

2

Answer **one** question.

Answers should be between 500 and 800 words in length.

- 1 'Fiction is enjoyable but of little value.' Is this a fair comment?
- 2 Should criminals be given a second chance?
- 3 Do you agree that animals should never be kept in captivity?
- 4 How important is it for politicians in your society to listen to the citizens?
- 5 To what extent has science become a profit seeking industry?
- 6 With the growth of online commerce, are traditional businesses becoming obsolete?
- 7 Consider the claim that the study of the humanities has little relevance in a technologically advanced world.
- 8 Is freedom of access to information always desirable?
- 9 How far should tourism in developing countries be encouraged?
- 10 Are women still less privileged than men today?
- 11 'The sport industry in your society should focus more on local than foreign talent.' What is your view?
- 12 'Adversity brings out the worst in human nature.' Discuss.

Read the passages in the insert and then answer **all** the questions. Note that up to fifteen marks will be given for the quality and accuracy of your use of English throughout this Paper.

For
Examiner's
Use

NOTE: When a question asks for an answer IN YOUR OWN WORDS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE and you select the appropriate material from the passage for your answer, you must still use your own words to express it. Little credit can be given to answers which only copy words or phrases from the passage.

From Passage 1

1 Using your own words as far as possible, explain Dickens's observation in lines 2–3.

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.....
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..... [2]

2 What does the phrase 'falling over each other to proffer unedifying soundbites' (lines 9–10) tell us about politicians?

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..... [2]

3 What reasons does the author give to support his description of immigrants as 'vital engines of innovation and growth' (lines 19–20)? **Use your own words as far as possible.**

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..... [2]

4 Explain the phrase 'national suicide' in line 25.

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..... [2]

5 What is the writer implying when he asks 'but has that ship not sailed?' (lines 36–37)?

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..... [2]

6 What are the various impact of immigration on British society as illustrated by the examples in lines 39–42? **Use your own words as far as possible.**

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..... [3]

7 Explain the paradox in lines 45–46.

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..... [2]

Passage 1. *Tommy Stadlen argues for the benefits of immigration*

- 1 There is a moment in Charles Dickens’s travelogue, ‘American Notes’, when the author comes to realise the greatness of immigrants. “It would be hard to keep your model republics going, without the countrymen and countrywomen of those two labourers,” he reflects, watching a pair of Irish immigrants. Modern Britain does not lack for such insight. The evidence in favour of immigration is too compelling for political elites to misunderstand. Our problem is that today’s Dickens are drowned out by xenophobic chants that say voters dislike immigrants. 5
- 2 Recently, a political consensus has emerged around the notion that immigration is out of control and detrimental to Britons’ economic well-being. Politicians are falling over each other to proffer unedifying soundbites such as “England belongs to the English”. Few are willing to say what they all know to be true: that immigration is not only beneficial but absolutely necessary for Britain to thrive. 10
- 3 Research at University College London found that eastern European migrants pay far more taxes than they receive in benefits and services. The net benefit of almost 40 per cent that they contribute contrasts heavily with British born citizens who pay in taxes 20 per cent less than they receive in public services and benefits. A similar story of foreigners subsidising Britons is apparent in universities. With their inflated fees, visitors and would-be citizens prop up an education system neither the government nor students appear willing to fund. In their disproportionate entrepreneurialism, immigrants are vital engines of innovation and growth. Countries with more start-ups grow faster, and immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than natives. This is particularly true in mainland Europe but also in the UK and the US, where foreign-born pioneers are responsible for Google, Yahoo! and eBay. Over half of Silicon Valley companies were founded by immigrants. 15 20
- 4 Michael Bloomberg, mayor of New York City, has warned against “national suicide” as America pushes for greater border controls and emerging economies offer incentives to tempt home highly skilled workers. “We ship them home, where they can take what they learned here and use it to create companies and products that compete with ours.” We need more voices like Bloomberg in Britain. Politicians must acknowledge that immigrants represent an important part of the solution to our demographic time bomb. The proportion of western Europe’s population aged 65 or older will almost double by 2050, according to UN projections. Increased immigration can mitigate an ageing population and ease the state burden. Success here is dependent on government action. 25 30
- 5 In the face of such strong economic arguments for immigration, some oppose it on social grounds. They claim endless new arrivals corrode British identity. But has that ship not sailed? The Britain of cucumber sandwiches and village cricket remains part of this country’s identity, but only one part. Each of the main immigrant groups is woven into Britain’s fabric. The Indian community alone has provided the UK’s richest man, an England cricket captain and a new national cuisine. In their leadership of organisations like Liberty and New Look, people of Indian descent have shaped both our values and our spending habits. 35 40
- 6 No one doubts that immigration poses challenges for communities. Of course, integration is critical to social cohesion. But these are challenges we can and must meet. It is not good enough for David Cameron to criticise immigrants’ failure to integrate while his government slashes funding for their English lessons. Welcome immigrants warmly and most will respond in the spirit of our most famous literary import, T.S. Eliot – “Remember I am... a foreigner, and that I want to understand you, and all the background and tradition of you.” Politicians need not appeal to our better selves to support immigration – our self-interest will do. 45 50

Passage 2. *David Goodhart raises several arguments against immigration*

- 1 The Brexit vote was evidently not just about immigrants. It is the seething discontent of a large slice of the public created by twenty years of historically unprecedented immigration and the nonchalant response of the political class to this change – one that never appeared in an election manifesto and was never chosen by anyone.
- 2 Around 75 per cent of the population (including more than half of ethnic minority citizens) has consistently lamented that immigration is too high. Immigration is also a metaphor for the larger disruptions of social and economic change, especially for those who have done least well out of them. In the quiet of their living rooms, most people have quite nuanced views on different forms of immigration and tend to be more positive about the local story. Yet, immigration overall still stands for “change as loss.”
- 3 It is a basic human instinct to be wary of strangers and outsiders. In rich, individualistic societies, tribal and ethnic instincts may have abated but they have not disappeared completely and have been supplemented by anxiety about sharing economic space and public services with outsiders. Many still do not like the macro changes to their city or country and worry that too many newcomers fail to integrate. Although chauvinistic nationalism is much rarer in modern Britain than it was a couple of generations ago, the belief that citizens should be first in the queue remains as strong as ever. State welfare has extended its reach via tax credits and housing benefit and although state employment overall has been in decline, if you live in some of the most run-down parts of Britain, you will probably be employed by the state. This does not necessarily make you a flag-waving nationalist but it might make you more sensitive to competition with outsiders for school places, hospital beds or social housing.
- 4 In areas of high immigration, people doing blue-collar jobs can come to feel even more like a replaceable cog in the economic machine as they are exposed to greater competition of various kinds with outsiders. Instead of the “one nation” they are beseeched to sign up for they will often see a political class casting aside the common-sense principle of fellow-citizen favouritism. Areas of low immigration are often depressed former industrial areas or seaside towns where people feel that the national story has passed them by, as it has. Opposition to immigration in these areas is more about the changing priorities of the country and its governing class, priorities that no longer seem to include them.
- 5 Anxieties about integration exacerbate opposition to immigration, and with some reason. There is a growing separation in neighbourhoods and schools in some areas between the white British majority and some minority groups. In recent years, a second integration problem has been added: people from the poorer countries who have no desire to integrate into British society because they are here for a short period to earn money.
- 6 A guest citizen is not a full member, does not have full access to social and political rights and leaves after a few years. Formalising guest citizenship would mean that we could concentrate rights, benefits and integration efforts on those who are making a commitment to this country. There is a trade-off between migration and citizenship. If we want to continue with relatively high inflows, we have to guard full citizenship more jealously.

**2018 PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION
GENERAL PAPER
Paper 2 Suggested Answers**

From Passage 1

1. Using your own words as far as possible, explain Dickens’s observation in lines 2–3. [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ It would be hard to keep your model republics going (l.2–3), ▪ without the countrymen and countrywomen of those two labourers (l.3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dickens points out that it would be challenging/ impossible/ difficult for nations/ states/ democracies/ systems to develop/ [1] ▪ without immigrants who take up jobs involving menial/ toiling work/ sweat/ blue-collar jobs/ building infrastructure. [1] <p align="center">or</p> ▪ Dickens points out that immigrants play a huge/ large role/ are the pillars/ foundation/ essential/ critical/ important/ fundamental for nations/ states/ democracies/ systems to develop [1] ▪ as they take up jobs involving menial/ toiling work/ sweat/ blue-collar jobs/ building infrastructure [1] <i>*build the country/ nation = 0</i> <i>**answer that does not capture the idea of physical work = 0</i>

2. What does the phrase ‘falling over each other to proffer unedifying soundbites’ (lines 9–10) tell us about politicians? [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘falling over each other (l.9–10) ▪ to proffer unedifying soundbites’ such as “England belongs to the English” (l.10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The phrase shows that politicians are competing/ fighting with each other/ ever-ready/ eager/ enthusiastic [1] <i>*challenging = 0 (without any clear sign that they are in the same direction)</i> <i>**unscrupulous = 0, fighting and arguing = 0</i> ▪ to jump on the bandwagon/ join in the call against immigrants/ for anti-immigration/

	<p>to keep immigrants out/ tell immigrants that they have no place in the country. [1] <i>*we will accept negative perceptions about the immigrants/ condemn immigration/ immigration is harmful/ bad</i></p>
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3. What reasons does the author give to support his description of immigrants as ‘vital engines of innovation and growth’ (line 19–20)? Use your own words as far as possible. [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In their disproportionate entrepreneurialism (l.19) ... immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than natives (l.21) ... ▪ countries with more start-ups grow faster (l.20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Immigrants have a higher inclination/ probability/ greater tendency/ likelihood to venture into new businesses/ take risks by setting up their own businesses/ contribute more to the rise of new businesses than locals [1], and <i>* the element of ‘greater’ or ‘higher’ doesn’t have to be there to be awarded the mark</i> <i>** chance/ opportunity/ ability = 0</i> ▪ this enables their host countries to develop/ progress more quickly/ rapidly. [1] <i>** the element of ‘more start-ups’ doesn’t have to be there to be awarded the mark</i> <i>*** answers must attempt to rephrase ‘grow’ or ‘faster’</i>

4. Explain the phrase ‘national suicide’ in line 25. [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ... as America pushes for greater border controls ... (l.26) ... We ship them home ... where they can use what they learned here and use it to create companies and products that compete with ours (l.27–28) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Just as suicide occurs when a person kills himself/ ends his own life, [1] ▪ by restricting immigration/ imposing limitations on immigration, America is causing its own economic downfall/ decline. [1] <p><i>*to be awarded any mark, student’s answer must attempt to explain both the literal and contextual meaning</i></p>

5. What is the writer implying when he asks ‘but has that ship not sailed?’ (lines 36-37)? [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ They claim endless arrivals corrode British identity. But has that ship not sailed? (l.36–37) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The writer is implying that it is too late/ not useful/ pointless to worry about the dilution/ erosion/ weakening of British identity/ what it means to be British due to immigration, [1] <i>*can still award the mark even if they don't address 'endless arrivals'</i> ▪ as the pure British identity has been lost a long time ago/ the British identity today is now a mix of different cultures/ has been diluted/ changed due to foreigners/ foreigners are now an ingrained part of British culture. [1]

6. What are the various impact of immigration on British society as illustrated by the examples in lines 39–42? Use your own words as far as possible. [3]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Indian community alone has provided the UK's richest man (l.39), ▪ an England cricket captain (l. 39–40) ▪ a new national cuisine (l. 40) ▪ In their leadership of big businesses like Liberty and New Look (l. 40–41) ▪ have shaped both our values (l. 41) ▪ and spending habits (l. 42) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Immigrants are wealthy/ have contributed to the economy/ wealth of the nation/ the wealthiest man in the country/ UK. ▪ They have also brought sporting glory to the nation/ leaders in sport. ▪ In addition, they have influenced/ changed/ introduced original/ fresh/ novel elements to British food culture ▪ And are influential/ have helmed/ had a hand in managing/ taking charge of/ directing corporations and companies in Britain. ▪ They have also brought about changes to/ affected the ethics/ moral standards/ principles/ sense of right and wrong held by British society. <i>*attributes = 0</i> ▪ and introduced new consumer trends/ changed the way people spend their money/ how they consume/ buy things.

	<p>* Tiered mark scheme 1 point – 1 mark 2–3 points – 2 marks 4 or more points – 3 marks</p> <p><i>**Students should not merely summarise the areas of impact (e.g. contribute to the economy, sports and food)</i></p>
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7. Explain the paradox in lines 45–46. [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ David Cameron ... criticise immigrants’ failure to integrate (l. 45-46) ▪ while his government slashes funding for their English lessons (l. 45–46) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Immigrants are looked upon with disapproval for/ accused of not assimilating into/ adjusting to their new country, [1] ▪ However, it is paradoxical/ contradictory that government spending/ grants/ subsidy is being cut, despite English lessons being crucial/ essential for assimilation. [1] <p><i>* first bullet should capture the criticism, and not just expectation that they should help</i></p> <p><i>**second bullet point must explain that English lessons are fundamental to assimilation. Policies/ measures/ anything vague = 0</i></p> <p><i>*** if a student lifts ‘integrate’, punish only once</i></p> <p><i>****if only one part is attempted = 0 mark</i></p> <p><i>***** if both parts are attempted, award 1 mark for whichever part is correct</i></p>

From Passage 2

8. Why does the author claim that ‘The Brexit vote was not just about immigration.’ (line 1)? Use your own words as far as possible. [2]

Lifted Answer	Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The seething discontent of a large slice of the public created by 20 years of historically unprecedented immigration (1.2–3) 	<p>This is because there are other reasons which include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ the dissatisfaction/ unhappiness about the massive number/ influx of immigrants not seen before over the years, [1]

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ and the nonchalant response of the political class to this change (l.3–4). 	<p><i>*if 'massive' or 'not seen before' is not captured = 0 mark</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ and over the politicians' indifference/ lack of concern/ failure to address/ action towards citizens' worries. [1]
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9. Using material from paragraphs 3–5 (lines 11–37) only, summarise why the British may not support immigration.

Write your summary in no more than 120 words, not counting the opening words which are printed below. Use your own words as far as possible. [8]

The British may not support immigration because...

Lifted Answer		Suggested Paraphrase
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ It is a basic human instinct to be wary of strangers and outsiders (l.11) 	A1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ it is natural/ innate to be suspicious of those who do not belong/ people we do not know/ not familiar with. <i>**do not accept 'other people', but accept 'aliens'</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ tribal and ethnic instincts have abated but they have not disappeared completely (l.12–13) 	A2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ They want to safeguard their cultural identity/ their suspicions still remain
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ anxiety about sharing economic space (l.13) 	A3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ and worry about competing with immigrants for jobs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many still do not like the macro changes to their city or country (l.14–15) 	A4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ They are uncomfortable with the big/ expansive alterations/ transformations that are happening <i>*do not need to paraphrase 'changes'</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ worry that too many newcomers fail to integrate (l.15) ▪ anxieties about integration (l.32) 	A5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ and are afraid that immigrants will not assimilate/ co-exist/ blend in well.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ the belief that citizens should be first in the queue remains as strong as ever (l.16–17) 	A6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ They also firmly believe that British citizens should be given priority/ privileges.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ if you live in some of the most run-down parts of Britain (l.19–20), 	A7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The poorer British/ Those who are destitute/ financially less well-off/ wealthy/ affluent
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ more sensitive to competition with outsiders (l.21–22) 	A8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ are more affected by the fight with immigrants for/ more vulnerable to the struggle/ tussle with immigrants for
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ anxiety about sharing... public services with outsiders (l.13–14)... for school places, hospital beds or housing (l.22) 	A9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ public amenities/ social services
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ people doing blue-collar jobs (l.23) 	B1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lowly-skilled workers/ workers doing manual work/ labour

▪ feel even more like a replaceable cog (l.23–24)	B2	▪ perceive themselves as dispensable/ not being valued, <i>*accept job insecurity</i>
▪ They... see a political class casting aside the common-sense principle of fellow-citizen favouritism (l.26–27)	B3	▪ They feel/ perceive that the government does/ authorities do not believe in/ are not/ are no longer putting locals/ citizens first/ giving privileges to locals/ citizens.
▪ Areas of low immigration are... depressed former industrial areas or seaside towns (l.27–28)	B4	▪ In places where there is economic stagnation/ decline,
▪ where ... the national story has passed them by (l.28–29)	B5	▪ people feel that they have been forgotten/ sidelined/ forsaken/ abandoned/ are not enjoying benefits of the country's economic development
▪ priorities that no longer seem to include them (l.30–31)	B6	▪ as they are not featured/ not considered/ part of/ feel excluded from
▪ ... changing priorities of the country and its governing class (l.30)	B7	▪ the government's altered/ new plans/ goals/ objectives/ agenda
▪ growing separation... between white British and some minority groups (l.33–34)	C1	▪ There is a widening/ increasing divide between locals and immigrants <i>*no need for 'growing' to be paraphrased</i>
▪ ... in neighbourhoods (l.33)	C2	▪ in communities/ residential areas
▪ and schools (l.33)	C3	▪ as well as in educational institutions/ among students.
▪ people from poorer countries have no desire to integrate (l.35-36)	C4	▪ People from less developed/ impoverished countries show no interest in assimilating
▪ because they are here for a short period (l.36)	C5	▪ as they stay long enough only
▪ to earn money (l.36–37)	C6	▪ to make a living/ salary/ wage.

Total - 22 points

Summary Mark Scheme

1 point	1 mk	3–4 points	3 mks	7–8 points	5 mks	11–12 points	7 mks
2 points	2 mks	5–6 points	4 mks	9–10 points	6 mks	≥ 13 points	8 mks

10. Tommy Stadlen argues for the benefits of immigration, while David Goodhart raises several arguments against it. How far would you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in these two passages, relating your arguments to your society?

QUESTION ANALYSIS

benefits of immigration

- Stadlen argues that immigration is beneficial and supports his observation by giving reasons
- Students need to identify the reasons that Stadlen gives in support of his stand

raises several arguments against it

- Goodhart believes that immigration brings about drawbacks.
- Students need to identify the reasons that Goodhart gives in support of his stand → i.e. negative impact and implications caused by immigration.

How far do you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in these two passages

- **how far** → students should clearly state the degree of agreement/ disagreement with the author's stand, using appropriate qualifiers.
- **the opinions expressed in these two passages** → students should identify BOTH the authors' overall stands in the two passages + reasons given to support their respective stands.

relating your arguments to your society

- The society must be identified at the start of the answer.
- All aspects of the AQ answer must relate to the society identified and should not discuss issues in general.
- The answer must be contextualised in the society identified, right from the start.
- Residents of the society identified should not be referred to vaguely as 'people'; instead, specific nationalities such as 'Singaporeans', 'Malaysians', 'Chinese' (or other relevant nationalities) should be used throughout the answer.
- Answers should not vaguely describe what is happening in the society identified. Instead, answers should offer:
 - clear reasons and evaluation to support *how far you agree with* the authors' opinions in relation to that society.
 - some consideration/ evaluation whether and why different groups in the society identified might react differently: the elderly, young people, working adults, people with different educational levels, etc .
 - reasons why the situation in that society may have changed/ intensified/ abated in recent times: people's changing mindsets/ evolving social and economic realities/ creative business innovations/ technological advancement, etc.

SUGGESTED APPROACH

- R:** The extent to which you agree with Stadlen about immigration being beneficial and Goodhart on the arguments against it.

OB1–5: Observations made by each author to support his stand (with relevant quotes from the passage). The chosen observation should be clearly stated with para/line reference at the start of each body paragraph. You should pick one observation from each passage for discussion.

EX, EV: Explaining, developing and evaluating arguments with reference to yourself and your own society, making the link clear to OB and R.

EG: Supporting ideas with relevant examples from the society identified, and making the link from the examples to OB, EX, EV and R.

***While the AQ asks for the benefits and drawbacks of immigration, expatriates and foreigners will also be accepted for this AQ as the authors also made references to them in the passages.*

INTRODUCTION

Since the founding of modern Singapore in the early 19th century, immigrants have largely contributed to our nation building efforts. However, the rapid influx of immigrants today has raised much concern amongst Singaporeans. **As such, I do acknowledge that the drawbacks raised by Goodhart are also relevant to Singapore. Nevertheless, I am more in agreement with Stadlen’s assertion that immigration is beneficial in the context of my society** as government policies have managed to allay many of these fears, and immigrants have, on the whole, contributed greatly to Singapore’s survival and success.

From Passage 1

OBSERVATION 1

Stadlen posits that immigrants contribute towards the country they move to because they ‘pay far more taxes’ (lines 13–14) as well as ‘inflated fees’ (line 17). This observation has an element of truth in relation to Singaporean society at present.

- With land constraints, as well as the need to placate unhappy Singaporeans, the government has taken steps to ensure that taxes and fees for immigrants are clearly higher as compared to those for local citizens.
- Singapore’s population is expected to grow by a third in the next two decades, and a large part of that will come from immigrants. This would mean that land will only become more scarce and sought after. As Singapore aims to keep to its land management objectives of promoting growth and a comfortable living environment, the inflow of foreigners has to be controlled. Singaporeans’ displeasure at the 2013 Population White Paper, illustrated by a rare mass rally over its liberal immigration policies, has also urged the government to respond. In order to keep numbers manageable and placate the citizenry, they have since come up with several measures to make foreigners pay more taxes and higher fees.
- According to a 2017 survey by ECA International, expatriates in Singapore are among the top-20 best paid ones in the world, and are top in Asia Pacific. Naturally, the progressive income tax system adopted by Singapore, along with the lack of tax reliefs, would tax these high-earning expatriates here more. Tax rates specially implemented for top-level management also saw a 2 per cent jump from 20 per cent to 22 per cent in 2017.

- On top of taxes, Singapore has also introduced an increase in fees for non-locals. In education, the government followed a waiver of national examination fees for Singaporeans in government funded schools in 2015 with a gradual hike in school fees for not only foreigners, but also permanent residents (PRs). Monthly fees for PRs attending a primary school, for example, will see an increase from \$130 to \$205 by 2020. International students at pre-university schools will have to pay \$1750 a month from 2020, compared to \$1300 back in 2017.
- **However, this does not mean that Singapore and Singaporeans do not contribute to tax income and have to rely heavily on their contributions.**
- Although high-earning foreign talent are taxed more, Singaporeans are also subject to the same progressive tax structure, and also contribute to the nation. In addition, other taxes, such as the Goods and Services Tax, also apply to citizens.
- The running of various social programmes and other aspects of governance are also not solely dependent on tax income too. To begin with, government expenditure goes into the billions. For example, \$12.8 billion was set aside for spending on education this year, and it would be silly to suggest that the nation expects or hopes for immigrants to fuel such an astronomical amount.
- The government uses its own funds to provide subsidies or fully run these programmes, and takes on the same approach across other areas of governance. This renders Stadlen's observations on how immigrants 'prop up' systems that 'neither the government nor students appear willing to fund' (lines 18–19) less applicable.
- **That said, while Singapore does not heavily depend on immigrants' contributions, the author's view on immigrants contributing towards the country through taxes and fees is clearly seen. There has certainly been a clear difference made by the government in its attempts to not only control foreigner inflow, but also to sharpen the differentiation in privileges between citizens and immigrants.**

OBSERVATION 2

Stadlen also raises the argument that immigration is beneficial because immigrants offer 'disproportionate entrepreneurialism' and are 'vital engines of innovation and growth' (lines 19–20). This observation resonates strongly with the Singaporean context today, which has a rather aggressive immigration policy to sustain and grow the economy. As such, I strongly agree with this observation.

- Singapore is facing a shrinking local workforce due to its ageing population woes. As such, remaining open to foreigners allows us to keep our modern economy moving forward through not only the various new businesses and injection of ideas and innovations, but also through their skill sets that contribute to our industries.
- In recent years we have seen more bankers, businessmen and entrepreneurs making Singapore their home, as they help build the Singapore-brand associated with creativity, efficiency and reliability.
- Brazil-born Eduardo Saverin, co-founder of Facebook who moved to Singapore in 2012, is worth about US\$4 billion. He started RedMart, a Singapore-based online grocery store offering an unprecedented selection of high quality fresh food, household essentials and premium speciality products. RedMart's estimated annual revenue is S\$6.5 million. Saverin's other businesses include a software development firm called Anideo, which develops revolutionary mobile applications, Nitrous.IO, a 500 Startups-backed backend development platform and property

portal 99.co. These companies provide jobs and open new doors of opportunities for Singaporeans.

- Two out of three Singapore banks are helmed by immigrants. Piyush Gupta of DBS Bank was born in India and came to Singapore in 2009. Under his leadership, DBS Bank was named 'World's Best Digital Bank' by Euromoney. Samuel N. Tsien of OCBC Bank was born in China. In 2016 OCBC Bank was named 'Best Managed Bank' in Singapore and Asia Pacific. Clearly, these two men have helped innovate and grow the banking sector and put Singapore clearly on the world map.
- New Zealand-born businessman, Richard Chandler's net worth is estimated to be worth US\$3 billion by Forbes magazine. Since 2008, Chandler has been a Singapore permanent resident. His Singapore-based Chandler Corporation invests in public and private companies across a range of industries, including energy, financial services, consumer, and healthcare.
- In addition, even as a renowned education system continues to produce a relatively educated workforce, its small size means that Singapore simply does not have the quantity required to drive a modern economy forward. As such, immigrants help to fill in the numbers in low and middle-skill jobs that many Singaporeans, partially due to their high educational levels and expectations, are unwilling to take up.
- At the other end of the spectrum, attracting top talent from all over the world helps to drive the industries it wants to focus on. Skilled foreign manpower not only fill the labour gap, but also facilitate the transfer of skills to locals. This allows Singapore to anchor new, innovative industries such as biomedical sciences, digital media animation and aerospace engineering.
- Every day, more than 2,500 researchers, mostly immigrants, work at the Biopolis to tackle tropical diseases, conduct stem cell research, develop new drugs and study skin ageing - among many other scientific endeavours. The pharmaceutical sector in Biopolis remains an important innovation hotspot for growing the Singapore economy.
- **However, the contributions of entrepreneurial immigrants do not necessarily overshadow that of Singaporean entrepreneurs and businesses. There is still a strong entrepreneurial spirit among the locals, even among the young, today as they are encouraged to seize business opportunities offered by the new economy.**
- The once-popular mindset of wanting to work for big multinational corporations is now changing as Singaporeans are increasingly open to taking the risk and test their mettle by starting their own businesses. This encouraging change is also evident amongst the younger generation here, as universities like Nanyang Technological University and polytechnics such as Ngee Ann Polytechnic offer entrepreneurship education, mentorship programmes and seed funding.
- From Ngee Ann Polytechnic graduates co-founders Quek Siu Rui, Lucas Ngoo, and Marcus Tan who founded Carousell, a popular mobile classifieds app in Asia Pacific, to Joseph Phua who created Paktor, a dating website with its own app, was launched in 2013, there are several examples of local entrepreneurs and start-ups we have in Singapore.
- GoDaddy, the world's leading internet domain registrar and web hosting company, conducted a study on entrepreneurs in 2016, and found that 32 per cent of millennial entrepreneurs in Singapore started their businesses when they were in school.
- There are numerous businesses helmed by local Singaporeans from hawkers to owners of eateries and retailers too numerous to mentioned; but a famous few are

Mustafah Kamal, the local owner of Penny University Café and Charles and Keith, the Singaporean fast-fashion footwear and accessories retailer.

- The allowance for free but fair business dealings fostered an entrepreneurial culture among locals and migrant groups to pursue their preferred trades whether it be in food, retail or other types of business ventures.
- This is witnessed in the economic sphere where a capitalistic, regulated, approach is taken to allow businesses to be initiated, to flourish. A pro-business environment has been facilitated, where locals and foreigners are given equal chances to do well in their economic pursuits. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the retail and the food industry. A free-market competitive economy enables entrepreneurs, whether local or foreign, to legally set up shop. The diversity of retail businesses and food outlets all over the island republic, whether it is at Orchard Road, Chinatown or Kampong Glam, testify to locals and migrants freely competing to gain market share and customers. These various businesses regardless of their race, language or ethnicity are given free rein to pursue their profits by providing their services. This allows them access to the shared economic space, without restrictions.
- **As such, the benefits of entrepreneurialism that immigrants offer are indeed undeniable to Singapore but I do not think it is fair to generalise that this is 'disproportionate' to local efforts as there is great synergy between businesses owned by locals and immigrants. Both groups are certainly 'vital engines of innovation and growth in Singapore.**

OBSERVATION 3

Stadlen argues that immigration is beneficial in forming part of 'the solution to our demographic time bomb' (line 30). I strongly agree with Stadlen's observation, when considering the situation in Singapore.

- Experts have longed warned that Singapore is facing a ticking demographic time bomb in the form of increasingly ageing population, in view of its low birth rates and longer life expectancy.
- The suite of measures implemented by the Singapore government to provide incentives to Singaporean couples to have more children have not had much impact.
- Singapore's birth rate in 2017 was 1.16, which is far from the replacement rate of 2.1. According to the United Nations World Population Prospects (UNWPP), Singapore will become a super-aged society in 2026. By then, one in five persons in the country will be aged 65 or above.
- **Immigration is therefore essential and highly beneficial in helping Singapore manage the issues that arise from this demographic time bomb.** With fewer Singaporeans being born each year, immigration is much needed to boost population numbers at a faster rate, so that we can maintain a suitable level needed to sustain key areas of the nation.
- These include beefing up the workforce, to ensure an optimal number of workers in Singapore's diverse industries. This is particularly so as Singapore's domestic workforce is expected to decline from 2020.
- As of 2017, the non-resident workforce made up a significant 29.8% of Singapore's total workforce. While not strictly considered immigrants, these non-resident members of the workforce help to mitigate the shortfall due to a decreasing birth rate over the last few decades. As part of Singapore's long-term immigration plans, it seeks to attract the well-educated and talented segment of this migrant work

force to take up citizenship, so that Singapore can reap the benefit of augmenting the nation's human resource capability.

- In 2017, the ratio of citizens aged 20 to 64 to every citizen aged 65 and older, dropped to 4.4, from 4.7 in 2016. According to the National Population and Talent Division, ratio could drop to as low as 2.4 by 2030. As such, immigration is definitely needed to ensure that this ratio does not fall too low, and to reduce the financial burden of supporting the elderly.
- Immigration is also helpful in slowing down the rate at which Singapore's defence forces are shrinking in numbers due to the declining birth rate. An average of 20,000 people become new Singapore citizens annually, and an average of 30,000 are granted permanent residency annually. They and/or their male descendants are much needed additions to our defence forces.
- **However, there is a limit to how much immigration can benefit Singapore in helping to mitigate the effects of its demographic time bomb, since there is realistically only so many immigrants that the nation can accept. As such, to complement the benefits of immigration, Singapore has had to rely on technology to make up for the shortfall in terms of manpower.**
- The Singapore Armed Forces makes use of technology to develop military systems and platforms which require fewer men to operate. These include unmanned systems and robotics, as well as the use of artificial intelligence (AI) to utilise less manpower and still deliver the same or even more combat power.
- **Furthermore, while immigration does play an important part due to the benefits that it offers in managing Singapore's demographic time bomb, its implementation is not without difficulties.**
- Singaporeans have been voicing their concerns regarding the nation's immigration policy. Such concerns include the competition that Singaporeans face from foreigners and new immigrants in the job market and education landscape, and the fears that quality of life will be affected with more people sharing our limited public resources such as transport and medical care.
- Singaporeans were especially vocal about these concerns when the government unveiled its Population White Paper in 2013, which projected a population of 6.9 million by 2030. It proposed that up to 30,000 new permanent residents and 25,000 naturalized citizens would be needed each year to boost population numbers.
- Due to the strong protest from Singaporeans, the government has since then scaled back on its immigration policy and taken steps to manage the situation, by ramping up public housing, tightening the inflow of migrant workers and improving public transportation.
- **Thus, despite the benefits that immigration potentially has for Singapore's demographic time bomb, the government has had to handle the issue sensitively and take into consideration the concerns of Singaporeans.**

From Passage 2**OBSERVATION 4**

Goodhart raises the concern that ‘too many newcomers fail to integrate’ (line16). I acknowledge that there is some truth in his claim that some newcomers prefer to stick to their own culture and community and make little effort to understand or assimilate into the mainstream local culture.

- There have been several instances where newcomers have earned the ire of locals as they are perceived to be unable to adapt to the multi-cultural way of life here. This could be due to differences in cultural practices and values. Perhaps, some newcomers who come from more homogenous cultures like China and India may find it more difficult to adapt quickly to a uniquely multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-religious Singaporean environment.
- One prominent example is the incident where a family from China made a complaint against a local Indian neighbour about the smell when they were cooking curry. It escalated up to the Community Mediation Centre (CMC) who intervened. It was decided that the Indian family would not cook curry when the Chinese family was around. This angered many netizens who saw the newcomers as failing to integrate and insisting that locals change to suit them. The Law Minister, K Shanmugam’s encouraged Singaporeans to accommodate foreigners which further angered netizens who demanded that foreigners learn to respect our traditions and adapt to our local customs instead. Their intolerance towards local way of life is seen as their failure to integrate.
- There is also a growing concern among Singaporeans about the housing enclaves centred around particular nationalities growing all over the island. Newcomers tend to buy property where people from their home country choose to live. Naturally though, this should be expected, yet there is a disquiet still. For example, relatively affluent Indians live in the Tanjong Rhu area while affluent Caucasians tend to live in District 10. In the heartlands, many condominiums have a sizeable immigrant community who tend to keep to themselves. This leads to concerns that immigrants are not making sufficient effort to integrate into the mainstream.
- There are also immigrant associations which help members overcome social isolation and hardship in the new country. However, some scholars, like Joao Sardinha, criticise these associations for preventing immigrants from integrating into society. They claim these organisations form exclusive and concentric social spaces that dis-incentivise immigrants from interacting with the local community. In the last two decades, the inflow of foreign migrants into Singapore has caused a proliferation of new immigrant associations, numbering almost 80.
- **Nevertheless, it is not fair to assume that immigrants are resistant to integrate into the mainstream. Singaporeans, too, must also be held accountable for they, too, may not be reaching out to the newcomers. In the end, integration is a two-way street. Both immigrants and locals need to be invested in building a harmonious Singapore.**
- **In fact, I am of the opinion that most newcomers do integrate into the local setting, with the pro-active help from many government and community-led initiatives.**
- The National Integration Council (NIC) disburses money through the Community Integration Fund (CIF) to support learning journeys, field trips, seminars, publications, and productions that raise awareness of local history, cultures, as well as social norms among immigrants. Activities that offer platforms for people to

interact and build relationships around common interests, like sports or arts can also be funded by CIF.

- To encourage emotional attachment to and involvement in Singapore, NIC run projects that introduce immigrants to volunteerism opportunities and ways to connect with the wider Singaporean society to deepen mutual understanding. On the part of the newcomers, many have also been involved in volunteer work that help locals. Bangladeshis are well known for doing volunteer work at local mosques not just during Ramadhan but also on Fridays and over the weekends.
- In addition, there are also local Singaporeans who make the effort to help integrate newcomers into society. With the help of the Migrant Workers' Centre, a group of Singaporeans started an initiative called 'Come Makan With Me' in 2017, where volunteer hosts put together meals and allow for interaction as equals and enjoyment of one another's company.
- **As such, while I agree that some newcomers may have failed to integrate, most have adapted well to the cosmopolitan way of life here due to their open mindset and the initiatives put in place to help them adapt.**

OBSERVATION 5

In the context of Singapore, I generally agree with Goodhart's pessimistic view that being 'exposed to greater competition of various kinds with outsiders' (lines 24-25) has made Singaporeans harbour 'anxiety about sharing economic space and public services with outsiders' (lines 14-15).

- Recently, the competition that the immigrants pose has inadvertently stoked a sense of anxiety among locals. The release of the government Population White Paper in 2013 sparked heated debate among Singaporeans both online and offline over the government's projection that the city-state's population by 2030 could hit nearly 7 million. Without a doubt, the fervent protests that greeted the government initiative were clear and unequivocal testimony of a seething undercurrent of dissatisfaction against the tide of migrants streaming into the republic. This is evident from the estimated crowd of 4,000 people, of all age ranges and races who gathered at the Speakers' Corner at Hong Lim Park to protest against the Population White Paper.
- Local opposition politician Nicole Seah, who ran as the youngest female candidate in the 2011 general elections, said that the "Singapore Inc" brand cultivated by the government has created a "transient state where people from all over come, make their fortunes and leave". This seems to highlight an issue with xenophobia with news reporting friction between Singaporeans and foreign workers in our tiny, multi-ethnic city-state.
- This xenophobia can be attributed to concerns that the Singapore population has increased dramatically in recent decades thanks to an influx of foreigners, who now make up around two out of five residents. This has put a growing strain on jobs, housing, healthcare and infrastructure, including a concern about a recent hospital bed crunch at public hospitals and over-crowding in the public transport system. This has also raised fears about the dilution of the Singaporean national identity. This has resulted in an angry backlash, with many citizens taking to social media to disparage foreign workers, from highly paid 'foreign talent' to heavily exploited labourers from China and the Indian sub-continent. Local job seekers are also stridently articulating that their jobs have been taken over by migrants who are prepared to accept lower pay and work longer hours. While S-Pass work permit holders require only a base salary of \$2200, fresh local university graduates look

towards the \$3400 figure that MOE Graduate Employment Survey gets them to expect.

- The anti-immigrant sentiments are evidently palpable in many spheres ranging from education to transport to employment. In schools and tertiary institutions, there are anecdotes of and postings on student forums where locals lament the ever-growing presence of foreign students in their midst who sometimes usurp their achievements in subjects such as Mathematics and Literature. There is also resentment at the number of scholarships given to foreign students and some locals feel that such resources should be invested in local students who are equally bright.
- Anti-immigrant sentiments began to worsen when the global economy collapsed in 2008-2009, and not even the record 14.5 per cent economic growth in 2010 was enough to assuage Singaporeans' fears of being swamped by foreigners. Vincent Wijesingha of the Singapore Democratic Party, said "The [government] never asked us whether we wanted a huge increase in our population. They never asked us if we expected such large numbers of people working for such low salaries so that salaries [of the locals] will also be pulled down."
- Even the external media has detected such anti-immigrant inclinations. A foreign publication, Quartz India noted an unwelcoming sentiment toward Indians which has been pervading the city-state with a rise in discrimination against prospective home renters of Indian-origin.
- Observers and experts have suggested that these attitudes may be due to anxiety as Singaporeans feel suspicious of foreigners because they compete for space, resources and jobs. Two studies seem to bear this out. The 2015 National Values Assessment, which surveyed 2,000 Singapore residents, found that respondents consider family to be the top personal value, but perceive society to be competitive, self-centred and eager to blame others. These perceptions could thus be impeding multiculturalism and immigrant integration in Singapore. Findings from the 2012 IPS survey on Social Markers of Integration, which polled 2,000 Singapore residents, found that respondents felt more threatened by the presence of foreigners.
- In this ongoing debate about 'us versus them', Singaporeans, by and large, are more concerned about things like job displacement, loss of culture and identity. It worried many that the government appears to be bending over backwards to accommodate foreigners, with the potential of welcoming more foreigners to our island state. Many citizens feel they are no longer citizens in their own home, and this has a destabilising effect. And increasingly, they see their views ignored in favour of the extremes. Naturally, the response would be one of anguish and resentment.
- **Despite this, the government is putting in much effort to reduce the anxiety of Singaporeans, especially after the aftermath of the White Paper, and to show that locals still have more privileges than permanent residents and foreigners.**
- This can be seen in the government tightening the immigration policy, implementing cooling down measures for property prices to prevent rich foreigners from snapping up local property and imposing a 15 percent quota of work permit holders in the company's total workforce in the services sector, and 20 percent in all other sectors. The government has also waived all examination fees for local students.
- Undeniably, the incoming migrant population needs to be carefully managed to achieve an optimal balance that allows maximal socio-politico-economic development, yet ensure that the interests of Singaporeans are not compromised and their anxiety allayed.

- **With the land constraints and social challenges faced by Singapore, I do concur that Singaporeans are increasingly anxious about the competition posed by immigrants and foreigners but I also believe this is unlikely to reach crisis proportion any time soon and that Singapore will still continue to greatly benefit from the contributions of immigrants.**

CONCLUSION

Given that policies to boost the fertility rate in Singapore have not been the most effective, immigration seems to be the way to go for the foreseeable future, as far as the government is concerned. As such, while Singaporeans' strong sentiments towards the country opening its doors to foreigners can be understood, they need to understand the situation and work out the differences so that the nation can continue to prosper and thrive.