

2017 全球城市圓桌會議 Global City Roundtable

全球城市的移民政策 Migration Policy in Global Cities

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GOVERNING DIVERSITY IN THE AGE OF MIGRATION: CHALLENGES AND POLICY RESPONSES IN SINGAPORE

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SINGAPORE: A BRIEF HISTORY

Singapore: Past and Future

Singapore, a city-state with explicit globalizing ambitions and orientations, but “rooted in the condition of colonial pluralism”.

19thC birth as a trading emporium, associated with a cosmopolitan demography, culture, and landscape engendered by a liberal open-door policy on immigration and British pragmatic tolerance of **‘plural societies’**.

Colonial era: Diversity conflated with “chaos,” “promiscuity,” “Oriental quaintness,” and a lack of discipline and order

21stC: popular accounts continue to emphasise the city’s demographic and cultural diversity, made more complex by renewed rounds of transnational migration.

Age of globalization: “Truly cosmopolitan with a fascinating mixture of people and culture. One of the most diverse centers in Asia. ...”

Postcolonial Singapore: Nation-building Discourse of Multiracialism

Nation-building in the early decades of independence placed primary emphasis on **economic nationalism** as well as on the **management of race** within the strictures of Singapore's founding philosophy – the logic of the **4Ms+M** (Multiracialism, Multiculturalism, Multilingualism, Multireligiosity plus Meritocracy).

Separate-but-Equal 'CMIO' Multiracialism

The Multiracial Nation and its Exclusions

CMIO formulations privilege fixed categories (tied to ancestral cultures) while excluding the increasingly diverse and mobile “others” present in the city.

- ❑ A broad spectrum of mobile “**non-residents**” sited outside state constructions of the national population ranging from “**foreign workers**” in construction, domestic service, and other “dirty, dangerous and difficult” (the 3Ds) sectors, to “**foreign talents**” belonging to the professional and managerial classes.
- ❑ Rise in **cross-national and inter-ethnic marriages** resulting in complex family formations

Governing diversity in Singapore: Three Policy Responses + 1

- **Categorization and control** (particularly through a hierarchy of skills and hardening the divide between citizens and non-citizens)
- **Hyphenation and the durability of the CMIO model** (particularly the ambivalence about hyphenated identities)
- **Enclavement and enclosure** (particularly how large numbers of migrant others are governed)
- **Alternative responses** (particularly voices from the ground)

**GOVERNING DIVERSITY:
CATEGORIZATION AND CONTROL**

Global-City versus Nation-Building

■ **Singapore Government:**

- In-migration as solution to winning the race of becoming a global city and overcome population woes (small population size, limited talent pool and declining fertility rates)
- Foreigners are essential to growing economic pie for all

■ **Singapore Population:**

- Threatened by increased competition for resources (jobs, school places), congestion and the 'incivility' of foreign others
- Open protests against the government's plans to grow the population in Singapore to 6.9 million.
- Ruling party's loss of votes

The Hong Lim Green Demonstration

On 16 February 2013, 5,000 people gathered at Speakers' Corner in Hong Lim Green despite the rain to protest against the recently launched **White Paper on Population** where the government proposed a population scenario of 6.9 million by 2030 based on an accelerated rate of migration.

- Unprecedented event was a visible symbol of the simmering tensions around a host of migration issues
 - not anti-foreigner sentiments but **anger directed at the government's foreign talent policy?**
 - fears that the **nation-state is being run like a 'business corporation' or an 'well-oiled multinational'** that privileges the highly mobile, highly skilled transnational workers.
- Quintessential dilemma for a 'nation-city-state': need to find creative ways to reinvent social contract so as to **balance the demands of being both 'home' and a 'global workplace'** to a diverse range of inhabitants.

Moderation and Recalibration

- Tighter border control of the different immigration channels, in different categories with different privileges:
 - ◇ **“Foreign Talents”** (skilled labor or employees holding positions at the professional and managerial levels; PMETs);
 - ◇ **“Foreign Workers”** (unskilled/low skilled labor in the construction, manual labor, and domestic industries);
 - ◇ **Workers with mid-level skills** (such as technicians, chefs, and health care workers);
 - ◇ **International students** (from the primary to tertiary levels);
 - ◇ **Entrepreneurs**;
 - ◇ **Trainees**;
 - ◇ **Confinement nannies**;
 - ◇ **Athletes and sporting talent**;
 - ◇ **Family** (spouses, parents or unmarried children of Singapore citizens/PRs, mothers accompanying their children to Singapore schools who stay in Singapore as dependents or on long-term visit passes).

	Pass type	Eligible foreigners	Additional features
(1) Professionals	Employment Pass (EP)	Foreign professionals, managers and executives who hold acceptable degrees, professional qualifications and relevant experiences. Minimum salary: candidates need to earn at least S\$3,600 a month. Passes for certain family members are available but subject to specific corresponding criteria.	Eligible to apply for permanent residency and citizenship. EP is granted for particular employer and prior permission is needed for the change of employer. However, PEP holder is not tied to any employer. No restrictions on nationality.
	EntrePass	Eligible foreign entrepreneurs wanting to start and operate a new business in Singapore. Passes for certain family members are available but subject to specific corresponding criteria.	
	Personalized Employment Pass (PEP)	High-earning existing EP holders or overseas foreign professionals. Minimum salary: For current EP holders, S\$12,000 a month; For overseas professionals, S\$18,000 a month Passes for certain family members are available but subject to specific corresponding criteria.	The PEP offers greater job flexibility than an EP.

	Pass type	Eligible foreigners	Additional features
(2) Skilled and semi-skilled workers	S pass	Mid-level personnel; candidates need to earn at least S\$2,200 a month and meet the assessment criteria. Passes for certain family members are available but subject to specific corresponding criteria.	Employers are subject to a quota and levy for S pass employees. Employers must provide medical insurance.
	WP for foreign worker (WP)	Semi-skilled foreign workers in the constructive, manufacturing, marine, process or services sector.	Sector requirements, including approved source countries, security bond (S\$5000) for non-Malaysians, quota and levy Employer must provide medical insurance. Acceptable housing.
	WP for foreign domestic worker (WP)	Foreign domestic workers to work in Singapore. Age must be between 23 and 50 years at the time of application. Minimum 8 years of formal education with a recognized certificate	Approved source countries, security bond and levy requirements Medical and personal accident insurance Every 6 monthly medical examinations
	WP for confinement nanny	Malaysian confinement nannies to work in Singapore for up to 16 weeks starting from the birth of the employer's child	Non-renewable and levy payable; the confinement nanny must be a Malaysian and between 23 and 65 years old

Singapore's Population and Annual Growth

Year	Number as at June (Mid-Year) ('000)					Average Annual Growth ¹ (%)				
	Total Population ²	Residents			Non-Residents	Total Population ²	Residents			Non-Residents
		Total	Citizens	Permanent Residents			Total	Citizens	Permanent Residents	
1970	2,074.5	2,013.6	1,874.8	138.8	60.9	2.8	na			
1980	2,413.9	2,282.1	2,194.3	87.8	131.8	1.5	1.3			
1990	3,047.1	2,735.9	2,623.7	112.1	311.3	2.3 ³	1.7 ³	1.7 ³	2.3 ³	9.0
2000	4,027.9	3,273.4	2,985.9	287.5	754.5	2.8	1.8	1.3	9.9	9.3
2004	4,166.7	3,413.3	3,057.1	356.2	753.4	1.3	1.4	0.8	6.5	0.7
2005	4,265.8	3,467.8	3,081.0	386.8	797.9	2.4	1.6	0.8	8.6	5.9
2006	4,401.4	3,525.9	3,107.9	418.0	875.5	3.2	1.7	0.9	8.1	9.7
2007	4,588.6	3,583.1	3,133.8	449.2	1,005.5	4.3	1.6	0.8	7.5	14.9
2008	4,839.4	3,642.7	3,164.4	478.2	1,196.7	5.5	1.7	1.0	6.5	19.0
2009	4,987.6	3,733.9	3,200.7	533.2	1,253.7	3.1	2.5	1.1	11.5	4.8
2010	5,076.7	3,771.7	3,230.7	541.0	1,305.0	1.8	1.0	0.9	1.5 ⁴	4.1
2011	5,183.7	3,789.3	3,257.2	532.0	1,394.4	2.1	0.5	0.8	-1.7	6.9
2012	5,312.4	3,818.2	3,258.1	533.1	1,494.2	2.5	0.8	0.9	0.2	7.2
2013	5,399.2	3,844.8	3,313.5	531.2	1,554.4	1.6	0.7	0.9	-0.3	4.0
2014	5,469.7	3,870.7	3,343.0	527.7	1,599.0	1.3	0.7	0.9	-0.7	2.9
2015	5,535.0	3,902.7	3,375.0	527.7	1,632.3	1.2	0.8	1.0	-	2.1
2016	5,607.3	3,933.6	3,408.9	524.6	1,673.7	1.3	0.8	1.0	-0.6	2.5
2017	5,612.3	3,965.8	3,439.2	526.6	1,646.5	0.1	0.8	0.9	0.4	-1.6

1. For 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000, refers to average annual growth rate over the last ten years. From 2004 onwards, growth rate refers to the change over the previous year.
2. Total population comprises Singapore residents and non-residents. Resident population comprises Singapore citizens and permanent residents.
3. Average annual growth rate between 1980 and 1990 are computed based on 1980 and 1990 using de facto concept.
4. The growth in the permanent resident population started to slow down from 2010 due to the tightened immigration framework.

Singaporean-first Policies: “Citizenship has its privileges”

Widening differentiation in terms of entitlements between foreigner-resident-citizen categories:

- Housing
 - Keeping housing available and affordable for Singaporeans
 - Waiting period for new PRs to purchase resale government housing (HDB)
- Education
 - Increasing intake of Singaporeans at the tertiary level
 - Enrolment priority for Singaporeans into Primary schools
 - Raising fees for foreigners across levels, and subsidizing fees and edusave schemes for citizens
- Healthcare
 - Increasing subsidies for Singaporeans
 - Raising charges for non-Singaporeans
- Pioneer Generation Package
 - Healthcare subsidies for citizens aged 65 and above, and must have obtained citizenship before 31.12.86
- Employment
 - Hiring priorities for Singaporeans; positions only open to foreigners if no Singaporeans are hired after two weeks of recruitment
 - Raising minimum salary thresholds for EPs and tightening educational qualifications

**GOVERNING DIVERSITY:
HYPHENATION & THE DURABILITY OF
THE CMIO MODEL**

CMIO Model versus the Hyphenation of Identities

- While the state promotes the development of a national identity, it does not advocate the erasure of ethnic markers.
- State policies support and accommodate CMIO ethnic identities, and also tie many of their programmes on housing, heritage, education, language, and community building to a foundational understanding of “race” in the context of an even-handed multiracialism.

“no one is required to abjure his race in order to be a Singaporean”.

Racial arithmetic

Comparing the effects of increased immigration on the population CMIO composition between 1970 and 2017:

- ◇ 'Others' ↑ from 1.2 to 3.2 per cent
- ◇ 'Indians' ↑ from 7.0 to 9.0 per cent
- ◇ 'Malays' ↓ from 14.8 to 13.4 per cent
- ◇ 'Chinese' ↓ from 77.0 to 74.3 per cent

Hyphenation

- As society becomes less bounded → need for more complex forms of identification
- Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's 2006 National Day Rally Speech: In his appeal to Singaporeans to welcome “new immigrants,” he not only argued for **a recognition of difference** (“A Chinese-Chinese is different from a Singapore-Chinese. An Indian-Indian is different from a Singapore-Indian”), but proposed that this could be done by allowing for **“hyphenated” national-racial identities** at least for the first few generations:
 - ... we will hyphenate, Australian-Singaporean, Chinese-Singaporeans, Chinese-Chinese Singaporeans. But make them one of us and if we meet one of them, let's be friendly, let's go out of our way to show them around, help them, make them feel at home.... So even if the first generation is not completely Singaporean, the second generation growing up here will be and will contribute to Singapore.

Singapore's Changing Demography

- Rapid increase in **cross-nationality and inter-ethnicity marriages** which has a bearing on nation's multiracial complexion.
- In 2015, cross-nationality marriages involving at least one Singapore resident spouse accounted for **41.4%** of all marriages registered in Singapore.
- Inter-ethnic marriages accounted for **21.5%** of all marriages in 2015

Hyphenation

January 2010 policy innovation: allowing children of mixed marriages to choose between adopting the race of either the father or the mother, and to use “**double-barrelled**” race classifications in official documents.

In announcing this change, PM Lee clearly based the rationale on the “significant number of Singaporeans marrying across racial lines”:

‘... the couple has to consider carefully how their kids will be brought up and what the kids' identity will be: Will they be a Chinese kid, an Indian kid, maybe European, maybe Japanese, maybe Vietnamese - there are many Singaporeans here who have married Vietnamese spouses,’ he said. ‘We think it's best to leave it to the parents to say how they want to describe their kids' ethnicity.’

But...

The policy change continues to require identification with a dominant 'race' (which must be placed first, i.e. before the hyphen) and used for all 'administrative' purposes; hence minimizing any impact on policies such as ethnic quotas in public housing estates or the requirement for minority representation in politics (GRCs). As PM Lee explains,

the move towards **hyphenation** is **a form of 'liberalization', not a 'revolution'**; it was put in place to 'simply give people greater choice in identifying or describing themselves', not impact entrenched policy, as 'the majority of the population will still comprise the major racial groups - Chinese, Malays and Indians.... and the number affected by the shift 'will remain small for some time to come, and maybe for a very long time'.

Christian Yeo is 10 months old. His dad Leonard is Chinese, and his mom Cheryl is Eurasian.

Double-barrelled Ethnicity

- Thus far, there are no official figures showing how many people have changed their race, but unofficial polls reflected that many mixed-race Singaporeans do not feel the need to do so.
- In terms of newborns, Singapore's Immigration and Checkpoints Authority (ICA) revealed that some **16%** mixed-heritage babies had double-barrelled races on their official documents between January 2011 and June 2012.

Durability of CMIO-multiracialism?

- Importance of retaining CMIO model to protect the rights of the minorities
- Race consciousness is still salient in Singapore even after 50 years of nation-building
- Hyphenation: hyphenated identities increase individual identity choices without destabilising CMIO-multiracialism
 - Expected to be a transient phenomena that will fade over time with the integration of subsequent generations of immigrants
 - Does not place immigrant spouses in a more advantageous position
 - May not necessarily provide a framework appropriate for the rescue and restoration of former creolized cultures such as Peranakan culture
 - Does not apply to foreign workers (a large proportion of the non-resident category) who are not permitted to settle in Singapore.
 - Nevertheless, active recognition of hyphenated identities is a major step towards more flexible thinking about race, cultivating cosmopolitan sensibilities, and accommodating difference.

**GOVERNING DIVERSITY:
ENCLAVEMENT AND ENCLOSURE**

Unskilled workers in Singapore

- Short-term disposable labour with limited rights
- Needed but unwanted labour
- Largely confined to their respective work places during the work week
- Congregate in temporary ethnicised enclaves during the weekend
- “Weekend enclaves”
 - Transient social and commercial landscapes containing migrant concentrations.

The Place of Foreign Workers in the City-State?

- ▶ Weekend enclaves and foreign worker gatherings are often viewed negatively or with unease by Singaporeans who consider them a form of **“intrusion” into “their own backyards”**:
 - Authorities asked to step up security measures or relocate these workers to out-of-sight locations such as offshore islands.
 - Residents of HDB flats located in Little India have put up steel barricades around their blocks to keep foreign workers out.

The Little India Riot

On 8 Dec 2013, a riot in Little India involving foreign workers broke out after a male Indian national (construction worker) died after being hit by a bus ferrying workers back to their dormitories.

Angry mobs of passers-by attacked the bus and emergency vehicles.

Some 300 migrant workers were involved in the riot lasting 2 hours.

A committee of inquiry was launched by the Singapore authorities to study the reasons for the riot and review the management of gathering areas for foreign workers.

The bus driver was acquitted as he was found to be not at fault for causing the death of the drunk victim who tripped and fell after getting off the bus.

57 workers had been repatriated, around 30 charged.

Curbing of alcohol sales in Little India

Enclavement and Enclosure

- **Fear of diversity**
- New forms of enclosure as modes of spatial governance
- Containment measures to limit the expansion of enclaves
 - Provide workers with their own segregated, enclosed spaces at the city's periphery
 - Sequestered and removed from the perceived “danger” associated with unexpected escalations in enclave life

**GOVERNING DIVERSITY:
VOICES FROM THE GROUND**

Growing empathy towards migrant workers in Singapore

From the apathy 20 years ago, migrant issues have taken centre-stage in galvanising progressive civil society action and concern.

- **Service-oriented groups**
 - Provide humanitarian assistance such as befriending services, skill training, subsidised medical services, counselling and social assistance.
- **Advocacy-oriented groups**
 - Champion the human rights of labour migrants and humanitarian values such as creating empathy and reducing social stigma
 - Launch campaigns to transform public mindsets and lobby the state for legislative change
 - Play a key role in humanising migrant worker issues and challenging the state's focus on migrant labour as an economic resource.
- **Groups focusing specifically on equipping foreign workers with certain skillsets**
 - Provide training to equip low-skilled migrant workers with competencies that will assist them in current jobs, or on return to home countries.

Civil society groups have played an important role in plugging service gaps and advocating a more humane treatment of the large migrant population that Singapore is structurally dependant on.

Conclusion

- Continued significance of **migration-led diversification** and the impact on Singapore's demographic destiny as well as social life in the globalising city-state.
- Need to get the balance – “between national identity and cosmopolitan openness, between free market competition and social solidarity” (Prime Minister Lee) – right.

THANK YOU

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