based, religious, social, business) to government and to media.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/GLOSSARY

ACA – Anti Corruption Agency

Ahupuaa - An ancient Hawaiian land demarcation system that starts from the mountain and end at the sea.

ASEAN - Association of Southeast Asian Nations

ASLI - Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute (a nonprofit organization)

A*Star scholars – High achieving students who receive scholarships from the Agency for Science, Technology and Research, Singapore

Atma - Soul

Bahasa Kebangsaan – National Language

Bangsa Malaysia – Malaysian Race

BN – Barisan Nasional (Coalition of ruling parties)

Bumiputera - son of the soil

CC – Community Clubs

CCA - Co-curricular activity

CEP – Community Engagement Programme

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka – Institute of Language and Literature

Durian – A popular fruit in Malaysia

EIP – Ethnic Integration Policy

EPU – Economic Planning Unit

Hari Raya – A Muslim religious celebration

HDB – Housing Development Board

HINDRAF – Hindu Action Force

ISA – Internal Security Act

Kampung – A Malay term for village

Kanaka maoli – Indigenous Hawai'ian

Kapu - Taboo

Kenegaraan – A Malay term for nationalism

Keris – Dagger

Kupuna – Ancestor

Malaya/Malayan –Older name for Malaysia/Malaysian

Malayan Union - Federation of the Malay states and the Straits Settlements excluding Singapore

Masjid – Mosque

MCA – Malaysia Chinese Association (political party)

Mele Kalikimaka – Christmas song unique to Hawai'i

Mendaki – a Malay self-help group dedicated to the empowerment of the disadvantaged through excellence in education.

Merdeka – A Malay term for independence

MIC – Malaysia India Congress (political party)

MOE – Ministry of Education

MP – Member of Parliament

NEP – National Economic Policy (often referred as Bumiputera policies)

OHA - Office of Hawai'ian Affairs

Ohana - Community

Operation Lalang – A code name of political crackdown on opposition leaders and social activists in Oct 27, 1987 in Malaysia

PA – People's Association

PAP – People's Action Party (Singapore's ruling party)

Petronas – government owned oil and gas conglomerate

Rakyat - Citizen

Rice v Cayetano – A case where court ruled that the state could not restrict non-Hawai'ians from voting in the Office of Hawai'ian Affairs elections

Rukun Negara – National pledge

SBA – Singapore Broadcasting Authority

SINDA - Singapore Indian Development Association

Sisters in Islam – An organization of Muslim professional women promoting rights of women in Islam.

SOS Damansara – An operation to preserve a Chinese School in Damansara

Strait Chinese – Mostly referred to Chinese in Melaka who practice Malay customs and speak Malay language as their first language.

Sultan – Traditional ruler of Malay states

Suqiu – Chinese education interest group

Tengku – refers to Tengku Abdul Rahman – the first prime minister of Malaysia

Towkay – A term used to refer Chinese businessman

Tudung – Head scarf

Ulamas – Muslim spiritual teachers

UMNO - United Malays National Organization

UPM – University Putra Malaysia

Wayang Kulit – Puppet show (also used as a term to describe unauthentic behaviour)

Yayasan Strategik Malaysia - A social development centre for the Malaysian Indian Community

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Widespread cultural conflicts, economic, social and political discriminations due to cultural backgrounds, loss of cultural identities, and marginalization of indigenous cultures in the world lead one to conclude that human civilizations have not found the right solutions for different cultures to coexist, have ignored existing solutions, have not implemented such solutions efficiently, or have simply accepted cultural conflicts, discriminations and marginalization as a way of life for culturally diversity societies (Huntington, 1993, 1996). Perhaps, these shortcomings can be attributed to the fact that for centuries, human civilizations, voluntarily or by force, have largely dealt with diversity by creating cultural boundaries, and minorities were simply expected to adopt the cultural practices of the majority group. Historically, sometimes the rulers from the minority culture have been able to subjugate the majority population and impose some of their cultural practices (e.g., Moghul rule in India, apartheid in South Africa, and so forth). It seems that the coexistence of people of various cultural groups as equals within a nation state has been simply sidestepped by communities for a long time.

However, there are many social forces that force us to deal with diverse cultural groups living together as equals within a country as well as in the globalized world of today. Technological advancements that facilitate wider cultural communication (McLuhan, 1961), world's imbalance of labor supply and demand that drives globalization of labor (Jaumotte & Tyrell, 2007; Johnston, 1991), and forces of industrialization that promote culturally diverse community to compete and cooperate for economic growth (Parekh, 2006), to name a few, are some of the forces that require societies to deal with cultural diversity. Also, democratic forces blur ethnic, cultural and

regional lines and bind culturally diverse community along political and ideological lines (Parekh, 2005). Today's knowledge economy also puts premium on having culturally diverse communities, which are known for their creativity and innovation (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky & Chiu, 2008; Ashkanasy, Härtel & Daus, 2002). Thus, it is critical that people of different cultural backgrounds learn to coexist not only because it may be moral but also because it may be a survival issue for human kind, as increasingly we need to deal with culturally different people on a daily basis in organizational as well as other social settings.

The concept of multiculturalism, which has been used to describe inclusive culturally diverse community (e.g., Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977), holds lot of promise for achieving these needs. However, this concept lacks theoretical foundation beyond the descriptive nature of cultural diversity. Parekh (2000) for example, posited that 'multiculturalism' is a normative response to three types of cultural diversity: subculture, perspective, and communal diversity. Subculture diversity is about pluralizing existing culture without replacing any; perspective diversity is about challenging existing culture; and communal diversity refers to the co-existence of different cultures in an organized manner. He suggested that this construct has historically referred to communal diversity. Descriptive nature of diversity especially focusing on cultural differences has been also a focal area of research for organizational researchers. Nkomo (2001, p.9) for example argued, *"there is a real danger in seeing differences as benign variation among people. It overlooks the role of conflict, power, dominance, and the history of how organizations are fundamentally structured by race, gender, and class."* This study hopes to provide a theoretical foundation for examining multiculturalism by decoding the meaning of multiculturalism, its antecedents, and its consequences beyond descriptive labels.

There are also human development facets that necessitate building culturally diverse communities. In a seminal report published by the United Nations Development Programme in 2004, human development experts (e.g., Amartya Sen) took a firm stand that building culturally diverse society is not an option but a precondition for economic, health, education and human development in today's global world and made clear that for the world to reach the Millennium Development Goals (e.g., end poverty and hunger, universal education, gender equality, child health, maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, environmental sustainability and global partnership) by 2015, the world *"must first successfully confront the challenge of how to build inclusive, culturally diverse societies* (UNDP, 2004; p. v)." The importance of culturally diverse societies for human development is also supported by intercultural researchers who have argued that cultural resources provide insights for solving human problems as well as for global community psychology (Bhawuk, 2008). Also, cultures provide stable meaning systems for each cultural group (Salzman, 2008), and provide opportunities for revitalization and hybridization among different cultures (Berry, 2008). To be able to build inclusive culturally diverse communities we would need to understand what multiculturalism means, and this study attempts to advance our understanding by examining multiculturalism in Malaysia, Singapore, and Hawai'i.

In most developing and developed societies, workplace has increasingly become the hotbed for cross-cultural interactions because of the increase of culturally diverse workforce. Organizations are also going beyond their legal responsibilities to facilitate harmonious working of employees from different cultures to adopting a framework of corporate social responsibility in addressing issues facing diverse workforces (e.g.,

www.csr-asia.com). Though, the focus of these initiatives are still limited to the workplace and largely focus on work effectiveness, addressing diversity issues in the workplace do indirectly address some of the diversity issues in the society where organizations operate. However, not much has been explored on how organizations can contribute directly to multiculturalism in the society where they operate.

The lack of examination of how organizations can contribute to multiculturalism is perhaps due to organizational researchers' excessive focus on how organizations and individuals can maximize their goals by aligning their strategies with their environment. For example, many scholars have argued that organizations need to be adaptive and aligned to their external environment in order for them to survive (e.g., Katz & Kahn, 1966; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Some have also posited that interdependencies between organizations and their external environments are much more critical than the organizations' technological and economic imperatives (Meyer, 1978), which influences organizational practices. The issue here is that the external environment that needs to be adapted to as advocated in the literature may not be an environment that is necessarily proactive in addressing societal diversity issues. Hence, organizations by not questioning this paradigm may actually exacerbate diversity issues both at the organizational and at the societal levels through their organizational practices. This study attempts to fill this gap and contributes to the understanding how organizations can contribute to multiculturalism in the society where they operate.

Academically, 'multiculturalism' has been examined in various fields such as sociology (e.g., Dorow, 2006), psychology (e.g., Kommers, 2003), ethnicity (e.g., San Juan., 2006), leadership (e.g., DiTomaso & Hooijberg, 1996), language (e.g., Scott &

Tiun, 2007), intercultural relations (e.g., Leong & Ward, 2006; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), education (e.g., Bickmore, 2006; Munroe & Pearson, 2006), political science (e.g., Tebble, 2006), anthropology (e.g., Amselle, 2006; Whitley, Kirmayer, & Groleau, 2006), gender studies (e.g., Ward, 2006), management (e.g., Shimoni & Bergmann, 2006), business (e.g., Tijsterman, 2005), marketing (e.g., Craig & Douglas, 2006), economics (e.g., Gradstein & Justman, 2005; Kónya, 2005), medicine (e.g., Lee & Coulehan, 2006), law (e.g., Gordon, 1995; Raskin, 1996), literature (e.g., Žilka, 2006), library studies (e.g., Rodrigues, 2006), sports (e.g., Parry, 2006; Arnaud, 2002), urban planning (Qadeer, 1997, Wood & Gilbert, 2005) and geography (e.g., Forrest, Poulsen, & Johnston, 2006). Despite the wide usage of the construct of multiculturalism, a shared meaning is yet to emerge suggesting the need for research to examine the construct systematically across disciplinary boundaries.

Though much research has been done to examine the concept of multiculturalism, they have been largely limited to quantitative approaches (e.g., Schalk-Soekar & Van De Vijver, 2008). Many of these studies have been also guided by contact hypothesis and its related social categorization theories (Allport, 1954), which have been the dominant theory for examining multiculturalism. Brewer and Brown (1998) in their comprehensive review of four categorization models (Recategorization, Decategorization, Subcategorization and Cross-Cutting) however, concluded that more work need to be done to understand optimal situation for effective contact. Recently, people have also raised questions about the inadequacy of this theory in real world settings, explaining the day-to-day social processes and in areas where racial segregation and inequality are deeply entrenched (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Condor & Brown, 1988). Dixon

et al. (2005, p.703) argued that:

> "*contact research tends to gravitate toward the investigation of relations unfolding under rarified conditions. As a corrective to this tendency to prioritize ideal forms of contact, we advocate that more research be conducted on the mundane, seemingly unimportant, encounters that constitute the overwhelming majority of everyday contact experiences. This type of research would entail "thick description' of unfolding interactions between groups in ordinary situations.*"

Dixon et al. (2005) also argued that *"an emic analysis of participant's perspectives on contact is particularly important when one is dealing with the experiences of members of historically disadvantaged groups, who have borne the brunt of policies of segregation and discrimination (p.705)."* The observations of Dixon et al. (2005) suggest the need for qualitative research to capture people's daily experience in their own words. This study attempts to fill these gaps by employing emic approaches, and focusing on 'thick descriptions' while investigating multiculturalism across three countries.

Acknowledging the fact that the construct 'multiculturalism' also has disciplinary and methodological shortcomings (Wood & Gilbert, 2005; Laungani, 2005; Taylor & Lambert, 1996 ; Vertovec, 1996) the researcher consciously used this construct as a 'working answer' and took an interdisciplinary approach, used grounded theory methodology and multiple data sources to examine the meaning, the antecedents and the consequences of this construct in three multicultural societies – Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i. These three societies were chosen because of the distinctiveness of their multicultural demographics, their political structure, their history, and their economic development in addition to the researcher's experience with these cultures.

The study comprised four successive phases – (1) capturing interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism, (2) developing emic models of multiculturalism, (3) developing etic models of multiculturalism, and (4) testing emic models and refining etic models of multiculturalism- where the output of one phase informed the next phase. Throughout these four phases, the grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used. For capturing interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism, a focus group was conducted in which cross-cultural researchers from various disciplines participated to capture various definitions of multiculturalism, which then informed appropriate theoretical samplings for developing emic models (e.g., substantive theory generation phase) in the second phase of this study. As informed by the focus group analysis, letters to the editor were theoretically sampled from a selected newspaper in all three societies and models of multiculturalism were developed for these societies based on the grounded theory analyses of letters. As the focus group and the emergence of theory showed the importance of historical factors, historical analyses based on secondary documents were conducted and historical models were developed for each society. This was followed by theoretical syntheses of models based on letters to the editor and historical documents. These syntheses provided an emic model of multiculturalism for each of the three societies. In the third phase of developing etic models (e.g., formal theory generation), emic-etic paradigm was used to generate two etic models of multiculturalism based on emic models of Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i. This generated an integrated etic model and a common etic model of multiculturalism. Finally, in the fourth phase, emic models were checked for representativeness, negative evidences and theoretical saturation using letters to the editor from a second newspaper in each society. This was followed by revision of the etic models.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The construct of 'multiculturalism' was first coined in the 1970s during the

formulation of Canada and Australia's multicultural policy (Joppke & Lukes, 1999;

Laungani, 2005; Citrin, Sears, Muste & Wong, 2001). In reaction to increasing diversity

and civil right movements, multiculturalism was envisaged as a desirable way of

managing diversities compared to assimilation, 'pillarisation'[1] and 'melting pot' policies

(Parekh, 2000; Shamai & Paul-Binyamin, 2004). It has since gained currency in popular

media (Rex & Singh, 2003), policy discussions (Harris, 2001; Vertovec, 1996; Lewis &

Neal, 2005), political campaigns (Verkuyten, 2005) and in the workplace (Blank & Slipp,

1994).

The construct of 'multiculturalism' has been also in the *zeitgeist* for the last few

decades and some consider it as *"one of the great conversations of our time"* (Fowers &

Richardson, 1997, p. 609); leading some to conclude that the construct of

'multiculturalism' is overshadowing other earlier constructs such as pluralism (Pieterse,

2001). These assertions are not far fetched. A quick search of the term 'multiculturalism'

in Google shows nearly 5.8 million 'hits.' In comparison, the term 'pluralism,' which

some argue is an older term for 'multiculturalism' (e.g., Appiah, 1994) and more

comprehensive (Shamai & Paul-Binyamin, 2004) has around 6.1 million 'hits.'[2]

The importance of multiculturalism has also led to its recognition as a 'fourth

force' complementing psychodynamic, behavioral, and humanistic perspectives in

psychology (Pedersen, 1988). Pedersen (1988) argued that culture-centered perspectives

have been for long time neglected in psychology and this has resulted in cultural

---

[1] Term used to describe denominational segregation
[2] As of 5th Nov 2007

encapsulation of psychological theories. He argued that viewing multiculturalism as a

'fourth force' enables psychologists to assess accurately, interpret meaningfully, and

administer appropriate intervention.

Though the construct of 'multiculturalism' seems to be new and Canada is often

claimed as a world leader in multiculturalism (Wood & Gilbert, 2005), some of its

underlying concepts and meanings can be traced back to many centuries ago across

different cultures and civilizations of the world. For example, Appiah (2006) argued that

religious tolerance in medieval Spain where Jews and Christians lived under Muslim rule

was an early experiment in multiculturalism. A number of scholars have also offered a

deeper socio-intellectual genealogy of the multiculturalism preceding the formulation of

Canada and Australia's multicultural policy (Wood & Gilbert, 2005; Perin, 1990). Some

also argue that indigenous concepts such as '*Sarvadharmasambhava*' in India (translates

to equal respect to all religions) as an aspect of multiculturalism (Sadashiva, 2005;

Sharma, 2003). Hence, there is a great value in examining indigenous constructs that

have similar underlying concepts as the construct of 'multiculturalism.'

Despite its relatively short history, the construct multiculturalism has been

diffused across geographies, adopted across different languages, and has shown relevance

across time. Geographically, the notion of multiculturalism has diffused across continents

(Gellner, 2001; Radtke, 2001) showing relevance to countries that have centuries of

multicultural history such as Malaysia (Yaapar, 2005) as well as to countries that are

considered homogenous such as Japan (Lützeler, 2002). Hence, multiculturalism as a

construct seems to be relevant for many societies regardless of its origin in the West.

Linguistically, the construct 'multiculturalism' has been adopted by many languages such as French (i.e. multiculturalisme), German (i.e. Multikulturalismus), Spanish (i.e. multiculturalismo), Japanese (i.e. 多文化性), and Indonesian (i.e. multiculturalisme). Non-western scholars writing for their local multicultural audience have also increasingly used the construct of 'multiculturalism' (e.g., Zhang, Zhao & Zhou, 1996). Though linguistically, the construct seems to be similar, its meanings are different across countries. For example, Borowski (2000, p.463) provided evidences that *"in the USA multiculturalism is an expression of the view that no common culture unites all Americans, i.e., that America is merely an agglomeration of people whose particular racial or ethnic identity or identity as a member of a marginalised group (e.g., gay, women, disabled, etc.) is paramount* (Chavez, 1997; Fowers & Richardson, 1996)," *"in Europe, multiculturalism is often used to describe a situation of power-sharing among national communities* (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 198)," and *"in Australia, multiculturalism refers to the latest ideology, which has shaped Australia's response to the large-scale and diverse immigration, which began in the late 1940s."* Hence, it is important that the construct of multiculturalism be examined from emic perspectives.

In terms of time, multiculturalism is shown to be relevant to the future, present and past as evidenced by numerous articles in the literature on futures (e.g., Gidoomal, 2003; Inayatullah & Gidley, 1998), contemporary studies (e.g., Pradhan & Roy, 2006) and history (e.g., Dyck, 2001). Wood and Gilbert (2005) argued that multiculturalism is used to acknowledge past tensions, current situation or in the formulation of future vision. Hence, there is need to examine the construct of multiculturalism longitudinally.

Scholars from various disciplines have attempted to define the construct of 'multiculturalism.' However, the construct is often defined conforming to disciplinary perspectives. For example, psychologists define multiculturalism at the micro level (e.g., tolerance, respect), organizational scholars define it at the macro level (e.g., diversity climate) and so forth. In view of the disciplinary differences, an attempt to review various definitions under a common framework was undertaken in this study. This effort resulted in four categories -- typological definitions, polarities based definitions, dimensional definitions, and relativism based definitions. Definitions that fall into these categories are discussed below followed by a discussion of the existing theoretical, methodological, and interdisciplinary gaps in the study of the construct of multiculturalism.

Typological Definitions

Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) presented four types of strategies that are normally employed by ethnocultural groups: integration, assimilation, rejection (segregation) and deculturation. Except for 'deculturation,' which has been proved difficult to measure, their other ideologies were included in the development of 'Multicultural Ideology' scale. Berry (1984), based on these ideologies, also presented four ideologies; multiculturalism, melting-pot, segregation and exclusion. Thus, multiculturalism is viewed as an ideology championed by a society in dealing with immigrants or members of various ethnic groups.

Smooha (1978) posited three types of pluralism: cultural, social and structural. Cultural pluralism refers to diversity without social segmentation; social pluralism refers to diversity with social segmentation; and structural pluralism refers to diversity with

social segmentation and with unequal political participation. Extending Smooha's (1978) work, Shamai and Paul-Binyamin (2004) posited that multiculturalism can be examined through the level of intensity, recognition and legitimacy. They noted that legitimization and recognition do not necessarily mean equality. Thus, pluralism is presented as a multilevel construct and by implication, its synonym multiculturalism would also be viewed as such. Shamai and Paul-Binyamin (2004) also proposed five typologies or spectrums of multiculturalism. These spectrums range from non-existence of multiculturalism, declarative multiculturalism, folkloristic multiculturalism, symbolic multiculturalism to existence of equal multiculturalism. This is a developmental model of multiculturalism where it is argued that the best kind is one where unequal groups (i.e. minority and majority) interact as equals in the society. However, the basis of such classifications is not clear.

Based on the sociological paradigms work of Burrell and Morgan (1979), Nemetz and Christensen (1996) provided a paradigmatic typology of multiculturalism. They suggested that multiculturalism from the individual level can be viewed from the dimension of population variation (separation→integration), cultural variation (cultural particulturalism→cultural homogenization) and moral philosophy (relativism→comprehensive universalism). By doing so, they provided a multilevel definition of multiculturalism further extending the meaning of the construct.

Hartmann and Gerteis (2005) also from sociological perspectives identified three distinct types of multiculturalism: cosmopolitanism, fragmented pluralism and interactive pluralism in relation to assimilation. Cosmopolitanism is defined as an approach that *"recognizes the social value of diversity, but it is skeptical about the obligations and*

constraints that group membership and societal cohesion can place on individuals (p. 228)." Fragmented pluralism *"focuses on the existence of a variety of distinctive and relatively self-contained mediating communities as a social reality, but also as a necessity and strength* (p. 229)." Interactive pluralism focuses on the need to *"cultivate common understanding across these differences through their mutual recognition and ongoing interaction* (p. 231)." These researchers seem to be focusing on the social type of pluralism rather than cultural or structural that Smooha (1978) discussed.

Polarities Based Definitions

Tamir (1995) distinguished two different types of multiculturalism based on political governance: thin and thick multiculturalism. 'Thin' multiculturalism applies to societies where commonality thrives over differences and issues of cultural relativism do not arise. 'Thick' multiculturalism on the other hand applies to societies where conflicting cultures are unable to reach consensus and cultural relativism dominates the common discourse.

Citrin, Sears, Muste, and Wong (2001) differentiated 'hard' and 'soft' multiculturalism based on the *"stance taken towards concrete measures to institutionalize the ethnic principles in politics* (p. 250)." They defined 'hard' multiculturalism as an environment where all cultural groups have equal rights. 'Soft' multiculturalism is an environment where certain groups have more privileges than others. They argued that in most cases, politics and not necessarily anthropology decides who the 'privileged' groups are. Citrin et al. (2001) suggested that while some scholars agree with the notion of soft multiculturalism (e.g., Taylor, 1994; Kymlicka, 1989), others do not (e.g., Parekh, 1994). The 'soft and hard' as well as the 'thick and thin'

bipolar definitions extended the definition of multicultural ideology presented by Berry

and colleagues (1977), and pertain to social segmentation with unequal political

participation (Smooha, 1978) and fragmented pluralism (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005).

Dimensional Definitions

Eldering (1996) argued that multiculturalism can be distinguished in terms of four

dimensions or levels: objective reality, ideology, official policy and process or practical

implementation (Fleras & Elliot, 1992). Multiculturalism as an objective reality is about

the existence of more than one culture due to colonization, slavery, immigration etc.

Citrin et al. (2001, p.249) refer to this view as *'multiculturalism as a fact.'* Ideological

dimension relates to how identity of a society and cultural differences in that society are

managed. For example, are people allowed to maintain their culture or are people forced

to assimilate. Policy dimension relates to broad government decisions pertaining to

immigration and how to manage minority groups that exist in the society. Implementation

dimensions relate to gaps between actual implementation of multicultural policy and

ideological discourse. Similar to Eldering (1996), Vertovec (1996, p.50) synthesized

"multiculturalism as a demographic description of a society," "a vague vision of how a

[multicultural] society should function," "public policies aimed at minorities,"

"resistance to perceived forms of majority cultural hegemony" and displays of cultural

practices.

Wieviorka (1998) based on Inglis's (1996) work argued that multiculturalism can

be examined at three levels: demographic and descriptive; ideology and norms and

program and policy. Similarly, Wood and Gilbert (2005) suggested three dimensions that

are often used to understand multiculturalism, namely, a specific governmental policy of

political pluralism, a social reality of a demographically diverse society, and a political ideology advocating cultural pluralism (Kallen, 1982; Angus, 1997).

Relativism Based Definitions

Sue and her colleagues (1998) from a counseling psychology perspective defined multiculturalism as *"acceptance of the multiple worldviews, which are neither good or bad, right or wrong . . . embodies social constructionism, meaning that people construct their worlds through social processes (historical, cultural, and social experiences) that contain cultural symbols and metaphors. Cultural relativism . . . implies that each culture is unique and must be understood in itself . . .Multiculturalism values cultural pluralism . . . . and is about social justice, cultural democracy, and equity (p. 4-5)."* They also argued that multiculturalism includes *"differences based on religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic factors, age, gender, physical (dis)abilities, and even on levels of acculturation and assimilation (p. 3)."* Multiculturalism in their definition clearly takes a cultural relativistic hue.

Blum (1991, p. 5) defined "multiculturalism" as *"an understanding, appreciation and valuing of one's own culture, and an informed respect and curiosity about the ethnic culture of others. It involves a valuing of other cultures, not in the sense of approving of all aspects of those cultures, but of attempting to see how a given culture can express value to its own members."* He argued that *"while antiracism directly challenges racial domination and racial injustice, multiculturalism, by contrast. . .tends to promote the attitude of respect for other cultures, primarily within the existing structure and inequality between groups (p. 19)."* Thus, his definition also pertains to cultural relativism.

Taylor (1994) argued recognition of identity as a fundamental human need. In a similar vein, Wood and Gilbert (2005, p.685) argued that *"multiculturalism is fundamentally about recognition"* and this recognition need to be practiced and not merely endorsed as rhetoric. Hesse (1997, p.380) argued that *"non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being,"* suggesting that the moral superiority of cultural relativism is implicit in the construct of multiculturalism.

Joppke (1996, p. 449) defined multiculturalism as *"the seeking of equal rights and recognition for ethnic, racial, religious, or sexually defined groups."* Gutmann (1993, p. 171) defined multiculturalism as *"the state of a society or the world containing many cultures that interact in some significant way with each other."* Appiah (1994, p.9) in the context of United States described that the common theme of multiculturalism is about *"an approach to education and to public culture that acknowledges the diversity of cultures and sub-cultures in the United States and that proposes to deal with that diversity in some other way than by imposing the values and ideas of the hitherto dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition."* Hassmann (2000, p.28) argued that *"multiculturalism demands courtesy to others, tolerance, and respect for difference, in order to best ensure social harmony."* He also argued that social equality present in all social categories (men and women, ethnic groups etc.). All of these researchers assume the superiority of cultural relativism to other perspectives, and tend to champion or support the ideology of multiculturalism, which is founded on cultural relativism.

Theoretical Gaps

One would imagine that the wide use of the construct of 'multiculturalism' would have resulted in a common understanding and well developed theory of the concept with a clear articulation of its antecedents and consequences. However, this is not the case (Wood & Gilbert, 2005; Vertovec, 1996; Laungani, 2005; Lewis & Neal, 2005; Taylor & Lambert, 1996). Though, many have made attempt to define, redefine, reconstruct, and deconstruct the construct of 'multiculturalism,' these definitions are often, domain specific (e.g., Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005), country specific (Lubisi 2001) and identity specific (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Taylor & Lambert, 1996). As Parekh (2006, p.349) aptly put:

> *"Multiculturalism is not a homogenous body of thought. As a political movement it is just over thirty years old and as a theoretical exploration of it only half as old. Unlike liberalism, it has neither founders nor canonical texts"*

Lack of theorizing resulted in 'multiculturalism' being labeled as an *'umbrella'* or a *'catch-all'* construct (Laungani, 2005; Stimpson, 1997), a *'diffused concept'* (Radtke, 2001), a *'contentious term'* (Gupta, 2005), a *'vague'* concept (Shamai, 1987), a *'floating signifier,' 'a portmanteau term for anything from minority discourse to postcolonial critique, from gay and lesbian studies to Chicano/a fiction'* (Bhabha, 1998, p.31), *'emotionally loaded term'* (Verkuyten, 2004) and one of the most misunderstood concepts (Pedersen, 1997; Barongan, Bernal, Comas-Diaz, et al., 1997).

Though the lack of theoretical clarity of the construct of 'multiculturalism' stimulates research and provides intellectual tension that leads to questioning assumptions, which may lead to innovation, it also has some liabilities. Some have criticized multiculturalism as a *'myth'* (Harris, 2001), a *'mere rhetoric'* (Wayland, 1997),

a *'phony'* concept (Bourdies & Wacquant, 1999), *'a wash'* and a *'smoke screen'* concealing assimilation (Shamai, 2004). Some have lambasted that multiculturalism is racism (Zizek, 1997) and multiculturalists are racist (Berliner & Hull, 2002). Some view multiculturalism as a social-intellectual movement (Fowers & Richardson, 1997), as a crusade (Laungani, 2005), as a code word for minority demands (Turner, 1993), as *"a tool for buying the ethnic vote"* (Wayland, 1997), as corporate tool (Davis, 1996), and as an ideology of global capitalism (Zizek, 1997). Some have written about anti-multiculturalism as social movement (Uitermark, 2004). Some see multiculturalism as a threat for promoting inclusive groups (Siapera, 2005; Schlesinger, 1992). Some argue that multiculturalism is a *"wrong thing"* (see Lewis & Neal, 2005). As many scholars have advocated the need for clarification and continuous theorization of the construct of 'multiculturalism' (Anthias, 2002; Schmitter-Heisler, 1992), this research is an attempt in that direction.

Methodological Gaps

Multiculturalism and its associated fields such as acculturation and intergroup relations have been mainly conducted through surveys and the use of student samples. The wide use of surveys and student samples is perhaps because the notion of participating in multiculturalism research itself provokes fear and anxiety among respondents and invites close scrutinization by authorities. This however, has limited our understanding of multiculturalism as racial segregation and inequality are often deeply entrenched and would not surface easily through surveys (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). In order to overcome these limitations, this study focused on 'thick descriptions' through unobtrusive methods.

Many scholars have also argued that multiculturalism is a highly abstract and a decontextualized construct (e.g., Gupta, 2005) and thus it needs to be understood from multiple perspectives - social, historical, geographical, and political. As *"the way in, which the problems of a multi-ethnic society are perceived and approached is deeply influenced by the political history and dominant ideology of a nation"* (Spiecker & Steutel, 2001, p. 293), scholars argue that multiculturalism is *"...conceived differently in different countries and is given varied institutional expression depending upon the local and national political culture* (Modood, 1997, p.4)." For example, integration is really assimilation for the French, which is rooted in the ideological foundation of the French Republic (Spiecker & Steutel, 2001) and *"the American code of multiculturalism and tolerance does not readily supply a language with which to discuss structural differences* (Vasquez, 2005, p. 917)." Manning (1995) also argued that the multi-dimensionality of cultural diversity needs to be recognized. He lamented that *"not only has the literature tended to overlook the intersections of race, ethnicity, class and gender but it also neglects parallel social contexts (work, residence, leisure), historical specificity (war, economic, recession), and ongoing social processes (e.g., women and native minorities' legally enforced entrance into professional occupations) that influence sociodemographic change* (p. 148)." Recently, Bhawuk and Anbe (2007) demonstrated the value of historical analyses in examining the acculturation dynamics in Hawai'i and concluded that *"without having a historical perspective, it is not possible to understand why some ethnic groups are marginalized, and continue to be disadvantaged despite government efforts to address their needs."* This study attempts to narrow these gaps in multiculturalism research by examining the meaning of multiculturalism in three

distinctly different societies in terms of their social, historical, geographical, and political conditions.

Interdisciplinary Gaps

While different approaches of defining the construct of 'multiculturalism' offer some advantages, different definitions sometimes prohibit intellectual and interdisciplinary dialogue. From the author's experience, the use of the construct of 'multiculturalism' itself in intellectual dialogue can cause rifts between scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds. Its blanket use can have negative implications. Some scholars shy away from using the construct altogether and instead use constructs that are considered more positive or neutral. For example, in business and leadership literatures, though diversity is extensively researched and scholars have noted the need for interdisciplinary research (DiTomaso & Hooijberg, 1996), one rarely comes across the construct of 'multiculturalism.' Constructs such as diversity management, diversity and inclusion, and diversity celebration are often used instead. This trend is also found in other fields. For example, Adam Podgorecki, a well-known sociologist created the construct of 'sociotechnics' to get away from using the construct of 'social engineering' (Deutscher & Lindsey, 2004).

As such, clarifying the definition of multiculturalism for common understanding is important to dispel negative connotations associated with it. Failing to do so, the topic of multiculturalism can be either a *'meeting ground'* or a *'battle ground'* (Hettlage, 1996). In this study, an attempt towards understanding the meaning of multiculturalism was undertaken in three multicultural societies by conducting emic studies, focusing on 'thick descriptions', analyzing social context and employing unobtrusive methods. It is

hoped that by doing so, the theoretical, methodological and interdisciplinary gaps present in the study of multiculturalism can be narrowed down, and can provide among others a foundation for interdisciplinary research in diversity.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

It is clear from the literature review that any effort to examine the meaning of multiculturalism across societies needs to address not only the theoretical and methodological gaps but also the variations across scholarly disciplines where this construct is studied. This research addressed these needs through four successive phases – (1) capturing interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism (2) developing emic models, (3) developing etic models and (4) testing emic models and refining etic models.

In these four phases, a total of four studies employing three different methodologies (focus group, grounded theory and historical analyses) and three different types of data sources (interdisciplinary perspectives from cross-cultural researchers, letters to the editor and historical documents) -- were carried out in three multicultural societies - Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i to answer the research questions – What is the meaning of multiculturalism and what are its antecedents and consequences? These studies were synthesized to develop emic and etic models. The table below shows the overview of these four phases and four studies.

Table 1. Overview of the study

Phase	Study	Method	Data	Output
1. Capturing interdisciplinary meanings of multiculturalism	1	Focus Group	Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Researchers	Work definitions
2. Developing emic models	2a:Malaysia 3a: Singapore 4a: Hawai'i 2b:Malaysia 3b:Singapore 4b:Hawai'i	Grounded Theory Historical Analysis	Letters to the editor Secondary Historical Documents	Emic Models
3. Developing etic models	(Syntheses)	Least Common Multiple; Greatest Common Factor	Emic Models	Etic Models
4. Testing emic and refining etic models	2c:Malaysia 3c:Singapore 4c:Hawai'i	Grounded Theory	Letters to the editor in a different newspaper	Final Emic and Etic Models

By design, the output of a specific study informed the next study within a phase and each phase informed the next phase. These successive studies and phases not only allowed for theory building but also helped to overcome the limitations of single data source and methodological biases that were identified in the literature. Further, through multidisciplinary methods (grounded theory and historical analyses) the findings have helped bridge disciplinary gaps that have been argued to be prevalent in diversity research (Blank, Dabady & Citro, 2004; Triandis, 1972), and have contributed to more generalizable research findings.

In Phase 1 of the study, interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism were captured through a focus group in which cross-cultural researchers from various disciplines discussed various definitions of multiculturalism. In the Phase 2, as informed by the focus group, letters to the editor were theoretically sampled from a selected newspaper in all three societies using the keywords identified in the focus group (Study 2a, 3a & 4a) and models of multiculturalism based on the letters were developed for each society. As the focus group and the emergent emic models showed the importance of historical factors, historical analyses based on secondary documents were conducted (Study 2b, 3b & 4b) and historical models were developed for each society. This process contributed to the theoretical saturation of the emerging theoretical model. This was followed by theoretical syntheses, which provided emic models of multiculturalism for Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i.

In the Phase 3, etic or universal models of two types using the methodology of "Least Common Multiples (LCM)" and "Greatest Common Factors (GCF)" were developed. This provided two etic models of multiculturalism – an Integrated Model and

a Common Model. Finally, in the Phase 4, emic or culture specific models for Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i were tested (Study 2c, 3c & 4c) in a newspaper that ranked second in theoretical sampling identified in the Phase 2. Similar to the second phase, here too the research was guided by the criterion of theoretical saturation among others. This led to the revision of the etic models.

Throughout these four phases, the grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used. Grounded theory methodology was used for two reasons. First, Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.32) noted that this method is suitable for studying *'race relations.'* They argued that *'race relations'* is an example of a *'substantive or an empirical area'* in where a *'substantive theory'* can be developed using the grounded theory approach (p.32). Second, in the grounded theory methodology, the emerging theory guides the collection of data and as such, it allows a systematic collection of data based on emerging theories rather than collecting and coding all data that are available. Apart from the initial sample, which is selected because of its bearing on the target research question, further sampling in grounded theory is guided by 'discoveries,' 'gaps' and 'saturation' in previous data. Glaser and Strauss (1976) described this process as *"when one category is saturated, nothing remains but to go on to new groups for data on other categories, and attempt to saturate these new categories also* (p. 61)." In this study, apart from the initial sample for the focus group, all other samplings were theoretically guided. The four phases are presented in detail in the following sections.

Phase 1: Capturing interdisciplinary definitions of multiculturalism (Study 1)

Fourteen intercultural researchers from different fields of social science (psychology, management, counseling, education, social policy, communication, sociology, and public administration) were asked to discuss the meaning of multiculturalism collectively. The discussion was conducted during one of the weekly session of a voluntary intercultural seminar session at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. The participants were from different cultural backgrounds, different nationalities and had lived in a multicultural society for an extended period of time.

The discussion was conduced in a focus group format and took an hour to complete. The researcher first described the goal of the study -- to understand the meaning of multiculturalism. Next, a big figure was drawn on a flipchart and labeled as 'A Multiculturalism Map.' The participants then were divided into three small groups and were asked to fill the map by answering the question "What is multiculturalism?" Their responses were written on the figure and were later discussed in the big group.

After the session, the group's responses based on collective consensus were categorized by the researcher and used as a guideline to select theoretical samplings for this study. For example, one of the terms that came out from the focus group was the notion that multiculturalism is related to *zeitgeist* (Boring, 1955; Bhawuk, 2003) -- (the spirit of the age) --which means that multiculturalism is time-bound and there are emic and etic aspects of multiculturalism that relate to time. In other words, some multicultural issues are always present (etics) and some may be present only in a certain time (emics). This guided the researcher to seek longitudinal archival data to avoid time specific biases with the understanding that this could not be entirely avoided. The terms used in the focus group also served as keywords for the Phase 2 of the study.

Phase 2: Developing Emic Models of Multiculturalism

In this phase, two methods were employed to examine multiculturalism in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i – analyses of letters to the editor using grounded theory (Study 2a, 3a & 4a) and analyses of secondary historical documents (Study 2b, 3b & 4b). This was followed by theoretical syntheses of both methods, which led to the development of emic models for each society. These two methods and theoretical syntheses of these methods are described below.

Method 1: Grounded Theory methodology (Study 2a, 3a & 4a)

In accordance with the grounded theory methodology, four simultaneous processes --theoretical sampling, constant comparison, theoretical saturation, and theoretical sensitivity were employed to develop emic models. These processes are described below.

Overview of Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling led to the selection of three multicultural societies--Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i. These societies are in different phases of development, which allowed capturing variations in the meaning of multiculturalism. As the focus group directed the need to collect archival data, letter to the editor was selected as the data source for this study. Letter to the editor was also selected for their openness, ease of access, relevance, and freedom of expression. One newspaper in each society was selected based on five emergent criteria: (i) transcending ethnic, language and regional boundaries; (ii) in circulation for more than 5 years; (iii) good reputation in the industry and the research domains; (iv) validated by third party as a source for discussing multicultural issues; and (v) availability of a larger number of letters to the editor based

on the keywords identified in the Phase 1. The samplings for country, data, and newspaper samplings are discussed in detail below.

Country Sampling

As social and national context greatly influences the nature of multiculturalism (e.g., Cox, 1995; Triandis, 1995; Jansenns & Steyart, 2003), the choice of societies has to be theoretically guided in order to maximize the generalizability of the emerging model or theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.52) argued that *"the scope of a substantive theory can be carefully increased and controlled by such conscious choices of groups."* They further argued that *"maximum diversity in data quickly forces: (1) Dense developing of property of categories; (2) Integrating of categories and properties; and (3) Delimiting scope of theory* (p.58)."

For this study, Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i were chosen as these societies are not only multicultural but also distinctive in terms of population, majority-minority and native-non-native demographics, historical events, political structure and economic development (See Table 2 below). Hawai'i was chosen as the unit of analysis instead of the United States because Hawai'i was a sovereign country only a century ago, and hence provides a unique opportunity to understand the meaning of multiculturalism in the context of the sovereignty movement. It is interesting to note that in Malaysia, the Malay ethnic group is the majority group and the Chinese ethnic group is the minority group while in Singapore, it is the reverse -- the Chinese ethnic group is the majority group and the Malay ethnic group is the minority group. In terms of the modern origin of nation/state, these societies provided maximum diversity -- Malaysia gained independence from colonization, Singapore was expelled from Malaysia and Hawai'i was annexed to the United States.

Table 2. Country Information

	Malaysia	Singapore	Hawai'i
Population (million)	26.9 [3]	4.44 [4]	1.28 (2006) [5]
Majority % of total population	50.4% (Malays) [6]	77% (Chinese) [7]	40% (Asians) [8]
Native % of total population	61% (Bumiputeras) [9]	14% (Malays) [10]	9% (Native Hawai'ians) [11]
Modern origin of Nation/State	Independence from British Colonization (1957)	Separation from Malaysia (1965)	Annexation by the US (1898)
Political structure	Parliamentary Democracy with Constitutional Monarchy	Parliamentary Republic with Elected President	Republic
GDP per capita	USD5,704 [12]	USD30,159 [13]	USD38,083 [14]

These societies also differ in their recognition of human rights instrument such as cultural rights (See Table 3 below). It is also interesting from the ecological perspective that Singapore and Hawai'i are islands. These distinctions as summarized in Table 2 and 3 provided an opportunity for the findings to have a greater generalizability.

---

[3] http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Malaysia
[4] http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Singapore
[5] http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/15000.html
[6] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html
[7] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sn.html
[8] http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/15000.html
[9] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/my.html
[10] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sn.html
[11] http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/15000.html
[12] http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Malaysia
[13] http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Singapore
[14] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._states_by_GDP_per_capita_(nominal)

Table 3. Ratification of International Human Rights Instrument

	CESCR	CCPR	CERD	CEDAW	CMW
Malaysia	No action	No action	No action	04 Aug 95	No action
Singapore	No action	No action	No action	04 Nov 95	No action
US	Signature Only 05 Oct 77	08 Sep 92	20 Nov 94	Signature Only 17 Jul 80	No action

CESR- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	*"The Covenant contains some of the most significant international legal provisions establishing economic, social and cultural rights, including rights relating to work in just and favourable conditions, to social protection, to an adequate standard of living, to the highest attainable standards of physical and mental health, to education and to enjoyment of the benefits of cultural freedom and scientific progress"* (UNCHR)
CCPR- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	*"Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and cultural rights"* (OHCHR)
CERD- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	*"In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life"* (OHCHR)
CEDAW-OP- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	*"The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted on 18 December 1979, guarantees the right for all women to be free from discrimination and sets out obligations for States parties designed to ensure legal and practical enjoyment of that right."* (OHCHR)
CMW- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers & Members of Their Families	*"Migrant workers and members of their families who are deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person and for their cultural identity"* (OHCHR)

These three societies were also selected because of the methodological imperatives and practical necessities. From the methodological perspective, scholars have long argued the usefulness of personal multicultural background in conducting cross-cultural research to avoid *"using our own culture as an interpretive framework because it is a system of preconceptions and prejudices, which allows a short cut to conclusive findings* (Usunier, 1998; p.137)." As the researcher of this study has extended living, work, study and social experiences in these three societies, these experiences provided the researcher anthropological lens and *'theoretical sensitivity'* to interpret the data from the *emic* level as well as from the *etic* level.[15] Living experience in these three societies also helped the researcher in recognizing and accessing the data.

Data Sampling

Letter to the editor was chosen as the data source for this study as letters provide longitudinal archival data for studying multiculturalism (Nord, 1995; Reader, Stempel & Daniel, 2004; Thornton, 2006), and hence address the bias due to *'zeitgeist'* as noted in the Phase 1. The choice of letter to the editor was also in line with the following observation of Glaser and Strauss (1967) - the data for grounded theory can be in the form of *"the briefest of comment to the lengthiest interview" and "written words in magazines, books and newspapers."* (p.8) and *"every magazine article, represents at least one person who is equivalent to the anthropologists' informant or the sociologists' interviewee* (p.163)." Letters as a data source also allowed checking for the influence of significant events as suggested by Cook and Campbell (1979). For example, letters discussing multicultural issues published during the year of general election may be more

---

[15] The author was born and raised in Malaysia, had lived in Hawai`i for 6 years, and has been working in Singapore for the last 2 1/2 years

directed toward the government and politicians.

Letter to the editor was also chosen as the data source for theoretical and methodological reasons. Theoretically, letters to the editor provide a voluntary forum where people share and exchange views. Letters to the editor are also great sources of descriptive as well as prescriptive data because writers voice their experience ('what is') and often give recommendations ('what should be'). Some have also viewed letters to the editor as *"a battlefield for ideas, a forum for serious discussion of public issues and a safety valve through, which the public's capacity for indignation can find expression* (Seigel, 1972, p.3). As a writer often *"maintains rather fixed beliefs while simultaneously helping to guide public opinion"* (Reinhart, 2007), letters to the editor also provide both convergent and divergent perspectives. As such, the thread of these letters often includes counter and parallel arguments capturing multiple perspectives, "negative evidences" and 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) about multiculturalism.

Though not all letters would be published due to space constraint and *'gate keeping'* by the editors, the published letters do reflect newspaper's judgment on issues that merit public discussion (Reinhart, 2007). Hence, letters to the editor provide a platform for exchanging perspectives that lead to greater understanding of multicultural issues. In addition to these perspectives, letters to the editor provide the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of multiculturalism. While, writing a letter itself is a behavioral event, the content of the letters is cognitive and often captures affect as it takes strong motivation, patience and effort for anyone to put their thoughts and recommendation in writing.

Newspapers Sampling

As there are a number of newspapers (regional, mainstream, non-mainstream, ethnic, online, printed and online, morning paper, evening paper, free newspaper, paid newspaper, etc.) in each society, the selection of one newspaper in each society was based on emergent theoretical sampling criteria.

Five emergent criteria were used to select one newspaper for each society. First, the researcher scanned newspapers that transcend ethnic, language and regional boundaries in each society. As English is the common language in Singapore and Hawai'i, it was a natural choice to select English newspapers in these societies. For Malaysia, however, English and the Malay newspapers are both widely read across ethnic groups. For the purpose of language equivalence across all three societies, English newspapers were chosen for Malaysia as well. The table below shows all the English newspapers that transcend ethnic, language and regional boundaries in each society.

Table 4. List of English Newspapers in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i

Malaysia	Singapore	Hawai'i
New Strait Times *The Star* *The Sun* *Malaysiakini*	*The Strait Times* *(ST Forum)* *Today (Voice)* *The New Paper* *(Speak up)*	*Honolulu Star Bulletin* *Honolulu Advertiser*

From this list, newspapers that have been publishing letter to the editor for less than 5 years were removed to get a representation of letters over a longer period of time. This served as the second criterion. Based on this criterion, *The New Paper* (Singapore) was removed. *'The Sun'* (Malaysia) was also removed because it was not distributed widely until recently compared to other English newspapers in Malaysia (Anuar, 2005).

Table 5. List of Newspapers Published For More Than 5 years

Malaysia	Singapore	Hawai'i
New Strait Times *The Star* *Malaysiakini*	*The Strait Times* *Today*	*Honolulu Star Bulletin* *Honolulu Advertiser*

A third criterion pertained to the reputation of these newspapers in the industry and the research domains as reflected in winning awards for journalism or listing in major academic databases, or subscription by research institutions. As the actual number of people reading the 'letters to the editor' is difficult to determine, this criterion served as a measure for the visibility of the newspaper. As all these newspapers are highly recognized in each of the societies, this criterion did not eliminate any of the newspapers. Hence, selection by third party validations was used as a fourth criterion. *Malaysiakini* was chosen as one of the choice because it is known as *"an appropriate source for soliciting grass-roots views of issues labeled 'sensitive' by the government"* (Puay Liu, 2004) and it was reported that 90% of its readers endorsed *'Malaysiakini'* as an independent source for news (Pang, 2006). *'New Strait Times'* was chosen over *"The Star"* because there are some evidences that letters to the editor published in *"The Star"* are less balanced in their coverage (Kok Keong, 2004). Hence, *"The Star"* was removed from the list. This criterion resulted in two newspapers for each society.

Table 6. List of Two Newspapers

Malaysia	Singapore	Hawai'i
New Strait Times *Malaysiakini*	*The Strait Times* *Today*	*Honolulu Star Bulletin* *Honolulu Advertiser*

For the final selection, the number of letters to the editor that relate to multicultural issues between the two newspapers in each society was compared. As letters to the editor were electronically available for the year 2000 till 2006 for all newspapers except *Today (Singapore),* this timeframe was used to compare newspapers

in terms of their coverage of multicultural issues in Malaysia and Hawai'i. For Singapore, *"The Strait Times"* was the only choice. Six keywords based on the focus group (3 positive and 3 negative words) were used to count letters that relate to multicultural issues in each society. The counting of letters was based on the number of times these keywords were used. The three negative words (stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination) used were also identified by Berry (2005) as *'constituent concepts'* in studying ethnic relations. This served as the fifth criterion.

Table 7. Number of Times Keywords Used

	Keywords	*Malaysiakini* (Malaysia online paper)	*New Strait Times* (Malaysia online and printed paper)	*The Strait Times* (Singapore online and printed paper)	*Honolulu Advertiser* (Hawai'i printed and online morning newspaper)	*Honolulu Star Bulletin* (Hawai'i printed and online evening paid newspaper)
1	Multiculturalism	46	3	8	2	2
2	Tolerance	297	186	135	78	79
3	Dialogue	225	141	153	49	34
4	Discrimination	635	139	233	198	208
5	Stereotypes	104	26	59	32	26
6	Prejudice	263	117	83	44	55

While the choice was very clear for Malaysia (*Malaysiakini*) and Singapore (*The Strait Times*), it was not clear for Hawai'i. However, as some industry players had pointed out that *Honolulu-Star Bulletin* covers multicultural issues better than the *Honolulu Advertiser;* the *Honolulu-Star Bulletin* was selected as the theoretical sample for Hawai'i.[16]

In the first round, the selection of letters was based on two keywords: multicultural and multiculturalism, bearing in mind that new keywords would be added as they relate to the emerging categories. The table below summarizes the initial selection of letters to the editor.

---

[16] http://asianweek.com/1999_09_23/p13_feature.htm

Table 8. Initial Selection of Letters

Malaysia	Singapore	Hawai'i
Malaysiakini	The Strait Times	Honolulu Star-Bulletin
Initial Keywords: Multicultural/Multi-cultural (141) Multiculturalism/Multi-culturalism (46) Total unique letters: 181 Database: Malaysiakini	Initial Keywords: Multicultural/Multi-cultural (59) Multiculturalism/Multi-culturalism (8) Total unique letters: 65 Database: Factiva	Initial Keywords: Multicultural/Multi-cultural (13) Multiculturalism/Multi-culturalism (2) Total unique letters: 14 Database: Honolulu Star-Bulletin Website
Years Covered: 2000-2006		
Term search was made through Archivarius 3000 software		

As some categories did not reach theoretical saturation, letters were added based on the keywords that emerged from the initial sample. For example, for Singapore, the word 'multiracial' and 'racial' were used, as these were shown relevant to multiculturalism in Singapore. The quote from a letter below shows that terms associated with 'multiracial' and 'racial' are used more often than the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural" in Singapore.

> "I do not think that there is anything inherently insidious in the multi-racial model. However, I believe that there is a need to go beyond race in defining the Singapore identity. That realisation is implicit in the committee's desire to inculcate among citizens a sense of being Singaporean first, with race and religion being secondary attributes. One way this can be done is to replace the **_multi-racial model with a multi-cultural one._** Unlike race and religion, which are exclusive characteristics that set communities apart from one another ultimately, culture transcends ethnicity and can be a source of inter-communal solidarity. What will matter in a multi-cultural Singapore will be the mindsets, attitudes, habits and practices, which are derived from the material life of this nation and, which reflect the rhythms of its society (Asad Latif, 2002)."

Table 9. Initial Letters with Additional Keywords – Singapore

Keyword	# letters
Multiculturalism or multi-culturalism	8
Multicultural or multi-cultural	62
(multiracial or multi-racial or multiracialism or multi-racialism)	120
Racial	253
Total Unique Letters	119

For Hawai'i, the term 'culture' was added. As shown in the table below, this term is more often used than the terms "multiculturalism" or "multicultural."

Table 10. Initial Letters with Additional Keywords - Hawai'i

Keywords	# letters
Multiculturalism or multi-culturalism	1
Multicultural or multi-cultural	13
Culture	291
Total Unique Letters	303

Other keywords were chosen based on the categories that emerged. For example, colonization (colonisation) is one of the categories that emerged in Malaysia and only one letter with the keyword 'colonization' was found in the initial sample of letters based on keywords 'multiculturalism/multicultural.' However, by using the keyword 'colonization/colonisation in the population of the letters, additional 34 letters were found. Employing additional keywords in the search within the population of letters is consistent with the approach of theoretical sampling advocated in the grounded theory methodology.

The new sampled letters were analyzed following the process of reading, coding, categorizing, comparing, and memoing. However, in this round, if a large number of letters was available then a random sample of letters was drawn from them until the category reached saturation.

Constant Comparison

The purpose of comparative analyses is to elicit accurate evidence, generalize findings, specify concept and generate theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 21) described constant comparative method as *"a general method, just as are the experimental and statistical methods (all use the logic of comparison)."* They argued that *"comparative*

analysis for generating theory puts a high emphasis on theory as process; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product (p. 32)." In this study, convergent and divergent letters were constantly compared and codes were generated to document similarities as well as differences. Checking against disconfirming evidences was also used in this process of constant comparison. This process differs from the content analysis approach where in the content analysis; every letter is coded first before they are categorized for similar themes.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 39) argued that *"the type of concept that should be generated has two, joint essential features. First, the concepts should be analytic – sufficiently generalized to designate characteristics of concrete entities, not the entities themselves. They should also be sensitizing – yield a "meaningful" picture, abetted by apt illustrations that enable one to grasp the reference in terms of one's own experience."* Hence, the choice of labels for the codes in this study was based on these two criteria. In addition, a conscious choice was made to label the codes with actual texts in the letters without sacrificing the generalization and the meaning of the category.

Theoretical Saturation

While coding each letter, the researcher compared the letter with previous letters that belonged to the same coding groups. One advantage of reading, coding and categorizing simultaneously is that one can stop reading additional letters when the categories reach saturation. However, for this study, the researcher read and coded all the initial letters with keywords multicultural or multiculturalism as some categories did not reach saturation. Other letters were read as the categories emerged. In the word of Glaser and Strauss, *"saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the*

sociologist can develop properties of the category (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 61)." For example, unless the idea is saturated, a category would not emerge.

Theoretical Memos

Insights or observations from these data were captured in what is termed in grounded theory as theoretical memos. Glaser describes theoretical memos as

> '*the theorizing write up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding.*' "*They are the means to abstraction and ideation and can be used continually through the grounded theory process. Initially, they may be as short as one sentence but as the analysis moves on, they are updated and developed and can be as long as ten pages* (Lowe, 1996, p. 9)."

Theoretical memos allow the generation of the theoretical properties of the category. The following is an example of theoretical memo that the researcher wrote during the analyses of letters to the editor.

> **Memo: Communal Politics**
>
> While communal politics benefit each ethnic group, it can impede multiculturalism through:
> a. Tendency for race profiling for political mileage - embracing multiculturalism can cause political loss.
> b. The leader of the ethnic-based political party needs to protect and serve the interest or the feelings of his or her own ethnic group first before serving other ethnic groups

Theoretical Sensitivity and Model Building

Once the categories were saturated, the researcher stopped reading new letters and began to make sense of how these categories relate to the research question. All the categories with their properties were typed and printed on A4 size papers. These papers were displayed on a big roundtable. With the aid of theoretical memos, the researcher started to relate the categories with each other. In some instances, the categories were subdivided based on their indicators and the emergence of theoretical coding. The sorting of the papers to integrate all the constructs required few iterations. While some constructs

changed places on the big table, some did not. For example, the category of colonialism was always an antecedent for other categories.

Method 2: Historical Analyses (Study 2b, 3b & 4b)

As emerging categories showed the importance of historical context in all the three societies and analyzing historical documents as a method to understand ethnic relations has been found useful (Bhawuk, 2003; Bhawuk & Anbe, 2007), the researcher consulted secondary historical documents in public domains and synthesized historical records that were relevant to the research question (Study 2b, 3b & 4b). In addition to printed secondary historical documents, the researcher read information on official historical websites hosted by archive agencies of the three governments. The table below shows examples of websites that provided the data for the historical analyses.

Table 11. Official Websites used for historical analyses

Society	Website
Malaysia	http://sejarahmalaysia.pnm.my/
Singapore	http://www.sg/explore/history.htm
Hawai'i	http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/Hawai'i-petition/ http://www.oha.org/

Theoretical syntheses of grounded theory and historical analyses

Grounded theory and historical analyses were followed by theoretical syntheses. Both the findings from Method 1 (Letters to the editor – Study 2a, 3a & 4a) and Method 2 (Historical Analyses – Study 2b, 3b & 4b) were integrated for each society. In the process of integration, search for negative evidences were actively pursued. This was done by comparing categories that emerged in Method 1 with what emerged in the Method 2. The final integration resulted in an emic model of multiculturalism for each of the societies.

Phase 3: Developing Integrated and Common Etic Models of Multiculturalism

"Least Common Multiple (LCM)" model (integrated etic model) and a "Greatest Common Factor" model (common etic model) were developed based on emic models of all societies (See Figure 2 for an explanation of these procedures).

The development of integrated and common etic models is illustrated below. Let us say, the numbers in Figure 1 below present labels for different factors of multiculturalism and Factor 1 is present in all the three societies.

Figure 1. Developing Integrated and Common Etic Models

Malaysia   2 │ x 3 x 5 ├──▶ **Emic Model** (only true for Malaysia)

Singapore   2 │ x 7 x 11
                                  ┌─────────────────┐
                                  │ 2,3,5,7,9,11,13 ├──▶ **Integrated Etic Model** (can
Hawai'i   2 │ x 9 x 13   └─────────────────┘   be used in Malaysia, Singapore and
                                                           Hawai'i without losing specific
                                                           cultural factors)
                        │
                        ▼
            Common Etic Model (true in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i
                        but at the expense of cultural specific factors)
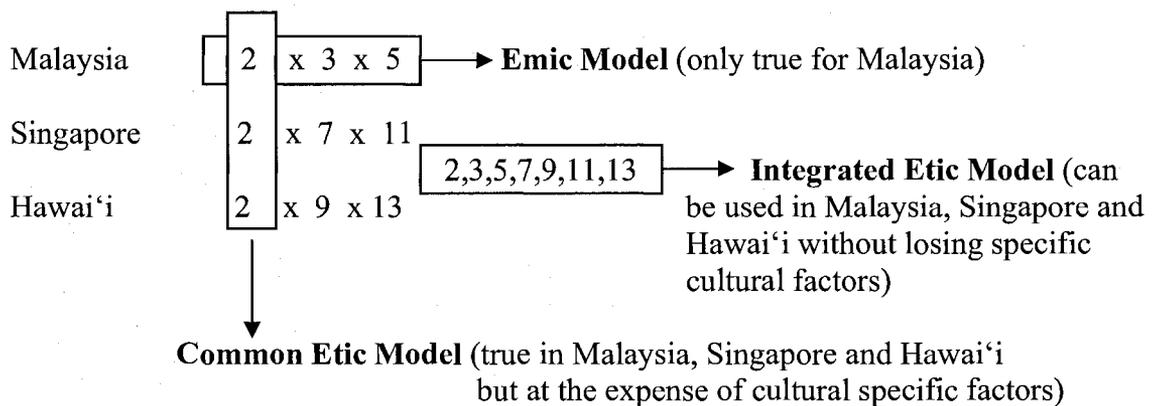
Building a common etic model is important as it allows for comparative studies and furthers our understanding (Triandis, 1964). For example, in the example above, the strength of Factor 2 and how it relates to other common factors can be determined. As Berry (1980, p.13) pointed out *"without etics, comparisons lack a frame; without emics, comparisons lack meat."* At the same time, an integrated etic model, which is less parsimonious, allows a broader framework to explore the meaning of multiculturalism in other societies. For example, some specific factors that were found in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i may have significances in India and using a common etic model may not lead us to find these significances. Hence, both integrated and common etic models were developed in this study.

Figure 2. Emic-Etic Model Building

COMMON ETIC MODEL

GCF Model

Common Factor

Common Factor

Hawaiʻi Emic Model

Singapore Emic Model

Malaysia Emic Model

Var

LCM Model

INTEGRATED ETIC MODEL

EMIC MODELS (Culture–Specific)
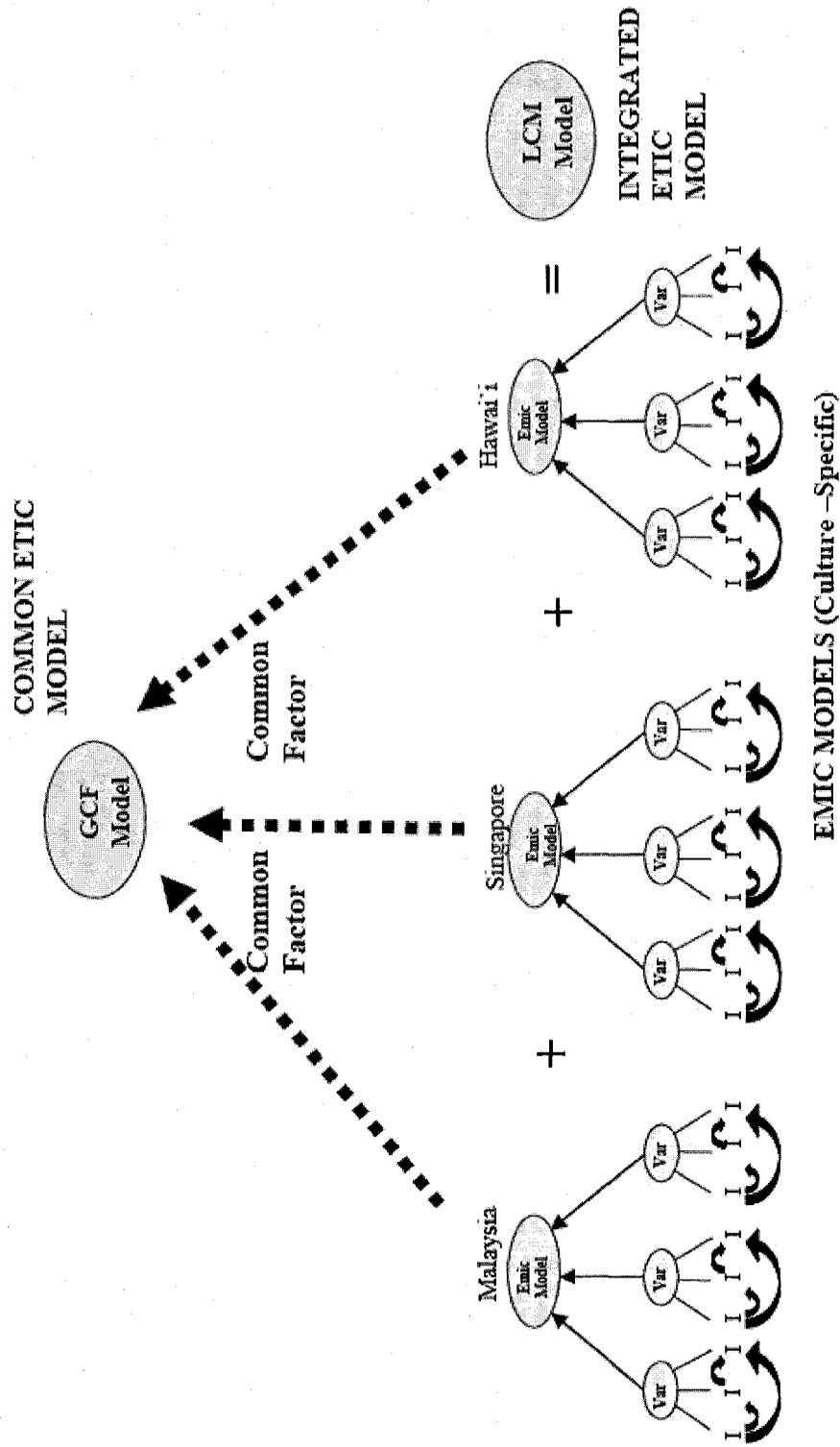
I = Data   ⌢ = constant comparison   Var = Variable   LCM=Least Common Multiple   GCF=General Common Factor

Phase 4: Testing Emic models and Revision of Etic models (Study 2c, 3c & 4c)

Finally, in the fourth phase, all emic models were tested for representativeness, data bias, negative evidences, and triangulation using letters to the editor in a second newspaper identified in Phase 2 of the study. Based on these tests (Study 2c, 3c & 4c), integrated and common etic models were revised accordingly.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

This chapter presents results of the focus group (Phase 1- Study 1), the development of emic models for Malaysia, Singapore, and Hawai'i (Phase 2 – Study 2a,3a,4a,2b,3b & 4b), the development of etic models (Phase 3) and the testing of emic models, which led to the refinement of etic models (Phase 4- Study 2c,3c & 4c).

4.1 Results from Phase 1: Interdisciplinary Meanings of Multiculturalism (Study 1)

This section presents the results from the focus group (Study 1), which was conducted to capture interdisciplinary meanings of multiculturalism. These results were used to identify initial 'search terms' for the grounded theory methodology. In other words, these results provided some working definitions and potential theoretical samplings for the researcher to start the research project.

Multiculturalism

is about tolerance	deals with discrimination
is about appreciation	deals with identity
is regulated/codified	is an ideology
depends on upbringing	dulls the dominance
depends on the *'zeitgeist'*	opportunity to make mistakes
is cultural competent	is about dialogue
is an acceptance of diverse descriptions of reality	a part and a member of a whole
is multiple religion, language, cultural values	Melting pot vs. Salad Bowl
is multiple worldviews	is about 3rd culture
deals with prejudice, stereotypes	is presence and absence of single dominant group

4.2 Results from Phase 2: Development of Emic Models

This section presents results of Phase 2 where letters to the editor and secondary historical documents related to multiculturalism in Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i were selected, analyzed and synthesized. Results for Malaysia (Study 2a, 2b and theoretical syntheses of 2a & 2b) are described in section 4.2.1, results for Singapore (Study 3a, 3b and theoretical syntheses of 3a & 3b) are described in section 4.2.2 and results for Hawai'i (Study 4a & 4b and theoretical syntheses of 4a & 4b) are described in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1 Development of Emic Model for Malaysia (Study 2a & 2b)

In this section, the development of emic model for Malaysia is presented. Section 4.2.1.1 describes results from the analyses of letters to the editor (Study 2a), Section 4.2.1.2 describes results from the analyses of secondary historical documents (Study 2b) and Section 4.2.1.3 synthesizes both studies and presents an emic model of multiculturalism for Malaysia.

4.2.1.1 Results of Grounded Theory analyses of Letters to the editor (Study 2a)

<u>Overview</u>

This section provides results based on the grounded theory analyses of letters to the editor that were theoretically sampled in a newspaper in Malaysia – 'Malaysiakini.' The analyses of letters show twelve major factors that relate to multiculturalism in Malaysia. These factors are synthesized into a model, which shows how these factors are related to each other and to multiculturalism in Malaysia. A total of 99 theoretically sampled letters were used to create the model and they are numbered with a prefix 'M.'

The model starts with the colonial history, which is found to be an important antecedent that shaping Malaysia's past and present-day multiculturalism. This is followed by *"Kenegaraan"* (an emic construct similar to the notion of Nationalism), which captures the collective aspirations for independence that brought Malaysians of all ethnicities together in the pre-independence period. The model however, shows that nationalism changed over to 'narrow' nationalism after independence. This change resulted in three major consequences. First, narrow nationalism resulted in some citizens having poor access for their basic needs. Second, it contributed to dominant cultural groups whether in the domain of religion, language, economy, or politics dominating other cultural groups. Third, it legitimized communal politics.

The model captures the need for sense of community and respect for multiculturalism as a prerequisite for advancing multiculturalism in Malaysia, which the model suggest would lead to fair and equal access to the basic needs for all citizens, parity of acknowledgment of citizen's contributions and non-sectarian leadership. The model suggests that these outcomes are prerequisites for having meaningful and constructive multicultural dialogues. The model suggests that the presence of four facilitators of dialogues to facilitate in creating a safe environment for discussing multicultural issues: openness, cultural sensitivity, reciprocity/tolerance and respect

The model suggests an amplifying reciprocal relationship between dialogue and the culture of *'muhibbah,'* an emic construct, which translates to culture of tolerance and harmony. The model suggests that meaningful and constructive dialogue facilitated by openness, cultural sensitivity, reciprocity/tolerance and respect contributes to and amplify the culture of *'muhibbah'* and vice versa. Embracing the true culture of *'muhibbah,'*

which had worked in the past, is seen as a binding force for multiculturalism in Malaysia.

In what follows, each factor is presented the way it emerged in the research, and quotes from the letters are presented to show support for the factors. A multiculturalism model for Malaysia emerges slowly as these factors are presented and their relationships are traced.

Colonialism

Analyses of letters show that colonialism had impacted and is impacting multiculturalism in Malaysia in number of ways. The ***"secular institutions (such as parliamentary system of government) and English common laws inherited from the British colonial rule"*** (Jeffrey, 2001) for example, supported the ***"accommodation of the multiracialism and multicultural pluralism of the Malaysian society*** (Jeffrey, 2001)."
Letters put forward that ***"while Islam was not compromised, and in fact as an official religion was actively promoted by the state, the retention of many civil secular laws for commerce and trade have enabled [Malaysia] to prosper"*** (Lo Chin, 2003) and as such these ***"colonial legacies"*** should not be rejected ***"in the interest of mobilising the masses on nationalism*** (Jian, 2002)."

> *"In accommodation of the multiracialism and multicultural pluralism of the Malaysian society, secular institutions (such as parliamentary system of government) and English common laws inherited from the British colonial rule, are continued, Islamic law as applied to Muslims being confined to family (marriage divorce guardianship adoption), property succession and inheritance matters* (Jeffrey, 2001; Letter M1)."

> *"While Islam was not compromised, and in fact as an official religion was actively promoted by the state, the retention of many civil secular laws for commerce and trade has enabled us to prosper* (Lo Chin, 2003; Letter M2)."

> *"It is unfortunate that in rejecting colonial legacies in the interest of*

mobilising the masses on nationalism, we have rejected all the good
intangible aspects of these legacies including the fairness of British
justice, the independence of judiciary, etc... (Jian, 2002; Letter M3)."

The content of the letters provide support that colonialism through the ***"divide***

and rule policy created a serious social demarcation among the communities (Kay

Peng, 2003a)." For example, ***"the Malays were contained at farms and seas and later***

as civil administrators (low clerical and support staff) while the Indians were recruited

for plantations and the Chinese were mainly small traders, miners or shopkeepers (Kay

Peng, 2003a)."

> *"During the colonial period, the divide and rule policy created a serious*
> *social demarcation among the communities. Economic activities were*
> *identified with race. The Malays were contained at farms and seas and*
> *later as civil administrators (low clerical and support staff) while the*
> *Indians were recruited for plantations and the Chinese were mainly small*
> *traders, miners or shopkeepers. Other big businesses of great economic*
> *importance were controlled by the colonial power (Kay Peng, 2003a;*
> *Letter M4)."*

Letters give a description of how ***"colonial powers"*** had made the Malay

community ***"a victim of manipulation and unfair treatment"*** (Kay Peng, 2003a) by

taking *"**advantage of their openness and warmth to admit foreigners to their land*** (Kay

Peng, 2003a)." Letters argue that ***"misguided British policies"*** such as ***"purposefully***

keeping Malays in the rural areas" make it difficult for ***"Malays to integrate themselves***

into the global economy (Khor, 2005)."

> *"In retrospect, the Malay community was also a victim of manipulation and*
> *unfair treatment by the colonial powers who took advantage of their openness*
> *and warmth to admit foreigners to their land (Kay Peng, 2003a; Letter M4)."*
>
> *"The Malays, purposefully kept in the rural areas by misguided British*
> *policy, are now naturally taking a longer time to integrate themselves into*
> *the global economy (Khor, 2005; Letter M5)."*
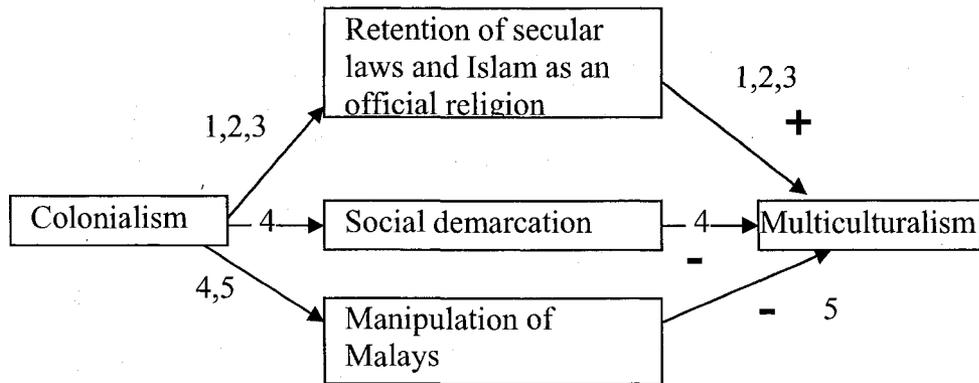
Figure 3. Colonialism practices and its impact on multiculturalism

"Kenegaraan" (Nationalism)

Letters give details on how colonialism contributed to *"Kenegaraan,"* an indigenous emic construct, which translates to nationalism. Letters provide evidence that Malaysians were united as a nation during the pre-independence era ***"despite the British dividing and ruling"*** and how their unity ***"was [Malaysia's] anchor as [Malaysia] withstood the Japanese invasion and the communist insurgency*** (Lovrenciear, 2006)." Letters argue that the need for this unity contributed to the rise of ***"kenegaraan"*** (nationalism), which ***"does not refer to the narrow needs of ethnicity but to the nation-state*** (Khor, 2006)." The rise of *"kenegaraan"* contributed to ethnic leaders promoting ***"the idea that Malaya can only be a viable nation if ethnicity was played down and the concept of the nation elevated"*** (Khor, 2006) during the independence era.

> *"The need to go back to history to re-discover how we earned our independence. Our united nation then - despite the British dividing and ruling - was our anchor as we withstood the Japanese invasion and the communist insurgency* (Lovrenciear, 2006; Letter M6)."

".....Onn[17] was certainly promoting the idea that Malaya can only be a viable nation if ethnicity was played down and the concept of the nation elevated. Here "kenegaraan" does not refer to the narrow needs of ethnicity but to the nation-state (Khor, 2006; Letter M7)."

Letters provide evidences that the creation of national identities is an important element of *"Kenegaraan"* (nationalism). Letters elucidate that one important form of national identities in Malaysia is the national language, which letters argue ***"socially bridges the people*** and is ***"the atma of the nation – it defines [its] culture, [its] society and [its] lifestyle*** (Mana, 2004)." The national language however, had to be actively promoted (Mustapha Ong, 2005) as achieving the national identity when there are ***"unique sub-national cultures"*** is not an easy task though the national identity is ***"not an antithesis"*** (Kay Peng, 2005) of ethnic identity.

> *"There is no doubt that the national language is the lingua franca that socially bridges the people of this country. It is indisputably the definitive language of the nation. All Malaysians should be proud to speak and write in the language of our great nation. The national language has become the **atma** of the nation – it defines our culture, our society and our lifestyle. Every patriotic Malaysian should learn to master the language with pride as the identity of a nation is reflected upon by the splendour of its language* (Mana, 2004; Letter M8)."

> *"As a senior citizen of pre-Merdeka era, I was actively involved in the promotion of the "Bahasa Kebangsaan" campaign in the early 60s. I believe my portrait still stands tall in the archives of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Mustapha Ong, 2005; Letter M9)."

> *"Forging a national identity within the context of a multicultural society is not an enviable task. It takes a careful balancing act of integrating unique sub-national cultures with a set of shared national culture. The former is not an antithesis of the latter* (Kay Peng, 2005a; Letter M10)."

---

[17] Onn Jaafar is the founder of United Malays National Organization

"*Kenegaraan*"*(Nationalism)*
Unity, Nation-state 6,7 Forging National Identity 8,9,10

Colonialism → 6,7 → (box above) → 7,8,10 → Multiculturalism
+
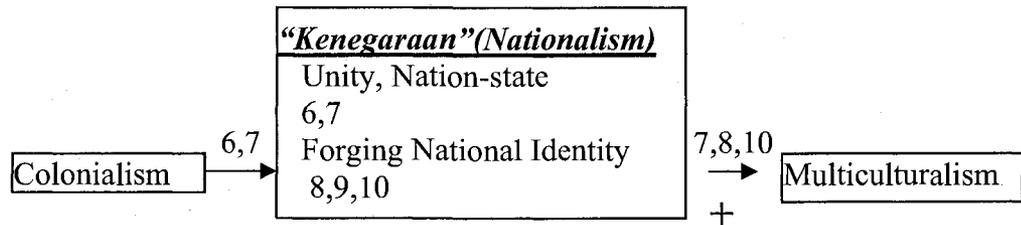
Figure 4. How Colonialism influenced the shape of nationalism

Narrow Nationalism

While *"Kenegaraan"* (nationalism) was the uniting force in the pursuit of independence and ***"the divided communities agreed to come together for a Malayan identity in 1957"*** (Narayanasamy, 2006a), it however changed over to ***"narrow nationalism"*** (Progressive Bumi, 2005) in the post-independence period. Letters point out that ***"those who represented the communities in the government conveniently forgot about national objectives and instead championed the rights of their own ethnic groups continuously"*** and ***"the majority community was more bent on entrenching the community's position of political power rather than thinking of creating a Malayan/Malaysian nation, true to its meaning*** (Narayanasamy, 2006a)."

> "When the divided communities agreed to come together for a Malayan identity in 1957, the contract was only a preliminary step towards a national identity. But those who represented the communities in the government conveniently forgot about national objectives and instead championed the rights of their own ethnic groups continuously. The majority community was more bent on entrenching the community's position of political power rather than thinking of creating a Malayan/Malaysian nation, true to its meaning (Narayanasamy, 2006a; Letter M11)."

> "We have already lost several generations to narrow nationalism (Progressive Bumi, 2005; Letter M12). "

Letters argue that even ***"after so many years of nation-building, many leaders did not realize the simple maxim in life: United we stand, divided we fall*** (Caring for

Malaysia, 2006)." As a consequence, the *"route taken by [political leaders who championed the spirit of 'kenegaraan' often] diverged with the one taken by the [party]"* (Khor, 2006) and often *"handicapped by short-sighted politicians - whose apparent main aim is only to maintain their power and position* (A Malaysian, 2001)."

> *"Malaysia would grow by leaps and bounds if the people of Malaysia work together and not divide themselves into various races. It is foolish that after so many years of nation-building, many leaders cannot realise the simple maxim in life we all learned in Malaysian schools: "United we stand, divided we fall." And we would not only stand, but we could climb much higher if we put our divisions into the rubbish bin* (Caring for Malaysia, 2006; Letter M13)."

> *"Onn Jaafar was a visionary for he knew that the people had to be heard. As Malayan Union was replaced by the Federation of Malaya, Onn quickly switched to the business of building a viable nation-state no longer predicated on the person of the sultan but with the ideological concept of a Malayan nation. This is 'kenegaraan', which included all other ethnic groups. The special rights of the Malays would later be reflected in Malay becoming the national language, the maintenance of the Malay royal houses and some economic privileges that would end once ethnic parity was achieved. All this does not mean that non-Malays were beggared. Some like the Straits Chinese, were accorded citizenship by operation of law when they gave up their British subjecthood. It must be remembered that the British would only allow for independence if all the ethnic groups could work together. This was what happened but the route taken by Onn soon diverged with the one taken by Umno* (Khor, 2006; Letter M7)."

> *"Every citizen who loves his or her country wants to contribute towards its growth and success. For with growth and success, everyone gains. But when those with such aspirations for the country are handicapped by short-sighted politicians - whose apparent main aim is only to maintain their power and position* (A Malaysian, 2001, Letter M14)."

Letters show four manifestations of narrow nationalism. First, there is a tendency to *"try to pit one race against the other"* (Malaysian, 2006) by *"political leaders with vested interests"* (Malaysian, 2006). Letters argue that *"narrow-minded, self-serving politicians [try] hard to sow the seeds of enmity between communities* despite the *"aspiration"* of every ethnic group *"to contribute towards its [Malaysia's] growth and success* (Caring for Malaysia, 2006). " For example, letters argue that *"[Malaysians] keep hearing leaders of [ethnic groups] championing [ethnic] rights only and not the rights of all Malaysians"* despite *"Malaysia is blessed with Petronas making billions of US dollars a year* (Caring for Malaysia, 2006)."

> *"I have come to the conclusion that there is no racial problem in Malaysia. The problem lies in the political leaders with vested interests and who try to pit one race against the other (Malaysian, 2006; Letter M15)."*

> *"Rather than debating how best to use the Petronas" oil proceeds for future generations and attract foreign money to come to Malaysia, we keep hearing leaders of Umno championing Malay rights only and not the rights of all Malaysians. Malaysia is blessed with Petronas making billions of US dollars a year but this will not last long as many energy analysts believe that Malaysia's existing crude oil and gas reserves are limited and would be exhausted someday (Caring for Malaysia, 2006; Letter M13). "*

The second consequence of narrow nationalism relates to *"unfair treatment"* experienced by non-dominant groups (Colour Blind, 2004). Letters for example, suggest that *"Bumiputera preferred policy"* (Colour Blind, 2004) and *"nil chances of [Chinese and Indians] children getting scholarships from the government"* (Caring for Malaysia, 2006) *"offend the minority races"* (Pastor Carey, 2006) and evoke strong emotions from them.

"I am a victim of "Bumiputera only" or "Bumiputera preferred" policy in the 1970s, when the government compelled employers to fill their 30 percent quota. Until today, I cannot forgive and forget the unfair treatment. My children have to face almost the same unfair treatment in education, soon in employment, and later in business opportunities. When are we going to stop this process? (Colour Blind, 2004; Letter M16). "

"For decades, Chinese and the Indian Malaysians have quietly accepted the fact that financial opportunities and educational privileges are to be given to Malay Malaysians. For Chinese and Indian parents who want their children to succeed, these parents know they have to work hard to get the funds to send them to universities as chances of their children getting scholarships from the government is next to nil (Caring for Malaysia, 2006; Letter M13)."

"It is with much sadness and frustration that I am writing about the present state of affairs in my beloved country. My parents and I were born in Kuching, Sarawak, and grew up among the Chinese, Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, Indians, Eurasians and Malay friends (a microcosm representing Malaysia). There was, and still is, complete trust and sincere friendship among the different races here and none of the acrimony and animosity that is so prevalent in Kuala Lumpur. I can only ascribe this to the racist and fascist stance and "ideology" of Umno and the other Malay "ultras" who think nothing of offending the minority races in the name of naked Malay nationalism (Pastor Carey, 2006; Letter M17)."

The third consequence of narrow nationalism is the tendency for ethnic **"nationalists"** to pursue **"narrow nationalistic agendas"** (Chan Steve, 2001) and **"to hide behind the fig leaf of nationalism to put forward their arguments"** (Ismail, 2002) against nationalistic agendas that are required **"for Malaysia to reach developed country status by 2020** (Ismail, 2002)."

"A responsible educational system should be one that prepares our youth for a life that's much larger than some narrow nationalistic agendas, and equip them with the most effective tools to pursue greater intellect (Steve Chan, 2001; Letter M18). "*

"I do not know why it is so difficult for the Malay, Chinese and Tamil language "nationalists" to acknowledge that proficiency in English, spoken and written, is one of the key means for Malaysia to reach developed country status by 2020. Perhaps it is cowardice on their part; perhaps they are choosing to hide behind the fig leaf of nationalism to put forward their arguments (Ismail, 2002; Letter M19). "*

The fourth consequence is that narrow nationalistic agendas lead toward

"assimilation"-- *"since there would only be one ethnic community, all the rest*

marginalised, having been deprived of political, economic and intellectual clout

(Venugopal, 2001)."

> *"The government-sanctioned policies hope, and occasionally attempt, to*
> *promote a single race - a Malaysian race. Assimilation is the code word.*
> *Malaysians, under a single banner would be united, speaking a single*
> *language (Malay), espousing a single creed (Islam). In that Malaysia,*
> *there will not be any ethnic strife, since there would only be one ethnic*
> *community, all the rest marginalised, having been deprived of political,*
> *economic and intellectual clout* (Venugopal, 2001; Letter M20). "
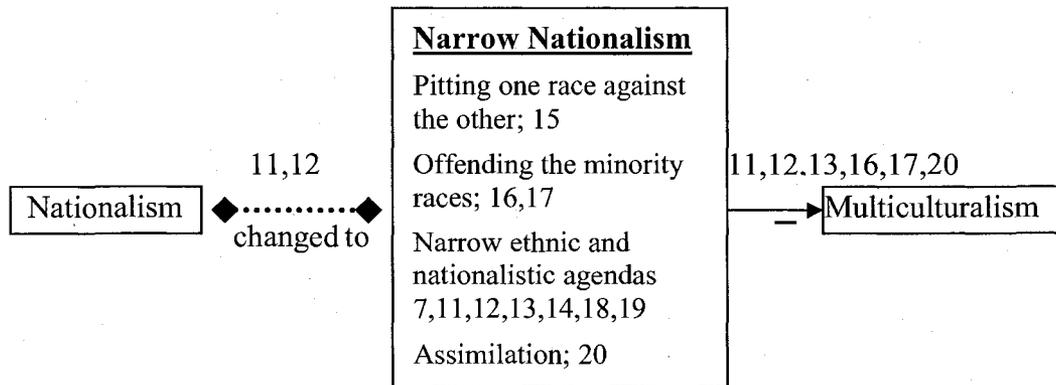
Figure 5. How Nationalism changed to Narrow Nationalism

Consequences of Narrow Nationalism

Letters to the editor show that narrow nationalism had resulted in *"poor access to*

the basic individual need" (Truth Seeking Indian, 2004), *"ethnic hierarchy and ethnic*

subordination" (Stupid Voter, 2006) and *"communal politics"* (Pelita Negara, 2003).

These consequences are described in the sections below.

Poor Access to the Basic Individual Needs

Letters to the editor suggest that narrow nationalism contributed not only

"poor access to the basic needs like health and education" (Truth Seeking

Indian, 2004) for minorities but also for individuals of the majority groups where

"not all Malays have benefited from [Malay] special rights and there are

Malays who are treated worse than other races (Sherrida, 2004)." In terms of

education access, letters suggest that the government should *"open up all avenues*

leading to admission to universities and *let the non-bumiputra enter*

matriculation (LCH, 2002)." One writer describes that *"it's saddening and*

disappointing to realize that [the writer] live in a country that is finding ways to

reduce [his/her] rights and privileges (Insaf, 2005)."

> *"There are also problems with Indians being oppressed, living in poverty,*
> *with gangsterism, with poor access to basic needs like health and*
> *education* (Truth Seeking Indian, 2004; Letter M21). *"*

> *"... not all Malays have benefited from these special rights. There are*
> *Malays who are treated worse than other* races (Sherrida, 2004; Letter
> M22)."

> *"The only way to dispel any suspicion over the 'meritocractic admissions'*
> *is to open up all avenues leading to admission to universities. The*
> *government should let the non-bumiputra enter matriculation, especially*
> *poor needy Indian Malaysians* (LCH, 2002; Letter M23)."

> *"It's saddening and disappointing to realise that I live in a country that is*
> *finding ways to reduce my rights and privileges. The government is more*
> *interested in dividing the people along religious lines than actually*
> *thinking of ways to promote unity* (Insaf, 2005; Letter M24)."
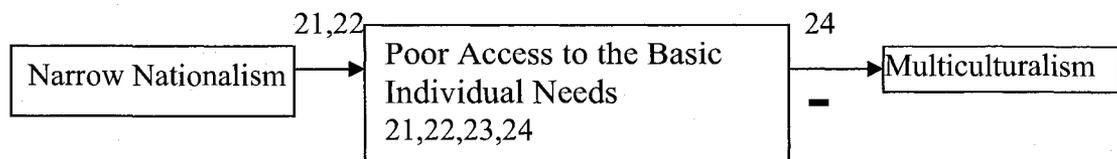
Figure 6. Narrow Nationalism Contributing to Poor Access of Individual Needs

<u>*Ethnic hierarchy and subordination*</u>

Letters to the editor suggest that narrow nationalism leads some citizen from dominant groups to dominate other citizen groups where for them ***"treating another person as an equal in the religious, cultural, and linguistic arena in Malaysia is considered unacceptable, and that everything must conform according to an ethnic hierarchy*** (Stupid Voter, 2006)." For example, letters argue that ***"whether the Chinese are being marginalised or not is not important, the Chinese just have to accept the fact that living in Malaysia means they have to be subordinate to the 'sons of the soil'*** (FN, 2006)." Letters argue that not all members from dominant groups ***"harp on supremacy"*** but rather ***"it is limited to only those who will be nobodies without this tag as they do not have any qualification or skills that they can utilise to advance*** (RKK, 2003)." In addition to domination based on demographic, letters argue that the sources of these dominations can be also based on religion, language, economy, and politics and they can be mutually exclusive.

> *"It is little wonder then that treating another person as an equal in the religious, cultural, and linguistic arena in Malaysia is considered unacceptable, and that everything must conform according to an ethnic hierarchy, and that ideologies of ethnic subordination are not yet made redundant in this country* (Stupid Voter, 2006; Letter M25)."

> *"Whether the Chinese are being marginalised or not is not important. The Chinese just have to accept the fact that living in Malaysia means they have to be subordinate to the 'sons of the soil'* (FN, 2006; Letter M26)."

> *"I am of the opinion that not all Malays harp on this 'supremacy'. It is limited to only those who will be nobodies without this tag as they do not have any qualification or skills that they can utilise to advance; they are just merely riding the gravy train. That will slowly be addressed by the Malays themselves who will run out of patience with those who sponge off the state without working hard* (RKK, 2003; Letter M27)."

Letters show that narrow nationalism through ethnic hierarchy has reduced

individuals from non-dominant groups to the status of *"a second-class citizen"* (Tan,

2002) and not *"treated with dignity and [accorded] equal rights as citizens* (Sarah

Verghis, 2002)." These treatments however, are not limited to non-dominant groups. In

some cases, letters argue that some members of dominant groups are *"treated worse than*

other races (Sherrida, 2004)."

> *"Although I am a third generation Malaysian, I feel that I am treated like*
> *a second class citizen and deprived of things I deserved as a Malaysian*
> *(Tan, 2002; Letter M28)."*

> *"Please treat us with dignity and do accord us our equal rights as citizens*
> *(Sarah Verghis, 2002; Letter M29). "*

> *".....not all Malays have benefitted from these special rights. There are*
> *Malays who are treated worse than other races. They are not even second*
> *or third class citizens... (Sherrida, 2004; Letter M22)."*

Manifestations of Dominations

Letters show five ways of how these dominations are manifested and maintained:

blockading citizens from participating in dialogues, fear, power, legislation, and

scrutinization.

Blockading citizens from participating in dialogues

Letters argue that domination is manifested through *"blatant opportunism in*

blockading citizens from participating in political dialogue" that relates to multicultural

issues (Praba Ganesan, 2006) and blockading citizens from expressing their *"misgivings*

and fears" (KP, 2001), *fair and legitimate expression of hope"* (Jason Chan, 2001),

"opinion, " and *"pleas"* (Jason Chan, 2001).

"Race will always be an issue in a multicultural nation. However, blatant opportunism in blockading citizens from participating in political dialogue is just hypocrisy of the meanest sort (Praba Ganesan, 2006; Letter M30)."

"How are we to trust each other if we can't even state our misgivings and fears? Are we all supposed to tiptoe around each other whenever religious differences get in the way? Surely we can learn to be more open-minded and tolerant, even towards the perceived "ignorance" of fellow citizens of different faiths? (KP, 2001; Letter M31)."

"So is Suqiu, representing the expression and hopes of 2,095 organisations of Chinese Malaysians. Why should, and indeed, what right, has Umno Youth and the Federation of Peninsular Malay Students (GPMS) to suppress those opinions that differ from theirs? As already been pointed out time and again, "suqiu" is not a demand, but a plea (qiu in Mandarin). It is a fair and legitimate expression of hope; why should it receive such vehement and violent threats and opposition? (Jason Chan, 2001; Letter M32)."

Fear of repercussions and intimidation

Letters argue that there is tendency for the dominant citizen group to instill or perpetuate fear. Letters suggest two ways of how this takes place. First, through perpetuating the *"fear of repercussions"* (Tan, 2002).

"Although I am a third generation Malaysian, I feel that I am treated like a second class citizen and deprived of things I deserved as a Malaysian. I am sure many others feel the same too but are too afraid to speak out for fear of repercussions as this is a very sensitive issue (Tan, 2002; Letter M28)."

Second, through instilling fear in the form of intimidation. Letters suggest how *"patriotism and 'the need to maintain national unity' have been effective weapons employed to silence dissenters and suppress critical thought among the general population* (Yoon Han, 2004)." For example, Chinese educationists fighting to maintain their education and cultural heritage are often labeled as *"uncompromising chauvinists* (Zhongyao, 2005) or *"extremists"* (Butcher Bird, 2002). Letters also suggest that *"it is difficult to discuss and debate an issue (today) without risking being branded an ethnic*

chauvinist or as supposedly under the influence of parochial communal interest (Kay

Peng, 2002)." Letters argue that intimidation suppresses the opportunity for others to

voice their perspectives and often *"threats, intimidation and name-calling done so*

openly to shut down one's opponents (George, 2006)."

> "Concepts such as 'patriotism' and 'national unity' have proved crucial
> to those in power in various countries and historical periods who want to
> preserve their power. Patriotism and 'the need to maintain national unity'
> have been effective weapons employed to silence dissenters and suppress
> critical thought among the general population (Yoon Han, 2004; Letter
> M33)."

> "Chinese educationists are often labeled as uncompromising chauvinists,
> yet they are only preserving a part of Malaysia as they see it (Zhongyao,
> 2005; Letter M34)."

> "The issue of teaching Mathematics and Science in English has become a
> hot debate in Malaysia recently. Certain groups have also made the issue
> racial and started name-calling to make it a bigger mess..........And please
> do not label those voicing their opinion for practical and rational reasons
> "extremists (Butcher Bird, 2002; Letter M35)."

> "It is difficult to discuss and debate an issue today without risking being
> branded an ethnic chauvinist or as supposedly under the influence of
> parochial communal interest. However, the act of branding a discourse on
> a relevant issue such as the need for education reform is in itself a
> mischievous act of racism (Kay Peng, 2002; Letter M36)."

> "Instead of logical answers, we instead have threats, intimidation and
> name-calling done so openly to shut down one's opponents (George, 2006;
> Letter M37)."

Political, Demographic and Economic Power

Letters show how ethnic hierarchy is manifested and maintained through the use

of power – political, demographic and economic power. For example, power in the form

of *"political and demographic might [are often used] to silence the minority into*

subordination (Narayanasamy, 2006b) and to infringe *"[their] right to speak* (Norhayati

Kaprawi, 2006)." The quote below (Letter 39) shows how a scheduled event on interfaith and national unity was cancelled at the last moment by the higher authorities.

> "Political and demographic might will probably be used to silence the minority into subordination (Narayanasamy, 2006b; Letter M38)."

> "Sisters in Islam regrets that the organisers of the Fifth International Malaysian Studies Conference held at UPM recently felt pressured to cancel the panel on "Religion, Interfaith and National Unity." ......We cannot allow violence and intimidation to be used to infringe on our basic rights, because the right to speak belongs to all Malaysians and not to a select few (Norhayati Kaprawi, 2006, Letter M39)."

Letters argue that ethnic domination is not specific to non-dominant groups and **"any race development in our contemporary Malaysian economy must be seen in the wider context of the national economy and not merely what one non-Malay can see in his or her plate** (Fairplayer, 2002)." Letters argue that **"discrimination is not just a problem of the non-Malays"** (Mom, 2005) and point out that **"there are rich bumis and poor non-bumis"** (Wong, 2004) and **"non-Malays, especially the Chinese, are still ahead in all areas** (Fairplayer, 2002)."

> "Any race's development in our contemporary Malaysian economy must be seen in the wider context of the national economy and not merely what one non-Malay can see in his or her plate. The truth of the matter is that the non-Malays, especially the Chinese, are still ahead in all areas and not just education (Fairplayer, 2002; Letter M40)."

> "I would like other non-Malay parents to know that discrimination is not just a problem of the non-Malays. We Malays face it too in many areas of our lives and in the less than desirable perceptions of our fellow citizens. Let's give our children a chance to live together in a less 'hurtful' environment" (Mom, 2005; Letter M41)."

> "There are rich bumis and poor non-bumis. NEP itself codifies that the poor non-bumis are not entitled to the same benefits as their rich bumi brethren. Isn't that discrimination (Wong, 2004; Letter M42)?"

Majority-based policies

Ethnic hierarchy is also maintained through majority-based policies. One writer describes that **"current Malaysian policies, like South Africa's policies prior to 1995, aim to handicap, silence, and intimidate the non-Malay citizens of Malaysia** (Solomon, 2006). " Letters to the editor suggest that there are two major ways of how legislations relate to the dominance of the majority group in Malaysia. First, opposition voices are often blockaded by the ruling majority. Letters suggest that **"any motion proposed by the opposition, regardless of merits [are often not supported] by Members of Parliament** from the ruling majority (MA, 2006)."

> "Current Malaysian policies, like South Africa's policies prior to 1995, aim to handicap, silence, and intimidate the non-Malay citizens of Malaysia...use of the term 'affirmative action' is diabolical and grossly inaccurate as it leads one to believe that Malays in Malaysia are disadvantaged and the minority. This is simply not the case in Malaysia. Opportunities for business, education, the arts, and employment in Malaysia are wide open for Malay Muslims – who are the majority and closed off for ethnic minorities and women. Affirmative action anywhere in the world has always been for the minorities. (Solomon, 2006; Letter M43)."

> "Any motion proposed by the opposition, regardless of merits, must not be supported by any BN MP (MA, 2006; Letter M44). "

Second, letters suggest that the perception of ethnic hierarchy is heightened when legislations such as **"Internal Security Act is used arbitrarily"** (Kay Peng, 2003b) and legal enforcements are perceived to exhibit **"selective and discriminative practices** (Joseph Lee, 2004)."

> "The arbitrary use of the Internal Security Act calls for an immediate need for the government to consider the Suhakam's proposal to identify the real threats to national security (Kay Peng, 2003b; Letter M45). "

> "The police, by being so diligent when it apprehended the 'SOS Damansara' leaflet distributors exhibited their selective and discriminative practices (Joseph Lee, 2004; Letter M46)."

Selective Scrutinization

The fourth mechanism of ethnic hierarchy is the tendency of dominant groups to scrutinize perspectives of the non-dominant groups. This is done through either by selective scrutinization or through discrediting the voice of non-dominant groups. In other words, deeper scrutinization that applies to the non-dominant groups do not necessarily apply to the dominant groups. The quote below shows how controversial materials written by the dominant groups are often regarded as acceptable whereas if similar materials were written by the non-dominant groups, it would be subjected to deeper scrutinization.

> *"All the stuff written there is obviously sacrosanct to the Malays and therefore not seditious, nor flagrantly racist. Just have the side of the non-Malays (excluding the MCA, MIC) written and the issue becomes a case for investigation by the attorney-general, the police, the ACA and any other number of Umno-infiltrated organizations (AB, 2005; Letter M47)."*

Letters also describe how the majority group uses statements like ***"it is rubbish,"*** and ***"wrong data, method used"*** (RR, 2006) to discredit research that criticizes the dominant group.

> *"It is now abundantly clear that our bumiputeras have achieved a 45% or more of corporate equity in the country. The NEP plan of nearly 40 years saw the light at last. The truth is undeniable because the government does not want to release the EPU's own data or methodology used in arriving at its own figure of 18.9% or challenge the figures given by Asli under the stewardship of Dr Lim Teck Ghee. Political slogans or clichés like 'it is rubbish', 'wrong data method used, etc' as answers to the rakyat only create plenty of doubts in the people's minds (RR, 2006; Letter M48)."*
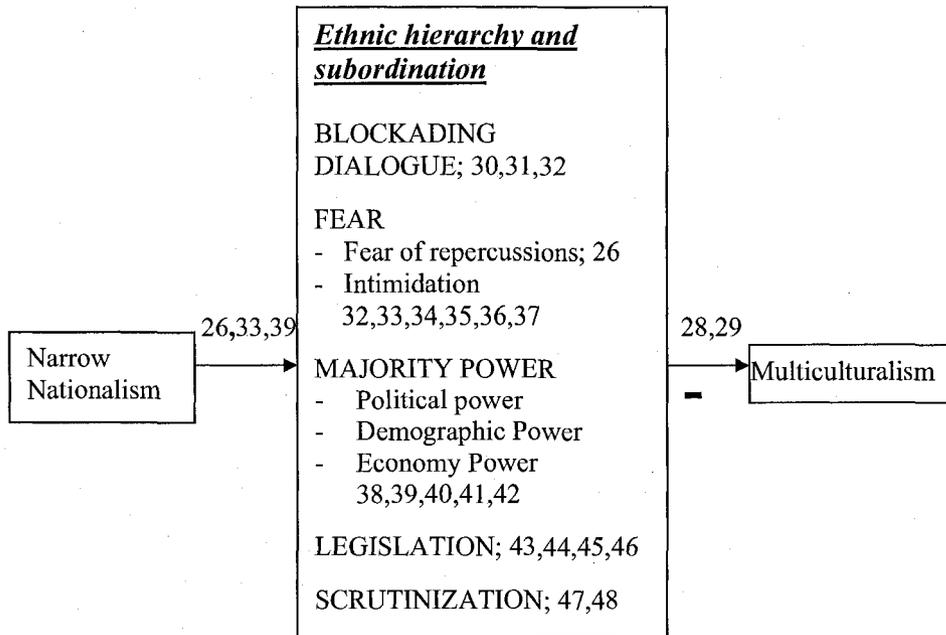
Figure 7. How Narrow Nationalism contributed to Ethnic Hierarchy and Subordination

Communal Politics

Letters suggest that the narrow nationalism has led to *"continuous attention given to communal politics"* (Pelita Negara, 2003) and *"race profiling for political mileage* (Praba Ganesan, 2006; Letter M28)." Letters to the editor also show that political leaders from the majority ruling party are often *"kicked out"* for their *"multiracial stand* (Moreira, 2002)."

> *"I suppose this concept of segregation and hostility is brewed from our country's own political structure in which political parties are based on race. The continuous attention given to communal politics does not augur well for a multiracial society seeking to create a single Malaysian identity* (Pelita Negara, 2003; Letter M49)."

> *"It's funny nobody says "beloved Onn Jaffar" for his multiracial stand, which got him kicked out of Umno, or "beloved anybody else" in the opposition parties who advocate a multiracial Malaysia* (Moreira, 2002; Letter M50)."*
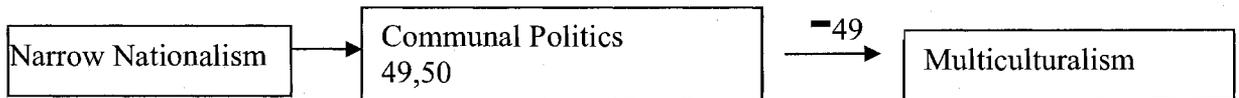
Figure 8. How Narrow Nationalism contributed to Communal Politics
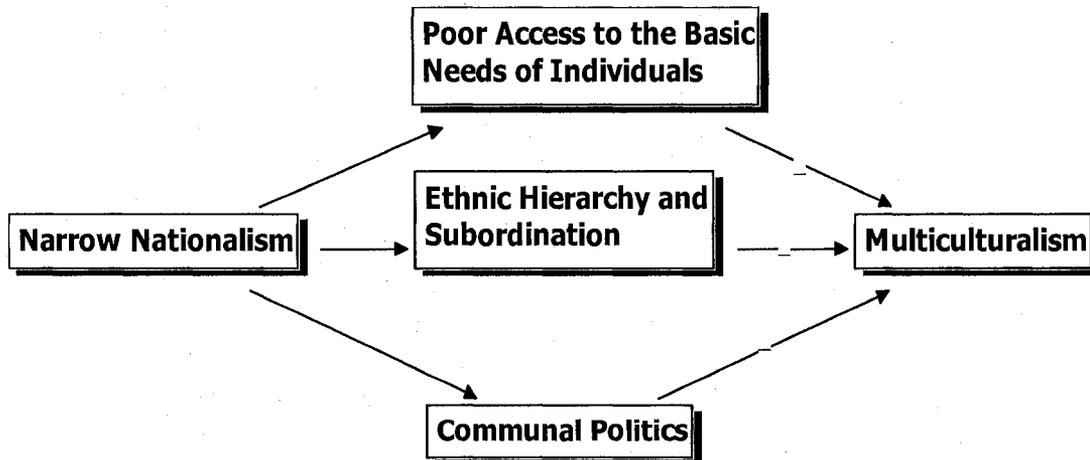
Figure 9. Summary of Consequences of Narrow Nationalism
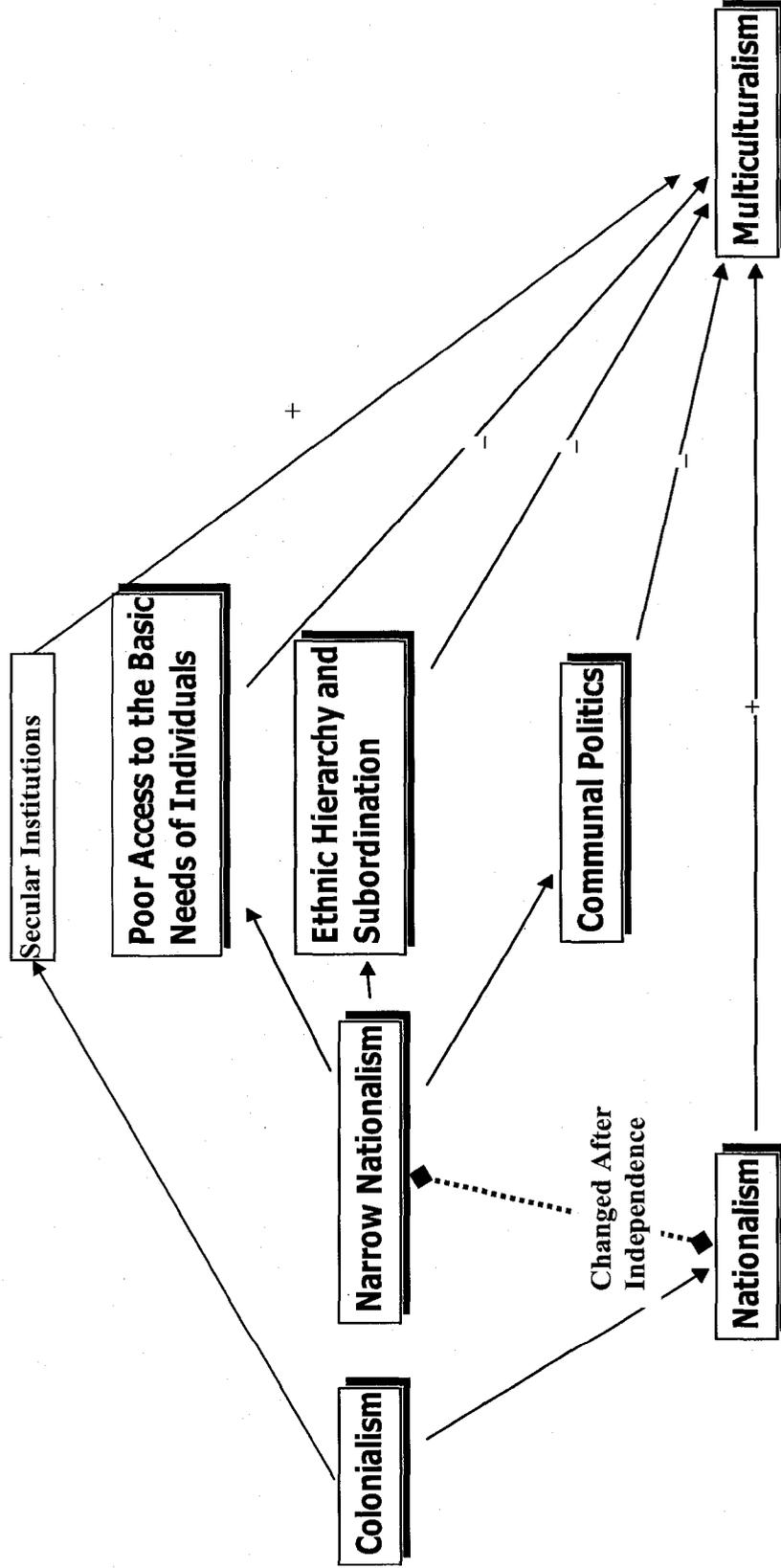
Figure 10. Colonialism, nationalism, narrow nationalism and multiculturalism

Sense of community and respect for multiculturalism

Letters suggest that *"sense of community and respect for multiculturalism"* (Kay

Peng, 2004a) is crucial for promoting unity. Letters argue that promoting unity *"cannot*

be decreed or regulated through policy intervention alone" (Kay Peng, 2005a) but

"must be carefully nurtured and the condition of equal political, economic and social

rights must exist to ensure that national unity is founded on a broad acceptance of a

national identity and sense of belonging (Kay Peng, 2005a)."

> "I have sat on several national service curriculum working committee
> meetings, at the invitation of the Yayasan Strategik Sosial, and have had
> the opportunity to look into some of its curriculum. In the name of
> instilling the spirit of national unity, trainees are required to sing a list of
> patriotic songs everyday. In general, the curriculum failed to address the
> more important substance of unity and multiculturalism and instead
> focused more on ritualistic activities which neither inform nor
> inspire............Some of these programmes aimed at inculcating a sense of
> community and respect for multiculturalism could be implemented across
> primary and secondary education systems. This alternative will benefit
> more students and youths instead of the current proposal of limiting the
> national service programme to those who have completed form five (Kay
> Peng, 2004a; Letter M51)."

> "I would like to argue that the process of nation building and the effort to
> build a consensus on national unity cannot be decreed or regulated
> through policy intervention alone. It must be carefully nurtured and the
> condition of equal political, economic and social rights must exist to
> ensure that national unity is founded on a broad acceptance of a national
> identity and sense of belonging. Although, the state cannot foster national
> unity through its sponsored programmes alone, it can help to create the
> right policy environment to make the nurturing process more conducive
> (Kay Peng, 2005a; Letter M10)."

Letters propose that *"sense of community and respect for multiculturalism"* can

be inculcated in a number of ways. First, letters argue that *"all Malaysians have to start*

learning Malaysian history from a holistic point of view (Thomas Lee, 2003)."* One

letter describes that *"the dynamics of race and politics is complex, and [the writer] feel*

it is the duty of all Malaysian citizens to educate themselves to prevent a repeat of past

follies (Thinking Citizen, 2003)."

> *"All Malaysians have to start learning Malaysian history from a holistic*
> *point of view. Emphasis should be given on the customs and cultures of the*
> *various Malaysians and how they became Malaysians* (Thomas Lee, 2003; Letter
> M52)."

> *"The dynamics of race and politics is complex, and I feel it is the duty of*
> *all Malaysian citizens to educate themselves to prevent a repeat of past*
> *follies* (Thinking Citizen, 2003; Letter M53)."

Second, letters argue that *"emphasis should be given on the customs and*

cultures of the various Malaysians and how they became Malaysians (Thomas Lee,

2003). " For example, *"Malays and Borneo natives should be made to learn the customs*

and culture of the Chinese and Indians in schools and vice-versa (Chua, 2006)." This

would help all Malaysians to recognize that *"diversity is a blessing,"* which provides

Malaysia *"a more kaleidoscopic lifestyle and environment than a homogeneous society*

(EF, 2002)."

> *"Depending on how such a society is managed, the wide diversity can be*
> *either a curse or blessing to a country. It is a blessing if the people can*
> *accept and tolerate each other's existence and differences for such a*
> *society provides a more kaleidoscopic lifestyle and environment than a*
> *homogeneous society* (EF, 2002; Letter M54). "

> *"Malays and Borneo natives should be made to learn the customs and culture of*
> *the Chinese and Indians in schools and vice-versa* (Chua, 2006a; Letter M55)."

Third, sense of community can be developed through a better understanding of

the essence of democratic principles, which advocates *"the 'equal right' of every citizen*

to practise and perform his/her belief, not to deprive the minority of its rights" and *"the*

majority in a democratic context should not be the only voice but should also include

individuals to voice their feelings and beliefs (Santik, 2004)."

"Yes, democracy may be rule through majority vote but it should be based on tolerance and understanding of all citizens rights. We have to remember too that the main essence of democracy is the "equal right" of every citizen to practise and perform his/her belief and not to deprive the minority of its rights. The majority in a democratic context should not be the only voice but should also include individuals to voice their feelings and beliefs (Santik, 2004; Letter M56)."

Fourth, letters suggest that the sense of community and respect for multiculturalism can be achieved through the education system that promotes civic and nationhood values. Letters suggest that *"the government should start working on the fundamentals like civic education and teach of the commonalities between the 'rakyat' rather than exaggerate the racial differences* (Restless Native, 2006)."

"Perhaps the government should start working on the fundamentals like civic education and teach of the commonalities between the rakyat rather than exaggerate the racial differences as is their current clarion call (Restless Native, 2006; Letter M57)."

Sense of community and Respect for Multiculturalism

- Broad acceptance of national identity and sense of belonging; 10
- Learn history; 52
- Recognize the blessing of diversity 54,55
- Understand essence of democracy principle; 56
- Promote Civic and Nationhood Values 57

Figure 11. Sense of Community

Fair and Equal Access to the Basic Needs for all citizens

Letters to the editor suggest that a *"sense of community and respect for multiculturalism"* (Kay Peng, 2004a) can lend support to *"human right and cultural aspiration"* of all ethnic groups (Soong, 2002) and uphold *"fair and equal access to the basic needs provided by the government"* (Navaratnam, 2005) to *"all those in need irrespective of race* (Vanaja, 2006)."

> *"In our multiethnic, multireligious, multicultural and multilingual society, while Malays/Muslims can and should support Chinese/Tamil education as a human right and moral aspiration of the Chinese/Indian community even though they themselves do not send their children to Chinese/Tamil schools, non-Malays/Muslims can and should reciprocate by supporting the moral aspiration of Malays/Muslims (Soong, 2002; Letter M58). "*

> *"All the Indians want is fair and equal access to the basic needs provided by government. Why, for instance, can't Tamil schools be given more assistance or why can't Tamil be made a compulsory subject for Tamil students in the national schools? (Navaratnam, 2005; Letter M59)."*

> *"If we believe in God and basic human values, then we should help all those in need irrespective of race (Vanaja, 2006; Letter M60)."*

Letters argue that providing fair and equal access to the basic needs for all citizens means that *"the equality provisions must be given full meaning"* (Dass David, 2001) and *"as long as [people] are citizens, [they] should be treated fairly* (Truly Malaysian, 2006)." Letters put forward that *"the poor and needy of every ethnic community in this country must be the only beneficiaries of affirmative action policies* (Kia Soong, 2002)."

> *"The equality provisions must be given full meaning. We cannot have politics , which require one race to dominate the others. There must be the sharing of resources and opportunities. The distribution of opportunities must be fair and equitable. Educational opportunities must be available to all regardless of wealth or status. Or race (Dass David, 2001; Letter M61). "*

>*"Does it matter who came first or who came second to this country? As long as we are citizens, all should be treated fairly. The quota system should be abolished; we should revert back to our Rukun Negara of, which one of main objectives is the eradication of poverty and the restructuring of society irrespective of race* (Truly Malaysian, 2006; Letter M62).*"*

>*"Affirmative action must be based on merit and need. The poor and needy of every ethnic community in this country must be the only beneficiaries of affirmative action policies* (Kia Soong, 2002; Letter M63)."

Parity of Acknowledgment

Letters to the editor show that a sense of community and respect for multiculturalism can create awareness that ***"the socio-economic development and prosperity of [Malaysia]"*** is a joint effort of every ethnic group and Malaysians ***"should be thankful for the contribution of one another*** (Tanjung Petir, 2006). *"* Letters argue that every cultural groups has a ***"fair share of contribution to the development of Malaysia*** (Insaf, 2005) and ***"forging a Bangsa Malaysia in the context of multiculturalism can never take place without such a parity of acknowledgment*** (Tanjung Petir, 2006). *"* As a case in point, letters argue that ***"Malaysia wouldn't be where it is today if it wasn't for both the non-Muslims and Muslims alike*** (Jeyraj, 2005)."

>*"The Chinese and Indians whose forebears came to this country some generations ago are no longer immigrants by virtue of having settled down here permanently and therefore, having roots in and loyalty to Malaysia. The fact that we have contributed substantially to the socio-economic development and prosperity of this country means that all of us should be thankful for the contribution of one another. It goes without saying there must be reciprocity. Forging a Bangsa Malaysia in the context of multiculturalism can never take place without such a parity of acknowledgment. Malaysia is a commonwealth of races and not a hierarchy* (Tanjung Petir, 2006; Letter M64)."

"I find it sad that Malaysia has yet again proven that we are not a multicultural country but more like a country in which non-Muslims are guests. This despite the non-Muslims fair share of contribution to the development of this country (Insaf, 2005; Letter M24). *"*

As a multicultural country, we would expect a certain amount of respect from everyone regardless of race.........Malaysia wouldn't be where it is today if it wasn't for both the non-Muslims and Muslims alike (Jeyraj, 2005; Letter M65)

Non-Sectarian leadership

Letters advocate that "**Malaysia is a commonwealth of races and not a hierarchy** (Tanjung Petir, 2006) and "**communal politics has no place in a diverse nation like Malaysia** (Anak Kelantan, 2002)." Content of the letters shows that leaders of ethnic-based parties need to be "**true national leaders and not ethnic champions**" (Anthony, 2006a) and "**the majority has a role to play in a civil society and its biggest role is to lead the minority by example and not to discriminate when unity is called for the good of the country** (Tan, 2001)." The role of leadership is seen as crucial in ensuring that all ethnic groups are treated equally.

"Malaysia is a commonwealth of races and not a hierarchy (Tanjung Petir, 2006; Letter M64). *"*

"As we grow, we expand our horizons, we undertake more risks and responsibilities and plus, communal politics has no place in a diverse nation like Malaysia (Anak Kelantan, 2002; Letter M66)."

"We need politicians who are true national leaders and not ethnic champions. In the 60s, every citizen looked up to politicians as Malaysian leaders but now we consider them as leaders of either the Malays, Chinese or Indians. Even the prime minister, who should be the leader of all races, is now seen as the leader of the Malays only (Anthony, 2006a; Letter M67)."

"A natural consequent of developing BN (Barisan Nasional) into a single party would be that a more "sensible" approach to politics will evolve, one that would hopefully reduce the type that currently appeals to only

sectarian interests, which has always been a threat to the social fabric of our multiethnic, multireligious and multicultural society. The fact is the majority has a role to play in a civil society. Its biggest role is to lead the minority by example and not to discriminate when unity is called for the good of the country (Tan, 2001; Letter M68). *"*

Letters to the editor also show that Malaysian leaders ***"need to genuinely embrace multiculturalism to the fullest"*** (Zain, 2002), which calls for leaders to practice politics ***"with integrity, honesty, charity, tolerance, understanding and compassion - all of, which are intrinsic human qualities, which [leaders] sometimes forgo for the sake of power*** (Taff, 2004)."

> *"Malaysian leaders need to genuinely embrace multi-culturalism to the fullest. Not only in words but also in actions as New Malaysian alluded to. Only by accepting diversity and not giving preferential treatment to one sector of population can Malaysia prosper and be counted as a major player in years to come (Zain, 2002; Letter M69)."*

> *"Politics is not necessarily a dirty game. It can be practiced with integrity, honesty, charity, tolerance, understanding and compassion - all of which are intrinsic human qualities which we sometimes forgo for the sake of power (Taff, 2004; Letter M70)."*

Letters put forward the idea that non-sectarian leadership becomes more crucial for the dominant group because non-dominant's perspectives, which are not the mainstream of the dominant group might not even have the opportunity to be heard. Letters argue that non-dominant leaders are "***very, very scared of native leaders condemning notions of true racial equality and harmony*** (Chua, 2006b)." For example, one writer describes, ***"in Malaysia, it is especially hard for Christian leaders to get their views across*** and ***perhaps they should engage a public relations agent to reach out to the people and correct his misconception!*** (Rimba, 2005; Letter M71). *"* Hence, the leaders of the dominant group ***"must always assure [minorities] that their rights as***

minorities in this country are upheld, and that they do not face oppression,

discrimination and marginalisation (Chua, 2006b)."

> *"The Chinese and Indians get very, very scared of native leaders condemning notions of true racial equality and harmony. Many of them feel like "motherless children" in Malaysia. Thus, native leaders must always assure Chinese and Indians that their rights as minorities in this country are upheld, and that they do not face oppression, discrimination and marginalisation* (Chua, 2006b; Letter M72). "
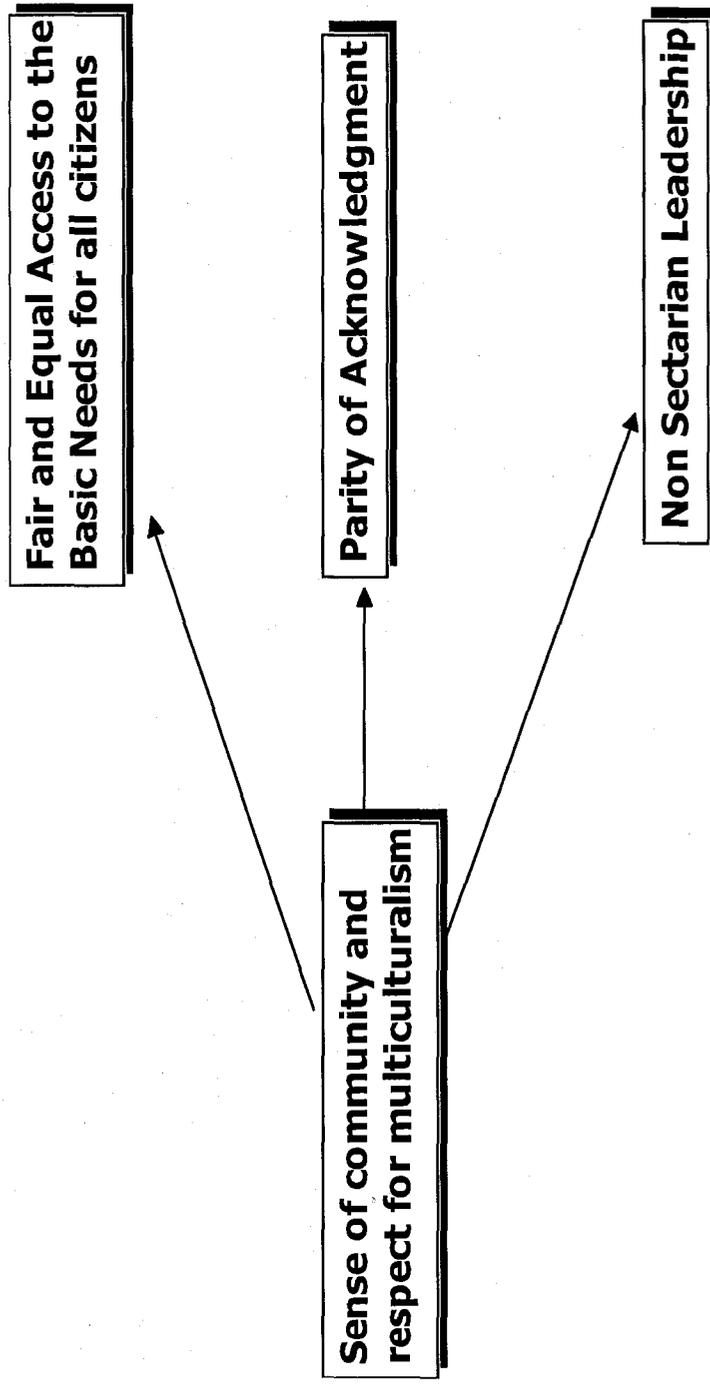
Figure 12. Outcomes of Sense of Community and Respect for multiculturalism

Dialogue

The importance of dialogue in preserving the unity and stability of ethnic relations is advocated by many letters. Letters suggest that *"the real challenge is to create a public sphere where different ideas, perspectives, argumentations and dialogues can be forged, debated and discussed without necessary resorting to hostility and violence* (Kay Peng, 2004b)." Letters also suggest that *"the essence of a true democracy is that there is a forum where every citizen has an equal right to voice their opinion freely, unhindered and unintimidated and there should be room for healthy and mature dissent* (Ng, 2000)." Letters put forward that *"[Malaysians] should aspire to conduct a rational and intellectual debate and discussion, persuading people to listen and support our side of argument by the strength of logic and indisputable facts rather than intimidation and a loud voice* (Tanglimara, 2001)."

> *"The fact is that the real power of truth lies in its communicative power supported by the presence of a civic public sphere. This public sphere is the most basic domain of communication and cultural contestation. The real challenge here is to create a public sphere where different ideas, perspectives, argumentations and dialogues can be forged, debated and discussed without necessary resorting to hostility and violence* (Kay Peng; 2004b, Letter M73). "

> *"...the essence of a true democracy is that there is a forum where every citizen has an equal right to voice their opinion freely, unhindered and unintimidated. There should be room for healthy and mature dissent"* Unhealthy dissent only occurs when there is repression and intimidation of those who dissent (Ng, 2000; Letter M74)."

> *"We should aspire to conduct a rational and intellectual debate and discussion, persuading people to listen and support our side of argument by the strength of logic and indisputable facts rather than intimidation and a loud voice* (Tanglimara, 2001; Letter M75)."

Letters also suggest that *"religion has been repeatedly raised as a red flag to intimidate and curtail any meaningful dialogue with ethnic minorities in Malaysia* (Solomon, 2006)." One writer describes that *"to many non-Muslims in this country, it seems that religion in this country has become such a sensitive issue that we cannot have a meaningful dialogue without some people being "hurt" or "insulted" even though none was intended."* The writer hopes that *"if only [people] can look beyond [their] own religions to see and respect other viewpoints as well* (Malaysian, 2002)."

> "Religion has been repeatedly raised as a red flag to intimidate and curtail any meaningful dialogue with ethnic minorities in Malaysia (Solomon, 2006; Letter M43)."

> "To many non-Muslims in this country, it seems that religion in this country has become such a sensitive issue that we cannot have a meaningful dialogue without some people being 'hurt' or 'insulted' even though none was intended. If only we can look beyond our own religions to see and respect other viewpoints as well (Malaysian, 2002; Letter M76)."

Analyses of letters suggest that dialogue can be a healing mechanism. Letters argue that *"healing can take place when [people] are allowed to engage and dialogue o-n our nation's history* (Yee, 2003)." Letters put forward that, *"some however, find [dialogue on nation's history] threatening and will use laws and authoritarian methods to prevent such from happening"* and *"[people] pretend that as long as [people] don't speak on sensitive issues, [people] can live in peace* (Yee, 2003)."

> "We pretend that as long as we don't speak on sensitive issues, we can live in peace…… I was too young to know what May 13 was all about. I grew up believing that it was a racial issue. It has always been used as a threat over our heads. It took a Malay gentleman to explain what really happened on May 13, 1969, and the power struggle that existed in the ruling coalition at that time. This event was in essence the birthplace of Malaysia's racial politics. Healing can take place when we are allowed to engage and dialogue on our nation's history. Some however find this threatening and will use laws and authoritarian methods to prevent such from happening (Yee, 2003; Letter M77)."
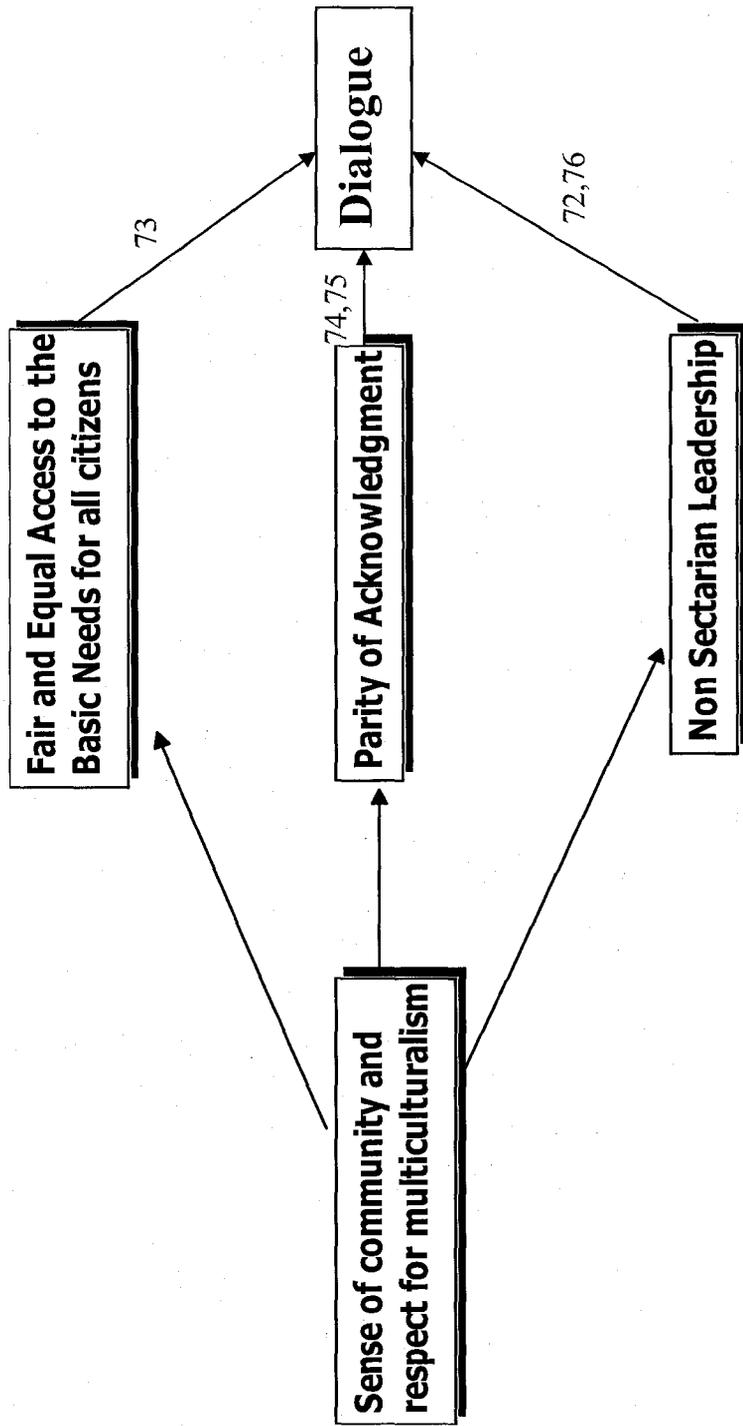
Figure 13. Sense of Community and Respect for multiculturalism and dialogue

Facilitators of dialogue

Letters suggest that respect, reciprocity, openness, and cultural sensitivity are required as facilitators for any successful dialogue on multicultural topics. For example, letters describe that *"the success of any interfaith dialogue hinges on the ability of the participants to address their mutual suspicion, mistrust and misconception* and as such *"good faith, sincerity and a shared common vision must prevail in [these] dialogue* (Kay Peng, 2005b; Letter M78)." These elements are discussed below:

Openness

Letters argue that *"in order to achieve a higher level of understanding, [people] should all be open-minded, fair and tolerant, and willing to see another's point of view* (Khalid, 2006)."

> *"in order to achieve a higher level of understanding, I believe we should all be open-minded, fair and tolerant, also willing to see another's point of view, especially when we have a platform like* Malaysiakini *to express our different views. Such openness, discussions and inclusions are the basis for unity between different ethnic groups, religions, etc., which I see Malaysians keep harping about everyday* (Khalid, 2006; Letter M79)."

Letters suggest that openness is necessary to discuss *"issues that concern all citizens* (Malaysian, 2004; Letter M80)" as well as issues that concern specific citizen groups. Letters suggest that openness involves being transparent of one's true motive. For example, letters argue that often *"logic is used as a weapon to advance one's position, and the real motives determining the position are seldom disclosed* (Loke Soong, 2003, Letter M81)." Letters suggest that openness also involves accepting views, *"which are fundamentally opposite or repugnant to our own"* (MA, 2003) and *"not try to get a licence to interpret [other views] through one's own standards of relative moralism and*

a culture of abdication (Jun, 2005). " Letters suggest that openness is important as *"the more people broaden their outlooks and learn to respect alternative views, the better our society will be in dealing with social ills and political misdemeanours* (Loh, 2005; Letter M84)."

> *"In a multi-racial country like ours, we need to accord seriousness to those views , which are fundamentally opposite or repugnant to our own. To recognise and value diversity is to accept – and constantly remind ourselves – that given that we are so different, hearing "ridiculous and backward views" is bound to happen very frequently in our daily lives* (MA, 2003; Letter M82)."

> *"Let's get a dialogue going but do not try to get a licence to interpret the religion of the Malays through one's own standards of relative moralism and a culture of abdication* (Jun, 2005; Letter M83)."

Letters suggest that openness is also judged by process transparency. One writer commenting on the process of designing a curriculum about ethnic relations describes, *"in view of the sensitive nature of the course, there should be meaningful multi-ethnic representation in the individuals and groups consulted and playing a lead role in the production of the textbook* and *the entire process of preparation and production of the textbooks should be made as transparent as possible* (Teck Ghee, 2006; Letter M85)."

Cultural Sensitivity

Letters put forward that *"education and cultural issues are very sensitive to all the three major races in Malaysia* (Mustapha Ong, 2002; Letter M86)." Letters show that these issues are sensitive even within the ethnic groups. For example, a representative from a language group within the Indian community responded when the group that represents Hindus advocated that the Tamil language should be made compulsory for all Indians. The writer describes, *"the resolution that I took exception to*

is the one that has deviated from the religious domain to the linguistic domain (Nook

Naidu, 2002; Letter M87)." Letters also suggest that *"criticisms need to be tempered*

with reason and with sensitivity in respect to [Malaysia's] multicultural, multiethnic

and multireligious society (Tanglimara, 2002)."

> *"But our criticisms need to be tempered with reason and with sensitivity in respect to our multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious society. Otherwise, instead of promoting integration we will end up creating misunderstanding among Malaysians (Tanglimara, 2002, Letter M88)."*
>
> *"The only way out of our present predicament is open, rational and civil dialogue, bearing in mind the sensitivities, fears and anxieties of all the races. This may not be easy, and may take a long time, but with full commitment and the might of the government machinery we have a reasonable chance of achieving a certain degree success (Anthony, 2006b; Letter M89)."*

Reciprocity /Tolerance

Letters suggest that reciprocity and tolerance are important in the context of

Malaysia's multiculturalism. One writer describes that *"a society, especially one that is*

multicultural, should be based on the principle of reciprocity, and that [people] should

not impose [one's] values upon another culture (Brian, 2002; Letter M90)." Letters

further describe that *"being "tolerant" means to show respect for the rights, opinions or*

practices of others (Respect N Tolerance, 2004; Letter M91)." For example, *"non-*

Muslim should respect the rights of Muslims to have halal food only and not imposing

on them non-halal food and vice-versa, Muslims should also respect the right of non-

Muslims to eat non-halal food and not impose on them only halal food (Respect N

Tolerance, 2004; Letter M91)."

Respect

Letters argue that respect includes *"accept[ing] each others' moral aspirations without infringing on the rights of others"* (Soong, 2002; Letter M58) and in *"a multicultural country, certain amount of respect from everyone regardless of race"* is expected (Jeyraj, 2005; Letter M64). Letters advocate that *"democracy is not just about having free elections [but also] is about respect for the individual* (Dass David, 2001; Letter M61)."
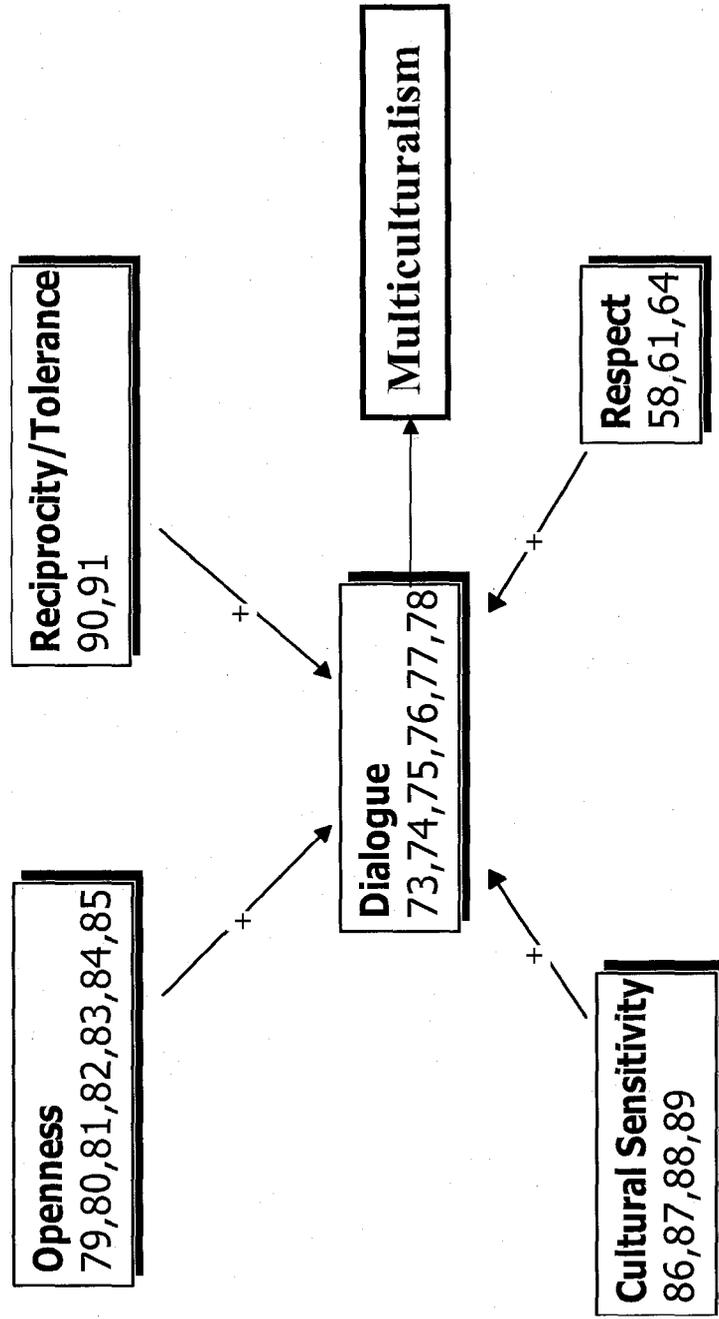
Figure 1. Facilitators of Multicultural Dialogue

"Muhibbah" (Culture of tolerance and harmony)

Letters put forward the importance of '*muhibbah*' in understanding multiculturalism in Malaysia. '*Muhibbah*' according to the letters can be loosely translated as spirit of friendship and harmony that existed during the independence period. Content of letters suggest that meaningful and constructive dialogue facilitated by openness, cultural sensitivity, reciprocity/tolerance and respect contributes and amplifies the culture of '*muhibbah*' and vice versa. Embracing the true culture of '*muhibbah,*' which had worked in the past, is seen as a binding force for multiculturalism in Malaysia. Letters however, argue that "*the time-tested Malaysian way of conflict resolution in the spirit of 'cross-cultural muhibbah' was unheeded*" and caution that "*the ensuing polemics has acutely polarised opinions,*" and "*is a sure recipe for interfaith discord* (Pang @ Farah Abdullah, 2005; Letter M92)."

Letters suggest that one possible reason for this to happen is because *muhibbah* is not practiced authentically. Letters argue that "*national unity must move beyond the 'wayang kulit' of durian parties and muhibbah dinners*" (John, 2005) and the "*nice warm touchy-feely glow of muhibbah and rhetoric* (Appassionata, 2002; Letter M94)."

> *National unity today must move beyond the 'wayang kulit' of durian parties and muhibbah dinners* (John, 2005; Letter M93).

Letters also implies that *muhibbah* is not about having superficial contact. It is at a much deeper level. Letters question whether "*the muhibbah gatherings, open houses, social gatherings of every kind to promote goodwill will eliminate the obvious discrimination?*" (SeeKayEs, 2001; Letter M95) and challenge that *muhibbah* is not about representation. The quote below illustrates this well.

"*...in Malaysia, the system of people being represented by leaders of their "own race" is a norm in political decision-making - sometimes euphemistically called 'muhibbah'* (Ong, 2003; Letter M96)."

Letters also suggest that "*muhibbah*" is not something that can be promoted on ad-hoc basis. It has to be embedded in daily life. Letters argue that "*a number of ad-hoc "national unity" programmes in the past, such as the "Muhibah" project have shown little success*" (Abraham, 2004; Letter M97) and suggest that "*people need to be educated on one another's religious and cultural aspects, and people need to really care about each other's religious sensitivities*" in order "*to reach real interfaith harmony, the sort of Muhibbah that was a popular slogan in the 1970s* (Loh, 2001; Letter M98)." Letters suggest the "*spirit of muhibbah can be rekindled by continuing the concept of 'gotong-royong', 'Rukun Tetangga' and open houses* (Vasudevan, 2006; Letter M99)." Letters also argue that the "*real social contract of 1957 has long been dead [and] the true Merdeka spirit is needed to make it live again* (Not Son of the Soil, 2004)."

The rekindling of the spirit of muhibbah by continuing the concept of 'gotongroyong', Rukun Tetangga and open houses. We must strengthen the spirit of our founders and collaborate to create a cohesive environment.

"To me, the real social contract of 1957 has long been dead. I hope the day will come when the people of Malaysia in the true Merdeka spirit will make it live again (Not Son of the Soil, 2004; Letter M100)."

Muhibbah

1. Authentic Cultural Friendship; 93,94,95,96
2. Culture of Harmony; 92,98
3. Culture of Daily Life; 97
4. Cross-cultural Interaction; 99

Figure 15. Elements of *Muhibbah*

Multiculturalism Model of Malaysia Based on Letters to the editor
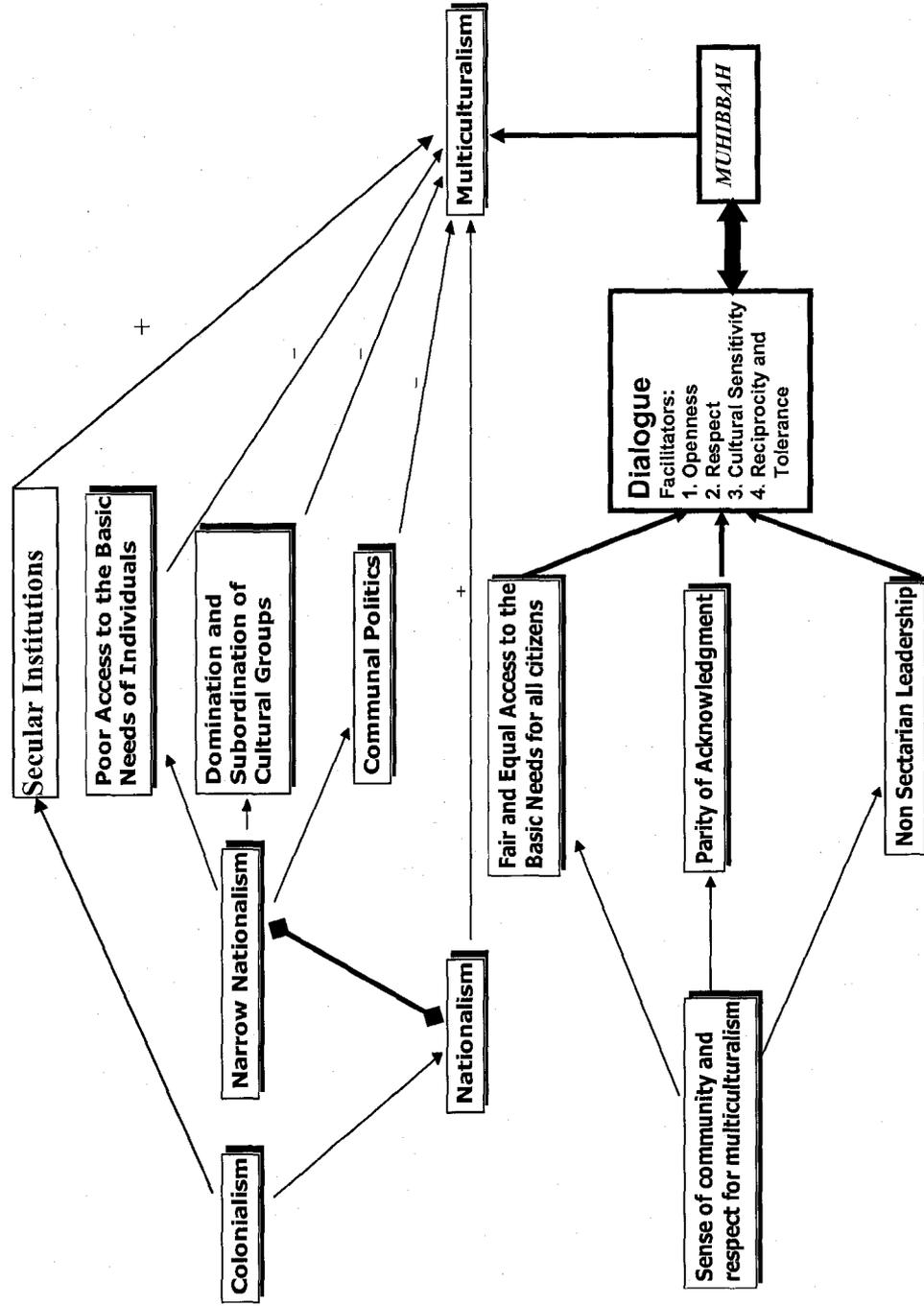
Figure 16. Multiculturalism Model of Malaysia Based on Letters to the editor

4.2.1.2 Results from the Historical Analyses (Study 2b)

Archeological discoveries of stone tools in Kota Tampan, Perak and human bones in Niah Caves, Sarawak led historians to conclude that Malaysia has been inhabited at least since 40,000 BCE (Hooker, 2003). Australo-Melanesians (African descent) or some called Proto-Malays were identified as the early settlers in Malaysia. This was followed by Austronesians (Chinese Descent, or Mongoloid) or Deutero-Malays. Orang Asli in Peninsula Malaysia, Penan in Sarawak and Rungus in Sabah who started settling in Malaysia 5,000 years ago have been argued to be the earliest present day inhabitants. Currently they together only account less than 1% of the 24 million Malaysia's population because the process of urbanization, modernization, the Western concept of land rights and new migrations had displaced many of these early settlers from their land.

Due to Malaysia's rich natural resources, tropical climate, lush rainforest, non-existence of natural calamity (e.g., earthquakes, typhoons) and strategic geographical location, Malaysia was known as 'Swarnabhumi' (Sanskrit term for Heavenly Land) and Golden Chersonese (Golden Peninsula) by traders and geographers. The richness however, made Malaysia vulnerable for control of the many empires in South Asia. In the 1st century, northern states of Malaysia were ruled by the Hindu Kingdom of Langakasuka. In the 2nd century, these states were ruled by the Funan Empire of South Indo-China. In the 7th century, most states within the modern Malaysia were ruled by SriVijaya Hindu Kingdom of East Sumatra. In the 10th century, Chola Kingdom conquered Kedah and Perak, northern states in Malaysia by defeating SriVijaya Kingdom

and Gangga Negara Empire18. As a result of the control of these empires, Malaysia was heavily influenced by Hindu and at a later stage Buddhist cultures.

In the 14th century, Javanese Empire of Majapahit defeated Srivijaya Empire in Palembang and gained control of many states of Malaysia. Parameswara, a defeated prince of Srivijaya fled from Palembang, settled for short period of time in Temasek (now Singapore) before being defeated again by the Siam Empire and later founded Malacca. Malacca under Parameswara grew into a bustling trading, political and cultural hub. The timing of north-east and south-west monsoon wind was a natural catalyst that transformed Malacca to a 'meeting' and a 'mid-point' for Chinese and Indian traders to converge in Malacca and exchange their goods. As a result Malacca had a tremendous trade growth and as India and China contributed ¾ of World GDP until 1760 (Kennedy, 1989), it was not surprising that Malacca quickly became the most important port in the world in the 15th century (Elegant, 1999). A Portuguese writer during that time, Tom Pires declared that *"whoever was the lord of Malacca had his hand on the throat of Venice"* (quoted in Sandhu & Wheatley, 1983). It was also reported that more than 80 languages were spoken in Malacca and many diplomatic relations were formed during this time. Malacca was also established as a center for Islam in the Malay Archipelago. A small number of Chinese and Indians now known as Babas and Chettis also settled in Malacca during this time.[19]

In the 15th century, Western colonial powers with more sophisticated war technologies began to colonize South Asian nations. Due to Malacca's strategic and

---

[18] Gangga Negara means "a city on the Ganges."
[19] http://www.nst.com.my/Current_News/NST/Wednesday/National/2163152/Article/index_html

bustling trading port, Malacca was a favorite 'front runner' and it was constantly being fought over by many of the colonial powers. In 1511, it was the Portuguese; in 1641, it was the Dutch; in 1795, it was the British; in 1808, it was the Dutch again; and in 1819, the British again.

Colonization in Malaysia, however, was not limited to Malacca and was not limited to strategic consideration pertaining to war. The colonization of Sarawak is an example where British gained easy control because of internal fightings. In 1841, James Brooke from Britain was appointed as Rajah of Sarawak by the Brunei Sultanate because of his help in defeating the rebellions from the neighboring Sarawak. The Brooke dynasty continued ruling Sarawak for a century before they lost Sarawak to the Japan. Infighting among the rulers also precipitated colonization by the British and they took control of Perak. Perak due to tin mining economy became the envy of many Malay rulers and led to constant infighting among the Malay rulers. One of the rulers by the name Raja Abdullah requested for British intervention and this led to the peace treaty in 1874 known as the Pangkor Agreement in which the British legitimized Raja Abdullah as the Sultan and in exchange, Raja Abdullah gave British a greater administrative control over Perak. Historians argue that this agreement set precedent for British to gain the control of other states resulting in the formation of Federated Malay States in 1896. Another example where colonization was achieved without war is the colonization of Penang. In this case, the British were offered the control of Penang by Kedah rulers in exchange of British military assistance. However, in the later stage, British withdrew their support but never left Penang despite asking them to do so.

During the British colonization, laborers were brought in large numbers from other British's colonies to work in Malaysia's tin mines and rubber plantations. For the most part, laborers from China were recruited to work in tin mines and laborers from India (mainly Tamil speakers) to work on rubber plantations. The recruitment and placement strategy of laborers by British not only changed Malaysia's demographic landscape but it also contributed to shaping the political, economical and social landscape of Malaysia. Though rubber was first introduced in Malaysia from Brazil in 1877, the rubber demand from the European countries and the boom in the automotive industry in America led rubber plantation estates grew from 2000 acres in 1898 to 2 million acres in 1920.[20] Similar growth was also experienced for tin mines. Abundant natural resources, steady and cheap labor supply and favorable world economy and political climate helped Malaysia to be the biggest exporter of rubber and tin controlling almost 50% of the world production in early of 19th century. To further facilitate the rubber and the tin economy, many infrastructure projects were also completed around this time. For example, a total of 2400 miles of road infrastructure between Prai and Seremban was completed by 1904 and by 1909 train services between Penang and Singapore were fully operational.

To meet the needs of the workforce, many educational institutions were also established. For example, the College of Medicine was established in 1910, Raffles College for art and science education was established in 1928 and Sultan Idris Training College for Malay Teachers started training teachers in 1922. Many missionaries' schools were also established during this time. The Malay College Kuala Kangsar was

---

[20] http://www.bouncing-balls.com/timeline/rubbergoeseast.htm

established in 1905 specifically to educate the Malay elite. To cater the educational and cultural needs of the increasing Chinese and Indian laborers, many educational and social institutions were also established, mostly concentrated in the tin mines area and rubber plantation estates. Record shows that the Tamil medium education for the children of Indian laborers was available as early as 18th century.[21]

During the First World War, Malaysia did not experience a significant impact and actually gained economically by continuing the production of tin and rubber for the Allies. However, the Second World War had significant impacts for Malaysia. First, the war contributed to the rise of Malay nationalism. Second, it contributed to the sentiment of anti-colonialism. It also led to the formation of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Rule (MPAJA), which had its origin from the Malayan Communist Party. Though Malayan Communist Party members were enemies of the British and some were jailed, they were released and trained by the British in Singapore to fight the Japanese force just before Japanese gained the control of Singapore. As MPAJA members were largely Chinese, Chinese were often considered as a threat to the Japanese and as a result they faced harsher treatment than Malays and Indians during the Japanese occupation. The Sino-Japan war also contributed to this hostility. After Japanese surrendered in 1945 and British regained control, MPAJA lost its influence. However, some MPAJA members formed Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA) as an opposition to British. In order to stamp out MNLA, the British declared a state of emergency in 1948. The state of emergency fragmented MNLA and the emergency was only lifted in 1960. A small

---

[21] http://www.aliran.com/oldsite/monthly/2002/5f.html

number of MNLA members however, continued to operate at the Malaysian-Thailand border. Their operation ended when they signed a peace treaty with the Thai and Malaysian government in 1989.

After the British regained their control in 1945, they immediately proposed the formation of Malayan Union as a way to rebuild Malaysia. The notion of Malayan Union however, was a complete turn from their pre-war policies where they had recognized the Malay privileges, the status of the Malay rulers and the status of immigrants. They instead proposed that all immigrants be given citizenships based on the 'jus soli' principles, give equal rights to everyone and the status of the rulers limited to the Malay culture and religion. Though, the Malays strongly opposed the formation of Malayan Union, the British however, went ahead with their proposed plan in 1946. The Malay oppositions to Malayan Union resulted in Malays forming the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) in 1946 to unite all the Malays under one political unit. In the same year, Indians with a strong anti-British sentiment formed the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) to represent the Indian interests in the post-war period. Due to the strong opposition from UMNO and the lack of support from MIC, the Malayan Union was replaced with the Federation of Malaya. Unlike the Malayan Union, the notion of the Federation of Malaya gave recognition to the special position of Malays and established stricter citizenship rules for immigrants.

While the Malayan Union and the anti-British sentiment were precursors for the formation of the UMNO and the MIC, it was a different story for the formation of Chinese political unit in 1949. Chinese formed Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)

mainly because of their opposition towards the Malayan Communist Party. The establishment of political parties along the ethnic lines has been attributed to the use of 'divide and rule' policy by the British.

Though UMNO, MIC and MCA were initiated along the ethnic lines, there were some efforts to form political units that are open for every ethnic group. Scholars argued that the notion of "Malayan nationalism" instead of Malay, Chinese and Indian nationalism only emerged after the World War II period (Boon Kheng, 2002). For example, the founder of UMNO, Onn Jaafar made an attempt to open UMNO membership to all races. However, this was not well received by the majority of UMNO members and as a result, Onn Jaafar left UMNO and formed a new multiracial party (Independence of Malays Party) in 1951. It is interesting to note that while opening up the party memberships to all ethnic groups did not gain acceptance, the ethnic based parties did come together for strategic political reasons. UMNO and MCA for example, formed a coalition pact to avoid contesting the same seats in the 1952 and 1953 local council elections. Their strategy worked well and reduced the influence of Onn Jaafar's multiracial party. Onn Jaafar however, having the strong determination and passion for multiracial party formed the Parti Negara in 1954 as an attempt to oppose the UMNO/MCA coalition. UMNO and MCA however, strengthened their coalition by forming the "Alliance" in 1954 and won 226 out of 268 seats in that year's local council election. Onn Jaafar's newly formed Parti Negara however, failed again. In 1955, Malaysian Indian Congress joined the Alliance, which resulted the Alliance representing all three major ethnic groups in Peninsula Malaya. The "Alliance" strategy worked well

again and they won 51 out 52 seats in the 1955 election. The sole seat was won by the Pan Malayan Islamic Party , which was formed in 1951 by *ulamas* who broke away from UMNO.

Learning from the conflict in Burma and following Burma's declaration of independence, the British announced that independence for Malaya would only be granted if all ethnic groups were united. This strengthened the solidarity of the 'Alliance' and in 1956, Tunku Abdul Rahman, the leader for the Alliance led a group of Alliance members and representatives of the Malay rulers to broker the independence for Malaya. The independence was finally granted with the condition that an independent commission would be set up to draft the constitution for Malaya. This commission became known as the Reid Commission.

After gaining independence in 1957, Malaya was known as Federated States of Malaya. With the inclusion of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore in 1963, it became known as Federated States of Malaysia. Singapore however, was expelled from Malaysia in 1965 over differences in ethnic policies. Singapore leader, Lee Kuan Yew objected to the policies of preferential treatments for Malays and advocated meritocracies. This however, did not go well with the Malay leaders in Malaysia.

Within the same time period, political parties, which were largely ethnic based were also having differences in their political approaches. UMNO was accused by PAS of giving in to MCA's requests and MCA was accused of giving in to UMNO requests by the Democratic Action Party (DAP). During this time, DAP together with People's Progressive Party (PPP) also objected to the idea of having Malay language as a sole

national language. These tensions were compounded when the 'Alliance' for the first time suffered a major blow in the 1969 polls. While, some argue that the victory celebration of the opposition parties had led to 1969 racial riots, others argue that the riot had been engineered by the "ascendant state capitalist class" in UMNO as a strategy to change UMNO leadership (Kia Soong, 2007). This riot led to a state of national emergency and suspension of Parliament until 1971.

After the 1969 riot, many policies were introduced to reduce polemic issues. Generally, the government took the approach of managing diversity from the mix of both integration and pluralism strategies. Integration strategies were anchored around promoting national identity: one national language, one national culture and one Malaysian race while pluralism strategies were anchored in maintaining the cultural freedom of the various ethnic groups. Slogans such as *'Perpaduan'* (Unity)...... *'Muhibbah'*, were often used to bridge the integration and pluralism strategies. The major policies that were introduced are discussed in the following paragraphs.

In 1970, the *'Rukunegara"* pledge was introduced as guiding principles for the country's nation-building.[22]

> *Our Nation, Malaysia is dedicated to: Achieving a greater unity for all her people; maintaining a democratic way of life; creating a just society in , which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably distributed; ensuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural tradition, and building a progressive society , which shall be oriented to modern science and technology.*
> *We, the people of Malaysia, pledge our united efforts to attain these ends, guided by these principles:*

---

[22] http://www.gov.my/MYGOV/BI/Directory/Government/AboutMsianGov/GovRukunegara/

- *Belief in God*
- *Loyalty to King and Country*
- *Upholding the Constitution*
- *Sovereignty of the Law, and*
- *Good Behaviour and Morality*

In 1971, policies such as New Economic Policy (NEP) and National Cultural Policy were introduced. Though, the New Economic Policy was formulated to achieve national unity and had two major objectives: *"To reduce absolute poverty irrespective of race through raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians; and To restructure society to correct economic imbalances so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function"* (Economic Planning Unit), it has been viewed as pro-Bumiputera policies (Jomo, 2004). Jomo (2004, p.15) described:

> *"On the one hand, many bumiputeras invoke indigenous or "native rights" and the need for "positive discrimination" and "affirmative action" to overcome historical disadvantage under colonialism. On the other hand, many non-bumiputeras protest "ethnic discrimination", "cultural oppression" and the official undermining of meritocracy."*

When NEP ended in 1990, it was replaced by the National Development Policy (NDP) for years from 1991 to 2000. Some argued that bumiputera corporate equity has exceeded the targeted 30% (Teck Ghee, 2006)[23] and as such policies promoting selective Malay entrepreneurs at the expense of other segments of the society should not be promoted as not to increase inter and intra ethnic cleavages. Some argue that NEP policies seem to be economic solutions to multiculturalism challenges. Boo Teik (2004) described that:

---

[23] http://www.sun2surf.com/article.cfm?id=15779

To the extent that ethnic differences and cultural grievances in Malaysia had always had an economic "essence" to them, the Mahathir regime in the 1990s seemed to have supplied economic solutions to cultural problems. The privatization of tertiary education, corporatization of public universities, and Mahathir's insistence on reviving the use of English on pragmatic grounds, combined to defuse interethnic squabbles over issues of language, tertiary educational quotas for students of different communities, and the Chinese independent schools. (p.11).

As for the National Cultural Policy, the definition of national culture in the "National Culture Policy" has strong bias towards the Malay culture, hence it was strongly objected by other ethnic groups (Kia Soong, 1985). A categorical objection was lodged when in 1979 a senior Malay minister asked the Chinese community to change the Lion Dance to a Tiger dance with the background of Malay music (Guan, 2000).

While the disagreements of the National Culture Policy were around the content issues, it was a different story with the National Language Policy. Conscious effort was made to label the Malay language as the 'National language' or 'Malaysian language (Bahasa Malaysia)' rather than as 'Malay language' or Bahasa Melayu. However, labeling the Malay language as a 'Malaysian language (Bahasa Malaysia)' continues to attract debate and in fact the labeling has 'flip-flopped' a number of times. During the 60's, it was 'Bahasa Kebangsaan'; during 70's and 80's it was Bahasa Malaysia; in 90's, it was Bahasa Melayu and recently in 2007, it switched back to 'Bahasa Malaysia.' It illustrates that the label of the national identity matters more than the content (language) itself and points to the difficulties of maintaining the integration and pluralism strategies together.

While Malaysia has generally maintained racial harmony and is often viewed as a model of a multicultural nation, racial tensions have risen in the past. In some cases,

freedoms of expressions of multicultural issues were suppressed through legislations in the name of national security. For example, in 1987, the government under the 'Ops Lalang' (Weeding Operation) arrested 106 people of various ethnicities under the Internal Security Act and revoked three newspaper licenses for their role in playing sensitive issues and invoking racial tensions. Some of them were Chinese politicians and activists who had voiced strong disagreements over Education's Ministry policies of hiring non-Mandarin speaking principals for vernacular Chinese schools.

In 1998, a minor religious clash between Muslims and Hindus took place in Kampung Rawa, Penang due to trivial issues relating to the noise level of prayer bells of a Hindu temple. Four people were injured and nearly 200 rioters were arrested. In 1999, Suqui, the Malaysian Chinese Organizations' Election Appeals committee representing more than 2000 Chinese organizations demanded a list of actions to improve the well-being of Chinese. Among them is the reevaluation of NEP polices. However, their list was seen as a threat by UMNO , which led Mahathir Mohamad to make a comment that *"Suqui was not much different from communists"* (Boon Keng, 2002, p.69). In 2000, the proposal of Vision schools heightened the tensions between Chinese activists and the government. The proposal outlined that three different curricula (Malay, Chinese and Tamil) can be taught under one school and common facilities such as sport facilities and canteen can be shared. The Dong Zhiao Zong (DZZ) (the joint United Chinese School Committees' Association and the United Chinese School Teachers' Association) however, resisted this proposal until a clear guideline was drawn. The contention between the government and DZZ led the issue to become a very controversial one (Martinez, 2001).

In March 8, 2001, a localized ethnic clash took place in Kampung Medan, Kuala Lumpur where six people died and more than 40 people were hospitalized. Recently, in Aug 2006, HINDRAF (Hindu Actions Right Force) filed a US$4 trillion class action suit at the Royal Courts of Justice in London. The suit was filed on the ground that UK government exploited Indian for 150 years and failed to protect the minority Indians rights under the Malaysia's Constitution when independence was granted. To urge the UK government to appoint Queen's Counsel, HINDRAF organized a march to the British High Commission in Kuala Lumpur on Nov 25, 2007. Though HINDRAF did not anticipate the large turnout, HINDRAF's 20,000 people march was regarded as the most surreal demonstrations ever in Malaysia (Kuppusamy, 2007). The leaders however, were arrested under the Internal Security Act on the grounds that they were threats to national security. This protest and the arrest are argued as one of the reasons for the devastating lost in election for the coalition ruling party in the March 2008 general election.

Table 12. Historical Timeline of Malaysia

Year	Event
~40000 BCE	First settlement of Natives
~200 BCE	Evidence of Indian influence
1000	Proto Malays
1394-1511	Malay Sultanate of Melaka. Active trading with China, India, Arab and Burma.
1445	Islam established as official religion
1511-1624	Portuguese Colonization
1641-1824	Dutch Colonization
1786	Founding of Penang
1824-1941	British Colonization
1841	James Brooke was made as Raja of Sarawak
1841-1941	Brooke dynasty ruled Sarawak
1875	Murder of J.W.W. Birch at Pasir Salak
1885	First train service between Taiping and Port Weld
1896	Federated Malay States
1900	Rubber plantation started
1906	Rubber boom –US automotive industry
1904	2400 miles road infrastructure and train service between Prai and Seremban
1909	Treaty with Siam. Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah and Perlis came under British.
1909	Train service between Penang and Singapore
1910	Establishment of College of Medicine
1914	Treaty with Johor
1914-1918	World War I – Malaysia had little impact. Continued to produce rubber and tin for the Allies.
1923	Johor causeway
1928	Raffles College for art and science education
1920	Malaria was under control
1941	World War II - Japanese invasion
1945	Japanese surrendered and British gained control again
1948	Termination of Malayan Union
1951	Local election
1955	UMNO-MCA-MIC alliance won 51 out of the 52 seats
1957	Independence
1961	Education Act – recognize vernacular primary schools but not secondary schools
1963	Formation of Malaysia

Table 12. (Continued) Historical Timeline of Malaysia

1965	Separation of Singapore
1966	Confrontation with Indonesia ended
1967	Formation of ASEAN
1969	Coalition lost 2/3 majority; Racial Riot
1971	NEP, National Cultural Policy, National Education Policy
1975	Industrial Coordination Act – State has power to implement equity policy
1979	Official rejection of Lion Dance – Tiger Dance
1981	Mahathir Mohamad became Prime Minister
1987	Operation Lalang
1993	Power of royalty reduced
1997	Asian economic crisis
1998	Malaysia introduced capital control; Reformasi protest
1999	Suqui Demand
2001 - March	Ethnic clash between Malays and Indian
2003	Abdullah became Prime Minister with overwhelming majority
2006	HINDRAF protest

Figure 17. Dominant Multiculturalism Strategies-Historical Perspective

Ancient Empires	Colonization	Independence	Post - May 13 Racial Riots
- Cultural Influence (e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam)	- Divide and Rule Policy	- Political Unity - National Language	- Bumiputera Policy - National Cultural Policy
Dominant Paradigm: Hybridization	Dominant Paradigm: Segregation	Dominant Paradigm: Integration	Dominant Paradigm: Ethnic Nationalism
E.g., - Sanskrit, Tamil, Arabic, Hokkien, Javanese, Persian influence in Malay Language	E.g., - Dominant English use over Malay	E.g., Bahasa Melayu known as Bahasa Kebangsaan (National Language) and Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian Language)	E.g., Pull and Push for renaming Bahasa Malaysia to Bahasa Melayu (Malay Language) Debates over multilingual road signs

| ~ 1400 | 1511-1957 | 1957 – 1969 | 1969 – |

Figure 18. Historical Model of Multiculturalism - Malaysia

4.2.1.3 Theoretical Syntheses of grounded theory and historical analyses

Figure 19. Theoretical Syntheses - Malaysia
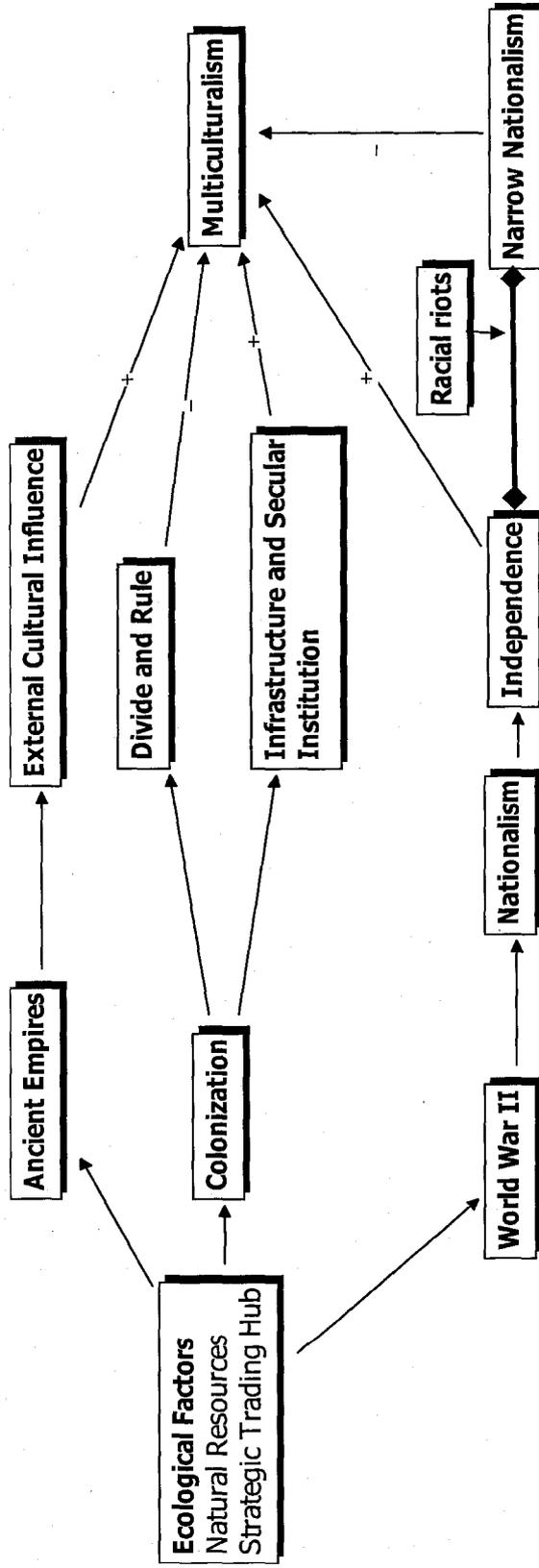
An integrated emic model of multiculturalism for Malaysia was developed by synthesizing both the results from grounded theory and historical analyses. The model shows that two major ecological factors – the abundance of natural resources and the strategic trading location contributed to the continued interest for colonization. For these reasons, Malaysia was under the control of many ancient empires in the early days, later by the Western empires and during the World War II briefly by the Japanese. These colonizations contributed both positively and negatively to multiculturalism in Malaysia in the past as well as in the present times. Positively, Hindu, Buddhist and Islam ancient empires had in many ways contributed to the hybridity of cultural and language practices in Malaysia and contributed to the peaceful co-existence of different religions in Malaysia. As a case in point, the often used term 'Bumiputera' (son of the soil) can be traced to the Sanskrit language.

British colonizations and the invasion of Japanese despite their negative consequences had also a share of positive contributions to multiculturalism in Malaysia. Specifically, they contributed to the rise of nationalism, where people regardless of their ethnic affiliations came together and convinced the British that they were united. Their showcase of unity was a crucial factor that led to the independence of Malaysia. Unlike many other colonized multicultural countries, Malaysia passed the test of independence smoothly. This spirit of nationalism however, was punctuated by the racial riot in 1969 and it regressed quickly to an ideology of narrow nationalism. This narrow view of nationalism among others contributed to citizens not having the equal access to their basic needs, the dominance of religious, linguistic, economy, politics and so forth based

on cultural groups and the rise of communal politics, which contributed negatively to multiculturalism in Malaysia. The model shows how this can be reversed -- by cultivating a sense of community and respect for multiculturalism, which can lead to fair and equal access to the basic needs for all citizens, parity of acknowledgment and non-sectarian leadership. The model suggests that fair and equal access to the basic needs, parity of acknowledgment and non-sectarian leadership are also prerequisites to having meaningful dialogues. In contrary to conventional belief, openness, respectfulness, cultural sensitivity, reciprocity and tolerance serve as facilitators of dialogue but they themselves do not result in having meaningful dialogues. The model also suggests that by having meaningful dialogues, culture of *muhibbah* can be fostered and amplified. The amplification of culture of *muhibbah* in turn is posited to further contribute to facilitating meaningful dialogues and contribute positively to multiculturalism in Malaysia.

4.2.2 Development of Emic Model for Singapore (Study 3a & 3b)

In this section, the development of emic model for Singapore is presented. Section 4.2.2.1 describes results from the analyses of letters to the editor (Study 3a), Section 4.2.2.2 describes results from the analyses of secondary historical documents (Study 3b) and Section 4.2.2.3 synthesizes both studies and presents an emic model of multiculturalism for Singapore.

4.2.2.1 Results of Grounded Theory analyses of Letters to the editor (Study 3a)

This section provides results based on the grounded theory analyses of letters to the editor that were theoretically sampled in a newspaper in Singapore - *"The Strait Times."* Analyses of letters show fourteen major factors that relate to multiculturalism in Singapore. These factors are synthesized into a model, which shows how these factors are related to each other and to multiculturalism in Singapore. A total of 110 theoretically sampled letters were used to create the model and these letters are numbered with a prefix 'ST.'

Analyses show that history and ecological factors have a role in shaping multiculturalism in Singapore as do other constituents from the individual to family to organizations and to the government. The roles of these various entities are described in terms of what is being practiced (as is) and what should be practiced. What is being practiced is further categorized into what are the "enabling practices" and "derailing practices" of multiculturalism in Singapore. The data show that "should be" practices are embedded in the partnership of all constituents (government, organizations, neighborhoods, majority group, minority group, parents, individual and media). Each

factor is discussed below leading to the development of a multiculturalism model for Singapore. The final model illustrates how the roles of these various constituents are linked to each other and to multiculturalism in Singapore.

Role of History

Analyses of letters show that history plays an important role in promoting multiculturalism in Singapore by providing an awareness of Singapore's *"tumultuous past of communal riots"* (Kwang Ser, 2001)*, "traumatic separation from Malaysia"* (Daniel Koh & Kah Soon, 2001), *"key defining moments such as the Japanese Occupation and [Singapore's] journey to nationhood"* (Ho Peng, 2005) and helping to bring to light of how *"Singapore's founding fathers built a nation out of a people torn apart by racial riots, faced with a bleak economic outlook, uncertain security, and a country without natural resources* (Jenn Jong, 2006)."

Letters argue that through studying key defining moments, *"students learn values such as resilience and racial and religious harmony, and develop a sense of national pride and identity* (Ho Peng, 2005)." Hence, letters propose that *"[Singapore] youths, who are born into economic prosperity, should study Singapore's history and learn from it* (Kwang Ser, 2001)." Letters emphasize that this learning *"should go beyond vague abstractions such as 'racial tension' and demonstrate, with concrete recent examples, how these problems exist in society"* (Rachel Eileen, 2005) and *"analyze these problems not on the basis of what happened in the past but on what is happening now* (Weiming, 2006)."

"Although I was born after World War II, I am aware of what Singapore went through when it was part of Malaysia and during the communal riots. Therefore, I feel strongly about maintaining racial harmony and peace in our country. Studying history in school has made me aware of our tumultuous past. Our youths, who are born into economic prosperity, should study Singapore's history and learn from it (Kwang Ser, 2001; Letter ST1). *"*

"Post-colonial Singapore, left alone to struggle after its traumatic separation from Malaysia, had not much choice but to press for economic development, intentionally driven, as it were, by 'market forces' and on so-called pragmatic grounds (Danieal Koh & Kah Soon, 2001; Letter ST2)."

"Through the study of key defining moments such as the Japanese Occupation and our journey to nationhood, students learn values such as resilience and racial and religious harmony, and develop a sense of national pride and identity (Ho Peng, 2005; Letter ST3)."

"Singapore's founding fathers were great entrepreneurs. They built a nation out of a people torn apart by racial riots, faced with a bleak economic outlook, uncertain security, and a country without natural resources. Entrepreneurs face similar situations when they start out (Jenn Jong, 2006; Letter ST4)."

"In National Education, for example, schools might do well to focus less on Singapore history and past glories, and more on issues that face us today. These should go beyond vague abstractions such as 'racial tension' and demonstrate, with concrete recent examples, how these problems exist in society (Rachel Eileen, 2005; Letter ST5)."

"Politicians and citizens alike have often pointed to Singapore's history of racial divide and the problems that other countries face in integrating the various races. The relative quiet in Singapore has been proclaimed as a success of this policy. However, rather than being against the policy, I oppose the conceptual manner in which this perspective has been achieved. It seems that this argument is constrained by the history of this nation and others. The policy has been justified by the existence of 'racial enclaves' in the past that may have contributed to the racial riots then. But for this country to progress, history must not be a constraint. Instead, it should enable us to move forward as a country. This means that in making policy, the issue must be analysed not on the basis of what happened in the past but on what is happening now. History, rather than constraining the debate, must be merely a consideration as part of the policy debate (Weiming, 2006; Letter ST6)."

Role of Ecology

Letters suggest that Singapore being *"a small and open economy"*, *"lack[ing] of natural resources such as land, water and petroleum"* and being *"highly susceptible to external shocks"* (Yueling, 2006), contributed to the need *"for political and internal stability"* (Yueling, 2006) for *"economic growth and progress* (Bak Kwee, 2006)."

> *"Although I was born post-independence, when Singapore experienced rapid economic growth under then prime minister Lee Kuan Yew and his administration, I have never doubted Singapore's imperative need for political and internal stability, especially in a country , which lacks natural resources such as land, water and petroleum and practises multiracialism. As a small and open economy, we are highly susceptible to external shocks, as evidenced by the Asian financial crisis, 9/11 terror attacks, Sars, and more recently, the world-wide bird flu epidemic. Nonetheless, our strong and capable Government has time and time again steered us through these turbulent times, with speedy economic recovery (Yueling, 2006; Letter ST7). "*

> *"Never before had I felt happier than to be in a nation celebrating 41 years of nationhood, a country that's not given to racial and religious differences but , which focuses on economic growth and progress (Bak Kwee, 2006; Letter ST8). "*

Letters argue that *"awareness of the fragility of the economic progress"* (Lionel Cheng, 2006) contributed to Singapore being *"a country that is not given to racial and religious differences"* (Bak Kwee, 2006; Letter ST8) as these differences may *"put the economy at risk and scares away investors* (Colman Jude, 2006)."

> *"Even when I was younger, I was aware of the fragility of the economic progress, peace and stability that we enjoy. I am thankful for a transparent and clean government, and recognise that some fundamentals must remain if Singapore is to continue to grow from strength to strength (Lionel Cheng, 2006; Letter ST9)."*

> *"First, allow me to state that I have not yet become a citizen of this great nation we call Singapore. However, I have resided here on a permanent residency status for the last 18 years. Initially on a work visa, then upgraded to an employment pass, I'm now on a permanent residency status. In that span of time, I have not witnessed any riots and political unrest - in short any situation that puts the economy at risk and scares away investors. In all the things that the government has done for its people, it has been nothing short of phenomenal (Colman Jude, 2006; Letter ST10)."*

Multiracial Harmony

Letters argue that *"against the backdrop of racial riots that threatened to tear Singapore apart"* (Indranee Rajah, 2006) and *"the fragility of the economic progress"* (Lionel Cheng, 2006; Letter ST9), *"Singapore went on to develop a robust economy, with a strong national identity undergirded by multiracial harmony"* (Jack Sim, 2003) and made *"great strides towards social stability* (Indranee Rajah, 2006). *"* Though, *"the situation is not perfect and has not reached nirvana, hate crimes, which have plagued many 'mature democracies' are almost non-existent in Singapore where one is generally not abused or even killed in the street simply because of the colour of one's skin* (Kai Khiun, 2006)."

> "Against the backdrop of racial riots that threatened to tear Singapore apart, Mr Rajaratnam penned the Pledge as an affirmation of the ideal that we should aim for. In 40 years, we have made great strides towards this ideal, but we have not reached nirvana (Indranee Rajah, 2006; Letter ST11)."

> "Singapore went on to develop a robust economy, with a strong national identity undergirded by multiracial harmony (Jack Sim, 2003; Letter ST12)."

> "To many people, Singapore is instantly identified with a 'Third World to First World' economic miracle achieved within one generation. As pointed out by Deputy Prime Minister S. Jayakumar, what many Singaporeans take for granted is the social stability the Republic has enjoyed for four decades. While the situation is not perfect, I am proud to say that hate crimes, which have plagued many 'mature democracies' are almost non-existent in Singapore where one is generally not abused or even killed in the street simply because of the colour of one's skin (Kai Khiun, 2006; Letter ST13)."
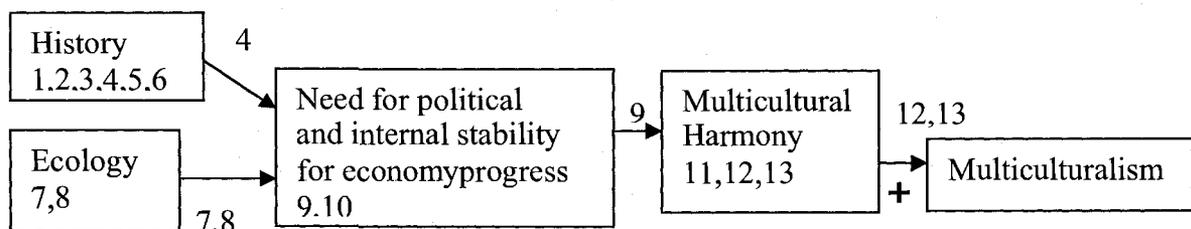
Figure 20. Contributions of History and Ecology toward Multiculturalism

Multicultural Complacency

Letters make a case that though Singapore is _"presently in a state of peaceful coexistence, where there is benign tolerance and relative harmony_ (Edmund Lim, 2006)," _"there are still people [in Singapore] who are affected by racial prejudice every day_ (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005)." This raises the question whether Singapore truly _"has reached the state of true racial harmony and integration_ (Edmund Lim, 2006)."

Letters argue that _"racial and religious harmony is an on-going process that requires conscious and consistent effort"_ (Edmund Lim, 2006) and _"perhaps [Singapore], as a nation, have for too long gone about with a 'business as usual' stance and neglected the delicate social fabric that binds Singaporeans as Singaporeans"_ or _"perhaps [Singapore has] chosen to direct [her] energies towards the lucrative area of economy-building at the expense of [her] racial integration_ (Satish Khattar, 2002)."

Letters emphasize that _"complacency such as 'Oh, all places have racism',"_ and beliefs such as _"this is how things are"_ (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005), _"ethnic polarisation does not exist"_ (Swee Siong, 2002) and _"it is fine to have racist attitudes in Singapore as it is unlikely to escalate to physical violence"_ (Vyoma Kapur, 2005) _"should be stopped for Singapore to keep marching forward_ (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005)." This is to ensure that _"[Singapore's] future generations will not have to pay for [Singapore's] complacency in this regard"_ (Pei Jing, 2006) as _"ethnic diversity is one of the things that distinguish Singapore_ (Jia En, 2005)."

> "I don't think we have reached the state of 'true racial harmony and integration.'
> Racial harmony and inter-religious respect are goals worth striving towards.
> Racial and religious harmony is an on-going process that requires conscious and

consistent effort. We are presently in a state of peaceful coexistence, where there is benign tolerance and relative harmony. We can strengthen our racial harmony by promoting greater appreciation, respect, affinity and unity among Singaporeans of various races and religions (Edmund Lim, 2006; Letter ST14)."

"Stop being complacent. We must not settle for 'Oh, all places have racism', 'This is how things are', etc. We have to keep marching forward. Remember, there are still people here who are affected by racial prejudice every day, and in Singapore 'everyone matters'! (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005; Letter ST15)."

"Perhaps we, as a nation, have for too long gone about with a 'business as usual' stance and neglected the delicate social fabric that binds us as Singaporeans. Perhaps we have chosen to direct our energies towards the lucrative area of economy-building at the expense of our racial integration (Satish Khattar, 2002; Letter ST16)."

"Another disturbing encounter with racism was during a media law class in my university where we discussed how to deal with online racist content. One of my classmates proudly declared himself a 'peace-loving racist' with impunity. I was appalled, but his statement amused most of the class, drawing chuckles and contributory remarks. Someone even said it is fine to have racist attitudes in Singapore as it is unlikely to escalate to physical violence, thus displaying sheer complacency and insensitivity (Vyoma Kapur, 2005; Letter ST17). "

"We in Singapore like to believe that because our employment and education system is meritocratic, ethnic polarisation does not exist. Yet, one needs only to open his eyes to see that this is not so. From the food courts to the buses, it is not often that we see Chinese and Malays sitting together and interacting in social settings. Apart from the workplace, interaction between ethnic groups is disturbingly limited (Swee Siong, 2002; Letter ST18)."

"I do not think that I would be far off the mark if I were to say that most Singaporean Malays and Indians have experienced racism to some degree in Singapore. If we are to be a truly multiracial nation, Singaporean Chinese need to awaken from this complacency, and to start becoming more actively engaged with their fellow Singaporeans of other races. They must treat others as they would like to be treated: with respect and understanding. After all, our current racial harmony has not come without cost. Let us ensure that our future generations will not have to pay for our complacency in this regard (Pei Jing, 2006; Letter ST19)."

"...while the country is multiracial, how many Singaporeans can say proudly that they know their classmates and work colleagues of other races well? Likewise, for neighbours. Ethnic diversity is one of the things that distinguish Singapore. If we embrace ethnic diversity and people bonding, it would be one factor to make us a top-class city (Jia En, 2005; Letter ST20)."
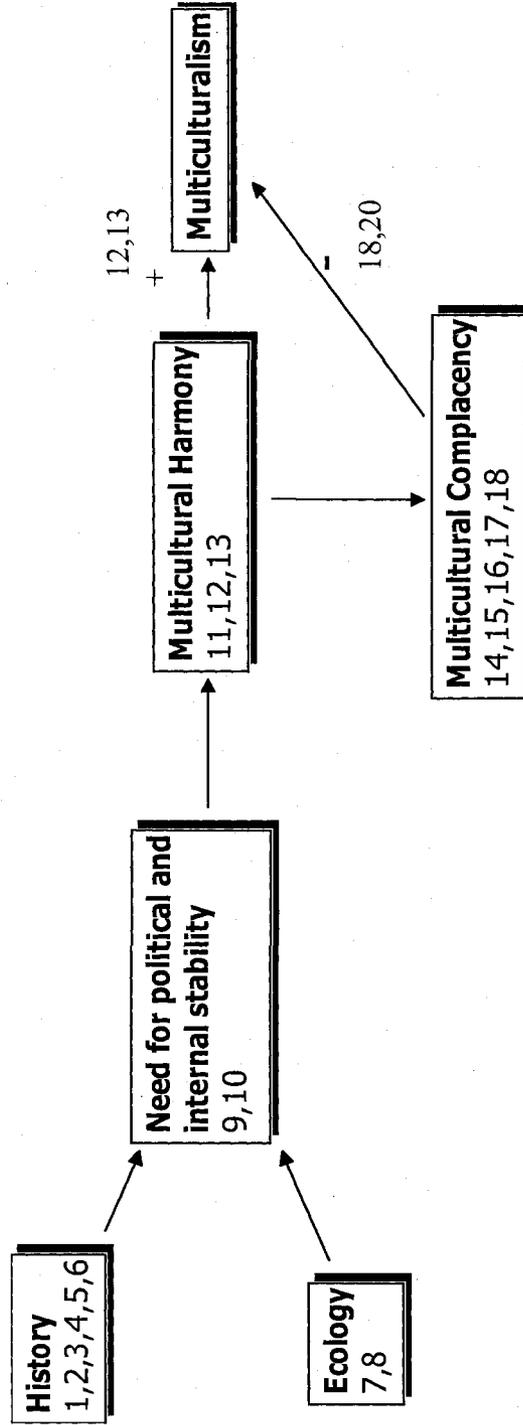
Figure 21. Antecedents of Multicultural Harmony and Multicultural Complacency

<u>*Role of the government, business organizations, schools, religious organizations,*</u>
<u>*neighborhoods, the majority group, the minority group, parents, the individual, and the*</u>
<u>*media*</u>

Letters suggest that Singapore's multiculturalism is beholden to a number of

stakeholders: the government, business organizations, schools, religious organizations,

neighborhoods, the majority group, the minority group, parents, the individual, and the

media. Letters argue that ***"Singapore has made tremendous progress in building inter-***

ethnic and inter-faith harmony and though *[Singapore] still have a long way to go,*

[Singapore] has put the right institutions in place and are going about it the right way

(Ameerali Abdeali, 2003; Letter ST21)."

A synthesis of the discussion in the letters shows that the many practices of these

stakeholders are acting as enablers for multiculturalism in Singapore. These practices are

described below and labeled as "**as is enabling practices**." Letters however, suggest that

in some cases these stakeholders perhaps due to multicultural complacencies have fallen

short and are derailing multiculturalism in Singapore. These practices are labeled as "**as**

is derailing practices." To overcome these shortcomings, letters do provide suggestions

on how these various stakeholders should contribute to further advancing

multiculturalism in Singapore. These practices are labeled as "**should be practices**."

<u>*Government – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices*</u>

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that the government enables multiculturalism in three

major ways. First, the government takes proactive actions and implements ***"well-thought***

out policies" (Harmohan Singh, 2006) toward ***"social cohesion"*** (Chok Keh, 2003) and

"to foster deep feelings and pride among Singaporeans (Chuen Ni, 2001)." For

example, *"the Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) was implemented in 1989 to ensure a*

balanced ethnic mix in our public-housing estates and prevent the formation of ethnic

enclaves (Chok Keh, 2003). *"*

      Second, content of the letters suggest that the government as a policy maker,

"publicly acknowledges that racial/religious discrimination still exists in Singapore"

(Enon Mansor, 2003) and *"race relations were not where they should be* (Sendhuran

Govindan, 2005). *"* To ensure *"racial integration and harmony"* (Chok Keh, 2003),

letters acknowledge that *"the government takes a serious view of [multicultural] issue*

(Kai Khiun, 2006)." For example, letters describe that though *"the Singapore*

Government may not be the best arbiter of racial and religious issues, it has not buried

its head in the sand by ignoring the social undercurrents of religious and racial

sentiments and through the press and other dialogue sessions, the authorities have

openly discussed sensitive issues, such as the disquiet among other races because of the

emphasis on Chinese language and Singaporeans' uneasiness over competition from

foreign talent (Kai Khiun, 2005). *"*

      Third, the government acts as an *"adviser"* (Jean Tan, 2005), as an *"arbiter"*(Kai

Khiun, 2005), and as *"councilors"* (Kai Khiun, 2006) in promoting multiculturalism.

For example, by institutionalizing *"the high-level Presidential Council for Minority*

Rights and Presidential Council for Religious Harmony" (Kai Khiun, 2006),

"discussing sensitive issues through the press and other dialogue sessions" (Kai Khiun,

2005), and advising employers that *"race-based employment practices have no place in*

Singapore (Jean Tan, 2005)."

"The Government is absolutely right regarding its policies on ethnic integration. Singapore is perhaps unique in that religious and ethnic groups co-exist harmoniously. This did not come about naturally but as a result of well-thought-out government policies (Harmohan Singh, 2006; Letter ST22)."

"Singapore is a multiracial society. Racial integration and harmony are crucial for our social cohesion. The Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP) was implemented in 1989 to ensure a balanced ethnic mix in our public-housing estates and prevent the formation of ethnic enclaves (Chok Keh, 2003; Letter ST23)."

"We would like to thank Mr George Wong Seow Choon for his letter, 'Foster pride via anthem' (ST, Aug 9). Mr Wong suggested that subtitles in all our four official languages should be included in our national-anthem video that is televised, to foster deep feelings and pride among Singaporeans. We agree with Mr Wong. We are already in the process of inserting the English, Chinese and Tamil translations as subtitles in the national-anthem music videos. The revised versions of the videos are expected to be ready for broadcast in about a month's time. In the meantime, members of the public can obtain the translations of our national anthem from the Mita website at www.mita.gov.sg (Chuen Ni, 2001; Letter ST24)."

"Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's comment at the very least publicly acknowledges that racial/religious discrimination still exists in Singapore. The issue is not about the veil on the head, but the veil in the mind (Enon Mansor, 2003; Letter ST25)."

"The recent admission by Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew that race relations were not where they should be does not come as a surprise (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005; Letter ST15)."

"Despite complaints about the contrived displays of multiculturalism on Racial Harmony Day, it is generally heartening that the Government takes a serious view of this issue, as seen in the high-level Presidential Council for Minority Rights and Presidential Council for Religious Harmony (Kai Khiun, 2006; Letter ST13)."

"The Singapore Government may not be the best arbiter of racial and religious issues, but it has not buried its head in the sand by ignoring the social undercurrents of religious and racial sentiments. Through the press and other dialogue sessions, the authorities have openly discussed sensitive issues, such as the disquiet among other races because of the emphasis on Chinese language and Singaporeans' uneasiness over competition from foreign talent (Kai Khiun, 2005; Letter ST26)."

"I refer to the report, 'No Indian guards, insists condo's managing agent' (ST, May 3), and subsequent letters by the public (ST, May 6). Upon the advice of the Ministry of Manpower (MOM), the condominium's managing agent had, on May 4, removed the clause excluding a particular racial group from its tender contract. MOM had visited both the condominium and its managing agent to advise that race-based employment practices have no place in Singapore. The company has since explained that this is an isolated incident and that it regrets the lapse (Jean Tan, 2005; Letter ST27)."

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters suggest that the government falls short in number of ways in advancing multiculturalism. First, letters suggest that despite well-thought and well meaning social integration policies, some of these policies resulted in minorities bearing the burden. For example, one writer argue that though **" the intention behind the [race quotas for HDB flats is good], unfortunately, those who suffer the most are the minority races the Government is trying to integrate in the HDB estates** (Sunder Daswani, 2003). " The writer describes that:

> **"...the policy may have been applied consistently and across all ethnic groups; however, the financial impact is especially pronounced on the minority races because we can sell our flats only to non-Chinese. This means that our target market has shrunk by about 80 per cent** (Sunder Daswani, 2003)."

Second, the letters suggest that by withholding **"certain sensitive information in the national interest, the government [may] disempower the relevant parties to take the necessary remedial action** (Peck Chin, 2003)." Third, letters argue that all government communications like **"museum captions.....and housing should be in all four official languages and not doing so discriminates against who are not proficient in English** (Kek Koon, 2003)." Letters argue that **"many Singaporeans especially the older Malay, Chinese and Indian Singaporeans, are not, or, just marginally, conversant or**

proficient in English are discriminated against linguistically and made to feel like

strangers (Kek Koon, 2003)."

> *"I can appreciate the intention behind the policy [race quotas for HDB flats] but, unfortunately, those who suffer the most are the minority races the Government is trying to integrate in the HDB estates. In the article, the CEO of Propnex property agency is quoted as saying that, as a result of the policy, prices for affected flats can drop by up to 15 per cent below the market value. I can vouch for this because I was offered a price which was 15 per cent below the market valuation of $400,000. That amounted to a $60,000 capital loss. And I was advised to seriously consider that offer! Dr Balakrishnan admitted as much when he said: '... there may be problems in certain precincts... It may take time for the flat to be sold, or the person has to be more flexible in his expectation of the price that he wishes to transact.' Can the minister explain to affected people like me how we can possibly lower our expec-tations to take a capital loss of $60,000? That is CPF money saved from several years of hard work on the part of my wife and I. It does not matter whether we are in an economic upturn or downturn, whether we are upgrading, downgrading or migrating. The policy may have been applied consistently and across all ethnic groups; however, the financial impact is especially pronounced on the minority races because we can sell our flats only to non-Chinese. This means that our target market has shrunk by about 80 per cent (Sunder Daswani, 2003; Letter ST28)."*

> *"I refer to Professor Augustine Tan's letter, 'Monet, dons and political economy' (ST, Aug 7). His observation about the Government's robust response to issues that it considers as hitting undefined OB[out of bound] markers is plain to see. What is truly disturbing is how easily these invisible 'walls' are drawn up. Commenting on the controversy over foreign-worker numbers, the Ministry of Manpower (MOM) said certain sensitive information was withheld in the national interest. However, on the US Bureau of Labour Statistics website (www.bls.gov) is an article written by Abraham Mosisa in May last year entitled 'The role of foreign-born workers in the US economy.' In the article, one finds a breakdown of items such as earnings, education profile, and type of occupation of the various immigrant groups in the country. It is also noteworthy that the groups listed in the study far exceed the 'multiracial' composition in Singapore. The article also goes on to make specific comments about certain immigrant groups, such as Hispanics, that could easily have been deemed as affecting sensitivities. But it has not. Instead, it is probably empowering the relevant parties to take the necessary remedial action. One only hopes that MOM will not keep mum much longer (Peck Chin, 2003; Letter ST29)."*

> *"Chinese is one of the four official languages of Singapore. So are Malay and Tamil. Why aren't our museum captions, public-transport announcements, major*

road signs, housing-estate notices, and so on, in all the four official languages?
Many Singaporeans, especially the older Malay, Chinese and Indian
Singaporeans, are not, or just marginally, conversant or proficient in English,
and these are the very people who witnessed the founding of the Republic,
struggled together with the nation and made tremendous contributions to the
present prosperity of Singapore. Yet today they are discriminated against
linguistically and made to feel like strangers. By fostering a bona fide multi-
lingual society, where every Singaporean can speak two or more languages with
reasonable fluency, we can profit from the enhancement of our society's
competitive edge (Kek Koon, 2003; Letter ST30)."

Government –Multiculturalism "Should Be"Practices

Letters advocate that the government should go beyond accepting and

acknowledging *"racial discrimination and stereotyping"* and move toward seeking

solutions to overcome them (Enon Mansor, 2003). Letters propose that the government

should *"make full use of the stability [Singapore is] enjoying now to bring out sensitive*

issues [such as racism] into the open by relaxing the publishing laws so that more

avenues would be made available for people to discuss these and other important issues

that affect our society (Jamie Han, 2005)."

Letters also put forward that *"accommodating majority-minority interests is a*

central government task" (Li-Ann, 2005) and hence *"the government should look after*

the interests of the country as a whole, not the interests of individual groups (George

Wong, 2000)." Letters argue that *"break[ing] the Government up into ethnic groups*

with each interested only in its own racial group would spell the beginning of the end

of Singapore" (George Wong, 2000) and the government should *"reexamine the status*

of racially exclusive schools (Ping Yee, 2002)." Letters suggest that *"the Government*

should try to promote activities that capture the passion of all races with the aim of

promoting social bonding - even if [they] do so at a financial loss (Edmund Lam,

2002)."

"Is racial discrimination and stereotyping something that we want to accept or something that we need to overcome (Enon Mansor, 2003; Letter ST25)?"

"A free press need not necessarily imply an irresponsible one. As much as we would like to think otherwise, racism and religious differences exist in our society, just like in any other. To censure open discussion of such issues is like burying one's head in the sand and wishing that the problem would go away. It would be a shame if Singaporeans do not make full use of the stability we are enjoying now to bring out such sensitive issues into the open. Do we really want to wait until times of crisis before tackling such issues? The Government can help encourage such discussion by relaxing the publishing laws so that more avenues would be made available for people to discuss these and other important issues that affect our society (Jamie Han, 2005; LetterST31)."

"While Parliament theoretically reflects the majority will, a politically prudent government seeking broad support for its rule cannot neglect minority interests. Constitutions may contain minority rights as a bulwark against majoritarian tyranny. In Singapore's case, Article 152 constitutionally obliges the Government to care for the interests of the only legally recognised community, 'racial and religious minorities.' In plural democracies, accommodating majority-minority interests is a central government task (Li-Ann, 2005; Letter ST32)."

"I would like to appeal to all Singaporeans to support Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's stand against racist tendencies. If we are going to break the Government up into ethnic groups with each interested only in its own racial group, that would spell the beginning of the end of Singapore. This will be the thin end of the wedge of racism. We must never let this happen. In a democratic society, the Government should look after the interests of the country as a whole, not the interests of individual groups (George Wong, 2000; Letter ST33)."

"In view of the recent efforts to promote greater interaction among the races in Singapore, perhaps it is time for the Government to re-examine the status of Special Assistance Plan (SAP) schools. SAP schools are racially exclusive. It is possible to count on two hands the number of students from minority races in a SAP school. This deprives Chinese students in these schools of the chance to interact with and to better understand students of other races in their formative years (Ping Yee, 2002; Letter ST34)."

"The Government should try to promote activities that capture the passion of all races. Perhaps the relevant authorities should consider having Singapore rejoin the Malaysia Cup with the aim of promoting social bonding - even if we do so at a financial loss (Edmund Lam, 2002; Letter ST35)."

"The recent reforms have not been successful in bringing across the most important reason why Chinese should learn the Chinese language, and, for that matter, Malays, Bahasa Malay, etc. It is the simple reason of preserving our ethnic identity and understanding our roots and culture. English is only a working language and, except for a minority group, I do not think Singaporeans could identify themselves with the language. MOE has similarly plugged economic reasons for reforms in Malay and Tamil language education. The strong association of the mother tongue with economic value rather than ethnic identity should be reconsidered. Tell our children the real truth for learning their mother tongue and let them appreciate the cultural wealth that they could discover with the language. Let time tell whether economic benefit will ensue with the mastery of one's mother tongue, but then that may be secondary as well (Jong Hou, 2004; Letter ST36)."

Government – "As is" Derailers
- Withholding information 29
- Language Marginalization 30
- Policy Burden on Minorities 28

Government – "As is" Enablers
- Adviser, Arbiter, Councilor 13,26,27
- Proactive in accommodating multiculturalism 22,23,24
- Acknowledge Discrimination 15,25

Government – "Should Be" Practices
- Moving beyond accepting discrimination 25
- Accommodate majority, minority and national interest and be inclusive 32,33,34,35
- More open discussion 31
- Preserve culture beyond economic rationales 36

Multiculturalism

−

+

+

Figure 22. Government – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Business Organizations –Multiculturalism "As is" Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters are quite thin on describing enabling practices of business organizations. One letter describes how a Singapore employer *"is sensitive about the cultural and religious beliefs of the other races* (Jeffrey Law, 2006)."

> *"In Singapore, the Chinese, being the majority race, are sensitive about the cultural and religious beliefs of the other races. I know of a Chinese employer who would occasionally treat his 20-strong staff to dinner at a Muslim restaurant although there is only a Malay among them. He could have opted for Chinese food, but, no, he wanted his non-Chinese employee to feel important and respected* (Jeffrey Law, 2006; Letter ST37)."

As Is Derailing Practices

On the derailing practices, number of letters suggest that some Singaporean organizations may have discriminative policies that *"have been incorporated in its employment policies"* (Vyoma Kapur, 2005) and demonstrate *"reeks of racism"* (Nijalingappa Prasannakumar, 2006). Letters argue that *"many Malays and Indians feel discriminated against at work or when finding a job because they cannot speak or write in Chinese"* (Alfian Aluyi, 2006) and in some organizations, people still discriminate based on their personal biases against one's culture, beliefs, religion and language. The letter below describes how a Muslim woman was not selected *"for an overseas exchange programme because she wore a 'tudung'* (Enon Mansor, 2003)."

> *"Two weeks ago, my friend and I signed up for childcare teaching in a primary school in the north-west. However, only she was hired, whereupon she asked why it had not called me yet. The school replied that it had stopped employing Indian teachers, following complaints by some parents of pupils who had had an Indian teacher recently. In this instance, racism is not mellow. It has emerged from below the surface in an established institution, and has been incorporated in its employment policies* (Vyoma Kapur, 2005; Letter ST17)."

"The advertisement says "non-Indians preferred." I take offence at this. It does not go down well with us Indians. In fact, many of us would read this as "Indians not preferred." This clearly reeks of racism in the Singapore job market and it does not augur well for racial harmony in this country. ...I hope that by publishing this in The Straits Times, we awaken those among us who target Indians or people of other nationalities who are specifically left out for jobs or other things (Nijalingappa Prasannakumar, 2006; Letter ST38).*"*

"I am a tudung-wearing Muslim woman and I would like to share my experience of the 'reality of living in a multi-racial society.' I was once shortlisted for an overseas exchange programme. At the final selection interview, the interviewer was frank enough to inform me that I had not been successful because I wore the tudung (Enon Mansor, 2003; Letter ST25).*"*

"I suggest that Mandarin be taught as a compulsory non-examination subject in schools. We also need to reassure our non-Chinese ethnic communities that such initiatives are not meant to belittle them, as many Malays and Indians feel discriminated against at work or when finding a job because they cannot speak or write in Chinese (Alfian Aluyi, 2006; Letter ST39).*"*

Business Organizations – Multiculturalism "Should Be" Practices

Letters argue that ***"changing mindsets of employers, co-workers and the general public toward an inclusive workplace will take time"*** (Bob Tan & Halimah Yacob, 2006) and business organizations should take the first step to pledge ***"to make Singapore a place where all workers are given opportunities for employment and rewarded according to their merits*** (Bob Tan & Halimah Yacob, 2006)." Letters suggest that employers should embrace ***"equal opportunity, without any bias on caste, creed, race, nationality or religion*** (Nijalingappa Prasannakumar, 2006). *" Letters also put forward that business developmental opportunities to engage culturally similar economies such as China and India should not be targeted solely to ethnic groups that are familiar of these cultures. For example, commenting on the need to ***"produce Chinese elites, who can be effectively bilingual in English and Chinese, and have a good understanding of***

Chinese culture and history, as well as China's business and political climate" to

engage with China, letters put forward that *"it would be in the best interest of multi-*

racial Singapore to offer [these] equal development opportunities to all races so that

business leaders from each community can lead their community to engage China

(Gordon Tan, 2002)." ·

> *"The Tripartite Alliance for Fair Employment Practices urges all employers to abide by the guidelines. Changing mindsets of employers, co-workers and the general public will take time, but we are heartened that 173 companies have pledged to make Singapore an inclusive workplace - a place where all workers are given opportunities for employment and rewarded according to their merits. We urge more employers to pledge to join this movement so that we can achieve our vision of making Singapore one of the best places in the world to work (Bob Tan & Halimah Yacob, 2006; Letter ST40)."*

> *"I hope that in time, all employers are able to say that they are an "equal opportunity employer, without any bias on caste, creed, race, nationality or religion (Nijalingappa Prasannakumar, 2006; Letter ST38)."*

> *"During the National Day Rally, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said that we must produce Chinese elites who can be effectively bilingual in English and Chinese, and have a good understanding of Chinese culture and history, as well as China's business and political climate. I agree that these traits are essential for us to engage China competitively. However, I am concerned whether the selection of this elite group will be extended to include members of our Malay and Indian communities. It would be in the best interest of multi-racial Singapore to offer equal development opportunities to all races so that business leaders from each community can lead their community to engage China (Gordon Tan, 2002; Letter ST41)."*
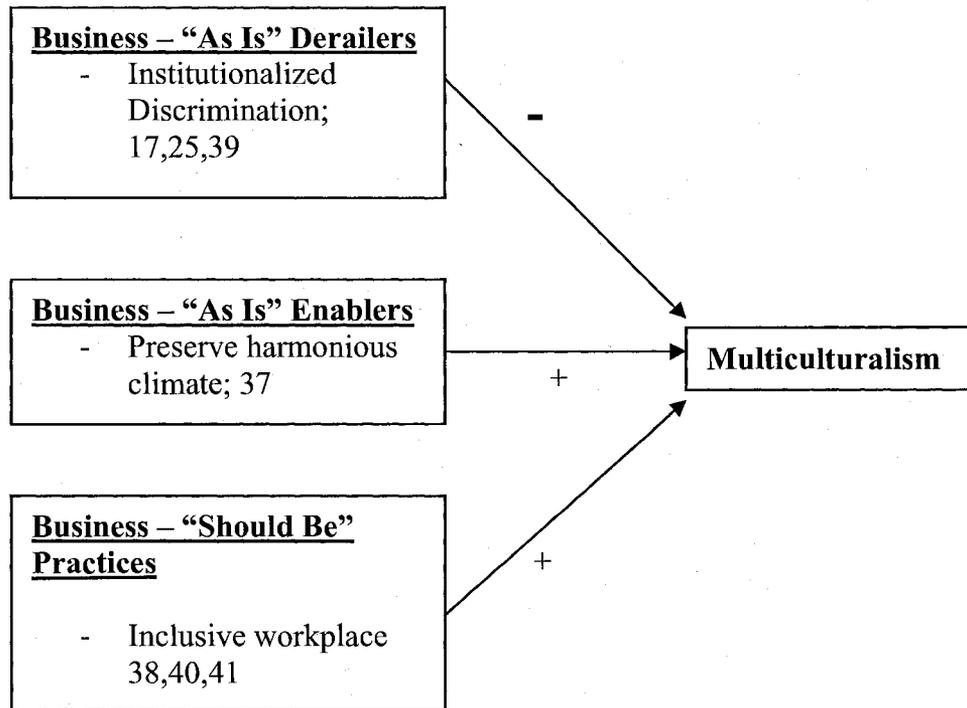
Figure 23. Business Org. – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

<u>*Schools – Multiculturalism "As is"Practices*</u>

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters put forward that *"schools take racial harmony seriously and many*

opportunities are provided for students to learn about and respect each other's race,

religion and culture, and to understand the criticality of preserving social cohesion in

Singapore (Siew Hoong, 2005)." Letters describe that *"pupils' awareness and*

understanding of multiracialism and the importance of racial harmony are promoted

through subjects such as History, Social Studies and Civics and Moral Education

(Tuck Weng, 2006)." Letters argue that this formal curriculum is supplemented by *"the*

Co-Curricular Activities programme in schools, [which] promotes social integration by

providing avenues for students from different social and racial backgrounds to engage

in the same activities (Tuck Weng, 2006)." Letters also argue that *"many schools with*

different student racial compositions [also] jointly organise camps, sports, community

projects and celebrations of ethnic festivals together (Tuck Weng, 2006)."

> *Our schools take racial harmony seriously. Through both the formal curriculum and informal programmes, many opportunities are provided for students to learn about and respect each other's race, religion and culture, and to understand the criticality of preserving social cohesion in Singapore. Our schools will continue to strive to impart these values to their students, in partnership with parents and the community at large (Siew Hoong, 2005; Letter ST42).*

> *"In the formal curriculum, pupils' awareness and understanding of multiracialism and the importance of racial harmony are promoted through subjects such as History, Social Studies and Civics & Moral Education. The Co-Curricular Activities programme in schools also promotes social integration by providing avenues for students from different social and racial backgrounds to engage in the same activities. In addition, many schools with different student racial compositions jointly organise camps, sports, community projects and celebrations of ethnic festivals together* (Tuck Weng, 2006; Letter ST43)."

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters suggest that *"many teachers who teach in schools do see racial segregation clearly"* and *"can see a real 'time bomb' waiting to explode* (Hann Hoi, 2006)."* Letters provide evidence that children use *"'Malay,' 'Chinese' or 'Indian' classmates to describe their peers"* rather than *"as classmates or friends,"* which were used *"during the old school days* (David Lim, 2005)." Letters also argue that *"children from different backgrounds very rarely intermingled"* and *"refuse to pair up* (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003)." Hence, letters predict that *"most children would also grow up quite alienated from [other ethnic groups] in their common communal fabric* (Michael Heng, 2006)."

> *"Many of us who teach in schools can see racial segregation clearly. Too often, students gather in the cafeteria or form project groups along ethnic lines. They find it more comfortable using their mother tongue, even when there are students from other races in their midst. Just observe how students form cliques at bus stops and we can see a real 'time bomb' waiting to explode* (Hann Hoi, 2006; Letter ST44)."

> *"These days when our children relate the happenings in their schools, they would use words like 'Malay', 'Chinese' or 'Indian' classmates to describe their peers. Such descriptions were rare during the old school days. We would use phrases like 'one of our classmates' instead. There was no racial overtone. We treated all our classmates simply as classmates or friends. We were oblivious of their race* (David Lim, 2005; Letter ST45)."

> *"When I see that my 10-year-old son does not know or have a Malay friend in school, I shudder at the realisation that most of his schoolmates would also grow up quite alienated from an important ethnic group in their common communal fabric* (Michael Heng, 2006; Letter ST46)."

> *"We chose to educate our daughter in a local school, to expose her to a different culture. We looked forward to her having friends from different cultural backgrounds, but the actual experience was not as we had expected. In school we saw that children from different backgrounds very rarely intermingled, if at all. She ended up with a whole lot of Indian friends but none from the other races. I*

got her to ask her non-Indian classmates to spend a day at our home, together with her Indian friends, but no one accepted the invitation. My daughter was thrilled when she was elected as a prefect, with all the responsibilities and prestige that it entails. However, her joy was short-lived as the other prefects of other races would refuse to pair up with her during the assembly. Apparently that is the rule, you have to form pairs. She flatly refused to allow me to take up the matter with the school authorities for fear of my embarrassing her in front of her friends. We respected her wishes and could only look on sadly as she soon stopped wearing her prefect's tie to school (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003; Letter ST47)."

Letters suggest that though **"at the kindergarten level the intermixing of races is much better"** (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003), **"many schools segregate their students after Primary 1 according to race and there are classes that are made up entirely of Chinese pupils or mostly Malays or mostly Tamil Indians** (Sharmeen Donna Husain, 2001)." Letters argue that **"there are some primary schools, which are almost exclusively Chinese, while some have disproportionately high numbers of Malay pupils"** (Teck Seng, 2006) and **"some schools divide their classes along racial/religious lines and not academic merit** (Naleeni Das, 2001)." Letters put forward that **"natural platforms for interracial interaction among students of different ethnic groups"** (Hann Hoi, 2006) cannot take place when there is only **"a sprinkling of students from the minority races** (Hann Hoi, 2006). "

> "Within my neighbourhood, there are some primary schools, which are almost exclusively Chinese, while some have disproportionately high numbers of Malay pupils. In fact, one may not be faulted for labelling some of them as 'Chinese' schools. One wonders how realistic the lessons on racial harmony are for pupils in these schools (Teck Seng, 2006; Letter ST48)."

> "MOE's Director of Planning argues that 'what is important is that schools increase natural platforms for interracial interaction among students of different ethnic groups.' How could interracial interaction take place when there are only Chinese in some schools with perhaps a sprinkling of students from the minority races (Hann Hoi, 2006; Letter ST44)?"

"In some classes, the students are a mixed group, but many schools segregate their students after Primary 1 according to race. There are classes that are made up entirely of Chinese pupils or mostly Malays or mostly Tamil Indians (Sharmeen Donna Husain, 2001; Letter ST49)."

"Some schools divide their classes along racial/religious lines and not academic merit. Though it is discriminatory in nature, no one in the education department has made a conscionable attempt to put right (Naleeni Das, 2001; Letter ST50)."

"On the other hand we see that at the kindergarten level the intermixing of races is much better and our son has very little problem finding friends. Perhaps the 'conditioning' of their minds has not yet been completed! (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003; Letter ST47)."

Letters suggest that though schools **"hold lessons to teach students about racial harmony and organize activities to expose students to different cultures, the effectiveness of these lessons on racial harmony"** (Marianne Yeo, 2006) and **"the depth of such interaction"** (Hann Hoi, 2006) **"is questionable"** (Marianne Yeo, 2006) as **"activities to educate students on different cultures would probably be held, at most, once or twice a year** (Marianne Yeo, 2006)."

"Some schools may raise the point that they do hold lessons to teach students about racial harmony and organize activities to expose students to different cultures. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these lessons on racial harmony is questionable. It would not be surprising if the students' minds are drifting half of the time. Moreover, activities to educate students on different cultures would probably be held, at most, once or twice a year (Marianne Yeo, 2006; Letter ST51)."

"Even if inter-school 'camps, sports, community projects and celebrations' were organised for students to mingle with other races, as argued, the question is how often are such activities and how deep is such interaction (Hann Hoi, 2006; Letter ST44)?"

<u>*Schools –Multiculturalism "Should Be" Practices*</u>

Letters argue that "***schools should be foremost as the stepping stone for social***

interaction" (Chin Min, 2005) and "***the age from primary to secondary education is a***

period where a child's perspective of the world and understanding of social issues

begin to take root" (Thomas Liew, 2006) and "***any inculcation of values on racial and***

religious harmony must start [here] (Jayakumar, 2006)."

Letters also put forward that "***racial issues should not only be tackled in***

adulthood, but should begin early, before they enter the workforce" (Thomas Liew,

2006) and "***the next generation of youth in Singapore [should not] be deprived of this***

opportunity to discover what it means to be truly 'multicultural' and the ability to

understand multiple cultural perspectives and philosophies be it during or after they

leave secondary school (Clare Eng, 2004)." Letters argue that the "***education system***

needs not only to educate young Singaporeans on the importance of racial harmony

but also compel them to act when they feel that the fabric of [Singapore's] society is

threatened by a few 'callous, reckless' individuals (Yew Mun, 2005)."

> "*The schools should be foremost as the stepping stone for social interaction. Such interaction is best inculcated from a young age in school (Chin Min, 2005; Letter ST52).*"

> "*The age from primary to secondary education is a period where a child's perspective of the world and understanding of social issues begin to take root. The case of the young A*Star scholars alleged to have made discriminatory remarks against Malays only emphasises that racial issues should not only be tackled in adulthood, but should begin early, before they enter the workforce (Thomas Liew, 2006; Letter ST53).*"

> '*But if you ask my personal view, it is not that they are not doing enough. But the point is that it is with our young that any inculcation of values on racial and religious harmony must start... Basic values: Who we are, What we are (Jayakumar, 2006; Letter ST54).*"

"It is this ability to understand multiple cultural perspectives and philosophies that has stood me in good stead in my academic pursuits outside Singapore. I would not wish for the next generation of youth in Singapore to be deprived of this opportunity to discover what it means to be truly 'multicultural', be it during or after they leave secondary school (Clare Eng, 2004; Letter ST55)."

"I feel that our education system needs not only to educate young Singaporeans on the importance of racial harmony but also compel them to act when they feel that the fabric of our society is threatened by a few 'callous, reckless' individuals. While suppression has helped in the past to maintain law and order in our multiracial society, Singaporeans need to be civic-conscious and proactive in preserving our racial harmony (Yew Mun, 2005; Letter ST56)."

Many letters suggest **"schools should not have a disproportionate majority of any race"** (Pui Fong, 2006) and **"for the sake of [Singapore] future and to avoid racial discord, the [Singapore's] Ministry of Education should consider implementing racial quotas in primary schools"** (Marianne Yeo, 2006; Bing Hui, 2006) to ensure **"a balanced racial population"** (Pui Fong, 2006), which then can lead **"multiracialism and the all-important understanding of other races take root much earlier in [children's] lives** (Pui Fong, 2006)."

"In view of the importance of building a stronger multiracial society in Singapore, schools should not have a disproportionate majority of any race... Children spend a lot of time in school. If primary schools at least, have a balanced racial population, then multiracialism and the all-important understanding of other races will take root much earlier in their lives (Pui Fong, 2006; Letter ST57)."

"On the other hand, schools with a cultural diversity would provide ample opportunities for a student to mix with other races. Students from different racial groups would get to work together, play together and grow together. When a child is in such close proximity with other races, it would be very unlikely that he would grow up discriminating against minorities. Instead, the child would probably have friends who are Chinese, Malay, Indian and Eurasian. Thus the indirect lessons on racial harmony taught in schools with different races would have far more impact on the students. Lessons in a classroom and activities to teach racial harmony cannot be compared to these. I would like to conclude by saying that for the sake of our country's future and to avoid racial discord, the MOE should consider implementing racial quotas in primary schools (Marianne Yeo, 2006; Letter ST51)."

"Having racial quotas is a good means to boost racial integration. But it is only a means, not an end; its necessity depends on its efficacy. And if the Government sees it as being crucial in HDB estates, then the same arguments should extend to schools (Hann Hoi, 2006; Letter ST44)"

"Therefore, I suggest that the Ministry of Education take a serious look at this issue. It might be time to think about implementing racial quotas in schools (Bing Hui, 2006: Letter ST58)."

Some however, disagree with the racial quota and argue that ***"setting a racial quota in our primary schools may not be the best way to achieve meaningful inter-racial interaction** (Tuck Weng, 2006)."* Instead, they propose that ***"what is important is that schools increase natural platforms for inter-racial interaction among students of different ethnic groups** (Tuck Weng, 2006)."* Letters also argue that offering Mandarin, Malay and Tamil as compulsory non-examination subject ***"would reinforce Singapore as a multiracial country** (Alfian Aluyi, 2006)."*

"On the other hand, setting a racial quota in our primary schools may not be the best way to achieve meaningful inter-racial interaction. What is important is that schools increase natural platforms for inter-racial interaction among students of different ethnic groups. Promotion of inter-racial understanding is a priority for all schools, regardless of their racial composition (Tuck Weng, 2006; Letter ST43)."

"It is time to offer Mandarin lessons to non-Chinese students in schools. Mrs Sunitha suggested that Mandarin lessons could be offered as a CCA. I beg to differ. CCAs are highly competitive, with many students vying for places. So, Mandarin as a CCA activity may not be the best option. I suggest that Mandarin be taught as a compulsory non-examination subject in schools. We also need to reassure our non-Chinese ethnic communities that such initiatives are not meant to belittle them, as many Malays and Indians feel discriminated against at work or when finding a job because they cannot speak or write in Chinese. As we pursue the Mandarin option, we should not ignore the other languages. remember that we are in South-east Asia, where Malay is widely used. Malay too could be offered as a non-examination subject for Chinese-speaking students. Similarly, the Tamil language. This is a win-win situation that would reinforce Singapore as a multiracial country (Alfian Aluyi, 2006; Letter ST39)."

School – "As is" Derailers
- Segregation 44,47
- Racial Overtone 45
- Less Intermixing 46,47
- Racial Imbalance 44,48,49,50
- Token activities 44,51

School – "As is" Enablers
- Opportunities to learn and respect each other's race, religion and culture and the importance of social cohesion 42,43

School – "Should Be" Practices
- Balanced Racial Composition 44,51,57,58
- Provider of natural platforms for inter-racial interaction for gaining multicultural perspectives 43,52,53,54,55
- Learn other languages 39

Multiculturalism

−

+

+

Figure 24. Schools – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Religious Organizations – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters suggest that *"the government has made efforts to promote and foster inter-faith harmony in Singapore* (Chun Phuoc, 2006). *"* For example, *"initiative by the Government and community groups to strengthen racial ties through the introduction of Inter-racial Confidence Circles (IRCCs) [where] issues of race discussed openly, maturely and calmly* (Satish Khattar, 2002)." Letters suggest that individual religious organizations take *"conscious effort to work"* (Mohd Amin Ibrahim, 2001) with individuals from different religious groups and exemplify *"spontaneous efforts to foster better understanding of other races among its followers"* (Yam Meng, 2001). Participation of *"many non-Malay/Muslim academics, senior professionals, corporate figures and public-sector leaders in the [Association of Muslim Professionals'] closed-door round-table discussions, closed-door and public seminars* (Mohd Amin Ibrahim, 2001) would be an example of the former. Inviting *"leaders from the various religious groups to attend [The Buddhist Lodge] functions, such as charity dinners and to share in their celebration* (Yam Meng, 2001) would be an example of the latter.

> *"I applaud the initiative by the Government and community groups to strengthen racial ties through the introduction of Inter-racial Confidence Circles (IRCCs). It is heartening to see issues of race discussed openly, maturely and calmly..* (Satish Khattar, 2002; Letter ST16)."

> *"It is heartening to know that the government has made efforts to promote and foster inter-faith harmony in Singapore. The establishment of the Harmony Centre in Bishan and the visits there by religious representatives will undoubtedly improve the understanding of Islam as a peaceful and progressive religion* (Chun Phuoc, 2006; Letter ST59). *"*

"AMP [Association of Muslim Professionals] *has, as a matter of policy, made a conscious effort to work with many non-Malay/Muslim Singaporeans. Through this multi-ethnic and inclusive approach, we are able to garner more support for community projects. ....In the last 10 years, many non-Malay/Muslim academics, senior professionals, corporate figures and public-sector leaders participated in our closed-door round-table discussions, closed-door and public seminars. Some of these discussions revolve around issues of fostering national integration* (Mohd Amin Ibrahim, 2001; Letter ST60). *"*

During a fortuitous visit to The Buddhist Lodge located at Kim Yam Road, I was greatly heartened and delighted by an anomalous activity organised by the said temple. Listed among the many religious activities was one that caught my attention - an invitation for all followers to attend a talk given by a Malay guest speaker on Muslim culture and ways of life. I feel that this spontaneous effort by the religious establishment to foster better understanding of other races among its followers augurs well for our nation and is commendable. It has also come to my knowledge that it is the practice of this temple to invite leaders from the various religious groups to attend their functions, such as charity dinners, to share in their celebration. I feel that such exemplary efforts to contribute to our racial and religious harmony should be highlighted (Yam Meng, 2001; Letter ST61)."

"About 25 per cent of Mendaki's total annual income is derived from this fund and helps to finance its various programmes for the community, which comprises both Malay and non-Malay Muslims. The term 'Malay/Muslim', which is used in describing our clientele (,which differs from 'Malay-Muslim' as used in the report, 'More funds for Muslim groups'; ST, March 24) encompasses all Malays and all Muslims in Singapore. As a Chinese-Muslim, the writer, in common with Indian-Muslims and Muslims of other ethnic origins, is therefore entitled to participate in Mendaki's programmes (Jufferie Rashid, 2001; Letter ST62)."

As Is Derailing Practices

Not many letters in the Strait Times describe derailing practices of religious organizations. It is possible that writing about derailing practices of religious organizations is not encouraged by the newspapers.

Religious organizations – Multiculturalism "Should Be"Practices

Letters suggest that *"every religious group in Singapore could lend its influence to emphasising common interests and downplaying differences" and [they] could play a catalytic role in helping [Singapore] to achieve the Singapore dream of a 'Singaporean Singaporean* (Yam Meng, 2001)." For example, organizing a religious harmony day where *"the leaders and followers of Islam, Judaism and Christianity can come together annually to celebrate a joyous event in their common history - for example, a Festival of Moses in which they can participate in say, a musical about the life of Moses at the Indoor Stadium or National Stadium and Buddhists and Hindus would also be welcome to join in* (Anne Chong, 2006)."

> "Besides striving for an eventual merger of the ethnic self-help groups, I feel strongly that our various religious institutions could play a catalytic role in helping us to achieve the Singapore dream of a 'Singaporean Singaporean.....
> "The fervent hope remains that if every religious group in Singapore could lend its influence to emphasising common interests and downplaying differences, then the vision of a united 'Singapore tribe' could be realised in the near future (Yam Meng, 2001; Letter ST61)."

> "Just as we have a Racial Harmony Day, why not have a Religious Harmony Day? On that day. the leaders and followers of Islam, Judaism and Christianity can come together annually to celebrate a joyous event in their common history - for example, a Festival of Moses in , which they can participate in say, a musical about the life of Moses at the Indoor Stadium or National Stadium. Buddhists and Hindus would also be welcome to join in. All faiths preach that the way to union with God is through the practice of good deeds. The goal is the same, only the route taken is different. It is like signing up with different tour operators to reach the same destination, so let us allow each other to tread our own path in peace (Anne Chong, 2006; Letter ST63)."

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐          ┌────────────────────────┐
│ Religious Organizations – "As Is" Enablers │    +     │  Multiculturalism      │
│   -   Fostering common understanding       │ ───────▶ │                        │
│       16,59                                 │          └────────────────────────┘
│   -   Embrace multiethnic approaches        │
│       60,61,62                              │
└──────────────────────────────────────────┘


┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Religious Organizations – "Should Be"      │              +
│ Practices                                   │
│   -   Play a catalytic role 61              │
│   -   Emphasize common interests and        │
│       downplay differences 63               │
│                                             │
└──────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
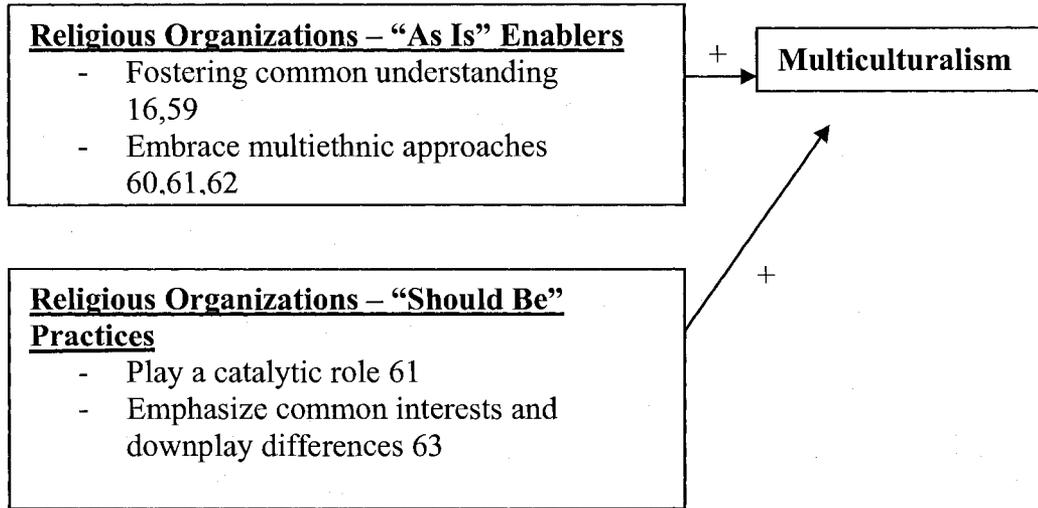
Figure 25. Religious Organizations – "As Is" Enablers and "Should Be" Practices

Neighborhoods – Multiculturalism 'As is" Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that the racial quota for HDB blocks has led to *"an environment where the different races coexist peacefully with opportunities for interaction* (Teck Seng, 2006). " Letters also suggest that *"grassroots organisations (GROs) play a role by helping to locate problems, identify the needs of the various racial groups - and their sensitivities - and helping the Government to formulate rules and regulations to ensure a balance is achieved* (Edmond Tan, 2006)."

> "The issue of racial quotas for HDB blocks has been defended robustly by the Government and justifiably so. Creating an environment where the different races coexist peacefully with opportunities for interaction is of paramount importance. The correctness of this policy is undeniable. Equally vital is the avoidance of racial enclaves (Teck Seng, 2006; Letter ST48)."

> "Grassroots organisations (GROs) play a role by helping to locate problems, identify the needs of the various racial groups - and their sensitivities - and helping the Government to formulate rules and regulations to ensure a balance is achieved (Edmond Tan, 2006; Letter ST64)."

As Is Derailing Practices

However, letters also point out that *"there is a lack of neighbourliness in the HDB estates [as] working adults are busy with their work and they are usually home late* (Chin Min, 2005). " Letters suggest that *"Singaporeans from ethnic minority groups avoided and are still avoiding the Community Clubs* (Steven Lo, 2003)." Letters suggest in some cases, neighborhood events are not conducted with consideration for the diverse ethnic groups in the audience. For example, one writer describes how an event that supposed to be a *'Hari Raya cum block party celebration' was conducted [entirely] in Mandarin and other Chinese dialects* (Lionel de Souza, 2006a)."

"There is a lack of neighbourliness in the HDB estates. Working adults are busy with their work and they are usually home late. Therefore, they hardly have an opportunity to interact with their neighbours. I propose that the relevant bodies take an active role in promoting social interaction (Chin Min, 2005; Letter ST52)."

"Singaporeans from ethnic minority groups avoided and are still avoiding the CCs to this day? As an English-educated ethnic Chinese who is not fluent in Mandarin, I feel awkward in a group where only Mandarin is spoken. How much worse it must be if a person was Malay or Indian (Steven Lo, 2003; Letter ST65)."

"I was totally disappointed because the whole event was conducted in Mandarin and other Chinese dialects. The songs sung by the participants were also in Chinese. The event should have been changed to 'Block party for Chinese residents' as the organisers had no intention of entertaining the non-Chinese residents. Who were the organisers of the event and why did they snub the non-Chinese? Don't they realise that we are a multiracial community and this was supposed to be a 'Hari Raya cum block party celebration' (Lionel de Souza, 2006a; Letter ST66)."

Neighborhoods – Multiculturalism "Should Be" Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that engaging *"the HDB and the Ministry of Community, Youth and Sports could assist in proving more detailed findings and solutions"* to increase *"the software attributes that could promote neighbourliness and therefore better ethnic interaction* (Chin Min, 2005)." Letters also suggest that neighborhood associations *"should also appoint bilingual people to the Community Clubs' management committee"* (Steven Lo, 2003) in order to make the centres more relevant and better able to cope with demands of the 21st century (Steven Lo, 2003)." Letters to the editor also suggest that *"to maintain harmony in multiracial community, [Singaporeans] should not let [community] events be organised by insensitive people who have no respect for the other races* (Lionel de Souza, 2006a)."

"The HDB has played a key role in promoting the hardware for community bonding, with more than 80 per cent of the population living in HDB flats. However, what's lacking are the software attributes that could promote neighbourliness and therefore better ethnic interaction. May be the HDB and the Ministry of Community, Youth and Sports could assist in proving more detailed findings and solutions. I believe that with better interaction and community bonding, we can progress forward to make Singapore a better place to live in (Chin Min, 2005; Letter ST52)."

"It is time the People's Association (PA) gives Mandarin and English equal priority when conducting activities. They should also appoint bilingual people to the CCs' management committees. This will not only encourage the English-educated among the ethnic minorities to use the CCs more often, but also make the centres more relevant and better able to cope with demands of the 21st century (Steven Lo, 2003; Letter ST65)."

"To maintain harmony in our multiracial community, we should not let such events [Hari Raya cum block party celebrations] be organised by insensitive people who have no respect for the other races (Lionel de Souza, 2006a; Letter ST66)."
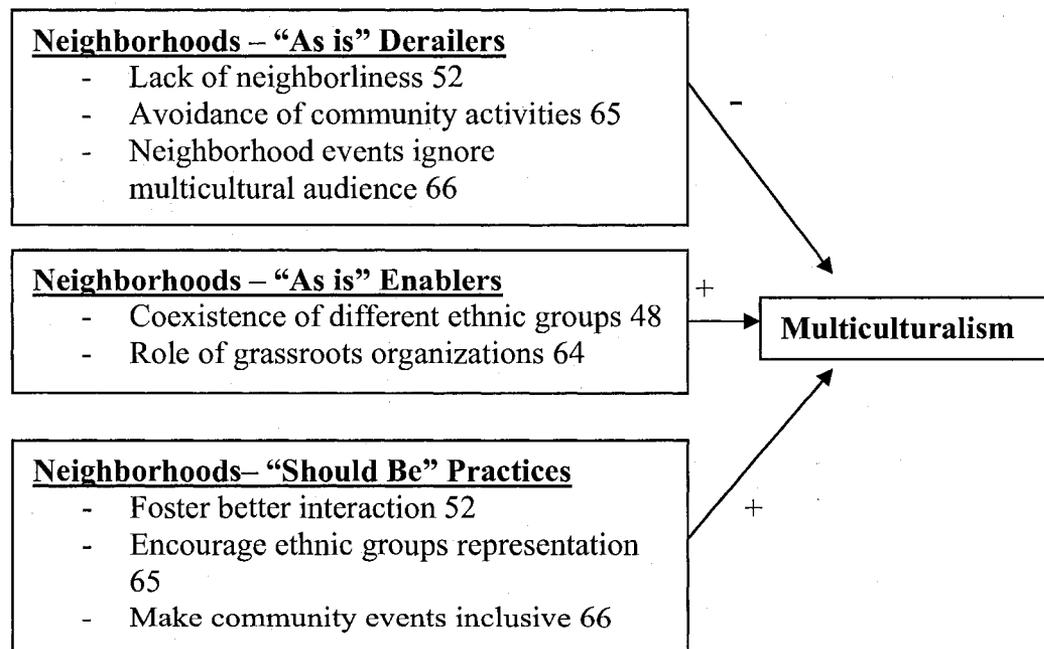
Figure 26. Neighborhoods – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Majority group – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters demonstrate that individuals of the majority group do take effort to

apologize on behalf of their group *"over [minorities] being made to feel out of place"*

(Yar Ee, 2005) and *"plead guilty for being complacent about racial relations* (Pei Jing,

2006). *"*

> *"One would expect organisers to take greater care in including all Singaporeans, especially in important, high-profile events such as National Day celebrations. It does not matter if other aspects of the celebrations did include all Singaporeans. As long as one aspect has failed to do so, it is a failure. The true measure of whether the organisers have succeeded should be how the man in the street feels, not how good it looks on paper. To Mr Rosli and his wife, I offer, as a Singaporean, my apologies over their being made to feel out of place. We are all Singaporeans and each one of us has a social responsibility to ensure continued cohesiveness (Yar Ee, 2005; Letter ST67)."*

> *"Singaporeans, especially the Chinese, are complacent about racial relations. Besides their knowledge of Malay and Indian food, their understanding of the beliefs and cultures of other races is next to nil. I, myself, would plead guilty to this charge (Pei Jing, 2006; Letter ST19)."*

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that being majority has its own challenges.

First, letters to the editor suggest that *"it is much easier for the majority to miss the*

point that it does not interact sufficiently with the minority races" and often *"the*

insularity of the majority is hidden by the presumption that it is the mainstream of

society (Osman Sidek, 2005)."

> *"What I suggest is that it is much easier for the majority to miss the point that it does not interact sufficiently with the minority races. This is simply because the minority races stick out like a sore thumb when we behave in an insular manner. Whereas the insularity of the majority is hidden by the presumption that it is the mainstream of society (Osman Sidek, 2005; Letter ST68)."*

Second, for the majority group, sense of *"complacency"* (Pei Jing, 2006*)* may contribute to their understanding that *"everything seems to be going well* (Kelvin Ang, 2006)."

> *"I hope letter writers on this topic understand that racism is an evil that cuts both ways. Having experienced it overseas, I understand how it diminishes the individuals on the giving and receiving end. Perhaps, to Chinese Singaporeans, who are the majority here, everything seems to be going well. But have they ever thought what it would be like to be in the minority? I have seen blatant examples of racist behaviour by some of them here - in my work, at social events and also in the media. Worst of all, I do not think their behaviour is conscious. I fear that if this carries on, it will endanger our society and country* (Kelvin Ang, 2006; Letter ST69)."

Third, letters to the editor suggest that the majority group *"rarely had to think about the problem of racism as it has never been directed against them* (Pan Xuequn, 2005)."

> *"As a member of the Chinese majority and the educated elite, I have rarely had to think about the problem of racism as it has never been directed against my friends or myself. To borrow from a concept that academic Rachel Lee calls the 'pleasure of 'whiteness', it is the privileged majority that can be unselfconscious about race, while having the power to mark others as being different. It was only as an international student and a minority in America that I became conscious of being 'Asian', and began to be aware of my own racial prejudices, founded on ignorance and popular stereotypes. Living with two African girls and an African-American girl while taking a class on African-American theatre this semester has certainly taught me a lot about my blind spots* (Pan Xuequn, 2005; Letter ST70)."

Majority group – Multiculturalism "Should Be" Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that the *"majority group must be vocal"* (Daniel Zhang, 2005) in opposing racial views and engage *"in a serious and open dialogue about the concerns of both majority and minority groups, with a view to building a society proud of its diversity, as well as its underlying cross-racial unity* (Angelia Poon,

Pei San, & Nicholas Song; 2000)." Letters also suggest that *"the majority group [need to take] "proactive actions" to understand, tolerate and accept the ways of the [minority]* (Osman Sidek, 2005)."

"No country in the world is free from such prejudice. But we must strive to limit these racist views, and each time one is made, the majority must be vocal in its opposition to it. Only then can we maintain and strengthen racial harmony here." (Daniel Zhang, 2005; Letter ST71)."

"It is more likely that we understand, tolerate and accept the ways of the majority, than the other way round, unless proactive action is taken (Osman Sidek, 2005; Letter ST68)."

"Singaporeans need to acknowledge the race issue and engage in a serious and open dialogue about the concerns of both majority and minority groups, with a view to building a society proud of its diversity, as well as its underlying cross-racial unity (Angelia Poon, Pei-San, Nicholas Song; 2000; Letter ST72)."

Majority Group – "As is" Derailers
- Less interaction with minority 68
- Complacency over racial harmony 69
- Unconscious of majority privilege 70

Majority Group – "As is" Enablers
- Recognize failures to be inclusive, reject racism and are willing to apologize 18,67

Majority Group– "Should Be" Practices
- Vocal in opposing racial views 71
- Be proactive in mingling with other ethnic groups 68
- Acknowledge the racial issues 72

Multiculturalism

−

+

+
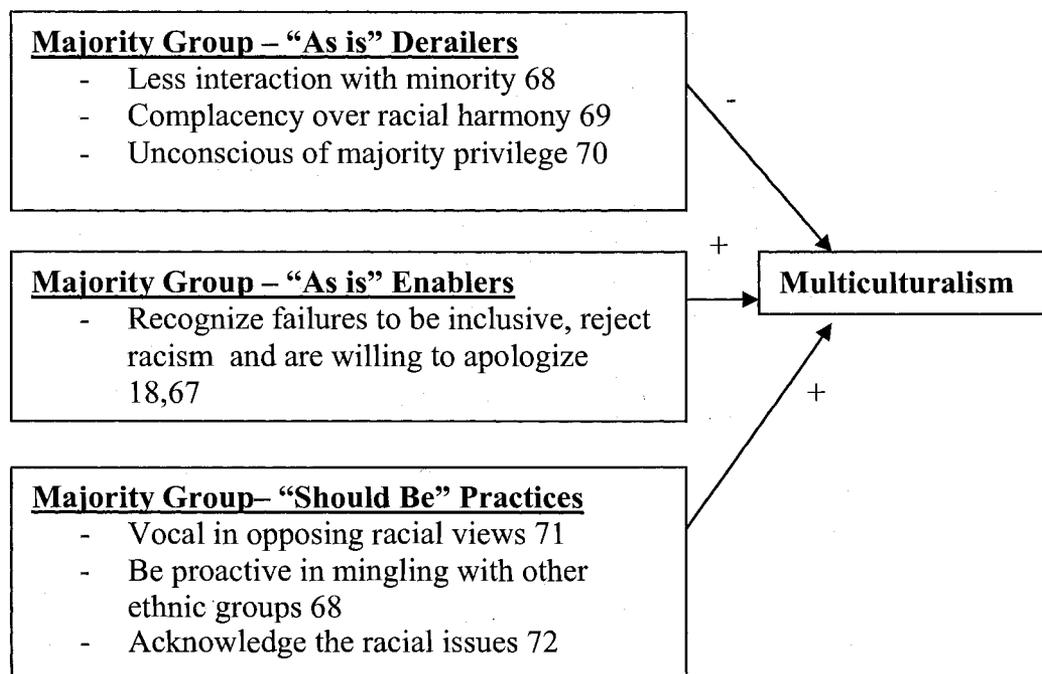
Figure 27. Majority Group– "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

<u>*Minority – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices*</u>

<u>As Is Enabling Practices</u>

Letters suggest that the minorities do ***"understand, tolerate and accept the ways***

of the majority (Osman Sidek, 2005**)*." * Letters also suggest that minority members

willing to take the first step to initiate friendship with the members of the majority group

(Jerry Siah, 2006)."

> *"It is more likely for the minority to brush shoulders with the majority, even when*
> *we make no attempt to try. It is more likely that we understand, tolerate and*
> *accept the ways of the majority, than the other way round, unless proactive action*
> *is taken* (Osman Sidek, 2005; Letter ST68).**"**

> *"When I moved into my new home years ago, I was disturbed to see my next-*
> *door neighbour wearing a tudung. However, it was my neighbour who initiated*
> *our friendship when she brought food for my family during Hari Raya*
> *Aidilfitri. Today, my closest female friend wears a tudung* (Jerry Siah, 2006;
> Letter ST73)."

<u>As Is Derailing Practices</u>

Letters suggest that "***Malay MPs have not been particularly successful in***

qualitatively alleviating the socioeconomic and educational marginality of the Malay

community" (Mohamad Rosle Ahmad, 2000) and as such ***"an institutionalised collective***

leadership system where real ground feelings would be expressed" need to be created

(Mohamad Rosle Ahmad, 2000).

> *"In her book, The Singapore Dilemma: The Political And Economic Marginality*
> *Of The Malay Community, published in 1998, Dr Lily Zubaidah Rahim argues*
> *that "Malay MPs have not been particularly successful in qualitatively alleviating*
> *the socioeconomic and educational marginality of the Malay community.*
> *(Instead,) they have been more effective in representing the political interests of*
> *the PAP by providing it with Malay representatives willing to work within the*
> *prescribed parameters." This view parallels the recent findings of the Association*
> *of Muslim Professionals (AMP), that the Malay community's achievements have*
> *not achieved national standards, and also lends support to its suggestion for the*

creation of an institutionalised collective leadership system where real ground feelings would be expressed (Mohamad Rosle Ahmad, 2000; Letter ST74)."

Minority Group – Multiculturalism "Should Be"Practices

Letters suggest that the minority groups should also take their responsibility for some of their challenges and should seek solutions to address those challenges (Musliha Ajmain, 2001)."

> *"As a Malay, I do not deny the fact that the percentage of Malay graduates pale in comparison with the other races. However, that has a lot to do with our own attitude rather than the educational system* (Musliha Ajmain, 2001; Letter ST75)."
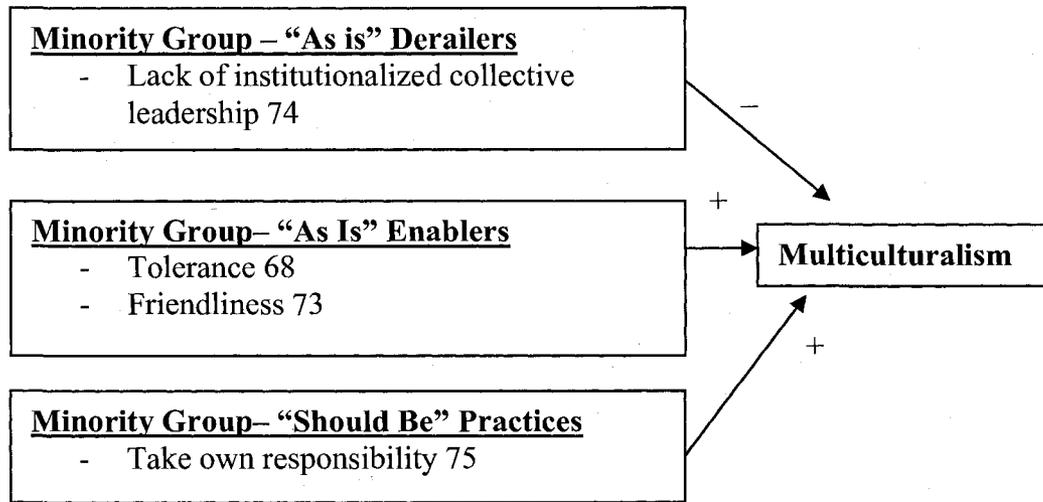
Figure 28. Minority Group – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Parents – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters show that parents do *"encourage [their children] to identify [themselves] as a Singaporean first and not worry about their racial label* (Khalidah Abdullah, 2001)."

> *"I have always encouraged my five-year-old daughter to identify herself as a Singaporean first and not worry about her racial label* (Khalidah Abdullah, 2001; Letter ST76)."

> *"While I was growing up my parents were very conscious to avoid identifying people by race. Once, when I told my mother I was going out to play with Ravi (an Indian friend of mine) and she asked me who Ravi was, I described him as the most tanned of my friends as I did not then have the capacity to classify people by race* (Michael Ewing, 2004; Letter ST77)."

> *As a family, we also regularly attend the Mid-Autumn Festival celebration, where we get to mingle with our Chinese and Malay neighbours, share good food and enjoy the story behind this tradition* (Krishnan, 2005; Letter ST78)."

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters suggest that *"a major factor affecting parent's choice of a primary school is racial composition* (Teck Seng, 2006)." Letters argue that *"certain schools are eschewed by Chinese parents because there are 'too many Malays' while Malay parents prefer to enrol their children in these very schools for the same reason* (Teck Seng, 2006)." Letters also give description of how *"if a school is headed by a Malay principal or is perceived to attract more Malay teachers and students, Chinese parents will start to shun it while Malay parents will favour it and from there, an undesirable cycle begins until the school becomes a 'Malay' school. The same is true in schools with few Malay students where they end up as 'Chinese' schools* (Pui Fong, 2006)"

"What's disturbing is the attitude of the parents. A major factor affecting their choice of a primary school is racial composition. Certain schools are eschewed by Chinese parents because there are 'too many Malays' while Malay parents prefer to enrol their children in these very schools for the same reason (Teck Seng, 2006; Letter ST48)."

"It may be unpleasant to say this but if a school is headed by a Malay principal or is perceived to attract more Malay teachers and students, Chinese parents will start to shun it while Malay parents will favour it. From there, an undesirable cycle begins until the school becomes a 'Malay' school. The same is true in schools with few Malay students. They end up as 'Chinese' schools (Pui Fong, 2006; ST57)"

Letters to the editor also suggest that in some cases, what parents ***"inculcate"*** in their children regarding racial issues can be untrue as shown in the quote below.

"I discovered that certain things my parents and elders told me were not particularly true. They had inculcated in me a belief that my race was more - as is beautiful and more intelligent than another (John Masih, 2004; Letter ST79)."

Parents – Multiculturalism "Should Be"Practices

Letters suggest that parents should play an important role in promoting multiculturalism. First, parents as ***"early influencers"*** (Mohamad Tariq, 2006) ***"have the greatest influence on their children's attitude towards other races*** (Maria Jacinta Francis, 2006)." Letters show that they need to be exemplars by ***'singing the same tune'*** (Maria Jacinta Francis, 2006) and teach children that ***"prejudice is wrong"*** (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005) *and **"strive to build bridges and break down the walls between [different ethnic group]*** (John, 2002)."

"As parents, our early influences, education and upbringing will provide the framework for the proper inculcation of values and mindset (Mohamad Tariq, 2006; Letter 80)."

"All these will bear fruit only if parents 'sing the same tune.' As the National Education Survey showed last year, parents have the greatest influence on their

children's attitude towards other races (Maria Jacinta Francis, 2006; Letter ST81)."

"Parents bear fundamental responsibility for shaping their children's early conception of themselves as racialised beings. As fellow Singaporeans, let us strive together to build bridges and break down the walls between us (John, 2002; Letter ST82)."

"Teach people, especially children, that prejudice is wrong (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005; Letter ST15)."

Second, parents should ***"create avenues for their children to interact with Singaporeans of different ethnic origins and educate them on the myths and facts about the various ethnic groups*** (Khalidah Abdullah, 2001). *"*

> *"Parents should also create avenues for their children to interact with Singaporeans of different ethnic origins and educate them on the myths and facts about the various ethnic groups. I hope our future generation will not grow up with notions like the 'lazy Malay', the 'smelly Indian' or the 'money-minded Chinese* (Khalidah Abdullah, 2001; Letter ST76). *"*

Third, parents have to ***"play an active role in nurturing in the young a deeper understanding, appreciation and respect for Singaporeans from different ethnic and religious backgrounds*** (Edmund Lim, 2006)."

> *"In addition, teachers and parents can play an active role in nurturing in the young a deeper understanding, appreciation and respect for Singaporeans from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. This foundation of appreciation, mutual respect and friendship is vital to the development of strong bonds of racial harmony, that can withstand the stress and tension of future challenges* (Edmund Lim, 2006; Letter ST14)."

Fourth, parents ***"should encourage their children to befriend classmates of other races"*** (Hsien Wee, 2003) and ***"feel comfortable letting their children interact freely with others of different ethnicity, unaccompanied by adults*** (Michael Heng, 2006)."

> *"My daughter is in Primary Two and, since Primary One, she has had a best*

friend who is an Indian girl. I remember meeting her friend, Dyuti, and her family during Dyuti's birthday party at McDonald's and was absolutely happy when I spoke to her mum. My daughter came back home one day with tears in her eyes. Her classmates, a group of Chinese girls, had teased her about her sinus problem. Dyuti told her to ignore the teasing and made her feel better. To me, race is not the issue when it comes to finding a good friend. I am glad that my daughter has learnt more about the culture of another race from her best friend. An Indian girl in her class joined the Chinese dance group and performed recently in the Racial Harmony Day concert in school. This is encouraging as it removes the barriers among the different races. Parents should encourage their children to befriend classmates of other races (Hsien Wee, 2003; Letter ST84)."

"I believe that at the core of the answer lies a real struggle in many over whether we would feel comfortable letting our young children interact freely with others of different ethnicity, unaccompanied by adults (Michael Heng, 2006; Letter ST46)."

Letters also indicate that "***parents should play an active role in uphold[ing] good values and instill correct perspectives in the child***" (Thomas Liew, 2006) and "***must not perpetuate racial stereotypes or make racially biased comments themselves*** (Benson Ang, 2003)." Letters argue that parents should also "***set an example for their children by mixing with those from other races*** (Benson Ang, 2003)."

"Yet no matter what initiatives schools or the Ministry of Education put forward, parents should play an active role. It is the responsibility of parents to uphold good values and instill correct perspectives in the child, a role schools cannot take over. What good are National Education packages if a child's own parents don't believe in establishing good relations with other races (Thomas Liew, 2006; Letter ST53)?"

"…parents must not perpetuate racial stereotypes or make racially biased comments themselves. They should, instead, set an example for their children by mixing with those from other races (Benson Ang, 2003; Letter ST83)."

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Parents– "As Is" Derailers                                │
│   -   Not being mindful about their race based decisions   │
│       48,57                                                │
│   -   Displaying Ethnocentric views 79                     │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Parents– "As Is" Enablers                                 │
│   -   sampling food 78                                     │
│   -   attending cultural activities of other ethnic groups 78 │
│   -   encourage Singapore identity 76,77                  │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Parents– "Should Be" Practices                            │
│   -   "Singing the same tune" 15,80,81,82                  │
│   -   Create inter-racial interaction opportunities 76     │
│   -   Nurture a deep understanding, appreciation and       │
│       respect for ethnic differences 14                    │
│   -   Encourage children to befriend other ethnic groups   │
│       46,83,84                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

```
                                        ─
                                   ┌──────────────────┐
                              +  → │ Multiculturalism │
                                   └──────────────────┘
                                        ↗
                                    +
```

Figure 29. Parents– "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Individual – Multiculturalism "As is"Practices

As Is Enabling Practices

Letters suggest that Singaporeans *"feel no constraints and inhibitions at attending each other's religious and cultural events* (Zaibun Siraj, 2006)."

> *"We feel no constraints and inhibitions at attending each other's religious and cultural events (Zaibun Siraj, 2006; Letter ST85)."*

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters to the editor suggest that individuals do face prejudices based on one's cultural background as the two quotes below show.

> *"As I grew into manhood, I realised that people of other races had similar prejudices and dislikes about my race (John Masih, 2004; Letter ST79)."*

> *"I am glad to hear that Singapore is celebrating racial harmony day. But I would like to highlight certain happenings here. I am a Premium Taxi (Silver cab) driver. I have encountered certain people who do not want to get into a taxi that has an Indian driver. We usually wait in the taxi queue for passengers. But some people do not like to get into our taxis. Instead they get into the taxi that is behind us. The other taxi driver could be from another race. This has to change for there to be racial harmony in Singapore. We must know how to respect each other as different races* (Nadarajan Velaitham; Letter ST86)."

Individual –Multiculturalism "Should Be"Practices

Letters suggest that Singaporeans should feel ***"lucky"*** and ***"grateful"*** (Edmond Tan, 2006) that they ***"can walk in Geylang and Chinatown without being taunted or stabbed because he/she is a Malay or Chinese*** (Benardine De Britto, 2006).***"***

> *"We are very lucky and we don't realise it. We just want to fight and have useless debates. Be thankful that you can walk in Geylang and Chinatown without being taunted or stabbed because you are a Malay or Chinese* (Benardine De Britto, 2006; Letter ST87)."

> *"Singaporeans should be enlightened and be grateful for the work of the Government in achieving racial and religious harmony* (Edmond Tan, 2006; Letter ST64)."

Letters also suggest that Singaporeans should be ***"introspective"*** in ***"reexamining the state of racial harmony that has been taken for granted"*** (Michael Heng, 2006) and should ***"correct"*** themselves to ***"avoid irreparable harm and damage to themselves and others*** (John Masih, 2004)." Letters argue that accommodating cultural ***'compromises'*** and ***"[befriending] with people of other cultures [can] erode all prejudices between races and enrich own life*** (Rachel Yap, 2006)."

> *"Rarely has anyone the courage to urge his fellow Singaporeans to reach within their souls in true introspection to re-examine what most of us have taken for granted - our state of racial harmony* (Michael Heng, 2006; Letter ST46)."

> *"If I had not corrected myself at an early stage, it would have caused irreparable harm and damage to myself and others* (John Masih, 2004; Letter ST79)."

"Being friends with people of other cultures has exposed me to events like Hari Raya and equipped me with knowledge of other races. This erodes all prejudices between races and personally, it has enriched my life. It takes some compromises. I hope more people see racial harmony as essential in our society (Rachel Yap, 2006; Letter ST88)."

Letters suggest that Singaporeans should ***"defend anyone who has been negatively and unfairly prejudiced for his identity and beliefs, regardless of race, language or religion"*** (Kai Khiun, 2005) and should ***"realise that people are individuals"*** and ***"not all people of a particular race have the same qualities*** (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005)." Letters also suggest that individuals should not allow their perception of certain cultural groups moulded by what is portrayed by international media coverage (Jerry Siah, 2006).

"Realise that people are individuals. Not all people of a particular race have the same qualities. We must learn to check ourselves whenever we inadvertently subscribe to a racial stereotype. Racial stereotyping is very common here and many don't even see anything wrong with this (Sendhuran Govindan, 2005; Letter ST15)."

"The act of choosing to sit with another racial group for lunch instead of sticking with one's 'own' kind is monumentally more powerful than a hundred letters debating the nature of theodicy (the problem of evil). Hence, instead of a 'blossoming of a hundred flowers' on publications on ethnic and theological debates, I long for the day when Singaporeans need not be prompted by the Government, and will not hesitate, to defend anyone who has been negatively and unfairly prejudiced for his identity and beliefs, regardless of race, language or religion (Kai Khiun, 2005; Letter ST26)."

"We should not allow our perceptions of our fellow Malay-Muslim citizens to be moulded by what we see in international media coverage. Neither should we take the peaceful situation in Singapore for granted. Instead, we should engage our closely-knit Malay-Muslim community and learn from them (Jerry Siah, 2006; Letter ST73)."

Letters also suggest that Singaporeans ***"shouldn't be too comfortable and must make the effort to engage Singaporeans of other races and build***

friendships with them (Daniel Zhang, 2005)." Letters argue individuals should

not *"forget racial differences"* but rather *"pledge [themselves] to overcome*

profound fault lines in [the] society (Indranee Rajah, 2006)."

> "*I'm glad that we have an Indian President, a Malay Singapore Idol and a Eurasian MP. But we shouldn't be too comfortable; we must also make the effort to engage Singaporeans of other races and build friendships with them. Even a simple smile or greeting strengthens the fabric of our nation* (Daniel Zhang, 2005; Letter ST71)."

> "*Mr Chua claims that we are obsessed with race and that the words 'regardless of race, language or religion' in the Pledge were intended by Mr Rajaratnam to mean we should forget racial differences. I beg to differ. The Pledge was not written so that we could 'forget' racial differences. It was written so that we would pledge ourselves to overcome profound fault lines in our society* (Indranee Rajah, 2006; Letter ST11)."

Individual – "As Is" Derailers
- Exposed to prejudices 79,86

Individual – "As Is" Enablers
- Comfortable in engaging with other community in religious and cultural events 85

Individual – "Should Be" Practices
- Willing to correct oneself 79
- Be thankful and grateful 64,87
- Be introspective 46
- Accommodate cultural compromises 88
- Be vocal in opposing racial views 15,26
- Make effort to engage and build friendship with other ethnic groups 11,71

Multiculturalism

−

+

+

Figure 30. Individual – "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

<u>*Media (Press, Internet, Television etc.) – Multiculturalism "As is" Practices*</u>

<u>As Is Enabling Practices</u>

Letters suggest that *"media has an impact on the values of a society and the attitudes of individuals"* (Sebastian Tan, 2000; Letter ST89) through its role as *"informer, educator and entertainer"* (Cecilia Yip, 2000; Letter ST90). Letters put forward that *"Singapore's model of government and the media has given [Singapore] a clean government, social equity and harmony, and, as a result, a strong economy* (Stanley Loh, 2005)." Letters argue that *"Singapore media only serves to inform and educate, but also to build national consensus"* (Rene Yap, 2005) and *"responsible not only for the accuracy of reports, but also the impact of these reports on the peace and stability of a small multiracial country* (Adi Hermawan, 2003)." Letters suggest that *"through the press and other dialogue sessions, the authorities have openly discussed sensitive issues, such as the disquiet among other races because of the emphasis on Chinese language and Singaporeans' uneasiness over competition from foreign talent* (Kai Khiun, 2005)." Letters argue that the press *"has opened up more in recent years, as can be seen by the increase in the number of articles about race and religion in Singapore* (Jamie Han, 2005)." Letters also show that the press is willing to apologize if they have made a mistake or *"misheard"* (Jayakumar, 2006).

> *"Singapore's model of government and the media has given our country a clean government, social equity and harmony, and, as a result, a strong economy (Stanley Loh, 2005; Letter ST91)."*
>
> *"Like Ms Chua, I, too, find myself explaining to my foreign counterparts that, no, Singapore is not a communist country, and the media - though not as free as its Western counterparts - is a responsible one. How free can any media be? As long*

as a stakeholder, be it the media owners or news makers, has an agenda to propagate, one party's freedom is another's restriction - a restriction over media space, voice and control. Regulation of the media ensures that no unorthodox materials which could incite religious hatred, spark racial unrest or promote pornography get out to the public via the mainstream media. Further, I believe most journalists practise self-censorship to some extent, because they know that their pens are mighty and their thoughts, when printed, cannot be taken lightly. Singapore's geopolitical position also places great constraints on the media, and our journalists are expected to respect the regional and local ethnic sensitivities. The parameters for a socially responsible and developmental media are very clearly defined in Singapore: our media not only serves to inform and educate, but also to build national consensus (Rene Yap, 2005; Letter ST92)."

"However, I fully appreciate the fact that the local media is not only responsible for the accuracy of reports, but also the impact of these reports on the peace and stability of a small multiracial country (Adi Hermawan, 2003; Letter ST93)."

"Through the press and other dialogue sessions, the authorities have openly discussed sensitive issues, such as the disquiet among other races because of the emphasis on Chinese language and Singaporeans' uneasiness over competition from foreign talent (Kai Khiun, 2005; Letter ST26)."

"I refer to the article, 'Racial harmony is not a given' (ST, July 24), on my interview with journalists on racial harmony. I am surprised that certain words (in italics) were added to my answer to a question on whether schools are doing enough to educate young Singaporeans on racial and religious harmony: 'I do not like to load Tharman (Shanmugaratnam, Education Minister), my Tamil brother, with more, because everyone is telling him the Ministry of Education should do this and that. 'But if you ask my personal view, it is not that they are not doing enough. But the point is that it is with our young that any inculcation of values on racial and religious harmony must start... Basic values: Who we are, What we are." I never said the words 'my Tamil brother' nor did I say anything even remotely resembling those words. This can be, and has been, confirmed by the sound and video recordings of the interview. Furthermore, the insertion of those words is inexcusable as it runs counter to my beliefs and indeed the beliefs of the whole Government. It also goes completely against the tenor of the message in my interview, which is to stress the importance of racial and religious harmony in Singapore. ST owes its readers an apology for this mistake. S. Jayakumar Deputy Prime Minister Editor's Note: We misheard the words in question. We apologise. (Jayakumar, 2006; Letter ST54)."

Letters argue that *"government funding for public service broadcast"* is

"important in multi-racial and multi-lingual Singapore" as it allows the airing of

"minority (Malay and Indian) language programmes," which *"could [not] be fully*

funded commercially (Cecilia Yip, 2002)."

> *"There have been several articles and letters recently commenting on government*
> *funding for public service broadcast (PSB) and its consequential effect on*
> *competition between MediaCorp and MediaWorks. The Singapore Broadcasting*
> *Authority (SBA) would like to take this opportunity to explain why PSB*
> *programmes are important for local television. PSB programmes cover current*
> *affairs, info-educational, children's, cultural, quality drama and minority (Malay*
> *and Indian) language programmes. They play an important role in nation-*
> *building by reflecting local values and concerns. It would be ideal if PSB*
> *programmes could be fully funded commercially. But this is not realistic. So,*
> *some government funding is necessary. Indeed, we are not alone in funding PSB*
> *programmes. Most governments do. In multi-racial and multi-lingual Singapore,*
> *this is especially important (Cecilia Yip, 2002; Letter ST94)."*

As Is Derailing Practices

Letters argue that the "Singapore cannot allow the mass media to condone

divisions along ethnic lines in the name of entertainment (Gurmit Singh, 2006)." Letters

put forward that airing "ethnic-grouping format shows such as "Survivor [Cook Island]"

is a blatant disregard of social sensitivities post-9/11, and it undermines the government's

efforts at bringing Singaporeans closer as one people (Gurmit Singh, 2006)." Letters also

argue that "the media could be more tactful with the coverage of issues [e.g. premarital

sex] so that Asian values and morals are kept in check (Noor Shilla, 2000)." Letters also

argue that "it doesn't promote good racial harmony when the media" spotlight the ethnic

identity of minority individuals as though they are anomalies when they excel in domains

such as education (David Lim, 2005).

"I am disappointed that MediaCorp has gone ahead with plans to screen the new season of Survivor. The ethnic-grouping format has already raised eyebrows among members of the New York City Council in the US and they had asked CBS to pull the show off the air. In a multiracial city that owes its peace and prosperity to good relations among the various races, Singapore cannot allow the mass media to condone divisions along ethnic lines in the name of entertainment. Airing the show is a blatant disregard of social sensitivities post-9/11, and it undermines the government's efforts at bringing Singaporeans closer as one people.......As the only free-to-air broadcaster in Singapore, MediaCorp has moral and civic obligations to all Singaporeans. Please rethink the decision to air Survivor Cook Islands (Gurmit Singh Kullar, 2006; Letter ST95)."*

"I am not an advocate of righteous living and/or virtuous lifestyle, but I do not think that it is wise to glamorise popular figures going with their partners on honeymoon-like vacations or how casually premarital sex is regarded. A similar scenario occurred on the Upfront With Najip programme recently over TCS 5, when it invited some Singaporean celebrities to talk about their relationships and provide intimate details, which involved answering questions on what type of underwear their partners prefer. Our youngsters look up to homegrown celebrities as role models and inspirational figures, so it is quite sad to see such a message projected. Perhaps the media could be more tactful with the coverage of issues so that Asian values and morals are kept in check. Personally, how a person leads his life is a private issue and others have no right to judge him. However, we do have our children to guide and mould (Noor Shilla, 2000; Letter ST96)."*

"It also doesn't promote good racial harmony in our society when the media, especially the radio stations, refer to this year's top PSLE student, Adil Hakeen Mohd Rafee, as a Malay student (David Lim, 2005; Letter ST45)."*

Letters argue that in some instances the media turned a well intentioned term into a negative term. For example, though the term 'fundamentalist' means ***"one who believes and abides by the fundamentals of a religion or belief,"*** the media use this term to label terrorists (Rahmawati, 2001).

"I am a Muslim - a fundamentalist Muslim. I am not ashamed of it as it is the media which has turned this into a negative term. A fundamentalist is one who believes and abides by the fundamentals of a religion or belief. As a fundamentalist Muslim, I condemn the terrorist acts in the United States. I, too, was angered and saddened at the tragic and senseless loss of life. In Islam, it is

believed that even in a war, you cannot harm civilians - especially women and children - or even plants! This is one of the fundamentals of Islam as taught by our Prophet Muhammad. What has happened is outrageous and is totally not in line with the basis of Islam. Islam forbids harming of innocent civilians (Rahmawati Rahmat, 2001; Letter ST97)."

Media –"Should Be" Practices

Letters to the editor put forward that *"a fair and responsible press in a multiracial country is key to maintaining harmony and ensuring economic development and prosperity"* and *"Singaporeans need to acknowledge the race issue and engage in a serious and open dialogue about the concerns of both majority and minority groups, with a view to building a society proud of its diversity, as well as its underlying cross-racial unity* (Angelia Poon, Pei-San & Nicholas Song, 2000)." Letters argue that *"a free press is a necessary step to create a conducive climate for open dialogue"* (Pei Jing, 2005) and it has been proven in other societies that *"newspaper's uninhibited reporting has led to greater awareness of social injustices, such as racism* (Pei Jing, 2005)." However, letters argue that this needs to be done with responsibility as *"irresponsible free press can spark chaos, violence and conflicts, leading to untold miseries for the people* (Paul Chan, 2005)." Letters suggest that *"Singapore has evolved into an open society where anybody can do anything and say anything he or she wishes and the only requirement is that the messenger be responsible for the message* (Tsai Kee, 2006)."

Letters argue that *"the media should not be denied the right to exercise initiative and to highlight issues it deems to be in the public interest* (Sebastian Tan, 2000; Letter ST89)." Letters argue that the media coverage of issues of importance for the majority

group also relates to other groups and hence the coverage should be extended to cover other groups as well (Malathy, 2004; Arvin Gopal, 2001). Letters to the editor also suggest that *"by depicting the various races and how they really live their lives, [media such as* **Singapore Broadcasting Authority]** *can help chip away the racial stereotypes that still exist today* (Arvin Gopal, 2001). "

> *The Straits Times carried a thorough, four-page overview of learning Chinese as a mother tongue, giving the viewpoints of students, teachers and Chinese-language experts ('Chinese: The language gap'; ST, Jan 26). I learnt much about teaching methods, students' learning experiences and Chinese textbooks. However, I wish that media coverage could be extended to other Mother Tongue languages. For example, I would like to know if pupils weak in Tamil also have the option of Syllabus B in secondary school. Is Syllabus B also open to pupils weak in Tamil* (Malathy, 2004; Letter ST98)?"

> *".....any foreigner who has been watching local dramas would be convinced that Singapore is a homogenously Chinese nation. She then went on to mention that Spin was 'a pioneering effort to deal with burning issues of interest to the young, such as friendship, Internet dating, pre-marital sex, Aids, parental divorce and eating disorders'. Again, these issues do not affect the youth of the Chinese majority exclusively. SBA should include depictions of the other races in dramas and address issues such as interracial relationships. We are becoming a huge melting pot and it would be good to reflect this change in our local shows. By depicting the various races and how they really live their lives, SBA can help chip away the racial stereotypes that still exist today* (Arvin Gopal, 2001; Letter ST99)."

> *"Singaporeans need to acknowledge the race issue and engage in a serious and open dialogue about the concerns of both majority and minority groups, with a view to building a society proud of its diversity, as well as its underlying cross-racial unity* (Angelia Poon, Pei-San & Nicholas Song, 2000; Letter ST72)."

> *"There are instances where a newspaper's uninhibited reporting has led to greater awareness of social injustices, such as racism or government failure…"Such openness and transparency can come about only in a free environment for dialogue to take place. A free press is a necessary step to create a conducive climate for open dialogue. On a personal level, we cannot progress without feedback from other people. Analogously, on a societal level, we need feedback that can come only from a free and relatively unbiased press to be able to progress from where we are to where we want to be* (Pei Jing, 2005; Letter ST100)."

"We should never forget that a fair and responsible press in a multiracial country is key to maintaining harmony and ensuring economic development and prosperity. An irresponsible free press can spark chaos, violence and conflicts, leading to untold miseries for the people. This kind of freedom is too high a price to pay for developing countries. We certainly do not want this. While I share Mr Chan's patriotic feeling for Singapore, he makes two implications I disagree with: that a free press is necessarily irresponsible and unfair, and that a controlled press is necessarily responsible and fair (Paul Chan, 2005; Letter ST101)."

"Singapore has evolved into an open society where anybody can do anything and say anything he or she wishes. There is the media for them to express their views, Speakers' Corner for them to say it in person, the Internet to publish them for the world, and blogs to share them with friends. The only requirement this open society asks is that the messenger be responsible for the message. Some say we cannot hold rallies or demonstrations without police permits. But do we want our society to be like, say, Taiwan or the Philippines where demonstrations are the order of the day, and politicians and celebrities throw mud liberally at each other and anybody else, with some of the media merrily playing the role of cheer leaders? The Singapore I know is an open society. It may not be the kind of society Mr Soros envisaged, nor the shape which Mr Koh wished, but it is a fair society where rules are applied fairly and equally to all without fear or favour (Tsai Kee, 2006; Letter ST102)."

"The Newspaper and Printing Presses Act could be revised if need be. However, if it serves to maintain harmony and is not used as a political weapon, it can hardly be faulted in principle. Mr Han also suggested that people with views founded on reason, not racial and religious prejudices, should air them in public. However, articles based on these prejudices need not be manifestly seen to be exacerbating racial or religious tensions to be harmful. Using words with certain connotations and under certain guises can have the same result, and the effect is subtler and more long term. In addition, many people would argue that offensiveness is not a sufficient enough reason to criminalise the writing of such articles. If left unregulated, we could have a press that creates divisions in society rather than mends differences (Chee Hwee, 2005; Letter ST103)."

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Media – "As Is" Derailers                     │
│   -   Not tactful with coverage; 45,94,95      │
│   -   Misrepresentation; 96                    │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Media – "As Is" Enablers                       │
│   -   Responsible media; 91,92,93              │
│   -   Discuss sensitive issues; 26             │
│   -   Willing to apologize and rectify mistakes; 54 │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Media – "Should Be" Practices                  │
│   -   Greater space for discussing the concerns of │
│       both majority and minority groups; 72,87,98 │
│   -   Free and responsible press; 99,100,101,102 │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
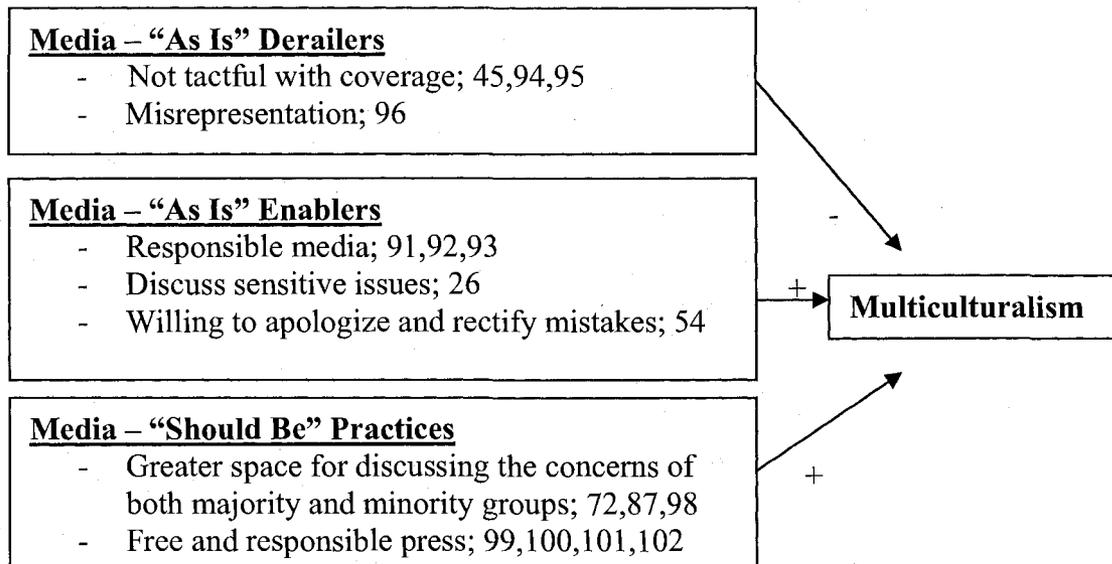
Figure 31. Media– "As Is" Enablers, Derailers and "Should Be" Practices

Community Concerted Partnership

Letters overwhelmingly show that while the government takes numerous efforts toward advancing multiculturalism in Singapore, business organizations, schools, religious organizations, neighborhoods, the majority group, the minority group, parents, the individual, and the media have to work together toward realizing multiculturalism in Singapore.

Letters argue that *"a concerted effort has to be made by thinking, responsible adults at all levels"* (Benson Ang, 2003) and *"government and the media [need] to emphasise that this peace is not a given but requires action on the part of all citizens to be understanding and tolerant* (Shaun Lee, 2005)." As a case in point, one letter argues that *"just by having a Racial Harmony Day does not in any way change the mindset of our youth; it will come about only through a concerted effort by thinking, responsible adults at all levels, starting from kindergarten teachers and primary-school staff and,*

most importantly, parents themselves (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003)." Letters suggest that

though many forms of community partnerships such as *"government-civil society*

partnership in promoting community values is laudable, one needs to consider if such

cooperation has actually functioned in a non-discriminatory and inclusive spirit in

Singapore (Harvey Neo, 2003)."

Letters also argue that *"it is imperative that the family unit plays an equal, if not*

greater, role in shaping our leaders of tomorrow" (Shen Yi, 2006*)* and *"it is the*

responsibility of parents to uphold good values and instill correct perspectives in the

child, a role schools cannot take over (Thomas Liew, 2006). " Letters suggest that

teachers, parents, schools, organization, government are *"partners"* in promoting

multiculturalism (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003; Harvey Neo, 2003; Thomas Liew, 2006; Tuck

Weng, 2006; Vyoma Kapur, 2005) and *"develop[ing] an appreciation of our cultural*

diversity and form closer bonds (Tuck Weng, 2006). " Letters argue that *"the*

authorities, civil institutions and media can also do their part by focusing on the

importance of religious celebrations by different racial groups and increasing their

prominence in the eyes of our young (Yanming, 2000). "

> *"Discrimination may lead the victims to retaliate later in life. Ultimately, racism
> and discrimination will only polarise our society. Is this something that we are
> prepared to accept? A concerted effort has to be made by thinking, responsible
> adults at all levels* (Benson Ang, 2003; Letter ST83)."

> *"... ...there is a concerted effort by the government and the media to emphasise
> that this peace is not a given but requires action on the part of all citizens to be
> understanding and tolerant. As such, it can be stated with conviction that we are
> not a developing nation driven by ethnic tensions. Nor are we a nation that does
> not understand or preaches intolerance* (Shaun Lee, 2005; Letter ST104)

"Just by having a Racial Harmony Day does not in any way change the mindset of our youth. It will come about only through a concerted effort by thinking, responsible adults at all levels, starting from kindergarten teachers and primary-school staff and, most importantly, parents themselves. Till this happens we are depriving our children of their innocence and their opportunity to be truly international citizens of this world (Nasreen Ramnath, 2003; Letter ST47)."

"I also believe that government-civil society partnership in promoting community values is laudable. However, one needs to consider if such cooperation has actually functioned in a non-discriminatory and inclusive spirit in Singapore (Harvey Neo, 2003; Letter ST105)."

"All in all, such initiatives as suggested by the editorial writer will allow cross-cultural interaction to flourish greatly. However, it is imperative that the family unit plays an equal, if not greater, role in shaping our leaders of tomorrow... "Yet no matter what initiatives schools or the Ministry of Education put forward, parents should play an active role. It is the responsibility of parents to uphold good values and instill correct perspectives in the child, a role schools cannot take over. What good are National Education packages if a child's own parents don't believe in establishing good relations with other races? (Thomas Liew, 2006; Letter ST53)."

"It is a long-term effort and schools will continue working with parents and the community to help our students develop an appreciation of our cultural diversity and form closer bonds (Tuck Weng, 2006; Letter ST43)."

"The authorities, civil institutions and media can also do their part by focusing on the importance of religious celebrations by our different racial groups and increasing their prominence in the eyes of our young (Yanming, 2000; Letter ST106)."

"I agree totally with Manpower Minister Ng Eng Hen that grassroot organisations are the social glue. RCs and CCCs bind all Singaporeans into one people to understand and respect the race, creed and religion of each other in multi-racial Singapore (Lionel de Souza, 2006b; Letter ST107)."

Community Concerted Partnership
- Greater Partnership between the government, business organizations, religious organizations, schools, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, parents, individual and media to address multicultural issues 43,47,83,104,105,106,107

Figure 32. Community Concerted Partnership

<u>"One people, one nation, one Singapore"</u>

Content of letters overwhelmingly show the importance of community concerted partnership for advancing Singapore multiculturalism. Letters suggest that ***"Singaporeans should cherish the ideal of one united people, regardless of race, language or religion"*** (Sebastian Tan,2002) but ***"unless and until [Singapore] take a good look at [their] system, the cherished dream of having 'One people, one nation, one Singapore' is hard to come by*** (Rhazaly Noentil, 2005)." Letters argue that Singapore ***"should not allow anyone to disrupt the peace and cohesion"*** of ***"one people, one nation, one Singapore*** (Shu Wei, 2003)."

> *"It is also imperative that we do not overreact by making spurious comments or casting doubts on the Muslim community here. Indeed, we must take this opportunity to understand our fellow Muslim citizens better and seek to forge a warmer and stronger relationship that will bind us together as one people. If there is any useful lesson that can be learnt from the recent episode, it is that Singaporeans should cherish the ideal of one united people, regardless of race, language or religion (Sebastian Tan, 2002; Letter ST108). "*

> *"Unless and until we take a good look at our system, the cherished dream of having 'One people, one nation, one Singapore' is hard to come by. In my good old kampung days, I did not even know that I had Chinese or Indian friends. They were all my friends. And mind you, some came from purely Chinese schools. We played and fought, but we never identified ourselves by the colour of our skin and the religion we belonged to. The generation which I belong to is asking: 'Where has this nation gone wrong?' We are living in trying times. Instead of always focusing on what makes us so different, we should concentrate on how we are alike (Rhazaly Noentil, 2005; Letter ST109)."*

> *"This is our country and we should not allow anyone to disrupt the peace and cohesion. This is where one people, one nation, one Singapore exists (Shu Wei, 2003; Letter ST110)."*

> *"We live as one nation, one people, in peace and harmony (Zaibun Siraj, 2006; Letter ST85)."*

<u>**Synthesis of "As Is" Derailers, "As Is" Enablers and "Should Be" Practices**</u>

<u>**Synthesis of "As Is" Derailers**</u>

Synthesizing all "AS IS" derailers results in four major themes – Lack of Independent dialogue, Latent Negative Consequences of Government Policies for Minorities, Racial Prejudice, Ignorance of Multicultural Demographics and Tokenism.
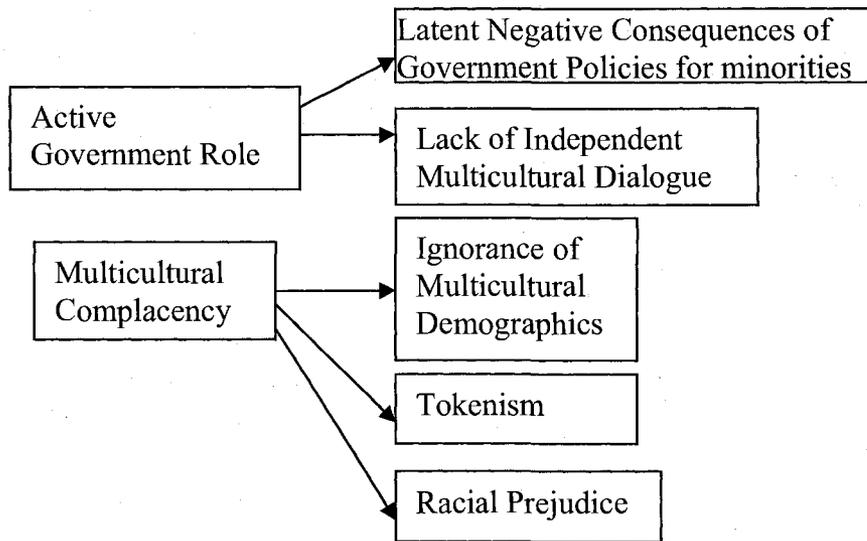
Figure 33. Synthesis of "As Is" Derailers

Synthesis of "As Is" Enablers and "Should Be" Practices

Synthesizing all "AS IS" enabler and "Should Be" practices result in four major

themes – Space for dialogue, Creation of natural platforms for ethnic interaction,

Accommodation of majority and minority interests and the spirit of "One people, One

nation and One Singapore."
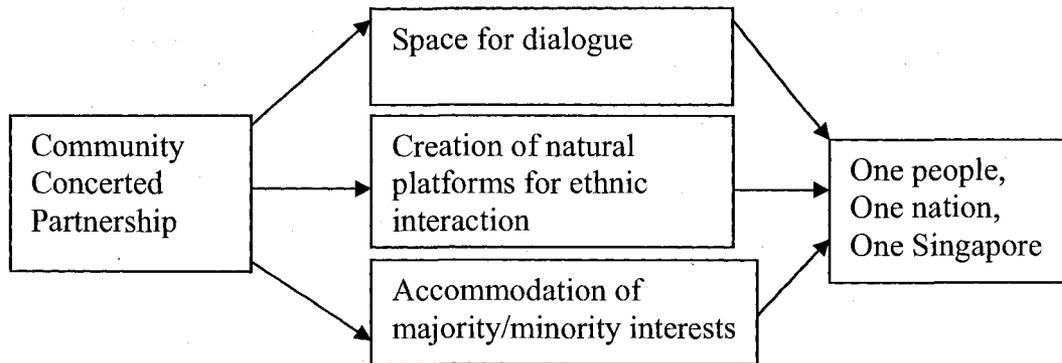
Figure 1. Synthesis of "As Is" Enablers and "Should Be" Practices

Community Concerted Partnership

Role of Business Organizations

Role of the majority/minority group

Role of parents

Role of Media

Role of Religious Organizations

One people, One nation, One Singapore

Role of school

Role of Neigbhorhoods

Role of government

Multiculturalism

+

+
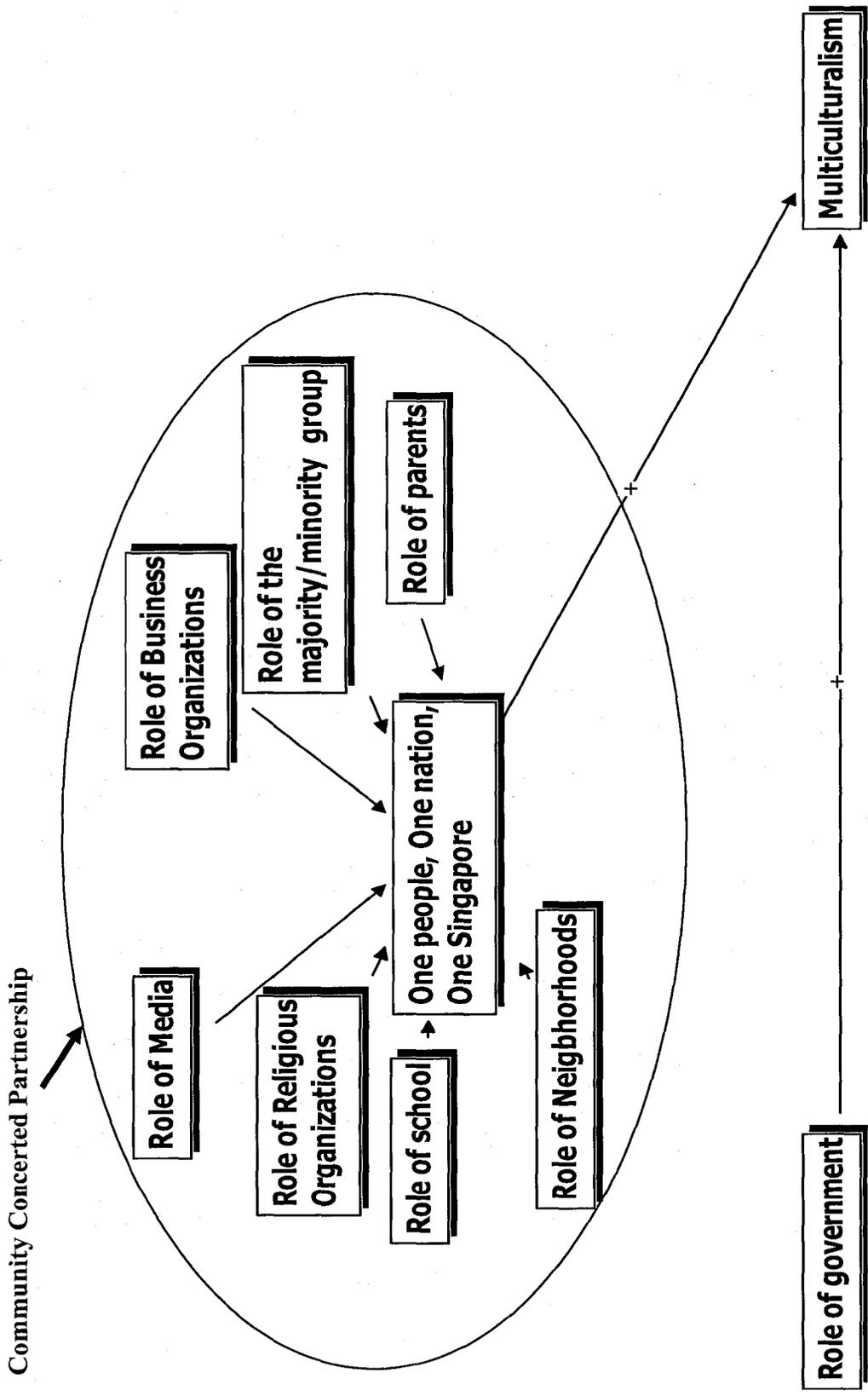
Figure 35. Government, Community Concerted Partnerships and Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism Model of Singapore Based on Letters to the editor
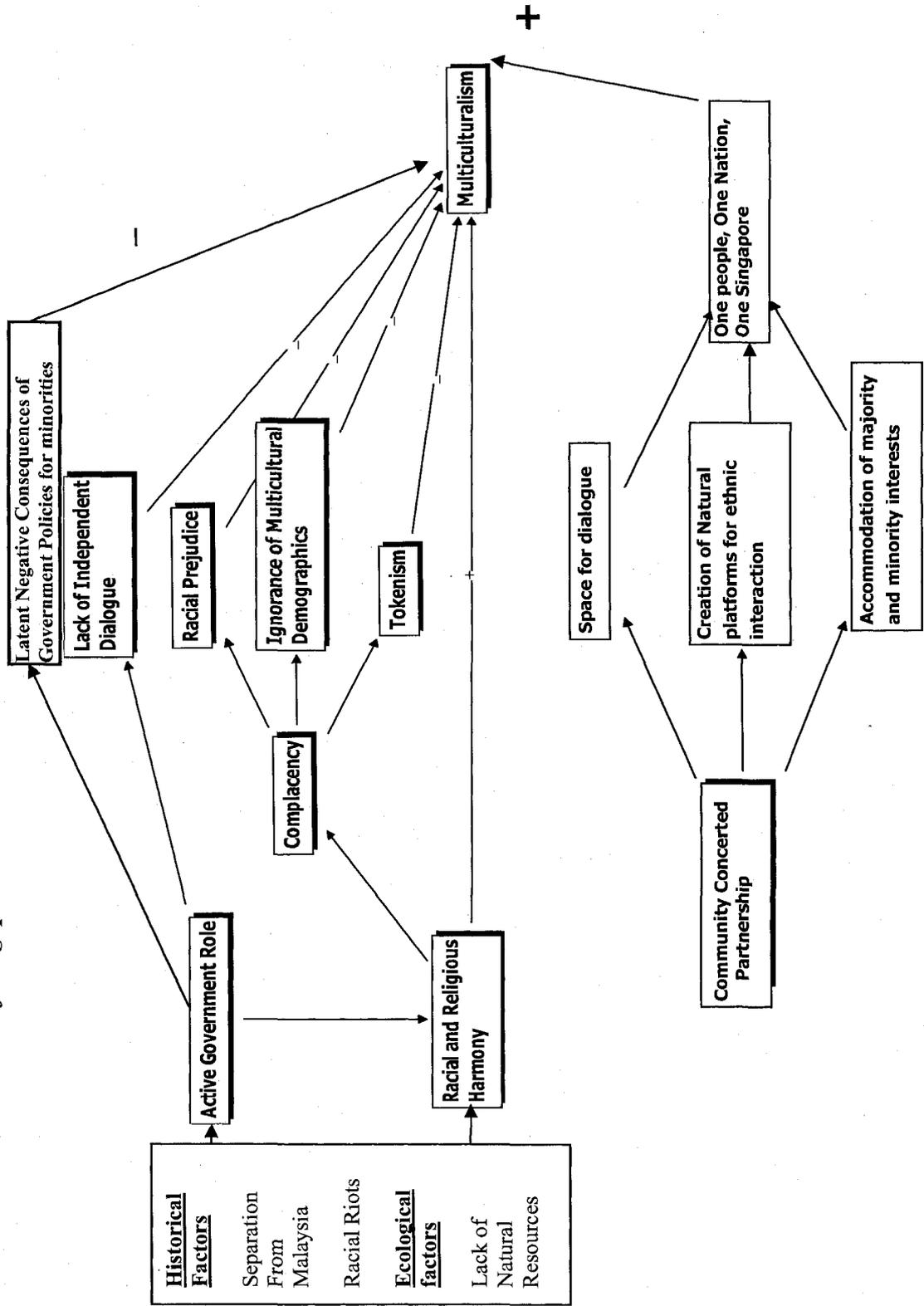
Figure 36. Multiculturalism Model of Singapore Based on Letters to the editor

4.2.2.2 Results from the Historical Analyses (Study 3b)

The name Singapura has its origin in the Sanskrit language and it means Lion City. Javanese historical record shows that Singapore was also known as Temasek or Sea Town. Historical evidence shows that Port of Temasek was founded in 1297 and by the 14th century, Singapore established herself as an important trading center.[24] Parameswara who fled Palembang after the collapse of Srivijaya Empire was granted asylum in Singapura. Parameswara however, took control of the island after killing the chieftain. His 5 year rule came to an end when he was defeated by either the Siam or the Majapahit Empire.[25]

In 1613, the Portuguese who already controlled Malacca conquered Singapore from the Sultanate of Johor. In 1819, Stamford Raffles established a trading post for the British East India Company through an agreement with the Sultan of Johor and the ruler of the island. Five years later, Singapore was ceded permanently to the East India Company.[26] In 1826, Singapore joined Malacca and Penang in forming the British colony of Strait Settlements and it became the capital for the Settlement in 1832. Migration from India, China and other parts of Asia increased during this time and the Chinese migration increased further when Hong Kong was annexed by the British. In 1867, in response to the growth of Singapore and increasing demand for autonomy, the Strait Settlements became a crown colony of Britain and it was directly overseen by the Colonial Office in London rather than the British India.

---

[24] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/country_profiles/1148137.stm
[25] http://www.sg/explore/history.htm
[26] http://www.mfa.gov.sg/Internet/abtsg/aboutsg_history.htm

By 1918, Singapore had established herself as an important trading center. Records show that Singapore's rubber transaction accounted for a fourth of the world rubber export. It also became as a major naval base for the British. In 1942, the Japanese invaded Singapore and continued to rule until 1945. During this time, Singapore was renamed as 'Syonan,' which means the 'Light of the South.'[27]

Immediately after the British returned, Singapore became a separate crown colony breaking away from the Strait Settlements. In 1948, a state of national emergency was declared due to the communist threat from the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), which was a legal organization in Singapore and Malaysia. Some members of the movement who were jailed however, were freed and trained by the British to fight the Japanese. After the British returned, the movement continued to fight the British by targeting worker's union to strike for better pay and living conditions. The movement succeeded in gaining the influence of the workers, so much so that the year 1947 was known as "The Year of Strikes."[28] The state of emergency forced the members of the movement to hide and operate their activities from remote areas, usually in the dense jungles.

In 1950, a racial riot between ethnic Malays and the European and Eurasian injured at least 173 people and killed 18 people. This riot was triggered by a custody battle. Maria born to Dutch-Eurasian parents was adopted by a Malay woman, Aminah, when her father was arrested by the Japanese. Later, after the war, Maria's parents demanded that Maria be returned to them. This later turned in a legal battle and Aminah lost. The Malays argued that the colonial laws were prejudiced against them and started

---

[27] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/country_profiles/1148137.stm
[28] http://library.thinkquest.org/12405/19.htm

protesting. The emotions ran high when photos of Maria praying in a Catholic church were printed in the media.

The anti British sentiment of the communist was successful in influencing students and workers where in 1954, Chinese school students demonstrated against the British's decision to mandate youths to join the part-time military service. In 1955, members of the Singapore Bus Worker's Union (SBWU) protested against low pay, long work hours and poor working environment. They were joined by Chinese school students. The protest however, turned violent and paralyzed Singapore's transport system. Three weeks later, bus workers and students protested again. The riot popularly known as "Black Thursday" resulted in the killing of two police officers, a student and an American press correspondent and injured many.

In 1956, Chinese school students demonstrated over the closure of Singapore Chinese Middle School Student's Union. Four Chinese school students were arrested and students who were involved in communist activities were expelled. The protest was later joined by some workers and riots broke out in many parts of the city.

In 1959, after Singapore gained the status of self-government, first election with compulsory voting was held. As a result, 92.9% of total eligible voters participated in the election. People's Action Party headed by Lee Kuan Yew won 43 seats out of 51 with a popular vote of 54.1%. Since then, People's Action Party has successfully continued their rule till today.

In 1963, the ruling government detained nearly 150 people mostly opposition members, journalists, labor activists and student leaders without trial under the operation

known as "Operation Cold Storage."[29] The detainees were deemed as a threat to national security.   Singapore merged with Malaysia on 16th September 1963.

Singapore merged with Malaysia on 16th September 1963. A year later, there were a number of racial riots. The first riot was known as the *'Prophet Muhammad Birthday Riot.'* It was reported that this riot started when a policeman asked a group of people who were dispersed to rejoin the procession. The group of people instead attacked the policeman and it lead to racial riot between the Chinese and Malays. A second riot between the Chinese and Malays took place after a Malay trishaw-rider was believed to be murdered by a group of Chinese in Geylang Serai. These riots have contributed to the influence of communism, rising Indonesian Confrontation movements and PAP-UMNO political differences. These riots also paved ways for Malaysia-Singapore separation in 1965.

Malaysia-Singapore separation was not anticipated by the Singapore government. Parliament of Malaysia voted 126-0 in favor of expelling Singapore without any representation of Singaporean leaders. Lee Kuan Yew in his press conference announcing the separation stated that *"for me, it is a moment of anguish. All my life, my whole adult life, I have believed in merger and unity of the two territories."*[30] Singapore, hence, has the reputation of the only country in the world in recent history where independence was involuntary.

In 1969, racial tensions surfaced in Singapore due to the spillover of racial riots in Malaysia. It was reported that the Chinese Singaporeans were not happy with the

---

[29] Barr, M. D. (2003). J.B. Jeyaretnam: Three Decades as Lee Kuan Yew's Bete Noir. *Journal of Contemporary Asia, 33*(3)
[30] http://www.straitstimes.com/Pioneers+Of+Singapore/Lee+Kuan+Yew/Quotes/Quotes.html

situation in Malaysia and started their hostility against Malays in Singapore. The

Singapore government however, took swift actions and managed to control the

situation.[31]

In 1970s, Malaysia-Singapore separation caused Singapore to abandon import-

substitution, which was a dominant economic development strategy in 1960s in favor of

export-oriented strategy. During the period, Singapore averaged a 10% annual growth. In

1985, the value addition of a manufacturing worker grew to $27,000 compared to 18,400

in 1979.[32] Economic growth continued till the Asian crisis of 1997. The September 11

incident and the rising economy in China and India lowered the growth rate during the

early years of 2000. In 2007, a proposal to increase Singapore population from current

4.5 million to 6.5 million in 40-50 years was put forward. From the current trend where

non-residents growth is nearly 5 times higher than resident's growth,[33] it is expected that

the bulk of the additional 2.5 million people would be immigrants.

---

[31] http://bbs.chinadaily.com.cn/viewthread.php?tid=424326
[32] http://app.mti.gov.sg/default.asp?id=545
[33] http://www.singstat.gov.sg/pubn/papers/people/c2000-population.pdf

Table 13. Historical Timeline of Singapore

14th century	Important port
1613	Portuguese conquered Singapore
1819	English East India Co.
1826	Formation of Strait Settlements with Penang and Melaka. Penang was the capital.
1832	Singapore became the capital of the Strait Settlements
1842	British annexed Hong Kong. Chinese migration from Hong Kong increased
1867	Strait settlements became Crown Colony
1918	Auction transaction in Singapore counted for ¼ of the world rubber export
1922	Became as a British Naval Base in East Asia
1942-45	Japanese occupation
1948	State of Emergency due to Communist
1950	Maria Hertogh riots
1954	Demonstration against part-time military service
1955	Hock Lee Bus riots
12 May 1955	Black Thursday
1956	Chinese Middle School riots
1959	Election – PAP came to power
1963	Operation Cold Store
1963	Joined Malaysia
1964	Racial Riots
1965	MacDonald House bombing
1965	Left Malaysia
1969	Racial riots – Spillover from Malaysia's May 13 riot
1987	Operation Spectrum
1997	Asian Financial Crisis
2001	Singapore Embassies Attack Plot
2007	A proposal to increase Singapore population from current 4.5 million to 6.5 million in 40-50 years was put forward.
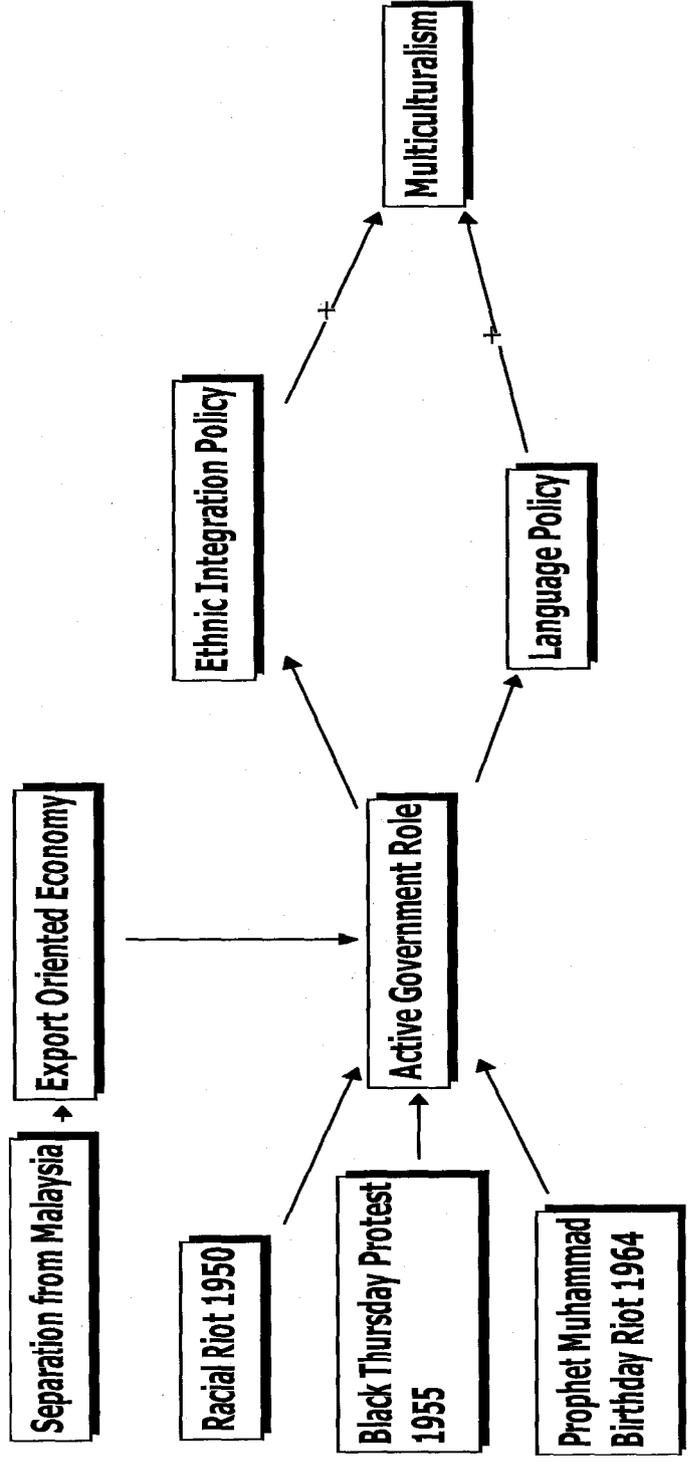
Figure 37. Historical Model of Multiculturalism - Singapore

4.2.2.3 Theoretical Syntheses of grounded theory and historical analyses

This section integrates results from both the grounded theory and historical analyses.
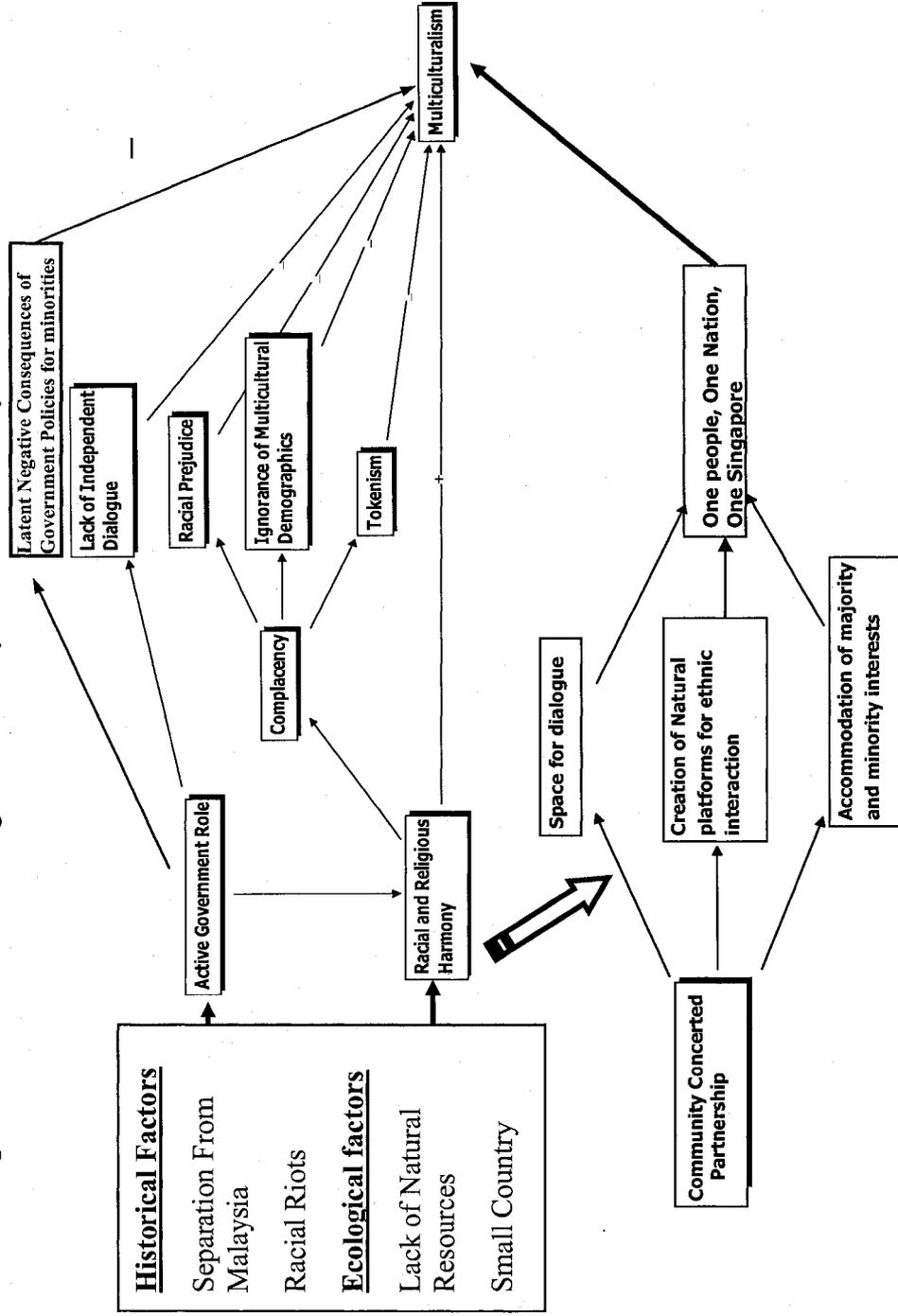
Figure 38. Theoretical Syntheses – Singapore

An integrated emic model of multiculturalism for Singapore was developed by synthesizing both the results from grounded theory and historical analyses. The model shows that the separation from Malaysia, racial riots in 1964 and 1969, being a small country and not having natural resources where even water needs to be imported resulted the government to take up an active role in fostering racial and religious harmony and promote economic development. As a result of active government role, Singapore is very successful in maintaining cultural harmony and made tremendous progress in her economic development. Singapore is also a model for many developing nations in the world. However, Singapore successes have also increased Singaporeans complacency towards multicultural harmony. The model suggests that this complacency has led to racial prejudices, the ignorance of multicultural demographics and tokenism. Active government role in media had also resulted in latent consequences of not having enough independent dialogues on multicultural issues though closed door and media discussions are increasingly taking place. The model suggests that community concerted partnerships need to be encouraged to address multicultural issues. By having community partnerships, the model suggests that more space for dialogues and natural platforms for ethnic interaction can be created. Accommodation of majority and minority interests can be also facilitated through this partnership. The model suggests that increasing space for dialogue, the creating natural interaction platforms and accommodating both majority and minority interests can lead to "one people, one nation, one Singapore" and contribute positively to multiculturalism in Singapore.

4.2.3 Development of Emic Model for Hawai'i (Study 4a & 4b)

In this section, the development of emic model for Hawai'i is presented. Section 4.2.1.1 describes results from the analyses of letters to the editor (Study 4a), Section 4.2.1.2 describes results from the analyses of secondary historical documents (Study 4b) and Section 4.2.1.3 synthesizes both methods and presents an emic model of multiculturalism for Hawai'i.

4.2.3.1 Results of Grounded Theory analyses of Letters to the editor (Study 4a)

This section provides results based on the grounded theory analyses of letters to the editor that were theoretically sampled in a newspaper in Hawai'i - *"Honolulu Star Bulletin."* The analyses of letters show fourteen major factors that relate to multiculturalism in Hawai'i. These factors are synthesized into a model, which shows how these factors are related to each other and to multiculturalism in Hawai'i. A total of 39 theoretically sampled letters were used to create the model and these letters are numbered with a prefix *'HSB.'*

The model captures four antecedent factors that inform multiculturalism in Hawai'i -- the historical event of annexation of Hawai'i to the United States, activities of missionaries who came to Hawai'i, inadequacy of US judicial system for Native rights and progress toward economic development. Historical annexation of Hawai'i to the United States is preceded by there factors: Commercial Sugar and Pineapple Interests; Monarchy's Illegal Overthrow and Unilateral Annexation.

The data show that these factors contributed to the cultural oppression of Native Hawai'ian's and subsequently the loss of identity for them. Historical correctness is seen

as way to restore Native Hawai'ian's culture, rights and identity and to recognize non-Native's contributions. The model suggests that these restoration and recognition would lead to fostering the Aloha Spirit, which is a prerequisite for having multicultural dialogues. The model suggests that multicultural dialogues are crucial elements in promoting multiculturalism in Hawai'i. Each factor is discussed below leading to the development of the model.

Historical event of annexation of Hawai'i

Letters put forward that *"Hawai'i electorate never had the opportunity to ratify the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i"* (Agard, 2000) to the United States, *"they were never asked for a preference"* (Agard, 2000), *"it was done against their will by the 1897 petition against annexation"* (Agard, 2000), and the *"takeover was engineered by monied sugar and pineapple interests* (Akana, 2000)." On legal grounds, letters argue that *"the annexation of Hawai'i was done by a joint resolution of Congress, not by treaties, as was required"* (Acain, 2006) and *"that the overthrow of the Hawai'ian nation was illegal and immoral* (Wetmore, 2002)."

> *"The Hawai'i electorate never had the opportunity to ratify the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i. Hawai'ians were never asked for a preference, and the record shows it was done against their will by the 1897 petition against annexation, which so many natives signed. How can an entity secede from a country without ever having formally joined in the first place (Agard, 2000; Letter HSB1)?"*

> *"Hawai'ians did not ask for the monarchy's overthrow. Where was the vote to get rid of our native government and to sanction the provisional government? Hawai'i's land takeover was engineered by monied sugar and pineapple interests. It left the Hawai'ians with nothing but plenty of aloha spirit. Thanks for nothing (Akana, 2000; Letter HSB2)."*

> *"The annexation of Hawai'i was done by a joint resolution of Congress, not by treaties, as was required. A joint resolution has no legal standing in a foreign*

country, which is what Hawai'i remained, even under the provisional government (Acain, 2006; Letter HSB3)."

"Can anybody be so ignorant of Hawai'ian history as to deny that Hawai'i was illegally overthrown and that the Hawai'ians deserve justice and compensation? United States Public Law 103-150 is our nation's apology, an acknowledgment that the overthrow of the Hawai'ian nation was illegal and immoral (Wetmore, 2002; Letter HSB4)."

Some letters however, argue that ***"annexation to the United States was the best thing that could happen for Hawai'i, both for the native and foreign population"*** (Arakaki, 2003) and ***"there may be a serious [financial] drawback"*** for **"supporting Hawai'ian sovereignty** (Edmiston, 2000)."

"I wholeheartedly agree with John L. Kaulukou, former judge, marshal under the monarchy, speaker of the House of the Republic of Hawai'i, longtime ally of King Kalakaua and his sister Lili'uokalani, as he stated in 1898 that annexation to the United States was "the best thing that could happen for Hawai'i, both for the native and foreign population. ... I rejoice heartily that it has come (Arakaki, 2003; Letter HSB5)."

"As a member of the vast right-wing conspiracy, I find myself supporting Hawai'ian sovereignty. But there may be a serious drawback. Many people on the mainland may feel angry about paying out billions of dollars to support Hawai'ian programs, thus resulting in lost tourism dollars. This could represent perhaps billions more than would be paid to the Hawai'ian people (Edmiston, 2000; Letter HSB6)."
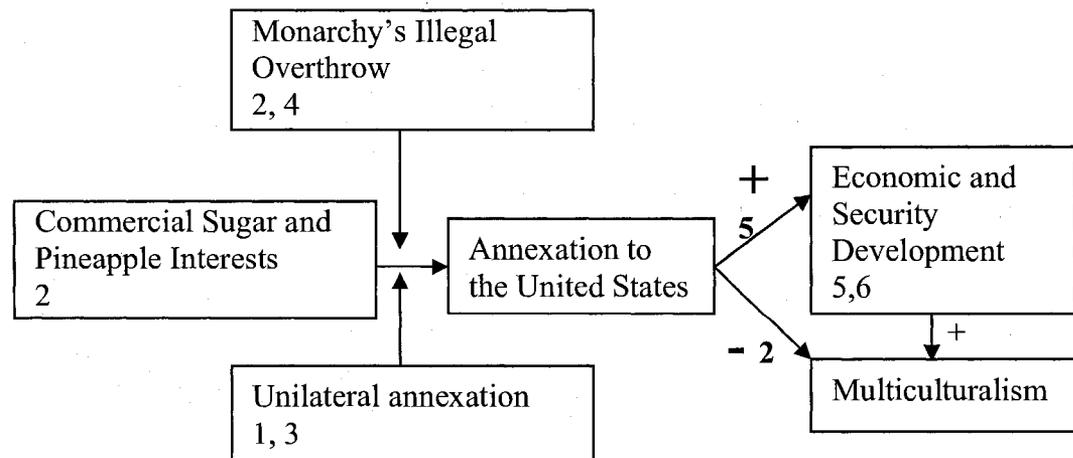
Figure 39. Antecedents of Annexation and its relationship to multiculturalism

Past Activities of Missionaries

Letters indicate that activities of missionaries contributed to the loss of Hawai'ian

culture. For example, letters argue _"the popularity of biblical names in Hawai'i is a_

result of racist law" (Huber, 2001) and was an _"attempt by the missionaries to destroy_

Hawai'ian culture (Huber, 2001). " Letters describe how _"in 1860, Hawai'i_

law dictated that all children have a Christian name suitable to their sex (Huber,

2001)."

> _"For more than 100 years children born in Hawai'i were required to have_
> _Christian names. The Sunday Star-Bulletin's "Name Game" story claimed, "It was_
> _once customary among Hawai'ians to give a child a 'haole' first name." Christian_
> _missionaries, recognizing the traditional importance of names to the Hawai'ian_
> _people, required that they drop their "heathen" names and adopt "Christian"_
> _names. This attempt by the missionaries to destroy Hawai'ian culture was_
> _codified into law. In 1860 Hawai'i law dictated that all children "have a_
> _Christian name suitable to their sex." The popularity of biblical names in Hawai'i_
> _is a result of this racist law. Many people forced to reconsider the name of their_
> _newborns interpreted the term "Christian name" to mean a name taken from the_
> _Bible. The government of Hawai'i dishonored its people by upholding the_
> _discriminatory "Christian" name requirement. The unconstitutional law was -_
> _repealed in 1967 "to remove the mandatory requirement that each child be given_
> _a Christian name." The law was revised to substitute the words "given name" and_
> _removed the phrase "suitable to their sex." Since it is no longer illegal to give a_
> _child a Hawai'ian name, it is not surprising that many are celebrating the_
> _Hawai'ian culture by doing so (Huber, 2001; Letter HSB7)."_

Inadequacy of US Judicial System

Content of the letters _"shows the weaknesses in the U.S. judicial system"_

(Ka'ai'ai, 2000) that allow people to challenge _"programs for Hawai'ians_ (Dunn-

Aurello, 2005)." Letters put forward that these legal challenges _"are likely to persist for_

the foreseeable future (Dunn-Aurello, 2005)."

> _"The good thing about Rice vs. Cayetano is that people's true feelings about the_
> _situation in Hawai'i are demonstrated. It also shows the weaknesses in the U.S._

*judicial system. Justices apparently cannot distinguish between right and wrong
(Ka'ai'ai, 2000; Letter HSB8)."*

*"Given that legal challenges to programs for Hawai'ians are likely to persist for
the foreseeable future, it seems prudent that Kamehameha Schools should develop
an admissions policy that continues to fulfill Princess Pauahi's intent without
being strictly "race-based* (Dunn-Aurello, 2005; Letter HSB9)."

Progress towards Economic Development

Letters highlight that Hawai'i's economic development especially the growth in

tourism and the ***"development of [Hawai'i's] hospitality infrastructure in the 1980s"***

(Kam, 2000) have contributed to the cultural loss of Native Hawai'ians because ***"people***

looking to progress towards development [often ignore] the desires and culture of the

community (Manarpaac, 2005). *"* Letters for example, describe that housing developers

often ***"look past the fact that [Hawai'ians] are a people of the land and sea"***

(Manarpaac, 2005) who greatly value the protection of '***ahupuaa.***'

> *"Hawai'i is no longer a plantation and we have lost that mentality, thanks to
> Japanese development of our hospitality infrastructure in the 1980s. We owe our
> economic health to them and should dedicate a structure to the Japanese when we
> develop the Ala Wai. It could also indicate that we've let bygones be bygones.
> Furthermore, the Ala Wai is an ideal location for a national building. We should
> consider offering some land to the government for a "Summer White House," as
> thanks for statehood. The benefits would include providing 1) more executive
> security and 2) a convenient location for foreign dignitaries to meet, thus
> changing our image as only a playground. This would formalize Hawai'i as a
> complete and unique visitor destination (Kam, 2000; Letter HSB10)."*

> *"I recently read the announcement that The Shores of Kohanaiki will begin
> developing during the next year. It's unfortunate that the desires and culture of
> the community will once again be disregarded. People looking to "progress
> towards development" ignored our years of protest against the project. Somehow
> their selfishness looks past the fact that we are a people of the land and sea. We
> don't need 500 residences or an 18-hole golf course to enjoy one of the last
> surviving ahupuaa on the Big Island (Manarpaac, 2005; Letter HSB11)."*
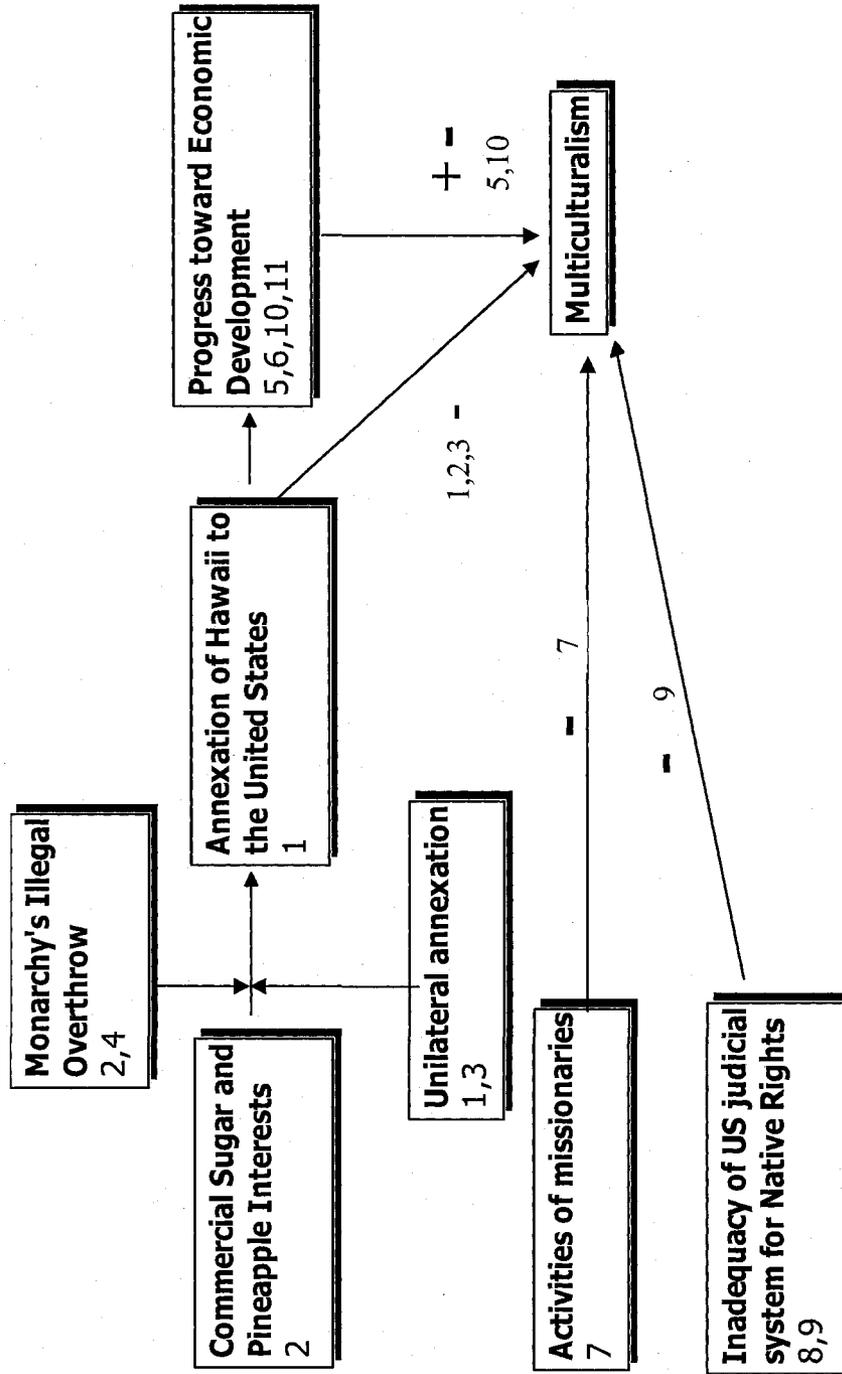
Figure 40. Four major factors that shape multiculturalism in Hawai'i

Cultural Oppression of Natives

Letters provide evidences that annexation to the US, past activities of missionaries, progress toward economic development and inadequacy of US judicial system to handle multicultural issues have led to the oppressions of Native Hawai'ian's culture. Content of letters illustrate several ways of how these oppressions take place even today.

First, there is cultural *"exploitation"* (West, 2000) or *"obliteration"* (Anderson, 2000) *"to maximize tourist participation* (Anderson, 2000)." In some instances even children are *"exploited in the name of culture and money* (West, 2000)."

> *"Only in Hawai'i. Here, you can watch young children perform provocatively like adult strippers in the name of culture. Hawai'i should not let her most valuable assets, her children, be exploited in the name of culture and money* (West, 2000; Letter HSB12)."
>
> *"The parade route itself, down Kalakaua Avenue, is intended to maximize tourist participation and does nothing to actually honor our great king. In 1997, I suggested that the parade be rerouted. Beginning at Magic Island, it should proceed to the Kamehameha statue, where homage would be paid to the king, then continue onto the grounds of Iolani Palace. There, homage could be paid at the statue of Queen Liliuokalani. The true meaning of the parade has been obliterated by those wanting to maximize profit and, as such, is a sacrilege to our Hawai'ian culture. To reroute the parade in the manner described above would restore its cultural significance* (Anderson, 2000; Letter HSB13)."

Second, there is *"cultural misappropriation"* (Roberts, 2000) by *"usurp[ing] the rightful role of native peoples"* (Roberts, 2000) *and us[ing] [Hawai'ian] culture against [Hawai'ians]* (Evans-Mason, 2003)."

> *"To usurp the rightful role of native peoples to represent themselves is the worst form of cultural misappropriation. If unchecked, it can lead to the extinguishment of that culture* (Roberts, 2000; Letter HSB14)."
>
> *"They will use your own culture against you and misinterpret concepts and words*

because they lack the knowledge that comes with respect (Evans-Mason, 2003; Letter HSB15)."

Third, oppression of Native's culture takes in the form of '**cultural dictationism**' where "***it is always a non-Hawai'ian dictating how Hawai'ians should view and acknowledge one another*** (Markell, 2005)."

> "*Why is it always a non-Hawai'ian dictating how Hawai'ians should view and acknowledge one another?*(Markell, 2005; Letter HSB16)."

Fourth, there is '**cultural infringement**' where Hawai'ian "***design elements, concepts, names, stories, legends, music, traditions, traditional designs, replicas and artwork***" (Ordenstein, 2006) are used without paying royalties to the Hawai'ian community.

> "*What does Donald Trump (Star-Bulletin, Aug. 8) know about "true Hawai'ian soul"? Will true Hawai'ians live at Trump International Hotel and Tower enjoying the "finest of everything"? I know what Trump will understand: paying royalties for use of Hawai'ian "soul," design elements, concepts, names, stories, legends, music, traditions, traditional designs, replicas and artwork that will be used in his tower to create that soul sans Hawai'ians. Wouldn't it be great for Hawai'ians if Trump, Disney, Hilton, Sheraton, every business, developer, author, city, state or federal agency, both Hawai'ian and non-Hawai'ian, that wanted to use Hawai'ian concepts, names, stories, legends in their profit- or nonprofit-making endeavors paid a royalty on this use? Hawai'ians could actually benefit monetarily from use of their culture. Royalties are not a new concept. Businesses, communities, actors, songwriters pay and profit from royalties every second. I bet Disney has to be paid a royalty every time someone uses the songs in "Lilo and Stitch" -- songs based on traditional mele. Hawai'ians would then benefit from all the fruits of our culture, including the fruits of profit and affluence. We could then buy a condo in Trump's tower and imbue it with Hawai'ian soul. Or we could build our own tower, or not. How to accomplish this? I truly Hawai'ians need to support the Office of Hawai'ian Affairs' aim to build a nation now. Good things can happen with our own entity. Without it, Trump makes a killing with "Hawai'ian soul," and we reap no monetary value from what others find so profitable* (Ordenstein, 2006; Letter HSB17)."

Fifth, there is exploitation by the news media, which often simulates cultural

"sensationalism" (Maxwell, 2004) where *"newspaper can go to great lengths to sell*

more newspapers without regard for the sacredness and protection" (Maxwell, 2004) of

the culture.

> *"The Star-Bulletin's Aug. 26 and 27 issues that showed pictures of the broken*
> *entrance into Kanupa Cave in Kohala was sensationalized journalism. I have*
> *received numerous calls from Hawai'ians who were very angry at the Star-*
> *Bulletin for showing the picture of the cave, and because the state of Hawai'i and*
> *Hilo police did nothing to stop people going into the cave after it was broken into*
> *to disturb once again the iwi (bones) of the kupuna. It is amazing how this*
> *newspaper can go to great lengths to sell more newspapers without regard for the*
> *sacredness and protection of the remains in the cave. If this incident happened in*
> *Arlington Cemetery, there would be national investigations by all the agencies in*
> *the nation, but because it is Hawai'ian, it tells us that we are second-class citizens*
> *and our culture doesn't matter* (Maxwell, 2004; Letter HSB18)."

Cultural Oppression of Natives (Events and Practices)	Cultural Oppression of Natives (Ideologies)

- Annexation
  o Loss of sovereignty
- Activities of ambitious missionaries
  o Imposition of Christian Names
- Inadequacy of US Judicial System
  o Kamehameha School Admission
- Economic Development
  o Development of shores
	o **Cultural Commercialism; 12**
	o **Cultural Obliterationism; 13**
	o **Cultural Misappropriationism; 14**
	o **Cultural Dictationism; 16**
	o **Cultural Infringementism; 17**
	o **Cultural Sensationalism; 18**

Figure 41. Cultural Oppression of Natives (Events and Ideologies)

Loss of Identity

Letters to the editor point out that the cultural oppression of Hawai'i has led

"vast majority of indigenous Hawai'ian people lost their identity (Hee, 2005)."

> *"Imagine Kamehameha's gift of sustainability and excellence not just to the world, as it will surely benefit, but to its very own indigenous Hawai'ian people, the vast majority of whose identity has been lost longer than anyone can remember (Hee, 2005; Letter HSB19)."*

| Cultural Oppression | → | Loss of Cultural Identity; 19 | → | Multiculturalism |
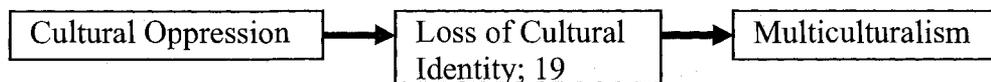
Figure 42. Cultural Oppression and Loss of Cultural Identity

Culture of Historical Correctness

Letters suggest that *"racism and prejudice are alive and well in Hawai'i"* and it

is an *"open secret [that] no one [in Hawai'i] wants to talk about* (Taba, 2002)." Letters

argue that the *"local racism is secretive, low key, hidden by smiles or blank stares* and *it

is insidious* (Taba, 2002)." Letters put forward that the culture of *"political correctness"*

(Baron, 2001) is not fostering multiculturalism because multicultural issue is *"made to

seem a racial discrimination issue"* (Chang, 2004)." Letters suggest that instead there is

a need for culture of *"historical correctness* (Baron, 2001)." For example,

acknowledging that *"the admission policy of the Kamehameha Schools, [which]

provides preference for the indigenous people of Hawai'i, is to rectify in part the loss of

[Hawai'ian] heritage* (Bain, 2005)."

> *"The open secret no one here wants to talk about raises its head; racism and prejudice are alive and well in Hawai'i. Not the virulent forms found elsewhere, but that does not make it any better. Local racism is secretive, low key, hidden by smiles or blank stares. It is insidious (Taba, 2002; Letter HSB20)."*

"Something is missing in Kahle's zeal for political correctness, namely, historical correctness. An integral, causative part of our history has been the people and teachings of the Christian faith, particularly the ideals and values of the Reformation, where equality opposed hierarchy and freedom of conscience opposed doctrine dictated by another man (Baron, 2001; Letter HSB21)."

"It's hard to believe that the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals would consider the case challenging Kamehameha Schools' admission policy. The suit against it should be dismissed. It is unconscionable for lawyer Eric Grant to bring this frivolous suit for the few who have an anti-Hawai'ian agenda. Because of political correctness and racial sensitivity, this case is made to seem a racial discrimination issue; it is not (Chang, 2004; Letter HSB22)."

"Regarding federal court decision on Kamehameha Schools, this is not a case where a minority child is trying to go to public school as in the rural South decades ago. The civil liberties of the non-Hawai'ian child applying to Kamehameha are not in jeopardy for this child is not being denied a public education. The Kamehameha Schools was established by Princess Pauahi Bishop before Hawai'i became a part of the United States, and the admission policy provides preference for the indigenous people of Hawai'i. The school does not receive federal funds, so why should a federal court strike down its policy?

Most Hawai'ians today are descended from thousands of orphans who survived after their parents and kupuna had succumbed to terrible diseases brought by Westerners. The trust sought to rectify in part that loss of heritage by creating a school for Hawai'ian children. Once this goal is met, and the kanaka maoli are again the majority in this land, then the mission of the trust's founders will be met. Until then, allow Kamehameha Schools to retain its admission policy (Bain, 2005; Letter HSB23)."

Restoring Culture, Rights and Identity of Native Hawai'ians

Letters emphasize that one *"cannot just erase a nation"* and *"the way to make things right is to restore the Hawai'ian kingdom to its proper place among all other nations of the world* (Edsman, 2003)." Letters argue that the government should *"give the kanaka maoli their trusts, ceded lands monies and speed up land awards* (Kinslow, 2000)." Letters also argue that *"the absence of Hawai'ians at the state Capitol is not only obvious, but discouraging as well"* and *"public funding might restore some faith*

in the political process and offer more Hawai'ians a chance to effect positive change in

their communities (Smith, 2006)." Letters put forward that restoring culture, rights and

identity of Native Hawai'ians is not because *"an ordinance or law states that it must*

[but because] it is simply the right thing to do (Kane, 2000)."

"The way to make things right is to restore the Hawai'ian kingdom to its proper place among all other nations of the world. You cannot just erase a nation. The Hawai'ian kingdom is still a nation (Edsman, 2003; Letter HSB24)."

"I am ashamed of the way that my rulers, the super wealthy, and our elected officials are treating native persons. Denying political liabilities bequeathed to us by our political forefathers, who stole Hawai'ian lands, dignity and cultural assets, while kicking kanaka maoli in the head for asking for reparations based on race, only harms our children further. The original dirty deeds were based on race and culture. Should not the reparations be based on these same criteria? Give the kanaka maoli their trusts, ceded lands monies and speed up land awards (Kinslow, 2000; Letter HSB25)."

"The Star-Bulletin's Feb. 12 "Gathering Place" column, "Publicly funded elections put voters back in charge," is extremely interesting because of its implications to minorities, especially Hawai'ians. The absence of Hawai'ians at the state Capitol is not only obvious, but discouraging as well. Running for state office has become so expensive and ethically questionable that many respected Hawai'ians refuse to participate. Public funding might restore some faith in the political process and offer more Hawai'ians a chance to effect positive change in their communities (Smith, 2006; Letter HSB26)."

"Hawai'ians lived there for hundreds of years prior to that, as documented in archaeological reports. We are seeking to restore the original names of the area, also documented, which the Navy changed to suit its needs. The 14 streets being turned over to the city and/or state should be given Hawai'ian names to reflect the history and culture of the land, not because an ordinance or law states that it must. It is simply the right thing to do (Kane, 2000; Letter HSB27)."

Letters to the editor also indicate that Native Hawai'ians are *"sick and tired of*

being told to forget their culture and to assimilate" (Kekahu, 2000) and they would like

to have *"clearly defined lines of who is or is not na kanaka maoli* (Makahilahila,

2000)." Letters also assert that Native Hawai'ians *"are not "Native Americans" or*

"Americans," but kanaka maoli, a separate people and nation indigenous to [their]

homeland of Ka Pae'aina o Ka Moananui and now outnumbered by settlers (Blaisdell,

2000)." Letters reveal that *"justice, love and righteous anger"* (Plemer, 2000) drives

Native Hawai'ians to seek their identity and *"the basic right of self-determination*

(Kekahu, 2000)."

> *"We are sick and tired of being told to forget our culture and to assimilate. What
> I want for my people is the basic right of self-determination. (Kekahu, 2000;
> Letter HSB28)."*

> *"In light of the ill words exchanged between Governor Cayetano and Haunani
> Trask regarding who is truly "Hawai'ian," I suggest that we who are Hawai'ians
> use the term "na kanaka maoli" instead of Hawai'ian. Na kanaka maoli refers to
> a specific people, those with bloodlines to the pre-contact inhabitants of these
> islands. If we wish to be successful in our fight for sovereignty, we should have
> clearly defined lines of who is or is not na kanaka maoli (*Makahilahila, 2000;
> Letter HSB29).*"

> *"The Native Hawai'ian Task Force proposal from U.S. Sen. Daniel Akaka -- to
> "recognize" kanaka maoli as "Native Americans" with "a political trust
> relationship to the U.S. similar to that of American Indians and Alaska Natives" --
> is a violation of our inherent rights to sovereignty and self-determination.
> This plan contradicts our repeated assertions. We are not "Native Americans" or
> "Americans," but kanaka maoli, a separate people and nation indigenous to our
> homeland of Ka Pae'aina o Ka Moananui and now outnumbered by settlers*
> (Blaisdell, 2000; Letter HSB30)."

> *"Politicians will look you in the eye and lie through their teeth, year after year.
> They will string you along until you give up, move away or die. They will sell your
> lands and prostitute your culture while "showcasing" Hawai'i. While more and
> more Hawai'ians are driven into lives of desperation, they will send huge
> numbers of Hawai'i inmates to prisons thousands of miles away from home and
> families. I know what drives sisters Haunani-Kay and Mililani Trask:* **justice, love
> and righteous anger** (Plemer, 2000; Letter HSB31)."

Recognition of Non-Native Contributions

Letters point out that *"non-natives were full partners in the Kingdom"* (Conklin,

2005*)* and they *"can provide an indomitable force for sovereignty by working together*

(Welte, 2000)." Hence, *"Native Hawai'ians do not have to pursue [the] sovereignty*

path alone (Welte, 2000)."

> *"Non-natives were full partners in the Kingdom and today are full partners in Hawai'i. It is historically, legally and morally wrong for one partner to say to all the other partners: "Thanks for building our nation; now we're taking it over for ourselves." That's the same attitude that would have white Americans say to today's Asian Americans and African Americans, "Hey, we founded this country and you have no right to full membership* (Conklin, 2005; Letter HSB32)."

> *"They do not have to pursue this sovereignty path alone. Many of us who are not Hawai'ians are ready to stand beside them, as they work to assure their land, sea and cultural rights. We can provide an indomitable force for sovereignty by working together* (Welte, 2000; Letter HSB33)."

"Aloha Spirit"

Letters suggest that *"Aloha Spirit,"* which is central to *"culture of tolerance and*

respect" (Samson, 2001) is not embraced fully despite the state in 1986 *"passed the*

Aloha Spirit bill (Li, 2002)." Letters also point that *"the spirit of aloha is practiced*

rather sparingly here [in Hawai'i] and, at times, with prejudice (Mehau, 2001)."

> *"Is Hawai'i really the Aloha State? In 1986, Gov. George Ariyoshi passed the Aloha Spirit bill. However, many people do not follow this law. Students are not taught etiquette and what kind of behavior is expected from them* (Li, 2002; Letter HSB34)."

> *"Hawai'i is a culture of tolerance and respect* (Samson, 2001; Letter HSB35)."

> *"In the three weeks my wife and I spent touring Australia and New Zealand, we were impressed with the aloha spirit exhibited by all those people we came in contact with. They were polite, helpful, gracious, outgoing and extremely kind, smiling all the while as they assisted us in every respect. They generated the kind of aloha spirit that we're supposed to be noted for here in Hawai'i. Many of us in*

the 50th state believe we have a monopoly on the spirit of aloha. Quite the contrary, the spirit of aloha is practiced rather sparingly here and, at times, with prejudice. You've got to be blind not to see this prejudice being practiced, especially among the younger generation who sadly, are not being taught how to distribute this most cherished and vitally enjoyable feeling of love. This aloha spirit is not in the genes, nor is it inherited. If we expect others to emulate us, then it is up to us to continue this trend of spreading love and aloha at every turn of the road, so that in so doing, others will pick up the tempo of that aloha spirit and cause it to grow (Mehau, 2001; Letter HSB36)."*

I may not be of Hawai'ian descent, but I was taught to respect the Hawai'ian culture and the values. We take the values of the Hawai'ian culture and try to instill them into all children. These values are what strengthens our families, because they are unconditional. That's the aloha spirit. (Nicolas, 2000; Letter HSB37)."
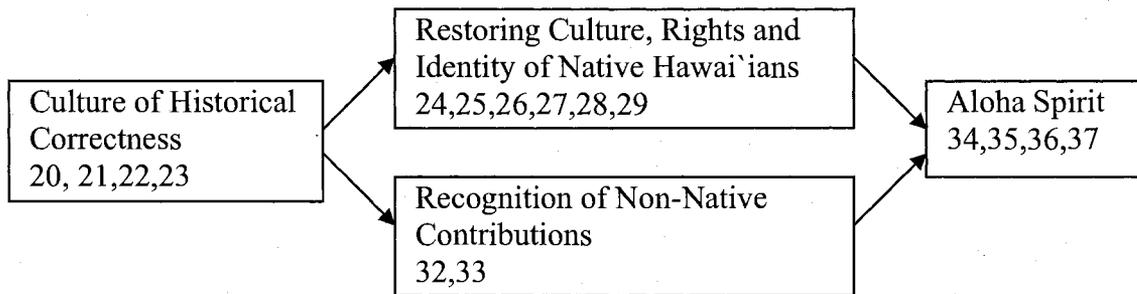
Figure 43. Antecedents of Aloha Spirit in relation to multiculturalism

Dialogue

Letters suggest that there is a ***"need for a deeper dialogue on the issue of race and what it means for [Hawai'i's] increasingly multi-ethnic country"*** (Yamada, 2004*)* and ***"through the process of dialogue, Hawai'ians will understand the truth, who is spinning the truth and who are the true revisionists of Hawai'ian history*** (Kuroiwa, 2005)."

> *"How does a person who calls himself Hawai'ian, but genetically has other backgrounds, decide his dominant culture? These questions point to the need for a deeper dialogue on the issue of race and what it means for our increasingly multi-ethnic country* (Yamada, 2004; Letter HSB38)."

> *"Through the process of dialogue, we will understand the truth, who is spinning the truth and who are the true revisionists of Hawai'ian history* (Kuroiwa, 2005; Letter HSB39)."

Figure 44. Multiculturalism Model of Hawai'i Based on Letters to the editor
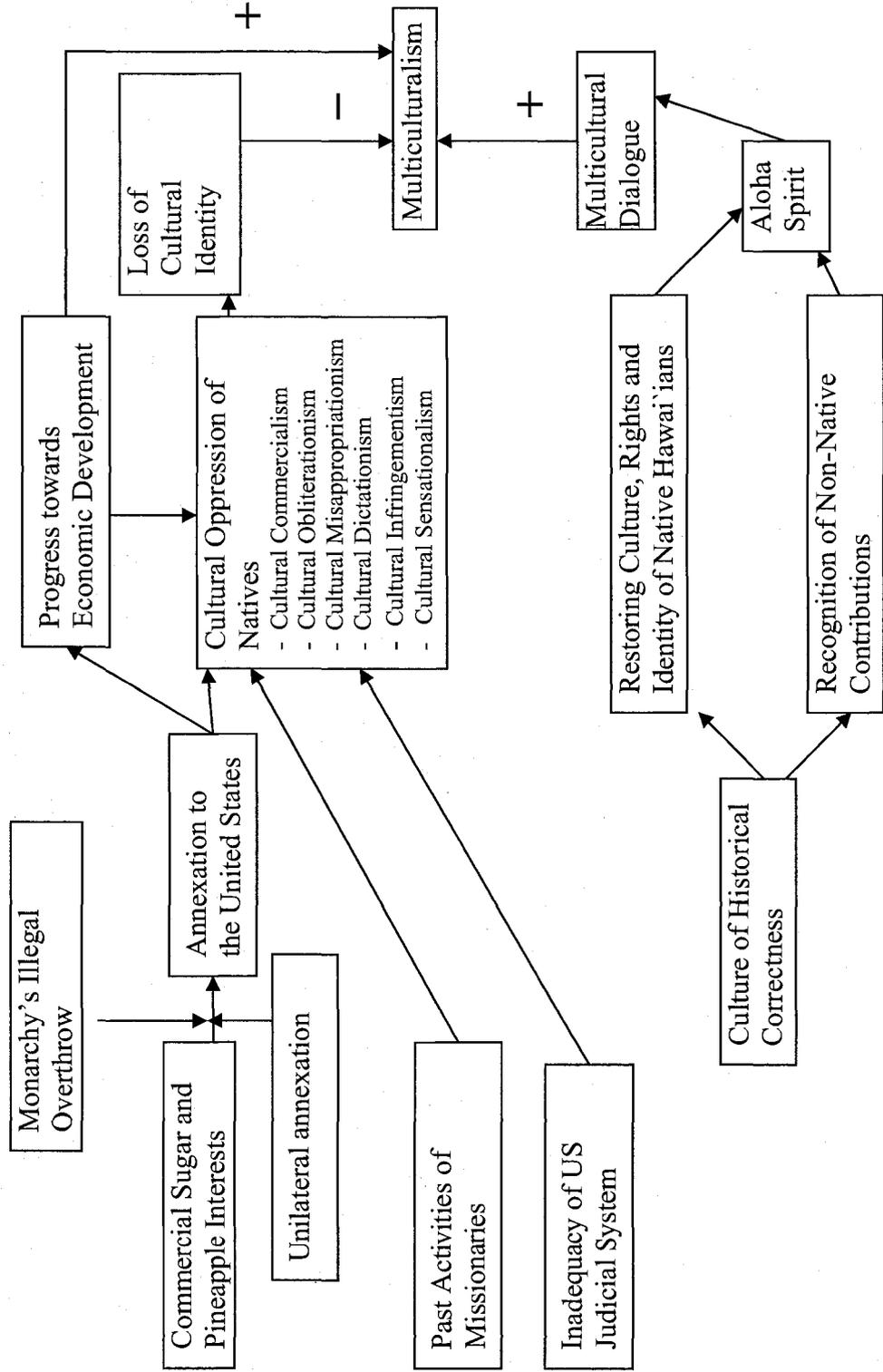
4.2.3.2 Results from the Historical Analyses (Study 4b)

Historical records show that Hawai'i was first inhabited sometime in 0-300AD (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Polynesians who were known for their skill in navigating seas with the use of stars, sun, clouds, birds, currents, and waves as their guide (Kuykendall & Day, 1961) were the first people who settled in Hawai'i. Kuykendall and Day (1961) described the remarkable sailing skills of Polynesian as *"the native navigator knew more than a hundred and fifty stars by name, knew what ones were in the same latitude, and knew their changes in position from month to month* (p.5)."

Polynesians brought with them plants such as coconut, sugar cane, sweet potato, banana, breadfruit and taro. Their travel to Hawai'i however, stopped for long time and there was no contact for Hawai'ians with the outside world till James Cook's 'rediscovery' of Hawai'i in 1778 (Kuykendall & Day, 1961; Bhawuk & Anbe, 2007). Despite isolated from external contacts, scholars argued that Hawai'ians had developed economic and governance practices that were comparable to practices in the medieval Europe (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). They had also developed agricultural and fishing practices that one now would describe as sustainable practices. James Cook during his first contact with Hawai'ians in 1778 wrote:

> *They had from three to six men each; and, on their approach, we were agreeably surprised to find that they spoke the language of Otaheite and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required but very little address to get them to come alongside; but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope and gave them to those in one of the canoes, who, in return, tied some small mackerel to the rope, as an equivalent. This was repeated; and some small nails, or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish and a sweet potato, a sure sign that they had some notion of bartering or, at least, of returning one present for another* (Kuykendall & Day, 1961, p.14).

James Cook was well received by Hawai'ians because Hawai'ians thought Cook as the Hawai'ian God 'Lono'. During a dispute over a stolen boat, he was killed. Though, his crew left Hawai'i after Cook's death, they however, left something that entirely changed the demographic of Hawai'i – foreign diseases (e.g., measles, tuberculosis, gonorrhea, syphilis etc.) that were unknown in the island (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). As Hawai'ians did not have immunizations for these foreign diseases, thousands died. This was one of the factors that contributed to the decline of Hawai'i population from somewhere 300,000 – 800,000 in 1778 to around 50,000 in 1878 (OHA, 1996). Other reasons were forced labor in sandalwood trading and the famine that caused many deaths (Kuykendall & Day, 1961).

In 1794, Kamehameha I in return of protecting Hawai'i from foreign enemies ceded Hawai'i to Great Britain. This cession was however, not accepted but it marked the influence of British in the island (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). By 1810, King Kamehameha I united all the islands, which was recognized as Kingdom by other countries. Besides Americans and the British influence, other countries also tried to get their footing in the Kingdom. For example, in 1812, Russians started to build their fort in Hawai'i but their brief attempt was thwarted by Kamehameha I (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). During Kamehameha I rule, foreign trade prospered especially the sandalwood export to China. Sandalwood was so abundant in Hawai''i and was known as "Than Heung Sahn" or "Sandalwood Mountain" by the Chinese (Choy, 2006)[34]. In 1812, three American merchants monopolized the sandalwood export trade via a 10 year contract

---

[34] http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2006/Apr/14/il/FP604140306.html

with Kamehameha I (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). During this period, foreign crops were also introduced. For example, in 1813, coffee and pineapple from Spain were introduced.

In 1819, King Kamehameha I died and his eldest son, Prince Liholiho took the position as Kamehameha II. Liholiho's position as the ruler was strengthened by the support of other Kingdoms. For example, a French warship visiting Hawai'i in August 1819 supported Liholiho monarchy (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Liholiho following his father's footstep also pleaded to the British that Hawai'i protected by them (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). These supports were necessary to protect Hawai'i's sovereignty from external forces. Pratt and Smith (2000) reported that *"the islands' location in relation to developing commercial and diplomatic patterns meant Hawai'i was registering as an item of geopolitical interest for the United States, France, Great Britain, and Russia (p.19)."*

During Liholiho's time, he abandoned the ancient *'kapu'* (taboo) practices. *Kapu* practices were in place to differentiate what was sacred and what was common and also differentiating between male and female. For example, Kamehameha I used *'kapu'* as a mechanism to protect young sandalwood trees from being felled. Other *'kapu'* practices were men and women could not eat together or the prohibition of ordinary person touching sacred chief's clothing (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Liholiho started the process of abandoning some of *'kapu'* practices by performing the act of *'ainoa'* (free-eating) and instructed all the *'heiaus'* (temples) and idols to be destroyed (Kuykendall & Day, 1961).

The abandonment of *"kapu"* systems was an opportune moment for the first wave of American Protestant missionaries who arrived in Hawai'i in late 1819 (Kuykendall &

Day, 1961). In 1820, a church group from Boston gained permission from the King to start a Protestant mission at Kailua and Honolulu. As Hawai'ian language is a spoken language, Protestant missionaries took effort in having them in written form and the first Hawai'ian language text was printed in January 7, 1822. First Christian church was opened in 1821 and the first Christian marriage took place in August 11, 1822 (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Christian conversion gained momentum when royal families abandoned their religious practices and in some instances deliberately challenged their "*kapu*" practices. For example, Kapiolani, a well-known chiefess challenged traditional Hawai'ian religious beliefs in favor of Christianity by descending into the volcano of Kilauea in 1824 (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Church also gained prominence because local beliefs were seen as not saving the declining population. Osorio in his book "Dismembering Lahui" (2002) wrote:

> *"The church became an institution promising life when death was everywhere, and the eventual conversion of Hawai'ians by the thousands must be understood in the context of a time when their own religion, akua, and Ali'i could not prevent them from dying (p.12).*

Liholiho died from measles in London on July 14, 1824. In 1825, Kauikeaouli was coronated as the Kamehameha III. His 29 years of rule was not only the longest but also a time where Hawai'i witnessed tremendous progress on all fronts – social, educational, cultural, foreign relations, economic and domestic affairs (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Hawai'i's first written constitution was also made during his rule. The constitution was quite groundbreaking because for the first time common people elected their representative. 'Kapu' upon gambling and other vice activities were also enforced but they were often objected by the foreigners more than the natives. During

Kamehameha III's rule, Catholic missionaries from French also gained influence in

Hawai'i. Their presence however, was strongly opposed by the Protestants and Hawai'ian

Chiefs and King Kamehameha III banned the teaching of Catholicism and in some

instances, native Catholics were persecuted (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). The persecution

formally stopped in 1839. Despite oppositions from the Protestants and Catholic

missionaries, another sect gained its foothold in Hawai'i– the Mormons. As education

was crucial for Christian civilization, it was heavily promoted. By 1831, two fifths of the

population were receiving education in Hawai'ian language in more than 11,000

missionary schools in Hawai'i (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Though initially objected by

the missionaries, a law was passed to enforce the use of English in schools and slowly

English overtook the Hawai'ian language as a medium of instruction.

> *By the mid-1830s then, even with Native membership in the Christian church still below 1 percent of the population, the social landscape had altered favorably for the missionaries. The foreign community was now large enough to permit missionaries and their families to conceive a bright future in the Hawai'ian Islands. By the 1840s, resignation from the mission to engage in business and politics was a fairly standard practice. Another example was the incorporation of missionaries Amos Starr Cooke and Samuel Castle in 1850 into what would someday be one of the largest and wealthiest of the sugar companies* (Osorio, 2002, p.19)

Missionaries had also involved in economic and political activities. They were the

first to set up sugar mills in Hawai'i in early 1838. Sugar business flourished and by

1850, Hawai'i exported three quarters of a million pounds of sugar. Osorio described

that:

> *By the mid-1830s then, even with Native membership in the Christian church still below 1 percent of the population, the social landscape had altered favorably for the missionaries. The foreign community was now large enough to permit missionaries and their families to conceive a bright future in the Hawai'i*

an Islands. By the 1840s, resignation from the mission to engage in business and politics was a fairly standard practice. Another example was the incorporation of missionaries Amos Starr Cooke and Samuel Castle in 1850 into what would someday be one of the largest and wealthiest of the sugar companies (Osorio, p.19)

During Kamehameha III's reign, the United States signed a treaty with the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Among others, this treaty governed commerce transactions. For example, a treaty signed in 1875 allowed sugar to enter the US without custom duties. Though these treaties were beneficial for the Hawai'ian Kingdom, these treaties often came with heavy price. For example, in 1887, this treaty was extended on the basis that Hawai'ian Kingdom allows the United States the exclusive right to use Pearl Harbor as a naval base (Kuykendall & Day, 1961).

On February 25, 1843, Kamehameha III under pressure made a provisional cession to Great Britain and Hawai'i's flag was replaced by the British flag. This was not welcomed by the Americans who were afraid of losing their interests and they fought to restore Hawai'i's independence (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). On July 31, the British flag was replaced by the Hawai'ian flag. In that event, Kamehameha III mentioned "*Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono*" (The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness), which till today serves as a state motto of Hawai'i (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). During this time, there were resistances by commoners against foreign intrusions. According to Lilikala Kame'ekeihiwa (1992), commoners showed "*a spirit to firmly resist any further foreign oppression*" through numerous petitions. Pratt and Smith (2000, p.21) described that "*through the petitions, Hawai'ians argued to their king and high chiefs (ali'i nui) that foreigners should not become naturalized and should not be able to purchase land, and*

that the maka' ainana, whose loyalty to the king and the kingdom were unquestioned,

needed more time to adjust to the external threats mounting against them."

In 1848, Kamehameha III under pressure from foreign merchants and missionaries was forced to introduce the private ownership of lands. This was done through *'Mahele'* in where the Hawai'i lands were equally divided among the King, the ali'i (nobles) and the maka'ainana (commoners). Foreigners were allowed to own land as well (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). The lack of experience in Western property rights, the cost associated with surveys and the belief that *'Mahele'* was against the ancient practice, many commoners however, lost their land. Kame'ekeihiwa (1992) argued that only 9% of the Native population was able to benefit from the private ownership. On the contrary, by 1852, Protestant missionaries had accumulated a total of 7884 acres of land. On average, this translates that each of 36 Protestant missionaries owned 219 acres.

In 1851, Kamehameha III was under pressure to hand over Hawai'i to the United States. Parts of the pressures were due to political instability, caused by the declining Hawai'ian population and increasing Americans in Hawai'i. Kamehameha agreed on the condition that Hawai'i should be annexed as a full-fledged state and not as a territory and the United States to pay $300,000 annually as compensation to the King and his officials (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). This was not agreed however, by the United States.

Foreign workers were greatly needed due to the declining population of Hawai'ians and in 1852, first Chinese contract workers arrived in Hawai'i to work in sugar plantations. In order to maintain control, plantation managers instituted a *'divide and rule'* philosophy in managing their workforce. This was done by having laborers of

different ethnicities. As such, the Japanese started arriving in 1868, Koreans in 1902 and Filipinos in 1906. The plantation owners assigned different plantation areas to different ethnic groups. Due to different ethnicities and the need to communicate, a common language known as Hawaiʻian Pidgin emerged.

In 1854, King Kamehameha III died and his nephew, Prince Alexander Liholiho was proclaimed as King Kamehameha IV. During this time, sugar planters were advocating that Hawaiʻi to be annexed by the US to take the advantage of non-import duties in California and Oregon. As annexation attempt was unsuccessful before, a reciprocal treaty that would allow free exchange was explored but it failed to get support from sugar planters in Louisiana because they would lose if Hawaiʻian sugar would be sold cheaper than theirs.

Kamehameha IV fearing the liberal power given to the whole population of Hawaiʻi would ultimately result Hawaiʻi to be annexed to the US, proposed that voting rights restricted to only who were educated and owned property. This however, was rejected by delegates whom were elected by the people (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Kamehameha IV however, went ahead and declared a new constitution. This triggered oppositions but no major change was made till Kamehameha IV's death in 1863.

King Kamehameha V ruled from 1863 till 1872. At the end of his reign, the native population declined to less than 50,000 and it impacted the labor supply for the booming agricultural activities. Efforts were made to source labors from countries such as China, India, Japan and Malaya (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Laborers were brought under the "Act for the Government of Masters and Servants." This act stipulated that " *a laborer*

who refused to serve according to the terms of his contract could be arrested, brought into court, and imprisoned at hard labor until he consented to serve; if he absented himself from his work without leave he could be compelled to serve double the time of his absence (Kuykendall & Day, 1961, p.129)." This law was fiercely opposed by Chinese merchants and Native Hawai'ians but without much success.

When Kamehameha V died, there was a leadership vacuum as he had no heirs. Two candidates, William Charles Lunalilo and David Kalakaua attempted to fill the leadership vacuum. Kalakaua in his manifesto promised that "*to preserve and increase the people, so that they shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and common people; to repeal all the personal taxes;* and *to put native Hawai'ians into government offices, so as to pay off the national debt* (Kuykendall & Day, 1961, p.139)." Kalakaua lost in his attempt. However, he was installed as a King few months later after Lunalilo's death.

In 1883, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a Hawai'ian princess and the last descendant of King Kamehameha I proposed a trust "*to erect and maintain in the Hawai'ian Islands two schools... one for boys and one girls, to be known as and called the Kamehameha Schools.*"[35] She died a year later but her husband carried the will and the first Kamehameha School for Boys was established in 1887.

In 1891, Liliuokalani, Kalakaua's sister became the queen. She was proclaimed at a time when Hawai'i's differential advantage for sugar export to the United States was removed. This removal caused great economic troubles for Hawai'i. During this time, Hawai'i was already witnessing political instability and the thought of annexation

---

[35] http://www.ksbe.edu/pauahi/index.php

became more prominent. Revolutionary groups who supported annexation took control of Hawai'i and forced Liliuokalani to step down. They later went to Washington and submitted documents for annexation. However, as this was happening during the change of administration, the Senate approval for annexation was not carried out. As a result, the annexation was revisited by the incoming President Cleveland and he was against the annexation. He insisted that Liliuokalani reinstated as the queen. This however, failed. In 1894, Hawai'ian sugar industry due to reciprocal treaties regained their momentum because bonus to sugar producers in the United States was withdrawn and tariff was introduced for imports (Kuykendall & Day, 1961). Labor demands emerged and at one time Japanese formed nearly one fourth of Hawai'i population. Though Japanese immigration was discontinued in 1907, in 1920, Japanese was 42.7% of Hawai'i population. In 1919, record shows that there were 163 Japanese language schools. Conscious efforts were undertaken to reduce Japanese ratio by bringing in Chinese laborers (Kuykendall & Day, 1961).

In 1897, annexation treaty was signed through joint resolution, which requires only a simple majority in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. Japanese government protested as the US presence would change the Pacific political landscape. Japanese was also afraid that the annexation might take away the rights of large Japanese subjects in Hawai'i (Kuykendall & Day, 1961).

In 1900, Hawai'i became a US territory. This was a controversial decision because the decision was passed within the legal system of the United States and not by a treaty under the international law. The legality of this decision is questioned till today

(e.g., Sai, 2004). Pineapple industry grew after annexation.

In early 1906, first 15 Filipino laborers were brought in and Japanese immigration was discontinued in 1907. In the next 28 years, a total of 120,000 Filipinos were brought to help the plantation sectors.[36] While, pineapple industry still contributes to Hawai'i's economy, the sugar plantation industry ended in 1995 due to the stiff competition from Caribbean countries that have cheaper labor cost. Part of the high cost of labor in Hawai'i has been attributed to the role of union.

In 1931-32, the famous Massie case took place where five residents of Hawai'ian ethnicities were wrongly accused for assaulting and raping of a Caucasian woman. This is one of the classic incidents that portrayed the power structure discriminating against Hawai'ians. It was reported that Massie case was *"one of the most effective miscarriages of justice in American history."*[37]

In 1941, Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese as a pre-emptive measure to protect Japan's advance into Malaya and other countries in South East Asia. This attack propelled the United States into World War II.

> *It was not the civilian population who was confused. Nowhere under the sun could there have been a more intelligent response to the needs of the hour than was given by the population of these islands.... It is high time that the people of the United States should be told of Hawai'i's contribution to this war, which is unequaled in the annals of our country."* (Kuykendall & Day, 1961, p.256) – Robert Shivers, FBI head in Honolulu

In 1945, as Hawai'i was a US territory, Hawai'i was listed by the United Nations as a non-self governing territory administered by the United States. This was a new rule

---

[36] http://starbulletin.com/2002/06/07/news/story2.html
[37] http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2005/Apr/17/il/il16a.html

and as per the rule among others, United States had the obligation of ensuring the protection of culture and to develop self-government (Sai, 2008). In 1959, Hawai'i became statehood, the 50th in the United States. The decision for statehood was done through a referendum, which resulted in overwhelming support for it. However, some criticized that:

> .... in the so-called Statehood plebiscite, 132,000 out of 650,000 people voted. Those deemed eligible to vote in that plebiscite were any American Citizen who lived in Hawai'i for one year or more of which nearly 20% were US Armed forces. If someone claimed to be a citizen of the Hawai'ian Kingdom, they were not eligible. Of those voting, about 90% voted in favour of Statehood, and 10% voted against. In essence, Hawai'i became a state of the US with the consent of only 15% of the population and all those who voted were American (Kim, 2005- http://www.moolelo.com/human-rights.html).

The implication of statehood was that the ownership of lands in Hawai'i was put in the State's public trust and Hawai'i was taken out from the United Nations list of non-self governing territories. (Kuykendall & Day, 1961, p.275) argued that:

> The drawing of racial lines in labor activities has, indeed, been one of the chief causes of lack of labor solidarity. Early in the century, the policy of denying to orientals membership in the skilled trades unions smashed all hopes for effective organization, for a "one-nationality" union arouses prejudice and may be crippled by competing workers from another national or racial group, who will work for lower wages or even act as strikebreakers. Discrimination has been charged; it was once a common saying in Hawai'i that there are three kinds of payment for the same kind of work -- what haoles pay haoles, what haoles pay orientals, and what orientals pay orientals. Racial loyalties have conflicted with labor-group loyalties, although racial antagonism in Hawai'i has never been acute. Language difficulties and differences in culture and outlook have further divided allegiances to working-class ideals.

In 1978, Office of Hawai'ian Affairs was established with the mandate to help Hawai'ians. The trustees and the eligible voters were limited to those of Hawai'i an ancestry. This however, was challenged in year 2000 in Rice vs. Cayetano where the

US Supreme Court ruled that Hawai'ians-only voting was unconstitutional. In the same year after 104 years, Hawai'ian language that was banned in 1896 was officially made as a second official language.

In 1993, the Apology Resolution was passed by the US Congress and the resolution was signed by President Bill Clinton in 1994. In year 2000, as per the resolution, a report was issued by the US government on the reconciliation process. Among others, the report recommended that *"the Native Hawai'ian people should have self-determination over their own affairs within the framework of federal law, as do Native American tribes."*[38]

In 2001, Hawai'ian Kingdom filed a complaint against the United States with the Security Council of the UN under the Article 35(2) of the United Nations Charter, which states that *"a State, which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to, which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purpose of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter."* The Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague deliberated this complaint and recognized that Hawai'ian Islands *"existed as an independent State recognized as such by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and various other States* (Lance Larsen vs. Hawai'ian Kingdom, 2001).*"*[39] Hawai'ian's sovereignty in the 19th century was also recognized in 2004 by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (Kahawaiola`a vs. Norton, 2004; Sai, 2008).

---

[38] http://www.oha.org/pdf/kwo05/0511/12-13.pdf
[39] http://www.alohaquest.com/arbitration/news_polynesian_0102.htm

Table 14. Historical Timeline of Hawai'i

300-900 AD	Arrival of Polynesians
1778	Arrival of James Cook
1791	Kamehameha conquered the island of Hawai'i
1795	Kamehameha gained control of Maui, Lanai, Molokai and Oahu.
1810	Kamehameha united all the islands
1813	Coffee and pineapple were introduced by Spain
1819	Kamehameha died. Kamehameha I'I abandoned '*kapu*' system
1820	Protestant missionaries arrived
1826	Treaty with US
1839	Treaty with France
1840	Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai'i
1848	Private land ownership
1852	Arrival of Chinese workers
1853	Smallpox epidemic
1868	Arrival of Japanese workers
1875	Reciprocity Treaty that allowed sugar to enter US without custom duty
1878	Arrival of Portuguese workers
1883	Trust for Kamehameha Schools
1884	Reciprocity Treaty extended in return US right to use Pearl Harbor
1893	Overthrow of Hawai'ian monarchy
1896	Hawai'ian language was banned
1900	Arrival of Puerto Rico and Okinawa workers
1900	Hawai'i became a US territory
1902	Arrival of Korean workers
1906	Arrival of Filipino workers
1931-32	Massie Case
1941	Pearl Harbor attack. World War I'I
1945	Hawai'i listed as a non-self governing territory by UN
1959	Hawai'i becomes a State
1975	Kahoolawe protest against the use of the sacred land as a practice bombing site
1978	Office of Hawai'ian Affairs was established Hawai'ian became the second official language
1993	Apology Resolution passed by the US Congress
1995	End of sugar plantation
2000	Rice vs. Cayetano
2000	Akaka Bill proposed
2001	Hawai'ian Kingdom filed a complaint against the United States with the Security Council of the UN
2005	Doe vs Kamehameha
2007	Doe vs Kamehameha Out-of-court settlement

Figure 45. Historical Model of Multiculturalism – Hawai'i
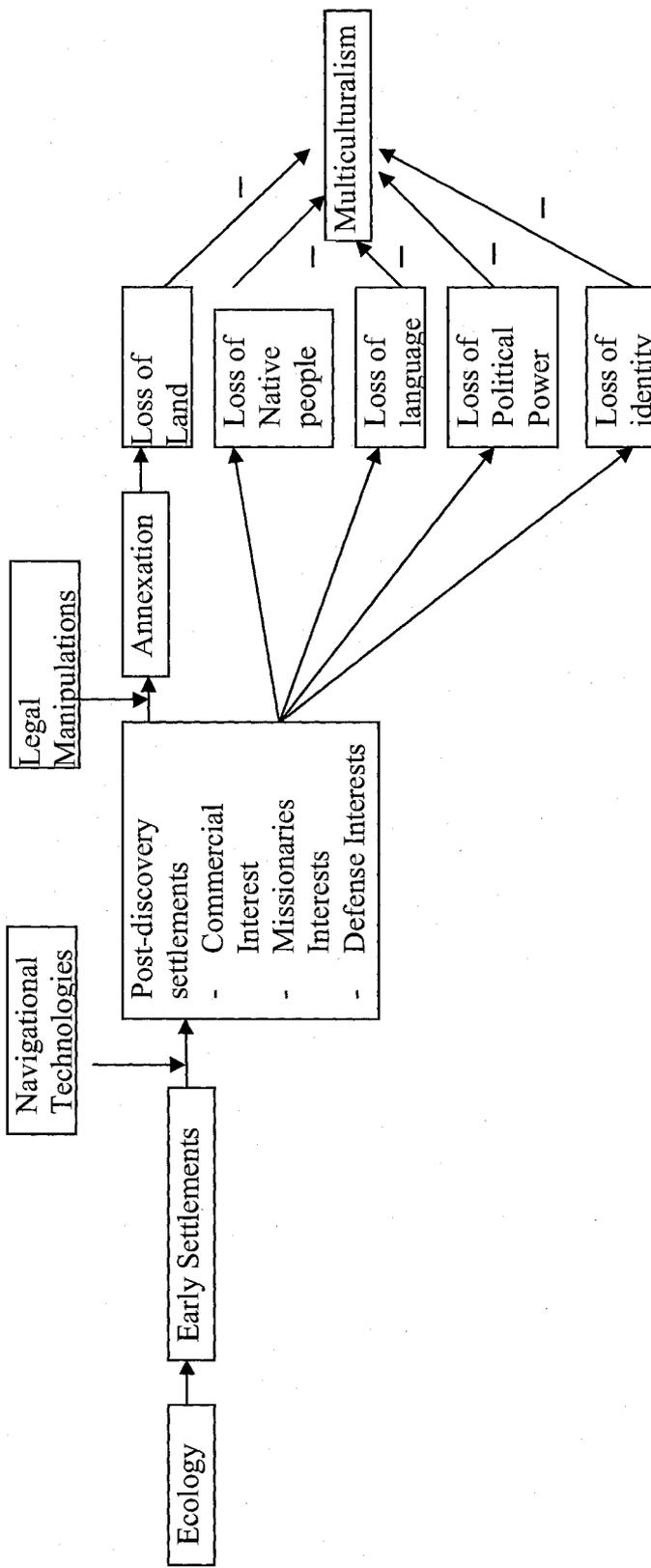
4.2.3.3 Theoretical Syntheses of grounded theory and historical analyses
Figure 46. Theoretical Syntheses – Hawai'i
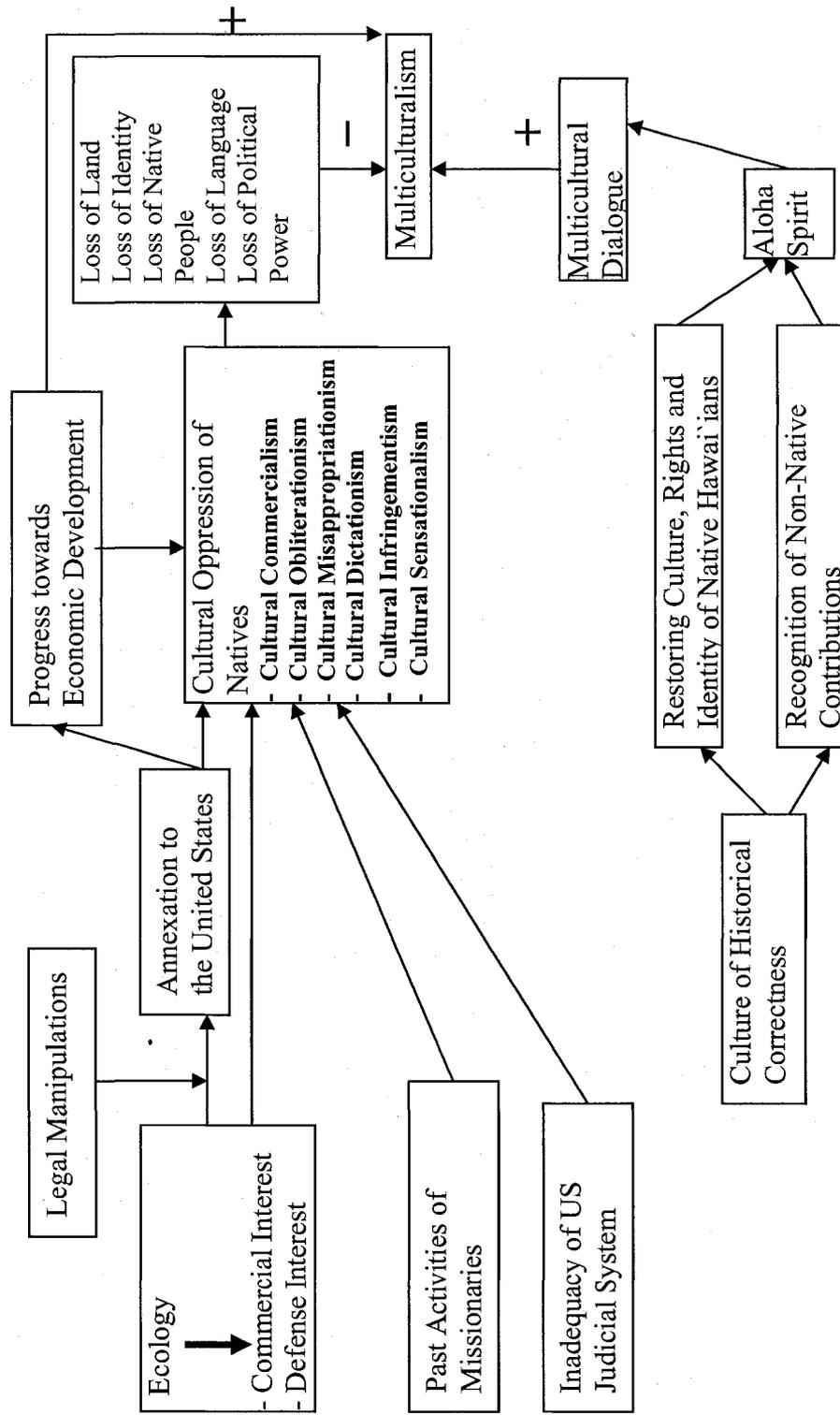
An integrated emic model of multiculturalism for Hawai'i is developed by synthesizing both the results from grounded theory and historical analyses. The model suggests that multicultural issues faced by Native Hawai'ians are salient in Hawai'i. Based on historical analyses, this is not surprising as Native Hawai'ians were colonized, annexed, lost their land, lost their population, lost their identity, and lost their language. Five factors were found as roots for multicultural issues faced by Native Hawai'ians.

The first factor is due to Hawai'i's ecology, which attracted commercial and defense interests by colonial powers. The second factor is the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States through legal instruments. While some argued that annexation is the best thing for Hawai'i, many argued that annexation to the US was done against the will of Native Hawai'ians. The third factor is related to activities of missionaries carried out more than a century ago. As a case of point, from 1860 till 1967, it was a legal requirement for child born in Hawai'i to be given a Christian name. The fourth factor is the latent consequences of US judicial system, which allows people to challenge the culture, economy and education rights of Native Hawai'ians. The legal challenge towards Kamehameha School's admission requirement is an example where US judicial system has been argued to work against the aspiration of Native Hawai'ians. The fifth factor is the state's emphasis on economic development especially development related to tourism industry.

The model shows how these five factors contributed to the cultural oppression of Native Hawai'ians – culture commercialism, culture obliterationism, cultural misappropriationism, cultural dictationism, cultural infringementism and cultural

sensationalism. These oppressions contributed to the loss of land, loss of identity, loss of native population, loss of language and loss of political power. The model suggests that by developing the culture of historical correctness; Native's culture, rights and identity can be restored. The model also suggests that historical correctness can contribute to the recognition of non-Natives contribution. By restoring Native's culture and recognizing the contribution of non-natives, the model suggests that true Aloha spirit can be fostered. The model suggests that this spirit is crucial in fostering dialogues on multicultural issues in Hawai'i and to multiculturalism in Hawai'i.

4.3 Results from Phase 3 - Development of Etic models

This section synthesizes the emic models of Malaysia, Singapore and Hawaiʻi and presents an integrated etic model as well a common etic model. An integrated etic model is built by adding all the variables present in all the three emic models, and is comparable to the Least Common Multiple. A common etic model is built by selecting the factors shared by all the three models, and is comparable to the Greatest Common Factor. For example, ecological factors were shared by all the three models and as such it is one of the factors in the common etic model. However, colonization was more relevant to Malaysia, separation from Malaysia was salient to Singapore, and annexation was unique to Hawaiʻi; thus suggesting three unique paths to be included in an integrated etic model. The idea is that not all the paths and elements of this model will be relevant to a target culture. At the same time, the model maybe general enough to map multiculturalism in any society.

4.3.1 Etic Models of Multiculturalism

As the factors in the integrated etic model are already explained in the development of emic models, the explanation of these factors is not repeated here. However, the common etic model (Figure 48) is briefly described in the section below (the final common etic model is explained in depth later).

Briefly, the common etic model shows the role of historical, socio-political, economic, legal and ecological factors in shaping multiculturalism. The model shows how these factors shaped the modern origin of a nation shape and the development of superordinate-identity to achieve superordinate goals. The model shows the

achievements of superordinate goals are fragile to external factors and often lead to negative consequences for multiculturalism as was found in all the three societies. The model shows the role of community citizenship for multiculturalism and how this can lead to fair and equal access, parity of acknowledgment, non-sectarian leadership and opportunity for natural interactions. The model also shows how these four factors can contribute to building capacity for dialogue. The model posits that capacity for dialogue is crucial for meaningful multicultural dialogues. The model postulates that capacity for dialogue has reciprocal relationship with dialogue and they amplify each other. In other words, having more meaningful dialogues increase the capacity for dialogue and vice-versa. Finally, the model shows how having meaningful dialogues lead societies toward achieving multiculturalism.

4.3.1.1 An Integrated Etic General Model of Multiculturalism
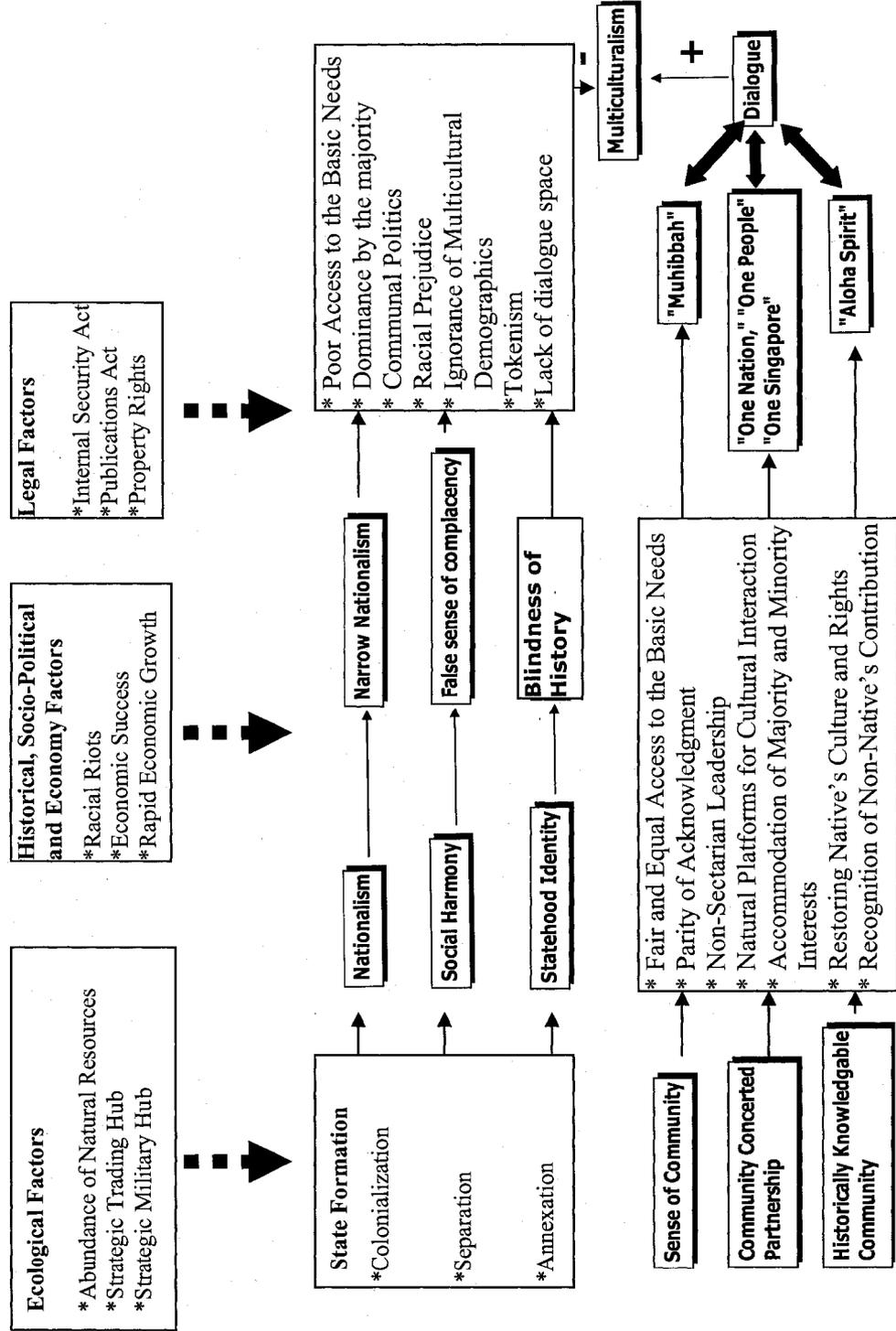
Figure 47. An Integrated Etic General Model of Multiculturalism

4.3.1.2 A Common Etic General Model of Multiculturalism

Ecological, Historical, Socio-Political, Economic and Legal Factors

Modern Origin of Nation/State → **Superordinate Identity** → **Achievement of Superordinate Goals** →

* Poor Access to the Basic Needs
* Dominance of the majority
* Communal Politics
* Racial Prejudice
* Tokenism
* Lack of Dialogue

—

MULTICULTURALISM

+

Dialogue

Capacity For Dialogue

* Fair and Equal Access
* Parity of Acknowledgment
* Non-Sectarian Leadership
* Natural Interaction

Community Citizenship

Figure 48. A Common Etic General Model of Multiculturalism

4.4 Results from Phase 4 - Emic model testing and refinement of etic models (Study 2c, 3c & 4c)

This section presents results of emic model testing and refinement of etic models. Emic models of Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i were tested for construct bias as well as the relationships (if-then) between constructs. These testing were carried out using letters in a newspaper that was ranked second in the data sampling procedures -- *New Strait Times* for Malaysia, *TODAY* for Singapore and the *Honolulu Advertiser* for Hawai'i. Construct biases were checked by construct representativeness in letters in the second newspaper and relationships between constructs were checked by looking for negative evidences. Following the results of these testing, emic models of Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i are revised accordingly. This is then followed by revisions of the etic models.

4.4.1 Testing Emic Model – Malaysia (Study 2c)

Results show that all the constructs of the emic model are represented in letters to the editor in the *New Strait Times* as well. However, two new relationships between constructs emerged and one relationship was revised. They are described below:

1) Letters show that ineffective strategies contribute to poor access to the basic needs of individuals similar to the way that narrow nationalism does. This relationship is added to the model.

2) Letters show that weak democracies do contribute to the domination and subordination of cultural groups. This relationship is added to the model.

3) Letters show that communal interest is a natural group phenomenon. As communal politics is a mechanism for achieving communal interest, the researcher went back to letters in the *Malaysiakini* and searched for letters with the keyword 'communal'. The researcher found that 'communal supremacy,' which is manifested through communal politics, is derailing multiculturalism more than the communal politics itself. The model is revised accordingly.

4.4.1.1 Testing representatives of theoretical constructs

Theoretical Codes	Supporting Data in the *New Strait Times*
Ecological Factors	*"Malaysia is a land of plenty and opportunity, but we may lose everything if we play the wrong cards. Narrow-minded, self-serving politicians are trying hard to sow the seeds of enmity between communities. They have turned the precious stones of race and religion into crushing boulders of hatred. Luckily for us, their influence is limited. And we must keep it that way. We must at all costs ensure that their horns are blunted. This we can do through the ballot box (M.R., 2004)."*
Colonialism	*"The colonial administration conspired with the British managements to keep the Tamil labour force on the estates. The Public Works Department "work indent" for minor work in the colonial days required, among other things, that Tamil labour was not used for the work. This discriminatory clause effectively prevented enterprising estate Tamils from leaving the misery and exploitation on the plantation (M.G., 2003)."*
World War II	*"After the defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army and the surrender of Japan, Tengku and his colleagues from various ethnic groups braced themselves to gain independence for Malaya. A uniquely interwoven society of multicultural diversity built over many centuries became a sovereign nation. It was a nation born of cooperation and friendship between its people and its leaders, and Tengku brought forth a "democracy to be enjoyed by all people of the nation (Beldeu Singh, 2000)."*
External Cultural Influence	*"Pendita Z'aba (Zainal Abidin Ahmad) in his book Ilmu Mengarang Melayu gives a long list of examples of these borrowed words from Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindustani, Farsi, Arabic, Chinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Siamese, Portuguese, Dutch and, recently, English. From these sources came words like nakhoda, pakau and wayang. Almost countless are English words such as basikal, coklat, doktor, gelas, jel, kelas, lori, muzik, nombor, rekod and tenis; and thousands more of other words from Arabic like ajal, doa, dunia and ziarah (Raja Iskandar, 2006)."*
Nationalism	*"In my days, schools were secular in approach. Today, one cannot help but notice that*

	fundamentalism plays an important role to divide and rule. Some schools divide their classes along racial/ religious lines and not academic merit (Naleeni Das, 2001)."
Independence	*"On various occasions, my grandfather has related to me his first-hand experience of how life was under the British and Japanese rule during World War Two, and most importantly, how Malaya gained its independence in 1957. This knowledge truly means a lot to me. I find it truly remarkable that Tunku Abdul Rahman was able to lead a nation, which had been colonised for such a long time, to independence without spilling a drop of blood. What is equally amazing is that Malayans of all races and religions came together to champion the cause of independence for their country. Our forefathers forged a country from the Federated and Unfederated Malay States to the Federation of Malaya in 1948 and eventually the establishment of Malaysia in 1963. We have truly come a long way. This Aug 31, a great nation becomes a year older. Let us all celebrate Merdeka as one Bangsa Malaysia, and work together towards further enhancing Malaysia as a nation of excellence and distinction. Selamat Hari Merdeka* (Sihvanand Sivamohan, 2006)."*
Racial Riots	*"As a senior citizen, I have witnessed the horror, loss of innocent lives and sheer waste of past achievements arising from the incident. And I believe that I speak for all peace-loving Malaysians when I say that no one is desirous of seeing the country go through another round of all that avoidable and unnecessary suffering of the May 13 incident* (Robert Phang, 2000)."*
Narrow Nationalism	*"I am deeply concerned that nation-building now faces greater challenges than we have ever faced before. To put it simplistically, we are not moving forward in uniting the races but instead promoting intolerance and blaming others for playing the racial card. Day by day, utterances by politicians are becoming more and more strident and divisive. Social, economic and religious issues are not being examined and addressed in a mature and rational manner. Instead, these issues are now reasons to accuse the others of seditious attitudes, with the threat that further public debate on such issues is certain to lead to public disorder* (Foong Yee, 2006)."*
Poor access to the Basic Needs	*"The Orang Asli, who are the most marginalised community in the country,*

of Individuals	*continue to suffer the loss of their land through resettlement, logging, mining, dam construction, golf course development, plantation schemes, relocation and assimilation into mainstream society. Orang Asli rights to their ancestral lands are not recognised by the state; as such, their lands have been disposed of and their subsistence base had been destroyed. Government policy has been to regroup and resettle them to grow cash crops and food. Land pressure and lack of state assistance and support have led to increasing hardship* (Mohamed Idris, 2004)."
Domination and Subordination of Cultural Groups	*"It is very alarming to note that many advertisements in the newspapers for jobs are somewhat racial. I have noticed that they advertise without any thought that they are narrowing their search for candidates to a certain race only. It is even more alarming that some foreign firms and banks have in their advertisements requested for certain dialects, some mentioning Chinese dialects. Don't we as Malaysians speak at least one common language? What's happened to our nationalism and our Bahasa Malaysia? If a Chinese dialect is so important in today's communications then the Government should think of implementing it immediately in schools so as to give the other races a chance in the job market, especially in the private sector. I am a graduate from a foreign university, have had a very good number of years in the banking industry and, on top of this, I have also a number of good years of corporate and foreign IT experience. But, somehow, over the last eight months, I have been a victim to all these racial discrimination. I know that there are many Indians like me who face this problem. What should we do? Sit down and become consultants to crime or be part of the next brain drain? I understand why crime among the Indians is high. What is the Government doing about all these blatant job advertisements? I am still waiting for an opportunity to work and prove myself* (E.D., 2002)."*
Communal Politics	*"Communal rhetoric coming from any race is outdated and undesirable in a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious country like ours as it can cause great damage to national unity* (Lee Lam Thye, 2000)."*
Sense of Community	*"Each of us is made differently, and depending on our exposure to the mores of the different races and their cultures, we acquire an understanding, respect and tolerance*

	towards people different from us. If such a mindset also takes to heart values like love of king and country, having a sense of belonging and community, holding a stake in the country's interest and believing in fairness to all, we would be well on the way to greater integration (Cheah, 2004)."
Fair and Equal Access to the Basic Needs	*"There should be concern for minority rights and interests in any society so that the prosperity of the nation is shared equitably by all and not hoarded by a few under the guise of being a majority (Ramasamy, 2000)."*
Parity of Acknowledgement	*"Although the Indians in Malaysia are a minority their role and contribution should not be belittled (Lakshimannan, 2001)."*
Non Sectarian Leadership	*"Itimately, our ability to build a truly integrated Malaysia will depend largely on the political maturity of our leaders. Will they rise to the occasion or will they remain as politicians exploiting narrow communal fears and sentiments? The price for political myopia can be very high (Lourdesamy, 2001)."*
Dialogue	*"Dialogue and discourse are the only peaceful avenues for people of different races to live together in peace, harmony and prosperity. Before these dialogues are conducted, one has to internalise with all integrity and honesty possible on the objective of such dialogue as well as the basic ground rules that would constitute reasonable talk. We must find common cause, we must join in common effort without remorse or recrimination, without anger and rancour to find a common path which will lead us to a common good and harmony in our multiethnic country and prosperity for all (Foong Luen, 2006)."*
Muhibbah	*"our country cannot afford to have some irresponsible people destroy whatever achievements our founding fathers have strived so hard to accomplish for us, that is, a sense of camaraderie among the races and the true sense of muhibbah (Michael Ng, 2003)."*

4.4.1.2 Testing relationships between constructs

If-Then Statements	Negative Evidence	Explanations
World War II – Nationalism -	Not found	
Nationalism-Narrow nationalism	Not found	
Narrow Nationalism – Poor access to the basic needs of individuals	*"While the rationale for revival of the New Economic Policy is not disputed, there is also a need to review the present socio-economic standing of non-Bumiputeras in light of the developments that have taken place over the years. One of the objectives of the NEP was eradication of poverty, regardless of race. The Government's efforts, so far, have not brought about the desired results as the majority of Indians are still poor. The imbalance in the distribution of wealth has widened income inequalities and this has given rise to many social problems. In a progressive nation, every segment of the population must prosper. This is vital for greater social cohesion and national unity. It is hoped that in the implementation of the Ninth Malaysia Plan, the shortfalls will be addressed through effective economic development strategies (Sundareson, 2005)."*	Narrow Nationalism v. Ineffective strategies Ineffective strategies may contribute more to poor access to the basic needs of individuals than does narrow nationalism
Narrow Nationalism – Domination and Subordination of Cultural Groups	*"Real democracy means that while the majority rules, the minority is still respected and heard (Dennis, 2003)."*	Narrow Nationalism v. Weak Democracy A weak democracy can contribute to the domination and subordination of cultural groups
Narrow Nationalism – Communal Politics	*"Ours is a society made up of a delicate balance of different racial and communal interests. Wanton disregard of this reality would not benefit anyone. It may cause problems all of us can do without (Wan Ahmad*	Communal interest is a natural group phenomenon.

	Sense of community and respect for multiculturalism - Fair and equal access to the basic needs for all citizens	Sense of community and respect for multiculturalism – Parity of Acknowledgment	Sense of community and respect for multiculturalism – Non-sectarian leadership	Fair and equal access to the basic needs for all citizens - Dialogue
Shihab Ismail, 2002)." **"There is a difference between affirmative programmes justified on the 'weakness' of the group benefited and affirmative programmes based on the 'supremacy' of the group benefited. While the former can be dismantled when the programmes have rectified the weakness, the latter obviously cannot (Jian, 2002 – Letter from Malaysiakini)."**	Not found	Not found	Not found	Not found
Championing communal interest is not necessarily bad for multiculturalism but communal supremacy that can be manifested through communal politics is certainly bad for multiculturalism				

Parity of Acknowledgment-Dialogue	Not found	
Non Sectarian Leadership-Dialogue	Not found	
Dialogue – Muhibbah	Not found	
Muhibbah - Multiculturalism	Not found	

4.4.1.3 Final Emic Model-Malaysia
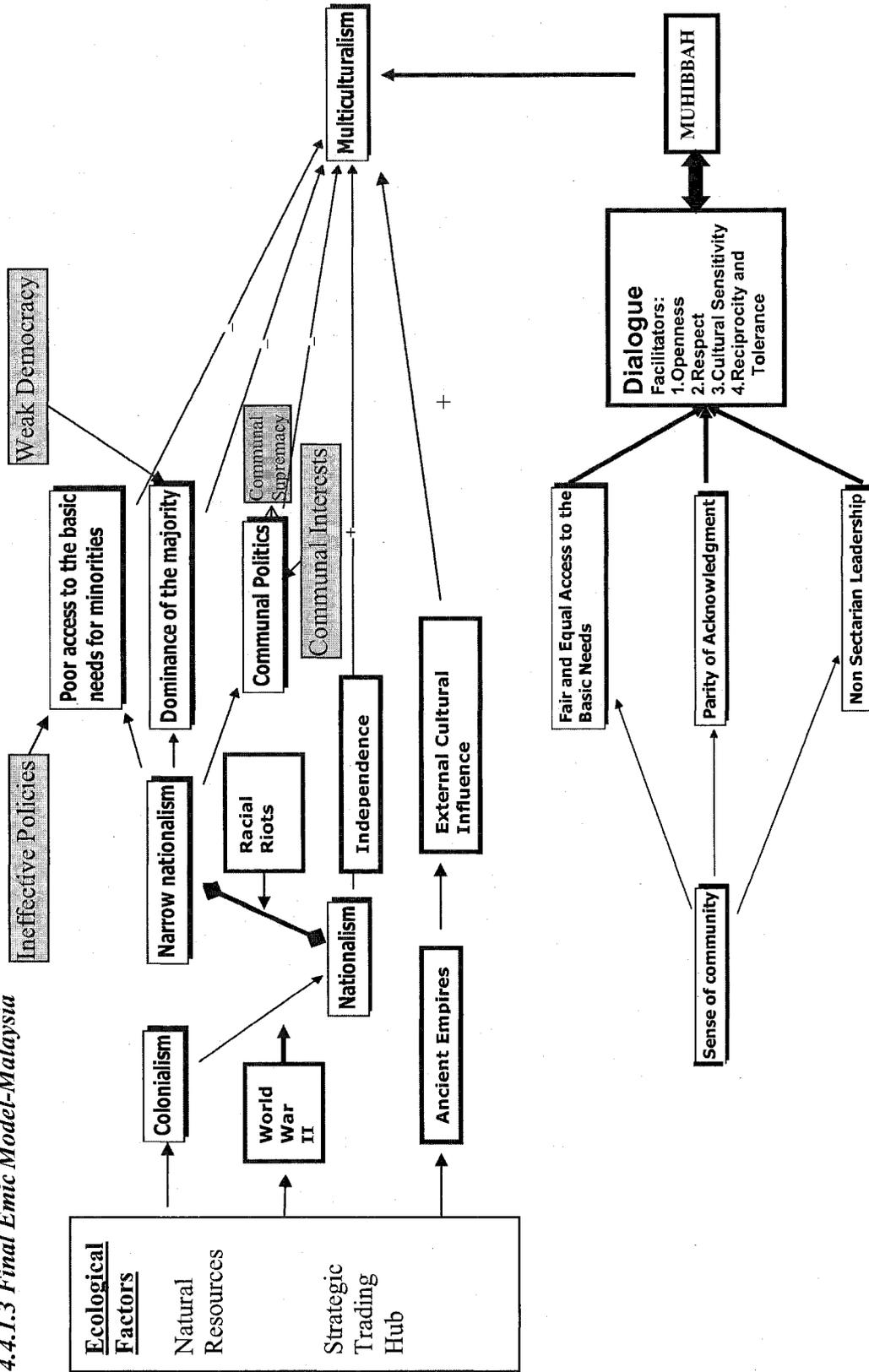
Figure 49. Final Emic Model - Malaysia

4.4.2 Testing Emic Model – Singapore (Study 3c)

Results show that all the constructs of the emic model are represented in the *TODAY* as well. However, for relationships between constructs, letters suggest a new relationship -- Active Government Role and Social Inaction. The model suggests that active government role in addressing multicultural issues without active involvement of citizens may lead to social inaction of ordinary citizens addressing multicultural issues.

4.4.2.1 Testing representatives of theoretical constructs

Theoretical Codes	Supporting Data in the *TODAY*
Ecological Factors	*"As a small nation, we cannot afford to have any emotionally charged and explosive rallies sending the wrong signal to potential investors (Eric Lee, 2005)."*
Historical Factors	*"I am sure many Singaporeans have nostalgic recollections of the stadium. To me, it epitomises the aspirations and racial harmony of our young nation. It is more than a venue (Colin Ong, 2006)."*
Active Government Role	*"In multi-cultural and multi-racial Singapore, we must really heighten our awareness. At the least, we must work towards getting basic, but no less important, facts right. To that end, the Government has put in effort to promote racial harmony (Eliza Ng, 2006)."*
Racial and Religious Harmony	*"Many foreigners find Singapore to be an attractive and safe place to do business because of our disciplined and skilled workforce, excellent infrastructure and, above all, industrial peace. Most employers (including foreign companies) see this harmonious climate as something that is of paramount importance (Jeffrey Law, 2005)."*
Complacency	*"A responsible press should reflect, without distortion, the good, the bad and the ugly aspects of our society. Constantly focusing on the good aspects will only breed complacency in our people (Leong Kit, 2001)."*
Lack of Independent Dialogue	*"The government has always adopted a policy of 'robust rebuttal' whenever they disagreed with claims given by others (Josan Lee, 2003)."*
Racial Prejudice	*"I was surprised to come across one advertisement for the post of secretary to an expatriate boss that specified Mandarin as one of the criteria for consideration. This is not an isolated case. I've seen two other secretary job ads - to a French boss and an Indian vice-president - specifying Mandarin as a prerequisite. It makes me wonder if*

	Mandarin is needed to speak to the expatriate boss or to his clients or is it for easy communication with Chinese colleagues? (Anne Xavier, 2006)"
Ignorance of Multicultural Demographics	*"I have a few friends from Hong Kong and they were surprised (or I should say appalled) to learn that I cannot speak Cantonese. The Speak Mandarin Campaign has succeeded in promoting the use of Mandarin but caused many young Chinese Singaporeans to lose a huge portion of their heritage (Melisa Leong, 2006).*
Tokenism	*"The Ministry of Education's plans for 10 secondary schools to offer Malay as a third language are a welcome sign. It took the tragedy of the tsunami and our valiant efforts to assist in the rescue efforts to understand the importance of this elegant language, which is the lingua franca of our region (Gopinath Menon, 2005)."*
Community Concerted Partnership *Role of Business Organizations* *Role of Schools* *Role of Religious Organizations* *Role of Neighborhoods* *Role of the majority group* *Role of the minority group* *Role of parents* *Role of Individual* *Role of Media*	*"We should not only look to the schools for answers, but also to the religious organizations (Vasanthan Govindasamy, 2006)."* Role of Business Organizations *"Among HR practitioners here, like in any profession, there would inevitably be a few black sheep. This is a sad reality. Legislation may seem to be a good way to deter errant practices – as suggested by a reader - but it is never foolproof and will not be the whole answer to "discriminatory" recruitment or employment practices. Many countries with anti-discriminatory laws could not stamp out discriminatory employment practices as they are not easy to enforce and employers can usually find ways to circumvent such legislation if they so desire. Anti-discrimination legislation can actually be counter-productive, in that it can reinforce prevailing prejudices. Hence, legislation is not necessarily the solution. But changing attitudes and behaviour is. Guidelines and training are necessary to facilitate attitude-change and for establishing good HR practices. They need to be constantly reiterated and reinforced (David Ang, 2006)."*

Role of Schools

"_We could also consider a buddy system. Each student can pair up with a buddy of another race. SAP schools can pair off its students with those of other races from other schools. I would like to see the MOE and our schools adopting more creative measures in educating our children on race relations_ (Haslinda Shamsudin, 2005)."

Role of Religious Organizations

"_We don't need leaders of the different faiths in Singapore coming together for a photo shoot at an event with lots of fanfare. We would rather see them bringing their followers to visit other places of worship and showing them the way. What about a Brahmin priest bringing his worshippers to witness a Sunday Mass at a church? Or a pastor taking his flock on an excursion to a mosque? Or an Imam taking Friday worshippers to see a Hindu temple?_ (Vasanthan Govindasamy, 2006)."

Role of Neighborhoods

"_Thus, to better build HDB communities and strengthen rootedness, community ownership and mutual support in housing estates, we need facilitators to organise activities and create opportunities for HDB dwellers to come out of their flats to interact_ (Kian Huat, 2006)."

Role of the majority group

"_Have we forgotten that Singapore is a multiracial society? Just because the majority of Singaporeans are Chinese doesn't mean the minority groups, a category to which I belong, should conform indeed, I think we need to be understood a little better, not the other way round_ (Aresha, 2005)."

Role of the minority group

"_Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew pointed out how the predominantly Malay Cisco officers_

	carried out their duty in serving quarantine orders, above and beyond the call of duty, to members of other races. Such example indicate that Singaporean are by and large, not racist (Michael Loh, 2003). **Role of parents** *"Parents must not perpetuate racial stereotypes or make racially-biased comment themselves but set examples for their children by mixing with people of other races (Benson Ang, 2003)."* **Role of Individual** *"But the onus is really on us to open our minds and hearts to learn about those who are different from us. We cannot afford to be "ignorant fools" in a borderless world where many cultures meet (Eliza Ng, 2006)."* **Role of Media** *"I am impressed that TODAY has chosen to bring to light an issue, which is not brought up often [cross-cultural communication] but in reality is vital to the success of business and personal relations in Singapore. Thank you for raising awareness (Lydia Brooks, 2001)."*
Space for dialogue	*"Dialogues and exchanges between the communities have been well highlighted to promote racial and religious harmony. Even the letters to the Forum show a strong slant towards maintaining our citizenship, shared cultures and respect for one another. There was no mindless exchange of views, especially extremist ones, which might have threatened our hard-earned cohesion. Though another major war in the Middle East is in the air, I believe The Straits Times will continue to provide unbiased reporting on issues facing Singaporeans (Pattamuckiljohn Johney, Dr.)"*
Creation of Natural platforms for ethnic interaction	*"For those of us educated in the pre-SAP days, I have no doubt that our understanding of the different races and our ability to live with them could very much be attributed to our daily interaction in school. Yes, we now have the Racial Harmony Day. That to me,*

	however, is a half-hearted attempt at racial integration. How much can we actually achieve in that one day? Beyond the Malay girls learning to don a sari and the Chinese girls the baju kurung to school; the singing of one another's songs; the eating of one another's delicacies; what else is there to foster racial interaction after the day is over? Are our children much more enlightened? Educating our children on the issues of racism and racial stereotyping must start early. Bring civics back into our classroom. Let all our children interact daily (Haslinda Shamsudin, 2005)."
One people, One Nation, One Singapore	*"In a multi-racial city that owes its peace and prosperity to good relations between the races, Singapore cannot afford to allow mass media to condone divisions along ethnic lines for the sake of Friday night entertainment. Airing the show is in blatant disregard of social sensitivities post-911, and undermines the Government's efforts at bringing Singaporeans closer as one people (Gurmit Singh, 2006)."*

4.4.2.2 Testing relationships between constructs

If-Then Statements	Negative Evidence	Explanations
Historical Factors – Active Government Role	Not found	
Ecological Factors – Active Government Role	Not found	
Active Government Role– Racial Religious Harmony	*"An overwhelming majority of Singaporeans reject racism and its ideals. However, our political and social culture, which seems to foster social inaction, might result in most ordinary Singaporeans not standing up against and actively rejecting such racial cleavages (Wayne Soon, 2005).*	Active government role in addressing multicultural issues may lead to Social Inaction of ordinary citizens addressing multicultural issues
Active Government Role – Lack of Independent Dialogue	Not found	
Racial and religious Harmony - Complacency	Not found	
Complacency – Racial Prejudice	Not found	
Complacency – Ignorance of Multicultural Demographics	Not found	
Complacency - Tokenism	Not found	
Community Concerted	Not found	

Partnerships – Space for dialogue		
Community Concerted Partnerships – Creation of Natural platforms for ethnic interaction	Not found	
Community Concerted Partnerships – Accommodation of majority and minority interests	Not found	

4.4.2.3 Final Emic Model-Singapore
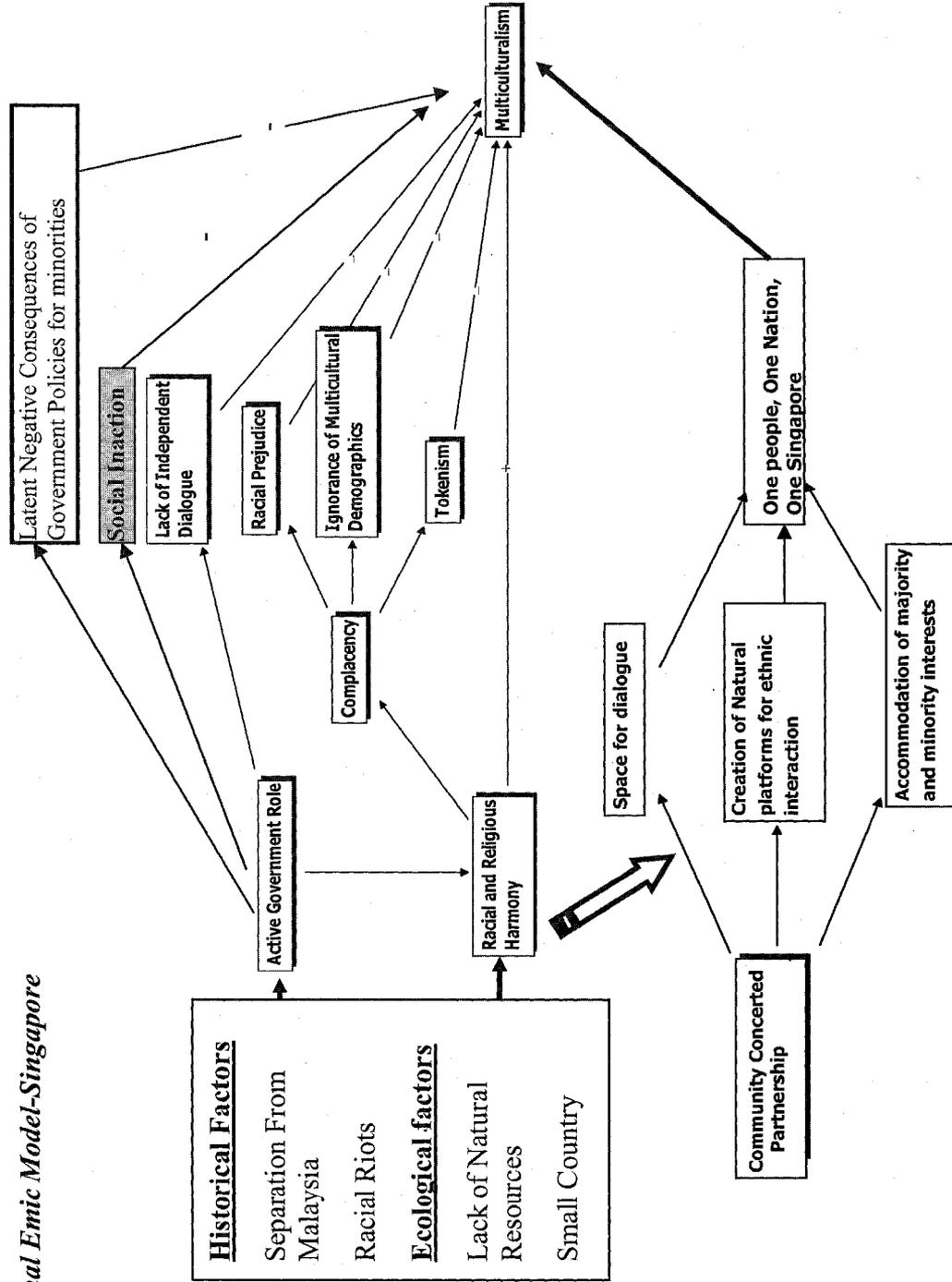
Figure 50. Final Emic Model - Singapore

4.4.3 Testing Emic Model – Hawai'i (Study 4c)

Results show that all constructs of the emic model are represented in the *Honolulu Advertiser* as well. However, for relationships between constructs, relationships between two sets of constructs - Culture of Historical Correctness and Restoring Culture & Rights and Identity of Native Hawai'ians - are partially supported. Letters suggest that restoration of culture, rights and identity of Native Hawai'ians can be better accomplished through the support of international policies for the protection of indigenous people.

4.4.3.1 Testing representatives of theoretical constructs

Theoretical Codes	Supporting Data in the *Honolulu Advertiser*
Historical Event of annexation of Hawai'i	"Applying international law to the historical facts, there was no merger of Hawai'ian sovereignty to U.S. sovereignty. A unilateral annexation by Congress is not a bilateral "merger" of sovereignty. Hawai'ian nationals are not in the same situation as "Native Americans" or "Native Alaskans." Hawai'ians are subjects of a sovereign state that has been occupied (Laudig, 2005)."
Past Activities of Ambitious Missionaries	"......when the missionaries came to our Islands, the Hawai'ians were stripped of everything that was themselves. In a sense, they weren't allowed to be Hawai'ian. Ke Ali'i Pauahi's one wish was to give back to Hawai'ian children what was rightfully theirs: their lives, their culture, their identity. This is not to say that the Hawai'i an community is seeking revenge and reparations by supporting a school that gives preferences to Hawai'ians. The Hawai'ian community supports Kamehameha because it stands for the continuation of our Hawai'ian culture. We as Hawai'ian people don't want to cause trouble or start a fight; we just want to be able to be who we are freely, without causing conflict (Imai, 2003)."
Inadequacy of US Judicial System	"In less than an hour of the court's time, Ezra demonstrated the inability of the American judicial system to deal with issues of religious belief. It is, perhaps, for this reason that founders of the American republic took such pains to insist on the separation of church and state (Osorio, 2006)."
Progress towards Economic Development	The key to the Hawai'ian culture, as with Native Americans and Alaskans, is that our cultures respect nature (aina) and believe that "life is generated from our Mother Earth." This is unique in that Western culture puts an "ownership" or "dollar" value on "nature" and disrespects the fact that nature needs to replenish itself (Paulette Ka'ala Roberson, 2003).
Cultural Oppression of Natives	"Regardless of whether or not you support the mission and purpose of Hui Mālama, the courts cannot be allowed to dictate what is and what is not a valid Hawai'i

	an cultural belief and practice or that of any other belief system (Kaholokula, 2006)."
Loss of Identity	"Material grievances, such as loss of land, etc., are being addressed but nothing is being done to perpetuate the Hawai'ian identity as expressed in rituals and, yes, authentic music, chants and dance (Cassarno, 2004)."
Culture of Historical Correctness	The overthrow and subsequent annexation by the United States was a historical accident (Kamuela, 2003).
Restoring Culture, Rights and Identity of Native Hawai'ians	"Federal recognition of Hawai'i's native people is long overdue. Let's do it and get on with the work of celebrating Hawai'ian culture, restoring cultural sites, promoting our Hawai'ian language and practicing Hawai'ian land values of mālama 'āina that have served these Islands for hundreds of years (Ferreira, 2005)."
Recognition of Non-Native Contributions	"All direct descendants (Hawai'ians and non-Hawai'ians) of citizens of the country and kingdom of Hawai'i, by the courage and wisdom of Queen Lili'uokalani, today have the inherent right to their true identity citizens of the country and kingdom of Hawai'i (Lahaina, 2003)."
Recognition of US Contributions	"The best hope for all of us is to thank our lucky stars we live in Hawai'i with the freedom, security, equal opportunity and aloha for all that comes with being citizens of the United States (Burgess, 2002)."
Aloha Spirit	Aloha spirit is a profound cultural largesse, extended to all those we meet, whether or not they be our neighbors. Hawai'ians embraced all others, not by requirement, but the result of a cultural imperative (Robert Moore, 2004).
Multicultural Dialogue	"Even freedom of speech does not allow you to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater. There should be limits to academic and research freedoms when they conflict with the indigenous culture (Ritte, 2005)."

4.4.3.2 Testing relationships between constructs

If-Then Statements	Negative Evidence or Alternative Explanations	Explanations
Annexation to the United States- Cultural Oppression of Natives	Not found	
Annexation to the United States- Progress towards Economic Development	Not found	
Past Activities of Missionaries – Cultural Oppression of Natives	Not found	
Inadequacy of US Judicial System – Cultural Oppression of Natives	Not Found	
Cultural Oppression of Natives – Loss of Identity	Not Found	
Culture of Historical Correctness – Restoring Culture, Rights and Identity of Native Hawai'ians	*"Informed independence advocates know that it is far better for a Hawai'ian national government supported by international venues to establish policies and make laws protecting the value of kanaka maoli ancestry and culture (Ingham, 2004)."*	International policies for the protection of indigenous people can help Native Hawai'ians to restore their culture, rights and identity
Culture of Historical Correctness – Recognition of Non-	Not Found	

Native Contributions		
Culture of Historical Correctness – Recognition of US Contributions	Not found	
Aloha Spirit – Multicultural Dialogue	Not Found	
Restoring Culture, Rights and Identity of Native Hawai'ians – Aloha Spirit	Not found	
Recognition of Non-Native Contributions – Aloha Spirit	Not found	
Recognition of US Contributions – Aloha Spirit	Not found	

4.4.3.3 Final Emic Model-Hawai'i
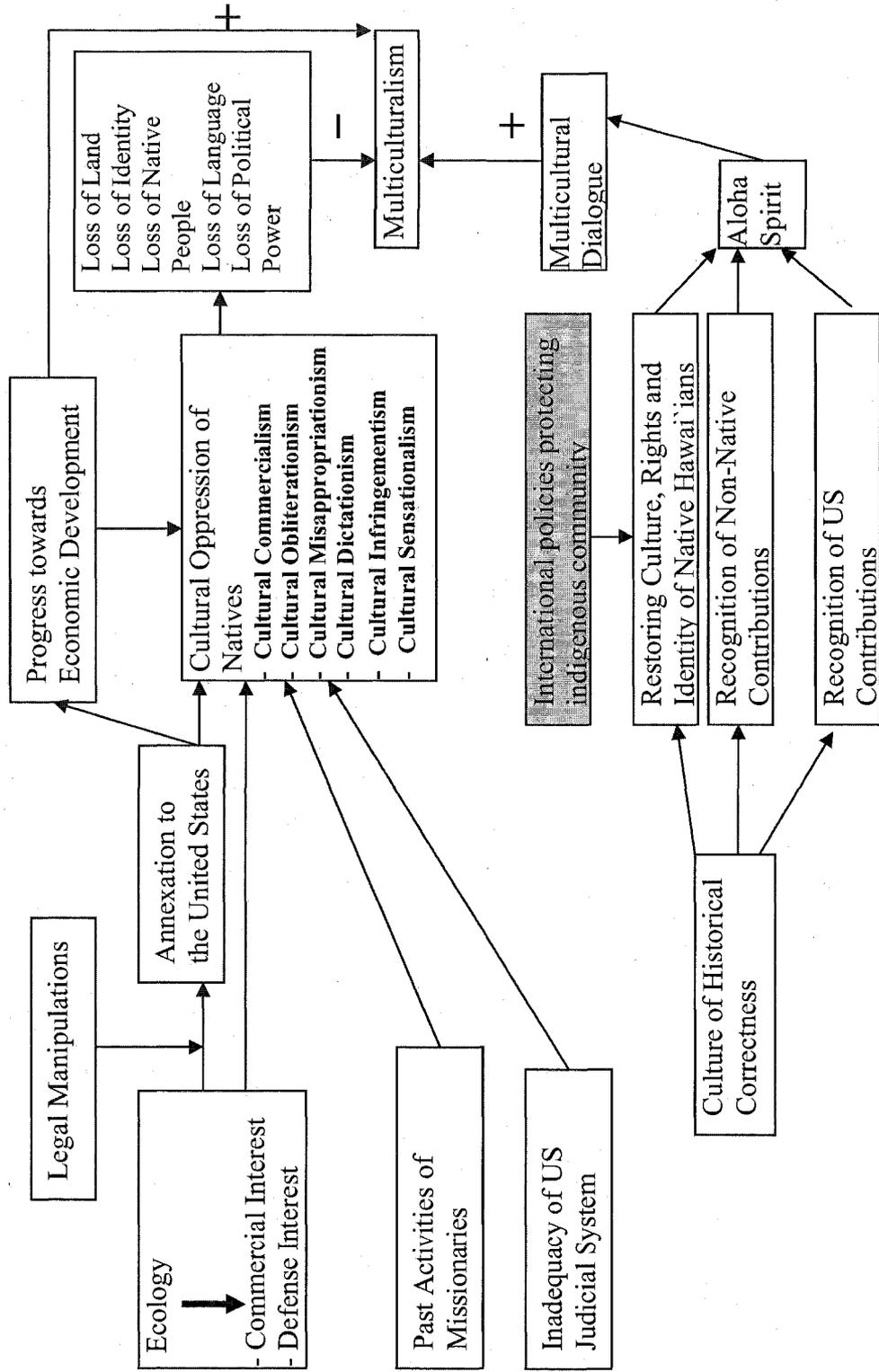
Figure 51. Final Emic Model – Hawai'i

4.4.4 Revising Etic Models

Following the testing of emic models, etic models were revised accordingly. For the integrated etic model, the following constructs were added:

a) Ineffective Multicultural Policies

b) Weak Democracy

c) Social Inaction

d) Ratification of International Conventions

These new constructs informed two additional constructs for the common etic model.

a) Effective Multicultural Policies, Rules and Laws

b) The role of cultural and governance factors

The construct 'communal politics' was changed to 'communal supremacy.'

4.4.4.1 Final Integrated Etic Model
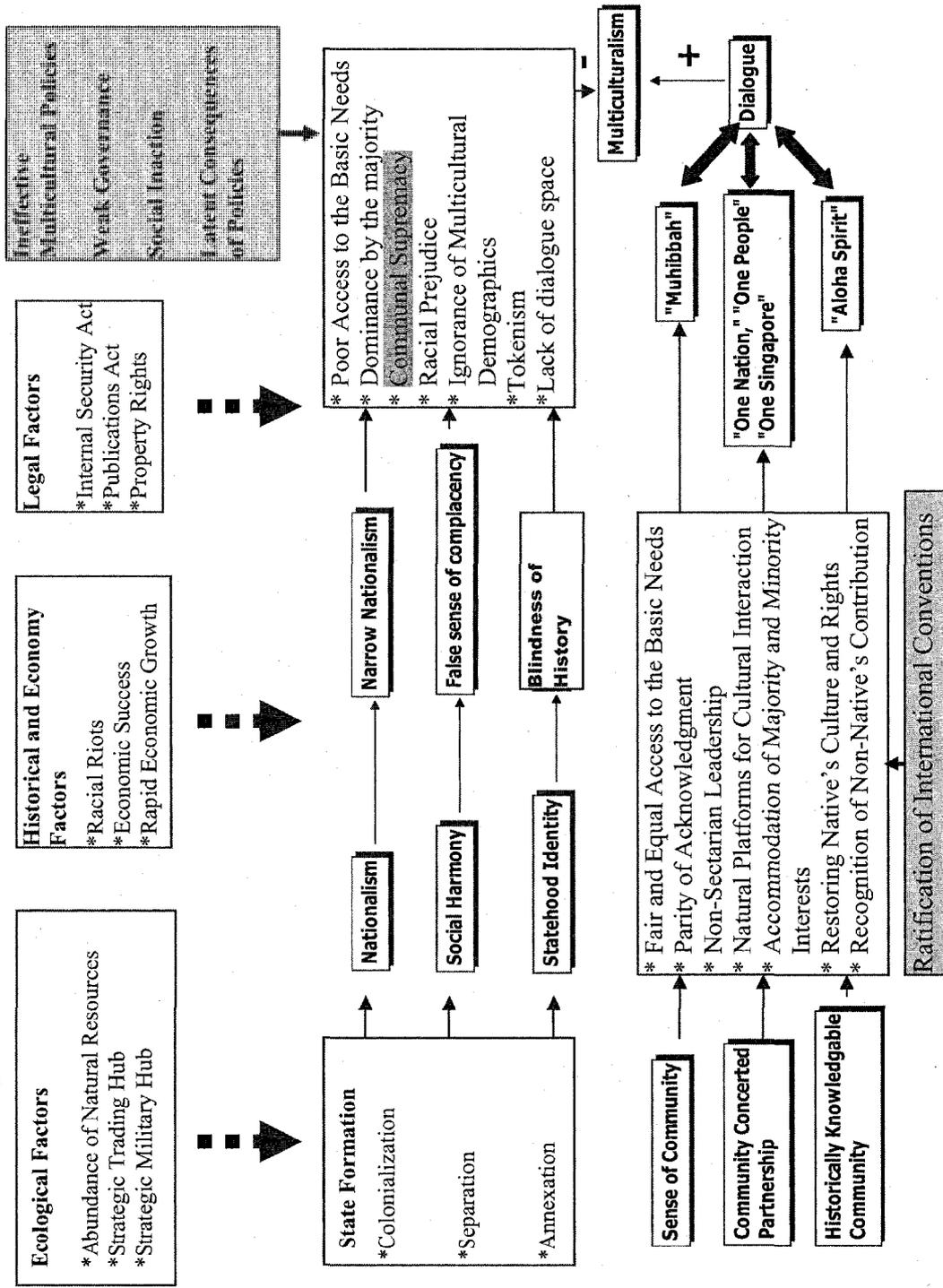
Figure 52. Final Integrated Etic Model

4.4.4.2 Final Common Etic Model

Ecological, Historical, Economic, Legal, Cultural and Governance Factors

Modern Origin of Nation/State → Superordinate Identity → Achievement of Superordinate Goals →

* Poor Access to the Basic Needs
* Dominance of the majority
* Communal Supremacy
* Racial Prejudice
* Tokenism
* Lack of Dialogue

MULTICULTURALISM

−

+

Dialogue

Efficient Governance and Effective Multicultural Policies, Rules and Laws →

* Fair and Equal Access
* Parity of Acknowledgment
* Non-Sectarian Leadership
* Natural Interaction

→ Capacity For Dialogue

Community Citizenship

Figure 53. Final Common Etic Model

In what follows, the final common etic model is discussed in detail.

Ecological Factors

The model shows that ecological factors shape both the state formation as well multiculturalism in general. For example, Malaysia attracted colonizers because of abundance of natural resources and its strategic location as a trading hub. The location of natural resources such as rubber and tin contributed to the social segregation of the ethnic groups -- Indians were placed in rubber plantation areas, Chinese in tin mining areas and Malays in '*Kampung*' areas. Similarly, the strategic port location attracted the colonizers to Singapore. After independence and separation from Malaysia, Singapore focused on racial and religious harmony as an important pillar of economic success. Its strategic value as a military hub in the Asia Pacific made Hawai'i attractive for annexation by the United States, and the US laws such as individual property rights resulted in the destruction of the Native Hawai'ian way of farming.

Historical Factors

The model supports that multiculturalism cannot be examined without taking into account the historical, socio-political and economic factors. In Malaysia, the achievement of independence changed the landscape of nationalism to narrow nationalism. In Singapore, the economic success contributed to complacency toward multiculturalism. In Hawai'i, the admission to statehood on August 21, 1959 resulted in Hawai'i losing its eligibility for decolonization under the United Nation's law.

Economic Factors

The model shows that economic factors such as the need to attract foreign direct investments shape multiculturalism. For example, in Malaysia and in Singapore, the need for racial harmony is often discussed in relation to attracting foreign direct investments.

Legal Factors

The model shows that legal factors have shaped multiculturalism in all three societies, both positively and negatively. While laws such as Sedition Act and Internal Security Act were formulated with the intention to promote multiculturalism, these laws have latent consequences that can hinder the progress of multiculturalism.

Cultural Factors

The model suggests that cultural factors encourage the formation of communal groups.

Governance Factors

The model suggests that governance factors such as strong democracy are crucial in promoting multiculturalism

Modern Origin of a Nation/State

The model suggests how a nation is formed or comes into existence shapes multiculturalism; both positively and negatively. For example, in Malaysia, the consequences of colonization for multiculturalism are still felt today. The existence of secular institutions, the economic disparities among ethnic groups and the 2007 legal suit by the Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) (Habib, 2007) against the British government demonstrate some of these consequences. In Singapore, the separation from

Malaysia contributed to the social cohesiveness of Singaporeans. In Hawai'i, the annexation to the United States though contributed to Hawai'i's economic development, it also contributed to the loss of much of the Native Hawai'ian culture.

Superordinate-Identity

The finding suggests that nations need to focus on creating perpetual superordinate goals or strong superordinate identity rather than achievable superordinate goals. For Malaysia, though the quest for independence resulted in the rise of nationalism for all ethnic groups, this nationalism lost its direction after independence and quickly turned into narrow nationalism, which among others resulted in communal politics. On the other hand, the separation from Malaysia, the lack of natural resources, and the need to work together for economic growth and nation building contributed to the solidarity and cohesiveness of Singaporeans.

Achievement of Superordinate Goals

The model suggests that cohesiveness based on superordinate identity disappears when superordinate goals are achieved. For example, nationalism in Malaysia changed to narrow nationalism after independence. Similarly, after achieving rapid economic growth and the non-occurrence of racial incidents in the last few decades, Singaporeans have become complacent and are not dealing with the deep undercurrents of racial issues. For Hawai'i, the benefits of statehood resulted in the majority of the voting population in Hawai'i to agree to become the 50th state of the United States, ignoring the voice of the minority Hawai'ians for sovereignty. As the new state identity emerged (US citizen), it led to further erosion of Native Hawai'ian identity and also completely shut down the

dialogue for sovereignty. The model suggests six consequences of non-sustainable

superordinate identity -- Poor Access to the Basic Needs, Dominance of the majority,

Communal Supremacy, Racial Prejudice, Tokenism and Lack of Dialogue.

Community Citizenship

The model shows that multiculturalism involves active community citizenship

and multi-level actions. The model characterizes active community citizenship as having

a sense of community, displaying commitment for concerted partnership with different

stakeholders to foster multiculturalism, and a deep understanding and appreciation of the

multicultural history of the society. The model suggests that without an active community

citizenship, multiculturalism can never be achieved. It appears that multiculturalism is

not about social engineering but community transformation through community building

(Bhawuk, Mzarek, Munusamy, 2008).

Efficient Governance and Effective Multicultural Policies, Rules and Laws

The findings suggest that efficient governance and having effective multicultural

policies, rules and laws can help to promote fair and equal access for all cultural groups,

contribute to parity of acknowledgment, ensure non-sectarian leadership and promote the

creation of platforms for natural interaction. The model suggests that effective

multicultural policies, rules and laws are those without latent negative consequences.

Fair and Equal Access to the Basic Needs

The findings from this study support the existing literature that multiculturalism is

about fairness and equality (Kymlicka, 1989; Parekh, 2000). However, this study extends

this notion in two ways. First, contrary to what people generally think about basic needs

(e.g., shelter, healthcare, education), this study shows that the need for employment, the need for expressing 'voice,' and the need for practicing one's culture also comprise basic needs. Second, this study points out that fairness and equality does not end with providing the basic needs but rather ensuring everyone has access to those needs as well. For example, though the Equal Employment Opportunity laws in Hawai'i prohibits *"employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin,"* and provides everyone the equal opportunity, these are anti-discrimination laws work on the assumption that everyone in the first place has the equal ability to reach the 'opportunity.' Similarly, affirmative action policies (e.g., the Bumiputera policies in Malaysia) were intended to provide access to the disadvantaged groups rather than developing the ability in them to get what they needed. Developing the ability to know, ask and achieve what one needs is distinctly different than simply providing access. However, providing access has been the dominant paradigm for multiculturalism because it is easier to be measured quantitatively.

Parity of Acknowledgment

Scholars have argued about the importance of identity recognition (Taylor, 1994) and how *"non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being* (Hesse, 1997)." This research takes one step further by suggesting that recognition is also about the recognition of contributions made by ethnic groups. Often, minorities are projected as committing the most crime, being homeless and so forth but barely one hears acknowledgments about their contributions and sacrifices in nation-building.

Non-sectarian leadership

The model suggests that non-sectarian leadership is crucial for multiculturalism because multicultural societies are inherently made up of different cultural groups. Though, the notion of non-sectarian leadership in multicultural societies has been strongly supported (e.g., Jin Keong & Kay Peng, 2008) this is not an easy task. For example, most structure of political governance rewards partisanship and the success of ethnic group leaders is measured by how much they are able to represent and protect the interest of their group. This study shows that many leaders who demonstrated non-sectarian leadership have failed in maintaining their leadership position. For example, Onn Jaafar, the founder of United Malays National Organization (UMNO) in Malaysia left the party after his suggestion to open the UMNO membership for all Malaysians was rejected by the party members. The model suggests that non-sectarian leadership is only possible if there is active community citizenship where the community provides checks and balances for the leadership. For example, in Singapore the "Presidential Council for Minority Rights" comprised community members that *"ensure that Bills were not passed into law if they posed the risk of discriminating against minority communities."*[40]

Creation of Natural Platforms for Inter-Cultural Interaction.

Interaction or contact has long been established as a mean for multicultural understanding and the reduction of prejudice (Allport, 1954; Johnson & Johnson, 2000). The results show that authentic cultural interactions are not necessarily based on motivations to work on common goals. Socializing during lunch in the workplace or neighborhood party can be examples of such natural contact.

---

[40] http://app.mfa.gov.sg/pr/read_content.asp?View,4890,

Capacity for Dialogue

This study suggests that by providing fair and equal access to the basic needs for everyone, demonstrating parity of acknowledgement, exemplifying non-sectarian leadership and creating natural platforms for intercultural interaction would contribute to the reduction of prejudice and develop the capacity or spirit for dialogue. This study shows that the notion of *"Muhibbah"* in Malaysia, *"Aloha"* in Hawai'i, and *"One People, One Nation and One Singapore"* in Singapore capacities for dialogue but their role in dialogue are only meaningful with the presence of fair and equal access, parity of acknowledgment, non-sectarian leadership and platforms for natural intercultural interaction.

Dialogue

The model suggests that dialogue is an important factor in multicultural societies. Dialogues, however, are only effective and meaningful if there is some capacity for dialogue. The model shows that capacities for dialogue are amplified with having more meaningful dialogues and vice versa.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the antecedents of multiculturalism, its consequences and the meanings of multiculturalism as described in the common etic model in Chapter Four. Theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions of these results to the field of intercultural research and multiculturalism are also presented.

5.1 Antecedents of Multiculturalism

The common etic model shows that one of the antecedents of multiculturalism is the modern origin of the state or the nation (i.e. free from colonization, separation, or annexation). For example, colonization in Malaysia contributed to her multicultural demography. Hence, after gaining independence in 1957, Malaysia adopted the twin strategies of integration and pluralism to integrate different ethnic groups. Integration strategy was anchored in promoting national identity: one national language, one national culture and one Malaysian race, whereas pluralism strategy was anchored in promoting cultural freedom for the various ethnic groups. Slogans such as *'Perpaduan'* (Unity) and *'Muhibbah,'* were often used to bridge the integration and pluralism strategies.

Ecological factors constitute a second antecedent of multiculturalism. For example, the lack of natural resources in Singapore (e.g., drinking water is imported), created an environment where Singaporeans of different ethnicities need to work cohesively to build the nation.

Third, historical racial events shape multiculturalism. It does so in three ways. First, historical events capture the positive spirit of multiculturalism in the past. It is interesting to note that in all the three societies, though there were racial incidents in the

past, which were widely documented in the media; people do talk about the positive aspects of multiculturalism in the past from their own experience, which are not widely documented. Thus, this study captures personal history of people, and shows how it shapes people's expectations of multiculturalism. Second, historical events provide learning experience, which in turn shapes multiculturalism. Third, historical events serve as 'triggers' for multiculturalism. For example, May 13, 1969 racial riot in Malaysia triggered a series of reforms, which shaped multiculturalism as observed in Malaysia today.

Fourth, socio-political, economic and legal factors also shape multiculturalism. In all three societies, these factors are reflected in people's daily lives. This research shows that political structure that relies on the majority approval has consequences for multiculturalism. Laws that are 'culture blind' create blind spots for multiculturalism. For example, property laws in Hawai'i destroyed the Native Hawai'ian way of sustainable farming.

5.2 Consequences of multiculturalism

In decoding the meaning of multiculturalism, not only the antecedents of the construct were identified but also the consequents were discovered, which is not surprising since employing the grounded theory methodology often leads to such discoveries. All the factors in the 'should be' model are related to nation building, which is a clear avowed consequence of multiculturalism. The results also suggest that nation building requires the acceptance of painful truth or 'brutal facts' and people need to be open to differing perspectives. The results also show that multiculturalism is not only

about *'Muhibbah'* in Malaysia, the spirit of *'Aloha'* in Hawai'i and the sense of 'One

Nation, One People, One Singapore' in Singapore but it is also about accommodating the

'righteous anger,' embracing *'historical correctness,'* and addressing *'the false sense of*

complacency.' The data also suggest that fulfilling people's basic needs, parity of

acknowledgment, non-sectarian leadership and the creation of natural interaction

platforms are prerequisites for multiculturalism. The results show that fair and equal

access, parity of acknowledgment, non-sectarian leadership, and natural interaction

cannot be achieved only through efficient governance and effective multicultural policies,

rules and laws but also needs community citizenship.

The results also show what are the consequences for not having multiculturalism

– Narrow nationalism, False sense of complacency and Blindness of History lead to Poor

Access to the Basic Needs, Dominance of the majority, Communal Supremacy, Racial

Prejudice, Tokenism and Lack of Dialogue. The model also shows that capacity for

dialogue and dialogue have reciprocal relationships – capacity for dialogue leads to

having meaningful dialogue and having meaningful dialogues enhance the capacity for

dialogue.

5.3 Meanings of Multiculturalism

This study decodes the meaning of multiculturalism beyond typological,

dimensional, relativism and polarities based definitions and by doing so it clarifies some

of the confusion in the extant literature. Researchers have also used the term

multiculturalism to refer to the antecedents as well as the consequences or outcomes of

multiculturalism. Many researchers have also loosely referred to the process of

developing multiculturalism or the characteristics of multiculturalism as multiculturalism.

It seems that multiculturalism has been the 'elephant' that researchers have been

attempting to describe and it is no surprise that the narrow disciplinary focus has led to

partial definition of the construct. The ten codes of multiculturalism presented below can

be grouped into antecedents, outcomes and the characteristics of multiculturalism. Thus,

it appears that multiculturalism should always be examined in a theoretical framework,

such as one presented here.

Code 1: Multiculturalism is the absence of poor access to the basic needs, the absence of dominance by the majority, the absence of communal supremacy, the absence of racial prejudice, and the absence of tokenism. (Antecedent)

Code 2: Multiculturalism is the presence of active community citizenship. (Antecedent)

Code 3: Multiculturalism is the presence of intercultural interaction in natural platforms. (Outcome)

Code 4: Multiculturalism is the presence of parity of acknowledgement. (Outcome)

Code 5: Multiculturalism is about building the capacity for multicultural dialogue. (Antecedent and Outcome)

Code 6: Multiculturalism is beyond superordinate identity. (Outcome)

Code 7: Multiculturalism is more about respecting cultures than respecting cultural differences. (Outcome)

Code 8: Multiculturalism is ecologically and historically determined but socially undetermined. (Antecedent and Outcome)

Code 9: Multiculturalism is descriptive, prescriptive and actions. (Characteristic)

Code 10: Multiculturalism is a 'patch' needed for the failures of governance. (Metaphor - Characteristic)

Antecedents

Ecological and Historical Factors

Active Community Citizenship

Absence of Poor Access to the Basic Needs

Absence of tokenism

Absence of racial prejudice

Absence of dominance by the majority group

Absence of communal supremacy

Characteristics

Descriptive, Prescriptive and Actions

Outcomes

Respecting Cultures

Superordinate Identity

Natural Interaction

Parity of Acknowledgment

Capacity for Multicultural Dialogue

Figure 54. Antecedents, Characteristics and Outcomes of Multiculturalism

5.4 Theoretical Contributions

There are eight major theoretical contributions of this study, which are presented

below.

Theoretical Contribution One: Extension of previous theoretical models of diversity

First, this study extends previous theoretical models of diversity (Triandis,

Kurowski & Gelfand, 1994; Bhawuk, 2000). In Triandis et al.'s model, among others the

importance of equal status, 'superordinate goal,' 'perceived similarity' and contact

opportunity towards positive intergroup attitudes were introduced. Bhawuk (2000)

bridged Triandis, Kurowski, and Gelfand's (1994) theoretical model for the study of

diversity with a practitioner's model and proposed a framework that integrated theory and

practice for the study of diversity management. Based on literature reviews and case

studies, he suggested that diversity management can be studied and can be diagnosed from the perspective of distal antecedents (e.g., history of conflict), proximal antecedents (e.g., socio-political forces), diversity activities (at the individual and the organizational level) and consequences (at the individual and the organizational level). This study extends these models by contributing the following:

i) **The discovery of indigenous concept of multiculturalism "*Muhibbah*" in Malaysia and "*Aloha*" in Hawai'i**

This study shows that indigenous concepts of multiculturalism exist in multicultural societies, which have been hitherto ignored in the literature but need to be studied for advancing research on multiculturalism. This study contributes to the literature by identifying the concept of '*Muhibbah*' from Malaysia and '*Aloha*' from Hawai'i. It is interesting to note that both '*Muhibbah*' and '*Aloha*' are not abstract concepts or ideology but rather they embody spirits of multiculturalism – cognitively, affectively and behaviorally. This study shows that both '*Muhibbah*' spirit in Malaysia and '*Aloha*' spirit in Hawai'i are crucial for building capacities for multicultural dialogues.

ii) **The role of contemporary multiculturalism concepts – "*One People, One Nation, One Singapore*" in Singapore.**

This study shows how contemporary terms such as "*One People, One Nation, One Singapore*" in Singapore is used to advance multiculturalism. The use of this term suggests that multicultural societies use terms that people can connect with easily – cognitively and affectively rather than abstract concepts to advance their multiculturalism efforts.

iii) The contribution of ecology for enabling superordinate identity

This study shows that ecology has a role in enabling superordinate identity and extends previous literature on superordinate identity (e.g., Brewer & Brown, 1998). In Singapore, for example, lack of natural resources and being a small country has led Singapore to focus heavily on the need for superordinate identity.

iv) The limitations of superordinate goals

This study argues that cultivating superordinate identity for the purpose of achieving superordinate goals has their limitations. As a case in point, in Malaysia, superordinate identities that contributed to achieving the independence from the British became less relevant after gaining the independence.

v) Clarifying historical events to include both conflicts and harmonious events

This study shows that theoretical diversity models need to include both conflicts and harmonious events. Existing models have ignored the role of harmonious events in understanding multicultural issues. For Malaysia, for example, gaining independence was a harmonious event that is relevant to understanding multiculturalism even today.

vi) The role of modern origin of nation (e.g., independence from colonization, separation, annexation)

This study shows that the modern origin of nation relates to the construction of superordinate identity and goals. For example, in Malaysia, the focus was on nationalism. In Singapore, the focus was on social harmony and in Hawai'i, the focus was on statehood.

vii) The role of community citizenship

This study shows the importance of community citizenship, which takes different forms in different societies. In Malaysia, it is about building a sense of community. In Singapore, it is about community-concerted partnership. In Hawai'i, it is about building a historically knowledgeable community.

viii) The role of capacity for multicultural dialogue

This study shows that dialogue on multicultural issues, which often can be difficult can only be successful if there is capacity for such dialogue in the first place. This study shows that the capacity for dialogue is only possible if platform for natural interactions, non-sectarian leadership, parity of acknowledgement and fair and equal access for all individuals are present.

Theoretical Contribution Two: Building a comprehensive etic model of multiculturalism with its antecedents and consequences

This is the first study to build a comprehensive etic model of multiculturalism with its antecedents and consequences. This study shows how ecological, historical, socio-political, economic and legal factors serve as distal and proximal antecedents of multiculturalism. In all the three societies examined in this study, ecological factors such as being a strategic trading hub, strategic military hub and abundance of natural resources were the cause for the societies to be a target of migration, colonization or annexation, which led these societies from being monocultural to multicultural societies. These changes ultimately resulted for the sense of superordinate identities for peace, harmony and economic growth. Many scholars have talked about these factors but very few have actually explained how these factors shape multiculturalism and interact with it.

Theoretical Contribution Three: Superordinate identity based on achievable goals lead to non- sustainable multiculturalism

This is the first study that shows though superordinate identity based on achievable goals are helpful to bring different cultural groups together for achieving common interests; they nevertheless can lead to superficial and non-sustainable multiculturalism. Perhaps the notion of wanting to achieve goals through relationship is in itself a rational approach. Once common goals are achieved, as this study shows, superordinate identity loses its meaning. Perhaps, creating perpetual superordinate goals that create pride may overcome this limitation. In organizations, perpetual superordinate goals such as "zero safety incidents" have been proven to be effective in bringing people together. Much more research is needed to examine the nature of superordinate identity and superordinate goals in multicultural societies but this study provides the basic idea that the assumption of permanent outcomes of superordinate goals need to be questioned.

Theoretical Contribution Four: Parity of acknowledgment for advancing multiculturalism

This research introduces the notion of parity of acknowledgment. Scholars have argued about the importance of identity recognition and how not recognizing cultural identity can harm people (Taylor, 1994). This research takes one step further by suggesting that recognition is also about recognizing the contribution made by minority groups. Often, minorities are projected as those who commit the most crimes, are homeless and so forth, but fewer acknowledgments are made about their contributions and sacrifices in nation-building. For example, rarely do people in the United States acknowledge the contributions of African Americans to the economy in the cotton

plantations or their contributions to music, arts, literature, and military and other domains

of human behavior, but their association with crimes is over emphasized in the media.

Theoretical Contribution Five: Multiculturalism is more about "respecting different cultures" than "respecting cultural differences"

This study questions the discourse of "respecting cultural differences." The results

show that multiculturalism is more about respecting different cultures than it is about

respecting cultural differences. This study shows that the notion of respecting different

cultures is different from the notion of respecting cultural differences. However, it is not

necessarily a competing paradigm. Rather, it is a broader paradigm that subsumes the

notion of respecting cultural differences. Respecting cultural differences is certainly a

valid learning approach that can help cultivate respect for different cultures in

multicultural societies. However, the latent consequences of such learning have not been

critically investigated. This study points out at least three major latent consequences of

such a paradigm. First, the paradigm of respecting cultural differences has ignored the

importance of learning of different cultures (we often focus on learning the differences

between cultures). Next, the paradigm of respecting differences has ignored the value of

respecting similarities between cultures (we often focus on respecting differences).

Finally, the paradigm of respecting differences has ignored the invisibility of differences

(we often assume differences are visible).

Theoretical Contribution Six: Multiculturalism is a product of community

This study shows that multiculturalism is the product of a community (Figure 55).

This study suggests that this product is only possible through the cultivation of a sense of

community, building community concerted partnership and promoting historically

knowledgeable community. Hence, multiculturalism is not only about engaging everyone

but also it is about everyone playing their role. For example, it is not only about majority

groups engaging minority groups but also minority groups playing their role. It is not

only about government implementing multicultural policies but also individuals taking

proactive actions in promoting multiculturalism.
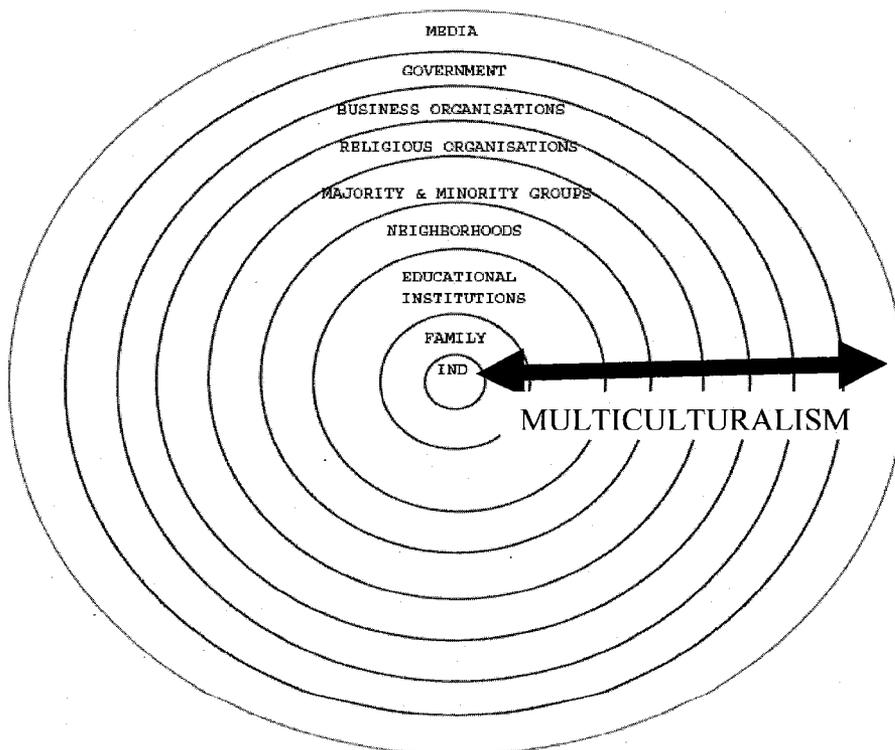
Figure 55. Community Citizenship

Theoretical Contribution Seven: Multiculturalism is a multi-level construct

The schematic in Figure 55 shows that multiculturalism is a multi-level construct. The levels described in the model have been found to be relevant in all the three countries in this study. This suggests that any attempt to study multiculturalism at one level will lead to partial understanding. This research suggests that to foster multiculturalism, efforts must be taken by people at all levels – individual, family, educational institutions, neighborhoods, majority and minority groups, religious organizations, business organizations, government and the media.

Theoretical Contribution Eight: Passive contact in non-task settings is as important as active contact in task settings for advancing multiculturalism

This study shows the importance of natural contact and thus extends the 'contact hypothesis.' Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami (2003) in their synthesis of intergroup contact literature described six conditions that encourage successful contact, namely, equal status, cooperative interdependence, common goals, supportive norms, personal interaction and friendship opportunity. It is widely assumed in intergroup relations that passive contact does not reduce prejudice (e.g., Pettigrew, 2004). This is also clear from Allport's focus on "working towards common goal" in his contact hypothesis, which neglects intergroup relations in non-task setting. However, this study suggests that natural contacts are crucial in reducing prejudice; and effectiveness in social settings is as important for intercultural interactions as it is in work settings (Bhawuk, 2001).

5.5 Methodological Contributions

This research has made ten major contributions to methodology in the study of constructs like multiculturalism, which also have implications for social science research in general. These ten contributions are presented below.

Methodological Contribution One: Emic and Etic Model Building through 'Least Common Multiple' and 'Greatest Common Factor' approaches

This study is the first balanced emic and etic study of multiculturalism using "Least Common Multiple (LCM) and "Greatest Common Factor" approaches. The greatest benefit of this paradigm is that it allows for comparative studies without sacrificing the richness of indigenous studies.

Methodological Contribution Two: Grounded theory approach can lead to multi-paradigmatic research

Though this study followed the grounded theory methodology, the four successive phases are also consistent with the technique of multi-paradigmatic research (Lewis & Grimes, 1999). Starting with the theoretical sampling, which includes the country sampling, data sampling and letters sampling, the researcher then used the constant comparison technique and theoretical saturation to build the three models independent of each other. All the models were built as they emerged rather than choosing a fixed framework or typology, which was being faithful to the grounded theory methodology. Most studies conducting multi-country study focus on country differences and hence there is a desire to quickly narrow to a fixed framework or typology and use them in comparing the data from other countries. Narrowing down a fixed framework rather than letting the framework emerge individually may result the final etic model to have less

explanatory power because there is not much freedom for new general constructs to emerge. Hence, this study contributes by presenting an example of how grounded theory methodology can lead to multi-paradigmatic approaches without conscious planning. This study shows that the emergence of theory contributes to theoretical sampling. For example, the focus group contributed to the use of letters, the use of letters contributed to historical analyses, the letters and historical analyses contributed to emic models, and the emic models finally contributed to the etic models.

Methodological Contribution Three: Multi-method international study of multiculturalism that provided data triangulation

This is the first multi-method international study of multiculturalism that provided country, methodological and sample triangulation. In terms of country, three multicultural societies were examined. In terms of method, focus group, grounded theory, historical analyses and emic-etic model building approaches were used. In terms of sample, letters were collected from two newspapers in each society, secondary historical documents were analyzed and interdisciplinary perspectives from cross-cultural researchers were elicited.

Methodological Contribution Four: Study which uses non-obtrusive samples and provided 'thick descriptions.'

This is one of the few studies examining multiculturalism that used non-obtrusive samples extensively. Letters to the editor provided rich 'voices' for multicultural issues as well as for their possible solutions. The use of letters to the editor in this study fulfilled criteria of thick descriptions as described by Denzin (1989, p.83):

> *"A thick description does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the*

webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard."

Methodological Contribution Five: Letters to the editor is a data source for studying multiculturalism across societies

This is the first study that shows that the letters to the editor provide rich archival, unobtrusive, longitudinal and 'thick description' data for studying multiculturalism across societies. Other than its use for studying multiculturalism in the field of journalism and communication in a specific society (Thornton, 2006; Chu & Chu, 1981), the researcher is not aware of any other published multiculturalism research that used letters to the editor as a data source across societies. The researcher is also not aware of letter to the editor being discussed as a data source in cross-cultural research handbooks. Hence, this study has paved the way for using letters to the editor as data source for cross-cultural research. Though, letters to the editor are edited and not all letters are published, this study shows that the letters collected over a long period of time do provide sufficient saturation for model building. Unlike qualitative methods such as interviews, letters to the editor are free from the interviewer's effect. More importantly, letters to the editor, which are available as archival information can be re-analyzed by other researchers and, hence, provide opportunity for alternative interpretations and triangulations. Analyses that can benefit from letters to the editor include:

i. Longitudinal examination of multicultural issues

Letters to the editor provide rich archival data for understanding multicultural issues longitudinally. For example, one can study the intensity of multicultural issues over

number of years. As multiculturalism depends on *zeitgeist*, letters provide snapshots of multicultural issues.

ii. Discourse analysis of multicultural issues

Letters to the editor allow the discussion of various perspectives of multicultural issues and how these discussions change over time. For example, one can study the language issues in Malaysia and examine how these issues are shaped by political and economic events over time.

iii. Comparative analysis within and between societies

As most newspapers have the tradition of publishing letters to the editor, the use of this data source allows for comparative analyses within and between societies. For example, letters from various ethnic newspapers can be analyzed on similar issues within a society.

iv. Policy issues

Letters to the editor provide 'thick' descriptions (Geertz, 1973). Thick descriptions have been found to be useful for policy evaluations. Besides studying multiculturalism, letters to the editor can also be a good data source for studying public issues. For example, issues related to housing, transportation, health, energy, environment, education and customer service.

Methodological Contribution Six: Labels for emic constructs are grounded in data

In each society, an attempt was made to label the constructs based on the actual text used in the letters, which fulfilled the grounded theory criteria of being *"analytic," "sufficiently generalized to designate characteristics of concrete entities"* and provide *"a meaningful picture, abetted by apt illustrations that enable one to grasp the reference in*

terms of one's own experience (Glaser, 1967, p.38)." This is an important

methodological contribution as in most cases, the meaning of the constructs are lost or

can become very abstract when they are framed in etic terms or as latent constructs.

Methodological Contribution Seven: Anthropological approach toward studying multiculturalism

This is the first international indigenous study of multiculturalism. The letters to

the editor often captured personal and family stories that were narrated and written by the

subjects themselves. As archival and historical data can present both 'witting' and

'unwitting' (Marwick, 2001) evidences, living experiences in the societies examined in

this study have greatly helped the researcher to interpret the data.

Methodological Contribution Eight: Synthesized history and ecology in examining multiculturalism

This is the first study to synthesize history and ecology in examining

multiculturalism. Though historical context has been advocated in the study of

multiculturalism, few studies have done so. This study provides evidence of the

usefulness of examining multiculturalism through historical context. Similar to the notion

that ecology shapes culture (Triandis, 1994; Bhawuk, 2003), this is the first research that

shows that ecology shapes multiculturalism.

Methodological Contribution Nine: Sampling included majority, minority, native and non-native

This is the first study that examined multiculturalism by looking at both the

notion of majority/minority and native/non-native. This is a departure from the usual

notion of studying multiculturalism from the lens of demographic majority/minority or

native/non-native. Theoretical sampling of Malaysia, Singapore and Hawai'i provided an

opportunity to examine multiculturalism in the context of Majority Native (Malaysia), Minority Native (Hawai'i), Majority Non-Native (Singapore, Hawai'i) and Minority Non-Native (Malaysia).

Methodological Contribution Ten: Shows that there are emic limits of understanding multiculturalism

In all three societies, there are emic limits to what people can talk in relation to multicultural issues. The boundary of these limits is often defined by either the government laws or cultural norms or current events. In Malaysia and Singapore, people are governed by laws such as Sedition Acts. For example, both in Malaysia and Singapore, Sedition Acts prohibit any seditious remarks in any forms that *"promote feelings of ill will and hostility between races or classes of the population."* In Malaysia, people are also prohibited from questioning *"any matter, right, status, position, privilege, sovereignty or prerogative established or protected by the provisions of Part III of the Federal Constitution or Article 152, 153 or 181 of the Federal Constitution."* These include the questioning of the Malay language as the national language, the freedom of teaching and learning other languages, and the *"special position of the Malays and natives of any of the States of Sabah and Sarawak and the legitimate interests of other communities in accordance with the provisions of the constitution."*

Culturally, Singaporeans and Malaysians do not often discuss race and religion issues in public domains. In Hawai'i, though the First Amendment of the United States Constitution limits the government from restricting the freedom of speech, still individuals are subject to defamation laws. However, unlike in Malaysia and Singapore where the government can take action, in the US, defamation laws generally apply to

victims. In Hawai'i, emic limits are also defined by the culture of 'political correctness.' For example, in the academic field, talking about racial issues can be perceived as "too inflammatory for investigation."[41] Similar observations are also true in Singapore and Malaysia though some scholars have taken effort to overcome these barriers (e.g., Lai, 2008; Embong, 2007, Gomez, 2004). As emic limits are often loosely defined and can be subjective, there are possibilities that these limits prohibit people totally from talking about multicultural issues even though their issues may be well within the boundary of these limits. Current events also sensitize what people can and cannot talk about in all three societies.

5.6 Practical Contributions

The meaning of multiculturalism derived from this study will be quite useful to the general population, managers, and policy makers. The models developed in this research can help generate further dialogue and meaning making in multicultural societies. Policy makers and community-based organizations can also develop meaningful interventions by using the emic and etic models. In the process of decoding the meaning of multiculturalism, ten codes were discovered, which have implications for government, business organizations, educational institutions, religious organizations, neighborhoods, the majority as well as the minority groups, parents and individuals. These implications are discussed in the following sections.

---

[41] http://www.hawaiireporter.com/story.aspx?d2e05178-7009-4ce0-a7dd-096520a15db7

Implications for Government

This study provided 'thick descriptions' that have policy implications (Thompson, 2001) for local, state and national governments. How these divisions of governments are structured influence the role that they can play. In Malaysia, the government operates at three levels: federal, state and local government. Local government can be further divided to city councils, municipal councils and district councils.[42] Currently, there are 14 states, 9 city councils, 34 municipal councils and 101 district councils. Though, states and local governments have their own multicultural policies and have latitude to carry out their own multicultural initiatives, letters used in this study did not show much evidence that they do so. This suggests that either federal multicultural policies and activities are more salient in Malaysia or letters writers have been focusing more on the national issues. The emic model of Malaysia has several policy implications for Malaysia. First, the model can be used to evaluate Malaysia's five-year development plans toward multiculturalism. For example, the effectiveness of development policies can be measured through the availability of access to the basic needs of individuals rather than other economic benchmarks. Second, the model shows that the concept of 'Muhibbah' can be a culturally accepted way of promoting multiculturalism and the government should cultivate policies that promote this spirit authentically. Third, the government should recognize contributions of all cultural groups in building the nation. This can be done for example, through history curriculum in all levels of education. Fourth, the government should formulate multicultural policies to prevent communal supremacies.

---

[42] http://www.citymayors.com/government/malaysia_government.html

In Singapore, state and national government is the same and the responsibility of local governments falls under the responsibility of town councils. There are 16 town councils in Singapore. In 1996, Community Development Councils (CDC) were formed with objectives of –Assisting the needy, Bonding the people and Connecting the community. There are 5 Community Development Councils in Singapore and these councils play an important role in fostering multiculturalism. For example, one CDC organizes an ethnic bonding home-stay program. This is a program *"whereby students spend a weekend with a foster family of another race and through the stay learn more about the culture of that race as they share their own."*[43] The emic model of Singapore has several policy implications for Singapore. First, the model can be used to measure the effectiveness of community partnership in addressing multicultural issues. For example, does community partnership create more space for dialogue? This can be measured by number of people participated and hours involved. Housing and school policies can be evaluated whether they create neutral platforms for ethnic interaction. For example, how often do housing residents from different ethnic groups talk to each other? This can be evaluated by surveys during the census taking. As the reduction of prejudice is a subjective measure, objective measures described above can be good proxies and can provide triangulations for measuring the reduction of prejudice. The government can also actively seek feedback on policies that burden the minorities. This can be done through the existing government establishments such as the Presidential Council for Minority Rights.

---

[43] http://www.cdc.org.sg/1169432840246.html

In Hawai'i, there are three levels of government: federal, state and local government. The local government is divided into 5 counties and they are further subdivided into smaller administrative districts. Top down and state's centralized approach have been argued as the norm for public institutions in Hawai'i (Pratt & Smith, 2000). In Hawai'i, multiculturalism is largely influenced by federal policies and sometimes these policies do have latent consequences. For example, federal legislations on civil rights have resulted in a number of lawsuits on policies that safeguard the interest of Native Hawai'ians. The emic model of Hawai'i has several policy implications for Hawai'i. First, the model shows the importance of 'historical correctness' where it not only can lead to restoring culture, rights and identity of Native Hawai'ians but also the recognition of non-native contributions and the role of the United States in Hawai'i's economic development. Second, the model illustrates the inadequacy of US judicial system to address multicultural issues. Third, the model shows that the spirit of 'Aloha,' which is crucial to multiculturalism in Hawai'i requires the restoration of cultural rights of Native Hawai'ians, the recognition of non-native contributions and the recognition of the role of the United States in Hawai'i's development.

Regardless of different societies, this study suggests that proactivity on the part of the government is crucial for advancing multiculturalism. This study suggests that governments should address multicultural interventions at the community levels, should move beyond accepting and acknowledging the existence of multicultural issues towards actively seeking solutions to overcome multicultural issues and should evaluate their multicultural policies from both the majority and minority perspective and for their latent consequences. These interventions are discussed next.

1) Addressing multicultural interventions at the community levels

These interventions need to go beyond drafting policies to be effective, and involve the following steps. : i) being a passionate facilitator embedded in the community, ii) defining the problem with the community, iii) using multiple methods and perspectives to measure the problem, iv) conducting collaborative implementation, and v) being flexible to change when needed (Bhawuk, Mrazek, Munusamy, 2008). For example, if on an average certain ethnic groups have lower level of academic achievement, the following steps can be taken by policy makers.

Step 1: Assign policy makers who are passionate about the issue and willing to work with the community to address the issues related to the academic achievement of the identified ethnic groups.

Step 2: Policy makers should define the problem with the community. For example, the actual problem may not be the problem with the lower achievement of the ethnic groups but rather how academic achievement is being assessed.

Step 3: The problem identified should be measured using multiple methods and perspectives. For example, the low level of academic achievement of certain ethnic groups should be examined from the perspectives of the child, parents, community and schools. Perspectives from high achievers from the same ethnic groups should also be examined.

Step 4: Policy makers should implement interventions collaboratively with the community.

Step 5: Policy makers should evaluate their interventions and be flexible to change their approaches if needed.

2) **Moving beyond acceptance of multicultural issues**

Government should move beyond accepting and acknowledging the existence of multicultural issues towards actively seeking solutions to overcome multicultural issues. For example, the government should work on eliminating racial discriminations. Borrowing the concepts from intercultural sensitivity literature (Bhawuk, Sakuda, Munusamy, 2008), six steps are suggested about how governments can attempt this.

Step 1: Acknowledging the existence of multicultural issues.

First step is that governments need to acknowledge the existence of multicultural issues. Ignorance of multicultural issues is akin to denying the existence of different cultures.

Step 2: Accepting that racial discrimination should not be tolerated.

Second step is that governments need to accept that they are partly responsible in addressing multicultural issues.

Step 3: Aiming to take appropriate actions to address multicultural issues.

Third step is that governments need to aim or have the intention to take proactive actions to address multicultural issues.

Step 4: Putting intentions into actions

Fourth step is for governments to take action. The actions can be a combination of multicultural policies and programs to create awareness of multicultural issues.

Step 5: Exemplifying authentic actions.

Governments need to be authentic in their actions and should demonstrate that they are willing and able to 'walk the talk.'

Step 6: Addressing multicultural issues as a long term process.

Governments need to view that addressing multicultural issues is a long term process and requires continuous effort. It involves thoughtful long-term planning and not ad-hoc solutions. Immediate interventions are necessary but governments need to look beyond immediate goals. In some cases, addressing multicultural issues involves changing institutional culture and correcting history and these require substantial education, training, awareness, innovation and learning from trial and errors.

3) **Recognizing latent consequences of multicultural policies**

Governments should evaluate their multicultural policies from both the majority and minority perspective. This study points out that there are often latent consequences of policy interventions even if they are generally successful. For example, the results show that even a highly successful housing quota policy in Singapore can be a burden for the minorities. Thus, the government needs to examine the implementation of this policy and revise the delivery mechanism to maximize the outcomes for multiculturalism. A typology to examine the quality of multicultural policies by their latent and manifest consequences is proposed.

Table 15. Quality of Multicultural Policies

Multiculturalism Outcome	Quality of policies
Manifest consequences - Yes Latent consequences - No	Good Policies
Manifest consequences - Yes Latent consequences - Yes (+ve)	Great Policies
Manifest consequences - Yes Latent consequences - Yes (-ve)	Fine tuning Needed
Manifest consequences - No Latent consequences - Yes (+ve)	Reframing Needed
Manifest consequences - No Latent consequences - Yes (-ve)	Bad policies
Manifest consequences - No Latent consequences - No	Useless

This study also shows that the government needs to become aware that there is a limitation to even promoting superordinate goals. The results show that the very fact of achieving superordinate goals dilutes the superordinate identity. Thus effort needs to be made to build superordinate identity. The results imply that the government cannot be complacent even if they have successfully achieved "zero negative multicultural incidents." The government needs to partner with various social and community organizations to achieve zero negative multicultural incidents in other critical domains hitherto neglected.

Implications for Business Organizations

This study has three major implications for business organizations, which are discussed below.

1) Role of organizations in addressing multicultural issues in societies

This study offers a new paradigm advocating the role of organizations in addressing multicultural issues in societies where they operate. This new paradigm is a creative addition to the literature and builds on the legal requirements and the diversity management initiatives noted before. Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000) and Subeliani and Tsogas (2005) provided comparisons of how diversity management differs from the equal opportunity employer (EOE) or affirmative action (AA) approaches. This study extends their findings by showing how multiculturalism is different from diversity management and EOE and AA. These comparisons are summarized in Table 16.

Table 16. From Diversity Management, EOE, AA to Multiculturalism

	Diversity Management	EOE & AA	Multiculturalism
Purpose	Environmental and organizational reality	Unequal treatment at the social level	Peace and harmonious society
Time orientation	Past-oriented	Present and future-oriented	Past, present and future
Focus	Systemic transformation of whole organization	Singular focus (e.g., recruitment)	Systemic transformation of the society or the nation
Discourse	Positive and voluntary effort	Negative and external mandate	Positive and Negative; Voluntary and Mandate; Acknowledge, Action, Evaluate
Justification	Economic arguments	Legal arguments	Economic, Legal, Socio-political and Moral arguments
Coverage	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive and Exclusive
Strategy	Proactive	Reactive	Proactive and reactive; Internalized

By addressing the neglect of societal context in diversity management literature, this study paves the path for organizations to formulate diversity strategies taking into account societal factors and aligning their diversity strategies in the context of community citizenship. This study recognizes four societal outcomes that organizations are partly responsible for.

First, organizations are responsible for ensuring that their practices contribute to everyone having a fair and equal access to the basic needs -- employment, housing, education and health. The level of contribution can vary for organizations that pursue the 'bottom of the pyramids' customers to organizations that strive for cultural mix in the workplace.

Second, organizations are responsible for ensuring that minorities are acknowledged for their contributions and recognize that their present shortcomings are perhaps due to historical factors beyond their control. For example, in the United States, often African-Americans are associated with crimes and not often we hear their great contributions in the American arts and music.

Third, organizations are responsible for exemplifying non-sectarian leadership. For example, instead of having a company-wide Christmas Party or Chinese New Year every year, organizations can choose to have different festive parties each year. Though the Christmas Party aligns with the year end and the Chinese New Year often aligns with the beginning of the year and it is nice to have these events as ways of ending/to begin the year, celebrating other festivals at other times may also benefit the organization. For example, such celebrations can remind people of the presence of people from various cultures in the workplace, and can motivate them to learn about these cultures. In some cases, it can result in latent consequences in terms of financial savings. For example, the hotel charges for organizing company parties are more expensive in the month of December and January because the demand for Christmas, New Year and holiday gatherings.

Fourth, as people spend almost a third of their time in the workplace, organizations are natural platforms for the interaction of people from different cultures. This can take place in many different forms and should not be limited to task related activities. For example, activities can include involving members from different cultures for lunches, having arts and displays from different cultures in the workplace, inviting family members to join company social events and so forth.

2) Beyond respecting cultural differences

The difference between respecting cultural differences and respecting different cultures was noted before. Respecting other cultures requires a paradigm shift that entails much learning. For example, the notion of respecting different cultures focuses on learning different cultures. Learning here does not mean learning about the dominant culture; but it means learning from the perspective of 'should be' culture. This entails one to learn from multiple perspectives including those of majority, minority, native and non-native population. Letters to the editor can be a tool for managers to understand different perspectives of the community. Gaining perspectives from all segment of the population is crucial because what is culture can be determined by dominant groups of the population without thinking about it.

Second, the notion of respecting different cultures allows the learning of differences as well similarities. Here, the learning lens starts with understanding the culture and not with the lens of differences. Third, the notion of respecting different cultures forces one to learn the etic as well the emic aspects of cultures. Not all aspects of cultures can be viewed on the *etic* continuum of differences and similarities and hence focusing on 'emic' aspects of cultures is crucial. The focus on cross-cultural values has progressed tremendously in the last few decades because they can be presented on an etic continuum. However, culture is deeper than values and in a broader definition includes the understanding of ecology, people, space, time and language (Bhawuk, Landis, Munusamy, 2008). It is plausible that 'emic' aspects of cultures or even emic cultural values are more important for managers than 'etic' aspects of cultures. For example,

Aloha spirit in Hawai'i may explain one's behavior in Hawai'i more than his or her cultural values.

"Respecting different cultures" means that managers should cultivate organizational policies, programs, and practices that foster respect of different cultures instead of respecting cultural differences. As a first step, organizations should review their current managerial practice of cross-cultural training, workshops and assessments. Do the skills assessment tools focus on skills needed to respect different cultures? For example, for an assessment item that rates the effectiveness of a global manager—does the item is about respecting cultural differences or respecting different cultures. Many scholars have recognized the value of intercultural development as a good predictor in reducing cultural conflicts (e.g., Brislin & Liu, 2004). This research points to the direction that intercultural development required for respecting cultural differences are different from intercultural development required for respecting different cultures. One way of capturing intercultural development for respecting different cultures is described below.

Stage 1: I disagree with the other culture but want to learn more about the other culture

Stage 2: I still disagree but I respect the other culture and want to reexamine my own
culture

Stage 3: I agree with both cultures but only one can be practiced

Stage 4: I agree with both cultures and actively find solutions that are acceptable for both
cultures (e.g. third culture)

3) Organization/person-environment fit

This study challenges the organization/person-environment fit paradigm, which has been excessively concerned about how managers and organizations should align their behavior with their environment. Literature on the interdependencies between organizations and external environment for example, has been largely focusing on how organizations can maximize their goals by aligning their strategy with the external environment. In this thread of literature, many scholars have posited that organizations need to be adaptive to environment in order for them to survive (e.g., Katz & Kahn, 1966; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). This paradigm, however, has misled organizations in taking a narrow view of societal environment by following 'status quo' or 'political correctness' rather than transforming them for the benefit of the organization and the larger society. This study provides meanings of multiculturalism for managers to act on what should be the appropriate behaviors rather than following the status quo.

Similar to the work of Hofstede's culture dimensions (1980), Schwartz's Values Inventory (Schwartz, 1994), social axiom dimensions (Leung & Bond, 2004), Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005) and the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Project (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta; 2004) that guide managers to bridge cultural value differences across societies, this study guides managers to bridge cultural diversities within societies.

Implications for Educational Institutions

Educational institutions can learn from this study the value of emphasizing the historical and ecological perspectives in multicultural curriculum development. This study also shows how critical it is for educational institutions to create platforms for students to interact naturally. The current assumption that intercultural interaction can be best increased through grouping students for a common task needs to be carefully examined.

The findings of this study have implications for business schools. Three major implications are noted. First, the findings point to the direction that business schools should develop multicultural curriculum that includes the ecological, historical, socio-political, economic and legal factors that shape the dynamics of their multicultural society. The development of this curriculum should be transparent and should be drafted with inputs from the community. In some cases, business schools may benefit from the multicultural curriculum that is being taught in other fields. For example, multicultural curriculum has been taught in school of education in many universities in the United States since 1990's. The awareness developed from the multicultural curriculum may help business graduates to be self-aware of their own identity and to be proactive in handling multicultural issues rather than being reactive. Much like the curriculum on ethics, this curriculum is crucial for business graduates in our increasing multicultural environment. Without such a curriculum, business graduates have greater chances of falling into the trap of rejecting multicultural issues as naturally occurring or as unavoidable issues, or they may so insensitive as to simply not even be aware of the

existence of such issues.

Second, this study prompts business schools to include the discussion of the limitations of person/organization fit paradigm. Though this paradigm helps managers to achieve organizational goals and be successful in their career, nevertheless it can result in latent negative consequences for them, their organization and the society where their organizations operate. Third, business schools should emphasize organization's role in community transformation. Business schools should infuse in their entire curriculum the ability for their graduates to maximize shareholder's wealth as well community's wealth. Case studies of successful cooperatives worldwide that have bridged the need to maximize shareholder's wealth and community wealth can be embedded in the business curriculum. For example, the success stories of Mondragon in Spain, Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and Amul in India can be instructive (Bhawuk, Mrazek, Munusamy, 2008).

Implications for Religious Organizations

This study provides evidence that religious organizations can play a catalytic role in multicultural societies and their religious identity is neither a barrier to embrace multireligious events nor so fragile that it cannot survive multicultural dialogue. This study shows how religious organizations can emphasize common interests and downplay differences. This can be done through several ways.

i) Organize Religious Harmony Day

This study suggests that religious organizations can organize religious harmony day where people from different faiths can come together and celebrate joyous events. For example, Christmas, Deepavali, Eid ul-Fitr, Wesak, Vaisakhi can be occasions where

people from different faiths celebrate together.

ii) Religious leaders bringing their followers to visit other places of worship

This study suggests that leaders of religious organizations can contribute to the understanding of different faiths among their followers. They can for example, bring their followers visit different places of worship or invite speakers from different faith to address their followers.

iii) Inter-Religious Harmony Circle

Singapore's Inter-racial and Inter-religious Confidence Circles, which include members of different faiths, can be a way for religious organizations in multi-religious societies to emulate. In Singapore, these 'circles' are intended among others to promote better understanding of different faiths, to act as a grievance channel and to help during racial or religious conflicts.

Implications for Majority and Minority Groups

This study shows that multiculturalism is a joint responsibility of both the majority and the minority groups. Majority groups need to acknowledge that racial issues exist, be proactive in mingling with other ethnic groups and be vocal in opposing racial views. Similarly minority groups need to appreciate that there are many factors that contribute to multicultural issues; and some issues can be solved through their own collective effort rather than waiting for the government to initiate such changes.

Implications for Neighborhoods

This study shows that neighborhood is natural interaction platform for advancing multiculturalism. Though Singapore's Ethnic Integration Policy and Malaysia's

bumiputera housing quota have their limitations, they nevertheless are good examples of how natural interaction platforms can be created. This study also shows that neighborhoods have an important collective role in ensuring that all public and community activities are inclusive of different ethnic groups. For example, neighborhood events should be conducted by using a common language, serving *'halal'* and vegetarian food and so forth to be true community celebration. This study also suggests that neighborhood organizations should encourage ethnic group representation.

Implications for Parents

This study found people to overwhelmingly agree that multiculturalism starts at home and parents must make efforts and ensure that their children have a deep understanding, appreciation and respect for ethnic differences. This study shows several ways of how parents can achieve this.

First, parents should encourage their children to have many friends from other ethnic groups. School friends can be a good starting point but parents can also set examples by befriending members from other ethnic groups. For example, inviting colleagues and their family to celebrate cultural events. This study also shows that parents also should be comfortable in allowing their children to interact freely with children of other ethnic groups.

Second, parents should make effort to attend cultural activities of other ethnic groups. This requires considerable time investment from parents but these attendances can be done as regular family outings. Parents also should make effort in teaching their children about the significances of these cultural events. This can be done through

borrowing books from local libraries or watching documentaries that discuss these cultural events.

Third, parents must be conscious of their race-based decisions and should attempt to prevent such decisions. For example, when they choose school for their children, their decision to select school should not be based where their children will be in the majority. It is plausible that parent's decisions on such issues are unconscious. To prevent this from happening, parents would need to constantly ask the question "How does this decision encourage my children to deepen their understanding, appreciation and respect of other ethnic groups?"

Fourth, parents should be wary of their 'loose stereotypical remarks' and teach their children that prejudice is wrong. They can instead talk about the rich heritage of different ethnic groups. For example, in Malaysia and in Singapore, non-Malay parents can share the rich *'Kampung'* values of Malay community with their children.

Implications for Individuals

Individuals can make a difference toward advancing multiculturalism. This study suggests several ways of how individuals can make a difference. First, they can do so by accommodating cultural compromises. Second, it can be done if people make a habit of attending cultural events of other ethnic groups, and proactively build friendships with other ethnic groups. Third, people can do this by being vocal in opposing racial views. Fourth, it can be done by being thankful and grateful for the contributions made by other ethnic groups. Finally, people can do it by being willing to correct themselves when they make cultural mistakes.

Implications for Media

       This study suggests that media can contribute to multiculturalism through several ways: i) by accommodating greater space for discussing the concerns of both majority and minority groups; ii) by balancing their coverage of multicultural issues by being sensitive but at the same time understanding that their coverage can lead to greater awareness of multicultural issues; iii)by understanding that their role as informer, educator and entertainer has an impact on individual's values and attitudes; and iv) by being open to apologize when cultural mistakes are made.

5.7 Future Research Directions

As this is the first balanced emic and etic study to understand multiculturalism, there is yet much more to explore. This study proposes eight major research directions. First, as researchers have indicated that there is a lack of viable means to measure the various components of multiculturalism (Ponterotto, Baluch, Greig, & Rivera, 1998), this study paves the path for researchers to develop multi-level scales based on the factors found in the common etic model. For example, a 10 item multi-level scale for "Parity of Acknowledgment" can be developed as below:

	Items for Societal Level							
	In this society,	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	the contribution of immigrant groups is highly recognized.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	disadvantaged population is seen as a liability to the nation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	achievements by the dominant group are acknowledged higher than similar achievements by the non-dominant groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	crimes by the non-dominant groups are publicized more than similar crimes by the dominant group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	immigrants are continually reminded that they need to be grateful for being in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Items for Individual Level							
6	I am always disappointed when people remark that immigrants need to be grateful for being in my country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I feel that immigrants in the process of contributing to nation building make many personal sacrifices.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I am grateful to the members of the non-dominant groups of people for their contributions in building my country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Items for Organizational Level
9. Minority contributions to the nation building are highly recognized.

Public Organizations								Voluntary Organizations								Business Organizations						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Organizations are grateful to the minority groups for their role.

Public Organizations						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Voluntary Organizations						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Business Organizations						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Second, studies should explore how non-sectarian leadership can be practiced in an environment where sectarian leaderships are often rewarded. What promotes non-sectarian and non-partisan leaderships? How can leaders educate their followers to embrace non-sectarian leaderships? How does the notion of social identity that "binds and blinds" work (Ruderman & Munusamy, 2007)?

Third, as non-sectarian leadership is central to leading, scholars have advocated advancing leadership theory and leadership training in intercultural contexts (Collard, 2007). For example, Morrison (2006, p.178) argued that *"leadership development, as it relates to diversity, now requires reconsideration if education for diversity, in its widest sense, is to be restored as a first-order concept."* However, it is unfortunate that the intellectual integration of diversity, leadership and race relations training has not received much attention as researchers in these fields have focused on different audiences. For example, cross-cultural researchers have focused their energy on developing the content of intercultural training for people to go from one country to another, and race-relation researchers have focused on intergroup relations within a country. This is unfortunate as most countries in the world are becoming increasingly multicultural. Combining innovations from both race-relations and intercultural training seems to be a promising strategy towards developing leadership training programs for addressing issues facing multicultural societies (Munusamy, 2008).

Fourth, an interdisciplinary research consisting of researchers from the field of social science as well as natural science together with the community should explore ways to increase natural interactions between different ethnic groups. For example, can residential and neighborhood areas be designed to increase interaction? Can workplace be designed to increase natural interactions (e.g., locating the food pantry in the midway of the building)?

Fifth, the importance of positive memories of multiculturalism needs to be captured for future generation. Though, the negative memories of multiculturalism (e.g., racial riots) are widely documented and easily accessible, the same cannot be said for positive memories. It seems the only way to capture this is by conducting oral history with the elders.

Sixth, more research should be conducted on indigenous concepts of multiculturalism. This study for example, shows that indigenous concepts such as *'Muhibbah'* and *'Aloha'* can be the language of multiculturalism in Malaysia and Hawai'i. The use of indigenous concepts is important because non-English speakers may find it difficult to internalize the concept of multiculturalism.

Seventh, future research should test the models in term of established theoretical frameworks. Several directions are suggested below.

a. Lewin's field theory suggests that one's behavior is a function of personality and the environment, $B = f(p, E)$. A test whether individuals under the non-sectarian leadership are more open to sensitive dialogues than individuals under the sectarian leadership can be conducted to test Lewin's theory.

b. Pettigrew (2008) in his review of contact hypothesis suggests that *"intergroup contact is a necessary but insufficient condition by itself to resolve intergroup conflict"* (p.196). The model for Singapore specifically shows that three conditions need to be met to reduce prejudices: space for dialogue, creation of natural platforms for ethnic interaction and the accommodation of majority and minority interests. These conditions need to be tested in field experiments.

c. Complexity theory predicts that small change in a system can cause major changes (e.g., the butterfly effect). The parameters in the model can be tested for the input/output ratio. For example, much exploration is needed to identify parameters that cause large positive change for multiculturalism.

Finally, future research should also include questions like "What can multiculturalism be?" "Can be" stretches one to think beyond addressing the "as is" issues and going beyond "should be" practices.

5.8 Limitations

The sampling of letters and historical documents in this study was limited to the English language. While, it provided the language equivalence, it may not have provided sampling equivalence. For example, the likelihood of Hawai'ian writers representing the demographic of Hawai'i is likely to be much higher than in Malaysia. While sampling equivalence is compensated for by the theoretical saturation and constant comparison approaches of grounded theory methodology, this is nevertheless a limitation that needs to be addressed in the future. For example, back translation method (Brislin, 1970, 1980) can be used to translate letters from non-English newspapers. Similar to the common method variance, this study may have been impacted by the "common language variance."

Though the data from the focus group, the letters to the editor and historical analyses helped triangulate, the data used in this study represent the views of cross-cultural experts, letter writers and historians. Hence, this study could have benefited by conducting interviews with general people, employers, teachers, parents and so forth. Future research should include interviews from a wide variety of samples to address this limitation.

Finally, this study was qualitative in nature. The models generated in this research would need to be extended with quantitative studies. Also, statistics on employment and wages of majority and minority groups, economic disparities among ethnic groups, number of legal cases involving ethnic issues and so forth could be used to examine these models.

Appendix A–Theoretical Sample for the development of emic model of Malaysia
(Newspaper: Malaysiakini)

A Malaysian (2001, May 11). Road to glory blocked by cage of the privileged [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

AB (2005, September 26). Zam's book and divisive politics [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Abraham, Collin Dr. (2004, November 8). Teach ethnic ties course through Open University [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Anak Kelantan (2002, December 24). Rejuvenate Umno for country's sake [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Anthony, Chris Dr. (2006a, February 23). Revamp education system for unity's sake [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Anthony, Chris Dr. (2006b, November 30). Live telecasts: Openness will act as restraint [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Appassionata (2002, April 10). Elect local council when gov↓t election is questionable [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Brian (2002, September 3). Hudud bodes ill for Malaysia's future [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Butcher Bird (2002, August 6). English not needed to master Science, Mathematics [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Caring for Malaysia (2006, November 28). Delegates should put themselves in minorities' shoes [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Chua, ES. (2006a, August 8). Still hope for Ketuanan Melayu [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Chua, ES (2006b, November 7). Johor MB intimidating minorities [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Colour Blind (2004, February 6). The ruling parties have split [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Dass David, GA (2001, February 7). Righting the wrongs [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

EF (2002, April 29). Be tolerant, celebrate our diversity [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Fairplayer (2002, Jun 15). Bumibashing has to stop [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

FN (2006, September 26) Chinese M'sians must accept their lot [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

George, Jacob Dr. (2006, March 30). Race relations deteriorating [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Insaf (2005, August 24). Gov't should revise its view of Islamic state [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Ismail, Mardupi (2002, September 9). English vital to achieve vision [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Jason, Chan (2001, January 23). When 'proper channel' begets threats [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Jeffery (2001, October 19). What is an Islamic state and is there only one version? [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Jeyraj (2005, July 15). Leave Malaysia: Badruddin has crossed the line   [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Jian (2002, July 2). No two ways about hypocrisy [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Joseph Lee, M. (2004, January 5). Police's selective enforcement of the law [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Jun, M. SB (2005, March 9). Have dialogue, but leave Islam alone [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini

Kay Peng, Khoo (2002, October 10). Politics without principle is what ails us [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kay Peng, Khoo (2003a, January 27). Umno must champion cause of all M'sians [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kay Peng, Khoo (2003b, May 6). No evidence of ISA assisting race relations [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kay Peng, Khoo (2004a, April 16). NS dividing instead of uniting [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini

Kay Peng, Khoo (2004b, April 20). Lift barriers to civic public sphere [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kay Peng, Khoo (2005a, December 21). National unity can't be decreed by policy [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kay Peng, Khoo (2005b, March 11). Interfaith talks identify platform first [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Khalid, J. (2006, September 11). M'sian Muslims should see other viewpoints [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Khor, Neil (2005; December 8). Racism disguised as nationalism [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Khor, Neil (2006, December 8). Ghani reinventing history using Onn Jaafar [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Kia Soong, Kua (2002, Jun 1). Consider merit and need, not racial quota system [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

KP (2001, November 27). Talk out fears towards more understanding [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

LCH (2002, May 16). Meritocracy only when universities determine own admissions [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Lo Chin, Tai (2003, July 16). PAS blueprint will supersede constitution [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Loh, CH (2001, November 17). Where's the tolerance? [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Loh, CH (2005, February 8). Rethink role of religion in governance [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Loke Soong, Wong (2003, April 10). M'sians stand on war unknown without reliable polls [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Lovrenciear, JD (2006, January 24). Racial, religious divides will only set us back [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

MA (2003, September 9). Free speech requires high maintenance [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini.

MA (2006, May 10). Don't exempt MPs from their conscience [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini.

Malaysian (2002, November 12). Good theory but not in practice [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini.

Malaysian (2004, September 30). National issues: More openness, less rhetoric please
[Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Malaysian (2006, November 13). There are no racial problems but ... [Letter to the
editor]. Malaysiakini.

Mana, Dr. (2004, August 20). Patriotism, not language, forges unity [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini.

Mom (2005, December 12). Malay bashing in urban schools rampant [Letter to the
editor]. Malaysiakini.

Moreira, Charles F (2002, January 8). Accommodating, yes, but Tunku's no saint [Letter
to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Mustapha Ong (2002, January 21). Extremists politicising Chinese school relocation
issue [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Mustapha Ong (2005, October 6). Education deliverables need to be revamped [Letter to
the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Narayanasamy, K. (2006a, June 12). Education system reflects polarisation [Letter to the
editor]. Malaysiakini.

Narayanasamy, K. (2006b, May 17). Minority being silenced [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini

Navaratnam, Tan Sri Ramon (2005, July 7). Equality, not special privileges, is what
Indians need [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini

Ng, L.F. (2000, November 24). Riding the trajectory of reform [Letter to the editor].
Malaysiakini.

Ng, L.F. (2004, Jun 11). Migration as a silent protest [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Nook Naidu, S. (2002, May 20). Mandatory Tamil classes a 'no no' [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Norhayati Kaprawi (2006, August 17). Promote peaceful, rational dialogues for better unity [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Not Son of The Soil (2004, April 27). Social contract torn up long ago [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Ong, BK (2003, May 27). Change our race based voting habits [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Pang, SL @ Farah Abdullah (2005, March 16). Interfaith Commission: PM's advice sensible [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Pastor Carey (2006, December 11). People have lost a common destiny [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Pelita Negara (2003, October 29). Of tributes and the farewell to Dr M [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini

Praba Ganesan (2006, October 19). Race profiling for political mileage [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Progressive Bumi (2005, March 24). Education generations lost to narrow nationalism [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Respect N Tolerance (2004, July 29). Halal rule: Tolerance needed [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini

Restless Native (2006, December 22). Highway death shows how far yet we have to go [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Rimba (2005, March 16). Onesided interfaith dialogue pointless [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

RKK (2003, Jun 2). Constitution silent on Malay supremacy [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

RR (2006, October 16). Truth of Asli report undeniable [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Santik (2004, March 8). Democracy for all not just the majority [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Sarah Verghis, Dr. (2002, June 21). When are Malaysians not Malaysians [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

SeeKayEs (2001, January 2). When will we take the first step? [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Sherrida (2004, May 18). Malays have no rights [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Solomon, Anushka Anastasia (2006, December 7). Giving bigotry no sanction [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Soong, WS (2002, September 4). The virtuous have nothing to fear in Islamic state [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Steve Chan (2001, March 24). Sidestepping knowledge for pride and patriotism [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Stupid Voter (2006, December 4). Umno, PAS need new formula to win votes [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Taff, Shaf (2004, November 17). Anwar must shed Umno attitudes first Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Tan (2001, May 23). BN leading the way [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Tan, WM. (2002, June 6). Stop the discrimination [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Tanglimara (2001, July 18). Leave emotions out of debate [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Tanglimara (2002, January 3). Two sides to the student 'apartheid' coin [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Tanjung Petir (2006, October 3). M'sia a commonwealth of races, not a hierarchy [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Teck Ghee, Lim (2006, July 25). Ethnic ties course: Be wary of political overkill [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Thinking Citizen (2003, Jun 9). MCA in BN placates racial insecurities [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Thomas Lee (2003, August 29). All races have important role to play [Letter to the

editor]. Malaysiakini.

Truly Malaysian (2006, October 6). We're M'sians, so why the discrimination? [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Truth Seeking Indian (2004, March 16). MIC fails Indians [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Vanaja, Dr. (2006, October 10). All M'sians are sons of the soil [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Venugopal, Elanjelian (2001, March 02). Cultural diversity reflects life's complexities [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Wong, SK (2004, Jun 16). Wholesale gov't subsidy wrong [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Yee (2003, May 23). Dialogue to heal racial divide [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Yoon Han, Sim (2004, April 27). An alternative definition of NS [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Zain, A Zaidy (2002, December 12). Practise multiculturalism to show religious tolerance [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Zhongyao, Chen (2005, May 9). Own culture gives minorities moral strength [Letter to the editor]. Malaysiakini.

Appendix B-Theoretical Sample for the development of emic model of Singapore
(Newspaper: Strait Times)

Adi Hermawan Md Jumali (2003, November 25). Want an alternative view? Check out the Net. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Alfian Aluyi (2006, February 8). Mandarin can be a non-exam subject. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Ameerali Abdeali (2003, August 1). Recess-time segregation seen in other nations too. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Angelia Poon Mui Cheng, Tan Pei-San & Nicholas Song Eu Kwan (2000, November 14). Don't dismiss claims of racial discrimination. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Anne Chong Su Yan Dr. (2006, October 2). Emphasise similarities, not differences, between religions [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Arvin Gopal (2001, January 12). More racially-diverse local dramas, please. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times

Bak Kwee, Leo (2006, August 9). Singaporean gets misty-eyed as he marks National Day with plenty to cheer about [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Benardine De Britto (2006, April 15). Opposition has to improve what I've already got from the PAP to get my vote [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Benson Ang Weixiong (2003, August 20). Racism: Adults need to set positive example [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Bing Hui, Chia Bing (Miss) (2006, February, 28). Time to think about racial quotas in schools. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Bob Tan and Halimah Yacob (2006, September 20). State reason for certain requirements in job ads. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Cecilia Yip (2000, June 24). Licence fees serve public interest. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Cecilia Yip (2002, June 7). MediaCorp gets more as the incumbent. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Chee Hwee, Chai (2005, February 19). Irresponsible press could reopen old wounds [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Chin Min, Wee (2005, November 3). More can be done to foster better ethnic interaction [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Chok Keh, Leong (2003, November 20). Resale quota sees more balanced ethnic mix. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Chuen Ni, Lim (2001, August 22). Anthem translations soon. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Chun Phuoc, Jeong (2006, October 30). Story Education Ministry should include inter-faith studies in school curriculum [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Clare Eng Sher Ling (Miss). (2004, March 25). Much to be said for bilingualism [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Colman Jude Emmanuel (2006, September 16). S'pore permanent resident backs govt's move to bar some activists from Republic. [St Forum online] Straits Times.

Daniel Koh & Kah Soon (2001, February 21). Singapore must look beyond pragmatism. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Daniel Zhang Zi Jian (2005, May 6). Act against unfair policy, preserve racial harmony [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

David Lim Teck Seng (2005, November 29). 'Racial Harmony Day' may emphasise differences instead of promoting multi-racial society [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Edmond Tan Chok Jueh (Dr.) (2006, January 26). Don't take racial equality and harmony for granted [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Edmund Lam Kin Hong (2002, February 1). A mutual passion bonds races together. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Edmund Lim Wee Kiat (2006, February 13). Racial harmony? We're not there yet, it takes effort [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Enon Mansor (Mdm). (2003, July 31).The real issue - The veil in the mind. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

George Wong Seow Choon (2000, November 9). Make a stand against racist tendencies. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Gordon Tan Sek Tiong (2002, August 24). Elite group should include other races. [Letter

to the editor] Straits Times.

Gurmit Singh Kullar (2006, October 24). MediaCorp shouldn't air Survivor Cook Islands in view of racial sensitivities. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Hann Hoi, Seto (2006, March 17). If quotas boost integration, extend them to schools [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Harmohan Singh (2006, January 27). Govt's policies on ethnic integration vital [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Harvey Neo Choong Tiong (2003, December 13). Secular humanism' has a place too. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Ho Peng (2005, August 4). History syllabuses stress critical thinking. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Hsien Wee, Yee (Mrs). (2003, August 1) Over-reliance on the mother tongue makes for 'stickiness', [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Indranee Rajah (2006, April 4). No reason to put down present-day Singapore [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Jack Sim Juek Wah (2003, August 7). Monet, dons and political economy. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times

Jamie Han Li Chou (2005, February 17). Why are we so afraid of the 'R' words? [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times

Jayakumar, S. (2006, July 25). DPM didn't refer to Tharman as 'my Tamil brother' [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Jean Tan (2005, May 7). Employment practices cannot discriminate [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Jeffrey Law Lee Beng (2006, July 26). Guard against attempts to sow racial discord [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Jenn Jong, Yee (2006, February 28). May fighting spirit of founding fathers be passed on [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Jerry Siah Eng Kiat (2006, March 2). Much to learn from Malay community. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.
Jia En, Lee (2005, April 28). Top-city drive: X-factor search begins at home [Letter to the

editor] Straits Times.

John Masih (2004, April 24). Infuse in children a 'universal culture' where all men are brothers. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

John, P.J. (Dr.) (2002, March 14). Debunk myth of segregation. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Jong Hou, Goh (2004, December 4). Don't put price to mother tongue [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Jufferie Rashid (2001, March 30). All but 2 Mendaki schemes open to non-Malay Muslims. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Kai Khiun, Liew (2005, February 19). Libel suits cannot guarantee social stability [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Kai Khiun, Liew (2006, July 26). Include more groups such as non-Singaporeans and the disabled in minority rights council [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Kek Koon, Wee (2003, December 19). History of Chinese immigrants, told only in English. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Kelvin Ang Kah Eng (2006, January 3). Faced racism? Don't fall into same trap yourself. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Khalidah Abdullah (2001, February 19). Understanding other races begins at home [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Krishnan, K.R. (2005, December 12). CCs also part of Toa Payoh landscape. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Kwang Ser, Quek (2001, March 27). Youths can learn from Singapore's past. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Li-Ann, Thio (Dr.) (2005, February 22). In a democracy, all have a right to be heard [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Lionel Cheng, Dr. (2006, April 21). Clean govt makes him a proud son of Singapore. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Lionel de Souza (2006a, December 15). It's 'Hari Raya and block party' but everything is done in Chinese [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Lionel de Souza (2006b, April 6). Grassroot bodies have crucial job to maintain social

harmony. Why abolish them? [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Malathy, Krishnasamy (Mdm). (2004, January 30). Is Syllabus B also open to pupils weak in Tamil? [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Maria Jacinta Francis (Mrs) (2006, February, 15). Family togetherness will benefit society too. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Marianne Yeo (Miss) (2006, February 24). Racial quotas in schools would enable students from different racial groups to work, play together [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Michael Ewing-Chow (2004, December 8). Think of lumpy soup as a spicy, thick stew [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Michael Heng Swee Hai (2006, February 13) Racial harmony or peaceful coexistence? [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Mohamad Rosle Ahmad (2000, October 25). Collective leadership will free Malay MPs. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Mohamad Tariq Mohamad Amin (2006, December 7). Mindset change only for the Malays? No, it applies to any group which faces challenge. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Mohd Amin Ibrahim (2001, May 15). AMP committed to integration. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Musliha Ajmain (2001, April 12). Blatant move to discredit S'pore Malays. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Nadarajan Velaitham (2006, August 2). Cabbie says some people won't get into his taxi because he is Indian. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Naleeni Das (2001, March 29). Religious intolerance will divide students. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Nasreen Ramnath (Mrs). (2003, July 31). One parent's sad experience at integrating daughter. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Nijalingappa Prasannakumar (2006, December 23). 'Non-Indians preferred' in job ad-That's blatant discrimination [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Noor Shila Nahar (2000, August 29). Don't play up singles on trips. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Osman Sidek (2005, October 31) Majority Chinese may need to mingle more [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Pan Xuequn (2005, April 21). Aberrant behaviour may be reflection on society [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Pattamuckiljohn Johney, Dr. (2002, December 25). Keep up the responsible journalism [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Paul Chan Poh Hoi (2005, November 9). Forum Press freedom? I would choose S'pore anytime. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Peck Chin, Hoh (2003, August 9). 'Sensitive' data will serve workers well. [Letter to the Editor]Straits Times.

Pei Jing, Teh (2005, November 14). Free press may not be irresponsible [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Pei Jing, The (2006, January 7). Let's not be complacent about racial ties [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Ping Yee, Tan (2002, February 1). Special Assistance Plan schools in way of social integration. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Pui Fong, Lee (2006, February 27) Schools should not have a disproportionate majority of any race. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Rachel Eileen Poon Hiu Mun (Miss) (2005, January 31). Let students work on real social issues [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Rachel Yap Wei Li (Miss). (2006, February 2). Knowing other cultures erodes prejudices, enriches life. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Rahmawati Rahmat (2001, September 18). Islam forbids harming of innocent civilians [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Rene Yap Bin Ping (2005, November 15). Give me a credible media any time. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Rhazaly Noentil (2005, October 12). Focus on how we are alike instead. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Satish Khattar, K. (2002, February 1). Important to tend to delicate social fabric. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Sebastian Tan (2000, July 29). Media to reflect on role. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Sebastian Tan (2002, January 15). Let recent episode push us to know Muslims better. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Sendhuran Govindan (2005, July 27). Eliminate prejudices to boost race relations [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times

Sharmeen Donna Husain (2001, February 16). Little chance for students to mix with other races. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Shaun Lee Wei Han (2005, November 14). Why not more press freedom? That's the question [ST Forum online] Straits Times.

Shu Wei, Foo (2003, January 24). No one came to our help. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Siew Hoong, Wong (2005, October 13). Schools take racial harmony seriously. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Stanley Loh (2005, November 9). S'pore's model of govt and media has worked. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Steven Lo Chock Fei (2003, June 23). More must be done to draw people to CCs. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Sunder R. Daswani (2003, November 15). HDB-resale ethnic quota hits minority races hardest. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Swee Siong, Lim (2002, January 18). People of different races here hardly mix. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Teck Seng, Teo (2006, February 22). Would MOE have racial quotas for schools? [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Thomas Liew Shen Yi (2006, February 22). Up to parents to instil good racial values. [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Tsai Kee, Koo (2006, January 24). S'pore is an open society despite what Soros says [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Tuck Weng, Tang (2006, March 13). Quotas not best way to boost racial integration in schools. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Vyoma Kapur (2005, September 26). Racism should never be taken lightly [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Weiming, Tan (2006, January 31). Don't neglect the minority voices to ensure racial harmony [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Yam Meng, Seah (2001, March 2). Religious groups can speed up goal of 'S'pore tribe'. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Yanming, Xie (2000, October 30). Revive religious faith among young to check moral decline. [Letter to the editor] Straits Times.

Yar Ee, Lam (Mdm) (2005, August 19). Be inclusive, don't sideline any race. [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Yew Mun, Chong (2005, October 12). Take united stand against irresponsible individuals [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Yueling, Yan (2006, May 24). Singapore politics, from an economist's viewpoint [ST Forum Online] Straits Times.

Zaibun Siraj (2006, March 16). Thank goodness, S'pore isn't South Africa [Letter to the Editor] Straits Times.

Appendix C-Theoretical Sample for the development of emic model of Hawai'i
(Newspaper: Honolulu Star Bulletin)

Acain, Dominic (2006, May 13). Akaka Bill is wrong, but so was annexation [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Agard, Louis (2000, June 16). Hawai'ians can protest by withholding aloha [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Akana, Alfred C. (2000, February 29). Kingdom didn't ask to be overthrown [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Anderson, Whitney T. (2000, June 20). Kamehameha parade should be rerouted, funded by state [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin. - Senator

Arakaki, Earl. (2003, January 26). U.S. freedom allows sovereignty activism [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Bain, Carol. (2005, August 14). Non-Hawai'ian student not denied education [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Baron, Don. (2001, November 6). Nation can't ignore Christian beginnings [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Blaisdell, Kekuni. (2000, April 29). Native task force won't be recognized by Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Chang, Ken (2004, November 29). School admission rule lawsuit is frivolous [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Conklin, Ken. (2005, August 8). Kingdom set example of equity for all [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Dunn-Aurello, Peter. (2005, August 7). Applicants should show dedication to culture [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Edmiston, Ronald. (2000, November 8). Sovereignty may scare off tourists [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Edsman, Eric. (2003, March 7). Akaka bill wrong for Hawai'ian kingdom [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Evans-Mason, Malia (2003, August 24). A Kamehameha mother's heartaches for her

child [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Hee, Clayton (2005, August 22). Imagine an even greater Kamehameha Schools [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Huber, Holly. (2001, July 5). Christian names were imposed on Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Ka'ai'ai, Charles M. (2000, October 10). Hawai'ians want what is rightly theirs [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Kam, Ivan L. (2000, October 16). Build 'Summer White House' on Ala Wai [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Kane, Valerie M. (2000, March 2). Restore original names at Barbers Point [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Kekahu, Butch (2000, February 25). March in Washington will unite Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Kinslow, R. (2001, June 23). Hawai'ians deserve to get property back [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Kuroiwa, James Jr. (2005, January 13). Akaka bill opposition will lead to dialogue [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Li, Chen. (2002, May 23). Etiquette should be taught in schools [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Makahilahila Christine. (2000, September 23). Hawai'ian term should be used for natives [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Manarpaac, Christine. (2005, February 19). Community will feel loss of Kohanaiki [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Maxwell, Charles Kauluwehi (2004, September, 4). Newspaper insulted Hawai'ians by printing photos of cave opening [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Markell, Nalani (2005, May 12). Others want to define who is a Hawai'ian [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Mehau, McWarren J. (2001, May 25). We need to teach lessons in aloha spirit [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Nicolas, Cory. (2000, October 6). All isle children are taught to embrace Hawai'ianness

[Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Ordenstein, Kenneth W. (2006, August 11). Hawai'ian culture should reap royalties [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Plemer, Marisa. (2000, September 20). Mililani Trask deserves voters' support [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Roberts, Mere (2000, September 2). Well-meaning haole will destroy Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Samson, Stella. (2001, March 1). Minority party shows no class in session [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Smith, Andy (2006, February 17). Public funding might help Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Taba, Theodore (2002, October 16). Don't let racism, fear control your vote [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Welte, Marilyn (2000, March 10). All races should support Hawai'ians [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

West, Ted. (2000, November 17). Age of consent must be raised from 14 [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Wetmore, Todd Rev. (2002, March 13). Lawsuit against OHA furthers racism [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Yamada, Karen Yukie. (2004, August 1). Obama makes us think about personal identity [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Star Bulletin.

Appendix D-Theoretical Sample for testing the emic model of Malaysia
(Newspaper: New Strait Times)

Beldeu Singh (2003, February 12) Diversity our best partner [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Cheah, P.B. (2004, June 2). Need to strengthen our inter-racial ties. [Letter to the editor]. New Strait Times.

Dennis, N. (2003, October 20). Queries on National Service [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

E.D. (2002, August 16). Job advertisements becoming racial, open only to certain race. [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Foong Luen, Tan (2006, December 8). Let love show us the way [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Foong Yee (2006, November 23). Examine issues in rational manner [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Lakshimannan, S. (2001, January 27). Resolving the Indian dilemma [Letter to the editor]. New Strait Times.

Lee Lam Thye (2000, December 25). Let Umno Youth, Suqiu settle issue [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Lourdesamy, I. (Dr). (2001, March 22). Let's be more serious in our approach to national integration [Letter to the editor]. New Strait Times.

M.G. (2003, July 15). Colonial policy to blame for Indians' plight. [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

M.R. (2004, March 10). Beware those who sow seeds of enmity [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Michael Ng (2003, August, 21). Check spread of religious fanatics' evil message. [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Mohamed Idris, S.M. (2004, May 4). Let Orang Asli decide their own priorities [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Naleeni Das (2001, March 28) Minimise religious overtones in schools [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Raja Iskandar (2006, October 31). Let Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka be final arbiter [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Ramasamy, Perumal Dr. (2000, June 16). Disenchanted by Keadilan's racial prejudice, political antics [Letter to the editor]. New Strait Times.

Robert M.S. Phang (2000, September 28). Suqiu, enough is enough [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Shivanand Sivamohan (2006, August 31). All together as Bangsa Malaysia [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Sundareson, S. (2005, August 12). Address shortfalls under Ninth Plan [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times.

Wan Ahmad Shihab Ismail (2002, September 10). Newspaper headlines must reflect the true picture. [Letter to the editor] New Strait Times

Appendix E-Theoretical Sample for testing the emic model of Singapore
(Newspaper: TODAY)

Anne Xavier (2006, February 14). Tongue-tied over need for Mandarin [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Aresha, G.K. (2005, July 15). On language, from a 'half-baked' Indian; English can be the bridge between races. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Benson Ang Weixiong (2003, August 15). Racism a real threat – Educational institutions should encourage the races to mix [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Colin Ong Tau Shien (2006, June 19). Let school children visit National Stadium before it gets demolished [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

David Ang (2006, May 17). Legal solutions not foolproof; Tackle interviewers' biased practices with guidelines. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Eliza Ng Lai Kuan (2006, October 10). When race isn't religion [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Eric Lee Joo Choon (2005, December 22). Equal share in pie staves off destructive protest. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Gopinath Menon (2005, June 2). Extend learning Malay scheme [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Gurmit Singh Kullar (2006b, October 27). Take it off the air ...We've edited Survivor [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Haslinda Shamsudin (2005, May 5). Don't limit racial harmony to just one day [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Jeffrey Law Lee Beng (2005, April 2005). Unfeeling employer an isolated case [Letter to the Editor] TODAY.

Josan Lee Boon Hong (2003, August 6). Government should moderate its rebuttals if it wants to stimulate public opinion. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Kian Huat, Goh (2006, November 27). Talk to me, I live next door; HDB townships bring people together, but modern-day barriers still keep them apart [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Leong Kit, See (2001, March 21). Duty of the press – Responsibility to reflect issues

without distortion is what matters. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Lydia Brooks (2001, March 1). TODAY article strikes a chord. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Melisa Leong Mei Ling (2006, November 30). I couldn't hold a proper conversation with my granddad before he died [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Michael Loh Yik Ming (2003, August 23). Singaporeans not racist..but some may dislike to mix with other races. [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Vasanthan Govindasamy (2006, September 29). To know a friend, visit his house ... And religious leaders can show the way [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Wayne Soon (2005, September 17). Self-censorship stymies growth; Better to deal with hate speech by encouraging people to actively reject such slurs [Letter to the editor] TODAY.

Appendix F-Theoretical Sample for testing the emic model of Hawai'i
(Newspaper: Honolulu Advertiser)

Burgess, Puanani S. (2002, September 17). Kingdom Hawai`ian government was never exclusive [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Cassarno, George (2004, October 4). Waikiki – Make theater into a living museum [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Ferreira, Rod. (2005, April 24). Akaka bill passage would not create racial divisions [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Imai, Jensis. (2003, October 22). Perpetuate Culture – more support needed for Hawai`ian causes [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Ingham, David. (2004, June 1). Sovereignty – Non-kanaka maoli ancestors included [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Kaholokula, Keawe Aimoku. (2006, January 7). Sacred Duty - Hui Malama should not reveal burial location [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Kamuela, Wooddell W. (2003, November 4). Hawai`i's different separation from U.S. would prosper economy [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Lahaina, Foster Ampong. (2003, June 2). Kingdom - Yes, non-Hawai`ians also were citizens [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Laudig, Stephen. (2005, November 14). Occupation Hawai`ian sovereignty has never been ceded [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Osorio, Jonathan K. (2006, January 5). Cave Moepu – Judge Ezra vs. Hawai`ian beliefs [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Paulette Ka`ala Roberson (2003, October 24). Land Replenishment – Hawai'ian culture is a check on development [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Ritte, Walter (2005, June 7). Taro Research – Hawai'ian genealogy can't be exploited by science [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

Robert Moore, J. (2004, December 11). Reserved. No Hawai'ians? [Letter to the editor] Honolulu Advertiser.

REFERENCES

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Amselle, J. (2006). The world inside out: What is at stake in deconstructing the west? *Social Anthropology, 14*(2), 183-193.

Angus, I. (1997). *A border within: national identity, cultural plurality and wilderness.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.

Anuar, Mustafa K. (2005). Politics and the Media in Malaysia. *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies,* 20 (1), 25-47.

Anthias, F. (2002). Beyond feminism and multiculturalism: Locating difference and the politics of location. *Women's Studies International Forum, 25*(3), 275-286.

Appiah, K.A. (1994). Identity Against Culture: Understandings of Multiculturalism *Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities. Occasional Papers.* Paper 1. http://repositories.cdlib.org/townsend/occpapers/1

Appiah, K.A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers.* New York: Norton.

Arnaud, L. (2002). Sport as a cultural system: sport policies and (new) ethnicities in Lyon and Birmingham, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 26(3), 571-81.

Ashkanasy, N. M., Härtel, C. E. J, & Daus C. S. (2002). Advances in organizational behavior: Diversity and emotions. *Journal of Management, 28,* 307-338.

Asad Latif (2002, Feb 18). Race, culture and the worth of being a S'porean. [Letter to the

    Editor] Straits Times.

Barongan, C, Bernal, G., Comas-Diaz, L., Iijima-Hall, C. C, Nagayama Hall, G. C,

    LaDue, R. A., Parham, T. A., Pedersen, P. B., Porche- Burke, L. M., Rollock, D.,

    & Root, M. P. P. (1997). Misunderstandings of multiculturalism: Shouting fire

    in crowded theaters. *American Psychologist, 52(6),* 654-655.

Berry, J.W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D.M. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in*

    Canada. Ottawa: Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Printing and Pub. Supply

    and Services, Canada.

Berliner, M. & Hull, G. (2002). *Diversity and Multiculturalism: The New Racism.*

    The Ayn Rand Institute.

Berry, J.W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.),

    Acculturation, theory, models and some new findings. Colorado, CO: Westview

    Press.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Social and cultural change. In H. C. Triandis, & R. W. Brislin (Eds.),

    Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Social psychology (Vol. 5, pp. 211-279).

    Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Berry, J. W. (1984). Multicultural Policy in Canada: a Social Psychological Analysis.

    Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 16, 353–370.

Berry, J. W. (2008). Globalisation and acculturation. International Journal of Intercultural

    Relations, 32(4), 328-336.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2000). Integrating research and practice: A framework for the study of diversity management. Paper presented at the 2000 Academy of Management, Toronto, Canada.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2001). Culture, Worldview, and Social Behavior. Invited Lecture presented in the symposium on Unity and Diversity in the Sciences: Pacific Perspectives, at the 10th Pacific Science Inter-Congress on the Integration of Natural and Social Sciences in the New Pacific Millennium, June 1-6, 2001, Guam

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2003). Culture's Influence on Creativity: The Case of Indian Spirituality. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27 (1)*, 1-22.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008). Globalization and indigenous cultures: Homogenization or differentiation? International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32(4), 305-317

Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Anbe, K. (2007). The Importance of Historical Analysis in the Study of Culturally Marginalized People: The Case of Native Hawai'ians. Paper presented in the symposium on "Cultural Community Psychology: Perspectives and Examples" at the 11 Biennial Conference of Society for Community Research and Action, Pasadena, California, June 7-10, 2007

Bhawuk, D. P. S., Landis, D., & Munusamy, V. P. (2008). Understanding the basics of culture. In Michael A. Moodian (Ed.) *Contemporary Leadership and Intercultural Competence: Understanding and Utilizing Cultural Diversity to Build Successful Organizations* (pp. 7-15). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Bhawuk, D.P.S., Mrazek, S. & Munusamy, V. (under review). From Social Engineering

Paradigm to Community Transformation: Amul, Grameen Bank, and

Mondragon as Exemplars of Community Building. University of Hawai'i

at Manoa.

Bhawuk, Sakuda & Munusamy (2008). Intercultural Competence Development and

Triple- Loop Cultural Learning: Toward a Theory of Intercultural Sensitivity. In

Soon Ang & Linn Van Dyne (Eds). *Handbook of Cultural Intelligence: Theory,*

measurement, and applications (pp 342-355).Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Bickmore, K. (2006). Democratic social cohesion (assimilation)? Representations of

social conflict in Canadian public school curriculum. *Canadian Journal of*

Education, 29(2), 359-386.

Bhabha, H.K. (1998) 'Culture's In Between', pp. 29–36 in D. Bennett (ed.) *Multicultural*

States: Rethinking Difference and Identity. London: Routledge

Blank, R. & Slipp, S. (1994). *Voices of Diversity: Real People Talk About Problems and*

Solutions in a Workplace Where Everyone Is Not Alike. New York: Amacom.

Blank. R.M, Dabady, M, & Citro C. F. (eds).(2004). Measuring Racial Discrimination.

Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

Blum, L.A. (1991). Antiracism, Multiculturalism, and Interracial Community: Three

Educational Values for a Multicultural Society. Distinguished Lecture Series,

1991-1992.

Bhabha, H.K. (1998) 'Culture's In Between', pp. 29–36 in D. Bennett (ed.) *Multicultural*

States: Rethinking Difference and Identity. London: Routledge

Brewer, M.B. & Brown, R.J. (1998) 'Intergroup Relations', in D.T. Gilbert, S.T. Fiske

and G. Lindzey (eds), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 4th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Brislin, R.W (1970). Back translation for cross-cultural research, Journal *of Cross Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 1 pp.185-216.

Brislin, R.W. (1980). Translation and content analysis of oral and written material. In H.C. Triandis & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 1, pp.389-444). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Brislin, R. W. & Liu, J. (2004). Intercultural Communication, Contact, and International Business Assignments in Yueh-Ting Lee, Clark McCauley, Fathali Moghaddam, & Stephen Worchel (Eds). *The Psychology of Ethnic and Cultural Conflict,* Westport, CN: Praeger.

Brewer, M. B. & Brown, R. J.(1998) Intergroup Relations, in DT Gilbert and ST Fiske (eds), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 4th edn (Vol 2).

Boon Keng, Cheah (2002). *Malaysia: The Making of A Nation*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Boo Teik, Khoo (2004). *Managing Ethnic Relations in Post-Crisis Malaysia and Indonesia: Lessons from the New Economy Policy*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Boring, E. G. (1955). The dual role of the Zeitgeist in scientific creativity. *Scientific Monthly*, 80, 101-106

Borowski, A. (2000). Creating a virtuous society: Immigration and Australia's policies of multiculturalism. *Journal of Social Policy, 29*(3), 459-475.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1999). On the cunning of imperialist reason. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16, 41-58.

Burrell, G. & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis.* Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Chavez, Linda (1997), '*Divided we stand: review of Nathan Glazer's We Are All Multiculturalists Now*', Commentary (May), 60–64.

Chu, Godwin & Chu, Leonard (1981). Parties in Conflict: Letters to the Editor of the People's Daily. *Journal of Communication,* 31 (4), 74–91

Citrin, J., Sears, D.O., Muste, C., & Wong, C. (2001). Multiculturalism in American public opinion. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(2), 247-275

Condor, S., & Brown, R. J. (1988). Psychological processes in intergroup conflict. In W. Stroebe, A.W. Kruglanski, D. Bar-Tal,&M. Hewstone (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup conflict*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Cook, T. D. and D. T. Campbell (1979). *Quasi Experimentation: Design and Analytical Issues for Field Settings*. Chicago, Rand McNally

Cox, T. (1995). The complexity of diversity: Challenges and directions for future research. In: S.E. Jackson & M.N. Ruderman (Eds.) *Diversity in work teams*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Craig, C. S., & Douglas, S. P. (2006). Beyond national culture: Implications of cultural dynamics for consumer research. *International Marketing Review,* 23(3), 322-342.

Davis, A. Y. (1996). Gender, Class, and Multiculturalism: Rethinking 'Race' Politics,' in

Mapping Multiculturalism, (eds) A. F. Gordon & C. Newfield, University of

Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 40-48.

DiTomaso, N., & Hooijberg, R. (1996). Diversity and the demands of leadership.

Leadership Quarterly, 7(2), 163-187.

Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: A

reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American Psychologist, 60*(7), 697-711.

Dorow, S. (2006). Racialized choices: Chinese adoption and the 'white noise' of

Blackness, *Critical Sociology*, 32(2-3), 357-379.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past,

present, and the future. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6*, 5-21.

Deutscher, I. & Lindsey, L. (2004). Assimilation and Pluralism: An Outmoded

distinction. In I.Deutscher & L.Lindsey, *Preventing Ethnic Conflicts: Successful*

Cross-National Policies. Lexington Books.

Dyck, I. (2001). Who and what is Canada? Constructing cultural identities in health care

Research, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27(3), 417-429.

Embong, Abdul Rahman (ed) (2007). *Rethinking ethnicity and nation-building:*

Malaysia, Sri Lanka & Fiji in comparative perspective. Kuala Lumpur:

Malaysian Social Science Association.

Eldering, L. (1996). Multiculturalism and multicultural education in an international

perspective. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 27(3), 315-330

Elegant, S. (1999). A pyrrhic victory. Far Eastern Economic Review, 162(23), 45.

Fleras, A. & Elliot, J. L. (1992). *The Challenge of Diversity, Multiculturalism in*

Canada, Toronto: Nelson Canada

Forrest, J., Poulsen, M., & Johnston, R. (2006). A "multicultural model" of the spatial

assimilation of ethnic minority groups in Australia's major immigrant-receiving

cities, *Urban Geography,* 27(5), 441-463.

Fowers, Blaine J. and Frank C. Richardson (1996). Why is multiculturalism good?,

American Psychologist, 51(6), 609–21.

Geertz, Clifford (1973). Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture

In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* New York: Basic Books. 3-30

Gellner, D. (2001). From Group Rights to Individual Rights and Back Nepalese Struggles

Over Culture and Equality in Jane Cowan, Dembour, M.-B. and Wilson, R. (eds),

Culture and Rights: *Anthropological Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press.

Gidoomal, R. (2003). Multicultural societies and futures of dialogue. *Futures,* 35(10),

1055-1066.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for

qualitative research. New York. Aldine.

Gomez, Terence, E. (Ed) (2004). *The State of Malaysia: Ethnicity, Equity and Reform*

London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Gordon, E. (1995). Multiculturalism in medical decision-making: The notion of informed

waiver. *The Fordham Urban Law Journal.,* 23(4), 1321-1362.

Gradstein, M., & Justman, M. (2005). The melting pot and school choice, *Journal of*

Public Economics, 89(5-6), 871-896.

Guan, Lee Hock (2000). Ethic Relations in Peninsular Malaysia: The cultural and

economic dimensions. Social and Cultural Issues (1). Institute of Southeast Asian

Studies.

Gupta, N. (2005). Diversity matters: An analysis of the many meanings of

multiculturalism. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, United States -- New

York. Retrieved January 3, 2008, from ProQuest Digital Dissertations database.

(Publication No. AAT 3176995).

Gutmann, A. (1993). 'The challenge of multiculturalism in political ethics', *Philosophy*

and Public Affairs, 22 (3), pp. 171–206

Habib, Shahanaaz (2007). One hour max, says Hindraf. The Star (Saturday, November

24)

Harris, C. (2001). Beyond multiculturalism? Difference, recognition and social justice,

Patterns of Prejudice, 35 (1), 11-34

Hartmann, D., & Gerteis, J. (2005). Dealing with diversity: Mapping multiculturalism in

sociological terms. *Sociological Theory,* 23(2): 218-240.

Hassmann, R.H. (2000). Canadians Discuss Freedom of Speech: Individual Rights

Versus Group Protection. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights,* 7,

109-138.

Hesse, B. (1997). It's your world: Discrepant Multiculturalisms, *Social Identities,*

3(3).

Hettlage, R.(1996). Multikulturelle gesellschafte zwischen kontack, konkurrenz und

'accommodation', *Berliner Journal fur Soziologie,* 6,2 p.163-179.

Hofstede, Geert. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International differences in work-*

related values. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Hooker, V. M. (2003). *A Short History of Malaysia: Linking East and West*. Crows Nest,

    N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.

House, Robert J., Paul J. Hanges, Mansour J. Javidan, Peter W. Dorfman, and Vipin

    Gupta, ed. (2004). *Culture, leadership, and organizations: The GLOBE study of*

    62 societies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Huntington, Samuel P. (1993). *The Clash of Civilizations?*, Foreign Affairs, 72(3)

    pp. 22-49.

Huntington, Samuel P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World*

    Order, New York, Simon & Schuster.

Inayatullah, S. & Gidley, J. (1998). Alternative futures of the university globalisation,

    multiculturalism, virtualisation and politicisation. *Futures, 30*(7), 589-602.

Inglehart, Ronald and Welzel, Christian (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change and*

    Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Inglis, C. (1996). *Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity*, MOST:

    UNESCO, p. 49

Ivancevich J.M. & Gilbert J.A. (2000) Diversity management: time for a new approach.

    Public Personnel Management, 29(1), 75-92.

Janssens, M. & Steyaert, C. (2000). From diversity management to alterity politics:

    Qualifying Otherness. Working paper. Department of Organization Studies,

    Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven.

Jaumotte, F. & Tyrell, I. (2007). Globalization of labor. *Finance and Development,*

    44(2), 20-21.

Jin Keong & Kay Peng (2008). Non-Sectarian Politics in Malaysia: The Case of Parti

    Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia. Trafalgar Publishing.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (2000). The Three Cs of Reducing Prejudice and

    Discrimination. In Oskamp, S. (Ed.) *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*

    Philadelphia, PA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, *239-268*.

Johnston, W. B. (1991). Global work force 2000: The new world labor market. *Harvard*

    Business Review, 69(2), 115-127.

Jomo, S. (2004). The New Economic Policy and Interethnic Relations in Malaysia.

    Identities, Conflict and Cohesion Paper Number 7, United Nations Research

    Institute for Social Development.

Joppke, C.S. (1996). Multiculturalism and immigration: a comparison of the United

    States, Germany, and Great Britain, *Theory and Society*, 25(4), 449–500.

Joppke, C.S., & Lukes, S. (1999). Introduction: multicultural questions. In C. Joppke &

    S. Lukes (eds.) *Multicultural Questions* (pp. 126).

Kallen, E. (1982). Multiculturalism: ideology, policy and reality. *Journal of Canadian*

    Studies 17(1), 51–63.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikala. 1992. *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu, Bishop

    Museum Press).

Katz, D. & Kahn, R.L. (1966). *The social psychology of organizations*. New York:

    Wiley.

Kahawaiolaa v. *Norton,*. 222 F.Supp.2d 1213, 1222 (D. Haw. 2002).

Kennedy, P. (1988). The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and

Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000. New York: Random House

Kia Soong, Kua (2007). May 13: *Declassified Documents on the Malaysian Riots of 1969 Malaysia*. Suaram Komunikasi.

Kia Soong. Kua (1985). *National Culture and Democracy*. Petaling Jaya: Kersani.

Kok Keong, Wong (2004). Propagandists for the BN (Part 2): The Star and the NST Could Learn a Thing or Two from the Sun – Though, Overall, Journalistic Integrity was in Short Supply, *Aliran Monthly* 24(6),13-17.

Kommers, P. (2003). Intuition and conceptual awareness for experience-based learning. *International Journal of Continuing Engineering Education and Life-Long Learning, 13*(5-6), 501-512.

Kónya, I. (2005). Minorities and majorities: A dynamic model of assimilation. *Canadian Journal of Economics, 38*(4), 1431-1452.

Kuppusamy, Baradan. (2007, November 26). Facing Malaysia's Racial Issues. TIME.

Kuykendall, R. S. & Day, A. G. (1961). *Hawai'i: A History: From Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Revised ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford, NY: Clarendon Press.

Kymlicka, W. (1989). *Liberalism, Community, and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lai, Ah Eng, ed. (2008). *Religious Diversity in Singapore*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and the Institute of Policy Studies, National University of Singapore.

Laungani, P. (2005). Building multicultural counselling bridges: The holy grail or a poisoned chalice? *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 18(4), 247-259.

Lawrence, P.R. & Lorsch, J.W. (1969). *Organization and environment; managing differentiation and integration*. Homewood, Ill.: R. D. Irwin.

Lee, M., & Coulehan, J. L. (2006). Medical students' perceptions of racial diversity and gender equality. *Medical Education, 40*(7), 691-696.

Leong, C. & Ward, C. (2006). Cultural values and attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism: The case of the Eurobarometer survey on racism and xenophobia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30*(6), 799-810.

Leung, K., & Bond, M. H. (2004). Social Axioms: A model for social beliefs in multi-cultural perspective. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 36*, 119-197.

Leung, A. K., Maddux, W., Galinsky, A., & Chiu, C. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity. The when and how. *American Psychologist.* 63(3), 169-181.

Lewis, M. W. & Grimes, A. J. (1999). Meta-triangulation: Building Theory from Multiple Paradigms, *Academy of Management Review*, 24(4), 672-690

Lewis, G. and Neal, S. (2005). Contemporary political contexts, changing terrains and revisited discourses in G. Lewis and S. Neal (Eds) Migration and Citizenship, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Special Issue, 28(3), 423-444.

Lubisi, R. C. (2001). *The meaning of multiculturalism in the South African setting and the challenge of nation building*. In Proceedings of the Conference on Values, Education, and Democracy. Cape Town.

Lützeler, R. (2002). Foreign immigrants in Japan: Multiculturalism in a "homogeneous" society. [Ausländische Zuwanderer in Japan: Multikultur in einer "homogenen" Gessellschaft] *Geographische Rundschau, 54*(6), 12-17.

Manning, R. (1995). Multiculturalism in America: clashing concepts, changing demographics, and competing cultures, *International Journal of Group Tensions*, 25(2), 117–168.

Martinez, P. (2001). Malaysia in 2000: A Year of Contradictions, *Asian Survey*, 41(1), A Survey of Asia in 2000 (Jan. - Feb., 2001), pp. 189-200

Marwick, A. (2001), *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*, Palgrave, 1-20.

McLuhan, Marshall (1961). *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Meyer, M.W. (1978). Introduction: Recent developments. In *Environments and organizations*: 1-19. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Modood, Tariq. (1997). Introduction: The politics of multiculturalism in the new Europe. In Tariq Modood & Pnina Werbner (Eds.), *The politics of multiculturalism in the new Europe: Racism, identity and community* London: Zed Books Ltd. (pp.1–25).

Moghaddam, F. M., & Taylor, D. M. (1987). The meaning of multiculturalism for visible minority immigrant women. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 19*, 121-136.

Morrison, M. (2006). Constructions of diversity. Research among staff leaders in the learning and skills sector. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 30(2), 169-

180.

Munroe, A., & Pearson, C. (2006). The Munroe multicultural attitude scale questionnaire: A new instrument for multicultural studies. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 66(5), 819-834.

Nemetz, P. L. & Christensen, S. L. (1996). The challenge of cultural diversity: harnessing a diversity of views to understand multiculturalism, *Academy of Management Review*, 21(2), 434 – 462.

Nkomo, S. (2001). *Much to do about diversity: the muting of race, gender and class in managing diversity practice*. Conference paper, International Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Workforce Diversity: the inclusive workplace, Bellagio, July, 2001, p. 9.

Nord, David. (1995). Reading the Newspaper: Strategies and Politics of Reader Response, Chicago 1912-1917. *Journal of Communication*, 45(3), 66-93.

Osorio, Jonathan K. (2002). *Dismembering* Lahui: A History of the Hawaiʻian nation to 1887. University of Hawaiʻi Press

Pang, Augustine (2006). Managing News in a Managed Media: Mediating the message in *Malaysiakini.com*. Asia Pacific Media Educator, 17, 71-95.

Parekh, B. (1994). 'Discourses on National Identity', *Political Studies*, 42, 492–504.

Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press/Palgrave.

Parekh, B. (2006). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press/Palgrave.

Parry, J. (2006). Sport and Olympism: Universals and multiculturalism, *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport,* 33(2), 188-204.

Pedersen, P. (1998). *Multiculturalism as a fourth force.* Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis.

Perin, R. (1990). *Rome in Canada: the Vatican and Canadian affairs in the late Victorian age.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Pettigrew, T. F. (2004). Intergroup contact: Theory, research and new perspectives. In J. Banks A., & C. McGee A. (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (Second ed.) San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. (pp. 770-781).

Pettigrew, T. F. (2008). Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 32(3), 187-199

Pfeffer, J. & Salancik, G.R. (1978). The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Pieterse, J.N.. (2001). The case of multiculturalism: Kaleidoscopic and long-term views. *Social Identities,* 7(3), 393-407

Ponterotto, J., Baluch, S., Greig, T. & Rivera, L. (1998). Development and Initial score validation of the teacher multicultural attitude survey. *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* 58, 1002-1016.

Pradhan, U., & Roy, I. (2006). Pluralism and civil society partnerships: Perspectives from Nepal and Uttar Pradesh. *Contemporary South Asia,* 15(1), 55-74.

Pratt, R. C., & Smith, Z. (2000). *Hawai'i Politics and Government: An American State in a Pacific World.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Puay Liu, Ong (2004). Malaysia Dilemma, Malaysian Despair. Engaging in a discourse

on a united Malaysian nation: Content analysis of letters to the Editor column of

malaysiakini.com. Paper presented at the Fourth International Malaysian Studies

Conference (MSC4), 3-5 August, organised by the Malaysian Social Science

Association, at UKM Bangi.

Qadeer, M. A. (1997). Pluralistic planning for multicultural cities: The Canadian practice.

Journal of the American Planning Association, 63(4), 481-494.

Raskin, J. B. (1996). From "colorblind" white supremacy to American multiculturalism.

Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, 19(3).

Radtke, F.O. (2001). Multiculturalism: sociological aspects. In: Neil J. Smelser

and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral*

Sciences, 15, 10184–9. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Reader, B., Stempel, G., & Daniel, D. K. (2004). *Age, wealth*, education predict letters to

the editor. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 25(4), 55–66.

Reinhart, H. (2007). Framing the Biotechnology Debate: A Textual Analysis of Editorials

and Letters to the Editor in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. *Global Media Journal*,

6(10), Article 5.

Rex, J. & Singh, G. (2003). Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-

States: Thematic Introduction. IJMS: International Journal on Multicultural

Societies. 5(1), 3-19. www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol5/issue1/art1

Rice v. Cayetano, 528 U.S. 495, 120 S.Ct. 1044 (2000)

Ruderman, M.N. & Munusamy, V. (2007). *Know Thyself.* Concepts & Connections:

15(2), National Clearinghouse for Leadership Programs, p.1-4.

Rodrigues, A. (2006). Serving culturally diverse communities in South African public

    libraries. *Libri, 56*(4), 213-226.

Sadashiva, A.(2005). Meaning of multiculturalism: A comparative study of defining

    characteristics and behaviors in United States of America and India. Dissertation,

    Graduate School of Education, San Francisco Bay Campus, Alliant International

    University.

Sai, Keanu (2004). American Occupation of the Hawai'ian State: A Century Unchecked,"

    Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics, Vol. 1 (Summer 2004).

Sai, Keanu (2008). A Slippery Path towards Hawai'ian Indigeneity: An Analysis and

    Comparison between Hawai'ian State Sovereignty and Hawai'ian Indigeneity and

    its Use and Practice in Hawai`i Today, *Journal of Law and Social Challenges*

    Vol. 10 (Fall 2008).

Salzman, M. B. (2008). Globalization, religious fundamentalism and the need for

    meaning. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32(4), 318-327.

Sandhu, Kernial Singh & Wheatley, Paul (1983). *Melaka: The transformation of a Malay*

    Capital C.1400-1980. Oxford University Press. Kuala Lumpur.

San Juan Jr., E. (2006). Ethnic identity and popular sovereignty: Notes on the Moro

    struggle in the Philippines. *Ethnicities, 6*(3), 391-422.

Schalk-Soekar, S., & Vijver, F.J.R. van de (2008). Multiculturalism and its correlates: A

    study among Dutch majority group members. *Journal of Applied Social*

    Psychology, 38(8), 2152-2178.

Schlesinger, A.M., Jr (1992) *The Disuniting of America.* New York: Norton.

Schmitter-Heisler, Barbara. (1992). The Future of Immigrant Incorporation: Which

    Models? Which Concepts? *International Migration Review*, 26 (2),623-45

Schwartz, Shalom. H. (1994). Cultural dimensions of values: Towards an

    understanding of national differences. *In Individualism and collectivism: Theory,*

    method, and applications, ed. Uichol Kim, Harry C. Triandis, Cigdem

    Kagitcibasi, Sang-Chin Choi and & Gene Yoon, 85-119. Newbury Park, CA:

    Sage Publications.

Scott, M., & Tiun, H. -. (2007). Mandarin-only to Mandarin-plus: Taiwan. *Language*

    Policy, 6(1), 53-72.

Seigel, K. (1972). *Talking back to the New York Times*: Letters to the Editor,

    1851-1971. Quadrangle Books: New York

Sharma, Y. (2003). *History and problems of education.* New Dehli: Kanishka Publishers

Shimoni, B., & Bergmann, H. (2006). Managing in a changing world: From

    multiculturalism to hybridization-the production of hybrid management cultures

    in Israel, Thailand, and Mexico. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 20*(3),

    76-89.

Shamai, S. (1987). Critical theory of education and ethnicity: the case study of the

    Toronto Jewish community. *Journal of Education,* 169(2), 89-114.

Shamai, S., & Paul-Binyamin, I. (2004). A model of intensity of multicultural relations:

    The case of teacher training colleges in Israel. *Race Ethnicity and Education,*

    7(4), 422-436.

Siapera, E. (2005). Minority activism on the web: Between deliberative democracy and

multiculturalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 31*(3), 499-519.

Smooha, S. (1978). *Israel. Pluralism and Conflict,* London and Henley: Routledge and

   Kegan Paul.

Spiecker, B. and Steutel, J. *(2001)*. Multiculturalism, pillarization and civic education in

   the Netherlands, *International Journal of Educational Research,* 35(3), 293-304.

Stimpson, C.R. (1991, September 22). Multiculturalism: A big word at the presses. *The*

   New York Times Book Review, p.1-9.

Subeliani, D.& Tsogas, G. (2005). Managing diversity in the Netherlands: A case study

   of Rabobank. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 16*(5), 831-

   851.

Sue, D. W., Carter, R. T., Casas, J. M., Fouad, N. A., Ivey, A. E., Jensen, M.,

   LaFromboise, T., Manese, J. E., Ponterotto, J. G., & Vazquez-Nutall, E. (1998).

   Multicultural counseling competencies: Individual and organizational development.

   Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tamir, Y. (1995). 'Two Concepts of Multiculturalism', *Journal of Philosophy of*

   Education, 29(2), 161–172.

Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition* (Princeton,

   Princeton University Press).

Taylor, D. M., & Lambert, W. E. (1996). The meaning of multiculturalism in a culturally

   diverse urban American area. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 136,* 727–740.

Tebble, A. J. (2006). Exclusion for democracy. *Political Theory, 34*(4), 463-487.

Tijsterman, R. (2005). Crossing cultural boundaries: A multicultural kindergarten in

Hong Kong. *Asia Pacific Business Review, 11*(4), 575-591.

Thompson, W.B. (2001). Policy making. through *thick* and thin: *thick description.* as a

methodology for communications and. democracy. *Policy Sciences* 34, 63–77.

Turner, T. (1993). Anthropology and multiculturalism: What is anthropology that

multiculturalists should be mindful of it?, *Cultural Anthropology* 8(4), 411-29.

Triandis, H. C. (1964). Exploratory factor analyses of the behavioral component of social

attitudes. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 68, 420-430.

Triandis, H. C. (1972). The analysis of subjective culture. New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior.* McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Triandis, H., Kurowski, L., & Gelfand, M. (1994). Workplace diversity. In H. Triandis &

M. Dunnette (Eds.) *Handbook of Industrial/Organizational Psychology*, 4, 769-

815, Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc: Palo Alto, CA.

Triandis, H. (1995). The importance of contexts in studies of diversity. In. S.E. Jackson

& M.N.Ruderman (Eds.) *Diversity in work teams.* Washington DC. American

Psychological Association.

Uitermark, J. (2004). Anti-multiculturalism as a social movement. On the translation of

public dissatisfaction into policy reform. Paper presented at the RC21 conference

'Paths of Urban Change', Singapore, 9–11 December.

Usunier J.C. (1998). *International & Cross-Cultural Management Research.* Sage

Publications.

UNDP (2004). Human Development Report. United Nations Development Programme.

Vasquez, Jessica M. (2005). Ethnic identity and Chicano literature: How ethnicity affects

reading and reading affects ethnic consciousness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 28

(5), 903-924.

Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2006). Understanding multicultural attitudes: The role

of group status, identification, friendships, and justifying ideologies. *International*

Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30(1), 1-18.

Verkuyten, M. (2005). Immigration discourses and their impact on multiculturalism: a

discursive and experimental study. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44, 223-

241.

Vertovec, S. (1996) 'Multiculturalism, culturalism and public incorporation', *Ethnic and*

Racial Studies, 19(1), 49-69.

Ward, I. (2006). Shabina Begum and the headscarf girls. *Journal of Gender Studies,*

15(2), 119-131.

Wayland, Sarah V (1997). 'Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Identity in

Canada' in *International Journal of Group Rights* 5, 1997, pp.33-58.

Wieviorka, M. (1998). Is multiculturalism the solution? *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21*(5),

907-910.

Whitley, R., Kirmayer, L. J., & Groleau, D. (2006). Public pressure, private protest:

Illness narratives of West Indian immigrants in Montreal with medically

unexplained symptoms. *Anthropology and Medicine, 13*(3), 193-205.

Wood, P.K. & Gilbert, L. (2005). Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental discourse,

alternative vision, urban practice *International Journal of Urban and Regional*

Research, 29 (3), 679-91.

Yaapar, S. (2005). Negotiating identity in Malaysia: Multi-cultural society, Islam, theatre

and tourism. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 33*(3), 473-485.

Zhang, Y. Z., Zhao, W. J., Zhou, F. (1996). Multiculturalism and multicultural nursing: a

    discussion on the multiple role of nurses, *Zhonghua Hu Li Za Zhi (Chinese*

    Journal of Nursing), 31(5):283-5.

Žilka, T. (2006). The poetics of Slovak prose during the period of transformation.

    Neohelicon, 33(2), 59-73.

Zizek, S. (1997). Multiculturalism - A new Racism? *New Left Review,* 225.