

Final Workshop Report

Shangri-La Rasa Sentosa Resort Horizon Pavilion: 15 – 16 August 2012

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

1. The IPS Prism project provides a platform for Singaporeans to think about the future and how we will govern ourselves in 2022. A series of seven workshops were conducted in June and July 2012, with participants from seven different sectors: young Singaporeans; civil society; arts, culture and media; academics and public intellectuals; new citizens; business; and public service.¹

2. At each sector's workshop, participants were invited to form teams to discuss how Singapore might evolve over the next 10 years and what the driving forces of change might be for various scenarios. Participants at each workshop then voted for the most plausible and challenging set of scenarios that was presented, and these seven selected sets of scenarios were then presented at the final workshop in August.

3. The final workshop involved all the participants from the previous sector workshops and aimed to create several new sets of scenarios based on the driving forces from the sector workshops. Participants were also asked to think of wild cards and orthodoxies, which were also considered in the development of the scenarios. Wild cards are low probability, unexpected events that would have significant impact on the focal concern of how we govern ourselves in 2022. Orthodoxies are theories, assumptions, doctrines or practices that are widely shared or accepted or believed to be true by members of a community

4. The goal of the final workshop was to create a set of scenarios, wild cards and orthodoxies that would be presented to the public in a civic arts engagement — the IPS Prism Immersive Arts Experience — to be held from 8–14 November.

Method

5. At the IPS Prism Final Workshop, participants were asked to divide themselves into three groups. The first group focused on writing scenarios; the second on identifying wild cards; and the third on identifying orthodoxies (in thinking about governance in order to reassess them). All these groups comprised representatives from each of the sector workshops.

6. The Scenarios Group were further divided into three teams — Scenarios Teams A, B and C, and produced three sets of scenarios in total, two through the deductive approach and one using the inductive approach. The Orthodoxies Group produced 11 orthodoxies, and the Wild Cards Group identified 21 wild cards.

1. Please refer to page 87 for the list of participants.

7. The participants reconvened to share the output of the Scenarios, Wild Cards and Orthodoxies Groups. Once Scenarios Teams A, B and C had presented their respective sets of scenarios, the participants voted for the set that was most plausible and challenging for governance in Singapore in 2022. This set would then be presented to the public in a civic arts engagement process mentioned earlier.

8. Finally, the participants were regrouped into their sectors to discuss the implications that these scenarios would have on their specific sectors.

Scenarios and Their Driving Forces

9. Driving forces are defined as trends in the external environment that drive the plot of our scenarios, have an impact on the future and determine the outcomes. They are usually outside the immediate locus of control of one group or organisation, and would impact all the constituents in the system in one way or another.

10. The most significant cluster of driving forces was political. Team A used the degree of state power as their driving force, with concentrated power at one pole and dispersed power at the other. Team B felt that the state would remain a dominant force in the next 10 years, and developed their scenarios on that premise. One of their driving forces was focused around whether the state would be able to deliver core services — affordable housing, healthcare and education — in a way that meets the population's expectations. Team B's other axis focused on whether the state would accede to calls for greater political liberalisation. Team C used the level of credibility that the government has among the populace as a driving force.

11. The value system in society provided another cluster of driving forces. Team A contrasted a "We" society, where there was a more equitable distribution of resources, with a "Me" society that was more individualist and had a less equitable distribution of resources. Team C used society's definition of success as a driving force. They contrasted a narrow definition focused on economic and materialistic rewards with one that was broader with a focus on non-material, intangible and community-oriented values. (This was similar to the "Moral Compass: Value to Values" driving force developed by Team 2 in the Business Sector Workshop.)

12. Lastly, Team C's third driving force focused on who public policy and the social compact would benefit. It compared a situation where policies and outcomes were geared to helping top achievers and those with the highest potential be even more successful, with a situation where the focus is on helping those who are not the high-achievers. This was the trade-off between achieving efficiency and equality in public policy-making. (This was similar to the "The Winners and The Rest" driving force developed by Team 2 in the Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop.)

Wild Cards and Orthodoxies

13. A wild card is a low probability, unexpected event that would have a significant impact on the focal concern of how we govern ourselves in 2022.

Scenario processes are oriented around plausible driving forces, but unexpected events can have a major impact on the future. A wild card exercise is therefore a useful complement to scenario planning.

14. Among the wild cards produced, those that focused on social tensions, social movements and immigration were the most dominant. This was followed by wild cards about security, which dealt with external instability, cyber-attacks, global warming and Singapore's water supply. The third most dominant were the political wild cards, followed by the economic/financial wild cards.

15. An orthodoxy is a theory, assumption, doctrine or practice that is widely shared or accepted or believed to be true by members of a community. Our understanding about the future (and most anything else) is often based on orthodoxies, and articulating these orthodoxies helps us question the assumptions used in our scenarios.

16. Among the orthodoxies produced, most were on Singapore's identity, politics and economic strategy. This was followed by orthodoxies that dealt with social policies and the values behind these policies.

Selected Set of Scenarios

17. The selected set of scenarios was the one developed by Scenarios Team C. It garnered 28 votes, winning by a margin of three votes.

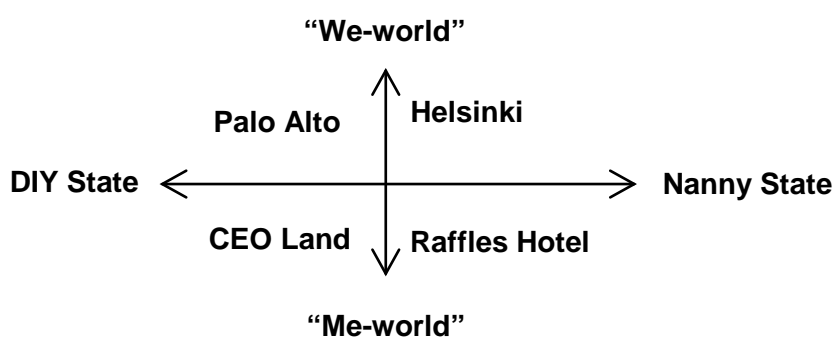
2. SELECTED SCENARIOS FROM THE SECTOR WORKSHOPS

18. From the previous sector workshops, teams that developed the most plausible and challenging scenarios concerning governance in Singapore in 2022 were invited to share their material to kick-off the Final Workshop.² These teams had been given the chance to further refine the set of scenarios they had created in the sector workshops, and so some scenarios vary from that presented in the sector workshop notes.

Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop

19. The members of Team 2 from the Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop presented the following set of scenarios.

Figure 1. Selected Scenarios from Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop



20. The driving force on the horizontal axis focuses on the role of the government in providing public goods. A "DIY State" refers to a society where the government is either unable or unwilling to provide public goods. Instead, citizens and the community will be involved in providing these goods. A "Nanny State" is where the government is the sole provider of public goods.

21. The team's second driving force compared the level of social capital or communitarianism present within society. At one extreme, "Me-world" is a society with low levels of social capital where people live in a way that could be characterised as atomistic individualism. Here, individuals do not see themselves as part of a greater community with common goals and values. This results in a "dog-eat-dog" world. At the other pole, "We-world" represents a situation where society has high levels of social capital. Here, the community is able to act collectively.

22. The team also posed the following questions:
- Is Singapore mature enough to maintain social harmony without the state?
 - What does a minimal government look like? Who will step forward and fill the gap?

2. Figures and tables for the selected scenarios from the sector workshops are taken or modified from the teams' presentations at the final workshop.

- Could communal groups be divisive? Could communitarianism be exclusive?
- Would Singapore’s “social recession” improve by 2022?
- Would we be willing to pay more in taxes for better social security?
- Could an aging Singapore demand a better safety net?
- Would “self-resilience” take on a new meaning?
- Would Singapore’s safety net be more “Scandinavian” than the Scandinavian ones?
- When the government provides top service, what will the citizens become?
- Would a more selfish Singapore pay higher taxes for greater social benefits?
- Could the state give too much protection and welfare for citizens’ good?
- Is global competition making us more self-centred?
- How can greater individualism impact the family, the community, national identity and social cohesion?

Civil Society Sector Workshop

23. The members of Team 1 from the Civil Society Sector Workshop presented the following set of scenarios.

Table 1. Selected Scenarios from Civil Society Sector Workshop

	Ion 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

Ion Orchard

24. Sipping freshly brewed coffee while savouring a delectable blueberry pancake breakfast 56 stories above the bustling Orchard Road sidewalk, the resident within the Ion Orchard Residences could hardly be bothered by the hustle and bustle at the street level. This is the pinnacle of city living, where extravagance is just not enough. In this Singapore, the rich are ensconced in a comfortable bubble, far away from the reality of an average Singaporean’s life.

25. Below the Ion Orchard Residences are luxury shops out-done only by the glitzy labels that they carry. Four impeccably groomed shop assistants are always on hand to serve each customer from the very moment they step into a shop, reflecting the disproportionately large amount of resources directed towards catering to the rich.

26. As we train our eyes lower, we notice that the Ion building comprises more than the luxury that defines the upper levels. Like an iceberg, the luxurious facade is only a small fraction of what is actually there — an even larger base of shops such as Forever 21, Starbucks, New Look and even the mainstream subway station are actually at its very core. Here, staff serve 10 or 20 customers each!

27. Near the foundation of the building is the food court with stalls selling frightfully affordable meals and even a one-price store — \$2 for any item that is on sale. It seems as though they were designed specifically to serve the needs of Singaporeans who tread only the lower levels of the Ion building. But, at least there are shops that cater to the average Singaporean.

28. A happy situation? Hardly. The working class gaze up in envy — so near, yet so far. This is the situation of multiple destinies in one destination and every day, as the average Singaporean heads to work, he is reminded of his place in society. One day, his feelings will translate into action at the ballot box.

29. The headlines the team developed for Ion Orchard were “ST Poll: Only 3% of students from lower income families believe in social mobility” and “CNA: iPAP (the Improved PAP) introduces the team that will contest Tanjong Pagar GRC”.

Sentosa Cove

30. Sentosa Cove describes the situation where there is an exclusive, uber-upper class community who live separately and think differently from the poor masses. The air is thick with resentment....

31. Over the years, the poor has become poorer — menial jobs have been automated, outsourced or are now cheaply done by an army of foreigners in Singapore. The poor have begged the state for more help, and it has responded by providing some handouts in the form of rebates. This help is just enough to prevent a massive revolt, and the poor’s pleas for an overhaul of current policies remain unheard. Dejected, the masses turn to god, religious institutions and even self-organised underground groups for assistance. However, the masses remain ever mindful of the omnipresent political elites.

32. The rich became richer and more politically powerful. They influence the levers of political and economic power to further entrenched their position under the banners of meritocracy and economic efficiency. They remain totally unsympathetic to the struggles of the growing underclass who are unable to compete on equal footing with the elites.

33. The educated middle class, sensing a lack of social mobility, have deserted Singapore for greener pastures in the long-asleep but now fully awakened economic giants of Indonesia, Malaysia, India and China. The poor have nowhere to go, and so they remained angry and disenfranchised in Singapore, which has since become a home and playground only for the wealthy.

34. The headlines the team developed for Sentosa Cove were “Singapore needs more golf courses; Tiong Bahru residents resettled”, “PM: No more rental flats — work hard to keep up.” and “Radical consumer group deregistered, members jailed”.

Kampung 2022

35. Once upon a time, there was a *kampung*. Everyone was poor but happy because they all had some stake in how the *kampung* was run, and in how resources were shared among the *kampung* folk. People elected a headman, who knew and was connected to them, and the headman had no pre-ordained right to preside over the *kampung*. The headman could be chosen from among a wide circle of villagers, and contestants respected the decisions of the villagers, whatever the outcome. When the village needed to make decisions, it involved everybody, as the villagers knew that if they could have the entire *kampung* on board, the changes of success would be much greater. However, sometimes these village meetings went on forever — they were long, dreary and exhausting because it was very hard to persuade all the villagers that one point of view was best and that it should prevail over the others. But, this was a price they were prepared to pay. One of the problems of having such an extensive consultation process was that decision-making could be painfully slow. The surprising thing though, was that the people were prepared to act very quickly when the village was threatened.

36. It was a caring village, and no one was thrown out or fed to the crocodiles, even if they were very sick or could not make a living anymore. Sometimes, the village faced an economic crisis as demand for their crops and goods fell when other villages became hostile or did not wish to trade with them. In those times, the villagers were prepared to sit down to offer their ideas to save their *kampung*, and more importantly, to protect its independence. Everyone was prepared to chip in, and to defend their right to a peaceful existence. The village was not as rich as its neighbours, but it was not prepared to pursue growth at all cost.

37. The headlines the team developed for Kampung 2022 were “Kampung to discuss government offer to build new road through the village”, “No decision again on new highway”, “Kampung celebrates triumph at regional games” and “Kampung loses its top shuttler to neighbouring village”.

Hotel 81

38. This is a city where uniformity is central to the building of society and the city’s urban planning. The dominant political party governs in a way that predetermines almost every aspect of the citizens’ lives. Only quality public

houses are built and education opportunities are only in subject areas that the government thinks is relevant. Singapore has only one social class — the middle class.

39. There is no opportunity to own luxury housing or cars in this city, but it is still a comfortable place to live. Some are quite happy to leave their fate totally in the hands of the government. Children continue playing in the modern neighbourhood playgrounds and the elderly gather in the comfortable leisure corners and enjoy potluck parties every day. As long as the Temasek dividends are paid out, nobody is interested in challenging the government’s way of running the state.

40. While the neighbourhood is very much alive and abuzz with activities, many are seen leaving for better opportunities abroad. Some leave to pursue further studies while some leave for a luxurious life elsewhere. At the same time, new citizens are always arriving to bridge the population gap. They may also leave when they have earned enough. Singapore has won the city the “World’s Busiest Airport” accolade by a large margin.

41. With the ever-changing population profile, the old social values and norms are lost. Citizens now lack a sense of national pride as many of them are either new citizens or are looking to leave Singapore. It is therefore not surprising that turnout is low during the general elections.

42. The headlines that the team developed for Hotel 81 were “Survey results show that 70% of Singaporeans hold three or more citizenships” and “PM asks: Who is a true Singaporean?”.

Arts, Culture and Media Sector Workshop

43. The members of Team 3 of the Arts, Culture and Media Sector Workshop presented the following set of scenarios.

Table 2. Selected Scenarios from the Arts, Culture and Media Sector Workshop

	Loyal Lions	Cool Cats	The Boiling Frogs	Angry Birds!
PAP’s ability to change	High	Low	Medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business as usual 	Low <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mitosis/lose majority • Increase in civil society and opposition
Credibility and effectiveness of opposition	Middle	Middle	Ineffective, no credibility	Effective, high credibility
Sense of belonging	High	High	Low	Low

	Loyal Lions	Cool Cats	The Boiling Frogs	Angry Birds!
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, extreme views, unproductive debate
Total fertility rate (TFR), immigration rate and population growth rate	TFR is at replacement level, low immigration and population growth	TFR is at replacement level, low immigration and population growth	Low TFR, low immigration and a decline in the population	Low TFR, high immigration and population growth
Role of mainstream media	Highly independent, decreased media regulation ³	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
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
Globalisation continues	Yes, but Singapore can manage	Yes, but Singapore can manage	No, countries turn more protectionist	Yes, but Singapore cannot manage

44. The team’s first driving force was political and focused on the PAP’s ability to change. This included the PAP’s responsiveness to feedback from the ground, its ability to read the electorate well, and to adapt to changing political situations. A low ability to change would represent a PAP that disregards the citizenry and insists on its own way.

45. Their second driving force was also political. It contrasted an effective and credible opposition with one that was ineffective and that was not credible.

3. Regulation does not only include formal regulation, but also “soft” regulation, for example, the government could create informal barriers or could place government “plants” online.

46. The team's next three driving forces focused on social issues — the population's sense of belonging, the nature of the citizenry and the growth and composition of Singapore's population.

47. Where the sense of belonging is high, people are connected geographically and are also willing to engage with the community. However, these citizens do not sacrifice agency. The team provided the example of the Nordic model, in which individuals have a strong sense of self, but also see themselves as part of a larger community. On the other end of the spectrum, a global citizen is one that would very easily leave Singapore.

48. The "nature of citizenry" driving force focused on whether the citizenry would be consensus building and pro-harmony on one end, or would be contentious and hold diverse views.

49. The next social driving force was the growth and composition of the population. The team considered whether the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) would return to the replacement level of 2.1 and whether Singapore would welcome immigrants.

50. The team's next two driving forces were related to the media. The "role of mainstream media" driving force contrasted an independent, less regulated media with one that was less independent and more regulated, similar to the media in China circa 1980. The team assumed that social media in 2022 would remain as widespread as it is now, if not more. Their "social media" driving force focused on whether social media would have little or a large influence on public opinion.

51. The team also considered an external driving force — what ASEAN would be like in 2022. They contrasted a united, stable and accommodating ASEAN with one that was fragmented and vulnerable to interference.

52. Two variables are considered in the last external driving force — globalisation. There is a need to consider whether globalisation will continue or if nations will start becoming more protectionist in response to a more hostile international environment. The team also considered if Singapore would have the capacity to remain economically competitive if globalisation continued.

Loyal Lions

53. After the consecutive losses the PAP suffered in the General Election of 2011, the party started to implement radical changes to respond to Singaporeans. In turn, the electorate responded readily to this favourable change, and the next General Election saw the PAP being returned to power with complete dominance in parliament. The Prime Minister thanked Singaporeans for their support and confidence and promised that the government would continue to be a "people's government". The Worker's Party (WP) acknowledged defeat, congratulated the PAP and urged them to continue serving the residents of the East Coast, Aljunied and Hougang constituencies in good faith.

54. Political analysts have attributed the electoral swerves of the PAP to their ability to change and their willingness to respond to the wants and needs of Singaporeans. Research from the Institute of Policy Studies noted that the PAP had managed to reduce Singapore's previous over-reliance on new immigrants and foreign labour while managing to keep her economy vibrant.

55. Citizens have also cultivated a strong sense of belonging to Singapore. Young Singaporeans have also been encouraged to form families with government incentives, and Singapore's fertility rates have reached 2.1 — the natural replacement ratio — for the first time in decades.

56. Analysts have also noted that the phasing out of the political “old guard” and the appointment of a fourth-generation Prime Minister have made the new government more willing to take a softer approach to various issues. A second round of reforms is likely to result in the remaining five GRCs being dissolved, and the abolishment of the Nominated Members of Parliament and Non-Constituency Members of Parliament. Economists, however, express caution about the numerous schemes that dip once and again into the national reserves.

57. The headlines created for the Loyal Lions scenario were “Resounding endorsement for revitalised PAP — survey confirms sense of belonging at all-time high” and “Unified ASEAN resolves remaining disputes with China”.

Cool Cats

58. This scenario adopted the following analogy:

59. There was an island of cats, living rather happily. They were happy doing their own thing. They remembered the time when their king told them what to do, how to live, when to make kittens and how to sharpen their claws against the neighbours of nasty dogs. They were happy those days were over — they were happy they no longer faced that level of interference. These days, some cats wore clothes, others were naked, and yet others covered their fur in rainbow hues. They loved the meowing songs and poems that they wrote. Some cats owned their businesses and invented all kinds of innovative products, such as self-cleaning kitty litter and chains of luxury cat spas.

60. However, one day, the neighbouring island had a fight and all the nasty dogs started fleeing their homes. They boarded boats and came to the island with their puppies and old dogs. “They looked pitiful”, thought many of the cats who were naturally apathetic and nice. The cats were also busy doing their own things and could not be mobilised, and the cat king and the lieutenants could not resist the influx of the new dogs and were swamped under. The cats and dogs did not live happily ever after, biting and scratching one and other all their days.

61. The headlines created for the Cool Cats scenario were “Markets unfazed by prospect of coalition government — ruling party promises smaller cabinet and civil service” and “Bedok residents take over hawker centre management”.

The Boiling Frogs

62. This narrative is in the form of a letter from an angry Singaporean to the Forum page in The Straits Times, titled “Goodbye Singapore”.

If the loss of four GRCs⁴ still does not stir the government from its drugged state, I am not sure what would. We have long left the heyday of high growth and of being the preferred destination for foreign talent. However, this government continues to hold tight to its governing ideals and its incompetent candidates. As a local born-and-bred Singaporean, I no longer feel like this is a place where I can think about my future but rather, I can only think about living from day to day. I urge the government to rethink its strategy — but for me, it’s too late. I take my leave to join my other family members who have left earlier.

Ex-Singaporean

63. The headlines created for The Boiling Frog scenario were “Investors pull out after PAP barely clings onto power — long-term prospects bleak as brain drain continues” and “Rogue mayor arrested, residents in disbelief pledge their support”.

Angry Birds!

64. In this narrative, the PAP has splintered, and scenario description below takes the form of a post-election letter to one of the leaders of a PAP faction.

Dear Mr Tamasamy,

Congrats on winning forty out of the hundred seats in the Singapore elections yesterday. While this is not enough for you to form the government, I would strongly suggest that you join forces with Mr Low of the WP to form a coalition government, instead of bringing back Mr Tee. Mr Tee has damaged the PAP irrevocably by choosing to participate in the elections under the new party he had formed with renegade ex-PAP members. That was a terrible decision, as seen from the electorate’s rejection of his party. Look, his new party only won 18 seats, which is less than the WP’s 30 seats! Your consultative skills have resonated more than Mr Tee’s hard-line remarks — what does he think we are? Robots? Stupid?

By working with the WP, you will have a two-thirds majority in the Parliament, even though your first instinct may be to make up with Mr Tee. The electorate needs your leadership at this critical time when globalisation has overwhelmed our society. We need your acumen at this point. That is much more important than ethnic considerations for a Singaporean leader.

4. Group Representation Constituencies

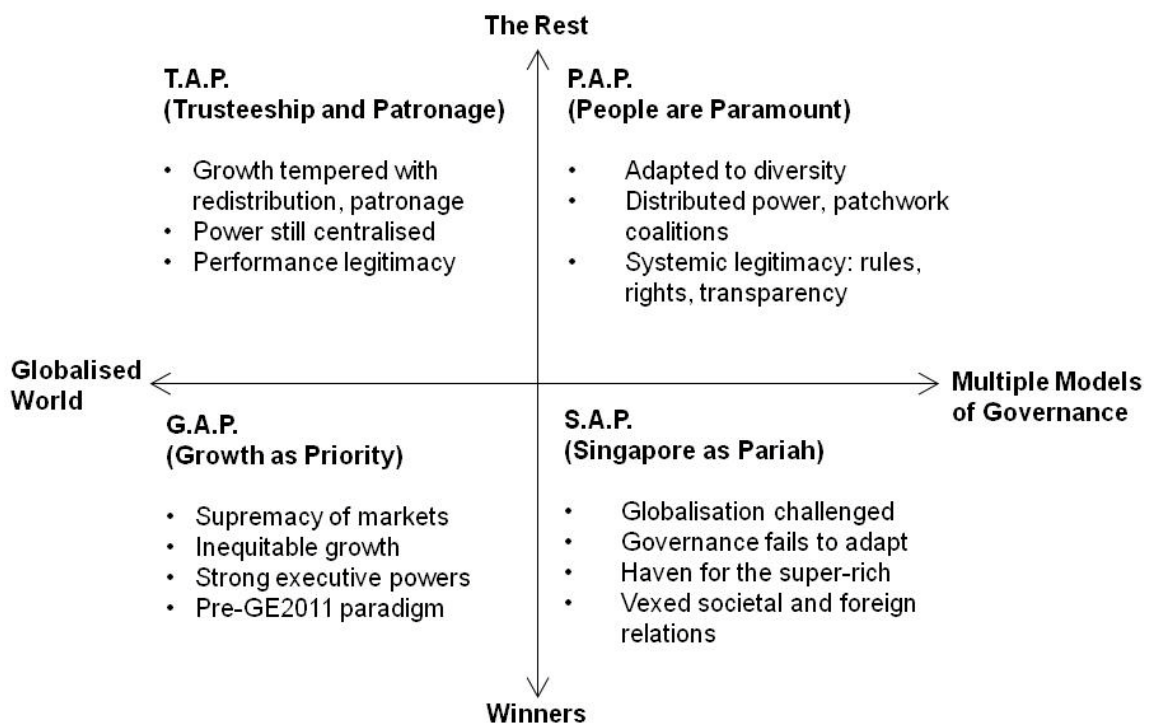
Your consultative nature plus WP's grassroots reach will help us to reach out to the new immigrant society which has been such a nuisance to live with. I still haven't gotten used to them over the last 10 years — don't think I ever will, but I know something needs to be done. We need an inclusive PM to work with our civil society members who are beginning to sound like quarrelling birds (but I know that after all, they are just "making love" to Singapore)....

65. The headlines created for the Angry Birds! scenario were "Chaos as PAP, parties scramble to form coalition — PM Tharman points a finger at irresponsible media" and "Unrest in Ghim Moh as new immigrants clash with older residents".

Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop

66. The members of Team 2 of the Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop presented the following set of scenarios.

Figure 2. Selected Scenarios from the Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop



67. The team's "globalised world" pole is where there are strong market norms, and a broad convergence of governance and economic models. This is based on Friedman's notion of the "golden straightjacket",⁵ where free markets are the primary drivers of growth and prosperity, and where domestic policy choices are constrained by the competition for capital and talent. The

5. Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

“multiple models” pole is one where there is a divergence from this model — here, models such as China’s state capitalism and the Nordic model might emerge as alternative models. In this situation, political pressures might result in protectionism among rich countries, leading to lower growth globally. Here, a country’s rules, institutions and human capital will become more important than openness. The greater diversity of governance and economic models will affect Singapore politics as competing models of how Singapore could organise itself emerge.

68. The team’s other axis focused on how society views the trade-off between equality and efficiency, and the role that the government plays in this. At the “the rest” pole, distributional concerns are viewed as important, or more important than efficiency concerns. This is a more collectivist society, but this can become distorted by ever increasing demands for unaffordable social spending. At the “winners” pole, society is more individualistic, is less concerned with equality, and there is a focus on growing the pie as opposed to redistributing a shrinking pie. Here, the “best and brightest” are thought to drive economic growth and hence receive a relatively large share of society’s resources and opportunities.

69. Their scenarios were elaborated with the additional driving forces below.

Table 3. Additional Driving Forces from Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop

	G.A.P.	T.A.P.	S.A.P.	P.A.P.
How redistributive?	Low	Medium	Low	High
How trusting of one another?	Low	Medium	Medium	High
To what extent is our political system perceived to be representative?	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

G.A.P. — Growth as Priority

70. This scenario is characterised by an adherence to the “Washington Consensus” and to an individualist social compact. It is a situation similar to one that prevailed in Singapore before the 2011 General Elections, where

economic growth was paramount. Here, the mainstream media faces declining credibility. It is questionable whether this situation is sustainable.

71. The headline the team developed for G.A.P. was “PAP has ‘lost the plot’ — WP chief”.

T.A.P. — Trusteeship and Patronage

72. Singapore is currently moving from the G.A.P. scenario to this quadrant. Here, the government still believes in the global capitalist model, but political pressure from “the rest” forces it to introduce redistributive policies. A capitalist ethic exists, yet redistribution acts as a salve to the public that insulates it from the harsher effects of capitalism. However, there is no redistribution of political power; it remains centralised in an all-powerful executive. The government finds it difficult to define its legitimacy as there is no consensus in society on what sort of performance measures it should meet to deserve and retain its mandate.

73. The headline the team developed for T.A.P. was “PM: ‘New nuclear plant will yield more GST offsets’”.

S.A.P. — Singapore as Pariah

74. In this scenario, the government tries to maintain its adherence to global capitalism but the world moves forward with other models, leaving Singapore as a pariah state. This could be most obvious in ASEAN: if Singapore continues to follow a market fundamentalist ideology under a strong and basically undemocratic government while other countries in ASEAN become more democratic, Singapore’s position on human rights could become an anomaly even in the region. Issues that become problematic would be Singapore’s treatment of guest workers and dissidents. Singapore could become a sanctuary for the super-rich trying to escape their own countries.

75. The headline the team developed for S.A.P. was “ASEAN scholars protest unethical S’pore MNCs”.

P.A.P. — People as Paramount

76. This is a Singapore in which the political structures and institutions are rearranged to reflect the plurality of voices and interests there are among citizens. It is a rules- and rights-based society that is respectful of that plurality. Here, the government has both performance and systemic legitimacy, and this is necessary as it becomes increasingly complex to govern a society that has greater diversity. Government has to be adaptive and build consensus for policies across groups in society.

77. The headline the team developed for P.A.P. was “‘Marxist’ ISA arrests: Government expresses regret”.

New Citizens Sector Workshop

78. The members of Team 3 of the New Citizens Sector Workshop presented the set of scenarios shown in the table on the next page.

Table 4. Selected Scenarios from New Citizens Sector Workshop

	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 handling 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

79. The first driving force was economic, and focused on whether Singapore could retain “The Singapore Premium”. This is as Singapore has no hinterland, cannot rely on an agriculture-driven economy, and hence has a society that is centred on the economy. The team emphasised that the economy is central to governance, and that economic growth is the basis for determining the type of political structure and social policies that a country has. Here, economic growth does not necessarily have to be high, but it has to be sufficient to sustain society’s needs.

80. The team’s institutional driving force focused on the ability of institutions to adapt, their resilience and the focus of their policies (for example, whether people are prioritised in policy-making). Here, institutions are not limited to just governance institutions, and instead also include civil society, the business sector, and the arts and culture sector.

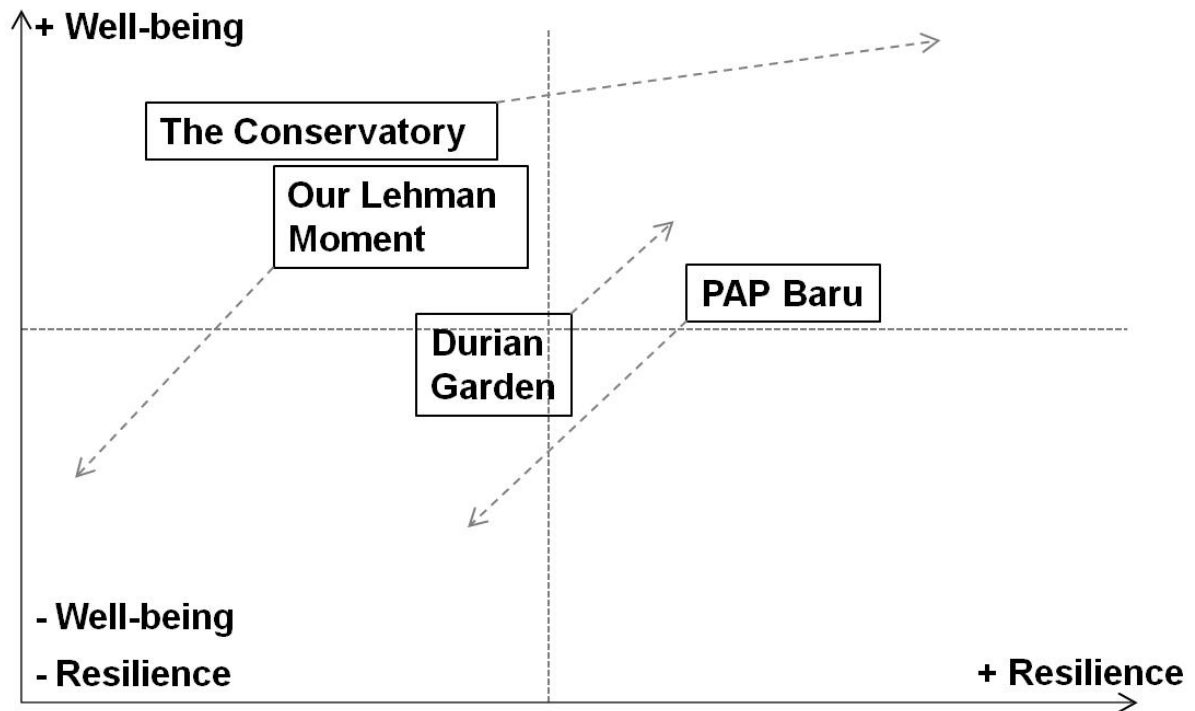
81. The third driving force was political, and referred to the credibility of governance — whether the population believes that any formula presented as the solution to public policy issues is a credible one. The team felt that

institutions, as opposed to individuals was important. They made the comparison between a situation in which key institutions functioned well, and one in which they deteriorate.

82. The team’s “leadership” driving force focused on whether leadership transitions could occur smoothly; whether leadership renewal could occur successfully, and whether this leadership is top-down and more dictatorial, or whether it is supplemented by leadership and growth in the community/civil society.

83. The last driving force was social, and covered inequality, exclusion and social mobility. They gave an example of education, comparing an education system where elitism in schools had diminished, and where multiple pathways to success were created, as opposed to an education system with the opposite characteristics.

Figure 3. Chart showing the interaction of driving forces in the selected scenarios from the New Citizens Sector Workshop



Our Lehman Moment

84. It is November 2012, Singapore’s small and open economy is subject to the forces of globalisation; the Eurozone debt crisis still affects investment and trade flows, and Asia’s growth is slowing dramatically.

85. As a result of its safe haven status, Singapore still enjoys full employment. Inflationary pressures prevail on the basic necessities, income and wealth gaps are widening, and deepening tensions within diverse community groups underlie the general picture of stability.

86. The Eurozone crisis comes to a head. Several European countries default on their debts and exit the Euro. The global banking system is in shock, with several global banks on the verge of insolvency and central banks unable to cope with the flight of funds to remaining safe havens. The inter-bank lending market, already paralysed by on-going regulatory probes and criminal charges, seizes up completely. Global trade plummets as shipments of goods are impounded.

87. The impact on Singapore is immediate. Large and small companies (including a number of MNCs) go bust. Unemployment spikes and the stock market tanks. Food stocks dwindle and the price of rice jumps to S\$100/kg. Rationing is imposed, and queues for handouts at community centres become an everyday occurrence. The situation is a burden to almost everyone except the top 5% of the population.

88. The population's faith in the government's ability to handle the economy in a crisis, hitherto very strong, quickly begins to fade as the people clamour for the government to do more and to dip into reserves to heavily subsidise the price of basic necessities.

89. The government resists such calls initially, but the situation persists. Faced with the defection of disenchanted grassroots leaders to a proliferating number of opposition parties, the government calls for a referendum, the result of which is taken as a vote of no confidence. The Prime Minister calls for an election. It is now 2014, 18 months after what is now becoming known as the Great Stagflation.

90. The campaigning polarises society, with religious, ethnic and many them-versus-us divides exploited by the now numerous political parties that have been established. People demonstrate on the streets daily, with several incidents descending into violence in the lead-up to the elections. The election results are inconclusive, and whilst the PAP still has the largest number of seats in Parliament, it no longer has a majority due to the loss of all single member constituencies and several group representation constituencies (GRCs). It has to cobble together a coalition government with a party that has a manifesto promising constitutional reform, including the abolition of the first-past-the-post and GRC systems.

91. The deep recessionary conditions have stabilised by now, but many are still out of work and tensions between various groups in society remain high. Political discourse is ugly, and civil society has retreated from leadership roles. There are several elections held between 2014 and 2022, the last of which is held under a nation-wide proportional representation system. The Gini coefficient is 0.67 by then, although surprisingly, Singapore is not the most unequal society in the world.

Durian Garden

92. Five years on from the 2011 General Elections and time is running out for the Prime Minister (PM) to call for elections, with several windows of opportunity having already been missed. The ruling party has been affected

by party scandals involving members of the elite, resulting in ministerial resignations and defections by Members of Parliament that have prompted by-elections. Younger leaders in the community have joined either the opposition or have started up special interest groups (there is even a group campaigning for the Gardens by the Bay to be turned into a durian plantation!)

93. The scandals have however been seen as personal failures, and the key institutions — the civil service, national defence organisations, the judiciary, the political system, and the business sector are gradually adapting to a more connected, politically-engaged populace. An Internet Code of Conduct has been put in place, but on-line behavioural norms are still far from settled. Controversial blogs, posts and tweets have the capacity to divide communities from time to time.

94. The economy has grown in fits and starts, with a double-dip recession in 2013–14. Inequality continues to be an issue and while some of the concerns of 2011 have receded, several class and wealth divides have not been comfortably bridged. Immigration policy continues to be an on-going issue, although with the reduced intake of foreigners, the loudest concerns appear to be from businesses — about their inability to find the right workers.

95. The PM finally calls for an election late in 2016, after introducing a list of new faces and announcing that this would be his last general election as PM. Campaigning is intense but focused on the key issues of the day, including how to deal with the fears and aspirations of the sandwiched class (which has seen their incomes stagnate in real terms over the past five years), concerns about high housing prices and a debate over a reversal of the ban on foreign domestic workers.

96. The PAP wins with the slimmest of majorities, and a number of the next generation leadership fail to get elected, leaving a temporary vacuum of leadership. The peoples' belief in the political process remains intact, and there is genuine national pride that cuts across party lines in the spirit in which the election campaign was conducted. The *New York Times* editorial on 27 August 2016 carries the headline: "Singapore's democracy comes of age". Leading political commentator XiuXue blogs: "Singapore is now governed by the combined wisdom and folly of its people".

97. The new leadership in government takes some time to find its feet, but the recovering economy and greater civic engagement across the board mean that the peoples' key concerns of the past five years are addressed. Greater economic security and belief in the future lead to an increase in Singapore's TFR to 1.67, although traditional indicators of inequality have not changed much. Key institutions continue to strengthen their core operating principles but also adopt flexible policy-making frameworks. The government's ability to "get things done" even with a slim majority increases the population's confidence that there would be nothing to fear in the political landscape all the way through to the next elections: GE2022⁶.

6. The General Election of 2022

PAP Baru

98. No one remembers exactly what happened that fateful day, 13 May 2015. Some say the fight broke out at a rugby match between two premier girls' schools, others point to growing Gen X disenchantment with the huge privileges given to the elderly, with the spark lit by the beating up of a pensioner and her two male companions at a trendy nightclub in Clarke Quay. Riots near the new Kallang Stadium complex lasted nine nights, with 293 deaths. An island-wide curfew was imposed for two weeks.

99. Economic inequality has risen sharply: the Gini coefficient has risen from 0.482 just a decade ago to 0.55 currently. Real incomes for the top 10% of the population have risen despite eight years of weak economic growth, but that of the rest of the population have been affected by stubbornly high housing prices, transportation and other general living costs.

100. Fresh graduate unemployment has reached a high of 25% with more than 50% of the graduating cohort of 2019 still unemployed a year and a half later. Jeremiah Tan (real name withheld), 26 years old and a graduate of the National University of Singapore Business School, admitted to the ZBOnline yesterday that he had not yet had a single second-round interview, even though he had sent out 9,657 applications to potential employers in the last six months.

101. The longest queues these days at the ICA⁷ building seem to be at the Citizen Services Centre for those wanting to renounce their citizenship. Alarming, the greatest proportions of these are middle-class Singaporean couples with a young boy in tow. There is a sense that foreigners and their influence in Singapore have become overwhelming. Tensions between locals and foreigners (now half of the population of 4.5 million) have remained elevated since the Bak Chor Mee incident of 2014.

102. The riots came at a time of political transition. Opposition parties had drawn increasing support from the disaffected classes and better-educated youths. The PAP government, at the time handing over leadership to a new generation of younger ministers, responded indecisively, invoking the Internal Security Act and detaining several opposition party leaders who had been seen in the streets, and shut down the Internet and social networking sites. A large number of the younger generation government leaders objected to what they felt was an overly harsh clampdown and disassociated themselves from the action by forming a splinter party they called "PAP Baru".

103. With the May 2015 riots fresh in their memory, voters flocked to the opposition, including PAP Baru. However, no one party was able to secure a majority in the 2016 elections, and a coalition government was formed, headed by PAP Baru and SingaporeansFirst, a nationalist party set up the previous year.

7. Immigration and Checkpoints Authority of Singapore

104. Politics has been in a gridlock ever since, with a limited spirit of compromise amongst the various groups. However, no one wants a repeat of the May 2015 riots, and at least the reputation of Singapore's key institutions has been re-built after the in-depth, transparent enquiries and judicial reviews that followed the May 2015 riots. The next elections are really going to be interesting — will there be a new chapter in Singapore's political history?

The Conservatory

105. Despite global headwinds, Singapore's economy continues to perform well. Immigration policies are calibrated to ensure vital gaps in the workforce are filled, while productivity rises, allowing room for real wages to start rising strongly. Key supply-side constraints in housing, transport, healthcare and education are removed via extensive investments that are financed by inflation-protected Community Bonds issued by Singapore's Ministry of Finance.

106. Policy-making is nimble and sufficiently flexible to permit a steady decline in the Gini coefficient to below 0.4 (via targeted policies to broaden social safety nets and boost the productivity of lower-wage earners). The family and the community are emphasised in new initiatives announced by the government, with tripartite consensus reached on the optimum work-life balance arrangements for Singapore workers.

107. Singapore announces its three main objectives in a 2020 "Plan to be the World's Conservatory" — to be a leader in sustainable living, the foremost repository of learning and the arts (including significant investments in knowledge-building, storage and sharing) and the custodian of the world's tangible and intangible assets.

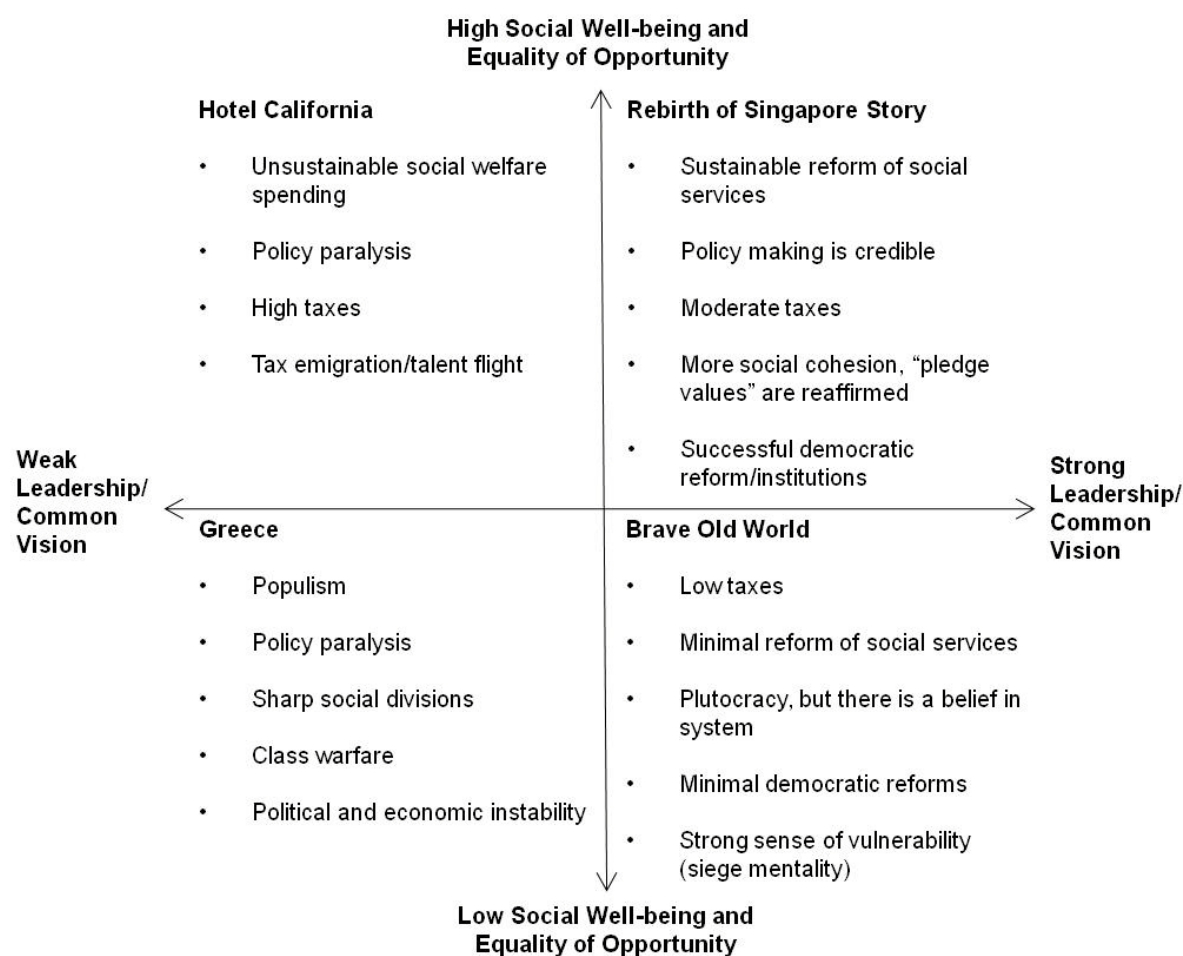
108. The bureaucracy moves from away from its silos and a CYA ("cover-your-ass") way of thinking towards putting the people first in the crafting and implementation of public policy. The political leadership also becomes focused on a socially-oriented common goal. Community centres become more than just places where certain services are provided by the municipal government and instead become the heart and soul of a neighbourhood. Volunteerism and philanthropy are alive and are viewed as critical social norms of Singapore society.

109. The next parliamentary and presidential elections become just milestones rather than critical inflection points in Singapore's political history. Leadership broadens from a small group of elites and is now found at all levels within the community. Place-making, where the design of spaces are focused around people and social life as opposed to utilitarian concerns, becomes the prerogative and obligation of all residents of Singapore.

Business Sector Workshop

110. The members of Team 4 of the Business Sector Workshop presented the following set of scenarios, titled "The Return of the Jedi and the Singapore Story".

Figure 4. Selected Scenarios from the Business Sector Workshop



111. The scenarios were elaborated on in the table below.

Table 5. Scenarios and Their Driving Forces from the Business Sector Workshop

	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

	Rebirth of Singapore Story	Hotel California	Brave Old World	Greece
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

112. The team used the ability of Singapore's leadership to exert a common vision as one driving force. The other driving force was the level of social well-being and the equality of opportunity seen in society. They created the story below to introduce and explain their scenarios.

113. Long, long ago, in a galaxy far, far away, there was a group of Jedi that met in the basement of a house in Oxley Road. They were political dissidents rebelling against the dictatorial whims of a decaying global empire, and had resolved to create a nation of their own. This nation would be based on the fundamental, esoteric Jedi governing principle called the Force. The Jedi were not completely sure what the Force was exactly, but they knew that it was real, and that with it they could defeat the empire, overcome opposition from communists and communalists, and most importantly, govern effectively. In order to be able to both capture the core magic of the Force and transmit it to future generations, they embedded it in a mission statement that they forced citizens to repeat each day when they were young — the Pledge. The essential elements of the Force that led to good governance was encapsulated in the following line of the pledge:

...to build a democratic society based on justice and equality so as to achieve happiness, prosperity and progress for our nation

114. One key element of the Force that was felt strongly in society at the time of the founding of this new republic was the unprecedentedly high level of equality of opportunity and sharply rising citizen well-being that was present. The Jedi then wielded this Force and created a miraculous society that, over 30 years, lifted the people of this new nation — Singapore — to a level of happiness, prosperity and progress that entirely exceeded expectations.

115. This was the Singapore of some 10 or 15 years ago, and today we are fortunate enough to still have many elements of that Force with us. The first Jedi were able to build this by establishing strong leadership and a strong common vision that enabled them to wield the Force among the populace.

116. Singapore is now at a crossroads, as the current keepers of the Force seem to have forgotten the key essence of the Force. They did not think of repeating the Pledge to themselves, and instead relied on textbooks of market fundamentalism and neoliberalism — the new ideology of the next great intergalactic empire — to guide them in executing policy and in wielding the Force in the economy and crucially, in social policy.

117. However, things began to go awry, because the environment that their elders had enjoyed when they first established the nation was very different from that which faced the current generation of Jedi. The Singapore of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s enjoyed strong income growth, few recessions, a young population and a plentiful workforce. Singapore now has experienced a comparatively large number of recessions (four in the last 13 years compared to two in the first 35 years of independence!), rising structural unemployment and an aging population.

118. By bringing in massive numbers of unskilled workers from nearby planets, wages among the blue collar workers have become depressed. Meanwhile, deregulation in the new international empire — globalization — has caused wages to stagnate and even to erode for the poorest in the republic. Healthcare has become unaffordable for the poor and even for some of the middle class who are unfortunate enough to have no insurance or who have chronic long-term illnesses.

119. Housing, once affordable for all through an innovative Housing and Development Board, is now influenced by intergalactic prices, where prices have seen a stratospheric rise. The poor, plagued by depressed incomes that are diverted into over-expensive housing and medical care, do not have enough money for their retirement years. Even education, once a great social leveller in the new nation, has become effectively privatised with the introduction of expensive, interplanetary tuition guides. These guides entrench the rich and lower mobility for the poor, who cannot afford the extra classes necessary to succeed in a highly streamed school system.

120. As a result, the Force becomes weaker and weaker among the population and in turn, faith and trust in the authorities to govern this new republic erodes seriously for the first time in the new nation's history. At the time of writing, some had even begun to talk about policy paralysis, populism, or even a long-term political crisis — events previously limited to neighbouring, more unruly planets.

121. How will this story end? Will the new republic made a comeback? Or will the empire strike back?

Brave Old World

122. Here, the Jedi try to recreate the old success story by re-exerting leadership and a strong common vision. However, they mistakenly think the old success story can be replicated – in the form of a regime where there is minimal reform or provision of social services and a corresponding ultra-low

tax regime, excessively high rates of immigration to stimulate growth and minimal democratic reforms. They continue to be blinded by neo-liberal market fundamentalism that calls for minimising state activism and spending on social policy, mistakenly thinking that this was part of the essence of the Force that had once served them and the new republic so well.

123. This scenario is more likely to occur in a situation where the Jedi's descendents can engender a strong sense of common vulnerability in the population. This vulnerability could be due to a poor international economic environment or an unstable regional political climate. This siege mentality makes the new, unruly polity accept the brave old ways. However, given the wage stagnation and the fundamentally centripetal forces of globalisation that exist now, the course of action results in an entrenched plutocracy and a highly unequal society that is sustained because its citizens believe there is no other choice. This is a situation of stagnation, where the current inimical social and political trends besetting Singapore are exacerbated. There is no fundamental economic or political change, and society is unhappy and divided.

124. The team felt that this scenario represented how the current government probably sees itself.

Greece

125. In "Greece", the Jedi are unable to articulate a strong political vision to inspire the populace. While the Jedi in the Brave Old World scenario are able to inspire the populace with a feeling of common vulnerability, here the Jedi are unable to articulate a common vision and are reduced to trying to manage the situation. The combined forces of globalisation, wage stagnation and an ageing population erode citizen well-being and increase economic anxiety, eventually destroying belief and trust in the Force and the rulers of the republic.

126. This situation degenerates into one in which ad hoc populism, which responds to various pressures in the polity, and general strategic policy paralysis rules. However, this populism does not always add up to coherent policies. The republic also suffers from policy paralysis as the government is not trusted and is hence unable to make big, difficult decisions. It is reduced to doing what it can, as opposed to what it should do. Politics has become "the art of an increasingly small, very limited possible". Social divisions also continue to grow, as the essential element that would allow the Force to work in this new, more difficult environment - social mobility, is not reintroduced.

127. As written in the Jedi archives, social mobility is positively correlated with income equality, good structuring of the education system, and the presence of strong social safety nets. The structure of the education system could include the extent of streaming, how far the education system promotes or retards social mobility, and if the education system is structured to the advantage of individuals with higher incomes. Currently, Singapore has an education system that practises extreme streaming, has extremely demanding syllabuses, and is made unequal because of high income inequality. Social

policies such as unemployment protection and adequate pensions help to build a strong social safety net. However, housing and healthcare in Singapore is now becoming unaffordable.

128. As reforms to re-establish social mobility in Singapore are not carried out, sharp social divisions begin to appear in “Greece” in the form of internecine class warfare. An underclass is also created, and the republic suffers from bouts of political instability. The populace yearned for the old days when they knew that the Force was with them, and this created many problems for the Jedi.

129. The team felt that this scenario represented where the government seems to be headed if there is no serious policy and political reform to re-establish citizen-well being and equality of opportunity, given current trends and long term drivers.

Hotel California

130. Here, the Jedi respond to the populace’s demands for better social services and social mobility. However, this populist response does not represent the strong exertion of leadership, as the Jedi are not honest with the population about what the republic can afford. The Jedi are also unable to prioritise social spending, and to ensure that it is sustainably financed. This leads to a situation similar to that seen in California today, where unsustainable, mandated social services are voted on by the public, and where the state is essentially bankrupt. Policy paralysis occurs, and the high taxes that are imposed lead to tax emigration and the flight of capital.

131. The team felt that this scenario represented what the government is most afraid of becoming.

Rebirth of Singapore Story

132. The scenario represents a potentially happy ending to the Singapore story.

133. The new Jedi remembered that the Jedi of old had mentioned that the Force was in the Pledge. So after re-reading the Pledge, they decided to restore the institutional underpinnings of social mobility. They understand that what strengthened the Force were institutions that needed to be built, for example, institutions that provided core public services and promoted social mobility. To this end, the Jedi made public housing better, more affordable, and available to a larger group. They also reinstated universal healthcare and universal healthcare financing. The education system was also reformed towards the Finnish model. Raffles Institution and other elite schools were disbanded and made to have the same number of highly qualified teachers as in neighbourhood schools. Under this new system, there were 15 to 20 students in each class, mass-streaming was removed, and the Jedi were able to successfully replicate the Finnish miracle despite doubts that Singapore’s heterogeneity would thwart reforms.

134. The social security system was strengthened — especially in the areas of retirement adequacy and unemployment protections. Continuing education and retraining also help build one of the best workforces in the galaxy! Importantly, the flood of immigrants from poorer planets was stopped and inter-planetary immigration only allowed judiciously. This immigration enhanced and complemented the skills of Singapore’s workforce, and raised her productivity dramatically. The old tripartite practices between unions, workers and employers that were introduced by the original Jedi were revived to ensure that productivity gains were distributed fairly to all citizens, especially the working classes.

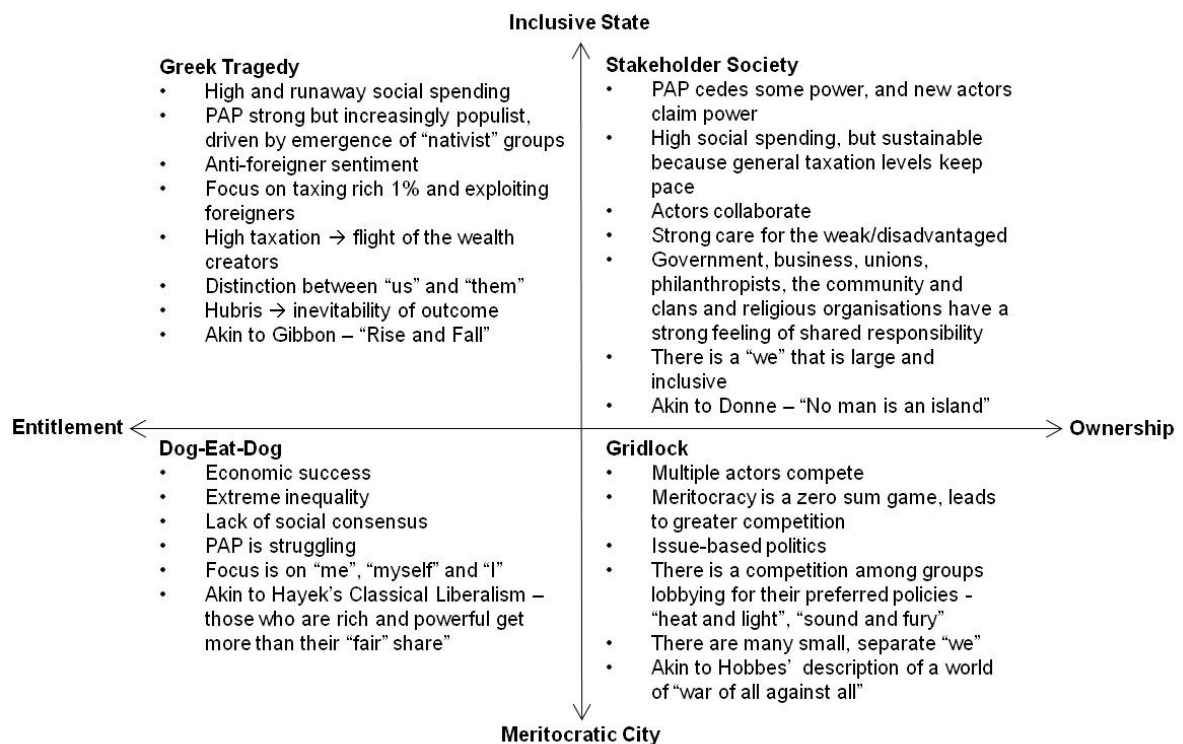
135. Taxes were raised, but only moderately, as the Jedi realised what large reserves the old Jedi had built. They were able to raise social spending by 10–15% of GDP, and this funded a newly designed social services core and a safety net that was efficiently designed, helped incentivise work and independence, and was fiscally sustainable. Social well-being soared, as did social mobility. To the Jedi’s great surprise, social cohesion increased as well! The rich were happy to pay higher taxes when they saw that these actually benefited their fellow Singaporeans greatly. The people’s faith in the Force was restored, and the Singapore story was reborn.

136. The team felt that this scenario represents what the population thinks the government should be like.

Public Service Sector Workshop

137. The members of Team 1 of the Public Service Sector Workshop presented the set of scenarios shown on the next page.

Figure 5. Selected Scenarios from the Public Service Sector Workshop



138. The team used the value system of citizens as the driving force on their horizontal axis. They contrasted a situation where the population had a strong sense of entitlement with one where the population felt a sense of ownership and responsibility for future of their country. They chose this driving force as it was different from the driving forces used in most scenarios, which usually focus on what the government would do or what Singapore’s external environment would be like. The team felt that an individual is important in shaping governance outcomes. This axis was hence chosen to include elements of personal choice and responsibility, and to get readers to think about where their behaviour would fall on this axis.

139. The team used the principles that Singapore would be built on as their second driving force. They compared an “inclusive state” with a “meritocracy”. The comparison was two-fold here — between social inclusion and meritocracy, and between a city and a state. The possibilities that a city and a state can achieve are different. While government has a greater scope in a state than in a city, a state can also be tyrannical and exploit minorities. In a city, the role of the state is smaller and there is a risk of ending up in a situation similar to the Dog-Eat-Dog and Gridlock scenarios.

Dog-Eat-Dog

140. This scenario is akin to Hayek’s classical liberalism, where those who are rich and powerful get more than their ‘fair’ share.

141. The team felt that this scenario represents where Singapore was heading prior to 5/11.⁸ This shows the dark side of meritocracy — where you are entirely deserving of both the success or lack of success that you have. This dark side manifests in large income inequalities, as there is the feeling that those who have succeeded have done so by their own merit, and are hence entitled to, for example, a salary that is 200 times that of the lowest paid worker. This meritocratic system does result in economic success however, and Singapore in 2022 enjoys high growth and high per capita GDP alongside extreme inequality that is only partially countered by state transfers. The Gini coefficient continues to rise, only seeing a dip in the pre-election period as a result of the large transfers given out to the poor. Singapore here is a city, as opposed to a state, and there is a lack of a common identity.

142. Singapore also faces a lack of consensus on the type of society the population would like. There is one group that is ideologically passionate about the current policies, and feels that Singapore's current situation is good for it. This is in contrast to those at the bottom end of the socioeconomic ladder, who have seen their real incomes stagnating. The People's Action Party (PAP) struggles in such a situation.

143. Lastly, society here is self-centred, and focused in addressing the needs of "I", "me" and "myself".

Greek Tragedy

144. This scenario is akin to Gibbon's description of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire. There is an inevitability to the situation and it is difficult to escape from it.

145. Here, the government decides that greater social inclusion is needed after the wake-up call of 5/11. However, there is still a strong sense of entitlement in this society, which stems from individuals identifying themselves as Singapore-born citizens, as having served national service, and as having had children here. Social spending is high, as there is increased populism in policy-making. Higher taxes are required to fund these populist policies. There is a flight of the talented and of wealth creators.

146. Society here is split along the lines of "us" and "them", and anti-foreigner sentiment is acute. The sense of entitlement in the society also comes along with a sense of victimhood, as individuals feel that they fail because of "them". An example of this sense of victimhood could be the Occupy Wall Street movement, where the 99% protest against the 1%. Here, even though individuals might be doing fairly well, they still feel like they fall into the 99% that is being victimised by "them".

147. The team felt that the PAP would be very strong in this situation, and that they would take a more anti-foreigner stance over time due to pressure from nativist right-wing groups that emerge.

8. Refers to the 2011 General Election, which was held in May of that year.

148. The definition of “us” will shrink over time. In this situation, it is possible to see that Singapore is moving towards an unhappy future, but it is difficult to avoid this future. There is a downward spiral to slower economic growth, dwindling resources, and increased competition for a shrinking pie. As this competition increases, the boundaries of “us” shrink, and people are forced to leave this group and become part of “them”. The group suggested that the idea of “us” would initially serve to differentiate between citizens and foreigners, before being reduced to citizens that are “native-born” or “original”. After this, rich, “native-born” Singaporeans might then be pushed out of “us”.

Gridlock

149. This scenario is akin to one described by Hobbes’ description of a world of “war of all against all”.

150. In this scenario, there are multiple actors competing in a zero-sum meritocratic game where one’s success comes at the expense of another’s failure. There is greater competition, and much less co-operation among the population. Politics also becomes more issue-based as different groups coalesce around their pet issues, and have little desire to compromise. This situation would also be characterised by “heat and light” and “sound and fury”, as there is a competition among partisan groups each trying to shout the loudest and to be the most extreme. Gridlock occurs as no one is willing to compromise.

151. Society here is split into many small, separate groups of “we”, as the population find their own interest groups, and settle into their preferred political parties, forming many exclusive groups.

Stakeholder Society

152. This scenario is akin to Donne’s poem “No Man is an Island”.⁹

153. Here, the PAP gives up some of the power that they enjoy. Previously, the party would place reliable supporters into organisations such as the grassroots organisations. Now, new actors arise and claim some of this power. However, these actors collaborate and it is an inclusive society that cares strongly for the weak and disadvantaged. There is a shared sense of responsibility between institutions in this society — the government, businesses, unions, clan associations, religious groups, communities, philanthropists, etc. These groups feel that there is a common future that everyone has a stake in, and are hence willing to take ownership of Singapore.

154. Society here has a big “we” that is large and inclusive. The population is more confident, less anxious about the future, has a greater sense of interdependence and is more willing to care for others. As a result, this “we” identity is able to grow and to take care of those who are already in Singapore. If Singapore is able to solve her infrastructure problems, then

9. No man is an island, entire of itself...

society may also feel more confident about incorporating foreigners into this identity.

155. This is also a sustainable situation, as citizens take ownership and there is broad support for the taxes that fund government spending programmes.

156. This is in contrast to society in the Greek Tragedy scenario, where even those who are citizens are eventually ejected from the “us” group.

Discussion

157. A participant referred to the scenarios of riots, the Singapore dollar losing its value and Singapore merging again with Malaysia, and asked if there was serious prospect of these happening. The teams were bold in coming up with such scenarios and even if they were quite unlikely to happen, if others could think of them, then the real value of the exercise be to think of ways to avoid them.

158. Another participant was struck by how the scenarios presented by the team were handled out-of-the-box. The presentation of the team from the Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop raised more questions than they answered, while the scenarios from the New Citizens Sector Workshop had an interesting method of giving each scenario a different starting point. The participant felt that the scenarios that would be produced later in the workshop should not be viewed as the end in itself, with answers that were fixed and certain.

159. A participant noted that the PAP and its future featured prominently in the scenarios presented, and was curious about the extent to which the other participants tied Singapore’s future to one, or any, political party, and if so, how would that be any different from the political system that we have today?

160. In response, a participant said that the PAP’s ability to adapt must surely be the starting point for all scenarios, especially the political scenarios. Another participant said the starting point was not so much whether the PAP would be in place, but whether we assume there is a democratic political system in place or if we envisage a complete change in the political system, say, one led by the military or even a monarchy.

161. Would the PAP ever allow for another political party to be the government? One participant felt that the PAP might view the national reserves as its money, what it had taken years to build and that it might feel almost as though it was being robbed if another party were to come to power. Since Singapore is so rich, the PAP may resist, which makes their ability to adapt important in the scenarios.

162. Another participant added that one limitation of the thinking at the moment was to view PAP as a homogeneous unit. The PAP could split, perhaps along personality lines, or ideologically. The same participant agreed that because the PAP has been the only party that Singapore has known in

government since 1959, and because it has been successful in building up Singapore's reserves, that there is a certain proprietary instinct — both over the reserves and over the collective life of Singapore. However, this collective life is a reflection of a homogeneous PAP and the situation would become exciting if the PAP does not remain so. Going back to the point that a previous participant had made — it is not so much whether it is the PAP but rather, whether it is a political system that we recognise today that still takes Singapore from one point to the other by 2022.

163. The discussion then moved to other issues. A participant commented that the scenarios all seemed to be presented in a normative way, with the teams having judged what is good and bad. The participant wondered if there was a good side to the scenario described in Our Lehman Moment, and if there was a bad side to the Conservatory scenario. The participant added that judging what is good and bad fixes things within a template, and dictates that “this is good, and we should move towards this” or vice versa.

164. Another participant agreed, adding that the group should look at different combinations of driving forces, as the negative pole of one driving force would not necessarily equate to being at the negative pole of another driving force. For example, low well-being in the New Citizens scenarios may not necessarily be correlated with low resilience.

165. Yet another participant pointed out that in many of the scenarios things develop in a linear fashion which is not what happens in reality. For example, the PAP would create a GRC that encompassed the whole of Singapore as a result of an election that resulted in it losing another GRC. The example illustrated how it is not possible to assume that the power of the driving forces can push Singapore towards a particular outcome.

166. The team presenting the scenarios from the Public Service Sector Workshop characterised the Bukit Brown incident¹⁰ as an example of the Gridlock scenario. Another participant objected to this and felt that while the Bukit Brown incident involved many small “we”, these groups were acting in concert, and were not fighting amongst themselves. Rather, they were united in their objection to government policy. The Bukit Brown incident should instead be an example of the Stakeholder Society scenario. It was a fantastic opportunity for the government to make use of stakeholder sentiment and to develop a sense of ownership, and if they had listened to these voices then the incident would have become a good example of the Stakeholder Society scenario.

167. Another participant agreed with this sentiment, and wondered if a realistic scenario could be produced, as all of the scenarios present so far were either near apocalyptic or aspirational. The participant felt that the group should focus on thinking about realistic scenarios, and how these can be reached. While ideal scenarios are good, the costs and the route of getting

10, The Bukit Brown incident occurred in 2011 and involved a campaign by civil society groups to prevent a road being built through the historic Bukit Brown Cemetery.

there should also be thought through. The participant felt that the two-by-two matrix used in many of the scenarios were too reductionist, as society has more variables than that. This method may not be giving enough credit to these variables.

168. Yet another participant commented that the driving forces used so far seem to have been heavily centred on the government realising that it has been wrong, and that it should change its policies. However, there is not much focus on individuals, and on other actors and processes that can be put in place to push for social change — for example, collective action and social movements have been quite invisible in the scenarios seen so far. Also, in the scenarios, when people are mentioned as coming together, it is often in a way that causes chaos, discord or a stalemate. However, social movements are an important part of creating change.

169. The same participant also pointed out that the civil service and state institutions were not mentioned much in the scenarios. She felt that there was almost a conflation between the party and state institutions, and that state institutions did not necessarily have to follow the path of the PAP or the government.

Another participant added to this discussion by pointing out that decentralisation seems to have been almost unconsciously associated with a “me-first” entitlement. There is actually another possible outcome of the PAP ceding of its centralised power — civil society groups and community groups could play a greater role. The participant was not able to envisage a world in the next 10 or 20 years where the PAP was not the dominant power.

170. The same participant made a second point about the distinction between outcomes and processes. While the level of inequality in society was an important driving force, the team presenting the scenarios from the Public Service Sector Workshop reflected this inequality in its “inclusive state” and “meritocratic city” axis. While the level of equality in society is an outcome, the level of meritocracy is a process that leads to different outcomes. The participant felt that considering this would affect how policy was made: while a meritocratic situation intuitively sounds like a great one, would we really want Singapore to be like that if it inevitably leads to an unequal outcome?

171. Next, a participant highlighted that our language determines the kind of thinking that we do. Certain words in Singapore are considered “good”, while others are considered “bad”. For example, “democracy” is bad, “socialism” is dangerous, and “liberalism” is only good in reference to economic liberalism and not to political liberalism. The participant felt that it is important to develop a more neutral vocabulary. While the kind of democracy that led to Hitler’s ascension to power was bad, what would democracy and socialism mean in Singapore’s context? The participant added that the PAP is what it is today because it began as a democratic, socialist party that was able to distinguish itself from other parties. For example, the Malayan Communist Party helped the PAP to distinguish itself from the extreme socialists. Singapore needs a new language to describe new realities, and this language cannot be

borrowed from either the East or the West. Rather, it needs to be a Singaporean language. The participant added that the word “pragmatism” was the most ideological word of all — simply because it denies that it is ideological. The participant also related an anecdote where a diplomat asked why Singaporeans were so scared of things that they have not known before, such as democracy.

172. Another participant felt that besides using “good” and “bad” words, Singaporeans have simplified words to the extent that they become misunderstood. The example of “meritocracy” was raised: it has been defined in a narrow way, where the only measure of one’s merit is academic excellence. Singapore has chosen to define merit along a single dimension, and has implemented many policies based on that definition. Another example is the idea of increasing the number of foreigners in Singapore to remedy the impact of its low birth rates. However, which and how many foreigners do we admit into Singapore? How do we admit them? And what happens after they have been admitted? The participant felt that this was where the problems with the two-by-two matrix forces the group to be simplistic in their choices. There is a need to reintroduce some complexity.

173. Another participant added that there was a tendency for commentators to classify populism as a consequence of bad scenarios, and an inclusive society as a consequence of good scenarios. However, what are we asking for when we ask for more inclusiveness? Do we really mean it when we ask for more people to be included? The participant also felt that we should be more open to the idea that genuinely involving everyone in the political process could educate Singaporeans, and could lead to good outcomes.

174. A participant clarified that the comments made about the simplicity of the two-by-two scenario matrix method was not a challenge to the process. Rather, it was meant to underscore how as a society we have become so simplistic that we operate in such a way, and this is what needs to be challenged.

175. Another participant added that, as an ex-scenario planner, there was nothing wrong with the two-by-two scenario matrix method.

176. On another issue, a participant commented that the group’s concept of society throughout the scenarios has been hijacked by economy thinking — for example, “we” vs. “us”, “the rest” vs. the “winners”. The participant wondered whether multi-culturalism, multi-racialism and the CMIO¹¹ model have evaporated as concerns for Singapore in the next 10 years.

177. Another participant pointed out that in many of the scenarios, it seems that Singapore is able to determine her own future. However, this is not true — we are a tiny island and we do not determine our own future. The participant felt that we needed to look at the effect that nations around us

11. CMIO refers to Singapore’s system of classifying the races in its society — the Chinese, Malays, Indians, and Others.

would have, for example, the increased integration with Malaysia through the Iskandar Development Region. We should also look at the crisis in the developed world at the present moment, and how this might affect Singapore's economy and might change how businesses operate. Singapore previously thrived on old models where Multinational Corporations (MNCs) outsourced production to the lowest-cost countries. However, the model might change.

178. Another participant felt that there was a need to keep history in perspective. When Singapore was first starting out, it was relatively insignificant geopolitically, and its actions did not affect others too much. Singapore could chart her own course and her model of development has become successful. Now, it is different. Singapore cannot continue to do whatever she want, and be successful. There is the orthodoxy that "we know best", but the use of past models and previous success do not guarantee future success.

179. Another participant felt that the Singapore model that the previous participant was referring to was not really "a Singapore model". Rather, it was a patchwork of pieces of models that we felt were good. The participant noticed that civil servants make numerous trips abroad to look at models, import components of these models back (sometimes appropriately, and sometimes inappropriately!). The Singapore model has not really grown out of nothing, but is rather a hodge-podge of various other models. To this the previous participant explained that the point was that this definition of the Singapore model, where Singapore knows best, has become an orthodoxy.

On another issue, a participant felt that it was important for the group to avoid becoming too lofty and technical as this might put the public off. In the end, the public would have to be engaged with real things, and things that touched their hearts. The participant also felt that it was important to convey all this in language that is easily digestible and understood by many people.

180. Another participant felt that the important questions to address in Singapore are about the kind of society and the kind of people that we want to be. The participant related a story about a man he met on the island of Pulau Tinggi in Malaysia, who was prepared to climb several hundred feet to his house on the hill as he liked the view. This was his sense of himself in relation to his environment. The participant asked what Singapore would like to be — another New York, or Shanghai, or Hong Kong? The participant felt that we needed to think back to the question of what the human being is about, and what one would want to be. We are often caught between words like "socialism", "capitalism", "democracy" and "freedom", but the operative word here is "dignity", the participant said. "Dignity" implies autonomy, respect, freedom to be involved, individuals who are emancipated and empowered, and who have an identity and a sense of wellness. The participant felt that this was at the heart of what human beings want to achieve, and that we should not merely consider the transaction between power and priorities. The human being must be at the centre of this discussion, and this is where the richness and the complexity is.

181. Another participant agreed with the point made about dignity and added that it was a wonder why Singaporeans were so insecure in spite of the prosperity they enjoyed. The participant wondered how Singaporeans could more secure about sharing power, dealing with chaos and the new world. Was it the education system that had gone wrong; that it had not provided the space for failure? Was it the focus on Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)? There was no culture of risk-taking and how could that be changed, the participant asked.

182. A participant responded to say that personally, the participant was not insecure or anxious about anything, was and was sure that Singapore would do quite well in the next 20 years. The success that Singapore had enjoyed was a textbook case of capitalism at work. The participant recognised that there was that sense of insecurity because the government was constantly trying to convince citizens that its problems was really their problems. This was a clever transmission of anxiety from the government to the people. The participant was glad that the Prime Minister (PM) was worrying about the people, but did not feel it was fair that the PM made people worry about the nation. For instance, while globalisation may be real, its effect may not reach right down to the individual as each individual only needs one job. The problem is that many people have taken on how the government has defined the problem for them. They have reproduced the logic of what is already given, and tried to push the limit of what they can get out of this logic, but this logic is still ultimately fixed.

183. To illustrate further, the participant was not worried about immigrants, as the participant felt that a “ready-made” 24-year-old was better than children, as it is difficult to be sure how the children produced as a result of increasing the TFR would turn out when they grow up. The problem was that people were being sucked into the notion of nationalism. The participant questioned why Singapore needed a population of six million as if it was some magic figure.

Another example was how poverty was dealt with. The participant said that poverty in Singapore is an ideological problem and not a financial one. While we have enough money to maintain a certain standard of living for the population, it was the lack of political will that was preventing this from happening. This lack of political will was based on the presumption that if people were simply given the means to access basic living conditions, they would become lazy.

184. The participant concluded by pointing out that all of these scenarios had ended up in trade-offs which feed the worst sort of mentality that Singaporeans have — they were always trading-off something, for example, the idea that one needs to trade career for family. Why can we not “have it all”? The participant felt that certain scenarios started with logic that was already loaded — these scenarios projected back to nostalgia, and it was not possible to get the *kampung* again (no matter how metaphorically the word was used). In the same way, Finland-style socialism is impossible as long as the PAP is in power because of their ideological opposition to it. While it

seemed realistic to start with the accepted logic, it was also very tiresome, the participant said. The participant asked the group to take themselves out of the system by not being anxious — “the sky will not fall down!”

185. On another issue, another participant felt that they were actually looking for deep structure in Singapore in the IPS Prism exercise. Material well-being should not be considered a deep, permanent structure, because it does not say anywhere that Singapore will be a rich society forever. Nationalism is also not a deep structure. The participant suggested several examples of these deep structures. The first was the agency of time and place. Most Singaporeans relate themselves to where they came from in Singapore, as opposed to countries outside of Singapore (for example, China). While Singapore was flourishing 700 years ago, we do not often think about the Singapore that existed before 1819. If in the next 700 years, things go bad, how bad will they actually be when looked at in the continuum of 1,400 years?

186. The participant suggested culture and class are two more deep structures to understand. The participant also made the observation that “class” is one of those words that is rarely uttered, with the safer term of “income” being used. He postulated that this was because “class” describes a political and social concept, while “income” describes an economic concept and hence, a safe word to use.

187. The participant concluded by contrasting two Singapores — Leng Kee, which represents the proletariat Singapore, and Keng Lee, which represents the rich, prosperous Singapore. The participant felt the discussion was moving between these two Singapores, and that Singapore would have to go one way or the other.

188. Another participant felt that an important issue was the question of control. It has always been clear to him that having control is the one fundamental obsession of the government, and that they feel that all hell will break loose if they do not have this complete control. However, in the scenarios that many want to see, the government must give up this idea that it can have absolute control.

189. The same participant added that one of Singapore’s basic problems was its single, crude criterion of success — how rich one is. This, ironically, made us a poor nation. In many societies, there were other criterion, such as dignity. However in Singapore, if you do not have money, you have no respect and dignity.

190. A participant closed the session by asking everyone to be less hard on themselves. The previous point about not feeling anxious about the future resonated with the participant. Looking at the past, the participant said, could we have imagined a similar exercise being carried out at an earlier point in our history, for example in 1965 or the 1970s? Probably not. The participant pointed out that the Golden Age of the past is a product of present causes, and reflects one’s felt sense of lack. However, the Jedi of the past faced

opposition as well! There were different visions of the future at play. The PAP of the past was born in a struggle amongst the left, and some of this lives on today. Now, the vision of what is good is a vision of the left.

191. The participant then reminded the group that the Jedi's first original scenario — the merger with Malaya — had failed, and that what resulted in 1965 was considered an implausible, disastrous option. If scenario planning had been done then, it would have resulted in only one outcome or option — to avoid disaster at all costs. Now it is different, and it means something that the alternative to our situation now is not disaster. Rather, we are able to consider other possibilities.

3. WILD CARDS AND ORTHODOXIES

Wild Cards

192. The 21 wild cards can be divided into four major categories: social, political, economic/financial and security. Though the concerns are generally varied, there are nonetheless some similarities.

193. In the social category, the increased salience of new citizens, identity and integration can be seen in two wild cards where the local-foreign divide is prominently cited as a potential issue. In addition, the fear of racial riots, which were a prominent problem in Singapore's first years of independence, were articulated in one wild card. Furthermore, concerns over the increasing income inequality in Singapore were manifested in two wild cards.

194. The following table illustrates the wild cards in the social category. Participants predicted the possibility of the wild card scenarios occurring, their potential effects and their early warning signs, or weak signals.

Table 6. Social Category Wild Cards

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
Mass migration of Singaporeans to Johor	10%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems with Singapore-Malaysia relations • Military conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iskandar Development Region • 2nd home policy • Cashing out of Singapore • Missing Malaysian labour
Revolt of the poor	5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singapore's global image suffers • Social unrest • Increased social redistribution • Use of violence • Social segregating by class and ethnicity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tunisia • Intensification of income inequality • Revolts around the world
"Orchid Spring" — people power revolution in Singapore	8.888%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sudden change in government — vacuum • Increased politicisation • Damage to international and economic reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in rich-poor divide • Regional contagion

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
Racial riots	4.44%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased support for PAP government • Divided society • Economic problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing intolerance • Racial enclaves (physical + cyber)
Violent clashes between old and new citizens (UK – Brixton, France)	15%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Society divided <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Immigration ○ Economy down ○ Martial law/State of emergency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest marches by either group • More separation: enclaves • Cyber-wars online • More Ferrari incidents • Incidents of vandalism (social indiscipline) • Growing language divide
New citizen NSman opens fire on platoon-mates	19.99%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accentuate local-foreign divide • Racial riots • Re-examination of NS as an institution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ferrari accident • Prior crimes of passion • Racial/ethnic enclaving

195. In the political category, concerns were articulated about the ruling PAP, focusing particularly on the PM. Two wild cards dealt with the assassination or incapacitation of the PM and/or other top leaders within the PAP, while one expressed concerns with possible corruption being found in the upper echelons of political leadership. The stability of political institutions was discussed, with one wild card addressing the PAP directly.

196. The table on the next page illustrates the wild cards in the political category. Participants predicted the possibility of the wild card scenarios occurring, their potential effects and their early warning signs, or weak signals.

Table 7. Political Category Wild Cards

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
PM and 2 DPMs suddenly incapacitated	There was no elaboration on this probability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership vacuum • Power struggles • External pressure/bullying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing injustice • Regional/factional tensions • Lax security

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
PAP break-up (pro-welfare vs. market fundamentalists/religious vs. non-religious)	19.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New ruling/dominant party or coalition • More political divisions • Economy down • Splits in the civil service and armed forces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By-election results turn against PAP • Acrimonious exchanges within PAP • Widespread resignations, purges, defections
PM of Singapore assassinated	3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unclear transition — who's next? • Power struggle within PAP — breaks up • Security issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seng Han Thong on fire • Mas Selamat • Angry netizens on hardwarezone • Increasing income inequality • Rising rates of violent crime • Political fanaticism
PM involved in scandal (sex, corruption, financial)	2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Loss of faith ◦ Corruption of "immaculate image" • Salary comes into question (effectiveness of preventing corruption), throws "whiter than white" into question 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current scandals — civil servants, public leaders, etc. • Repressed ministers
GRCs abolished	2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More proportional representation • Voting along ethnic lines — racial politics • More populist policies to follow • Revolving-door politicians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collapse of other "sacred cows" (e.g., ministerial salaries, capital punishment laws) • More populist government • Reduction of minority voices in Parliament (or racial segregation in Parliament)

197. In the economic/financial category, concerns were heavily focused on Singapore's reserves, with three wild cards expressing the fear of loss of reserves. Though the probability of this scenario was rated relatively low compared with other wild cards, it was still the most commonly cited scenario.

Another wild card dealt with a global scenario, showing the effects of the ongoing Eurozone and US crises, along with the “Occupy” movements, which are somewhat related to income inequality as well.

198. The following table illustrates the wild cards in the economic/financial category. Participants predicted the possibility of the wild card scenarios occurring, their potential effects and their early warning signs, or weak signals.

Table 8. Economic/Financial Category Wild Cards

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
Singapore's reserves are lost	5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S\$ is devalued; financial institutions collapse • People revolt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial crisis globally
Successful world revolution against capitalism	0.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singapore collapses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Euro crisis • US economic crisis • “Occupy” movements
National reserves wiped out	3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collapse in confidence in government • No reserves for welfare • Mass unrest as CPF losses known • Mass emigration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rumours in financial markets • Major government-linked corporations (GLCs) go bust • Sudden departure of senior officials
GIC and Temasek Holdings lose all money	2.75%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crisis of trust in government • Credit rating affected • Status of financial hub affected • Loss of immigrants/ investments • Slaying of sacred cows • Capital flight out of Singapore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weakening financial institutions • Extended global financial crisis • A few more Charles Goodyears • Ho Ching becomes Emeritus CEO

199. In the security category, the rise of China and Singapore's unease with its position could be seen in two wild cards, though the specific concerns articulated were quite different in each case (invasion of Southeast Asia and factional fighting within China). Owing to the nature of the category, concerns were very diverse, ranging from regional instability to cyber-attacks, rising water levels and the threat of a poisoned water supply.

200. The following table illustrates the wild cards in the security category. Participants predicted the possibility of the wild card scenarios occurring, their potential effects and their early warning signs, or weak signals.

Table 9. Security Category Wild Cards

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
China's invasion of Southeast Asia — military, migration	5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destabilising of Southeast Asia • Singapore nationalism? • Chinese chauvinism • Race relations issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems in South China Sea • Political instability in China
Regional war	5.678%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consequences on government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Increased support for PAP government ○ Economic fallout ○ Disruption to food and water supplies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National rhetoric • Arms race
Nation-wide cyber-attacks	19.99%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paralysis of government • Loss of faith in government • Economic paralysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threats made online • Minor security vulnerabilities • Hacking incidents • Standard Operating Environment keeps breaking down
Water levels rise, 10–20% of island underwater/ waterlogged	5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major economic centres (airport, Jurong Island) out of action, no water • Homeless population, population density increase • Mass emigration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Credibility of government hit ○ State of emergency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased frequency of floods • Freak weather around the world

Wild Cards	Probability	So What?	Weak Signals
China implodes (1920s), creates warlords with nukes	10%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional instability • Trade/economic disruption • Huge migrant inflow (refugees) • People rally around government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased incidents of social unrest • CCP in-fighting and purges • PLA assertive
Complete poisoning of water supply	15%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breakdown of society • Threat to the belief in the importance/sanctity of water • Reliance on Malaysia for water (again) • Threat to strength of infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bedok Reservoir suicides — no bodyguards at reservoirs • Murdered corpses dumped in HDB water tank • Biochemical leaks —SARS virus • Breach of high-security installation

Orthodoxies

201. An orthodoxy is a theory, assumption, doctrine or practice that is widely shared or accepted or believed to be true by members of a community. Our understanding about the future (and most anything else) is often based on orthodoxies, and articulating these orthodoxies helps us question the assumptions used in our scenarios.

202. . Participants were asked to select some orthodoxies relating to governance in Singapore that they felt were untrue, and to present possible consequences that occur from believing in these orthodoxies, supported by real-world examples. The orthodoxies that were proposed fell into four main categories. The first category dealt with issues of identity. The second focused on political orthodoxies. The third category comprised economic orthodoxies while the last category was made up of orthodoxies that had to do with Singapore’s social policies and the values behind these policies.

203. Among the orthodoxies relating to identity, the first orthodoxy that was questioned was the idea of a “we” that is authored and authoritative. One of the consequences of believing in this orthodoxy would be an increasing number of people that feel disconnected from and question this “we”, as they do not feel that they are part of it. This also leads to a culture of dependence and prevents the government from escaping from its paternalistic status quo. The only way to combat this orthodoxy would be for people to have a responsible discussion about the definitions of “we”.

204. The second orthodoxy related to identity that was questioned was the relevance of the CMIO model. Some consequences of believing in this orthodoxy would be a lack of openness to the new international and social

realities of a borderless world, a devaluing of hybridity, difficulties in integrating non-traditional migrants and a denial of the value of conflict and contestation. However, this orthodoxy could reinforce social harmony and social norms.

205. The last orthodoxy related to identity that was questioned was the race and religion bogeyman. Some of the consequences of believing in this orthodoxy would be a superficial tolerance of race and religious differences, circumscribed discussions about these issues and an inability to adapt to changing demographics.

Table 10. Orthodoxies Relating to Identity

	Orthodoxies	Examples
1.	A “we” that is authored/authoritative, talkable, talked about, talked at...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All “our” hard truths • Conditions of “our” existence • How “we” keep going • How “we” must govern to keep “us” going
2.	Being Singaporean matters (CMIO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The amount of money we spend on National Day • The “curry incident” • Discourse on integration
3.	The race and religion bogeyman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Race-based policies (GRCs, HBD quotas, SAF policy on the Malays) • Can’t talk about it! — Call the police! • Extreme secularism • Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act

206. Among the political orthodoxies, the first to be questioned was the idea that giving people a voice would lead to greater well-being. The consequences of believing in this orthodoxy would be an abundance of noise which leads to a lack of direction, the emergence of a universal bogeyman, the tyranny of the majority and/or conservatism and minority “scapegoating”. Also, the assumption is often that what is heard is the voice of the people when that may not necessarily be true.

207. The second political orthodoxy to be questioned was the “Fear Narrative”. This siege mentality could result in harmful risk aversion, a brain drain due to talented individuals leaving Singapore for perceived safer areas, self-censorship, the alienation of groups or individuals perceived as harmful, and the population’s apathy towards possibly draconian laws.

208. The last political orthodoxy to be questioned as the idea that politics needs to be compartmentalised. A belief in the need for politics to remain a separate sphere that can only be questioned by those holding public office could leading to a society that is fearful of debate and conflict, as well as impede progress and the surfacing of good ideas.

Table 11. Political Orthodoxies

	Orthodoxies	Examples
1.	Giving people a voice leads to greater well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • REACH feedback channels • Speakers' Corner • National consultation exercises
2.	The "Fear Narrative"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The little red dot" • Untouchable defense budget • Untouchable reserves • View that votes may not be secret • ISA, Newspaper and Printing Presses Act
3.	"Compartmentalisation" of politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OB Markers (Catherine Lim) • "Constructive criticism" is defined as apolitical (Catherine Lim) • Partisanship is irrational

209. Among the economic orthodoxies, the first to be questioned was the idea that economic growth is paramount. Some of the consequences of believing in this orthodoxy are a society with less "soul" that is uncaring, ungracious and self-interested and a low work-life balance. There will also be a discourse of scarcity and Singapore's vulnerability. However, money also creates options and fuels a virtuous growth cycle.

210. The second economic orthodoxy to be questioned is the view that economics is the imperative. Some of the consequences of believing in this orthodoxy are a monetised mandarin, neo-liberal economic policies, pork barrel politics and extreme marketisation (i.e., public transport, housing, healthcare and fertility policies are designed with a focus on money and free markets).

211. The last economic orthodoxy to be questioned is the view that Singapore faces constraints and should worry about these constraints. Some of the consequences of believing in this orthodoxy are a less confident, risk averse society that is less entrepreneurial and misses out on opportunities. Society also becomes less adaptable, and loses the ability to change. However, there is a need for Singapore to be always prepared and not to be complacent.

Table 12. Economic Orthodoxies

	Orthodoxies	Examples
1.	Economic growth is paramount	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalisation of the arts, culture and our heritage • Current immigration policies rationalised on the grounds of economic growth • Investment in education based on the economic returns expected
2.	Economics as <i>the</i> imperative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singapore is commoditised • Singaporeans conditioned to respond only to monetary incentives e.g., HDB upgrading

	Orthodoxies	Examples
3.	We face constraints and we should worry about them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The politics of “Singapore is not ready for X” • We need National Service to defend ourselves • We are inherently vulnerable as a state • Resource/budget constraint always binding • Slippery slope to disaster

212. Among the orthodoxies relating to social policies and values, the first orthodoxy that was questioned was the idea that equality of opportunity is sufficient to address social mobility. While it is common to believe that societies can retain a “class system” and still prosper, and that social mobility can be achieved by means other than equality of opportunity, in Singapore however, the two are inherently linked. Believing in this orthodoxy could lead to unequal outcomes over time, and these outcomes could become entrenched, leading to a “permanent” elite and underclass. Believing in this orthodoxy could also engender unhealthy competition and stereotypes, which may lead to a less inclusive society.

213. The other orthodoxy in this category that was questioned was the idea that success is equal to achieving good grades or earning money. Some consequences of believing this are a one-dimensional, materialistic, risk-averse and insecure society whose members do not realise their full potential.

Table 13. Orthodoxies Relating to Social Policies and the Values Behind Them

	Orthodoxies	Examples
1.	Equality of opportunity addresses social mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Son of a taxi driver can become a Public Service Commission scholar • Malay student get’s President’s Scholarship
2.	Success = grades or money	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholarship system • Appointment of leaders • CV writing conventions

Discussion about Wild Cards and Orthodoxies

214. A general comment on the wild cards were that they were all negative events and lacking in positive game-changing ones. One member of the Wild Cards Group explained that it seemed more natural and easier to look at negative wild cards because of how they relate to the focal concern about how we govern ourselves in 2022. The same participant explained that positive wild cards such as potion of eternal youth and a fertility potion did emerge, but the group felt that these were not seen as big game-changers compared to the negative ones. One participant responded by suggesting that positive wild cards could actually enable the participants to think beyond the usual bogeymen situations, for instance, a scenario where everyone’s demands for government reforms were suddenly granted.

215. Another participant noted an absence of terrorist attacks as a potential wild card. To this, a participant expressed that this was not a “wild” enough

conjecture. Yet another described the prospect of a volcanic eruption in Indonesia as something that causes fear.

216. One participant was surprised that one big factor was not mentioned — that of the more than one million non-citizen residents in Singapore. This had potential long-term implications as it is not easy to simply make them leave when they are no longer as “useful”. The orthodoxy here is that these non-citizen residents are contributing positively to Singapore, but the participant pointed out that there could also be other points of view.

217. Yet another participant remarked that advances in technology should have been considered in the wild cards. For example, medical advances that could allow us to live healthily until 120, or to die healthy at 80 might be discovered. New sources of energy might also emerge.

218. On orthodoxies, a participant observed that many of the orthodoxies covered race and religion, but that these were omitted in the selected scenarios from the sector workshops that were presented previously. One other participant pointed out that it was important to distinguish orthodoxies held by the government versus national orthodoxies held by the man on the street. Most of the orthodoxies listed by the orthodoxies group were ideas that were held by the government, but increasingly dismissed by ordinary citizens.

219. A participant cautioned about the presumption of Singapore’s fiscal reserves being abundant and plentiful, and suggested that another wild card would be if these reserves were non-existent or much less than what we thought. The same participant went on to say that unless we have a transparent discussion about what the real level of fiscal reserves are, we cannot properly discuss the kinds of social welfare and other schemes that we can implement or pass. What are the institutional barriers that allow for this disclosure? The participant cited the Congressional Budget Office in the US and its responsibility for making disclosure of rigorously analysed information about America’s fiscal resources in the future.

4. SCENARIOS FROM THE FINAL WORKSHOP

220. Scenarios Teams A, B and C were then given an opportunity to further develop their scenarios taking into consideration the wild cards and orthodoxies presented.

Scenarios Team A

221. Team A's horizontal axis compared the driving force of dispersion of power — whether it was concentrated in the government or dispersed among the government, civil society and citizens. They felt power was the “lowest common denominator” as many economic policies are derived from political policies. When producing the scenarios, this axis allowed the team to consider how the concentration of power might change in 2022, and what reactions there would be to any changes. The team also added that on this axis, power is considered to be actively wielded.

222. Team A's other axis compared the perceptions of the distribution of resources in society, rather than the outcomes of the distribution of resources in society. This driving force was again the “lowest common denominator”, as the team felt that perceptions of the distribution of resources in society would affect economic policies. At one pole was a “Me” society, where the distribution of resources is less equitable; similar to the current meritocratic system that is in place. At the other end was a “We” society, where the distribution of resources is more equitable. The team also emphasised that they did not want to make one pole clearly better or worse than the other.

223. The team centred their scenario narratives on the three General Elections (GE): 2011, 2016 and 2021. All of the scenarios have the same starting point of the GE2011, but the result of this starting point differs for each scenario, leading to different narratives.

Figure 6. Scenarios from Team A



Rentier State

224. In this scenario, society is more egalitarian than it is now, but power still lies with the government. While government policies will have changed, the government institutions and the powers that are held by these institutions remain. The team felt that this was a plausible scenario as internal government reforms could occur when the political opposition and civil society are either unable to react at all or unable to react well enough to challenge the kind of reforms that are carried out. Examples of more egalitarian policies that might be implemented could be the re-nationalisation of SMRT, and government-linked corporations (GLCs) taking a more active role in redistributing resources and creating social good, as opposed to GLCs behaving in a similar way to private financial institutions.

225. The upside to this situation is that there is a lower risk of a conflict of powers. As power is concentrated in one place, not much disorder will occur as a result of actors challenging each other for this power. However, this system is harder to sustain, as seen in the narrative below.

226. GE2011: The government believes that economics, and not governance, is the salient issue and continues with current policies. Here, Singaporeans care a lot about the economy and about how much they earn. The government realises that redistribution is an issue, and they involve GLCs in redistribution and in tackling social issues. While non-government actors try

to pressure the government to implement political reforms, these protests are usually muted.

227. GE2016: The government is given a large mandate by citizens who prioritise the economy. This strengthens the government and weakens the voices that are attempting to move against this market-driven ideology. The government has taken care of social issues, which has resulted in the co-opting or disappearance of grassroots and civil society groups such as self-help groups. The political opposition and civil society continue to argue for political liberalisation. The government believes that they are able to continuously “buy” citizens, resulting in a system of patronage that allows the government to buy power with the money that it distributes. However, despite the redistribution by the government, Singaporeans still remain unhappy.

228. GE2021: Inequality shrinks as the government tries to maintain the same redistributive policies as in the previous years. However, Singapore is less competitive economically and attracts less investment as her taxes are higher. Despite all this, the PAP maintains its dominance because it is able to continue reducing inequality and has consolidated its power.

Patchwork Democracy

229. Here, power is dispersed and society is, or aims to be, more egalitarian. Individuals hold more communitarian values, and multiple voices from non-government actors such as the political opposition, civil society and religious groups contribute to the political process. There is greater deliberation over policies. This deliberation could be either positive or negative, depending on an individual's personal ideology. The greater diversity of groups in the political process results in more frequent lobbying, and there is a risk that government might be captured by interest groups. There is also greater redistribution, which comes from private entities, as the government is a lot weaker.

230. GE2011: The government starts reforming itself internally. As a new generation of leaders enter office, the government realises that it cannot continue with certain policies. The media is liberalised and the government is less resistant to non-government actors playing a role. As a result, these non-government actors step up.

231. GE2016: The government becomes smaller as a result of these policies. The void left by the government is filled by the multiple voices that start to emerge. The economy starts to stabilise and is less volatile. There is also an external change — the global philosophy about how economies should be run starts to shift.

232. GE2021: The government shrinks even further and coalitions start to happen. Interest groups start to strengthen and coalesce, and much larger non-state actors are involved in political action and redistribution.

Winner Takes All

233. In this scenario, power is concentrated, and society pursues wealth as an end in itself. This situation was described as being the “Status Quo Plus”.

Here, perceptions play a greater role, and Singaporeans are in greater agreement about the kind of values that society should pursue. They feel that if an individual is good, they deserve to reap the rewards. They support policies in this spirit, such as providing top schools with disproportionate funding. They believe that the trickle-down effect happens in the economy, and the political opposition and civil societies are not strong enough to counter this. Singapore becomes a big, global city, and is more a transaction point than a nation. Issues of nationalism and citizenship are also less relevant, and the salient point now is how much money an individual earns.

234. GE2011: Here, inequality matters. However, the opposition and civil society, while independently strong, remain relatively unorganised when compared to the government. This allows the government to continuously play on the populace's insecurities and to create a "Republican philosophy" where big businesses matter and the trickle-down effect is considered adequate.

235. GE2016: The global economy remains unstable, and Singapore's GDP figures give the government more strength in arguing that their policies are good. The political opposition has no economic answers to this, and political rights take a backseat. A strongman is still desired in bad economic times, as demonstrated in the 2001 General Elections, and the PAP remains in power.

236. GE2021: Singapore is now more of a city-state than a nation. Economic issues become the focus of politics and the business sector has more clout and a larger voice, which could be either covert or overt. The government provides social policy in the form of short-term assistance.

Tribes

237. Here, power is dispersed, and individuals look out for themselves. They also look out for their own kind of people, depending on what their idea of their community is — for example, if they believe their community is based on their religion, then they will look after those of the same religion. Communities could also be divided along racial lines. Government loses a lot of power over time, and in an attempt to hold on to power, they involve nationalist feelings. However, this is usually met by apathy, as citizens are more interested in their own well-being than in the larger picture. Philanthropy from private individuals increase as these individuals have an interest in helping their own groups. Private individuals hence fill in the cracks in government-provided goods. This could be seen in decentralised healthcare or education. There is a move away from the idea of a nation to a system similar to that in the United States.

238. GE2011: A new generation of leaders enter office, sparking a split in the party and a power struggle. The new guard is unable to provide solutions and non-state actors become more aggressive and replace some of the roles of government.

239. GE2016: The global economy remains volatile. Citizens remain disillusioned with the government, and believe in decentralised power instead of centralised power. A fragmented government is sandwiched between

internal and external problems, and are forced to concede more powers to non-state actors.

240. GE2021: The government appeals to nationalism to hold on to power and to hold the country together, but it is unsuccessful. Philanthropy and individualism become more significant, as individuals take up some of the roles of government. Interest groups compete amongst themselves for resources and political clout, and citizens become more inward and parochial in their beliefs. Will they work better together in the future?

Discussion of Team A's Scenarios

241. A participant felt that the Scenarios Team A's "concentrated power" and "dispersed power" axis reflected the emphasis given to this driving force in the scenarios created in the previous sector workshops. The "We" society and "Me" society axis was similar to the existing orthodoxy, with its focus on economic imperatives and how economic resources are distributed. The participant felt that if this axis could be broadened to include the effect of value systems, Team A's scenarios would be the participant's favourite.

242. A team member responded that the "We" society and "Me" society axis did not refer to outcomes (i.e., the dollar amount transferred). The team was instead interested in what these dollars were translated into, for example, better healthcare or a better quality of life. The team member clarified that it was about society's perceptions (i.e., values, and whether they perceived equality as being important). These perceptions or values would then be translated into policies.

243. Another participant asked who the collective "us" — that make choices about the distribution of resources in society for the scenarios by Team A — referred to. The participant asked if, for example, Filipino or Indonesian domestic workers would be part of this choice-making process.

244. The team responded that they conceived of a generic "we", that encompassed civil society as a whole. They felt that the definition of those that were "in" and those who were "out" would be contested, for instance, an LGBT¹² movement might feel that they are in, while a conservative or religious movement might feel that this same LGBT movement is "out". In this situation, there may be no conclusion but there is discussion. The borders of who is "in" or "out" are constantly in flux, and the team opted to leave the definition of "us" open.

245. A participant felt that leaving the definition of "we" open could be a good idea, as the question of "we" relates to the overlapping identities that individuals have. Individuals are different people — fathers, sons, citizens, etc. — and that identity, or the part of that identity that is appropriate or germane to a situation changes. It is difficult to know the kind of situation that will force someone to define themselves as part of one group or another.

12. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

246. However, another participant felt that if certain groups are “out”, then it is difficult to define “we”, which then makes it difficult to define whether one is in the Patchwork Democracy or the Tribes scenario.

247. The team agreed with the participant in theory, but felt that it is difficult to have a utopian world where every stakeholder has a voice. Certain stakeholders will always have a larger voice and have a more dominant role in determining society’s values. The question is therefore who and how many, stakeholders have a bigger role.

248. The participant responded by asking if this meant that the “Patchwork Democracy” model was essentially fiction. The team felt that this was not so. They gave the example of the Swiss model, which has decentralised voting, and made the point that while we should not follow other models exactly, this philosophy exists, and it is a situation that we could arrive at.

249. Another participant added that one way to resolve this question is not by thinking of the “We” society as being inclusive but by asking how important that question is in the first place. It might not be important who is in this group. In both Winner Takes All and Tribes scenarios, there is a “me” society and the population only cares about themselves. In contrast, there is a “we” society in the Rentier State and Patchwork Democracy scenarios, where “we” matters, even though the team might not resolve how inclusive this “we” will going to be. In the scenarios, it is also likely that the boundaries of “we” will continue to be contested, as some people will be excluded from this collective. It is a comparison of a situation where the individual is paramount, as compared to some notion of “we” being paramount.

250. Yet another participant added to the discussion, relating to a study in behavioural economics that asked Democrats and Republicans in the United States what they thought about the current income distribution, and what their ideal model would be. The answers from both these groups were largely identical. While the Republicans thought that society was more equal than it actually was, they still desired an income distribution that was more equal than what they thought it was in society, and even more equal than that in Sweden. A similar response was seen to a recent survey carried out by *The Straits Times*. About 70–80% of respondents felt that equality of opportunity and social mobility are a problem in Singapore, and 60% felt that the government was not doing enough to solve this problem.¹³ The participant expressed that it is a universal human characteristic, whether one is American, Republican or Singaporean, to care about “we” in a way that far exceeds ideology.

251. The same participant made a second point about equality of opportunity. Singapore is a newly rich society and many in its population carry the memories of their family struggling to succeed from poor circumstances. We have a deep, experiential and emotional understanding of the importance of having equality of opportunity stemming from firsthand experience.

14. Rachel Chang and Cheryl Ong, “Poll flags concerns over wage gap”, *The Straits Times*, 21 July 2012.

Singapore was born as a state and developed its ideals during a period where there was a competition within the left (between the communists and socialists), and this is reflected in many of our institutions as well as in our pledge. It is no surprise that despite Singapore's highly materialistic and unequal society, we are also very concerned about equality of opportunity.

252. Another participant felt that there was a deep structure underneath these terms, that is, genetics. The question of the distribution of resources is related to power — who decides whether to distribute and how much, and also who decides on how much of demand there is. The participant felt the situation would be ideal if very intelligent people (i.e., in our belief system, those with superior genetics) and those in power enter into a reasonable dialogue to resolve these issues. Those who are the most intelligent, and who believe strongly in this intelligence, would have a duty to carry out decisions that are in the best interests of society and to the best of their abilities. However, the question that arises is: what value do you give to the human being if the genetic criteria, i.e., intelligence, as measured by the school system, is not used? What level of credence should you give to a demand, and therefore, what level of response should you give to it?

253. On another issue, a participant pointed out that none of the four quadrants in Team A's scenarios were stable and sustainable, as each quadrant tends to lead to the next, in an almost circular way. However, another participant felt that one should not try to think of Singapore as being so small that it was possible to define a single state of affairs. Rather, different quadrants may apply to a different extent, at different times and in different areas and sectors. This would reflect the diversity present in society and cater to times when one might want more concentrated or more dispersed power; moreover, scenarios are not meant to capture the complexity of reality.

254. This participant also made a comment about introducing individual choice into the scenarios. The participant felt that while the individual is important, it is also easy to think that our individual choice will not change much. If everyone adopts this view, then nothing will change. He suggested that some aspect of the individual be included in the public engagement phase of the IPS Prism project, as the person ultimately reading the scenarios is an individual, and not a society. At the start, it is the individual that is deciding something, and at the end, it is the individual that is affected, and the scenarios fall in the middle of this process.

255. Another participant then suggested renaming the Rentier State scenario as the Nanny State, possibly giving it greater resonance with the public, to which Team A responded that while they had considered it, they felt that it was a negative title.

Scenarios Team B

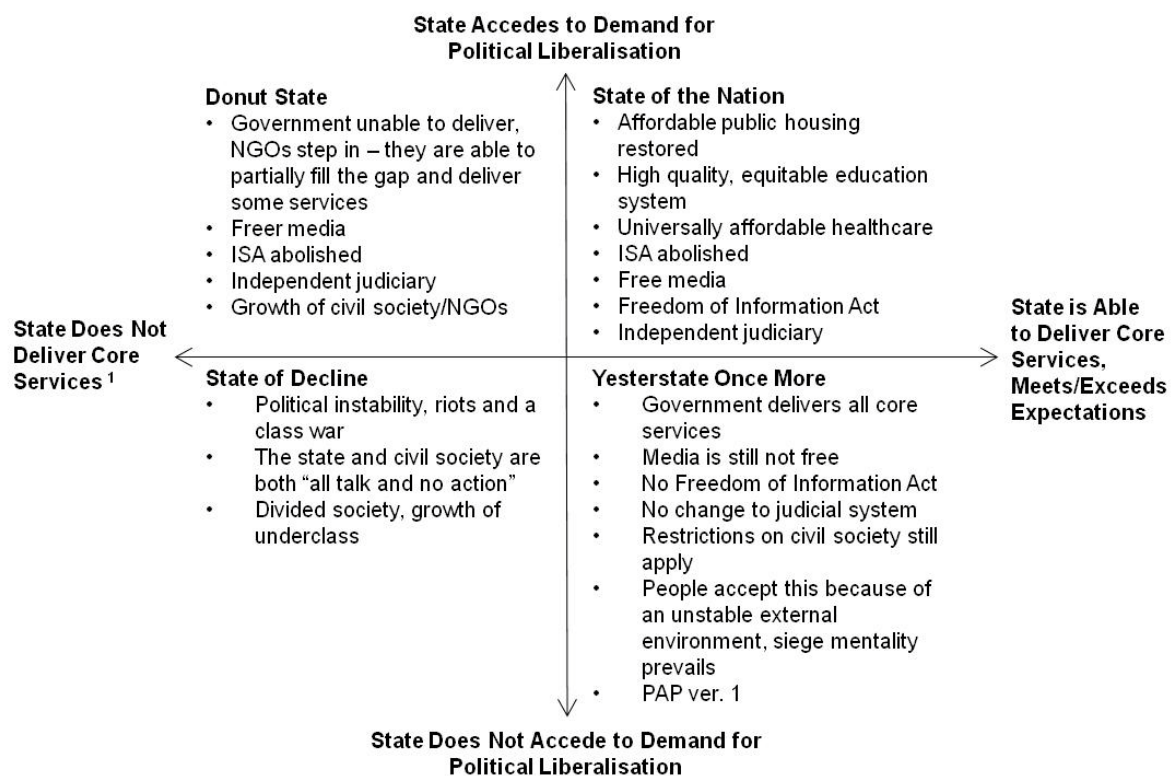
256. Team B's horizontal axis was based around the ability of the state to deliver core services. They felt that while "The Singapore Premium" was important, it is normally seen in the economic sense, but actually reflects something much deeper — the ability of the state to deliver, for example in the

areas of the economy, social policy, and defense and security. The state's ability to deliver is very strong in Singapore, and the team felt it was important that their scenarios reflected this. At one pole was a situation where the state does not deliver core services (defined as affordable housing, healthcare and education), while at the other end, the state is able to deliver core services and meets or exceeds the population's expectations.

257. Team B's vertical axis focused on how the governance of Singapore's political system would change over time — whether the state acceded to demands for political liberalisation, or whether the situation remains unchanged or deteriorates. Some of the team's scenarios ran through the whole spectrum of this axis.

258. Running through all of the scenarios created by the team was also a consideration of how influential external environments are going to be in affecting what happens within Singapore. The team added that their scenarios were quite similar to the Team A's, albeit positioned slightly differently.

Figure 7. Scenarios from Team B



State of the Nation

259. This title was a play on the words “state” and “nation”.

260. The Heng Swee Keat Committee uncovers a strong need for social policy and democratic reforms. The government accepts these findings and acts credibly on both fronts, recognising that there has been in a decline in its delivery of the social, economic and security goods that the population

expects. It also recognises that it will have to accept some level of political liberalisation for Singapore to become resilient.

261. In the area of social policy, the government creates a housing system that works, restoring affordable public housing by 2016. It also provides high quality education in an equitable education system, and universally affordable healthcare. In the political arena, the Internal Security Act (ISA) is abolished, the judiciary is independent and the media is freer. The government also introduces a Freedom of Information Act.

262. While the PAP loses a few GRCs, they realise that without the reforms that it made, it would have lost everything. However, despite this, the electorate's demands are changing, and the PAP is finding it difficult to fulfill them.

263. The PAP loses several more GRCs in the next election, and its percentage of the vote drops to 55%. In the next election, this vote percentage drops to 50%, effectively resulting in a two-party system.

264. However, Singapore's political structures are durable, and the loss of power is restricted only to the PAP. The nation is effectively governed by a strong political structure.

265. The result is a situation that some might think chaotic, but the team felt differently. While the original question was about who is governing Singapore, the group thought about how Singapore was going to be governed instead. They felt even if the PAP loses more seats in Parliament in the next General Election, this would matter less if these reforms take place and Singapore has very strong institutions.

Donut State

266. Here, the state has failed to deliver the core services, and civil society steps in and starts to be more active and aggressive. As the name of the scenario implies, the state has been hollowed out in the centre, and is now on the fringe. NGOs step in, and are able to partially fill the gap and deliver some services. Political changes also occur — the ISA is abolished, the judiciary is independent, the media is freer and civil society and NGOs grow.

267. Between now and the 2016 General Election, the government loses support as it has not delivered core services. In the 2016 election, it loses a few GRCs, and may also lose its two-thirds majority in Parliament that it needs to amend the Constitution at will. Civil society becomes stronger, and more groups emerge to represent different vested interests. Singapore's changing demography would result in the elderly being over-represented in electoral politics. If this group gets organised, there will be a louder "grey power" movement, and politicians will need to respond to it. However, there is a trade-off to interest groups' greater involvement in the policy process. The PAP may cater to these vested interests, and may become confused about who they should listen to. Politics will have returned to Singapore, and to

within the PAP itself. A further possibility is that minorities will be represented by groups that take the government to court for violating constitutional rights.

268. Beyond Singapore, Pakatan Rakyat takes power from UMNO¹⁴ in Malaysia. Team B wondered what effect this would have on our minority politics, and what the PAP would do in response. They felt that the PAP might resort to old habits such as scare tactics. The private sector would also step up, offering relief in the vacuum where the government has failed.

269. The team left the 2021 election as a cliffhanger. The presenter posited a situation where, because of the different interest groups and the confusion within the PAP, the party might split. In its confusion and desperation to cater to different interests, it fields candidates for office who are gay activists. However, other party members that represent the religious groups object to this.

Yesterstate Once More

270. Here, the state is able to deliver core services and civil society is not as strong. The state also does not accede to demands for political liberalisation. The ISA is still in force, there is no change to the judicial system, restrictions on civil society apply, the media is still not free and there is no Freedom of Information Act. However, people accept this situation because of the unstable external environment — external financial and regional political conditions are unstable. A siege mentality prevails.

271. Regionally, the elections in Malaysia are inconclusive, and her constitution is suspended and emergency rule introduced. Elections lead to a rise in nationalism in Indonesia and a breakdown of social order in China. Ethnic Chinese from Malaysia, Indonesia and China flock to Singapore and the situation in Singapore gets so bad that there are refugees living in tents on the east coast. Singaporeans feel pushed for personal space, and both the government and the people realise the need for the government to step in to maintain social order.

272. The government then steps in because they are able to deliver. They re-invoke the ISA, arresting and interrogating bloggers and intellectuals.

273. The PAP now sits on the edge of the next election — they have lost a few GRCs in 2016, but will it be able to return to the situation where there is only one opposition-held GRC after the 2021 elections? The team is not sure.

State of Decline

274. Here, the government has doggedly hung on to the concept that the core services must be market-driven and paid by individuals. It refuses to provide these core services – it is not that the government cannot provide them but rather that they do not deliver them. However, the findings of the Heng Swee Keat Committee force the government to pretend to listen and to give a few handouts.

14. The United Malays National Organisation, current the largest political party in Malaysia.

275. Regionally, the South China Sea crisis worsens, and Singapore declines the chairmanship of ASEAN when its turn comes.

276. In the 2016 General Elections, the PAP loses more seats and more GRCs.

277. In the period leading up to the 2021 General Elections, the government has maintained its position, and a prominent blogger, who is alleged to have terrorised the Attorney General's Chambers in cyberspace, is arrested under the ISA. A billionaire who was once detained under the ISA is again interrogated. The PAP has a poor slate of candidates, as now even being fielded as a candidate for the GRCs does not guarantee a win. Nationalism rears its head. Singapore's volunteer army, which comprises new citizens formerly from China, refuses to be deployed to the South China Sea to help in handling the crisis. All signs point to the PAP losing its majority. Fear of chaos is in the air.

278. In the midst of all this, an ex-army general currently serving in the Cabinet contemplates suspending the constitution and implementing military rule to stabilise the country. He is encouraged by a former army chief and Chief Executive Officer of SMRT, who has done a fantastic job.

Discussion of Team B's Scenarios

279. Going back to the debate on the idea of "we", a participant felt that the scenarios from Team B clarified the position Team A took about "we". In Team A's scenarios, "we" refers to citizens, while in Team B's scenarios, "we" seems to refer to subjects. Team B's scenarios follow a very statist discourse, where the state is the actor that has the power to yield. This is opposed to Team A, where society or the citizenry has the power to act.

280. Another participant added that it would be interesting if the scenarios from Teams A and B were combined. The participant wondered what different effects political liberalisation would have in a "We" society as compared to in a "Me" society. For example, in Team A's Tribes scenario, the situation would be okay unless one's tribe is small and weak, and facing other tribes that are big and powerful.

281. A participant liked how the scenarios produced by both Scenarios Teams A and B, as they introduced the concept of choice. Team B's scenarios used axes that were heavily dependent on the choices that the states makes — whether or not to deliver core services and whether or not to accede to demands for political liberalisation. Conversely, the participant also liked that Team A's scenarios introduced the concept of choices by two actors — the state's choice about whether to make its power more dispersed, and society's choice about how to distribute resources (seen in the "we society" and "me society" poles of the horizontal axis).

282. A member of Team B then explained that the team consciously chose the term "state" as opposed to "government", with the state comprising the government, the civil service and government institutions. The team

recognised that the state now is powerful and dominant, and will likely remain so in 10 years' time, and as a result chose to make their axes dependent on the state. However, the participant pointed out that there could be a wild card event in the next 10 years that would lead to different circumstances. The example of the General Election of 2011 was given; while there was little public attention given to the election several months before it was held, this changed dramatically once all the electoral wards (with the exception of Tanjong Pagar) were contested. This was because the population suddenly felt that they had a choice and so were therefore interested in the election. This could very easily happen again sometime in the next 10 years.

283. Another participant, who expressed a liking for Team B's political liberalisation axis, nonetheless felt that the state is often unwilling to alter its position on certain issues because it has decided that it is following the wishes of the silent majority. The participant gave the example of the recent culling of wild boars, where the state identified and acted for a silent majority who was in favour of the culling and opposed the views of the animal activists on this issue. However, if the state accedes to demands for political liberalisation, it is removing itself from this position. Instead, there will be different civil society groups on both sides of the issue battling it out. The same participant then gave an example of the potential repealing of Section 377A¹⁵ as a result of political liberalisation. While the state now maintains some stability, the absence of the state in this situation might lead to chaos and confusion as civil society fights among itself.

284. Another participant added that while it is common to talk about the state in a monolithic sense (i.e., the state is either involved and works in a coherent way, or the state is removed resulting in social discord and an increased role for civil society), which is not true in real life. There are also individuals who disagree with the state, but who are working within the state to effect change. The state as the centric form of change is but one plausibility. The state could also change from within as a result of the pressures working from within.

285. Another participant raised the issue of Singapore being a "state-nation". In a state-nation, the state imagines, creates and presents the nation to the people, and people respond. However, what is more interesting is that Singapore is at a point of transition from a "state-nation" to a "nation-state". In a nation-state, the nation turns around and contests the state. This contestation is sometimes on issues the state is familiar with defending, for example, its ability to deliver on its own promises. However, the terms of contestation are changing. This process of contestation, as opposed to the outcome, when a state-nation becomes a nation-state is interesting, and it is encapsulated in all the team's scenarios, but particularly well in Team B's.

286. A participant felt that the attraction of this scenario is that there is enough familiarity for the state to serve as an anchor. However, while we may

15. Section 377A of Singapore's Penal Code criminalises sex between mutually consenting adult men.

be tempted to see certain patterns as repeating themselves or being accentuated when thinking about the future, we should also be conscious that while there may be repetition, there can also be difference. We have to figure out what that difference might be. The participant drew on an event mentioned in Team B's scenario narrative — that of bloggers and intellectuals being arrested and interrogated — and did not foresee the state doing this, as there are other ways of achieving the same goal. The participant also made the distinction between the scope of the state and the strength of the state. It was possible to have a strong state with a reduced scope, such as in the United States. There, the state is strong, but the scope of the state is not as wide as that in the Scandinavian countries.

287. Another participant was more inclined towards Team B's scenarios as they focused on politics and economics and reflected the pragmatic nature of Singaporeans. However, the participant pointed out that the role of the People's Association (PA) was not covered much. The participant suggested that its name be changed from PA to PM, or People's Movement, and that it does its work in a more people-centric way (as opposed to the current advisor-centric way). The participant felt that in Singapore, the government must first feel comfortable before anything of the PA's size is allowed to develop, and felt that the PA could get involved in more areas, such as encouraging the arts and social bonding.

288. Lastly, another participant also suggested that Team B's Yesterstate Once More and State of Decline scenarios be renamed to Hard Truths State and Zimbabwe State, respectively, in order for the scenarios to have greater resonance with the public.

Scenarios Team C

289. Team C started their inductive scenario with the fraying social compact and latent sense of betrayal currently felt by many in the electorate. They cited a Gallup poll which showed that while many Singaporeans were convinced that the government was for Singapore in its approaches and policies, many also felt that the government was not for Singaporeans.

290. Team C's first driving force was the government's credibility, as measured by the population's trust in, and support for, the government. On one end of this spectrum, the population has a low level of trust in the government, and there is a sense of betrayal and that "the government does not know best". On the other end, the population has a high level of trust in the government, and there is a sense of shared progress. The population believes in the institutions, and that "the government does know best". However, the team pointed out that there are many ways that the government could build trust: it could use the tools of the state that are available to them to build trust, or it could choose to "buy" trust.

291. Team C's second driving force was society's definition of success. On one extreme, success is defined very narrowly and only encompasses economic rewards. This pole is represented by "value". On the other extreme,

society has a broader definition of success that extends beyond economics. This pole is represented by “values”.

292. The team’s last driving force was focused on the beneficiaries of public policy and the social compact — how “winners” are chosen and invested in. (This is similar to the “winners” and “the rest” driving force that was used by in the earlier scenarios by the team from the Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop). At one extreme, policies are broad-based, and “for the man on the street”. These policies are perceived to look after the common man. On the other extreme is a system that is “pro-cream”, and looks after the top 1%. Here, a corporate safety net is more likely to exist than a social safety net. This privileges the rich and the elite, identifies winners early on and allows those that are successful to continue to be successful.

293. The team added that they developed the scenarios such that there was no one scenario that was the utopia or dystopia, instead preferring for each scenario to be a mix of positives and negatives.

Table 14. Scenarios from 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Credible • Institutions and the economy are still strong • Government implements effective policies that align with and reinforce materialist values and the market-driven system • Population’s sense of betrayal is mitigated through “money” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Credible • Economic growth is between first and third scenarios, but money is not/less important • Government runs a fiscal deficit • The population’s sense of betrayal is mitigated through political change and policy reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not credible • Poor policies, more scandals, strident social media • Singapore is an economic backwater when compared to thriving region • The population’s sense of betrayal is exacerbated and people become more self-reliant

	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”
Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Dollar”: Money is used for social transfers to placate the populace, even if system is still intrinsically elitist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Heart”: Gracious society, thanks to through a top-down government-led process • Values are less materialistic and people want a more egalitarian system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Heart”: Bottom-up initiative increases. MRT is empty • People are happy; rice and <i>ikan bilis</i> are the main staple but people are happy to eat that
Winners/ The Rest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winners. This is a pro-Singapore scenario. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Rest. This is a pro-Singaporeans scenario. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Rest. This is a scenario where the people are proactive.

	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”
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business as usual. Sustainable because there is an ideology that keeps people supporting the system — different paths of success • Rhetoric succeeds in persuading the 99% they are not losing out from the system • 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 • Overall there is greater social fragmentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 • All’s well up till 2022, but by 2035, we will look back to see what Europe did in 2012 • Unsustainable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flight of capital, MNCs and foreign talent (oil refinery becomes port or Zouk II) • 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

Satisfied Sheep

294. In this scenario, the government is credible, and institutions and the economy remain strong (economic growth is the highest in this scenario), although there are some challenges. The government implements effective policies that align with and reinforce materialist values and a market-driven system. The population’s sense of betrayal is mitigated through money.

295. The government is also able to convince people that their pro-Singapore strategy — rather than the pro-Singaporean strategy adopted in the next Boiling Frogs scenario — is good. While its policies still favour the 1%, its rhetoric is pro-Singaporean. It is able to convince the 99% that they are not losing out. The population buys into this idea that there are different paths to success. However, this strategy reinforces a certain materialist ethos.

296. Success is defined by “value” (i.e., economic rewards). Money is used for social transfers which placate the populace. This system can be perpetuated as long as the economy is strong.

297. Under this pro-Singapore strategy, winners are privileged. The government appears to deliver the goods and continues to be trusted by the people. The current political party is able to sustain this over the next two or three General Elections.

298. A more stratified society could be created, where multiple interest groups exist. Ironically though, because the PAP loses some GRCs to the political opposition and there is greater diversity in Parliament, the PAP that emerges still holds majority control, but has gained democratic, systemic legitimacy. Overall, there are cracks as there will be greater social fragmentation in this scenario.

299. The headlines Scenarios Team C created for the Satisfied Sheep scenario were “Singapore gets out of US-led recession”, “Singapore scores double record: Highest GDP per capita, and highest GINI”, “GST vouchers to cost record S\$20bn” and “Survey shows Singaporeans happy democracy is alive”.

Boiling Frogs

300. This scenario draws on the imagery of a warm, cosy bath — while Singapore seems to be in a good situation, she might ended up being cooked if the situation continues.

301. Here, the government is credible. Economic growth is at a rate in-between that of the other two scenarios, and the government is prepared to run a fiscal deficit. The values that society holds are different — there is more “heart” and society is more gracious, but this change is driven from the top. This is the result of a possible change in government, or a coalition government, perhaps because the quality of the new generation of leaders in the incumbent party does not resonate with the electorate. The new government has decided that Singaporeans need to be kinder and gentler, and set about doing this. For example, it makes sure that their rhetoric is correct and by infuses these new desired values into the school system. As a result, the population becomes less materialistic and want a more egalitarian system.

302. The government follows a pro-Singaporean strategy that supports “the rest”.

303. However, while Singapore is enjoying her new social democratic government, a storm is brewing. The unsustainable spending eventually reaches a head in 2035, when Singapore's situation then is similar to the situation in some European countries now.

304. The headlines Scenarios Team C created for the Boiling Frogs scenario were "Voters opt for more heart in social compact", "Fiscal deficit widens as government unlocks reserves" and "National Day awards for gracious Singaporeans".

Cool Cats

305. Here, there are cracks in the government and the population steps up. These cracks could be a result of a government that has lost its credibility after perhaps implementing poor policies or being hit by scandals. This loss of credibility could also be due to a more strident social media that puts pressure on the government.

306. The economy here is driven by Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). As there is a flight of capital, MNCs and foreign talent, Singapore's oil refinery might be converted into a port or "Zouk II". SMEs also drive the economy because the government has withdrawn and is less effective. There is greater social enterprise and indigenous wealth creation begins. Civil society also plays a greater role. However, Singapore becomes an economic backwater — here, growth is the weakest, and we are in a thriving region that has surpassed us.

307. Success is defined by "heart values", but this is driven by the masses, as opposed to in the Boiling Frogs scenario, where the change in society's definition of success is driven from the top. People are happier because the MRT is less crowded (due to the flight of foreign talent and MNCs). They are also happy to eat *ikan bilis* and rice every day, and they enjoy their simple life because of their change in values.

308. Here, the people are pro-active, and public policies and the social compact benefit "the rest".

309. The headlines Scenarios Team C created for the Cool Cats scenario were "Corruption scandal in CPIB", "Foreigners and MNCs pack up; rentals drop to record lows" and "'Send SME rebates to the social sector', says ASME¹⁶ chief".

Discussion of Team C's Scenarios

310. A participant felt that the scenarios produced by Teams C (as well as Team B earlier) seemed to underestimate capital's interest in power. There is the assumption that civil society will step in when the state is unable to deliver. However, businesses and global capital might be interested to help, due to the power that results from stepping in.

16. Association of Small and Medium Enterprises, Singapore

311. Another participant liked the team's driving force that focused on the credibility of government, and its link to trust. This indicated that the citizens are losing trust in the government's ability and willingness to look after the people (as opposed to looking after Singapore). This trust in government (as opposed to the PAP) is an important asset for Singaporeans. When the population can rely on the government to be the central and cohesive force in society, individuals can then be members of a nation in a meaningful way. This is not true if they cannot rely on the government — then co-ordination problems occur, men lose trust in each other, and it is a situation of "every man for himself". This has important implications. Firstly, it becomes difficult for Singapore to embark on large, long-term and complex undertakings, for example, sacrificing present demands for the future. As a vulnerable country, this is an important asset. Secondly, this leads to individuals not having a firm basis on which to trust each other. Unless civil society can step up, Singapore has then lost a basis for social cohesion.

312. Another participant commented that the findings from the Gallup poll were more nuanced than simply a sense of betrayal. While it is clear that the population's trust in government to look after Singapore is greater than their trust in government to look after them, the question here is whether there is still enough trust to give Singapore the capacity to carry out ambitious plans. Trust in government to ensure affordable healthcare or housing is low. However, trust in large government institutions — the police, the judiciary, the military and the civil service — is still high. While the scope of government has decreased, the strength of government still remains.

313. Another participant felt that the sense of betrayal links back to some of the orthodoxies presented. While Singaporeans might be dissatisfied with the government for not giving them enough, this is not always the role of the government. Why should it provide benefits for Singaporeans? Why should it provide affordable housing for 80% of the population? While Singaporeans have come to expect this, it is not common in the rest of the world for the government to provide to such an extent.

314. One participant commented that while trust in Team C's scenarios is connected to the outcome of governance, another participant had previously made the point that trust can also arise from a rule-based process.

315. Team C responded to the comments above. In the Satisfied Sheep scenario, the sense of betrayal is mitigated by money (in the form of social transfers) as the government is interested in sustaining the capitalist system that it has benefited from. This inequality is also mitigated by ideology, which makes it possible that the 99% sticks together with the 1%, going forward. This is because the 99% are sold on the idea there are alternative forms of success, and so continue to strive for success.

316. In the Boiling Frogs scenario, the sense of betrayal is exacerbated by the population's sense that the political leadership lacks quality. This lack of quality could be reflected in the leadership's inability to adapt and to respond to circumstances. This sense of betrayal is then mitigated by political change, which results in either a coalition government or a change in the party in

government. However, this assumes that the government that emerges is then responsive to the population — there is a top-down drive to create a more egalitarian, gracious society in response to a bottom-up demand for change.

317. In the Cool Cats scenario, the sense of betrayal is exacerbated by a collapse in the legitimacy of the government. Government slips, and this is where people, empowered by a sense of agency, rise up to fill this gap. Civil society does not need the existence of a strong state to define who this “we” is, and what the nation is.

318. Another participant asked what would motivate the change in values from a society driven by economic imperatives to one that is more gracious one. Currently, this push for graciousness is driven by the government, but the participant was unsure how this change would occur without the government playing a significant role. The prevailing culture in Singapore now is one that values economic success, and this culture is difficult to change. The participant was not sure how society would be able to move towards a kinder society in 10 years.

319. Team C then responded to the question about the motivations of a bottom-up move to a more gracious society. Here, the population realises that it is no longer the strong state that defines what is good, and they rediscover what really matters to them. This sense of autonomy and agency reigns, and this is what satisfies them.

320. Team C also added that the Satisfied Sheep scenario was one that was pro-Singapore, but where there is social stratification and cracks. The Boiling Frogs scenario is one that is pro-Singaporean and egalitarian, but may not be sustainable beyond 2022 as the group assumed that Singapore is drawing on her reserves to fund this change. The Cool Cats scenario is one where people are pro-active.

321. Another participant then challenged the assumption made in Scenarios Team C’s Boiling Frogs scenario, that greater redistribution would lead to a loss of economic competitiveness. This was as there is increasing evidence that redistribution revitalises economic health.

322. On another issue, one participant felt that while there has been a lot of talk about liberalising politics and much worry over populism, many people did not want full democracy. The participant commented that democracy could be a very frightening thing, and that many of the participants would probably not be very comfortable with a democracy that seriously mobilises the hoi polloi. The same participant gave the example of Thailand, where Thaksin mobilised the poor, leading to the current fractious political situation. The participant felt that we are able to talk about liberalisation now only because Singapore is a relatively authoritarian state. However, if this authoritarian state disappears, civil society will be in disarray as they no longer have a common enemy. Now, they become one another’s enemies, as different civil society groups fight for their own interests.

323. A member of Team C then referred to the earlier question about how much democracy people really wanted. In their scenarios, they have left it to the state, the PAP and the people to contest for the democracy they want. In the Satisfied Sheep scenario, the people leave it to the PAP to keep the state running, but the PAP are also aware of the need to have elections. However, as long as the PAP is able to keep Singapore's economic system running and are willing to concede a few GRCs, the situation remains fine. Here, performance legitimacy is obtained through transfers (as opposed to actual outcomes of governance), but this shifts to systemic legitimacy as citizens' are able to participate in democracy, and agree with its rules.

324. In the Boiling Frogs scenario, a change in government leads to a change in the rules, while in the Cool Cats scenario, there is no government and the responsibility falls to society.

General Discussion

325. A participant started the discussion by pointing out that several common themes existed in all three sets of scenarios, and that the three teams' sets of scenarios are not entirely distinct and different. Rather, the driving forces are embedded in all of the scenarios. For example, it is not possible to disperse power (Team A's driving force) or have democracy (Team B's driving force) unless there is high trust (Team C's driving force).

326. The participant also felt that the definition of success in Singapore (Team C's driving force) has changed, and is changing still, that its definition is going back to one that was more prevalent 50 years ago. The participant added that the teams' scenarios all used different starting points, e.g., Team B used our position today as a starting point, which was different from Team A.

327. Regarding to the issue of political liberalisation (Team B's driving force), the same participant felt that Singapore's society is still fairly conservative, and that society's values are still driven by people's religious or social convictions, which are difficult to change. As a result, it is unlikely that we would end up at the extreme end of the political liberalisation spectrum in 10 years. The participant disagrees with the common view that Singaporeans are becoming more liberal, and feels that we are still quite "Asian" in our thinking.

328. Another participant felt that there seemed to be a split among the participants in the room, with those who believe in the old guard, who feel that the state is strong and that it is central to any change that will be made favouring Team B's scenarios. Team A's scenarios gave more power to the people, while Team C's scenarios fell in the middle. The participant also felt that it was important to look at the driving forces behind the scenarios, and identify the ones that dealt with the fundamental issues, and that could encompass the manifestation of other issues. For example, Team B's driving force considering the ability of the state to liberalise and it fell under Team A's distribution of power driving force to an extent.

329. Another participant felt there was a consistent problem across all the teams' scenarios, in that some scenarios would invariably be more ideal than others. The participant felt that scenario-planning should not always look to extremes, and that each scenario must have positives and negatives.

330. Another participant felt that one orthodoxy that did not surface was the assumption that, to a certain extent, the government is the only institution that has the power to take charge and effect change in society. The participant felt that while Singaporeans like to complain, few actually believe that they have the power to do anything.

331. The same participant added that the narratives presented for all the scenarios were heavily political and economic, and there was little elaboration on what the social or cultural impact would be. The participant felt that scenarios need to have this dimension so that they will be more relevant to the public, making the public realise why they should care about these scenarios. It was important to describe the scenarios in a way that reaches out to as many people as possible.

332. On another issue, a participant commented that race and religion were not fleshed out in all the team's scenarios, and that this could perhaps be further developed. While there was a lot of focus on income disparity and class cleavages, there is also a race aspect to these issues, especially as a large proportion of the lower-income in Singapore comprises minorities.

333. The discussion then moved to the grey lobby that might develop as Singapore's population ages. A participant was against the idea that families and children should be given more votes in order to counter the electoral clout of the aging population. The participant felt that the idea of giving families more votes is a ridiculous one, as no individual is alone and even elderly people would have children who are working and therefore would also consider their interests. However, the participant realised that one effect of Singapore's low TFR is that there will be an increasing number of members in the grey lobby who have no intergenerational connections. While these individuals may rise above considering their own interests, these individuals presented an interesting idea. The participant wondered what this group's behaviour would be, in comparison to members of the grey lobby with intergenerational connections, and pointed out that there could be divergences with the grey lobby itself.

334. Another participant responded to this, expressing that in going forward, given the changing demographics, it would be interesting to see examine the dynamics within civil society. The participant gave the example of clan associations that have had to reinvent themselves, and wondered how civil society would work together in the future. He felt that this was more interesting than how society works with the state, as this redefines the potential for the future.

335. Another participant added to this by commenting that the definition of civil society is much broader than just NGOs and felt that everyone can, and should, be a part of civil society. The idea of civil society taking over would

then mean that civil servants and other sector groups put on their civil society “hat”. The participant recounted a seminar, where only one participant identified himself as a member of civil society.

336. A participant then brought up an article that was written 20 years ago, which described Singapore politics as the willing suspension of realpolitik.¹⁷ The article asked why, in spite of the discontent the people had with the PAP, did they vote for them. The participant felt that even if something is bad today, there is always a feeling that the state would make things work out in the long run. Therefore, it would behoove the state to think of itself as something that the people have created, and remember that the state is experiencing this willing suspension of realpolitik.

337. Another participant then made a point about all the scenarios by the three teams. The participant felt that it would be good if everyone could have a firmer sense of what the dependent variables are, which would allow the participants to better understand the independent variables and the structure of the scenarios. The participant was also interested in the trade-off between these variables, and how they can be linked up in a scenario.

338. A member of Team C wondered if the scenarios could be effectively translated into other languages when they were presented to the public at the IPS Prism Immersive Arts Experience. The participant felt that it would be difficult to translate English idiomatic concepts into another language — for example, certain concepts are non-existent in Chinese thought. For example, it might be difficult to translate “Patchwork Democracy” or “Boiling Frogs” into other languages while still retaining their rich meanings.

339. Another participant then asked whether there would be a single set of scenarios or multiple sets of scenario presented to the public. The participant also commented that there was a large difference in the quality of the work and thinking in this workshop, as compared to the earlier sector workshops. The same participant had felt constrained by the limitations of the sector workshop, whereas the final workshop had dealt with the scenario planning exercise in a plausible and meaningful way, and produced useful output.

340. It was clarified that one set of scenarios, drawn from ideas presented in the scenarios here, would be presented to the public.

341. In response, a participant felt that it would be narrow to have only one set of scenarios on display. While some of the teams’ scenarios were similar, if two distinct sets of scenarios were presented, IPS might be able to get a better, richer response. This is because the public is diverse, so providing more diverse perspectives through the display of two distinct sets of scenarios might elicit more responses. The public might identify with different sets of scenarios, and that different sets of scenarios would appeal to different segments of society. The participant also felt that the public would be mature

17. Drawing inspiration from Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s definition of poetry as the willing suspension of disbelief.

enough to provide richer feedback if several sets of distinct scenarios were presented. However, the participant conceded that the three teams' sets of scenarios may not be diverse enough.

342. It was clarified that one set of scenarios comprises three or four different scenarios. These three or four different stories would hopefully result in diversity. The final set of scenarios would also incorporate elements from the other teams' scenarios, and workshop participants were welcome to join the team involved in preparing the set of scenarios for public display.

343. A participant agreed with the earlier suggestion of displaying two sets of scenarios. The participant was uncomfortable with presenting just one set of scenarios, as this might give the public the wrong impression that the close to 100 workshop participants were in agreement on the set of scenarios that would be presented. The same participant felt that it was important to engage the public on the scenario-planning process, as opposed to its conclusion. If only one set of scenarios is presented, the public might feel that a conclusion is being offered.

344. It was then clarified that while it was important to convey the richness of the process to the public, there were also practical concerns. The public engagement process of the IPS Prism project would include forum theatre and it would be difficult to distinctly present three different sets of scenarios this way. The participants were assured that as much of the process as possible would be conveyed, and that the public would not be given the impression that the workshop participants had decided that the set of scenarios presented was the definitive set.

345. Another participant suggested a compromise — presenting one inductive set of scenarios and one deductive set of scenarios to the public. The participant, although not part of Team C, would have chosen Team C's set of scenarios because there were key issues there that were important in how people think about governance in Singapore in 2022.

346. Yet another participant suggested that a lot of the discussion reflected a strong sense of ownership, which was positive. However, the participant also felt that this strong sense of ownership was also negative in that it reflected participants' desire to avoid "losing" and not having their work displayed. The same participant suggested that while one set of scenarios could be highlighted, the other scenarios from the final workshop, and even from the sector workshops, could be displayed in a separate area where members of the public who were interested could have a further discussion.

347. A final point was raised by a participant on making the process of arriving at the final set of scenarios as open as possible. This way, the public can be brought along this journey, and can decide if the workshop participants have made the right choice.

Voting

348. The participants voted on the set of scenarios that would be presented to the public. The results of the voting are shown below.

Table 15. Voting Results

Teams	Number of votes
Team A <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rentier State • Patchwork Democracy • Tribes • Winner Takes All 	25
Team B <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donut State • State of the Nation • Yesterstate Once More • State of Decline 	19
Team C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfied Sheep • Boiling Frogs • Cool Cats 	28

5. IMPLICATIONS AND STRATEGIES

349. The participants were then regrouped into sectors to discuss and present the implications that Scenarios Team C's set of scenarios — Satisfied Sheep, Boiling Frogs and Cool Cats — would have on their sector. They also presented the various strategies their sector could take to counter threats and capitalise on opportunities.

Table 16. Implications and Strategies, Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	<p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Society with greater material concerns and unfulfilled aspirations • High value placed on well-paying jobs, which everyone works towards getting • Difficult for those not in the PMET job sector to succeed • Transactional relationship with the state • Disillusionment with meritocracy • New class and race dynamics: worsening tensions between “original” citizens and “new” citizens and permanent residents, as “original” Singaporeans fall lower in the income strata • Reduction of conversion rate of permanent residents to citizens • Civil service becomes the occupation of last resort as they hire exclusively Singapore citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Study harder • Take science stream classes in Junior College • Push entrepreneurial and independent thinking • Start saving money • Be more proactive in shaping one's career — start early, and seek career guidance! • Be realistic
Boiling Frogs	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohesive cohort, if one assumes that more “heart” values would result in greater selflessness and caring for others • Entrepreneurial mindset • Achieve work-life balance • Pro-family benefits for both parents and their children • Greater individualism <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value cleavages due to a period of transition in values, changing definition of success; could lead to a cultural war scenario that could 	

	Implications	Strategies
	<p>generate conflict among Singaporeans</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New values could lead to riskier choices, as the new decisions do not have precedent in the society,; lack of examples to learn from (e.g., career decisions and the choices by parents when raising their families) • Flight of capital, possibly leading to slower growth and fewer opportunities • Culture of entitlement which might lead to a resistance to change • Greater individualism 	
Cool Cats	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brain drain leading to success overseas • Revival of the “can-do” spirit of the Jedi • Low cost advantage — cheap land and cheap labour as Singapore is now an economic backwater • Economy becomes absorbed into a larger market entity, possibly a merger • Rise of Singaporean entrepreneurial spirit • No National Service • Economy run on vice, for example, the Integrated Resorts and Hotel 81s • Plurality of information leading to greater choice <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brain drain leading to the need to take up difficult and low-paying jobs overseas • No rule of law, rise of feudal “mafia wars” • Plurality of communities leading to the possible breakdown of multi-racial and multi-religious harmony and rise of racial and religious factions • Economy run on vice, for example, the Integrated Resorts and Hotel 81 • Young Singaporeans become 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We become man-servants and maids in foreign lands • Restructure our education system to include more vocational training and entrepreneurial thinking • Compulsory community activities to force the population to be involved in the community • Cash out and run away, get out while you can! • Join the government — change the system from within • Strengthen and encourage existing structures of social enterprise and philanthropy

	Implications	Strategies
	<p>discontented and disillusioned after a moment's "happiness"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of opportunities for young Singaporeans to join the civil service as there will be no more merit-based scholarships from the civil service • Plurality of information leading to greater confusion 	

Table 17. Strategies and Implications, Civil Society Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society plays a greater advocacy role • Civil society will be able to get funding from a government that is flush with cash • Low barriers to entry leads to the mushrooming of civil society <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society loses importance as the population is satisfied • Diffident population that is sorely in need of direction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure continuing relevance through investigative journalism, the voicing of alternate views and promoting the pursuit of non-materialistic aims
Boiling Frogs	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society has higher change to influence national agenda • Contest of ideas • Growth in membership possibly allowing it to co-opt the civil service <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certain civil society groups may be co-opted • Increased politicisation leading to the loss of civil society's original focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build bridges with different political parties in order to hedge their bets • Civil society groups build their political machinery, for example through building their own donor base, and cultivating ties with the population • Build reputational capital and loyalty, perhaps through boosting membership
Cool Cats	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competition from the business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same as in the Boiling Frogs

	Implications	Strategies
	<p>sector as there is a failure of state; the state is not able to manage disputes between businesses, in particular, anti-trust cases</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contest of ideas • Growth of civil society • Growth in membership, perhaps by co-opting the civil service, People's Association and that National Trades Union Congress • Higher chance to influence national agenda <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk of wrong association as there is a high cost to a civil society group associating themselves with the wrong political party • Splitting of civil society along racial and perhaps religious lines • Return to the situation in the 1960s, where clan associations and religious bodies were very active 	<p>scenario above</p>

Table 18. Implications and Strategies, Arts, Culture and Media Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International commercial arts performances are imported, there is no funding for art that does not produce money, the focus is on outcomes and not the process • Art becomes either entertainment for the masses or high-end expensive entertainment for the elite; polarisation of the arts and culture scene • Media continues as per normal, proliferation of tabloids, more entertainment and reality television shows • Social media is noisy but has no mass impact, the state attempts to temper or control the sector. The government contributes to the noise <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some high-end local artists are 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government could use more tax breaks to spur patronage and arts-based corporate social responsibility • Individuals in the sector engage with the government and build support and consensus for the sector through social media • The sector cultivates corporate and alternatives sources of funding and

	Implications	Strategies
	<p>supported by patronage from the government, corporations or private individuals</p> <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State channels funding to public broadcasting, challenging less commercially viable art forms 	<p>activities, for example, the M1 Fringe Fest</p>
Boiling Frogs	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-arts environment that is free, vibrant and well-funded • Emergence of diverse arts views, e.g., a fiscally conservative message where artists warn of populism and a message encouraging greater spending • More diverse media landscape as the government funds all media outlets • Tabloid media coexists with nation-building media; more funding for “public interest” press and broadcast channels <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More resources for the sector to build their audience <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frivolous spending 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take this well-funded moment to build, grow and consolidate the sector’s capability, reach and influence • The media could be used to reinforce the value in a career in the arts • Artists take ownership
Cool Cats	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-budget, local, community-based theatre and performances dominate • <i>The Straits Times</i> becomes a black and white newsletter with no advertisements, foreign ownership of media outlets • Arts scene is less dependent on government funding and gets more of its support from the grassroots, but is amateur and has a low production value <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rise in interest in traditional arts forms • Space for real multi-culturalism <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brain drain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No need for any strategies as there is no “success” endpoint • Let a “thousand flowers bloom”

Table 19. Implications and Strategies, Academics and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academics' role is to offer contrarian views, be led by conscience, promote civic and political education, and push experimentation in both practice and theory • The sector needs to respond to new drivers — dispersed power, equitable distribution, government delivery of core services, trust, non-\$ values, and pro-people priorities, while resisting new orthodoxies <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universities aspire to be places of creativity and learning <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorities, the public and even academics are more comfortable with the status quo • Authorities who view the academics' role as threatening • Publics who view such work as a dilution of universities' instrumental function 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing education institutions as seedbeds for creativity and leadership • Building prototype communities, for example, the Bidadari Project¹⁸ • Tertiary institutions and universities should become enterprise zones where people can work, live, learn and play • Provides low-cost opportunities for small businesses (through low rents) • Divide the whole country into small prefectures, each of which elect their own governments
Boiling Frogs	As above	As above
Cool Cats	As in the Satisfied Sheep scenario	As in the Satisfied Sheep scenario

18. A new town being built in Singapore that will focus on being sustainable and on retaining its history and heritage.

Table 20. Implications and Strategies, New Citizens Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	<p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enjoy the good life — the situation is a continuation of the one today <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slippery slope — the population's discontentment might result in an increase in government spending, potentially resulting in problems in the future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do nothing
Boiling Frogs	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is this the Singapore that we signed up for? <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New citizens are not a homogeneous group, situation is good for those who have lower incomes who benefit from populist policies • Possible political opportunities, more opportunity for new citizens to be involved in the political process <p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible discrimination resulting from a change in government • New citizens who have higher incomes and who were attracted by Singapore's low tax policies may be adversely affected by policy changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in the opportunities to hedge against the risk • Buy houses in Johor Bahru • Park money overseas • Send their children overseas
Cool Cats	<p>Implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is not the Singapore that we signed up for • What will happen to us? Now more difficult for new citizens to be here <p>Opportunities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to be 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Move to Johor Bahru?

	Implications	Strategies
	proactive for their own rights Threats: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of economic prospects • Less chance to bring their families over 	

Table 21. Implications and Strategies, Business Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	Opportunities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrial planning in “selected” sectors • Harmonious labour relations • Re-export • “Big” businesses such as the GLCs and the Temasek-linked companies Threats: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patronage which degenerates into corruption • Non-diversified business sector resulting in limited resilience and weak SMEs, brittle, less dynamic economy and business sector • Less innovation and low level of intellectual protection • Tendency for businesses to be traders rather than creators, as the government has already decided who are the winners and it is difficult to successfully move against this. • “Brute capitalism” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Second guess” the government • Influence government • Trade, as opposed to creating new ideas/goods
Boiling Frogs	Opportunities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased government spending • Greater social enterprise • More small businesses • Rise of “well-being” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be the crony • Social and people-orientated businesses • Leverage for export • Be workforce friendly

	Implications	Strategies
	sectors Threats: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large increase in pro-worker policies, large increases in labour costs • Transitional risks • “Crony capitalism” 	
Cool Cats	Opportunities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SMEs and more entrepreneurs will thrive • Vibrant economy • Self-realisation Threats: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncertain policy milieu/environment • Fewer checks on businesses • Industrial disputes • “Chaotic capitalism” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be nimble, move in and out of industries and countries • Develop asset light industries • Contract-based employment • Labour-sensitive environment

Table 22. Implications and Strategies, Public Service Sector Workshop Group

	Implications	Strategies
Satisfied Sheep	Opportunities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breathing space for the government to plan ahead, and for contingencies Threats: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No incentive/motivation to change — “unconscious incompetence” • High expectations, therefore greater sense of disappointment • The public service finds it difficult, or does not know how, to cope with failure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share and make transparent dissenting views • Maintain objectivity of public service from political leadership by acting as facilitators between the public and the government — this is opposed to the public service being the agenda-setters • Show and make transparent the process of policy-making and decisions • Professionalise the public service
Boiling Frogs	N/A	N/A
Cool Cats	Opportunities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People and civil society take over certain roles, there is organic civil society growth • Government down-sizes in certain areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to burnish the image of the civil service • Platforms where people from different parts of society and with different political philosophies and of different races and religion

	Implications	Strategies
	<p>Threats:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No national direction or mobilisation for issues that require a national response such as defense • Decline in confidence in the public service • Weak leader, or weak strategies • Government loses capacity to deliver public services that only the government can deliver, such as the building of roads and public transport networks, national housing and healthcare programmes • The government is able to tax the population more easily — if industry fails, the government has no capability to take over 	<p>can discuss ideas and views</p>

Discussion of Implications and Strategies

350. An exchange ensued when a participant responded to a question as to why new citizens do not leave if the Singapore of the future was radically different from what they had signed up for.

351. A member of the New Citizens Sector Group responded that the obvious instinct would be to say, “If you don’t like it, go”. However, they too have a stake in how the country progresses as they may have integrated. The low tax rates in Singapore also provide them with an incentive to stay. In addition, if Singapore becomes a democracy similar to those in the West, there is always the chance that PAP will return to power, perhaps stronger than before. There is also the chance that, as the parties in power constantly change, the situation may get better. Lastly, in taking up Singapore citizenship, one is required to swear allegiance to Singapore and to declare that one has no intention of leaving. So leaving is not something that one would do lightly.

352. Another interesting dialogue was about the supposed neutrality of the civil service should there be a change in the political leadership. Conventional wisdom says that the civil service should work with and execute the plans of the ruling party, whichever party that may be. However, given the long working relationship between the civil service and the PAP, a participant wondered if this would work out in practice as neatly as expected in theory. The participant was not sure if there were internal mechanisms that allowed

the civil service to engage other parties. The same participant added that given the realities today, it was difficult for the civil service to engage with other political parties. In order to reduce the effect that a change in the governing party might have, there was perhaps a need for civil society and academia to engage the opposition as well. The participant observed that a consideration of how society and institutions react, respond and collaborate with a new political party had been absent in the workshop thus far.

353. Another participant felt that while there was a sense that there would be real difficulties if there was a change in government, there was a successful historical precedent for this. Previously, those in the colonial civil service had managed to transition to working for the new PAP government. Then, the new PAP government took very proactive steps to make the requirements of the new situation and the expectation of support clear. There is a precedent for this potential change in political parties. The civil service would do well to have a strategy for that transition — to find ways of expressing themselves in more independent ways. The participant reminded all that the civil service is supposed to be independent and able to serve whichever political master is in power.

354. Another participant asked whether the Singapore civil service would support a military coup or choose to serve a new political party in government. Would there be a split in the civil service between the older, more established mandarins and the more liberal, radical civil servants? Would the civil service split along the same lines that society might?

355. Someone highlighted that Team B's scenarios addressed this issue. Team B had pointed out that it might not matter who governs if Singapore had strong institutions. This is the crux of what society should be about. Why should we be concerned with engaging other political parties? The whole idea is that the civil service has a role to play. We know that the real policy work is done by the civil service, as opposed to the party in power. Then, the civil service should recommend policies based on facts, trends and solid research, and not in response to the whims and fancies of the political leadership. This should apply regardless of the political party that is in power.

356. Participants also felt that the names of the scenarios could be improved. The Public Service Sector Group commented that "Boiling Frogs" had negative connotations, while "Cool Cats" had a more positive connotation. However, they felt that the Cool Cats scenario was a bad one, as the government is not effective. The Business Sector Group agreed, as they felt that the words "boiling" and "cool" were judgmental, and that the Boiling Frogs scenario was actually not that bad. They felt that in that scenario, it was a matter of degrees, and whether Singapore would over-play her cards. They felt that the Cool Cats scenarios was also not a particularly pleasant one, and the key would be in composing scenario names that are more ambivalent.

357. In response to the presentation on the Boiling Frogs scenario by the Arts, Culture and Media Sector Group, a participant asked why the group was so sure that the government would fund the arts in that scenario. A populist

government might consider the arts to be an elitist institution, or might see the media as undermining their populist goal. As a result, they might only fund the media that supports it in its struggle for survival. A member of the Arts, Culture and Media Sector Group responded that this was because the government here is pro-Singaporean, has a heart, and is able to listen to a broad spectrum of voices. This would include artists, and would likely result in a noisy environment, where the all types of art are liberalised, and where there is more funding for everything.

358. After the presentation by the Young Singaporeans Sector Group, a participant was struck by how the Cool Cats scenario was equated with an apocalyptic vision of Singapore. The participant felt that that was not what it was meant to be — while it might be different and not what some groups want, it is not a horrible situation or even necessarily a worse one to the present. It is just a situation where the population is more individualistic and has different priorities. The strategies given by the Young Singaporeans Sector Group for this scenario might show how much they have imbibed the orthodoxies of materialism and Singapore's vulnerabilities.

359. Another participant added that some groups, such as the Business and Civil Society Sector Groups saw the Cool Cats scenario as a land of opportunity. The participant felt that those who were outside the state fear the change or degradation of the state less, while those who have bought into the state ideology might fear this.

360. A participant concluded the discussion on a light-hearted note by warning the New Citizens Sector Group, of which the participant was part of, never to become satisfied sheep, as they would soon be sacrificial lambs.

APPENDIX: LIST OF FINAL WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Young Singaporeans Sector Workshop (21–22 June 2012)

Ms Cheong Kah Shin, Research Assistant, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Han Dong, Undergraduate, NUS Business School and Vice Director, International Relations, NUS Student Business Club, National University of Singapore

Mr Ben Ho, Final Year Student, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

Ms Danielle Hong, Research Assistant, Institute of Policy Studies

Ms Rachel Hui, Research Assistant, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Daniel Lim, PhD Student, Department of Government, Harvard University

Ms Desiree Lim, Student, Raffles Junior College

Ms Calisa Low, Undergraduate, Singapore Institute of Management and Executive, Global Talent Supply, Incoming Exchange Department, AIESEC Singapore

Ms Dierdre Grace Morgan, Undergraduate, Faculty of Law and Vice President, SMU Apolitical, Singapore Management University

Mr Muhammad Audi Bin Abdul Hamid, Undergraduate, Singapore Institute of Management and Vice President, Global Talent Supply, Incoming Exchange Department, AIESEC Singapore

Mr Muhammad Nadjad Bin Abdul Rahim, Undergraduate, Life Sciences (Molecular and Cell Biology), Faculty of Science and University Scholars Programme, National University of Singapore

Mr Sanjay Nanwani, Country Officer (Malaysia & Brunei), Southeast Asia I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr Arturo Neo, President, Student's Council, Hwa Chong Institution (College Section)

Ms Estelle Ng, Undergraduate, Singapore Institute of Management and Executive, Global Talent Supply, Incoming Exchange Department, AIESEC Singapore

Ms Amanda Ong, Director, Talent Management, AIESEC Singapore

Ms Gillian Seetoh, Chair, WTF! Zine Sub-Committee, Association of Women for Action and Research

Ms Debbie Soon, Research Assistant, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Syed Arafat Hussain, Undergraduate, School of Social Sciences, Singapore Management University and Director of Training, Debate Association (Singapore)

Mr Tan Ian Wern, Returned Graduate, PSC Scholar

Ms Gwyneth Teo, Undergraduate, National University of Singapore

Mr Kelvin Woon, Assistant General Secretary, Boon Lay CC Youth Executive Committee

Mr Wu Shaoyi, Undergraduate, School of Economics, Singapore Management University

**Civil Society Sector Workshop
(25–26 June 2012)**

Mr Amrin Amin, Lawyer, Corporate, Watson, Farley & Williams Asia Practice LLP

Mr Alex Au, Webmaster and Online Commentator, Yawning Bread

Mr Cheung Ho Yeung, Vice Chairman, Leng Kee CC Youth Executive Committee

Mr Chew Kheng Chuan, Chairman, The Substation

Mr Chia Boon Tai, Owner, Perdana Consultants

Mr Choo Jin Kiat, Executive Director, O'Joy Care Services

Professor Chua Beng Huat, Honorary Chairman, Visual Arts @ Temenggong and Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

Dr Geh Min, Immediate Past President, Nature Society (Singapore)

Mr Raymond Goh, Senior Officer, Industrial Relations, National Trades Union Congress

Mr Hassan Ahmad, Chief Executive, Mercy Relief

Dr Russell Heng, President, Transient Workers Count Too

Ms K Thanalethimi, President, Healthcare Services Employee's Union, National Trades Union Congress

Ms Evelyn Lee, Inventory Planner, Purchasing, NTUC Fairprice Co-operative Limited

Ms Winifred Loh, President, Association of Women for Action and Research

Ms Ng Yanli, Senior Officer, Industrial Relations, United Workers of Electronic and Electrical Industries, National Trades Union Congress

Dr Graham Ong-Webb, Chairperson, Youth Sub-Committee and Member, Management Committee, The Eurasian Association, Singapore

Mr Saktiandi Supaat, Vice Chairman, Board of Directors, Association of Muslim Professionals

Mr Siew Kum Hong, Vice President, MARUAH (Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism, Singapore)

Mr Malminderjit Singh, Vice President, Corporate Relations, Young Sikh Association and Correspondent, Business Times, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Mr Gerald Singham, Vice Chairman, Onepeople.sg

Mr Tan Richard, General Secretary, United Workers of Electronics and Electrical Industries, National Trades Union Congress

Dr Kevin Tan, Immediate Past President, Singapore Heritage Society and Director, Equilibrium Consulting Pte Ltd and Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore

Mr David Tay, Chairperson, Youth Committee, Young NTUC

Dr Faizal Bin Yahya, Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Danny Yeo, Goodwill Ambassador, World Vision Singapore and Associate Lecturer, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Ngee Ann Polytechnic

Arts, Culture and Media Sector Workshop (2–3 July 2012)

Mr Robin Chan, Political Correspondent, The Straits Times, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Ms Rachel Chang, Political Reporter, News Desk, The Straits Times, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Ms Cheong Kah Shin, Research Assistant, Institute of Policy Studies

Mrs Rebecca Chew, Principal, School of the Arts

Mr Fong Hoe Fang, Director, Ethos Books, Pagesetters Services Pte Ltd

Ms Ho Sheo Be, Correspondent, Lianhe Zaobao, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Dr Kang Soon Hock, Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Dominic Khoo, Business Manager, Dominic Khoo Photography

Ms Janice Koh, Actor and Nominated Member of Parliament

Dr Lai Chee Kien, Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture, School of Design and Environment, National University of Singapore

Ms Lee Huay Leng, Assistant Editor, Lianhe Zaobao, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Mr Mohd Saat Abdul Rahman, Deputy Editor, Berita Harian, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Ms Pooja Nansi, Head of Department, English Literature & Language Arts, Temasek Junior College

Ms Mita Natarajan, Senior Vice President and Head, Corporate Services, Singapore Exchange Limited

Mr Ravi Philemon, Former Chief Editor, The Online Citizen

Dr Carol Soon, Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Paul Tan, Director, Sector Development (Literary Arts), Singapore Writers Festival

Mr Tan Dan Feng, Executive Director, Select Books Pte Ltd

Mr Tan Tarn How, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Ms Tessa Wong, Political Correspondent, The Straits Times, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Associate Professor Eleanor Wong, Centre for International Law, National University of Singapore

Mr Yap Wei Qiang, Journalist, Shin Min Daily News, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Dr Zhang Haijie, Chinese News Anchor and Journalist, Channel 8, Mediacorp News

**Academic and Public Intellectuals Sector Workshop
(5–6 July 2012)**

Dr Cherian George, Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies and Associate Professor, Division of Journalism and Publishing, Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information, College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University

Dr Evelyn Goh, Reader in International Relations, Department of Politics and International Relations, Royal Holloway, University of London and Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

Mr Kwa Chong Guan, Head, External Programmes, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Associate Professor Anthony Kwok, Associate Provost (Student Life) and Head, Division of Sociology, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University

Dr Lam Peng Er, Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute

Dr Lee Chee Keng, Assistant Professor, Visual and Performing Arts, National Institute of Education

Mr Donald Low, Vice President, Economic Society of Singapore

Mr Freddy Orchard, Consultant, Government of Singapore Investment Corporation Pte Ltd

Mr Thirunalan Sasitharan, Director, Intercultural Theatre Institute

Dr Sharon Siddique, Partner, Sreekumar.Siddique & Co Pte Ltd

Professor Su Guanng, President Emeritus, President's Office, Nanyang Technological University

Dr Suzaina Kadir, Assistant Dean (Student Affairs) and Senior Lecturer, PhD (Political Science), Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

Associate Professor Kenneth Paul Tan, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

Mr Tay Kheng Soon, Principal Architect, Akitek Tenggara

Dr Teo You Yenn, Assistant Professor, Division of Sociology, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University

Dr Raj Thampuran, Executive Director, Science and Engineering Research Council, Agency for Science, Technology & Research (A*STAR)

Dr Norman Vasu, Assistant Professor and Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

**New Citizens Sector Workshop
(16–17 July 2012)**

Mr Asad-Ul Iqbal Latif, Visiting Research Fellow, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

Mr Tony Du, Founder and Managing Director, Asia-Link Technology Pte Ltd and President, Tian Fu Association

Mr Christopher Gee, Research Associate, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Hasan Jafri, Director, Strategic Relations, Temasek International Pte Ltd

Professor Andy Hor, Executive Director, Institute of Materials Research & Engineering, Agency for Science, Technology and Research (A*STAR)

Mr Matt Hu, Chief Executive Officer, F&H Fund Management Pte Ltd

Dr Lai Ah Eng, Senior Research Fellow, Asia Research Institute

Mr Liu Chunlin, Chief Executive Officer, K&C Protective Technologies Pte Ltd

Dr Mathew Mathews, Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Dr Md Mizanur Rahman, Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies

Ms Vinita Ramani Mohan, Co-Founder, Access to Justice Asia

Mr Michael Rebaczonok-Padulo, Senior Lecturer, School of Interdisciplinary Studies, Ngee Ann Polytechnic

Dr Ori Sasson, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Simulation Software & Technology (S2T) Pte Ltd

Mr Anil Kumar Singh, Private sector

**Business Sector Workshop
(19–20 July 2012)**

Mr Akmal Abdul Rahman, Software Programmer, Tinkertanker Pte Ltd

Mr Azmoon Bin Ahmad, Chairman, Association of Muslim Professionals

Mr Manu Bhaskaran, Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies and Partner and Member of the Board, Centennial Group

Mr Willie Cheng, Director, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd and Partner, apVentures

Dr Chong Ja Ian, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore

Mr Hsieh Fu Hua, Chairman, Fullerton Fund Management Company Ltd

Mr Hsieh Tsun-Yan, Chairman, Linhart Group and Adjunct Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy and Provost Chair Professor of Management, NUS Business School

Ms Kwee Wei-Lin, Vice President, Pontiac Land Pte Ltd

Mr Lee Tzu Yang, Chairman, Shell Companies in Singapore

Mr Vincent Leow, Partner, Allen & Gledhill LLP

Ms Li Xueying, Assistant Foreign Editor, The Straits Times, Singapore Press Holdings Ltd

Dr Jeremy Lim, Chief Executive Officer, Fortis Healthcare Singapore Pte Ltd

Mrs Sophie Mathur, Partner, Corporate, Linklaters Singapore Pte Ltd

Mr Mohd Nizam Ismail, Chairman, Centre for Research on Islamic and Malay Affairs and Director and Chairman, Convention Steering Committee, Association of Muslim Professionals and Executive Director, Morgan Stanley

Ms Rahayu Bte Mahzam, Partner, Heng, Leong & Srinivasan

Dr Teh Kok Peng, Advisor, Group President's Office, Government of Singapore Investment Corporation Pte Ltd

Dr Leslie Teo, Chief Economist and Director, Economics & Investment Strategy, Government of Singapore Investment Corporation Pte Ltd

Mr Kelvin Tong, Creative Director, Boku Films Pte Ltd

Mr Yeoh Lam Keong, Adjunct Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Zulkifli Baharudin, Managing Director, Global Business Integrators Pte Ltd

**Public Service Sector Workshop
(23–24 July 2012)**

Mr Arun Mahizhnan, Deputy Director, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Chng Kai Fong, Director (Designate), Resource Division, Ministry of Trade and Industry

Dr Francis Chong, Director, Emerging Markets Division, Ministry of Trade and Industry

Mr Foo Kok Jwee, Director-General, Technical Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms Evelyn Khoo, Director (Policy & Planning), National Climate Change Secretariat, Prime Minister's Office

Ms Jasmin Lau, Deputy Director, Strategic Policy Office and Centre for Strategic Futures, Public Service Division

Mr Lee Yoong Yoong, Research Associate, Institute of Policy Studies

Dr Leong Chan Hoong, Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies

Mr Colin Lim, Group Director, Vehicle and Transit Licensing Group, Land Transport Authority

Ms Joyce Low, District Judge and Co-Group Manager, Judiciary, Subordinate Courts

Mr Musa Fazal, Director, Child Care Division, Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports

Ms Ngiam Siew Ying, Director, Policy and Planning Directorate, National Population and Talent Division

Ms Elizabeth Quah, Group Director, Planning Group, Ministry of Health

Ms Tan Gee Keow, Director, Higher Education Division, Ministry of Education

Ms Tang Zhi Hui, Director, Strategic Planning, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

Dr Yap Mui Teng, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Policy Studies