



Public Service Sector Workshop Report

Changi Village Hotel Quad 1: 23 - 24 July 2012



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

- 1. IPS Prism is a platform for Singaporeans to think about the future and how we will govern ourselves in 2022. A series of seven workshops were conducted over June to July 2012. This is a report of the workshop featuring participants from the public service sector.
- 2. At the workshop, participants were invited to form teams that convened to discuss how Singapore might evolve over the next 10 years and what the driving forces of change might be for various scenarios.¹

Method

3. All four groups in the public service sector used the deductive method in creating their scenarios. By forming a matrix of driving forces, each team produced four scenarios that were deemed to be highly plausible in the future, with each scenario fleshed out by a narrative depicting the state of governance and, in some cases, with hypothetical media headlines. Each team's presentation was followed by a discussion among all the participants. Finally, the scenarios were put to a vote, to select the most plausible as well as challenging set.

Driving Forces

- 4. 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.
- 5. A few themes emerged in the driving forces that were developed. The most significant theme was the value system of Singaporean society. Teams 1, 2 and 4 used the attitudes of citizens as one of their driving forces, supposing that there might be a sense of entitlement or self-interest, while Team 3 had "fragmented society" at one end of the axis and a "cohesive society" at the other end of it.
- 6. The second cluster of driving forces was centred on the principles relating to the social compact between people and government. Team 1 contrasted an "inclusive state" with a "meritocratic city", and Team 2 compared a situation where there were "opportunities for all" with one where there was a "stake for everyone".
- 7. Two teams considered the political structure of Singapore. Team 3 compared a "strong government" with a "weak government", and Team 4 used the level of political and institutional stability as their other driving force.
- 8. Team 1 made an additional comparison between the idea of a state and a city where the concepts of the "nation" and "citizens" made the difference between the two.

^{1.} Please refer to the Appendix for the list of participants.

Winning Scenario

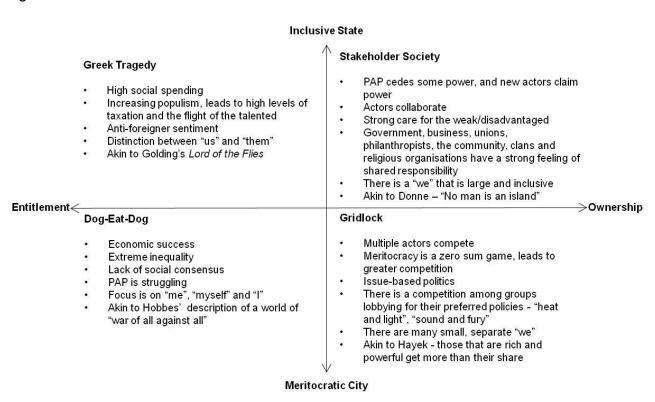
9. The scenarios developed by Team 1 were the winning set. The team received 18 votes, winning by a margin of nine votes.

THE SCENARIOS

Team 1

- 10. Team 1 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 the 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. This axis was chosen to include elements of personal choice and responsibility, and to get readers to think about where their behaviour would fall on this axis.
- 11. The team used the principles that Singapore would be built on as their second driving force. They compared an "inclusive state" with a "meritocratic city". The comparison was two-fold here between social inclusion and meritocracy, and between a city and a state.

Figure 1. Team 1 Scenarios



Dog-Eat-Dog

- 12. This scenario is akin to Hobbes' description of a world in which there was a "war of all against all".
- 13. The team felt that this scenario represents where Singapore was heading prior to the 2011 General Election. This shows the dark side of meritocracy where one is entirely deserving of both the success or lack of success that one has. This dark side manifests itself 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 the trappings of success, for example, a salary that is two hundred times that of the lowest paid worker. This meritocratic system results in economic success, 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.
- 14. 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 they are responsible for Singapore's current good situation. This is in contrast to those at the bottom end of the socioeconomic ladder, who have seen their real incomes stagnating. The PAP struggles in such a situation.
- 15. Lastly, society here is self-centred and focused on addressing the needs of "I", "me" and "myself".

Greek Tragedy

- 16. This scenario is akin to that described in Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, where the population turns on one another, fighting until there is nothing left.
- 17. Here, the government decides that greater social inclusion is needed after the wake-up call of the 2011 General Election. However, there is still a strong sense of entitlement in this society, stemming 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 the wealth creators.
- 18. 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 their failures are the fault of "others". 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 "others".
- 19. 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 "us" could perhaps 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 could then be the next group pushed out of "us".

Gridlock

- 20. This scenario is akin to one described by Hayek, in which those who are powerful and rich are able to get more than their share.
- 21. 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.
- 22. 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

- 23. This scenario is akin to Donne's poem "No Man is an Island".
- 24. 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.
- 25. 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 society may also feel more confident about incorporating foreigners into this identity.
- 26. 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

27. When asked which scenario they feared the most, the team responded that they feared all scenarios except the Stakeholder Society scenario. They felt that the Stakeholder Society scenario was the one that Singapore would like to be at, and wondered what society and government could do to encourage a movement to this scenario. The team then commented that they ended up with a fairly generative set of

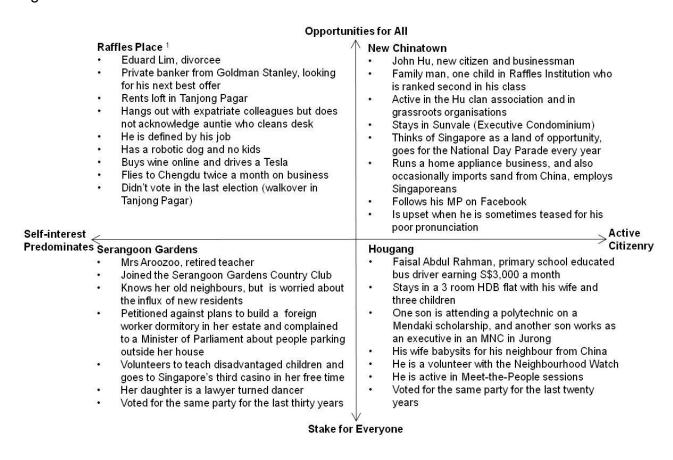
scenarios, as it was difficult for the team to describe what they felt could happen in their own society in order to come up with adaptive scenarios.

- 28. A participant commented that the Stakeholder Society scenario sounded similar to that in Finland. Another participant liked the Greek Tragedy narrative as it was dynamic and interesting.
- 29. A facilitator then asked the team if they felt that there were any hidden risks in the Stakeholder Society scenario, as even the most utopian of scenarios have elements that generate fear. The team responded that, given what had happened in the time since the 2011 General Election, there seemed to be a desire to move in the direction of the utopian Stakeholder Society scenario. However, it is easy to slip into the Gridlock or Greek Tragedy scenarios as Singapore makes the move from the Dog-Eat-Dog scenario.
- 30. Another team member added that there was one significant player that was not reflected in the scenarios the future generation. The participant pointed out that Singaporeans would have to work hard to pay for an expansion of social support by the state. He felt that there was the risk that this future generation would be tempted to spend and borrow beyond their means, especially given Singapore's large reserves and good credit rating. This would result in an unsustainable situation and Singapore would slip into the Greek Tragedy scenario.

Team 2

- 31. Team 2 used axes that were fairly similar to that of Team 1. They described a situation where citizens' self-interests predominate on one pole of the horizontal axis, and where there is an active citizenry on the other pole. The team included the transition from "subjecthood" to "citizenry" into a discussion of this axis. In a situation of subjecthood, citizens are content to rely on and to foist their grievances on the government, as opposed to trying to solve these problems. A citizenry would indicate that there is an active citizenry that takes ownership of problems and seeks to participate in finding solutions to them.
- 32. The team's other axis used the contrasting poles of "opportunity for all" and "stake for everyone". In choosing this axis, the team took the existing principles of governance that are taught to students in particular, that Singapore is a society where there are opportunities for all and a stake for everyone. They wanted to show that this line in fact includes two principles that have very different entry points. A situation of "opportunities for all" represents a meritocratic entry point, where opportunities are the main priority and there is no predetermined outcome that benefits everyone. A "stake for everyone" situation represents an entry point of stakes, and points towards outcomes where everyone benefits.
- 33. Team 2 presented their scenarios by describing the lives of average citizens in these worlds.

Figure 2. Team 2 Scenarios



Raffles Place

- 34. Eduard Lim is a divorcee and a Tesla-driving private banker working for Goldman Stanley. His work is everything to him and he is always looking for new offers and opportunities. He currently stays in a loft in Tanjong Pagar and flies to Chengdu very frequently for business. He hangs out with his expatriate colleagues and does not acknowledge the aunty who clears his rubbish at work. He has a robotic dog and no kids, and he buys his wine and many other goods online.
- 35. He did not vote in the last election as there was a walkover in Tanjong Pagar.

New Chinatown

36. John Hu is a new citizen and businessman. He is very much a family man. He has a son who is in Raffles Institution and second in his class after doing very well in his examinations. He stays at the Sunvale Executive Condominium and is active in the Hu Clan Association and other grassroots organisations. He also follows his Member of Parliament (MP) on Facebook and "likes" many of the latter's posts. He likes Singapore as he thinks that it is a land of opportunity. Each year, he goes to the National Day Parade with his son where they enjoy painting the Singapore flag on their faces. He runs a home appliance business and also regularly imports sand from China. He employs some Singaporeans in his business and thinks that they are okay on the whole. While he likes Singapore, he is sometimes a bit upset when Singaporeans tease him about his poor pronunciation of the English language.

Serangoon Gardens

- 37. Mrs Aroozoo is a retired teacher. She is very particular about speaking proper English. She is a member of the Serangoon Gardens Country Club and knows her old neighbours well. They are a close-knit community and worry about the influx of new residents into the area. Mrs Aroozoo herself has petitioned against locating a dormitory for foreign workers in her neighbourhood. She often complains to her MP about people parking their vehicles outside her house. Despite all this, she is a very nice lady and volunteers to teach disadvantaged children. She also spends time at Singapore's third casino when she is free.
- 38. She has a daughter who was a lawyer, but had gotten bored with her job. The daughter now dances with the Singapore Dance Theatre.
- 39. Mrs Aroozoo has voted for the same political party for the last thirty years.

Hougang

- 40. Faisal Abdul Rahman is a bus driver with a primary school education. Nonetheless, he earns S\$3,000 per month and stays in a three-room flat with his wife and three children. His children have received Mendaki scholarships to attend polytechnics, and one son is an executive in MND in Jurong. His wife babysits for his neighbours, who are a family from China. Faisal is also an active volunteer in the neighbourhood watch. He has a strong community spirit and actively supports his MP during the Meet-the-People sessions.
- 41. He has voted for the same party for the last twenty years.

Discussion

- 42. A participant pointed out that Mrs Aroozoo does not seem that self-interested, despite living in a society where self-interests predominate.
- 43. The team clarified that at the "self-interest predominates" pole, society will have more of a herd mentality. Individuals will mix with groups that they are already comfortable with, or with whom they have an existing relationship. Serangoon Gardens is a good example of this situation, as there is a nice *kampung* spirit within Serangoon Gardens alongside a divide between old and new Singaporeans, and a fair degree of "NIMBY-ness". This is in contrast with the pole where there is an "active citizenry". Here, society will coalesce around a certain idea of Singapore, and there will be integration across different races.
- 44. The team also did not want to portray Mrs Aroozoo as a bad person. Rather, they wanted to bring out the contrast between the different aspects of her personality. A participant commented that the description of the "self-interest predominates" pole is similar to reality, where people often compartmentalise their lives.
- 45. A facilitator then asked the team about the other driving forces that they considered in their scenarios. The team replied that they had considered the effects of a

Prism Project_Public Service Sector Workshop Notes

^{2.} NIMBY is an acronym for "not in my backyard".

⁷

weakening of the social compact and changes in the government's ability to meet rising aspirations. The team emphasised that aspirations were different from expectations. The government's inability to meet the rising aspirations of the populace could interact with a weakening social compact in the following way: Singapore now has a more diverse society, perhaps as a result of new Singaporeans and a population that is better educated. The highly educated populace and the new generation of Singaporeans have many expectations, and their aspirations are also slowly become their expectations. However, the government faces difficulty in getting consensus on what the national priorities should be and hence its ability to meet the population's rising aspirations is also hindered. This difficulty in reaching a consensus could also weaken the social compact.

- 46. The team also considered the effect of moving from subjecthood to citizenry. Currently, the government is less able to impose policies, as compared to a previous era when the government was able to persuade the population about national priorities. It is now more difficult to get Singaporeans to buy into policies, and this in turn also affects the government's ability to meet the rising aspirations of the people.
- 47. This brought the team back to considering the focal concern: What is the new Singapore? What is right for it? Who decides what is right?
- 48. Another facilitator commented that he liked how the team used people in their narratives to make the scenarios come alive. However, he was worried that there might not be anything new in the scenarios, as these people and situations already exist today.
- 49. The team clarified that these scenarios were not representations of people living in these particular areas in Singapore in 2022. Rather, they chose scenarios that have already played out in today's Singapore, and imagined them being played out on a national scale. For example, Singapore 2022 may be Raffles Place 2012 writ large.

Team 3

- 50. The team used the relationship between citizens as their driving force on the horizontal axis. A more fragmented society where the dominant language is one of "I" was contrasted with a more cohesive society, where the dominant language is "we".
- 51. The relationship between the government and its citizens was used as the team's driving force on the vertical axis. A strong government was compared with a weak government, both referring to the government's capacity to deliver, and the strength of its legitimacy and mandate.

Figure 3. Team 3 Scenarios



Ice Age

- 52. Here, Singapore has a strong government but a fragmented society that is divided, in which it is "every man for himself". There is a limited sense of civic consciousness, but because the government is very strong, it is expected to help to bridge divides in society and to provide the solutions needed. Here, talent flourishes and meritocracy is a paradigm that works as every man is seeking his own. Singapore continues to maintain positive economic outcomes. However, this is an unstable equilibrium as there is no strong sense of group solidarity and "home". The team created the following narrative for this scenario.
- 53. You open the morning paper and it reads, "Singapore retains its top five position in the Global Competitiveness Index." You groan and roll your eyes. You wish the government would realise that there is more to life than clocking in the growth targets. You show your wife the picture of the population minister holding up a newborn baby, and she laughs at what looks like another crude attempt at government propaganda. Both of you know that the total fertility rate has fallen to an all-time low, and the number of new immigrants has ballooned. It feels like the country is being invaded; Orchard Road now has exclusively French and Thai quarters. You read an article about how a drunken teenager swam to Sentosa Cove and vandalised some of the bungalows there, and you wish that you were young enough to do that too. You read a ridiculous letter in the forum page from an elderly women's brisk walking group that has asked for travellators to be installed in all the parks. You wrap up the newspaper time to leave your shoebox apartment and make your way to your shoebox cubicle at work. You cannot help but look forward to your holiday in Perth at the end of the month.

X-Men United

- 54. This scenario is characterised by strong government and a cohesive society. The narrative below is presented in form of a news broadcast.
- 55. Good evening. The year is 2022, and this is the eight o'clock news. Once upon a time, scientists digging in Bukit Timah found evidence to suggest that when God created the world, he told his angels and saints that he intended to build a place on earth where there would be strong governance, and where the government would be able to rally and mobilise the people, bridge social divides, and carry out activities for the good of the community. It would be a place where people would enjoy relatively strong growth year after year, and where the unemployment rate would be zero. This happy situation would result in the people and the government co-operating to co-create and achieve the national agenda. Public servants would also have the capacity to deliver these goals. This was a place in the image of heaven, and God named it Singapore. He also decreed that it would be placed in the middle of the vastly populated continent of Asia.
- 56. However, upon hearing this, the angels and the saints told God that they felt that he was making an unfair statement, as God was supposed to be impartial and just. God heard this, and agreed. He asked the angels to look at the neighbourhood that Singapore was placed in. She was in Southeast Asia, surrounded by bigger neighbours such as Indonesia and Malaysia, who tended to view Singapore as a little brother. Singapore herself also adopted a low profile in international relations, as she understood her external environment and constraints. The angels realised that God was fair and just, and that it was not all hunky dory for Singapore.

Dark Knight Rises

- 57. The scenario narrative below describes a Singapore that has a weak government and a fragmented society. It describes how Singapore in 2022 has moved to this quadrant from where she currently is.
- 58. There is much discontent among the population. This discontent continues to rise as the system starts to fail buses are getting more crowded, public transport is continually breaking down, new citizens are not integrating and neighbourhood squabbles can be heard every day. At the same time, the government is incapacitated by the citizen's complaints and demands. They are not able to address the people's concerns and find it difficult to come up with policies because of the many competing demands from different stakeholders. Government is completely stuck.
- 59. This leads to a situation where the people decide that they can no longer depend on the government. However, they are also unable to depend on society or their community as they do not trust their neighbours. The population feel that the resources available are finite what one individual wins comes at the expense of another. Those few who are lucky are able to strike it rich and continue to do well. However, the majority, who have little means, become hopeless and despair of the future, as it does not square with their dreams.
- 60. Then, out of the despair emerges Mr YY. It does not matter whether he is very educated, what matters is that he is an excellent communicator. He is suave, has a Prism Project_Public Service Sector Workshop Notes

 10 © Copyright 2012 National University of Singapore. All Rights Reserved. When reproducing this material, please cite the source.

story that inspires hope and change, and is able to rally people. The population look up to and follow his lead. His agenda is unknown — if it is good, then things in Singapore might take a turn for the better, however, if it is bad... who knows what this Dark Knight might bring?

Avengers

- 61. The scenario narrative below describes a Singapore that has weak government but enjoys a cohesive society.
- 62. The year is 2022. Mr YY opens the dailies and sees the headline "City under siege!". He starts to read what transpired the day before as he was sleeping.
- 63. Singapore had been drifting along for a couple of years without strong leadership. Her economic prosperity had dwindled, and she has had to ally herself with the stronger countries in the region. However, while the country was doing that, other interest groups were offended. This tense situation reached a climax yesterday, when a terrorist cell bombed an MRT station, causing panic. There were no contingency plans, as the weak government had failed to prepare for such an event. The public hospitals were overflowing and unable to keep up with the injured. There was widespread chaos and CNN anchors wondered what Singapore had come to. The stock market crashed as people felt that Singapore was no longer a safe haven.
- 64. Then... the Avengers appear! They have been in the midst of the population all along, working quietly as there has not been a crisis that was big enough to make themselves known. They fan out around Singapore, setting up neighbourhood watches to look after strategic areas in Singapore's infrastructure. They set up triage centres and recruit volunteer medical personnel. This restores a certain calm, but the damage has been done. The rest of the world has seen Singapore's response to the crisis, and investors' confidence in the future of Singapore falls. Investment starts flowing out of the country and fewer opportunities enter. In 2033, Singapore may not exist anymore in its current form.

Discussion

- 65. A participant asked if the religious elements in the X-Men United scenario narrative was supposed to reflect the increased role of religion in this scenario.
- 66. The team responded that the use of the religious elements was not deliberate. They did not intend to introduce religion as a dimension, and Singapore does not necessarily become a more religious society.
- 67. The team also added that when they defined strong and weak government, they were open to any kind of political system. For example, it could be a pluralist society but still have a strong government. Most of the team agreed that Singapore was currently at the X-Men United scenario, but that it was possibly shifting towards the Ice Age scenario. However, they agreed that the Ice Age was an unstable equilibrium, and that once the government loses the capability to hold all these disjointed groups together, the scenario moves immediately to the Dark Knight Rises or the Avengers scenario.

- 68. A facilitator asked what factors the team considered when determining whether a government was strong or weak. The team replied that they considered three factors. Firstly, whether the government was effective. However, they did not consider which party or parties would constitute this effective or ineffective government. Second, they considered whether the government had a clear direction, backed up with legitimacy. This was as a government with a clear direction that is leading Singapore down the wrong path will likely lose its legitimacy earned through consultation and agreement with citizens about the path to take. Third, they considered the government's capacity to deliver on its promises.
- 69. They also added that it was important that the government be able to have a national story that resonated with the population. A strong government would hence be one that is able to come up with this story whether it is that of a vulnerable state standing unified against threats, or another new story.
- 70. A participant asked if it was only in the X-Men United scenario that there was a compelling national story. The team replied that there was a compelling *government-led* national story in the X-Men United scenario. However, there was also compelling national story in the Avengers scenario, except that this national story surfaces from the bottom-up. The team felt that this was one of the good outcomes of the Avengers scenario. The team also commented that they tried to demonstrate in this scenario that there are some flaws in society when the government is not strong. For example, here the society faces threats that cannot be dealt with without a strong government. Singapore could also face missed opportunities if there is no coherent national plan in the face of other countries' rapid move towards regional integration.
- 71. The team also added that Singapore's old national story or narrative had been based on fear-mongering, highlighting threats. Now, her new narrative is more aspirational, and oriented towards trust-building. However, they felt that they should not make a judgement about which narrative would be better in the future; instead, the best narrative would be one that is relevant to the times, and which resonates with the people. In the past, when Singapore had just left Malaysia, accidently becoming a nation, the need was for a strong leadership that would be able to meet the people's needs and deal practically with the threats it faced. This resonated with people then, but it may no longer be the case now.
- 72. A participant asked about the basis for deciding who was inside the "we" on the cohesive society pole of the horizontal axis. This "we" could change. For example, in a state, it may be defined more by nationality, while in a city it may be defined more by whether an individual resides in the city.
- 73. The team clarified that they did not consider who was inside this "we". Rather, in their definition, a cohesive society would be able to bridge social divides and think about potentially divisive issues from the perspective of what would be in the best interests of the community.

Team 4

74. Team 4 used Singaporeans' value system as their driving force on the horizontal axis. They contrasted a situation where individuals had an "entitlement mentality" with Prism Project_Public Service Sector Workshop Notes

12 © Copyright 2012 National University of Singapore. All Rights Reserved. When reproducing this material, please cite the source.

one where individuals had a "self-reliant mentality". The team's other driving force was the level of political and institutional stability in Singapore. They placed a stable situation at one pole and a turbulent situation on the other.

- 75. The team considered the events that could lead Singapore into one of the four scenarios they developed. One of those events was the death of the former Minister Mentor, and whether this would bring out more nationalist pride, or whether this would split the population. Another event was the sudden loss of Singapore's current leadership, and whether there would be individuals who were able to take over, or whether this would plunge Singapore into "turbulence" immediately.
- 76. Coalition governments and regular changes in the governing parties could be either stable or unstable, depending on the other institutions that were in place. Similar to Team 3, Team 4 did not suggest whether a certain form of government would be better or worse for the country.
- 77. The scenarios were named after medical treatments and illustrated the characteristics of certain medical treatments.

Figure 4. Team 4 Scenarios

Political and Institutional Stability Reconstructive Plastic Surgery Morphine Drip Trust between the population and the Transactional relationship between state and government, partnership between both citizens parties Rich (but with finite resources) Mediocre/poor fiscal position, anaemic State provides infrastructure, jobs, social growth services, cash transfers, etc. Diversity recognised and embraced Government appeases population and stays Hard choices are legitimate (people are fine in power with having less) Affirmative action for different groups Belief that personal motivations can be Demands of population increase acted on (population that takes ownership) ASEAN is booming, Myanmar is the next No monopoly of ideas engine of growth Unstable/messy international geopolitical Singapore is still relevant environment Polarised, but "plastered" Coalition government or the party in power regularly changes Self-reliant **Entitlement** Mentality Mentality **Physiotherapy** Band-Aid Politicised bureaucracy Political promises not fulfilled Frequent changes in government Gridlock, change in the party that is in power Crashing market Reserves have been spent Spats with neighbours, messy geopolitical Region is booming, Singapore is overtaken environment by neighbours Mobile members of the population leave Strong but divergent political and civic Haves versus the Have-nots activism Have-nots are mobilised/agitated easily Private sector is wealthy and has a strong influence on society and government Vibrant, resilient local enterprises (organic

Political and Institutional Turbulence

Reconstructive Plastic Surgery

growth)

78. This scenario is one where Singapore is not doing well economically — she suffers from a poor fiscal position and anaemic growth — but where there is trust and

Prism Project Public Service Sector Workshop Notes

13

partnership between the political and institutional powers, as well as with the community. This could occur if the government realises that it does not have a monopoly on resources and ideas, and that it should tap on the skills and resources of those in society and business. Diversity within society is recognised and embraced. The people recognise that the government does need to make hard choices, and they are willing to let the government make these trade-offs. Individuals are also willing to have less — the rich accept higher taxes if there are those in the community that need help. There is a strong belief within society that personal motivations can be acted on, and that people can take ownership of what they believe in.

- 79. Here, while Singapore is politically and institutionally stable, this does not mean that there is no change in government or in the party holding political power. The population knows that these changes may occur, and they are not worried. This could be due to a stable civil service, or perhaps trust that the next government would be able to fulfil the promises they make.
- 80. The team felt that this scenario represented a real change from the Singapore of today, hence the name "Reconstructive Plastic Surgery", indicating that a deep change would take place.

Morphine Drip

- 81. In this scenario, Singapore is situated in a booming ASEAN region. She is rich, and has a lot of reserves. However, despite Singapore's economic success, the relationship between institutions and people is transactional in nature. These institutions provide citizens with their needs in return for their votes. This situation cannot go on forever, as resources are finite. For example, Singapore's reserves could be depleting. However, in the present, the population have what they want, and they feel that Singapore is doing well.
- 82. The scenario title "Morphine Drip" describes a situation where the end outcome is one that is known to be bad, despite the current positive situation.

Physiotherapy

- 83. Here, in the lead up to 2022, Singapore is faced with an unstable regional and institutional environment. She has frequent spats with neighbouring countries and is doing poorly economically. As a result, Singapore's politics becomes messy as the PAP cannot fulfil its promise to provide jobs and economic growth. A different party comes to power. However, this party is not necessarily able to keep its promises either. The population decides to take things into its own hands by using the resources of the community and the private sector. An example of this could be high-rise farming, where individuals grow produce in their homes. Local enterprises become more vibrant.
- 84. The Physiotherapy scenario describes a country where people do things for themselves, and eventually arrives at a good outcome without too much government intervention or resources.

Band-Aid

85. In the Band-Aid scenario, the region is booming and other countries are overtaking Singapore. This is not a situation that Singapore is used to. The government Prism Project_Public Service Sector Workshop Notes

14 © Copyright 2012 National University of Singapore. All Rights Reserved. When reproducing this material, please cite the source.

tries hard to give people what they want, but they do not have enough resources to do that. The government is forced to decide who should receive its help. This worsens polarisation, as those who have are given more, while those who have little are not given much. Society begins to tear apart a bit more.

86. The scenario name, "Band-Aid" was used to convey the idea of a small plaster covering a big problem.

Discussion

- 87. The team commented that in the Reconstructive Plastic Surgery scenario, they considered whether there could really be a realisation within the ruling party that things need to be done differently. They felt that this could occur only if there was a charismatic leader that convinced party members that a new leadership and form of government were required, and that the focus should no longer be merely on succession. Rather, the population would only believe that the party is serious about changing if they rebrand the party and change the way they govern. The team was not sure if the party would be able to do this.
- 88. A facilitator found the idea of a charismatic leader interesting, as it had been raised in previous workshops. Other teams in the Public Service Sector Workshop also used the charismatic leader as an element in their scenarios for example, in Team 3's Dark Knight Rises scenario, where the leader is the key source of the narrative power of the scenario.
- 89. A participant pointed out that a lot of discussion in the workshop so far was on how a state is either strong or weak, or efficient or inefficient. This is as opposed to descriptions that incorporate different elements of this trade-off for example, a state that is strong but has a large role, or a minimal state that is small and efficient.

VOTING

90. The participants voted on the scenarios they felt were the most plausible and challenging. Team 1 garnered the most number of votes, with 18 votes in total. The results of the voting are shown below.

Table 1. Voting results

Team	Number of Votes
Team 1	18
Greek Tragedy	
Stakeholder Society	
Gridlock	
Dog-Eat-Dog	
Team 2	2
Raffles Place	
New Chinatown	
Hougang	
Serangoon Gardens	
Team 3	
Ice Age	9
X-Men United	
Dark Knight Rises	
Avengers	
Team 4	9
Reconstructive Plastic Surgery	
Morphine Drip	
Band-Aid	
 Physiotherapy 	

APPENDIX: LIST OF WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

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