

# Shifting Language Policies from Multilingualism to Bilingualism in Singapore: A Literature Review

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## Abstract

*Singapore has earned its reputation as one of the highest-achieving education systems worldwide, as indicated by the recent results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). In this success story, the transition from multilingualism to bilingualism has been one of the most significant modifications to their education system over the years. Therefore, the purpose of this review paper is to examine how Singaporeans, whose proficiency in English was not very high until a few years ago, introduced English as their medium of instruction (EMI) in the education system, and to explore the educational and sociolinguistic challenges associated with this shift as reported in previous studies. The paper follows a scoping review methodology and presents a synthesis of 30 meticulously selected research articles from various databases, including EBSCOhost, Scopus, and Science Direct, spanning the last 22 years, to understand the complexities and implications of the changing language policies in general, and in education in particular. The results of the analysis indicate that, by adopting the EMI model and by conducting strategically planned language examinations, the Singapore government has successfully attained its goal of becoming an economic hub through bilingualism and remained closely connected to its cultural heritage. Nevertheless, some of these pro-English bilingual policies need to be considered in light of the multilingual nature of everyday life in the country.*

**Key words:** *bilingualism; English as a medium of instruction; language policy; multilingualism; Singapore*

## Introduction

Modern technology has led to a more interconnected, globalised world. As a result of globalisation, there has been an increased demand for language acquisition – whether for communication, education, commerce, politics, and so on. Consequently, modern societies broadly acknowledge the importance of “bilingualism” and “multilingualism” (Kroll & Dussias, 2017). The definitions of these concepts can be difficult to ascertain due to a variety of views and arguments presented by many linguists and researchers in the field. Bilingualism and multilingualism often represent proficiency in two or more languages. However, as Grosjean (2010), a renowned expert in bilingual education, highlights, these terms refer to people’s everyday language usage rather than proficiency only. He also asserts that bilingualism pertains to “those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (Grosjean, 2010, p. 4). According to him, bilingualism denotes the use of two languages or dialects, whereas multilingualism signifies the use of more than two languages or dialects in everyday interactions. Baker (2011) also elaborates on Grosjean’s (2010) concept, emphasising the use of languages across many settings, environments, and social interactions in case of bilingualism and multilingualism.

Singapore exemplifies the integration of bilingualism and multilingualism into its educational policy framework. Singapore, a small island in southeast Asia that covers only 633 square kilometres, is located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula (Chua, 2010). Founded as a British colony in the 1820s, Singapore gained its independence in 1965 (Turnbull, 2009). Lee Kuan Yew was the country’s prime minister for over 31 years (Chua, 2010). Singapore has been one of Southeast Asia’s strongest economies since its establishment 50 years ago, and it is considered a multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan community (Turnbull, 2009) whose economy relies on multicultural corporations (Peebles & Wilson, 2002). Scholars argue that a unique economic, geographical, historical, and political cluster has shaped Singapore’s rapid development (Botha et al., 2023).

In 2010, the Sunday Times identified Singapore as the most desirable location for immigration due to the local government’s policies and procedures to increase the local population. The population of Singapore reached approximately 5.637 million in 2022, which marks a significant increase from the 2.5 million recorded in 1980 (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2022). The current population of Singapore comprises approximately 3.5537 million Singaporean citizens, 519,500 of whom are permanent residents, while 1.5638 million are foreign nationals who are either working or studying in the country (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2022). Singapore has three main ethnic groups: Chinese, Malays, and Indians. As per the 2022 census, the predominant ethnic groups in Singapore are the Chinese (74%), Malays (14%), Indians (9%), and others (3%).

Since the mid-1980s, Singapore has adopted English as the only official language for communication and first language instruction in schools (Albright & Kramer-

Dahl, 2009; Bolton et al., 2017; Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011). Almost 48% of Singaporeans currently use English, even in their homes (Singapore Statistics, 2020). This decision was primarily economic, assuming that proficiency in the English language is crucial for Singapore to gain access to foreign investment and trade, as well as Western technological and scientific advances (Dixon, 2009). Although English is a commonly spoken language and a primary means of communication in Singapore, it is not considered the country's native language (e.g., Stroud & Wee, 2007; Tan, 2014; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Considering English as a mother tongue implies that it may not be necessary to use Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil (Tan, 2014).

As a result, people use various mother tongues in their home contexts to uphold their Asian cultures. Therefore, the Singapore government established three official languages for the most prominent ethnic groups: Malay for Malays, Mandarin for Singaporean Chinese, and Tamil for Singaporean Indians. The government assigns each member of society a "mother tongue," which children often learn as a second language in school depending on their ethnic origin (Botha et al., 2023; Jain & Wee, 2019; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014).

Singapore provides an intriguing example of how a non-English-speaking country has adopted and implemented bilingual and multilingual policies to become one of the world's most thriving countries. Since English was not the language of their grandparents, it does not appear to be an inheritance language for Singaporeans across all ethnic groups (Tan, 2014). Therefore, the young Singaporean generation is more fluent in English than the older generation. The widespread acceptance and establishment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) across all educational levels in Singapore is considered an extremely successful story (Bolton et al., 2017). Thus, the current article explores the design and implementation of language policies in Singapore's educational system over the past 22 years that helped Singapore achieve economic, academic, and social goals.

### ***Singaporean education system***

All Singaporean children, regardless of their socio-cultural background, have equal educational possibilities (Goodwin & Low, 2017). A unified national education system ensures that students have equal learning opportunities and reach their full potential (Shouhui et al., 2007). All children in Singapore have access to the public school system, and the curriculum prioritises language education to equip students with the necessary language skills to contribute to Singapore's thriving economy (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009). More importantly, it strives to equip them with the language skills to support the country's economy (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009).

According to Hornberger and Vaish (2009) and Turnbull (2009), the education system in Singapore starts with three years of preschool education for kids under the age of six, whether in public or private childcare centres or kindergartens. This is

followed by six years of primary school, and four to five years of secondary school. After that, two to three years at a junior college or three years at a polytechnic educational institution are available. Finally, higher education institutions offer study programmes lasting three to four years (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Turnbull, 2009).

Primary schools aim to improve students' oral and written English skills. Therefore, at the primary school level, students engage in creative activities incorporating a diverse range of English language usage to develop essential skills for successfully expressing their opinions, needs, and emotions in English (Chua, 2010). Secondary schools aim to improve students' language proficiency and foster their creativity and critical thinking by implementing various activities such as newscasting, listening to podcasts, writing blogs, role-playing, and innovative drama activities (Chua, 2010). Singaporean students must take various national language exams throughout their academic studies. Students take the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) at the end of their sixth year to progress to secondary school (Turnbull, 2009). The second exam, known as the General Cambridge Examination (GCE) 'O' Level, is required after students have completed their education in secondary school to move on to junior college. It is a guarantee that they have achieved the ordinary level of standard British English (Turnbull, 2009). After junior college, students must take the final national exam, the GCE 'A' Level examination, to advance to local universities. This exam guarantees that they have achieved advanced English proficiency, enabling them to pursue English-language higher education (Turnbull, 2009).

The Singapore government has made significant investments in education over the past few decades, and it is one of the country's highest-priority goals (Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bolton et al., 2017). Government funding for educational facilities, infrastructure, and scientific research has allowed Singapore to increase the number of its higher education institutions from two to six (Bolton et al., 2017). Therefore, 57.3% of Singaporeans have qualifications for higher education, and the percentage of college graduates has risen from 22.5% in 2009 to 32.4% in 2019 (Botha et al., 2023; Singapore Statistics, 2020).

Over the past years, international rankings have ranked Singaporean students first in fourth-grade science and second in fifth-grade mathematics due to their high language proficiency (Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2005). Recent PISA evaluations have ranked 15-year-old Singaporean students at the top due to their "ability to use their reading, mathematics, and science knowledge and skills to meet real-life challenges" (OECD, 2023, para. 1), indicating that their educational policies are yielding the expected results, according to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) standards.

## **Aims of the study**

This article aims to provide a comprehensive and evidence-based synthesis of various previous academic studies on Singapore's plans and policies for transitioning

from multilingualism to bilingualism in education. Singapore is regarded as a leader in EMI at all levels of education, including colleges and universities (Bolton et al., 2017). This paper aims to contribute to language planning and policy in general and language education in particular, by examining the shifting of Singaporeans' bilingualism. To achieve this aim, the following research questions were formulated:

(1) What are the reasons for Singapore's transition from a multilingual society to a bilingual one?

(2) What are the strategies and policies implemented by the Singapore government to promote bilingualism, specifically in education?

(3) What are the issues that arise as a result of transitioning to a bilingual model?

## Methodology

This study used a semi-systematic approach to synthesise the literature by selecting several research article designs as a sample. Snyder (2019) highlighted that a semi-systematic review can include several types of research articles and encompass both qualitative and quantitative analyses, unlike the strictly quantitative focus of a systematic review. The selection process followed a systematic approach by searching for publications pertinent to our topic and utilising certain databases, since Snyder (2019) pointed out that a search strategy for a semi-systematic approach "may or may not be systematic" (p. 334). The initial search for prior studies originated across all educational levels and research designs, since the scope of the study is not restricted to a particular level of education. To ensure comprehensive coverage of the literature, we designed inclusion criteria as demonstrated in Table 1. These criteria were used to select English-language journal articles focused on Singapore, published between 2001 and 2023. The reviewed papers were also restricted to social science, art, and the humanities.

Table 1  
*Inclusion Criteria*

Scope	Language planning and policy in Singapore/ EMI
Year	2001-2023
Subject area	Social science/ arts and humanities
Document Type	Articles
Country	Singapore
Source type	Journal
Language	English

### **Data collection and selection**

Based on the indicated criteria, we searched for research and policy papers using six well-known databases, including EBSCO, Taylor & Francis Online, Connected Papers, Scopus, and Science Direct. We conducted the initial search for articles using the EBSCO host library, renowned for its extensive collection of over 64,000 journals, 6 million books, and 400,000 conference papers (Pedaste et al., 2015). Surprisingly, we found only 16 papers on EBSCO using the keywords (English

language and policy in Singapore OR the instructional language in Singapore). After reviewing the results according to the inclusion criteria, we selected 13 papers from EBSCO for inclusion in the current study. We exported the thirteen articles from this database to a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for further analysis. Figure 1 illustrates the application of the same procedure to the remaining five databases.

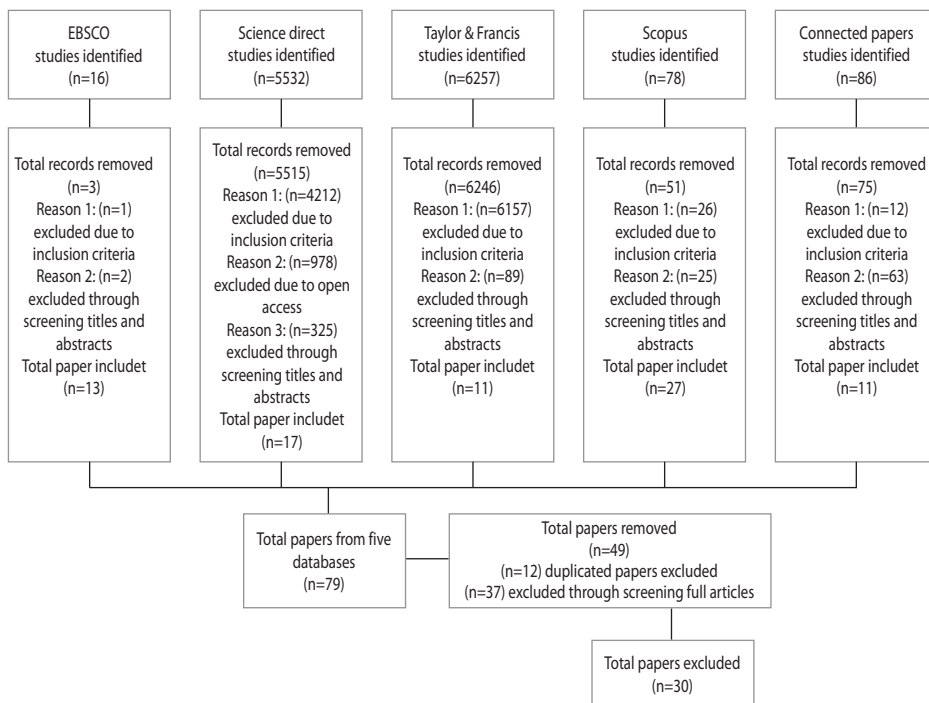


Figure 1. The study selection process

After completing the database search, we extracted and screened 79 articles (EBSCO = 11, Science Direct = 17, Taylor and Francis = 11, Scopus = 17, connected papers = 10) in an Excel spreadsheet to assess their relevance to the scope and research questions of the study. The study eliminated twelve papers due to duplication, and subsequently subjected 67 articles to a comprehensive screening process and further analysis. After excluding 37 articles deemed irrelevant to the research questions, a total of 30 articles were reviewed in this study.

### **Data analysis**

This study employed the qualitative content analysis to analyse the data and identify categorical clusters (Patton, 1990). The first author of our study meticulously read the articles several times to comprehend their content, highlighting paragraphs and sentences related to our questions. Subsequently, she used an Excel spreadsheet to manually categorise the articles during the initial coding phase (see appendix A).

She systematically organised the data extracted from the articles into columns, which included the title, the author(s), the year of publication, the objective, methodology, and the initial codes. Using inductive and deductive approaches, the themes and the codes were created by the first author based on research questions and a literature review that was done for this study (see appendix B). To classify the initial codes into themes and sub-themes along with the research questions, several meetings between the two authors were held. Following the organisation of the data into codes, the second author reviewed the results to ensure objectivity, and the two authors engaged in numerous discussions regarding their interpretations to mitigate bias and ensure “inter-subjectivity” (Seuring & Gold, 2012, p. 547). Two separate PhD candidates also reviewed the final results for external evaluation.

## Results

The findings were categorised into four sections based on the identified themes that emerged during the analysis procedure for answering the research questions: (a) profiles of the reviewed studies; (b) reasons for shifting to a bilingual society; (c) plans and policies for establishing bilingualism, and (d) potential issues due to bilingualism. In the following sections, each of these categories will be presented in detail.

### *Profiles of the reviewed studies*

The systematic review considered publication dates, data collection methods, study designs, and study scopes (see appendix C for more details). Figure 2 displays publications pertaining to Singapore and their respective publication years.



Figure 2. Publication years of the published studies

The figure indicates that a significant number ( $n = 4$ ) of 30 studies were published in 2014, whereas in other years, only one or two studies were published. The figure also indicates that there are some periods in which language planning and policy

in Singapore have not been subject to scholarly investigation for several years (n = 0). Figure 3 shows the designs of the 30 reviewed studies.

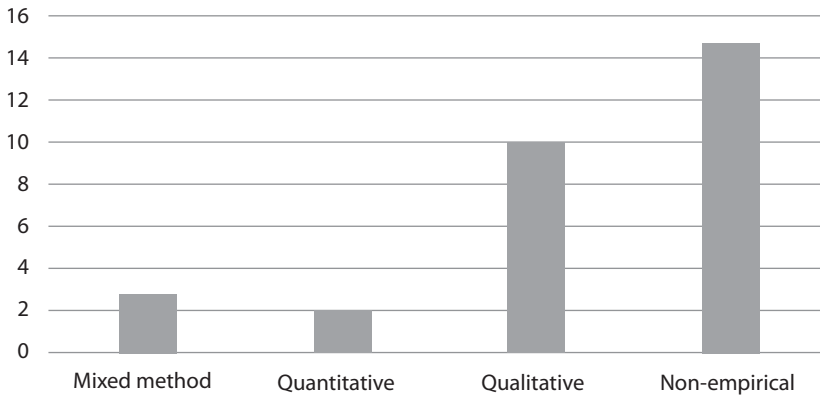


Figure 3. Studies design of the published studies

Figure 3 reveals that most of the reviewed papers comprised non-empirical investigations (n = 15), which primarily presented document-based data from literature reviews. A considerable number of studies (n = 10) used qualitative methods. On the other hand, a few studies (n = 3) used mixed methods, and only two studies (n = 2) used quantitative methods. Figure 4 further indicates that the focus of these studies was predominantly on Singapore’s language planning policies (n = 13, 43%), including English and MTLs, while a few studies focused on Singapore’s bilingual policy (n = 6, 20%) and language ideologies (n = 7, 23%). Two studies (7%) examined the use of English as a medium of instruction in universities and two other studies focused on Singapore’s education policy (7%).

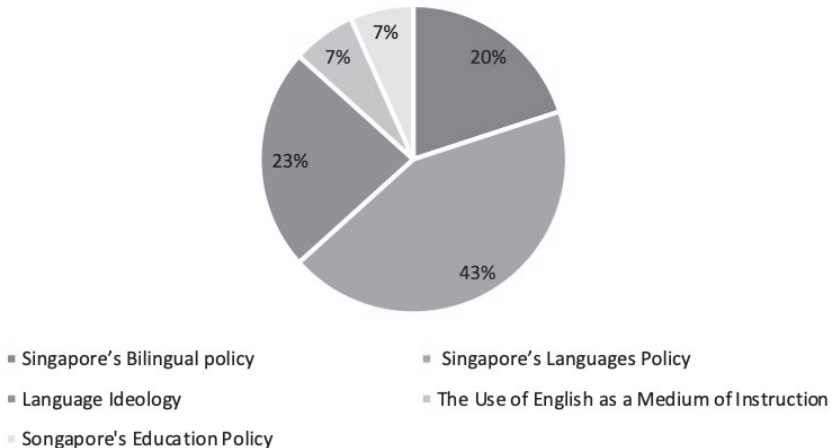


Figure 4. Scope of the published studies

## ***Thematic analysis of the reviewed studies for answering the research questions***

### ***Reasons for shifting to bilingual society***

The thematic analysis of the selected papers revealed three main themes in terms of the reasons for Singapore's adoption of bilingual language policies. These are: (i) creating equal educational opportunities, (ii) uniting Singaporeans, and (iii) cultural and economic integration. The references provided in these sections indicate the reviewed studies.

#### **Creating equal educational opportunities**

The promotion of equal educational opportunities and rights among all students through the use of English, thereby addressing disparities that may have existed between those receiving instruction in English and those receiving instruction in mother tongue languages (MTLs), was one of the reasons for Singapore's transition to bilingualism (Shouhui et al., 2007). Therefore, the expectation was that adopting a common language for education would reduce the gap in accessing equal opportunities among Singaporeans. This would later ensure equal employment prospects, preventing any particular group from dominating others in the economic sense (Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chew, 2013; Gopinathan, 2001).

#### **Uniting Singaporeans**

Another justification for the decision to switch to bilingualism was to unify Singaporeans (Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chua, 2011). Before 1966, Singaporeans spoke many languages at home. About 80% of Chinese speakers spoke Hokkien, Teochew, or Cantonese (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014). The prime minister decided to unite each group by adopting one official MTL. Chinese Singaporeans chose Mandarin as their second language (Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010). Similar considerations led to the selection of Malay for Malaysian Singaporeans and Tamil for Indian Singaporeans, officially recognising the multicultural nature of the society (Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010). According to the reviewed studies (Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2005; Patrick, 2011), English is considered racially neutral and does not discriminate against any of Singapore's primary ethnic groups (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001). It is selected as the lingua franca (Chua, 2011; Lim et al. 2021; Li et al., 2022; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022), which can aid in cross-cultural communication, unite Singaporeans, facilitate intercultural interaction, foster social cohesion among Singaporeans, and provide equitable educational and professional opportunities for all members of Singaporean society (Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Shouhui et al., 2007).

#### **Cultural and economic integration**

Scholars argue that learning English, Mandarin, and other official languages could help Singaporeans build connections with English-speaking countries like America

and Europe, as well as other Asian nations (Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). The Singapore government believes that widespread use of the English language facilitates the country's integration with the global community, enhances its competitiveness in international markets (Chua, 2011) and furnishes its citizens with the necessary linguistic skills (Patrick, 2011) to thrive in their contemporary technological surroundings and become involved in the worldwide economy (Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). This is due to the fact that English is the lingua franca of international business, science, and technology (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Li et al., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022). While acknowledging the importance of English language proficiency in facilitating global trade (Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001), investment (Chua, 2011), and advancements in science and technology (Chua, 2010; Low & Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005), Singapore's government mandated that ethnic mother tongues be maintained for Singaporeans to ensure that they do not lose their Asian identities and that they remain tightly rooted in their ethnic groupings (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Gopinathan, 2001; Lim et al., 2021; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014). Furthermore, the government of Singapore was concerned about the potential adverse effects of Western influences on its citizens; therefore, they decided to use their MTLs to teach Singaporeans, particularly the younger generation, their customs, values, folktales, and proverbs in native Asian languages (Dixon, 2003; Patrick, 2011; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). The former Minister of Education, Lee (1983, p. 43), explained the reasons for being bilingual as follows: Each child should learn English and the mother tongue [...] Children must learn English so that they will have a window to the knowledge, technology, and expertise of the modern world. They must know their mother tongue to enable them to understand what makes us what we are today.

### **Singapore's strategies and policies for establishing bilingualism**

Singapore implemented two primary policies to foster bilingualism. These policies include (i) language planning and policy pertaining to the English language, and (ii) MTL planning and policy.

#### ***Language planning and policy regarding the English language***

The analysis of the reviewed articles showed that many policies have been implemented by the Singapore government to use English as a first language in Singapore. These policies were specifically intended for spreading English language, policies for teachers, and implementing English as a first language. The government has created a holistic approach to guarantee that students in Singapore have enough chances to learn English both inside and outside the classroom. The national curriculum, including all syllabi, resources, teaching activities, lectures, seminars,

and laboratory sessions (with the exception of MTLs), is taught in English as part of Singapore's comprehensive approach to incorporating English into education in order to move from being an EFL context to a context where English is spoken as a first language (Bolton et al., 2017; Chua, 2010). Reviewed studies (Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Patrick, 2011; Silver, 2005; Shouhui et al., 2007; Tan, 2014) also indicated how the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in Singapore was based on a gradual process that spanned over six decades, commencing in the 1960s and continuing through to the 2010s. The implementation of numerous policies and plans facilitated this transition.

In the 1960s, particularly in the period up to 1965, it was common for Singaporeans to have a high degree of multilingualism, extending beyond the four official languages of Singapore (Chew, 2013; Dixon, 2005). Children were often raised in a diverse linguistic environment and received comparatively less instruction in the English language during their schooling (Chew, 2013). In 1965, the Singapore government designated English as the official language. However, the students' proficiency level was not satisfactory to implement English as EMI (Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014). Consequently, in 1966, the government required all schools to teach science and mathematics in English (Dixon, 2003). This policy was implemented in the first grade. Nonetheless, it did not enhance students' proficiency in English, Mathematics, or Science, as their academic performance declined (Dixon, 2003). In the 1970s, the Committee of Experts on the Development of Curriculum and Institutions in Singapore was formed. This committee worked on enhancing English language education in Singapore between 1971 and 1981 (Chua, 2011). In the late 1970s, a policy was implemented in Singapore whereby public schools were required to conduct their instruction solely in the English language (Botha et al., 2023). This policy was taken to enhance Singapore's competitiveness in the worldwide knowledge-based economy and attract innovative engineering and scientific businesses to Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Patrick, 2011; Wee, 2014). However, certain educational institutions continued to provide instruction in native languages. In 1975, the reduction in enrolment in the first grade of primary school in which instruction was implemented in Tamil was attributed to a decline in student enrolment in the schools where EMI was not implemented (Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Low & Pakir, 2018; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014). Nonetheless, schools that used Malay and Mandarin as the medium of instruction remained the same. Despite implementing various policies to enhance students' English proficiency, research indicated that a substantial number of primary sixth-grade students who were taught in EMI schools failed to attain the minimum literacy standards in English (Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001). By 1983, it was observed that parents deliberately stopped enrolling their children in Malay-medium primary schools in 1983, and enrolment in Chinese-medium schools

decreased to less than 1% of the overall number of students entering primary school (Dixon, 2005). The government did not mandate the closure of these institutions, but Malay and Tamil language schools at all levels have been closing down in recent years due to a decline in student enrolment (Dixon, 2005). This was a turning point in educational policy. In 1983, the government mandated that all subjects be taught in English, and by 1985, all schools in Singapore were using EMI (Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Shouhui et al., 2007). In 1987, enrolment in the first grade of primary school was restricted to EMI schools. In this new system, MTLs were taught as a compulsory subject and were used as a second language, and Chinese, Malay, and Tamil language schools were shut down. It is interesting to see that this was not a top-down policy but rather a result of the preferences of parents in enrolling their children primarily in EMI schools. In the 1990s, the English language curriculum shifted its focus to communication skills (Chua, 2010). According to Chua (2010) and Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2016), this resulted in an enhancement in the English language proficiency of the students. In 1996, a significant majority of primary school students (approximately 96%) successfully achieved the PSLE, allowing them to pursue their education at secondary schools (Dixon, 2005). This assessment aimed to evaluate students' proficiency in fundamental skills in Mathematics, their mother tongue, and the English language. In the event that a student did not pass the exam, they would be allowed to retake it. However, if the student could not pass the exam after the second attempt, it would be mandatory for them to drop out of school and pursue vocational training (Dixon, 2005). Hence, the Singapore government aimed to ensure that all secondary school students were highly proficient in the English language in their pursuit of education. This rate of success observed in 1996 was deemed significant compared to the lower levels of success observed in earlier years (Dixon, 2005).

In the new millennium, the Singapore government used the prestige approach to language planning and policy (Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022) to encourage the employment and utilisation of Standard English among all Singaporeans. This was due to the evolution and popularisation of Singaporean English in the 2000s, commonly called Singlish (a combination of English and other languages) (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Li et al., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Singlish was rejected by the government due to arguments that adopting a local variety would reduce and detriment the acquisition of Standard British English, which was perceived as a more prestigious variety (Chua, 2010; Li et al., 2022; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Consequently, the Singapore-Cambridge General Certificate of Education Examinations (GCE "O" and "A" level exams) were employed after the completion of secondary school and junior colleges to guarantee adherence to a standardised English language curriculum in educational institutions (Chua, 2010). Furthermore, a new English language curriculum was launched in 2001 to develop self-directed, lifelong learners who could think critically, solve problems

effectively, and communicate effectively in English (Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2005). This curriculum was revised in 2010 and, in 2013, a test of English that combined oral and written components was developed and administered by the Ministry of Education (MOE) (Low, 2013). In 2014, at home, English replaced all other languages. During this time, the prevalence of English as the primary language spoken in households increased to 36.9% in 2015 (Low & Pakir, 2018). This is a huge increase from only 1.8% in 1957 (Botha et al., 2023; Low & Pakir, 2018). Consequently, it was found in 2018 that those living in Singapore who were 40 years old or younger were likely to be fluent bilinguals in English and their MTLs (Low & Pakir, 2018). English is also considered the primary language spoken at home by a growing number of people. It is the language of law, government, business, and education in Singapore, and is often credited with helping the country become economically prosperous and internationally competitive (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022).

In addition to the changes in the curriculum and medium of instruction, the Singapore government implemented policies for English teachers to guarantee that EMI was being used effectively in the classroom. Specific EMI training, incentives, and stringent educational requirements were provided for all teachers over the years (Low, 2013). Pre-service teacher preparation programmes often require applicants to have a high level of English proficiency. Therefore, the English Language Entrance Proficiency Test (EL EPT) is a prerequisite for teachers entering the field of education (Low, 2013). Candidates who do not get the required grade for admission into pre-service programmes may retake the EL EPT as many times as necessary to do so (Low, 2013). The National Institute of Education provides continuous training for teachers to ensure they are adequately prepared to use EMI (Chua, 2011). After graduation, teachers have access to a plethora of resources written in English from around the world, allowing them to learn from exceptional practices worldwide. Awards and scholarship opportunities are available to teachers who demonstrate their expertise by motivating their students to develop a deep appreciation for the English language, using innovative methods to keep their attention, and help them become better readers, writers, and speakers (Low, 2013). After receiving a prestigious scholarship from the Ministry of Education (MOE), outstanding English language teachers in Singapore travel abroad to study, conduct research, teach, and observe English language classes (Low, 2013). Upon their return, they organise and participate in workshops for educators and school leaders at a national level, sharing their novel approaches to teaching English with their peers from schools across Singapore (Low, 2013), which ensures that their EMI practices are always innovative and up-to-date.

### ***MTL planning and policy***

While promoting English as the primary language of communication in business and medium of instruction in education, the Singapore government has

implemented many policies and plans to maintain its multiple mother tongues. These policies include compulsory MTL courses in schools, integrating the MTLs in their exams, updating the MTL curricula, and opening Special Assistance Plan (SAP) schools. In the current system, MTLs are taught as subject matter to ensure students are not losing their Asian identity (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Lim et al., 2021; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Since there are three ethnic groups in Singapore, the school determines the child's mother tongue based on the ethnicity of the child's father and offers the compulsory course accordingly. These mandatory courses have helped Singaporeans become exposed to their MTLs and learn some of their traditions and values by using their MTLs in the school context (Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Lim et al., 2021; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). MOE recently expanded enrolment in Mandarin Chinese and Malay as elective courses for students who are not learning either language as their mother tongue (Botha et al., 2023; Dixon, 2005; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish & Roslan, 2011; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014), hence promoting multilingualism within the community. MTLs are also integrated into Singaporean students' exams after finishing primary and secondary school and junior college. At the PSLE level, for instance, the MTL grade accounts for 25% of the overall aggregate results in English (Chua, 2010). A passing grade in MTL on the GCE 'O' level exam is required for admission to junior college, and a similar grade in MTL on the junior college level is required for admission to the local university (Chua, 2010). Students who excel in their MTL can take a second language course in either Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil. On the other hand, students who fail are asked to take more MTL courses (Low & Pakir, 2018). Such policies are aimed at making sure that a certain level of competence is maintained in languages among the younger generations (Low & Pakir, 2018), hence contributing to multilingualism and language maintenance.

As mentioned earlier, most MTL schools were closed in the 1970s due to low levels of enrolment. In an effort to keep teaching the MTLs, in 1979, the MOE implemented SAP schools and turned nine Chinese-medium secondary schools into bilingual schools where both English and Mandarin were taught (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009). Since Chinese Singaporeans comprise almost half the population, these policies targeted them specifically. However, this policy did not yield the intended results, and enrolment in MTLs continued to drop. In 1981, the MOE attempted to reverse this trend by offering incentives to recruit the best students for MTL schools (De Costa, 2010). From grade three onward, SAP school students could study Chinese as a second language and receive two points for their pre-university applications. The government preserved the Chinese school environment to teach traditional Chinese values and social discipline and recruited outstanding secondary students to SAP schools (Chua, 2010; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009). A redesigned secondary school posting system was introduced in 1983 to attract more top PSLE students to SAP schools. This system, where students are taught in English and Mandarin in

primary school while in secondary school they are taught solely in English, is still in place for Chinese-speaking students.

In their efforts to make sure that all MTLs are learned at a certain level of proficiency, the MOE in Singapore continuously updates the MTL curricula. In addition, they have established the MTL “B” syllabus for students who struggle with any MTL. It was created to help students who scored a C or lower on the PSLE MTL exam and those struggling with the course (Chua, 2010).

### **Challenges related to language policies in Singapore**

The reviewed papers reported several challenges encountered during the transition to bilingualism. These include native language incompetence, the creation of other English language varieties, and English as a threat to Singaporeans’ native languages.

Studies report a decline in MTL proficiency levels over time, particularly among the younger generation, despite the perceived success of bilingual policies (Bolton et al., 2017; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Li et al., 2022; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007). The language policy’s emphasis on English-dominant bilingualism, which treats MTLs as separate subjects (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014), is responsible for this inevitable decline. Therefore, Singaporean undergraduate students are more attached to English than their mother tongue (Low, 2013). Younger Chinese, for instance, exhibit reluctance to transition to Mandarin, citing their inclination towards English due to its widespread use in the workplace and schools; consequently, they find greater comfort in speaking English than Mandarin (Tan, 2014; Zhao, 2007). They have reported that they have lost the ability to use their ethnic or regional languages, even at home with their families (Chua, 2011). Due to the perceived social inequality between English and the MTLs, preschools offer limited opportunities for children to communicate in their mother tongues (Bolton et al., 2017; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Low, 2013; Low & Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014; Vaish, 2012; Zhao, 2007). According to Zhao (2007), there are significant differences in the amount and quality of language input and output between English and ethnic language learning environments in Singapore. The reviewed papers (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2005; Low & Pakir, 2018) indicate a recent decline in the use of Malay and Tamil languages, while English and Mandarin Chinese have experienced significant increases across all ethnicities. Some scholars attribute this shift to SAP’s policies aimed at preserving Mandarin. This created a concern, especially among ethnic Malay and Indian groups, since the increasing usage of the English language may hurt their native languages, potentially leading to their extinction (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014).

Another issue for language policy makers was to preserve the prestigious position of standard British English in the diverse context of modern Singapore, where the number of migrants, mixed marriages, international students, and guest workers

has been increasing. The reviewed studies illustrate how the existence of several languages and the study of mother tongues have already created Singlish (Singapore Colloquial English) (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). This variety is a combination of Tamil, Hokkien, and other Chinese languages, as well as English. The current generation of students speak more Singlish than standard English because they are more aware of and willing to accept this unique Singaporean English with which they resonate (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Therefore, its popularity is rising everywhere in Singapore. Studies have reported that several Singaporean teachers speak this variety of English with their students, which has been a concern for the Singapore government (Lim et al., 2021; Wee, 2014). In this regard, the government adheres to a standard language ideology, considering Singlish objectionable due to its incorporation of “broken” and ungrammatical English, along with words and phrases from local dialects and Malay (Chua, 2010; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Their concern is that using such a local variety may pose challenges for English speakers outside of Singapore when comprehending the language (Wee, 2014). Moreover, families believe that standard British English should be the only dialect of English spoken in Singapore; they do not even accept American English (Chua, 2010; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022).

## **Discussion and conclusion**

Although Singapore demonstrates considerable success in promoting bilingualism, its rules may be restrictive and may even hinder the development of multilingualism. The emphasis in this case is placed on English alongside a mother tongue, which would be chosen among Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil. This process alienates other languages such as Chinese, Indian, and Malay. Moreover, Singaporeans have several vernaculars beyond these languages. For instance, Indians in Singapore speak over five local languages, including Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Malayalam, Sinhala, Panjabi, and Tamil (Cavallaro & Serwe, 2010). Consequently, Tamil, designated by Singapore’s language policy as the mother tongue for all the Indian individuals, is not regarded as the mother tongue for all Indian Singaporeans. For some Indian Singaporeans, Hindi is considered a mother tongue (Cavallaro & Chin, 2020). As indicated by the results of our study, while a bilingual language policy appears to be supporting the home languages of various ethnic groups, studies such as the one conducted by Cavallaro and Ng (2014) point out that a reduction in Tamil and other languages which are not identified as mother tongue in the official policy, is unavoidable. In this particular case, English has replaced Tamil amongst the Indian community in Singapore (Cavallaro & Ng, 2014). Consequently, this may jeopardise their multiple identities. Likewise, Chinese and Malay Singaporeans speak more than five languages, extending beyond Mandarin or Malay (Cavallaro & Serwe, 2010). Young Chinese Singaporeans whose mother tongue is Teochewi, for example, identify

themselves as Chinese Singaporeans or Singaporeans, not as Teochew (Saravanan & Hoon, 1997). As such, the experiences of this subgroup indicates a possible loss of ethnic identification as Teochew, which can be considered a side effect of Singapore's implementation of bilingual education. In addition, concentrating solely on three mother tongues (Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil) could violate the principle of equality for individuals who do not speak these languages as their mother tongues.

Our research findings reveal that Singaporeans increasingly use English in their homes, with a considerable proportion of parents favouring proficiency in English for their children (Li et al., 2022). English is regarded as the primary language among Singaporeans, replacing their Asian languages. Despite Leong's (2014) study, which asserted that Chinese parents preferred conversing in Mandarin and wanted their children to use it, several other studies in the literature confirmed our findings. Cavallaro and Serwe (2010), Ng (2008), and Pillai (2009), are among those scholars who indicated that Chinese individuals preferred using the English language with their young children at home. As a result, the MTL schools faced decreased enrolment, leading to their closure. This may also lead to a decline in MTLs, especially among younger generations, as evidenced by the analysis of the reviewed studies (Bolton et al., 2017; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Li et al., 2022; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007). Although the Singapore government prides itself on bilingual policies, the increased emphasis on English at home and elsewhere is reducing the chances of bilingualism in general. Consequently, the Singapore government ought to enhance support and encouragement for the utilisation of MTLs by offering complimentary MTL courses to students on weekends. Additional mother tongue courses could be offered as elective options for students from primary education to university, enhancing the quality of all Singaporean communities and aiding in the recognition of their cultural identity. This could facilitate the equitable educational possibilities that Singapore sought by transitioning from multilingualism to bilingualism for all students without discrimination (Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Stroud & Wee, 2007; Tan, 2014).

Another significant feature in our findings is that the younger generation demonstrated more fluency in English and their MTLs (Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil) (Low & Pakir, 2018). Our observations showed that data about the proficiency and everyday language use of older generations is missing. If the younger generation is becoming less and less proficient in various mother tongues, what common language connects these generations, especially when the native languages of the elderly do not include Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil? Tan and Ng's (2010) study found that young Singaporeans struggled to communicate with their grandparents and expressed a desire to learn their grandparents' MTLs. Consequently, the Singapore government must broaden the availability of MTL courses rather than concentrate just on three options. The government might also train teachers in translanguaging pedagogy, as highlighted and recommended by many scholars (see Desmond, 2024; Kley, 2016; Snell, 2017), which would facilitate students' ability to alternate between various

mother tongue languages and English in the classroom, thus fostering inclusive education and encouraging self-expression in their various languages.

Our findings indicated the government's concerns with the proliferation of Singlish, which they perceive as inferior to standard English. They attempted to ban it among the students. Nonetheless, certain teachers use it with their students. As argued by Leimgruber (2014), Singlish may signify a new Singaporean identity marker. According to the findings of this study, university students see Singlish as an identity marker that distinguishes them as Singaporeans and fosters unity among all Singaporean ethnic groups. This is an important point for government policy to take into account, incorporate it into their cultural heritage and promote its use among students in informal settings or within their households. In this regard, training of teachers to assist students in discerning when to use it and when to use standard English will also be an important task.

The findings of this paper suggest the necessity for further research on various aspects of Singaporean language planning and policy, such as exploring the perceptions of teachers, students, and families towards these policies, as additional factors towards English and MTLs may be discovered through such investigations. Further evaluations of the existing publications, including academic theses, newspaper articles, and books, are recommended since this paper only focused on academic articles. Furthermore, it is crucial to investigate the development of Singlish in Singapore and thoroughly comprehend the rationale behind the government's concerns regarding this particular variant of English, especially in light of the recent developments in the field of foreign language teaching with regard to translanguaging being used as teaching methodology. Singapore also implements a policy of regularly updating its curriculum to meet the needs of its students, which is important in the strategic planning of languages. Their incentivisation of the best language teachers to encourage lifelong learning is an example of good practice in terms of investing in teachers to maintain and implement policies in the best way possible. Nevertheless, rapidly changing the curriculum may pose challenges for teachers and educators in adapting and fulfilling the evaluation requirements associated with these changes. Further research is required to understand instructors' opinions regarding this issue. Finally, other multicultural nations can derive advantages from Singapore's language planning and policy, as the Singapore government has demonstrated leadership and guidance in implementing EMI, despite it not being their native language.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A: The Initial Codes Phase

Initial Codes	Number of Articles	The articles
Ideologies	6	(Botha et al.,2023; Curdt Christiansen, 2016; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Tan, 2014)
Family Language	1	(Li et al., 2022)
English Planning	12	(Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bolton et al., 2017; Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Low & Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Shouhui et al., 2007; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012)
Multilingual Reasons	13	(Bokhorst-Heng, 2007; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2003; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Lim et al., 2021; Low & Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui et al., 2007; Wee, 2014)
English Dominant Reasons	17	(Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Li et al., 2022; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Vaish & Roslan, 2011; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005)
Mother Tongue Policy	12	(Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Low & Pakir, 2018).
Linguistic Issues	17	Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005) (Bolton et al., 2017; Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Li et al., 2022; Low & Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Silver, 2005; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007)
Most Language Spoken and Used	6	(Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Low & Pakir, 2018; Wee, 2014)
English Language Varieties	8	(Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Low & Pakir, 2018; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014)

Initial Codes	Number of Articles	The articles
Bilingual Language Planning	16	(Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Li et al., 2022; Lim et al., 2021; Low & Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui et al., 2007; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014)

## **Appendix B:** ***The Themes and the Codes of this study***

Themes & Codes	Number of Articles	The articles
<b>1. Reasons for shifting to bilingual society:</b>		
1.1 Creating equal educational opportunities	4	(Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chew, 2013; Gopinathan, 2001; Shouhui et al., 2007)
1.2 Uniting Singaporeans	16	(Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Botha et al., 2023; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li et al., 2022; Lim et al. 2021; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui et al., 2007)
1.3 Cultural and economic integration	15	(Bokhorst/Heng et al., 2007; Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2011; Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li et al., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Lim et al., 2021; Low & Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014).
<b>2. Singapore's strategies and policies for establishing bilingualism:</b>		
2.1 Language planning and policy regarding the English language	23	(Albright & Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bokhorst-Heng et al., 2007; Bolton et al., 2017; Botha et al., 2023; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li et al., 2022; Low & Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui et al., 2007; Silver, 2005; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014).

Themes & Codes	Number of Articles	The articles
2.2 MTL planning and policy	15	(Botha et al., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Lim et al., 2021; Low & Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish & Roslan, 2011; Vaish, 2012; Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014),
<b>3. Challenges related to language policies in Singapore</b>	17	(Bolton et al., 2017; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Dixon, 2005; Li et al., 2022; Lim et al., 2021; Wee, 2014; Low & Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007),

### Appendix C: Profile of the Reviewed Studies

Authors' names	Publication Dates	Titles	Scope of the Studies	Data Collection Tools	Research Designs
Gopinathan	2001	Globalisation, the state and education policy in Singapore.	how the education policy and globalisation frame developed Singapore	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Dixon	2003	The Bilingual Education Policy in Singapore: Implications for Second Language Acquisition.	Singapore's bilingual policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Wee & Bokhorst-Heng	2005	Language policy and nationalist ideology: Statal narratives in Singapore	Challenges of Singapore's language policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Dixon	2005	Bilingual education policy in Singapore: An analysis of its sociohistorical roots and current academic outcomes	Singapore's bilingual policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Silver	2005	The discourse of linguistic capital: Language and economic policy planning in Singapore	English language policy and economic policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay & Rubdy	2007	English language ownership among Singaporean Malays: Going beyond the NS/NNS dichotomy	Language ideology (how Malays perceives and use English in their community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪Acceptability Judgement Task</li> <li>▪Discussion recordings</li> </ul>	Qualitative Research

Shouhui, Yongbing & Huaqing	2007	Singaporean preschoolers' oral competence in Mandarin.	Singapore's language planning and its respond to Mandarin as dominant spoken language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Surveys for parents</li> <li>▪ Interviews with the kids</li> <li>▪ Classroom observations</li> </ul>	Mixed Method Research
Zhao	2007	Home language shift and its implications for language planning in Singapore: From the perspective of prestige planning	Language planning policy (the shift from Chinese to English)	Questionnaire	Quantitative Research
Albright & Kramer-Dahl	2009	The legacy of instrumentality in policy and pedagogy in the teaching of English: the case of Singapore	English language policy and how the teachers align with them	<p>Come from large project data including classroom observations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ semi-structured interviews</li> <li>▪ self-reflection questionnaires</li> <li>▪ action research</li> </ul>	Qualitative Research
Hornberger & Vaish	2009	Multilingual language policy and school linguistic practice: globalization and English-language teaching in India, Singapore and South	language policy (specifically discussed the Multilingual language policy and the use of English as a medium of instruction in three countries	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Chua	2010	Singapore's language policy and its globalised concept of Bi (tri) lingualism.	Singapore's language policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
De Costa	2010	Language ideologies and standard English language policy in Singapore: Responses of a 'designer immigrant' student.	Language ideologies and English language policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Video and audio-taped of classroom and interview talks</li> <li>▪ Field notes</li> </ul>	Qualitative Research
Chua	2011	Singapore's E(Si)nglish-knowing bilingualism	Singapore's bilingual policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Patrick	2011	Language planning in action: Singapore's multilingual and bilingual policy	Language planning policy	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Vaish & Roslan	2011	Crossing'in Singapore.	Language ideology (particularly how Singaporean pre-teens use , Chinese, Malay and English to perform their identity.	Audio-recorded home visits	Qualitative Research

Authors' names	Publication Dates	Titles	Scope of the Studies	Data Collection Tools	Research Designs
Vaish	2012	Teacher beliefs regarding bilingualism in an English medium reading program.	Singapore's bilingual policy & educational beliefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Survey</li> <li>▪ Observation</li> <li>▪ Audio-recorded interviews</li> </ul>	Mixed Method Research
Chew	2013	The use of Singlish in the teaching of Islam.	Language ideology (the use of different varieties of English)	Part of a wider three-year ethnographic, discourse-analytic research project	Qualitative Research
Low	2013	Singapore's English language policy and language teacher education: A foundation for its educational success	English language policy and teacher education	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Cavallaro & Ng	2014	Language in Singapore: From multilingualism to English plus.	Singapore's language policy (shifting from multilingualism to bilingualism)	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Curd-Christianesen	2014	Planning for development or decline? Education policy for Chinese language in Singapore	education policy in Singapore (discussed Chinese education policy in singapore and some Political discourse, language ideologies	Critical discourse analysis of the various media sources, TV advertisements, campaign slogans, official speeches, and newspaper excerpts	Qualitative Research
Tan	2014	English as a 'mother tongue' in Singapore	Language ideology specifically if the English language can be considered as mother tongue	open-ended questionnaire	Qualitative Research
Wee	2014	Language politics and global city.	Singapore's language policy (suggest re-evaluate the language policy to have globalised Singapore)	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Curd-Christianesen	2016	Conflicting language ideologies and contradictory language practices in Singaporean multilingual families	the conflict between language ideologies and language for multilingual families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Interviews with parents</li> <li>▪ Observation</li> </ul>	Qualitative Research
Curd-Christianesen & Sun	2016	Nurturing bilingual learners: Challenges and concerns in Singapore	Singapore's bilingual policy & challenges that face them	Document-based data	Documentary Research

Authors' names	Publication Dates	Titles	Scope of the Studies	Data Collection Tools	Research Designs
Bolton, Botha & Bacon-Shone,	2017	English-medium instruction in Singapore higher education: Policy, realities and challenges	The use of English as a medium of instruction	Questionnaire	Quantitative Research
Low & Pakir	2018	English in Singapore: Striking a new balance for future-readiness.	English language strategy, policy and management	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Lim, Chen & Hiramoto	2021	"You don't ask me to speak Mandarin, okay?": Ideologies of language and race among Chinese Singaporeans.	Language ideologies among Chinese Singaporeans	Document-based data	Documentary Research
Li, Wu, Liang & Jing	2022	Predicting Chinese and English interrogative development in a multilingual context: A corpus-based study of Singapore	Singapore's bilingual policy and its influences on the developments of English and Chinese languages interrogatives in Singapore	Videotaped conversations	Qualitative Research
thi Nguyen & Nguyen	2022	Talking language ideologies into being in parent-child conversations in Singapore.	Language ideologies	Audio-recorded conversations between two children and their parents	Qualitative Research
Botha, Bolton & Bacon-Shone	2023	EMI (English-medium instruction) in Singapore's major universities.	The use of English as a medium of instruction	Questionnaire with sub-open-ended questions	Mixed Method Research

# Promjena jezičnih politika iz višejezičnosti u dvojezičnost u Singapuru: pregled literature

## Sažetak

*Singapur je stekao reputaciju jednoga od najuspješnijih obrazovnih sustava na svijetu, što potvrđuju i najnoviji rezultati Programa za međunarodnu procjenu učenika (PISA). U ovoj priči o uspjehu, prijelaz iz višejezičnosti u dvojezičnost bio je jedna od najvažnijih promjena u njihovom obrazovnom sustavu tijekom godina. Stoga je cilj ovoga preglednog rada ispitati kako su Singapurci, čije znanje engleskoga jezika do prije nekoliko godina nije bilo na visokoj razini, uspjeli uspostaviti engleski kao glavni jezik poučavanja (EMI) u obrazovnom sustavu te istražiti obrazovne i sociolingvističke izazove povezane s ovom promjenom, o čemu su izvijestile prethodne studije. Rad se temelji na metodologiji scoping pregleda i donosi sintezu 30 pomno odabranih istraživačkih članaka iz različitih baza podataka, uključujući EBSCOhost, Scopus i Science Direct, koji pokrivaju posljednje 22 godine, kako bi se razumjela složenost i implikacije promjena jezičnih politika općenito, a posebno u obrazovanju. Rezultati analize pokazuju da je, osobito usvajanjem EMI modela te strateški planiranim jezičnim ispitima, singapurska vlada uspješno ostvarila svoj cilj postati gospodarsko središte kroz dvojezičnost, dok je istovremeno održala snažne veze sa svojom kulturnom baštinom. Ipak, neke od ovih proengleskih dvojezičnih politika potrebno je razmotriti u kontekstu višejezične svakodnevice u zemlji.*

**Ključne riječi:** dvojezičnost; engleski kao jezik poučavanja; jezična politika; Singapur; višejezičnost

## Uvod

Moderna tehnologija dovela je do povezanijega, globaliziranoga svijeta. Kao rezultat globalizacije, povećana je potražnja za usvajanjem jezika – bilo u svrhu komunikacije, obrazovanja, trgovine, politike i dr. Posljedično, suvremena društva široko prepoznaju važnost „dvojezičnosti” i „višejezičnosti” (Kroll i Dussias, 2017). Definicije ovih pojmova mogu biti teško odredive zbog različitih stavova i argumenata koje iznose mnogi lingvisti i istraživači u ovom području. Dvojezičnost i višejezičnost često predstavljaju sposobnost govorenja dvaju ili više jezika. Međutim,

kako ističe Grosjean (2010), poznati stručnjak za dvojezično obrazovanje, ovi pojmovi ne odnose se isključivo na znanje jezika, već i na njegovu svakodnevnu upotrebu. On također tvrdi da dvojezičnost označava one koji koriste se dvma ili više jezicima (ili dijalekatima) u svojem svakodnevnom životu (Grosjean, 2010, str. 4). Prema njemu, dvojezičnost podrazumijeva uporabu dvaju jezika ili dijalekata, dok višejezičnost označava uporabu više od dva jezika ili dijalekata u svakodnevnim interakcijama. Baker (2011) dodatno razrađuje Grosjeanov (2010) koncept, naglašavajući korištenje jezika u različitim okružjima i društvenim interakcijama u kontekstu dvojezičnosti i višejezičnosti.

Singapur je izvrstan primjer integracije dvojezičnosti i višejezičnosti u okvir svoje obrazovne politike. Singapur je malo otočno područje od samo 633 četvorna kilometra u jugoistočnoj Aziji, smješteno na južnom vrhu Malajskog poluotoka (Chua, 2010). Osnovan kao britanska kolonija 1820-ih, Singapur je stekao neovisnost 1965. godine (Turnbull, 2009). Lee Kuan Yew bio je premijer zemlje više od 31 godinu (Chua, 2010). Singapur je jedna od najjačih ekonomija jugoistočne Azije od svojega osnutka prije 50 godina te se smatra multietničkom i kozmopolitskom zajednicom (Turnbull, 2009) čije gospodarstvo ovisi o multinacionalnim korporacijama (Peebles i Wilson, 2002). Znanstvenici tvrde da je specifična kombinacija ekonomskih, geografskih, povijesnih i političkih čimbenika oblikovala brzi razvoj Singapura (Botha., 2023).

Godine 2010. *Sunday Times* proglasio je Singapur najpoželjnijom destinacijom za imigraciju zbog vladinih politika i postupaka usmjerenih na povećanje lokalne populacije. Stanovništvo Singapura doseglo je oko 5,637 milijuna u 2022. godini, što predstavlja značajan porast u odnosu na 2,5 milijuna zabilježenih 1980. godine (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2022). Trenutačna populacija Singapura uključuje oko 3,5537 milijuna singapurskih državljana, od kojih je 519 500 stalnih stanovnika, dok je 1,5638 milijuna stranih državljana koji rade ili studiraju u zemlji (Department of Statistics, Singapore, 2022). Singapur ima tri glavne etničke skupine: Kineze, Malajce i Indijce. Prema popisu stanovništva iz 2022. godine, dominantne etničke skupine u Singapuru su Kinezi (74 %), Malajci (14 %), Indijci (9 %) te ostali (3 %).

Od sredine 1980-ih, Singapur je usvojio engleski kao jedini službeni jezik za komunikaciju i primarni jezik poučavanja u školama (Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bolton i sur., 2017; Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011). Trenutačno gotovo 48 % Singapuraca koristi engleski čak i u svojim domovima (Singapore Statistics, 2020). Odluka o uvođenju engleskoga prvenstveno je bila ekonomske prirode, temeljeći se na pretpostavci da je znanje engleskoga ključno kako bi Singapur ostvario pristup stranim ulaganjima i trgovini, kao i zapadnim tehnološkim i znanstvenim dostignućima (Dixon, 2009).

Iako je engleski danas najčešće korišten jezik u Singapuru i primarni način komunikacije, on se ne smatra materinskim jezikom zemlje (npr. Stroud i Wee, 2007; Tan, 2014; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Smatranje engleskoga materinskim jezikom sugeriralo bi da možda nije potrebno koristiti mandarinski, malajski ili tamilski (Tan,

2014). Kao rezultat toga, ljudi u svojim domovima govore različite materinske jezike kako bi očuvali svoju azijsku kulturnu baštinu. Stoga je singapurska vlada službeno odredila tri jezika za glavne etničke skupine: malajski za Malajce, mandarinski za singapurske Kineze i tamilski za singapurske Indijce. Vlada svakom članu društva dodjeljuje „materinski jezik” koji djeca često uče kao drugi jezik u školi, ovisno o njihovom etničkom podrijetlu (Botha i sur., 2023; Jain i Wee, 2019; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014).

Singapur predstavlja fascinantan primjer kako je država koja ne govori engleski usvojila i implementirala dvojezične i višejezične politike te postala jedna od najuspješnijih država u svijetu. Cilj ovoga rada je istražiti dizajn i provedbu jezičnih politika u singapurskom obrazovnom sustavu tijekom posljednje 22 godine, koje su pomogle Singapuru ostvariti ekonomske, akademske i društvene ciljeve.

### **Singapurski obrazovni sustav**

Sva djeca u Singapuru, bez obzira na svoj sociokulturni kontekst, imaju jednake obrazovne mogućnosti (Goodwin i Low, 2017). Ujedinjeni nacionalni obrazovni sustav osigurava jednake prilike za učenje i omogućuje učenicima da postignu svoj puni potencijal (Shouhui i sur., 2007). Sva djeca u Singapuru imaju pristup javnom školskom sustavu, a kurikulum daje prednost jezičnom obrazovanju kako bi učenici stekli potrebne jezične vještine za doprinos singapurskom gospodarskom razvoju (Hornberger i Vaish, 2009). Još važnije, sustav nastoji osigurati učenicima jezične vještine potrebne za potporu gospodarstvu zemlje (Hornberger i Vaish, 2009).

Prema Hornbergeru i Vaishu (2009) te Turnbullu (2009), obrazovni sustav u Singapuru započinje s tri godine predškolskoga obrazovanja za djecu mlađu od šest godina, bilo u javnim ili privatnim dječjim vrtićima. Nakon toga slijedi šest godina osnovne škole i četiri do pet godina srednje škole. Potom su dostupne dvije do tri godine u junior-koledžu ili tri godine na politehničkom obrazovnom institutu. Na kraju, visokoškolske ustanove nude studijske programe u trajanju od tri do četiri godine (Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Turnbull, 2009).

Cilj je osnovnih škola poboljšati učenikove usmene i pismene vještine engleskoga jezika. Stoga se u osnovnim školama učenici bave kreativnim aktivnostima koje uključuju različite oblike korištenja engleskoga jezika kako bi razvili ključne vještine potrebne za uspješno izražavanje svojih mišljenja, potreba i emocija na engleskom jeziku (Chua, 2010). Srednje škole, pak, nastoje poboljšati jezičnu vještinu učenika te poticati njihovu kreativnost i kritičko razmišljanje primjenjujući razne aktivnosti poput vođenja vijesti, slušanja *podcasta*, pisanja blogova, igranja uloga i inovativnih dramskih aktivnosti (Chua, 2010).

Singapurski učenici moraju polagati različite nacionalne jezične ispite tijekom svojega obrazovanja. Učenici na kraju šestoga razreda osnovne škole polažu *Primary School Leaving Examination* (PSLE) kako bi nastavili srednjoškolsko obrazovanje (Turnbull, 2009). Drugi ispit, poznat kao *General Cambridge Examination* (GCE)

'O' Level, obvezan je za učenike koji završavaju srednju školu i žele upisati junior-koledž te osigurava poznavanje standardnoga britanskog engleskog na osnovnoj razini (Turnbull, 2009). Nakon junior-koledža, učenici moraju položiti završni nacionalni ispit, *GCE 'A' Level*, kako bi se upisali na lokalna sveučilišta. Ovaj ispit jamči naprednu razinu engleskoga jezika, omogućujući im studiranje na engleskom jeziku (Turnbull, 2009).

Singapurska vlada uložila je značajna sredstva u obrazovanje tijekom posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, čime je ono postalo jedan od njezinih najvažnijih prioriteta (Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bolton i sur., 2017). Vladino financiranje obrazovnih ustanova, infrastrukture i znanstvenih istraživanja omogućilo je Singapuru povećanje broja visokoškolskih institucija s dvije na šest (Bolton i sur., 2017). Stoga 57,3 % Singapuraca posjeduje kvalifikacije za visoko obrazovanje, a postotak diplomanata porastao je s 22,5 % u 2009. na 32,4 % u 2019. godini (Botha i sur., 2023; Singapore Statistics, 2020).

Posljednjih godina međunarodne ljestvice ocijenile su singapurske učenike najboljima u znanstvenim predmetima za četvrti razred i drugima u matematici za peti razred, zahvaljujući njihovoj visokoj jezičnoj kompetenciji (Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2005). Nedavne PISA evaluacije rangirale su 15-godišnje singapurske učenike na prvo mjesto prema njihovoj sposobnosti korištenja znanja i vještina iz čitanja, matematike i znanosti za rješavanje stvarnih problema (OECD, 2023), što ukazuje da njihove obrazovne politike ostvaruju očekivane rezultate prema standardima Organizacije za ekonomsku suradnju i razvoj (OECD).

## **Ciljevi istraživanja**

Cilj je ovoga rada pružiti sveobuhvatnu i znanstveno utemeljenu sintezu različitih prethodnih akademskih istraživanja o planovima i politikama Singapura za prijelaz s višejezičnosti na dvojezičnost u obrazovanju. Singapur se smatra predvodnikom u primjeni engleskoga jezika kao medija poučavanja (EMI) na svim obrazovnim razinama, uključujući fakultete i sveučilišta (Bolton i sur., 2017). Ovim radom želi se pridonijeti području jezičnoga planiranja i politike općenito, a posebno jezičnoga obrazovanja, analizirajući kako se razvijala dvojezičnost u Singapuru. Kako bi se ostvario ovaj cilj, postavljena su sljedeća istraživačka pitanja:

- (1) Koji su razlozi prijelaza Singapura iz višejezičnoga društva u dvojezično?
- (2) Koje su strategije i politike singapurske vlade za promicanje dvojezičnosti, posebno u obrazovanju?
- (3) Koji problemi nastaju kao rezultat prijelaza na dvojezični model?

## **Metodologija**

U ovoj studiji koristi se polusustavni pristup za sintezu literature odabirom različitih istraživačkih članaka kao uzorka. Snyder (2019) ističe da polusustavni pregled može uključivati različite vrste istraživačkih članaka i obuhvatiti i kvalitativne

i kvantitativne analize, za razliku od strogo kvantitativnoga fokusa sustavnoga pregleda. Proces odabira slijedio je sustavni pristup pretraživanju publikacija relevantnih za našu temu, uz korištenje određenih baza podataka. Budući da Snyder (2019) navodi da strategija pretraživanja u polusustavnom pristupu „može, ali ne mora biti sustavna” (str. 334), pristup pretraživanju bio je fleksibilan. Početno pretraživanje prethodnih istraživanja obuhvatilo je sve razine obrazovanja i različite istraživačke dizajne jer opseg studije nije ograničen na određenu obrazovnu razinu. Kako bi se osigurala sveobuhvatna pokrivenost literature, osmišljeni su kriteriji uključivanja, prikazani u Tablici 1. Ti su kriteriji korišteni za odabir znanstvenih članaka na engleskom jeziku koji se fokusiraju na Singapur, a objavljeni su između 2001. i 2023. godine. Pregledani radovi također su bili ograničeni na područja društvenih znanosti, umjetnosti i humanističkih znanosti.

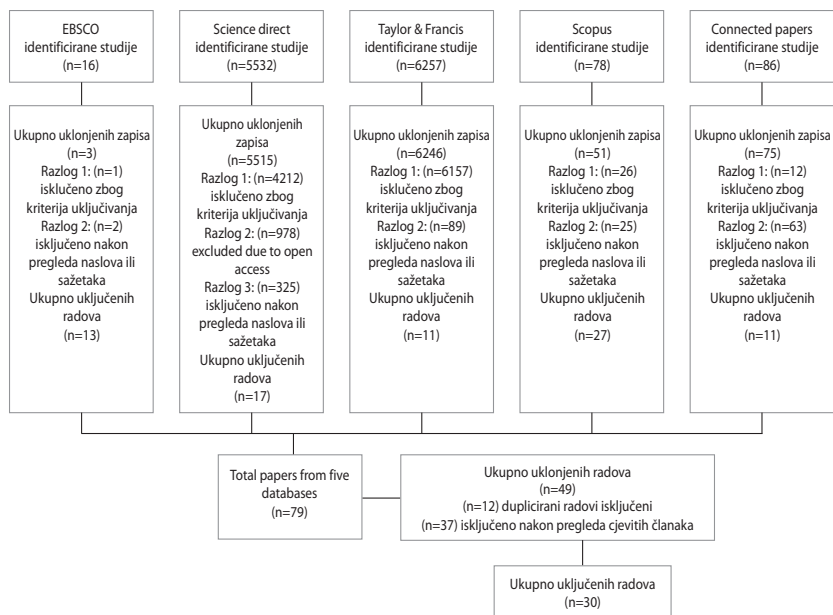
Tablica 1  
Kriteriji uključivanja

Opseg	Planiranje jezika i jezična politika u Singapuru / EMI
Godina	2001. – 2023.
Područje istraživanja	Društvene znanosti / umjetnost i humanističke znanosti
Vrsta dokumenta	Članci
Država	Singapur
Izvor	Znanstveni časopisi
Jezik	Engleski

### **Prikupljanje i odabir podataka**

Na temelju navedenih kriterija, pretražili smo istraživačke i političke radove koristeći šest poznatih baza podataka, uključujući *EBSCO*, *Taylor & Francis Online*, *Connected Papers*, *Scopus* i *Science Direct*. Početnu pretragu članaka proveli smo pomoću knjižnice *EBSCO host*, poznate po svojoj opsežnoj zbirci od preko 64 000 časopisa, 6 milijuna knjiga i 400 000 konferencijskih radova (Pedaste i sur., 2015). Iznenađujuće, pronašli smo samo 16 radova u bazi *EBSCO* koristeći ključne riječi (*engleski jezik i politika u Singapuru* ili *jezik poučavanja u Singapuru*). Nakon pregleda rezultata prema kriterijima uključivanja, odabrali smo 13 radova iz *EBSCO* za uključivanje u ovu studiju. Izdvojili smo tih trinaest članaka iz ove baze podataka u *Microsoft Excel* tablicu za daljnju analizu. Slika 1 ilustrira primjenu istoga postupka na preostalim pet baza podataka.

Nakon završetka pretraživanja baza podataka, izdvojili smo i pregledali 79 članaka (*EBSCO* = 11, *Science Direct* = 17, *Taylor & Francis* = 11, *Scopus* = 17, *Connected Papers* = 10) u *Excel* tablici kako bismo procijenili njihovu relevantnost za područje istraživanja i istraživačka pitanja. Tijekom pregleda, iz studije smo uklonili dvanaest članaka zbog dupliciranja te smo potom podvrgli detaljnoj analizi preostalim 67 radova. Nakon isključivanja 37 članaka koji nisu bili relevantni za istraživačka pitanja, u konačnoj analizi pregledano je ukupno 30 studija.



Slika 1. Proces odabira studija

## Analiza podataka

U ovoj studiji koristi se kvalitativnu analiza sadržaja kako bi se analizirali podatci i identificirale kategorijski klasteri (Patton, 1990). Prva autorica studije temeljito je pročitala članke više puta kako bi razumjela njihov sadržaj, ističući pritom paragrafe i rečenice relevantne za istraživačka pitanja. Nakon toga, koristila je *Excel* tablicu za ručnu kategorizaciju članaka tijekom početne faze kodiranja (*vidi Dodatak A*). Sustavno je organizirala podatke izdvojene iz članaka u stupce koji su uključivali naslov, autora(e), godinu objave, cilj istraživanja, metodologiju i početne kodove. Kombinirajući induktivne i deduktivne pristupe, prvi autor stvorio je teme i kodove na temelju istraživačkih pitanja i prethodno provedene analize literature (*vidi Dodatak B*). Za klasifikaciju početnih kodova u teme i podteme povezane s istraživačkim pitanjima, održano je nekoliko sastanaka obje autorice. Nakon organizacije podataka u kodove, drugi autor je pregledao rezultate kako bi osigurao objektivnost. Također su vođene brojne rasprave između autora o njihovim interpretacijama kako bi se smanjila pristranost i osigurala „intersubjektivnost“ (Seuring i Gold, 2012, str. 547). Dvoje neovisnih doktoranada također je pregledalo konačne rezultate radi vanjske evaluacije.

## Rezultati

Rezultati su kategorizirani u četiri sekcije na temelju identificiranih tema koje su se pojavile tijekom analize istraživačkih pitanja: (a) pregled analiziranih studija, (b) razlozi za prijelaz na dvojezično društvo, (c) planovi i politike za uspostavljanje

dvojezičnosti i (d) mogući problemi povezani s dvojezičnošću. U sljedećim poglavljima, svaka od ovih kategorija bit će detaljno predstavljena.

### **Pregled analiziranih studija**

Sustavni pregled uzima u obzir datume objavljivanja, metode prikupljanja podataka, istraživačke dizajne i područja istraživanja (*vidi Dodatak C za više detalja*). Slika 2 prikazuje publikacije koje se odnose na Singapur i njihove godine objavljivanja.

Slika 2.

Ova slika pokazuje da je značajan broj studija ( $n = 4$ ) od ukupno 30 objavljen u 2014. godini, dok je u ostalim godinama objavljeno samo jedan ili dva rada. Također se može primijetiti da postoje određeni periodi u kojima planiranje jezika i jezična politika u Singapuru nisu bile predmet znanstvenih istraživanja tijekom nekoliko godina ( $n = 0$ ).

Slika 3.

Slika 3 pokazuje da je većina pregledanih radova uključivala neempirijska istraživanja ( $n = 15$ ), koja su prvenstveno predstavljala podatke temeljene na dokumentima iz pregleda literature. Značajan broj studija ( $n = 10$ ) koristio je kvalitativne metode. S druge strane, samo nekoliko studija ( $n = 3$ ) koristilo je mješovite metode, dok su kvantitativne metode bile najmanje zastupljene, korištene u samo dvije studije ( $n = 2$ ). Slika 4 nadalje pokazuje da su se pregledane studije uglavnom fokusirale na politike jezičnoga planiranja u Singapuru ( $n = 13$ , 43 %), uključujući engleski jezik i materinske jezike (MTLs). Manji broj studija bavio se dvojezičnom politikom Singapura ( $n = 6,20$  %) i jezičnim ideologijama ( $n = 7,23$  %). Dvije studije (7 %) analizirale su upotrebu engleskoga kao jezika poučavanja na sveučilištima, dok su druge dvije studije istraživale obrazovnu politiku Singapura (7 %).

Slika 4.

### **Tematska analiza pregledanih studija u svrhu odgovora na istraživačka pitanja**

#### **Razlozi za prijelaz na dvojezično društvo**

Tematska analiza odabranih radova otkrila je tri glavne teme u vezi s razlozima usvajanja dvojezične jezične politike u Singapuru: (i) Stvaranje jednakih obrazovnih mogućnosti, (ii) Ujedinjavanje Singapuraca i (iii) Kulturna i ekonomska integracija. Reference navedene u ovim dijelovima odnose se na pregledane studije.

#### **Stvaranje jednakih obrazovnih mogućnosti**

Jedan od ključnih razloga za prijelaz Singapura na *dvojezičnost bio je* promicanje jednakih obrazovnih mogućnosti i prava *za sve učenike putem engleskog jezika, čime*

se nastojala smanjiti razlika između onih koji su obrazovani na engleskom i onih koji su pohađali nastavu na svojim materinskim jezicima (mother tongue languages – MTLs) (Shouhui i sur., 2007). Očekivalo se da će uvođenje zajedničkoga jezika u obrazovanje smanjiti jaz u pristupu jednakim mogućnostima među Singapurcima. Dugoročno, to bi osiguralo jednake mogućnosti zapošljavanja, sprječavajući dominaciju određene skupine nad drugima u gospodarskom smislu (Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chew, 2013; Gopinathan, 2001).

### **Ujedinjavanje Singapuraca**

Drugi važan razlog za prijelaz na dvojezičnost bio je ujedinjavanje Singapuraca (Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chua, 2011). Prije 1966. godine, Singapurci su govorili mnogo različitih jezika u svojim domovima – otprilike 80 % kineskoga stanovništva govorilo je hokkien, teochew ili kantonski (Cavallaro i Ng, 2014). Kako bi se svaka etnička skupina ujedinila, premijer je odlučio uvesti jedan službeni materinski jezik za svaku etničku skupinu. Mandarinski jezik postao je drugi jezik kineskih Singapuraca (Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010). Malajski jezik bio je odabran za malezijske Singapurce. Tamijski jezik bio je odabran za indijske Singapurce. Time je službeno priznata multikulturalna priroda društva (Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010). Prema pregledanim studijama (Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2005; Patrick, 2011), engleski jezik smatra se rasno neutralnim i ne diskriminira nijednu od primarnih etničkih skupina u Singapuru (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001). Engleski je odabran kao lingua franca (Chua, 2011; Lim i sur., 2021; Li i sur., 2022; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022), čime se omogućava: međukulturna komunikacija, društvena kohezija među Singapurcima, pravedne obrazovne i profesionalne prilike za sve članove društva (Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Shouhui i sur., 2007).

### **Kulturna i ekonomska integracija**

Prema znanstvenicima, učenje engleskoga, mandarinskoga i drugih službenih jezika omogućilo je Singapurcima da izgrade veze sa zemljama engleskoga govornog područja, poput Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Europe, kao i s drugim azijskim zemljama (Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Singapurska vlada vjeruje da široka upotreba engleskoga jezika: olakšava integraciju zemlje u globalnu zajednicu, povećava konkurentnost na međunarodnim tržištima (Chua, 2011), osigurava građanima nužne jezične vještine (Patrick, 2011) za uspjeh u suvremenom tehnološkom okružju i globalnoj ekonomiji (Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Budući da je engleski jezik lingua franca međunarodnoga poslovanja, znanosti i tehnologije, njegova važnost je naglašena u mnogim studijama (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Li i sur., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022). Singapurska vlada prepoznala je i važnost očuvanja materinskih

jezika svojih građana. Dok su prepoznali korist engleskoga jezika u olakšavanju: globalne trgovine (Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001), stranih investicija (Chua, 2011), znanstvenoga i tehnološkoga napretka (Chua, 2010; Low i Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005), vlada je također naglasila potrebu za očuvanjem materinskih jezika. Cilj je bio spriječiti gubitak azijskih identiteta i osigurati da Singapurci ostanu čvrsto povezani sa svojim etničkim skupinama (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Gopinathan, 2001; Lim i sur., 2021; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014). Vlada Singapura također je bila zabrinuta zbog mogućega negativnog utjecaja zapadnjačkih vrijednosti na svoje građane. Stoga su odlučili koristiti materinske jezike za: poučavanje tradicija, vrijednosti, narodnih priča i poslovice na izvornim azijskim jezicima, posebno mlađim generacijama (Dixon, 2003; Patrick, 2011; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Bivši ministar obrazovanja, Lee (1983, str. 43), objasnio je razloge dvojezičnosti sljedećim riječima: „Svako dijete treba učiti engleski i materinski jezik [...] Djeca moraju učiti engleski kako bi imala prozor u znanje, tehnologiju i stručnost modernoga svijeta. Moraju znati svoj materinski jezik kako bi razumjela što nas je učinilo onime što smo danas.”

### ***Strategije i politike Singapura za uspostavljanje dvojezičnosti***

Singapur je implementirao dvije glavne politike za poticanje dvojezičnosti: (i) Planiranje jezika i politika u vezi s engleskim jezikom, (ii) Planiranje materinskih jezika (MTLs).

#### **Planiranje jezika i jezična politika u vezi s engleskim jezikom**

Analiza pregledanih članaka pokazala je da je singapurska vlada provela mnoge politike kako bi engleski jezik postao prvi jezik u Singapuru. Te su politike bile usmjerene na širenje engleskoga jezika, politike za učitelje te implementaciju engleskoga jezika kao prvoga jezika. Vlada je razvila holistički pristup kako bi osigurala da učenici u Singapuru imaju dovoljno prilika za učenje engleskoga jezika, kako unutar tako i izvan učionice. Nacionalni kurikulum, koji uključuje sve nastavne planove i programe, resurse, nastavne aktivnosti, predavanja, seminare i laboratorijske vježbe (s iznimkom MTL-a), poučava se na engleskom jeziku kao dio sveobuhvatnoga singapurskog pristupa integraciji engleskoga jezika u obrazovanje, s ciljem prelaska iz konteksta stranoga jezika (EFL) u kontekst u kojem se engleski govori kao prvi jezik (Bolton i sur., 2017; Chua, 2010). Pregledane studije (Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Patrick, 2011; Silver, 2005; Shouhui i sur., 2007; Tan, 2014) također su ukazale na to kako je usvajanje engleskoga jezika kao jezika poučavanja u Singapuru bio postupan proces koji je trajao više od šest desetljeća, počevši od 1960-ih i nastavljajući se do 2010-ih. Implementacija brojnih politika i planova olakšala je ovu tranziciju. Implementacija brojnih politika i planova olakšala je ovu tranziciju. U 1969-ima

osobito prije 1965. godine, Singapurci su obično bili visoko višejezični, i to izvan četiriju službenih jezika Singapura (Chew, 2013; Dixon, 2005).

Djeca su često odrastala u raznolikom jezičnom okruženju i primala su relativno manje pouke na engleskom jeziku tijekom školovanja (Chew, 2013). Godine 1965. singapurska vlada proglasila je engleski službenim jezikom. Međutim, razina jezične kompetencije učenika nije bila zadovoljavajuća za implementaciju engleskoga jezika kao jezika poučavanja (Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014). Posljedično, 1966. godine vlada je zahtijevala da sve škole poučavaju znanost i matematiku na engleskom jeziku (Dixon, 2003). Ova se politika primjenjivala od prvoga razreda. Ipak, nije poboljšala razinu znanja engleskoga jezika, matematike ni znanosti, jer su akademski rezultati učenika opali (Dixon, 2003). Tijekom 1970-ih osnovan je Odbor stručnjaka za razvoj kurikula i obrazovnih institucija u Singapuru, koji je radio na poboljšanju pouke engleskoga jezika između 1971. i 1981. godine (Chua, 2011). Krajem 1970-ih uvedena je politika prema kojoj su javne škole bile obvezne provoditi nastavu isključivo na engleskom jeziku (Botha i sur., 2023). Ova politika donesena je kako bi se povećala konkurentnost Singapura u globalnoj ekonomiji temeljnoj na znanju i privukla inovativna inženjerska i znanstvena poduzeća (Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Patrick, 2011; Wee, 2014). Unatoč tome, određene obrazovne institucije nastavile su provoditi nastavu na materinskim jezicima. Do 1983. roditelji su počeli izbjegavati upisivanje djece u škole na malajskom jeziku, a broj upisa u kineske škole pao je na manje od 1 % ukupnoga broja upisanih u prvi razred osnovne škole (Dixon, 2005). U novom tisućljeću, singapurska vlada koristila je pristup prestiža u planiranju jezika i politici (Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022) kako bi potaknula upotrebu standardnoga engleskog jezika među Singapurcima. To je bilo posljedica razvoja i popularizacije *singlisha* (kombinacije engleskoga jezika i drugih jezika) u 2000-ima (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Li et al., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Vlada je odbila *singlish* zbog tvrdnji da bi usvajanje lokalne inačice moglo narušiti usvajanje standardnoga britanskog engleskog, koji se smatrao prestižnijom varijantom (Chua, 2010; Li i sur., 2022; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Osim promjena u kurikulu i jeziku poučavanja, singapurska vlada implementirala je politike za učitelje engleskoga jezika kako bi osigurala učinkovitu primjenu EMI-a u učionici. Tijekom godina učiteljima su osigurani specifični treninzi, poticaji i strogi obrazovni zahtjevi (Low, 2013). Programi pripreme nastavnika obično zahtijevaju visoku razinu znanja engleskoga jezika. Nacionalni institut za obrazovanje kontinuirano osigurava stručno usavršavanje učitelja kako bi bili adekvatno pripremljeni za primjenu EMI-a (Chua, 2011). Učitelji također imaju pristup brojnim resursima na engleskom jeziku iz cijeloga svijeta, omogućujući im da uče iz najboljih praksi. Oni koji pokažu izuzetnu stručnost nagrađuju se stipendijama Ministarstva obrazovanja Singapura

(MOE) kako bi putovali u inozemstvo, provodili istraživanja i unaprijedili svoje nastavne metode, što osigurava da se njihove EMI prakse neprestano inoviraju i moderniziraju (Low, 2013).

### **Planiranje i politika materinskoga jezika (MTL)**

Dok promiče engleski kao primarni jezik komunikacije u poslovnom okruženju i kao jezik poučavanja u obrazovanju, singapurska vlada je implementirala mnoge politike i planove za očuvanje svojih brojnih materinskih jezika. Te politike uključuju obvezne tečajeve MTL-a u školama, integraciju MTL-a u ispite, ažuriranje kurikula MTL-a i otvaranje škola Specijalnoga programa pomoći (SAP). U trenutnom sustavu, MTL-ovi se poučavaju kao zasebni predmet kako bi se osiguralo da učenici ne izgube svoj azijski identitet (Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Lim i sur., 2021; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Budući da u Singapuru postoje tri etničke skupine, škola određuje materinski jezik djeteta prema etničkoj pripadnosti oca i nudi odgovarajući obvezni tečaj. Ovi obvezni tečajevi pomogli su Singapurcima da se upoznaju sa svojim materinskim jezicima i nauče nešto o svojim tradicijama i vrijednostima kroz korištenje MTL-a u školskom kontekstu (Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Lim i sur., 2021; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005).

Ministarstvo obrazovanja (MOE) nedavno je proširilo upis na mandarinski kineski i malajski jezik kao izborne predmete za učenike koji ne uče te jezike kao materinski jezik (Botha i sur., 2023; Dixon, 2005; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish i Roslan, 2011; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014), čime se promiče višejezičnost unutar zajednice. MTL-ovi također su integrirani u ispitne sustave singapurskih učenika nakon završetka osnovne, srednje škole i junior-koledža. Na primjer, na razini PSLE (Primary School Leaving Examination), ocjena iz MTL-a čini 25 % ukupnoga rezultata na engleskom jeziku (Chua, 2010). Položen ispit iz MTL-a na GCE 'O' razini nužan je za upis u junior-koledž, dok je slična ocjena iz MTL-a na razini junior-koledža potrebna za upis na lokalno sveučilište (Chua, 2010). Učenici koji postižu izvrsne rezultate u MTL-u mogu pohađati dodatni tečaj drugoga jezika – mandarinskoga, malajskoga ili tamilskoga. S druge strane, učenici koji ne polože MTL moraju pohađati dodatne sate toga jezika (Low i Pakir, 2018). Takve politike osiguravaju da mlađe generacije održavaju određenu razinu jezične kompetencije (Low i Pakir, 2018), čime se doprinosi višejezičnosti i očuvanju jezika.

Kao što je ranije spomenuto, većina škola MTL-a zatvorena je 1970-ih zbog niske razine upisa. Kako bi nastavio poučavati MTL-ove, MOE je 1979. godine implementirao SAP škole i pretvorio devet srednjih škola s kineskim kao glavnim jezikom u dvojezične škole, pri čemu su se poučavali i engleski i mandarinski (Hornberger i Vaish, 2009). Budući da Kinezi čine gotovo polovicu stanovništva Singapura, ove su politike bile usmjerene prvenstveno na njih. Međutim, ova politika nije dala željene rezultate, a zapošljavanje osoba s MTL vještinama nastavilo je

opadati. Godine 1981. MOE je pokušao preokrenuti ovaj trend nudeći poticaje za regrutiranje najboljih učenika u škole MTL-a (De Costa, 2010). Od trećega razreda nadalje, učenici SAP škola mogli su učiti kineski kao drugi jezik i dobiti dva dodatna boda za prijave na preddiplomske studije. Vlada je očuvala kinesko školsko okružje kako bi poučavala tradicionalne kineske vrijednosti i društvenu disciplinu te je regrutirala izvrsne učenike u SAP škole (Chua, 2010; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009). Redizajnirani sustav upisa u srednje škole uveden je 1983. godine kako bi privukao više najboljih PSLE učenika u SAP škole. Ovaj sustav, u kojem se učenici uče na engleskom i mandarinskom jeziku u osnovnoj školi, dok se u višim razredima poučava isključivo na engleskom, i dalje je prisutan za kineske govornike.

U nastojanju da osigura određenu razinu jezične kompetencije za sve učenike, MOE u Singapuru kontinuirano ažurira kurikulum MTL-a. Osim toga, uspostavljen je MTL „B“ nastavni plan za učenike koji imaju poteškoća s bilo kojim materinskim jezikom. Stvoren je kako bi pomogao učenicima koji su postigli ocjenu C ili nižu na PSLE MTL ispitu i onima koji se teško nose s tim predmetom (Chua, 2010).

### Izazovi povezani s jezičnim politikama u Singapuru

Pregledani radovi izvijestili su o nekoliko izazova tijekom tranzicije prema dvojezičnosti. To uključuje nedostatnu kompetenciju u materinskom jeziku, stvaranje drugih varijanti engleskoga jezika i percepciju engleskoga jezika kao prijetnje materinskim jezicima Singapuraca.

Istraživanja izvještavaju o padu razine kompetencije u MTL-u tijekom vremena, osobito među mlađim generacijama, unatoč prividnom uspjehu dvojezičnih politika (Bolton i sur., 2017; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Li i sur., 2022; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007). Fokus jezične politike na engleski jezik kao dominantni u dvojezičnom sustavu, pri čemu se MTL-ovi tretiraju kao odvojeni predmeti (Curd-Christiansen, 2014), odgovoran je za ovaj neizbježan pad. Tako su singapurski studenti više povezani s engleskim nego s materinskim jezikom (Low, 2013).

Još jedan problem za kreatore jezičnih politika bilo je očuvanje prestižnoga položaja standardnoga britanskog engleskog u raznolikom kontekstu modernoga Singapura, u kojem se povećava broj migranata, mješovitih brakova, međunarodnih studenata i gostujućih radnika. Pregledane studije ilustriraju kako su prisutnost više jezika i proučavanje materinskih jezika već stvorili *singlish* (singapurski kolokvijalni engleski) (Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Ova varijanta kombinira tamil, hokkien i druge kineske jezike s engleskim. Današnja generacija učenika govori više *singlish* nego standardni engleski jer su svjesniji i skloniji ovom jedinstvenom singapurskom engleskom s kojim se poistovjećuju (Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Iako *singlish* postaje sve popularniji, vlada smatra ovu varijantu nepoželjnom jer uključuje „pokvaren“ i gramatički netočan engleski, kao i riječi iz

lokalnih dijalekata i malajškoga jezika (Chua, 2010; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Wee, 2014). Roditelji također vjeruju da bi standardni britanski engleski trebao biti jedini oblik engleskoga jezika koji se koristi u Singapuru, čak ni američki engleski nije široko prihvaćen (Chua, 2010; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022).

## Rasprava i zaključak

Iako Singapur pokazuje značajan uspjeh u promicanju dvojezičnosti, njegove jezične politike mogu biti restriktivne i otežavati razvoj višejezičnosti. Fokus je uglavnom stavljen na engleski jezik uz jedan materinski jezik, koji se bira između malajškoga, mandarinskoga ili tamilškoga. Ovaj pristup marginalizira druge jezike, uključujući različite kineske, indijske i malajske jezike. Osim toga, Singapurci koriste brojne narodne jezike izvan ovih službeno priznatih materinskih jezika. Primjerice, Indijci u Singapuru govore više od pet lokalnih jezika, uključujući bengalski, gudžaratski, hindski, malajalamski, sinhaleški, pandžapski i tamilski (Cavallaro i Serwe, 2010).

Međutim, prema službenoj jezičnoj politici Singapura, tamil je proglašen materinskim jezikom svih Indijaca u zemlji, iako on nije primarni jezik svih indijskih Singapuraca. Za neke indijske Singapurce, hindski se smatra njihovim pravim materinskim jezikom (Cavallaro i Chin, 2020). Prema rezultatima našega istraživanja, iako se dvojezična jezična politika čini kao podrška organskim idiomima različitih etničkih skupina, studije poput one Cavallaro i Ng (2014) ukazuju na to da smanjenje upotrebe tamilškoga i drugih jezika koji nisu službeno priznati kao materinski postaje neizbježno. Konkretno, engleski je u velikoj mjeri zamijenio tamilski unutar indijske zajednice u Singapuru (Cavallaro i Ng, 2014), što može ugroziti njihovu višestruku kulturnu i jezičnu pripadnost.

Slično tome, kineski i malajski Singapurci koriste više od pet jezika izvan mandarinskoga ili malajškoga (Cavallaro i Serwe, 2010). Mladi kineski Singapurci, čiji je materinski jezik teochew, primjerice, ne identificiraju se kao govornici teochewa, već se prvenstveno smatraju Kinezima iz Singapura ili jednostavno Singapurcima (Saravanan i Hoon, 1997). Iskustva ove podskupine ukazuju na moguću gubitak etničkoga identiteta povezanoga s jezikom teochew, što se može smatrati nuspojavom singapurskoga sustava dvojezičnoga obrazovanja. Nadalje, fokusiranje isključivo na tri materinska jezika (malajski, mandarinski i tamilski) moglo bi narušiti načelo jednakosti za pojedince koji ne govore te jezike kao svoje izvorne jezike.

Naši rezultati otkrivaju da Singapurci sve češće koriste engleski u svojim domovima, pri čemu značajan postotak roditelja preferira da njihova djeca budu tečna u engleskom jeziku (Li i sur., 2022). Engleski jezik postao je primarni jezik komunikacije među Singapurcima, postupno zamjenjujući azijske jezike. Iako je Leong (2014) u svojem istraživanju naveo da kineski roditelji preferiraju komunikaciju na mandarinskom i žele da ga njihova djeca koriste, brojna druga

istraživanja potvrđuju suprotno. Studije Cavallaro i Serwe (2010), Ng (2008) i Pillai (2009) ukazuju na to da kineski roditelji u Singapuru sve više govore engleski sa svojom djecom kod kuće.

Posljedica toga je smanjenje upisa u škole materinskih jezika, što je dovelo do njihovoga zatvaranja. Ovo bi također moglo pridonijeti postupnom opadanju znanja MTL-ova, osobito među mlađim generacijama, kao što je pokazala analiza pregledanih istraživanja (Bolton i sur., 2017; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Li i sur., 2022; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007). Iako se singapurska vlada ponosi svojom dvojezičnom politikom, povećana upotreba engleskoga jezika u domovima i drugim okružjima smanjuje mogućnosti za održavanje stvarne dvojezičnosti u svakodnevnom životu.

Stoga bi singapurska vlada trebala ojačati podršku i poticati korištenje MTL-ova kroz besplatne tečajeve materinskih jezika tijekom vikenda. Također bi mogla uvesti dodatne materinske jezike kao izborne predmete, od osnovne škole do sveučilišta, čime bi se poboljšala kvaliteta obrazovanja svih singapurskih zajednica i omogućilo očuvanje njihovoga kulturnog identiteta. Na taj bi se način osigurale jednake obrazovne mogućnosti za sve učenike, bez obzira na njihov materinski jezik, čime bi se višejezičnost mogla sačuvati unutar sustava dvojezičnoga obrazovanja (Wee Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Stroud i Wee, 2007; Tan, 2014).

Naši nalazi također ukazuju na zabrinutost vlade u vezi sa širenjem *singlisha* koji se percipira kao inferioran u odnosu na standardni engleski. Singapurske vlasti pokušale su zabraniti njegovu upotrebu među učenicima, no neki nastavnici i dalje ga koriste u učionici. Kao što Leimgruber (2014) ističe, *singlish* može predstavljati novi identitetski marker singapurskoga društva. Prema rezultatima ove studije, sveučilišni studenti vide *singlish* kao simbol kulturnoga identiteta koji ih razlikuje od drugih i jača osjećaj zajedništva među svim etničkim skupinama u Singapuru.

Ovo je važan aspekt koji bi vlada trebala uzeti u obzir pri oblikovanju jezičnih politika. Umjesto da u potpunosti odbaci *singlish*, vlada bi ga mogla prihvatiti kao dio kulturne baštine i promicati njegovu upotrebu u neformalnim okružjima. Također bi mogla osposobiti nastavnike da pomognu učenicima u razumijevanju kada je prikladno koristiti *singlish*, a kada standardni engleski.

Nalazi ovoga rada ukazuju na potrebu za daljnjim istraživanjima različitih aspekata jezičnoga planiranja u Singapuru, uključujući percepcije nastavnika, učenika i obitelji prema ovim politikama. Također bi bilo korisno dublje analizirati ulogu *singlisha* i razumjeti zabrinutosti vlade u vezi s ovom jezičnom inačicom. Nadalje, iako Singapur redovito ažurira svoj kurikulum kako bi zadovoljio potrebe učenika, prebrze promjene mogu predstavljati izazov za nastavnike. Stoga su potrebna dodatna istraživanja o njihovim stavovima prema ovim reformama. Na kraju, iskustva Singapura mogu poslužiti kao model za druge multikulturalne zemlje koje žele uspostaviti ravnotežu između višejezičnosti i dvojezičnosti u obrazovanju.

**Dodatak*****Dodatak A: Početna faza kodiranja***

Početni kodovi	Broj članaka	Članci
Ideologije	6	(Botha i sur., 2023; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Tan, 2014)
Obiteljski jezik	1	(Li et al., 2022)
Planiranje engleskoga jezika	12	(Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bolton i sur., 2017; Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Low i Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Shouhui i sur., 2007; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012)
Razlozi za višjezičnost	13	(Bokhorst-Heng, 2007; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Dixon, 2003; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Lim i sur., 2021; Low i Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui i sur., 2007; Wee, 2014)
Razlozi za dominaciju engleskoga jezika	17	(Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Li i sur., 2022; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Vaish i Roslan, 2011; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005)
Politika materinskoga jezika	12	(Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Low i Pakir, 2018; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005)
Jezični problemi	17	(Bolton i sur., 2017; Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Li i sur., 2022; Low i Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Silver, 2005; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007)
Najčešće govorni i korišteni jezici	6	(Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Low i Pakir, 2018; Wee, 2014)
Inačice engleskoga jezika	8	(Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Low i Pakir, 2018; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014)
Planiranje dvojezičnoga obrazovanja	16	(Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Li i sur., 2022; Lim i sur., 2021; Low i Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui i sur., 2007; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014)

***Dodatak B: Tematska analiza i kodovi ove studije***

Teme i kodovi	Broj članaka	Članci
<b>1. Razlozi za prijelaz na dvojezično društvo</b>		
1.1 Stvaranje jednakih obrazovnih mogućnosti	4	(Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Chew, 2013; Gopinathan, 2001; Shouhui i sur., 2007)
1.2 Ujedinjavanje Singapuraca	16	(Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Botha i sur., 2023; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li i sur., 2022; Lim i sur., 2021; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui i sur., 2007)

Teme i kodovi	Broj članaka	Članci
1.3 Kulturna i ekonomska integracija	15	(Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2011; Chua, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li i sur., 2022; Patrick, 2011; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Lim i sur., 2021; Low i Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014)
2. Strategije i politike Singapura za uspostavljanje dvojezičnosti	23	(Albright i Kramer-Dahl, 2009; Bokhorst-Heng i sur., 2007; Bolton i sur., 2017; Botha i sur., 2023; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chew, 2013; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen i Sun, 2016; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2003; Dixon, 2005; Gopinathan, 2001; Li i sur., 2022; Low i Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Shouhui i sur., 2007; Silver, 2005; Tan, 2014; Wee, 2014)
2.1 Planiranje jezika i politika u vezi s engleskim jezikom		
2.2 Planiranje i politika materinskoga jezika (MTL)	15	(Botha i sur., 2023; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; De Costa, 2010; Dixon, 2005; Hornberger i Vaish, 2009; Lim i sur., 2021; Low i Pakir, 2018; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish i Roslan, 2011; Vaish, 2012; Wee i Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Wee, 2014)
3. Izazovi povezani s jezičnim politikama u Singapuru	17	(Bolton i sur., 2017; Cavallaro i Ng, 2014; Chua, 2010; Chua, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Dixon, 2005; Li i sur., 2022; Lim i sur., 2021; Wee, 2014; Low i Pakir, 2018; Low, 2013; Nguyen i Nguyen, 2022; Patrick, 2011; Tan, 2014; Vaish, 2012; Wee, 2014; Zhao, 2007)

### ***Dodatak C: Profil pregledanih studija***

Imena autora	Godina objave	Naslov	Područje studije	Alati za prikupljanje podataka	Istraživački dizajn
Gopinathan	2001.	Globalizacija, država i obrazovna politika u Singapuru	Kako su obrazovna politika i globalizacija oblikovali razvoj Singapura	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Dixon	2003.	Politika dvojezičnoga obrazovanja u Singapuru: implikacije za usvajanje drugoga jezika	Dvojezična politika Singapura	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Wee i Bokhorst-Heng	2005.	Jezična politika i nacionalistička ideologija: državni narativi u Singapuru	Izazovi singapurske jezične politike	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Dixon	2005.	Politika dvojezičnoga obrazovanja u Singapuru: analiza njezinih društveno-povijesnih korijena i trenutačnih akademskih rezultata	Dvojezična politika Singapura	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Silver	2005.	Diskurs jezičnoga kapitala: jezična i ekonomska politika planiranja u Singapuru	Politika engleskoga jezika i ekonomska politika	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje

Imena autora	Godina objave	Naslov	Područje studije	Alati za prikupljanje podataka	Istraživački dizajn
Bokhorst-Heng, Alsagoff, McKay i Rubdy	2007.	Vlasništvo nad engleskim jezikom među singapurskim Malajcima: izvan dihotomije izvornih i neizvornih govornika	Jezična ideologija (kako Malajci percipiraju i koriste engleski u svojoj zajednici)	Procjena prihvatljivosti, snimljene diskusije	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Shouhui, Yongbing i Huaqing	2007.	Usmena kompetencija predškolske djece u mandarinskom jeziku	Jezična politika Singapura i odgovor na dominaciju mandarinskoga jezika	Ankete roditelja, intervjui s djecom, promatranje učionica	Mješovita metoda istraživanja
Zhao	2007.	Pomak u jeziku u kućnom okruženju i implikacije za jezično planiranje u Singapuru: iz perspektive prestižnoga planiranja	Politika jezičnoga planiranja (prijelaz s kineskoga na engleski)	Upitnik	Kvantitativno istraživanje
Albright i Kramer-Dahl	2009.	Naslijeđe instrumentalnosti u politici i pedagogiji u nastavi engleskoga jezika: slučaj Singapura	Politika engleskoga jezika i kako se učitelji usklađuju s njom	Podatci velikoga projekta, promatranje učionica, polustrukturirani intervjui, samorefleksivni upitnici, akcijsko istraživanje	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Hornberger i Vaish	2009.	Višejezična jezična politika i školska jezična praksa: globalizacija i nastava engleskoga jezika u Indiji, Singapuru i Južnoj Africi	Višejezična politika i upotreba engleskoga kao medija poučavanja	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Chua	2010.	Jezična politika Singapura i globalizirana koncepcija bi(tri)lingvizma	Jezična politika Singapura	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
De Costa	2010	Jezične ideologije i politika standardnoga engleskog jezika u Singapuru: odgovori „dizajnerskoga imigranta“	Jezične ideologije i politika engleskoga jezika	Video i audiosnimke razgovora u učionici i intervjua, terenske bilješke	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Chua	2011.	Singapurska dvojezičnost s engleskim u središtu	Dvojezična politika Singapura	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Patrick	2011.	Jezično planiranje na djelu: Višejezična i dvojezična politika Singapura	Politika jezičnoga planiranja	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Vaish i Roslan	2011.	Korištenje jezika među singapurskim tinejdžerima	Jezična ideologija (korištenje kineskoga, malajskoga i engleskoga u performiranju identiteta)	Audiosnimke kućnih posjeta	Kvalitativno istraživanje

Imena autora	Godina objave	Naslov	Područje studije	Alati za prikupljanje podataka	Istraživački dizajn
Vaish	2012.	Stavovi učitelja o dvojezičnosti u programu čitanja na engleskom jeziku	Dvojezična politika i obrazovna uvjerenja	Anketa, promatranje, audiosnimljeni intervjui	Mješovita metoda istraživanja
Chew	2013.	Upotreba singlisha u poučavanju islama	Jezična ideologija (upotreba različitih varijanti engleskog jezika)	Dio širega trogodišnjeg etnografskog istraživačkog projekta	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Low	2013.	Politika engleskoga jezika u Singapuru i obrazovanje nastavnika	Politika engleskoga jezika i obrazovanje nastavnika	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Cavallaro i Ng	2014.	Jezič u Singapuru: od višejezičnosti do engleskoga plus	Jezična politika Singapura (prijelaz s višejezičnosti na dvojezičnost)	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Tan	2014.	Engleski kao „materinski jezik“ u Singapuru	Jezična ideologija – može li se engleski smatrati materinskim jezikom?	Otvoreni upitnik	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Wee	2014.	Jezična politika i globalni grad	Jezična politika Singapura i potreba za globalnom perspektivom	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Curdt-Christiansen i Sun	2016	Njegovanje dvojezičnih učenika: izazovi i zabrinutosti u Singapuru	Dvojezična politika i izazovi	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Bolton, Botha i Bacon-Shone	2017.	Engleski kao medij poučavanja u singapurskom visokom obrazovanju	Upotreba engleskoga jezika kao medija poučavanja	Upitnik	Kvantitativno istraživanje
Low i Pakir	2018.	Engleski u Singapuru: nova ravnoteža za budućnost	Strategija, politika i upravljanje engleskim jezikom	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Lim, Chen i Hiramoto	2021.	„Ne traži od mene da govorim mandarinski, u redu?“ – ideologije jezika i rase među kineskim Singaporcima	Jezične ideologije među kineskim Singaporcima	Dokumentirana analiza	Dokumentarno istraživanje
Li, Wu, Liang i Jing	2022.	Razvoj kineskih i engleskih upitnih rečenica u višejezičnom kontekstu: korpusna studija	Dvojezična politika Singapura i njezin utjecaj na razvoj jezika	Videosnimke razgovora	Kvalitativno istraživanje
Botha, Bolton i Bacon-Shone	2023.	EMI (Engleski kao medij poučavanja) u glavnim sveučilištima Singapura	Upotreba engleskoga kao medija poučavanja	Upitnik s otvorenim pitanjima	Mješovita metoda istraživanja