



Scenarios from Workshops





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Young Singaporeans

Concentrated Power

Team 1:

Singaporean Roulette

- Government is viewed as divisive and polarising
- Society does not have a strongly shared set of values and norms, intolerant of differences
- Politics is strongly group-based
- The media is heterogeneous, and promotes group interests
- Government is a moderately powerful agendasetter in a legislative game with high stakes

The Republic

- Government is highly trusted
- · Society has strongly shared values
- Mainly issue-based politics
- Nationalistic yet cosmopólitan, assimilationist
- · Media and civil society are homogeneous and consensus seeking, nation building is promoted
- Government is a powerful agenda-setter

Plural Identities Rojak

- Government is viewed as populist, but willing to negotiate
- Society does not have a strongly shared set of values and norms, but it places emphasis on tolerance
- Politics is mostly group-based
- Mosaic cosmopolitarism
- The media is heterogeneous, and nonconfrontational towards others
- Government is a weak agenda-setter, gridlock occurs.

Big Society

- Unitary Identity
- Citizens are sceptical of government; checks on government power exist
- Society has strongly shared, but malleable values
- Mainly issue-based politics
- Fairly tolerant, moderately assimiliationalist
- Strong, independent media (4th Estate), and expansive civil society
- Government is a weak agenda-setter

Dispersed Power

Team 2:

Perceived Equality

Singapore Foundation

- Getting rich individuals to help
- Government to be like facilitators regulating service provision and wealth distribution
- Allowing government services to be outsourced to private companies

Sugar Candy Mountain

- Social goods provided by government
- Good distribution of wealth perceived as efficient
- High taxation rate
- Example of *Animal Farm*, where work and reward are not proportional

In-sourced Government

Outsourced Government

CEO Nation

- CEO takes all
- Many low-wage workers
- Minimal regulation by government, by choice or circumstances
- Elitist society believes in meritocracy
- Justified inequality

Business as Usual

- Rise of marginalised groups
- Leading to political diversity
- Government has tight control of media and mechanisms such as ISA
- Feeling of oppression by the government

Perceived Inequality

Team 3:

Higher National Cohesion

AM for PM³ Averting foreign pressure Citizens have a sense of belonging Able to respond to crisis if necessary

Lower External Pressure

Focus on internal issues quickly

Bubble Trouble

- Singaporeans becoming individualistic
- Failure to see beyond own needs, caring less about the collective
- Apathetic
- Disunited population, but bearable
- Justified inequality

Unity in Adversity

- · Motivated to overcome difficulties
- Creation of solutions to deal with common threats
- Government focuses on dealing with pressure from surrounding environment

Higher External Pressure

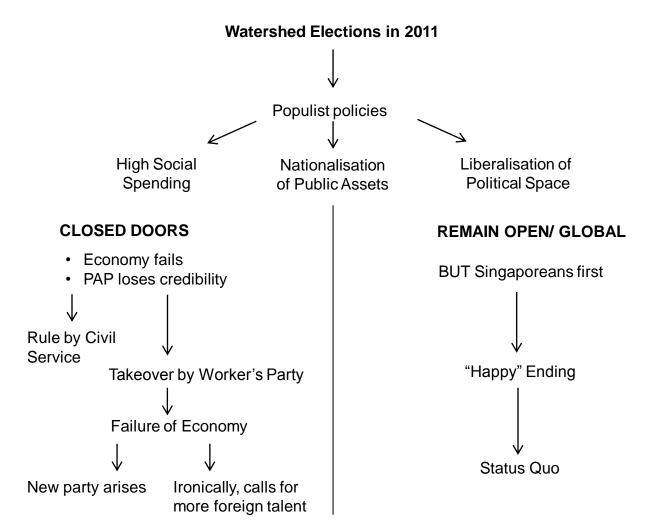
Zao

- Government deals with two competing issues – higher external pressure and lower national cohesion
- Singaporeans frustrated as they cannot see a future in Singapore
- A tendency to leave the country
- Surface issue of stratification; between those who can leave, and those who cannot
- High crime rates and civil disobedience

Lower National Cohesion

Team 4a:

Pandering and Populist



Team 4b:

Society Divided

Increased Liberalisation of Political/Civil Space



- More interest groups
- More civil society leadership



- Over-religiosity
- Interest groups become more compelling
- Rise of powerful, independent rich groups

- Factionalism in different parties
- Cause-driven political system
- No compelling leadership renewal in all political parties

CRISIS OF GOVERNMENT LEGITIMACY

- No nationhood, no national identity
- · One's identity is associated with the cause that one stands for
- Over pluralism
- Dissipation of power
- Governance reflects the interests of lobby groups as opposed to the wider national interests

SMALL STATE, BIG SOCIETY

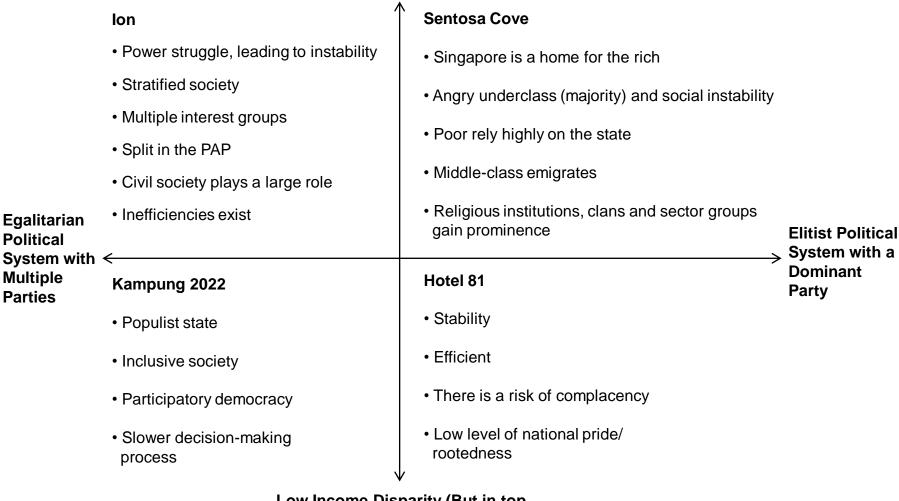
- People step up
- More independent philanthropy
- No need for welfare policies
- Less need for the government to step in



Civil Society

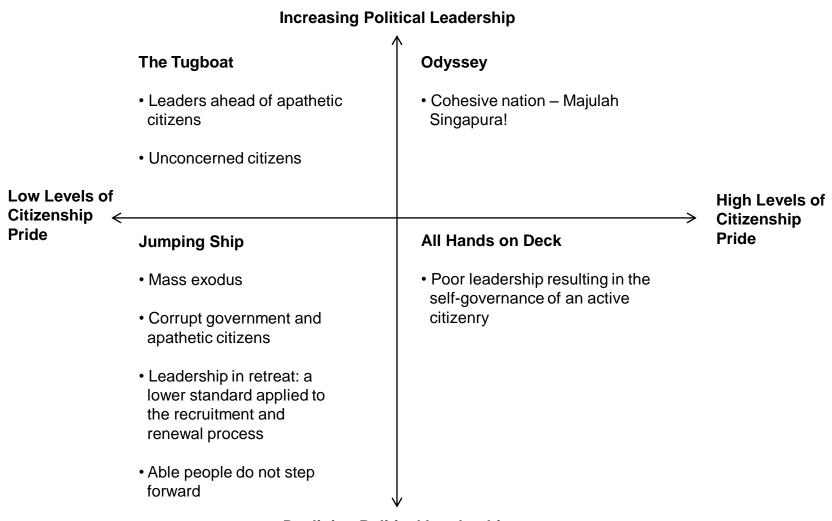
Team 1:

High Income Disparity



Low Income Disparity (But in top 20% of Global GDP / Capita)

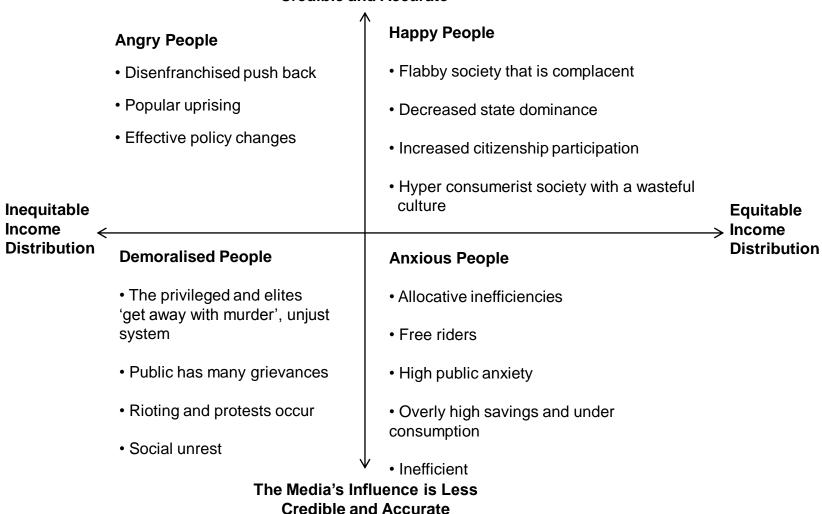
Team 2a:



Declining Political Leadership

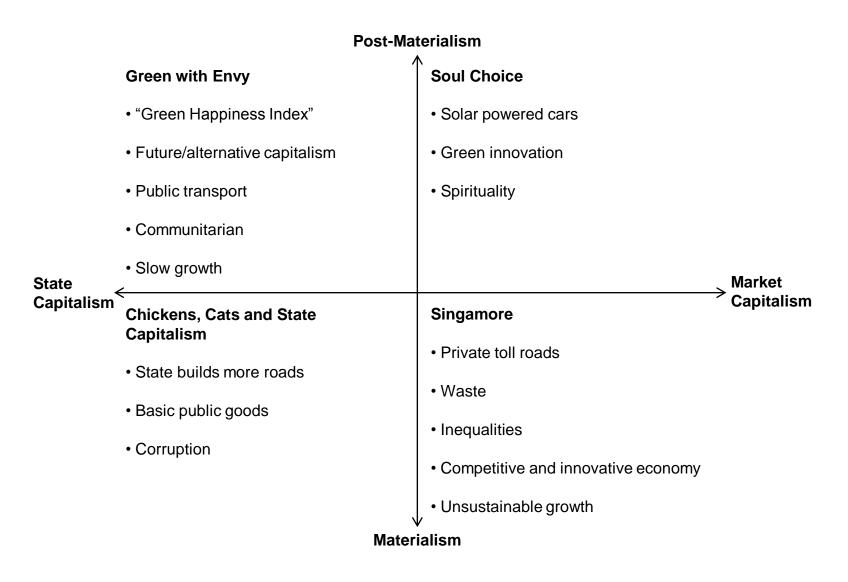
Team 2b:

The Media's Influence is More Credible and Accurate



Social Integration Team 3: Majulah Singapura Relak Singapura Efficient redistribution of wealth Growth for all Caring for poor and underprivileged households Majority rule: Socialist; the rich lose out and businesses Lose economic edge Contented, obedient population Lower growth Diversity/economic immigration Economic outflow/emigration High growth expectations Slower pace of life Materialistic Spending from depleting reserves Accumulating reserves Increased self-reliance of the locals through • Better understanding of the need for foreigners productivity Growth at All Cost **Boleh Tahan Singapura Mampus Singapura** Social safety net to redistribute fruits of Have and Have-nots growth • Minority rule: Elites Tensions between locals and foreigners Weak safety nets Lower growth and taxes as the rich Individualistic leave People are assertive and resourceful Spending from depleting reserves

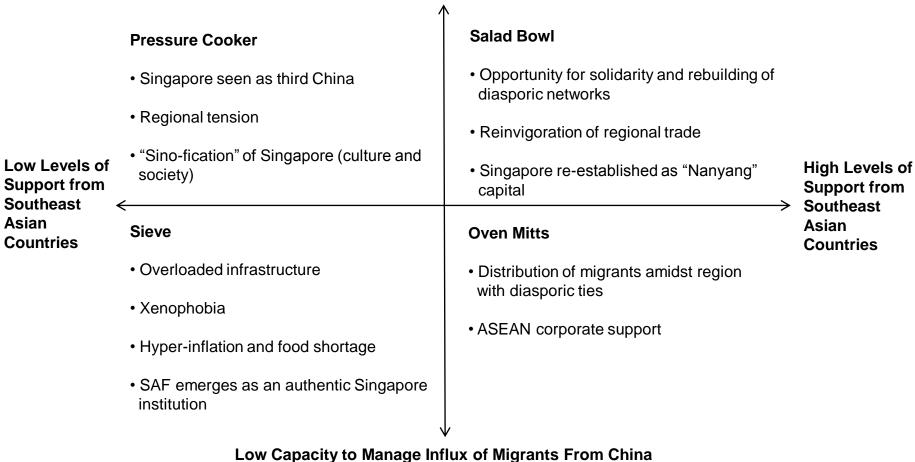
Team 4:





Team 1:

High Capacity to Manage Influx of Migrants from China



Team 2:

Autonomous (In relation to external powers)

	Purist Photographer	Photo Journalist	
Homogeneous Values	Ideology: Engagement on Singapore's terms	Ideology: Engagement on Singapore's terms	
	 One party rule Hetero-normative (single focus) High barriers to entry (to foreigners) 	 Multi-party system Multiple perspectives High barrier to entry (based on worthiness) High level of diversity 	
	• Low level of diversity (social, cultural, political)	>	Diversified Values
			Values
3 41 41 4 5	Wedding Photographer	Commercial Photographer	Values
	 Wedding Photographer Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive 	 Commercial Photographer Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive 	Values
	Ideology: Depends on other countries to	Ideology: Depends on other countries to	Values
	 Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive One party rule Hetero-normative, low barriers of entry (to 	Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive	Values
	 Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive One party rule Hetero-normative, low barriers of entry (to foreigners) 	 Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive Multi-party system 	Values
	 Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive One party rule Hetero-normative, low barriers of entry (to 	 Ideology: Depends on other countries to survive Multi-party system Multi-perspective 	Values

Team 3:

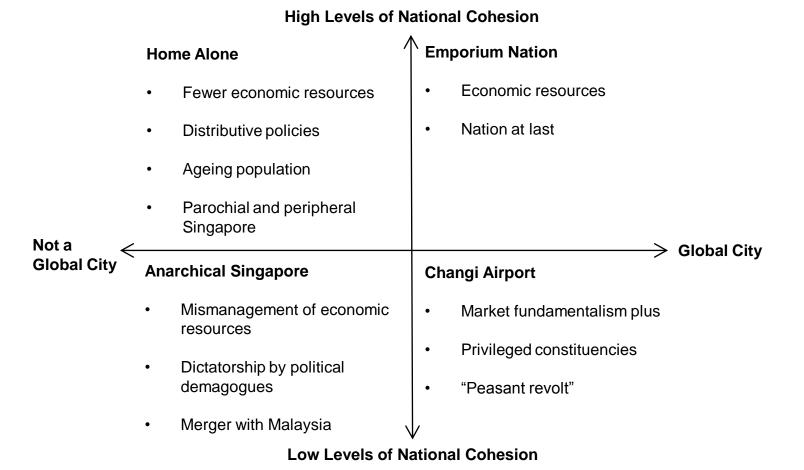
	Monkeys in Paradise	Angry Birds!	The Boiling Frog	Cool Cats
PAP's Ability to Change	High	Low - Mitosis - Lose Power? - Increase in civil society	Mid -Business as usual	Low
Sense of Belonging	High	Low	Low	High
Globalisation Continues	Yes, but Singapore can manage	Yes, but Singapore cannot manage	No	Yes, but Singapore can manage
Total Fertility Rate, Immigration Rate and Total Population Growth Rate	TFR at replacement level, low immigration, and low population growth	TFR low, high immigration, and high population growth	Low TFR, low immigration, and a decline in the population	TFR at replacement level, low immigration, and low population growth
Results	Adaptive, pro- active community	Power vacuum, revolution, disruptive, fast	Slow transition, decay, slow	Dispersed power, empowered populace, self-reliant

Team 4:

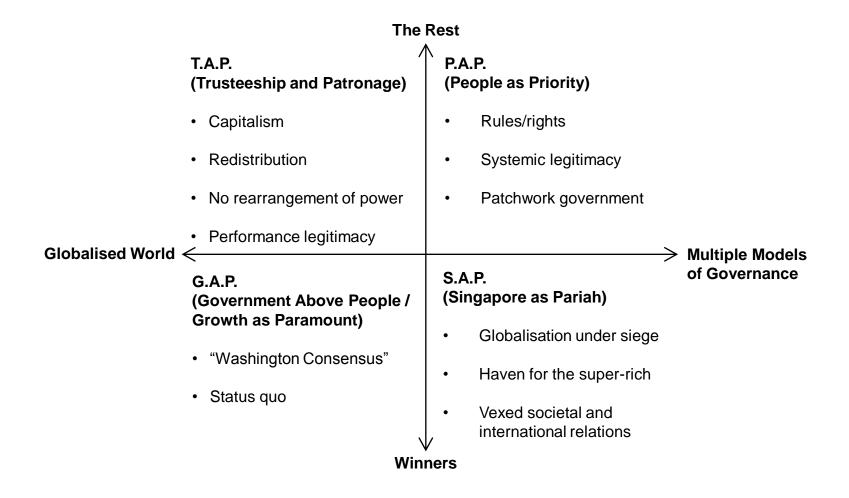
	Cult	Conspiracy theory	Me vs. You vs. Them	Leave us alone!
Power / Ruler	Invisible, concentrated power (Puppeteer, Mutant Charismatic)	Invisible + distributed (Invisible Hands)	Obvious + concentrated (Dictator)	Democratic
Citizens / Society	Engaged + Cohesive (Democratic Utopia)	Engaged + Fractured (Babble)	Engaged + Fractured (Babble)	Disengaged + Fractured (Atomised)
"["	Compliant with Authority	Compliant with Authority	Individualistic + Resistant to Authority	Resistant to Authority
Resources	Equal	Monopoly	Monopoly	Equal



Team 1:



Team 2:



Team 3:		Inclusive Co	mmun	itarism
	Ве	es /	Dol	phins
	•	Benevolent corporatism	•	Inclusive localism
	•	Co-operation	•	Communitarianism
	•	Relationship between government, business and labour dominates polity	•	Polity is a loosely-knit kampung, in a network of kampungs across Asia
		dominates pointy	•	Society becomes more equal
	•	Middle class prospers	•	Mutuality of identity increases
	•	Identity is managed	•	Local, regional and global
Global	•	Local and global perspectives		perspectives are in synergy Kampung
City	Sh	arks	Hye	enas
	•	Capitalist authoritarianism	•	Tribalism
	•	Competition	•	Parochialism
	•	Polity is a global city	•	Polity is a close-knit kampong
	•	Inequality increases	•	Upper class prospers
	•	Rootlessness increases	•	Rootedness of identity increases
	•	Globalised perspective	•	Localised regional perspective

Competitive Individualism

Team 4:

Institutional Adaptability (Organicity)

Singapore as Penang

- Citizens are happy, satisfied and relaxed
- Civil society is positive, functions as an extension of the state, and reinforces society
- No overarching ambition to be number one

Eco GreenMark

- Economic and political views are cosmopolitan
- Strong civil society
- Increased plurality in government
- Inclusive society/development, both in Singapore and extended to neighbouring countries

Parochialism ←

Fascist Fortress

- Content-driven, exclusive nationalism used to legitimise government
- Diluted sense of cultural unity
- Vulnerable to demagogues
- Fascist populism emerges, helped by resources of civil society
- Protectionist
- Material inadequacy and dissatisfaction

Skyscrapers

- Population increasingly alienated
- Trust deficit in society
- Increasingly transient and mobile population
- Population's loyalty to transnational groups

Institutional Inertia (Mechanical)

> Cosmopolitanism



New Citizens

Natural Resources Team 1: **Voluntary NS The Green Test** "Manage Me" High taxation Policy continuity Innovation driven High levels of philanthropy Technocratic expertise Increased religiosity Individual actualisation "Release Me" High taxes High welfare Culture conformity Tolerant **Emigration** Communally-Individualistic ← oriented society **Balik Kampung** Survivor Developed world Religion/state ideology Wanton consumption "Live for today" Fatalistic world Chaotic society Wide lifestyle choices Spiritual leader is esteemed Similar to Cambodia and **Immigration** Myanmar Conflict/fault lines

Sustainable Use of

Unsustainable Use of Natural Resources

Team 2a:

BRING IT ON Political participation grows Young people are better informed More active citizenry Citizens joined political parties based on their political convictions 2016 and 2021 General Elections • PAP remains the dominant party, but increasingly shares power with other alternative parties · Increased public discussion and participation, more lively parliamentary debate

Singapore is more fractious, but the best

ideas surface to solve intractable problems

Political Scenarios

2011 General Election

DON'T YOU DARE

No change from current situation

√ Apathy

PAP attracts low-calibre opportunists

Utter cynicism

2016 and 2021 General Elections

- PAP loses partial control of government to opposition, forced to form a coalition government by 2022
- Total fractiousness, no decisions possible
 - Public disillusionment
 - More emigration

THIS HAS ALL HAPPENED BEFORE, AND IT WILL ALL HAPPEN AGAIN

Sense of political shifting ceases

- TFR still low
- More Singaporeans leave
- New citizens renew collective commitment to the PAP

2016 and 2021 General Elections

- Singapore is committed to the status quo
- Dominated by a new wave of Singaporeans
- Singaporean diaspora exists abroad in large numbers

Team 2b:

Economic Scenarios

2011 General Election



- More multidimensional society that is more holistic and humane
- Greater sense of intrinsic motivation and love for the pursuit of the "finer things in life"
- Less fear of failure, more courage to be adventurous
- More flexibility of movement, greater choice of lifestyle, diversity is embraced
- Economic stagnation at worst (but not necessarily!)
- Falling disposable income

THE MERCENARY

Economic/monetary incentives as drivers

Increased socioeconomic rift Increased number of "fairweather citizens", who have no attachment to Singapore and who leave in bad times



- Citizens are callous, uncaring, cold and unsentimental
- Economy is stable, strong and predictable
- Country is prosperous and continues to attract investments

Team 3:

	А	В	С	D
Economic (Maintaining "The Singapore Premium")	Depression	Recession	Muddle Through	Resilient Economy
Political (Credibility and trust of public in governance)	Crisis	Status Quo	Democratisation	Gridlock
Social (Level of equality and inclusion; social mobility)	Harmony	Discord	Riots	

Scenario 1: Our Lehman Moment

• Economic depression → Political crisis → Social discord → Political gridlock

Scenario 2: Durian Garden

• Social discord → Political crisis → Political democratisation → Resilient economy and social harmony

Scenario 3: PAP Bahru

• Social riots → Political crisis → Political gridlock → Economic recession



Business

Team 1:	Kaypoh			
	Police and Thieves	Reagan's Nightmare		
	Patronage	Bureaucracy		
	• Cronynism	Redundancy		
	Corruption	Stifled dynamism		
	Government mitigates social frogtures, but they are not fully	"Distribution" society		
Corporate Ethics: Wild Wild West .	fractures, but they are not fully resolved	Stagnant socialism		
	High administrative costs to government		Corporate Ethics: Good Corporate	
	Dog-Eat-Dog	Adam Smith's Perfect World	Citizen	
	Hobbesian world	Adam Smith's "invisible hand"		
	• Anarchy	High citizen ownership of society		
	Winner takes all	Withering of the state		
	Widening inequality	No social fractures		
		• Utopia		
	\	V		
Government Involvement:				

Bo Chap

Government Involvement:

Team 2:

Concentrated Power

A Benevolent Nanny

- A dominant political party
- Social planning ≥ economic planning
- Selection of leaders is based on EQ, from among community grassroots and NGO leaders
- High cost of business
- Corporate Social Responsibility is mandatory
- Strong social orientation of unions and business federations
- Minimum wage introduced and health benefits provided
- Environmental regulations strengthened
- No "sin" industries
- Charity foundations/NGOs run like corporations
- Government backs diverse education

Ultimate Singapore: Guided Capitalism

- Dominant political party
- Bureaucrats/technocracy
- Selection of leaders is based on IQ
- Business sector is government directed/influenced
- Social policy is government directed/influenced
- Manpower planning is highly centralised

Moral Compass: Values (Heart)

Serangoon Gardens

- Government is council driven
- Community leaders are elected
- Proportional representation
- Identity and issue politics
- More SMEs
- More innovation and risk-taking in business
- Venture philanthropy and social enterprises
- Privately provided safety net social policy is localised, fragmented and less scalable, but responsive
- Many schools, independent schools exist

Laissez-Faire Mercantile State

·

Moral

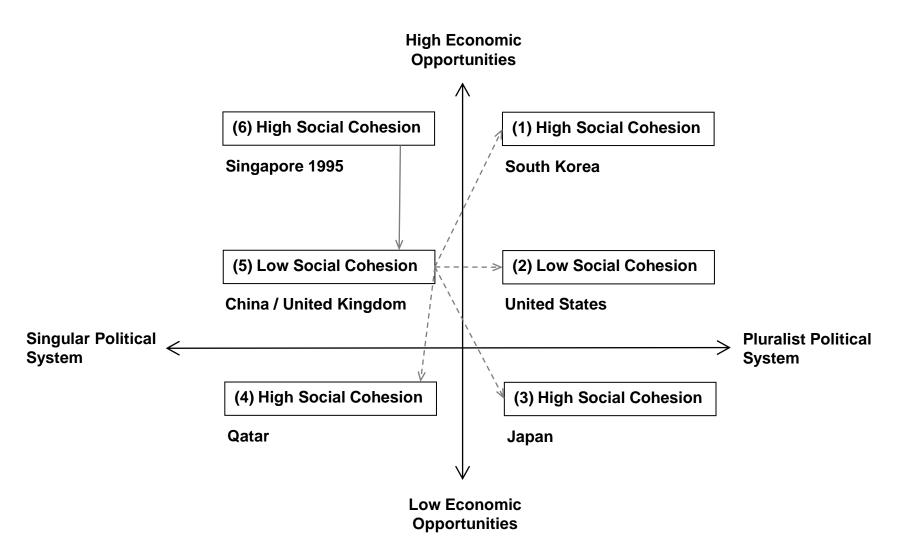
 \rightarrow Compass:

Value (\$)

- Pluralistic politics, more political opposition
- Businessman politicians
- Culture of lobbying, pork-barrel politics
- Money is power, money politics
- Chambers of commerce and unions exist
- Labour disputes
- More SMEs
- Venture capital
- No/minimal social safety nets
- Schools focus more on "marketable skills"

Participatory Governance System

Team 3:



High Social Mobility/ Equality of Opportunity

Team 4:

	Hotel California	Rebirth of Singapore Story	
Weak Leadership /	 Unsustainable social welfare spending 	 Sustainable reform of social services 	
	Policy paralysis	Policy making is credible	
	High taxes	Moderate taxes	
	Tax emigration/talent flight	 More social cohesion, "Pledge values" are reaffirmed 	
		Successful democratic reform/institutions	Strong Leadership /
Common Vision	Greece	Brave Old World	Common Vision
	• Populism	Low taxes	
	Policy paralysis	Minimal reform of social services	
	Sharp social divisions	Plutocracy, but there is a belief in system	
	Class warfare	Minimal democratic reforms	

Low Social Mobility/
Equality of Opportunity



Public Service

Team 1:

Inclusive State

Greek Tragedy

- High social spending
- Increasing populism, leads to high levels of taxation and the flight of the talented
- Anti-foreigner sentiment
- Distinction between "us" and "them"
- Akin to Golding's Lord of the Flies

Stakeholder Society

- PAP cedes some power, and new actors claim power
- Actors collaborate
- Strong care for the weak/disadvantaged
- Government, business, unions, philanthropists, the community, clans and religious organisations have a strong feeling of shared responsibility
- There is a "we" that is large and inclusive
- Akin to Donne "No man is an island"

→ Ownership

Entitlement ←

Dog-Eat-Dog

- Economic success
- Extreme inequality
- Lack of social consensus
- PAP is struggling
- Focus is on "me", "myself" and "l"
- Akin to Hobbes' description of a world of "war of all against all"

Gridlock

- Multiple actors compete
- Meritocracy is a zero sum game, leads to greater competition
- Issue-based politics
- There is a competition among groups lobbying for their preferred policies -"heat and light", "sound and fury"
- There are many small, separate "we"
- Akin to Hayek those that are rich and powerful get more than their share

Meritocratic City

Team 2:

Eduard Lim, divorcee

Raffles Place³

- Private banker from Goldman Stanley, looking for his next best offer
- Rents loft in Tanjong Pagar
- Hangs out with expatriate colleagues but does not acknowledge auntie who cleans desk
- He is defined by his job
- Has a robotic dog and no kids
- Buys wine online and drives a Tesla
- Flies to Chengdu twice a month on business
- Didn't vote in the last election (walkover in Tanjong Pagar)

Self-interest

Predominates Serangoon Gardens

- Mrs Aroozoo, retired teacher
- Joined the Serangoon Gardens Country Club
- Knows her old neighbours, but is worried about the influx of new residents
- Petitioned against plans to build a foreign worker dormitory in her estate and complained to a Minister of Parliament about people parking outside her house
- Volunteers to teach disadvantaged children and goes to Singapore's third casino in her free time
- Her daughter is a lawyer turned dancer
- Voted for the same party for the last thirty years

Opportunities for All

New Chinatown

- John Hu, new citizen and businessman
- Family man, one child in Raffles Institution who is ranked second in his class
- Active in the Hu clan association and in grassroots organisations
- Stays in Sunvale (Executive Condominium)
- Thinks of Singapore as a land of opportunity, goes for the National Day Parade every year
- Runs a home appliance business, and also occasionally imports sand from China, employs Singaporeans
- Follows his MP on Facebook
- Is upset when he is sometimes teased for his poor pronunciation

Active Citizenry

Hougang

- Faisal Abdul Rahman, primary school educated bus driver earning \$\$3,000 a month
- Stays in a 3 room HDB flat with his wife and three children
- One son is attending a polytechnic on a Mendaki scholarship, and another son works as an executive in an MNC in Jurong
- His wife babysits for his neighbour from China
- He is a volunteer with the Neighbourhood Watch
- He is active in Meet-the-People sessions
- Voted for the same party for the last twenty years

Stake for Everyone

Team 3:

Strong Government X-Men United Ice Age Government able to rally and bridge Blind spot in governance Unstable equilibrium divisions in society "Every man for himself" Co-creation of national agenda Capacity to deliver Divided society with inequality Ability to mobilise people and groups Limited civic consciousness SMEs crowded out Meritocracy continues to work and the talented are the winners Growth continues Singapore maintains her position in the rankings **Fragmented** Society, "I" Society, "We" **Dark Knight Rises Avengers** Strong, robust civic society Vacuum of leadership Citizens have greater self-reliance Discontentment Sense of community and willingness to Greatest gridlock in policy making help others Major NIMBY ("Not in My Backyard") Missed opportunities for growth and Opportunities for entrepreneurs progress Emergence of charismatic leader

Weak Government

Team 4:

Political and Institutional Stability

Reconstructive Plastic Surgery

- Trust between the population and the government, partnership between both parties
- Mediocre/poor fiscal position, anaemic growth
- Diversity recognised and embraced
- Hard choices are legitimate (people are fine with having less)
- Belief that personal motivations can be acted on (population that takes ownership)
- No monopoly of ideas
- Unstable/messy international geopolitical environment
- Coalition government or the party in power regularly changes

Morphine Drip

- Transactional relationship between state and citizens
- Rich (but with finite resources)
- State provides infrastructure, jobs, social services, cash transfers, etc.
- Government appeases population and stays in power
- Affirmative action for different groups
- Demands of population increase
- ASEAN is booming, Myanmar is the next engine of growth
- Singapore is still relevant
- Polarised, but "plastered"

Self-reliant Mentality

Physiotherapy

- Politicised bureaucracy
- Gridlock, change in the party that is in power
- Crashing market
- Spats with neighbours, messy geopolitical environment
- Strong but divergent political and civic activism
- Private sector is wealthy and has a strong influence on society and government
- Vibrant, resilient local enterprises (organic growth)

Band-Aid

- Political promises not fulfilled
- Frequent changes in government
- Reserves have been spent
- Region is booming, Singapore is overtaken by neighbours
- Mobile members of the population leave
- Haves versus the Have-nots
- Have-nots are mobilised/agitated easily

Political and Institutional Turbulence

Mentality

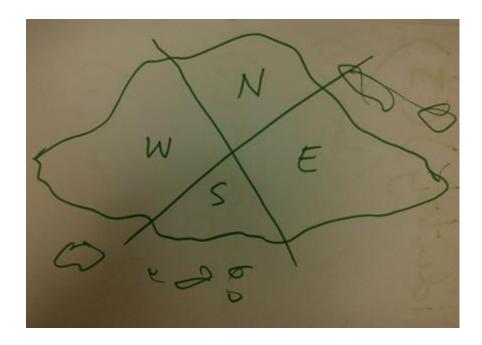
Entitlement

Strategy

- Singapore could be divided into four large 'states' that are governed individually
- Central government looks after military and foreign policy to be made up of elected leaders from the four 'state governments'
- Each 'state' would have its individual character and development policy given the resources of the region
- Allows diversity, makes Singapore less vulnerable to bad luck and bad leadership

Alternatives Suggested

- Devolution of power to the local level
 - Elected Town Councils and Residents' Committees
 - Town Councils given the authority to grant public speaking or performance licenses
 - Local, community radio stations
- Singapore could also export itself by reducing her population and having Singaporean settlements in other countries

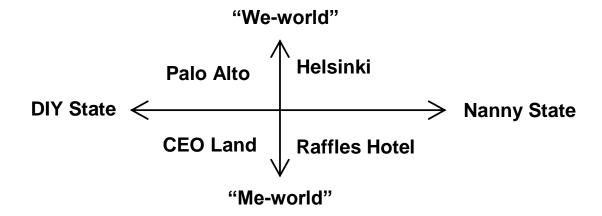




Final Workshop



Young Singaporeans Team 2:



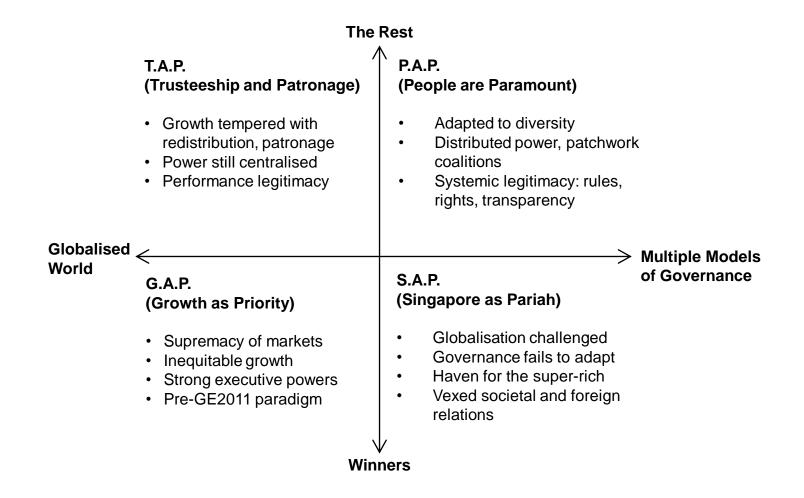
Civil Society Team 1:

	lon Orchard	Sentosa Cove	Kampung 2022	Hotel 81
Income Disparity	High	High	Low	Low
Political System	Egalitarian, multi- party system	Elitist, dominant single party	Egalitarian, multi- party system	Elitist
Cost of Living	Very high	Very high	Low	Medium
Political Pluralism	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower
National Pride and Rootedness	Medium	Low	High	Low
Social Stratification	High	High	Low	Low
Competitiveness	High	High	Medium to high	Low
Social Stability	Low	Low	High	High

Arts, Culture and Media Team 3:

	Loyal Lions	Cool Cats	The Boiling Frog	Angry Birds!
PAP's Ability to Change	High	Low	Mid • Business as usual	Low • Mitosis • Lose Power? • Increase in civil society
Sense of Belonging	High	High	Low	Low
Globalisation Continues	Yes, but Singapore can manage	Yes, but Singapore can manage	No, countries turn more protectionist	Yes, but Singapore cannot manage
Total Fertility Rate, Immigration Rate and Total Population Growth Rate	TFR at replacement level, low immigration, and low population growth	TFR at replacement level, low immigration, and low population growth	Low TFR, low immigration, and a decline in the population	TFR low, high immigration, and high population growth
Role of Mainstream Media	Highly independent, decreased media regulation	Highly independent, decreased regulation	Highly regulated	Decreased regulation – noisy media (e.g. Taiwan)
Social Media	Strong and vibrant, medium influence	Highest functional "marketplace of ideas"	High influence, vulnerable to rise of "mutant charismatic"	Noisy, low influence
Nature of Citizenry	High acceptance of different views, more debate	High acceptance of different views, more debate	Some acceptance of different views, more debate	Angry and extreme views, unproductive debate
Geopolitics - ASEAN	United and strong ASEAN, stable region	Dysfunctional ASEAN, potentially unstable region	Business as usual in ASEAN, Singapore disengaged	Business as usual in ASEAN, Singapore disengaged
Credibility and Effectiveness of Opposition	Middle	Middle	Not effective, no credibility	Effective, high credibility

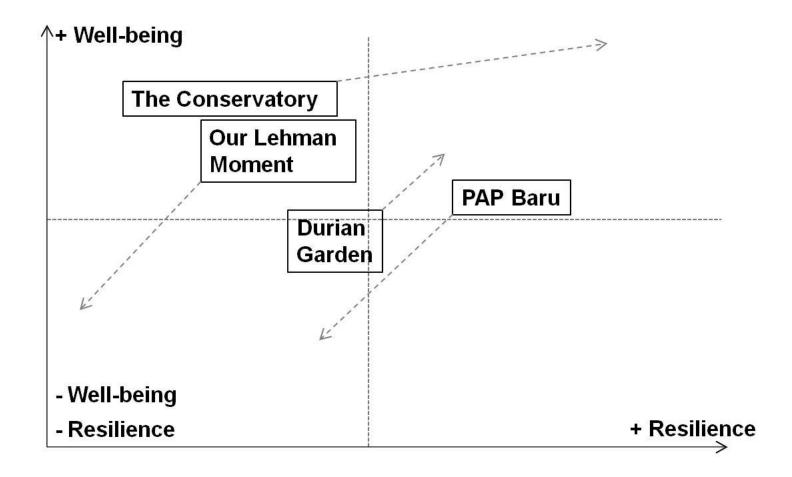
Academics and Public Intellectuals Team 2:



Academics and Public Intellectuals Team 2:

	G.A.P. (Growth as Priority)	T.A.P. (Trusteeship and Patronage)	S.A.P. (Singapore as Pariah)	P.A.P. (People are Paramount)
How redistributive?	Low	Medium	Low	High
How trusting of one another?	Low	Medium	Medium	High
How representative is our political system perceived to be?	Low	Medium	Low	High
Performance legitimacy (PL) vs. systemic legitimacy (SL)	PL	PL/SL	SL/PL	SL
Singapore identity	Low	Medium	Low	High
Capacity for government to act decisively and quickly	High	Medium	High	Low

New Citizens Team 3:



New Citizens Team 3:

	Our Lehman Moment	Durian Garden	PAP Baru	The Conservatory
Economic growth/ "The Singapore Premium"	Global depression	Recession	Local recession/ muddle through	Prosperity
Institutional dynamism/ resilience	Weak	Strong	Weak turning strong	Strong
Political (credibility, public trust)	Crisis	Status quo	Gridlock	"Democratisation"
Leadership	Weak, chaotic, polarisation	Bumpy transition in leadership, modest growth in civil society	Chaotic handing over of leadership baton, polarised, gridlocked	Smooth evolution at multiple levels, robust growth in civil society
Social mood (inclusion, social mobility, diversity)	Very negative	Steady	Negative	Positive
Scenario starting point	Global economic depression	Social discord	Social riots	Economic prosperity

High Social Well-being/ Equality of Opportunity

Business Team 4:

1100	ei Cailloitha
•	Unsustainable social welfare spending

- Policy paralysis
- High taxes

Hatal California

Tax emigration/talent flight

Rebirth of Singapore Story

- Sustainable reform of social services
- Policy making is credible
- Moderate taxes
- More social cohesion, "Pledge values" are reaffirmed
- Successful democratic reform/institutions

Weak Leadership / Common Vision

Greece

- Populism
- Policy paralysis
- Sharp social divisions
- Class warfare
- Political and economic instability

Brave Old World

- Low taxes
- Minimal reform of social services
- Plutocracy, but there is a belief in system
- Minimal democratic reforms
- Strong sense of vulnerability (siege mentality)

Low Social Well-being/ Equality of Opportunity Strong Leadership /

Common Vision

Business Team 4:

	Rebirth of Singapore Story	Hotel California	Brave Old World	Greece
Income inequality	Falling	Falling	Very high and rising	High and rising
Equality of educational opportunity	High	Medium	Low	Low
Social safety nets	Good	Wasteful and excessive	Minimal	Modest
Aging population	Managed well	Excessive	Poor	Poor
Social divisions	Minimised, good cohesion	Minimised, but no cohesion	Very high	High
Elitism vs. egalitarianism	Low	Medium	Very low	Medium to high
State vs. market tension	Good balance	Very high state	Low state	Low state
Political pluralism	High pluralism	Moderate	Low	Moderate
Anti-immigrant Xenophobia	Low	Medium to low	Very high	High
Economic opportunity	High	Low	Moderate	Low

Public Service Team 1:

Inclusive State

Greek Tragedy

- High and runaway social spending
- PAP strong but increasingly populist, driven by emergence of "nativist" groups
- Anti-foreigner sentiment
- Focus on taxing rich 1% and exploiting foreigners
- High taxation → flight of the wealth creators
- Distinction between "us" and "them"
- Hubris → inevitability of outcome
- Akin to Gibbon "Rise and Fall"

Stakeholder Society

- PAP cedes some power, and new actors claim power
- High social spending, but sustainable because general taxation levels keep pace
- Actors collaborate
- Strong care for the weak/disadvantaged
- Government, business, unions, philanthropists, the community and clans and religious organisations have a strong feeling of shared responsibility
- There is a "we" that is large and inclusive
- Akin to Donne "No man is an island"

Entitlement ←

Dog-Eat-Dog

- Economic success
- Extreme inequality
- Lack of social consensus
- PAP is struggling
- Focus is on "me", "myself" and "l"
- Akin to Hayek's Classical Liberalism those who are rich and powerful get more than their "fair" share"

Gridlock

- Multiple actors compete
- Meritocracy is a zero sum game, leads to greater competition
- Issue-based politics
- There is a competition among groups lobbying for their preferred policies -"heat and light", "sound and fury"
- There are many small, separate "we"
- Akin to Hobbes' description of a world of "war of all against all"

Meritocratic City

Ownership

Final Workshop Scenarios Team A:

We Society (more equitable distribution)

Rentier State

- Policy reforms, not political/institutional reforms
- GLCs engaged in redistributive activities
- Nationalisation of essential public services
- State welfarism, patronage system, old social contract
- More egalitarian status quo, less risk of conflict of powers
- Hard to sustain

Patchwork Democracy

- Multiple voices
- Longer deliberation
- Communitarian values
- Strong Singaporean identity
- Solidarity
- Risk of government being captured by interest groups
- Political and business lobbying
- Noise vs. signals

Concentrated Power

Winner Takes All

- Economically liberal, socially and politically conservative
- Low-attitudes
- Individualistic, me-first ethic
- Political capture by big businesses
- Big city, high-speed economy
- Entrepreneurship

Tribes

- Inward, parochial
- Interest groups compete for resources
- State power is diminished
- Disillusionment with government
- National apathy, local activism
- Government appeals to class interests
- Philanthropy
- Decentralised democracy
- Appeals to nationalism

Me Society (less equitable distribution)

Dispersed Power

Final Workshop Scenarios Team B:

State Accedes to Demand for Political Liberalisation

Donut State

- Government unable to deliver, NGOs step in – they are able to partially fill the gap and deliver some services
- Freer media
- ISA abolished
- Independent judiciary
- Growth of civil society/NGOs

State Does Not Deliver Core Services⁴

State of Decline

- Political instability, riots and a class war
- The state and civil society are both "all talk and no action"
- Divided society, growth of underclass

State of the Nation

- Affordable public housing restored
- High quality, equitable education system
- · Universally affordable healthcare
- ISA abolished
- · Free media
- Freedom of Information Act
- Independent judiciary

Yesterstate Once More

- Government delivers all core services
- Media is still not free
- No Freedom of Information Act
- No change to judicial system
- Restrictions on civil society still apply
- People accept this because of an unstable external environment, siege mentality prevails
- PAP ver. 1

State Does Not Accede to Demand for Political Liberalisation State is Able to Deliver Core Services, Meets/Exceeds Expectations

Final Workshop Scenarios Team C:

Driving Forces

Credibility of government – trust in, and support for, government

Low level of trust in government, sense of betrayal, "government does not know best!"

High level of trust in government, sense of shared progress, believe in the institutions, "government does know best"

Definition of success

Value – Economic imperatives, narrow definition

Values – Beyond economic, broad definition

Who public policy and the social compact benefits

"Pro – Man on the street" "Pro – Ah
Beng, Ahmad and Muragan"
Perceived to look after the common
person, man-in- the- street

"Pro – cream" - Invest in top 1% the top achievers, the winning sectors, corporate safety net more likely than social safety net, privileges the rich and the elite and those running businesses as they keep wealth-creation going

Final Workshop Scenarios Team C:

	Satisfied Sheep - "Smart government, satisfied people"	Boiling Frogs – "Old government fails, new government takes over"	Cool Cats – "Cracks in government, people step up to fill in the gap"
Government	Credible Institutions still strong, and economy still strong. The government implements effective policies that align with and reinforce materialist values and the market-driven system. The sense of betrayal is mitigated through "money".	Credible. Economic growth is middling - between first and third scenarios, but money is not/less important. Government runs a fiscal deficit. The sense of betrayal is mitigated through political change and policy reform.	Non-credible government with wrong policies, more scandals, strident social media. SGP an economic backwater when compared to thriving region. The sense of betrayal is exacerbated and people become more self-reliant.
Values	Dollar. Money used for social transfers to placate populace, even if system is still basically elitist.	Heart. Gracious society, thanks to through a top-down government led process. But values are less materialistic. People want a more egalitarian system.	Heart. Bottom-up initiative increases. MRT is empty. People are happy! Rice and ikan bilis is the main staple but people are happy to eat that.
Winners	Winners. This is a Pro-Singapore scenario	The Rest. This is a Pro-Singaporeans scenario	The Rest. This is a scenario where the people are Proactive
Description	B.A.U. Sustainable because there is an ideology that keeps people supporting the system - different paths of success. Rhetoric succeeds in persuading 99% they are not losers. Sustainable through 2-3 rounds of GEs, but a more stratified society is created. Multiple interest groups. PAP may lose a few GRCs, but still holds on to majority control – more diverse voices, giving PAP democratic/systemic legitimacy. But overall there is greater social fragmentation.	Low quality leaders in the incumbent party lead to a change in government or a coalition government. Possibility of a change in government/coalition government ideologies have changed, leads to a change in focus of society from dollar values to heart values. Social democratic government. Hunky dory up till 2022, but by 2035, we will start looking to see what Europe did in 2012 – not sustainable!	Flight of capital, MNCs and foreign talent (oil refinery becomes port or Zouk 2) Rise of SMEs, social enterprise, indigenous wealth creation begins. Rise of civil society Like cats, people can no longer be "herded", but they do take care of themselves.



IDENTITY AND SOCIAL COHESION (18)

Plural Identities / Singular Identity	YG - T1
Lower / Higher National Cohesion	YG - T3
(Dis)Integration of Society	YG - T4
Identity Crisis	YG - T4
Tension Between Economic and Social Pressures	YG - T4
Low / High Levels of Citizenship Pride	CS - T2a
Social Fragmentation / Social Integration	CS - T3
Low / High Sense of Belonging	ACM - T3
The Relationship Among Citizens and the Nature of Society	ACM - T4
Low / High National Cohesion	ACAD - T1
Low / High Social Cohesion	BS - T3
Meritocratic City / Inclusive State	PS - T1
Fragmented Society ("I") / Cohesive Society ("We")	PS - T3



IDENTITY AND SOCIAL COHESION (18) (Cont'd)

Level of National Pride and Rootedness	FW – CS T1
Level of Social Stability	FW – CS T1
Nature of Citizenry – acceptance of others' views and quality of political debate	FW – ACM T3
Strength of Singapore's Identity	FW – ACAD T2
Level of Trust Citizens Have Between Each Other	FW – ACAD T2
Extent of Social Divisions	FW – BS T4



INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY (18)

Perceived Inequality / Equality	YG - T2
Low / High Income Disparity (at high GDP/capita level)	CS - T1
Inequitable / Equitable Income Distribution	CS - T2b
Growth at all Costs / Inclusive Growth	CS - T3
Monopoly Controls Resources / Equal Control of Resources	ACM - T4
Winners / The Rest	ACAD - T2
Social Inequality, Exclusion, Low Social Mobility / Social Equality, Inclusion, High Social Mobility	/ NC - T3
High / Low Social Mobility and Equality of Opportunity	BS - T4
Opportunities for All / Stake for Everyone	PS - T2
Level of Social Stratification	FW – CS T1
How redistributive society is	FW – ACAD T2



INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY (18)

Effectiveness of Social Safety Nets	FW – BS T4
Level of Elitism	FW – BS T4
Equality of Education Opportunity	FW – BS T4
High / Low Social Well-being and Equality of Opportunity	FW – BS T4
Who Public Policy and the Social Compact Benefits – Winners v. The Rest	FW – Team C



NATURE OF GOVERNMENT (13)

Out-source / In-source Government or DIY State / Nanny State	YG - T2
Increasing / Declining Political Leadership	CS - T2a
State Capitalism / Market Capitalism	CS - T4
Weak / Strong Government	PS - T3
Credibility and Adaptability of Government	NC - T3
Bo Chap / Kaypoh Government	BS - T1
Weak / Strong Leadership and Common Vision	BS - T4
Whether the Government has Performance Legitimacy or Systemic Legitimacy	FW – ACAD T2
Capacity for Government to Act Decisively and Quickly	FW – ACAD T2
Quality of Leadership	FW – NC T3
Level of Institutional Dynamism	FW – NC T3
Level of Tension between the State and the Market	FW - BS T4
Concentrated / Dispersed Power	FW – Team A
State Delivers Core Services ⁵ / State Does Not Deliver Core Services	FW – Team B

^{5.} Core Services: Affordable housing, healthcare and education



VALUE SYSTEM (11)

Materialism / Post-materialism	CS - T4
Homogenous / Diversified Values	ACM - T2
"I" – the Role of the Individual	ACM - T4
Competitive Individualism / Inclusive Communitarism	ACAD - T3
Individualistic / Communally-oriented Society	NC - T1
Economic Incentives Drive Nation / Other Incentives Drive Nation	NC - T2
Moral Compass - Values (Heart) / Value (\$)	BS - T2
Self-interest Predominates / Active Citizenry	PS - T1
"Me-world" / "We-world"	FW – YG T2
"Me Society" / "We Society"	FW – Team A

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Definition of Success - Values and Value

FW - Team C



GEOPOLITICS AND OTHER EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND INFLUENCES (9)

Lower External Pressure / Higher External Pressure	YG - T3
Low / High Level of Support From Southeast Asian Countries	ACM - T1
Autonomous / Dependent (in relation to external powers)	ACM - T2
Globalisation Stops / Continues, Singapore's Ability to Handle Globalisation	ACM - T3
Global City / Not a Global City	ACAD - T1
Globalised World / Multiple Models of Governance	ACAD - T2
Global City / Kampung	ACAD - T3
Parochialism / Cosmopolitanism	ACAD - T4
Geopolitics in the ASEAN region	FW – ACM T3



POLITICAL POWER (9)

Dispersed / Concentrated Power	YG - T1
Changing Face of Power	YG - T4
Egalitarian Political System with Multiple Parties / Elitist Political System With a Dominant Party	CS - T1
Power of the Ruler or the Ruling Class	ACM - T4
Participatory Governance System / Concentrated Power	BS - T2
Singular / Pluralist Political System	PS - T3
Level of Political Pluralism	FW – CS T1
How Representative the Political System is Perceived to Be	FW – ACAD T2
Level of Political Pluralism	FW – BS T4
Concentrated / Dispersed Power	FW - Team A



 $\Delta CM - T3$

POLITICAL CONDITIONS (7)

PAP's Ability to Change

FAF S Ability to Change	ACIVI - 13
Political Unpredictability	NC - T2a
Immigration That Reinforces the Political Status Quo	NC - T2a
Political and Institutional Stability / Turbulence	PS - T4
Credibility and Effectiveness of Opposition	FW – ACM T3
State Does Not / Does Accede to Demands for Political Liberalisation	FW – Team B
Credibility of Government	FW – Team C

ECONOMIC FACTORS (5)

• •	
Lose / Maintain "The Singapore Premium"	NC - T3
Low / High Economic Opportunities	BS - T3
Cost of Living	FW – CS T1
Competitiveness	FW – CS T1
Low / High Economic Opportunities	FW – BS T4



Media (3)

Media Is / Is Not Credible and Accurate CS - T2b Role of Mainstream Media FW - ACM T3 Influence of Social Media FW - ACM T3 **POPULATION (2)** High / Low Capacity to Manage Influx of Migrants From China ACM - T1 Singapore's Total Fertility Rate, Immigration Rate and Total Population Growth Rate ACM - T3 Ability to Manage Aging Population FW - BS T4 **CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP (2)** Entitlement / Ownership PS - T1 **PS-T4** Self-reliant / Entitlement Mentality



BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES (1)

Institutional Adaptability (Organicity) / Institutional Inertia (Mechanical)

ACAD - T4

BUSINESS, CORPORATE ETHICS (1)

Corporate Ethics - Wild Wild West / Good Corporate Citizen

BS - T1

ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY (1)

Sustainable / Unsustainable Use of Natural Resources

NC - T1